Description and Documentation of Traditinal Dress : the Case of Arsi Oromo

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this Dissertation entitles, "Description and Documentation of Traditional Dress: the case of Arsi Oromo" is my own work. It has never been submitted for a degree in any other university, in any projects by any means and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Transliteration

Afan Oromo used the recently introduced Oromo alphabet for all expressions in the language. Here under the over view of pronunciation in the language is presented. Gemination is permitted for consonants and so does lengthening for vowels and these bring a change in meaning.

1. **The Oromo Vowels**

IPA	short vowels Afan Oromo	IPA	Long Vowels	Afan Oromo
[a]	nama (man)	[a:]		gaala(camel)
[e]	dhufe(came)	[e:]		saree(dog)
[i]	irree(arm)	[i:]		diimaa(red)
[o]	qola (cover)	[o:]		hoolaa(sheep)
[u]	muka (tree)	[u:]		iyyuu(shouting)

2. **The Oromo Consonants**

Oromo consonantal phonemes are geminated by doubling the phonemes. For example, 'n' in ganna 'summer' is geminated.

There are five phonemes used in the thesis which are represented by paired alphabets. These are ch (tʃ), dh(ɗ), ny(ɲ), ph(p'), and sh(ʃ)

- Ch[tʃ] - palatal, affricate, voiceless, as in gaachana 'shield'
- dh [ɗ]- alveolar, implosive, example in ***dhaala*** 'inheritance'.
- ny [ɲ]- palatal, nasal, as in ***nyaata*** 'food'.
- ph [pʼ]- bilabial, voiceless, ejective, as in ***hirphuu*** 'help'.
- Sh [ʃ]- palatal fricative voiceless, as in ***shan*** 'five'

The consonantal phonemes of Oromo include the following ejectives.

addition to ph[pʼ]:

- cʼ - palatal, voiceless, affricate as in ***mucaa*** 'male child'.
- kʼ- velar, voiceless, as in ***qallaa*** 'thin'.
- t'- alveolar, voiceless, as in ***qexxaa*** an Arsi woman traditional cloth.

Glossary of Cultural Terms

A

Abbaa[ʔab:a:] father, owner, title of respect, political title

Aba boku [ʔab:a: boku] a *gada* leader allowed to hold a sacred object- Boku /scepter

Abbaa Mirga [ʔab:a: mirga:] a hero who killed enemy or known wild animals

Adda [ʔad:a] Forehead

Adda jale[ʔad:a dʒale] below forehead

Albu [ʔalbu] Child anklet (bracelet), especially of a baby girl

Ateetee[ʔate:te:] Female ritual carried out to protect women's rights, and protest against gender based violence; woman gathering

Atete falaa[ʔate:te: fala:] ritual celebrated when natural crises take place such as drought and famine, to pray for the fertility of a woman

Ateetee goraa[ʔate:te: gora:] woman gathering for peace and for keeping their (women's) right

B

Billaya [bil:aya:] triangular shape knife hold by hero during hunting for skinning

Billiqe or balaqe [bil:qe or balaqe] dropped earring worn by girls and made from diamond, has a triangle shape at the dropped tip.

Bito [bito] Metallic bangle of different size worn by kids, girls and woman

Bokaa[boka:] traditional drink made from honey and water

Boke [boke] traditional gown worn by a young woman and a bride

Bokku [bok:u] scepter

Bonkoo [boŋko] big gown worn by women who gave birth to more than three children

Boraatii [boraːtiː] traditional pillow (headrest) made from iron or wood.

Boraatii dubartii [boraːti dubartiː] Women's pillow

Boraatii dhiiraa [boraːti ɗiːraːː] men's pillow

Buqqee urgo [bukʼːe ʔurgo] A perfumed butter container

C[ɕ]

Calle jaari or Calle Faxime [cʼalːe ʤaːri or calːe faːtʼime] necklace of an aged woman

Calle Addaa [ɕalːe ʔadːaː] forehead woman jewelry made from bead with different color.

Callee hudhoo [cʼalːeː huɗo] an attached beaded necklace worn by a woman

E

Eebba[ʔeːbː a] blessing

Eboo [ʔebo:] a pole weapon with a sharp point, either thrown or thrust at an enemy or prey.

F

Faaya Aadaa [faːja ʔaːdaː] traditional Jewelry

Fororaa [fororɑː] head jewelry worn by a woman.

G

Gaachana (waanta) [gɑːtʃɑnɑ/wɑːntɑ] shield

Gadaa[gɑdɑː] the generation set system

***Gigishaa* [gigiʃɑ]** cattle skin cloth worn by a widow whom husband is killed.

Golga Harkaa [golgɑ hɑːrkɑː] cattle skin made glove worn during harvest.

Gonfaa [gonfɑː] cotton trouser worn by young and old man with different styles

Gosa[gosɑ] clan, people

Guddiftu Daa'immani [gudːftu dɑːʔmːɑni] Common name for jewelries worn on hand and neck by small children

Guftaa [guftɑː]: a black color headdress worn by Arsi married woman

Gundadhaa [gundɑːɗɑː] a pointed tool, usually of bone, stone, or wood, used to perforate a material such as hide or shell **(Punch)**.

Gurra [gurːɑ] Ear

H

Hadhoftu[hɑɗoftu] woman jewelry of one type bead with deep green color

Halange [hɑlɑnge] whip hold by Aba murti (traditional court), groom, elder and abbaa gadaa in wedding, conflict resolution and

festivals and rituals

Hanfalaa[hɑnfɑlɑ:] traditional belt made from well prepared soften cattle skin and used to tie qexxaaa or harsamaa to the waist

Halangicha [halangitʃa] go-between

Hammaammota [hɑm:ɑ:m:otɑ] delegates/accompanies

Hangafa [hɑngafa] first born,senior

Harka [hɑrkɑ] hand

Harsamaa [hɑrsɑmɑ:] traditional skirt with large size of cow hide and worn by woman at old age together with Bonko.

Heeqo [he:kʾo] a thread of different colors used to braid hair of girls at puberty stage. It is used as wig to lengthen their hair

Hirboora [hirbo:rɑ] hand jewelry. qondaalaa put it on his arm

I

Irree[ʔir:e:] forearm

Irree [ʔir.ːe.ː] power

Ilillaa[ʔilil:ɑ:] necklace worn by small children

Ilillaa[ʔilil:ɑ:] a raw material for decorating animal skin or hide clothes

J [dʒ]

Jaarti [dʒa:rti] old woman

Jombola [dʒombol:a:] necklace of big beads with single size

Jomore[dʒomore] beaded necklace of rectangular in shape worn by a young woman.

K

Kaadhimaa[ka:dʔima:] fiancée

Kaalimii [ka:limi:] thick cotton cloth worn by males with different size

Kallacha [kal:tʃa] headdress worn by abbaa bokku on the forehead

Kallo mi'aya: [kal:o mi'aja:] type of kallo of leopard or lion skin worn by qondalaa

Kallo Waatii Gayyaa [kal:o wa:ti: gay:a:] a gown kind of cloth made from small cattle skin.

Kophee [kop'e:] shoe

Kalloo Busaaye [kal:o busa:ye] a gown made of buffalo and caw skin worn by elder and a groom

Kalloo handaraa [kal:o handara:] a young woman gown made of animal skin has handara (fringe) on the tip.

Kalloo [kal:o] common name for the cattle skin clothes which looks like gown.

Kalloo kasaa[kal:oo kasa:] a gown with five dropped tips

Kalloo ijoollee [kal:o: ʔdol:e:] kalloo gown made from the small wild animals or calf skin and worn by children.

Kalxata or dhangalasa [kalt'ata/ɗangalaːsa] big woman rectangle shape necklace

Ketticha[ket:itʃa] *go-between*

L

Laakka mandhee [laːkːaː mandeː] wrist bangle of a woman

Laakkaa irree [laːkːaː ʔirːeː] an upper arm woman bangle of silver color

Leelashe [leːlaʃe] cotton cloth worn by elders and Aba Gadaa.

Lotu [lotu] head jewelry worn by a woman

Luka[luka] leg

M

Mandhe[mandeˀ] Wrist

Maraco [maracˀo] a woman necklace made of iron and open in one side.

Necklace worn by hero

Marqaa [markˀaː] cultural food-Porridge

Mataa [mataː] Head

Maxaanxee mudhii [matˀaːnt'e muːɗiː] children decorated waist tie

Mirgo [mirgo] right hand wrist bangle worn by woman

Moggaasa [mogːaːsa] name giving(naming)

Moora dubbisu[moːra dubːisu] Entrail reading

Morma[mormɑ] neck

Mudhii [muiɗi:] waist

N

Naashaa [nɑ:ʃɑ:] women left upper arm bangle with deep red color

O

Ombaa[ɔ́mbɑ:] a big gown worn by elder woman

Q [kˈ]

Qabata [kˈabata] Handheld

Qarrisa [kˈar:isa:/ white circle woman earring made of lion teeth.

Qashoo [kˈɑʃo:] children's earring attached to the earlobe

Qanafaa [kɛ́nefɑ:] sacred forehead material object (jewelry) worn by a woman who gave birth recently

Qexxaa [kɛ́:tˈa:] short skirt worn by an engaged girl and young woman

Qiidaa [kɪ́:dɑ:] gaabii /thick shawl / of four fold

Qola[kɔ́lɑ] hair band made of thread

Qoola[kɔ:lɑ] gaabii/thick showl/ of double fold

Qolo ateetee [kɔ́lo ate:te:] one sided thread made woman cloth above harsama or *waccuu*

Qolo dubartii [kɔ́lo dubɑrti:] colored cotton blouse of woman

Qolo Durbaa [kʼolo durbɑːˌ] girl's cotton cloth which covers up to the knee part of the body

Qondaalaa [kʼɒndɑːlɑː] hero

Qororo mataa [kʼɒroro mɑtɑːˌ] qondala's head jewelry worn around the head

Qoxoxoo [kʼɒtɒtɒː] short skirt of small girls made from animal skin

Quba[kʼubɑ] finger

Quba lukaa toe(s)

Qube[kʼube] a ring a small circular band and, worn on a finger or neck as an ornament or a token of marriage or engagement

qubee kaadhimaa [qʼubeː kɑːdʰîmɑː] a promise ring (necklace)

S

Sabbata [sɑb:tɑ] cotton waist tie of a woman and qondaalaa

Sagetto [sɑget:o] qondalaa's bangle

Sandaaba [sɑndɑːbɑ] red color diamond made forehead jewelry of a woman

Seera[seːrɑ] law

Siinqee [siːnqeːˌ] stick given to a woman on her wedding day in order to protect her rights.

Shaashsii [ʃɑːʃiː] white cotton shawl worn by Arsi woman to secure *guftaa* Headdress of a groom, abbaa gadaa and an elder

Shifaa [ʃifɑ:] cultural stick hold by a girl who is going for *Addabaana* marriage And by the woman whom husband has died

T

Tafse[tɑfse] beaded necklace worn by an engaged girl as a symbol of engagement

A necklace worn by arsi woman

Uffata Aadaa [ʔuf:ɑta ʔɑ:dɑ:] traditional Clothes

w

Waalluu [wɑ:l:u] an ox skin comfortable night cloth worn by male especially elders

Waddessa [wɑd:es:ɑ:] cultural sacred stick holds by a groom at his wedding day.

Warra [wɑrː ɑ] homestead, family

Warraaqaa [wɑr:qɑ:] an ostrich feather

Wayaa haraqo [wɑjɑ: h:rɑkʊ] another name of *Kaalimii [kɑːlimiː]*

Weccaasaa[wecʻɑ:sɑ:] the other name for naashaa

Weedare [we:dɑre] a night cloth or clothe for cold weather worn by woman

X [t̕]

Xuunxoo [t'u:n t'o:] decorated milk bottle used for various occasion as an handheld object

Y [j]

Yaa'aa [jɑ:ɑː] assembly

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CAUS	Causative
1Pl	1st person plural
1Sg	1st person singular
2Sg	2nd person singular
2Pl	2nd person plural
2Sg	2nd person singular
2Sg Hon	2nd person singular honorific
3Pl	3rd person plural
3SgF	3rd person singular feminine
3Sg Hon	3rd person singular honorific
3SgM	3rd person singular masculine
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FOC	Focus
GEN	Genitive
Hon	Honorific
PERF	Perfective aspect
IMPF	Imperfective aspect
INF	Infinitive
Lit.	Literal translation
MID	Middle
NOM	Nominative case
NP	Noun phrase
PASS	Passive
Pl	Plural number
SNNP	Southern Nation Nationalities And People
WAPDO	West Arsi Zone Plan and Development Office

Abstract

This dissertation investigated traditional dress of Arsi Oromo focusing on identification of dress types with age, gender and status. Though various research works were conducted on the history and culture of Oromo people, the focus of those works on documentation was limited. Therefore, this study was designed to describe and document traditional dress among Arsi Oromo. The study drew on qualitative research approach mainly ethnographic research. Purposive sampling technique was employed to select three districts of West Arsi zone namely Kokosa, Kofele and Adaba. consultants were also selected using purposive and snowball sapling. Observation, interview and focus group discussion were the major tools of generating primary data. Secondary sources related to the topic of the study were thoroughly reviewed to bridge the existing knowledge gap. Also, modern multimedia technologies and apparatuses were utilized to digitally record and analyze visual images of vernacular dress types.

The findings of the study indicated that Arsi Oromo traditional dress is gender specific. It was found that in addition to their function as utility or ornamentation, traditional dresses serve as sacred objects, status indicators and identity markers in general. The findings also demonstrate that there is a change and continuation in the use and functions of traditional dress among the people. Currently, traditional dress is limited to the age groups, on average 35 and above years of age. The dressing style of children and the young generation under these age groups are fast changing due to various of reasons such as formal education, access to the urban life, and influences of religion The findings further revealed that despite changing perceptions and flavor of the young generation in favor of modern dresses, folk tradition, particularly, oral literature plays an important role in the preservation of traditional dress. There are oral narratives, stories and plays which appreciate indigenous culture and teach the youth to uphold tradition, particularly material cultures. There is also an individual effort made to preserve traditional dress. Moreover, there are cultural groups of females such as 'siinqee' group who try to preserve traditional clothes and jewelries by making and decorating those traditional dresses.

The findings suggest that it is very important to preserve traditional clothes whose uses are currently declining and, in some places, vanishing due to multiple factors. In this regard, though there are limited and sporadic activities performed by the zone as well as district level tourism and culture bureaus, still individual efforts predominate. Therefore, it was recommended that concerned bodies should take part in teaching people, particularly the youth, about the cultural significance of traditional dress and the need for its preservatation.

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Appendix 1 Interivew Guiding Questions:a: Afan Oromo

- Odeffannoo Dhunfaa

  Maqaa Guutuu----------

  Umuri ----------

  Saala ----------

  Haala maatii----------

  Amantii ----------

  Sadarkaa Barumsaa----------

  Occupation----------

  Iddoo Dhalootaa----------

- Odeeffannoo aadaafi naannoo

  1. Uffannii aadaa naannoo keessan beekaman maal fa'aa?
  2. Uffanniifi faayni saalaan garaagarummaa qaba?
  3. Sirnawwan uffannifi faayni aadaa itti uffatamaniifi godhataman jiru?
  4. Uffannii aadaa garagaraa hiikaa qabu?
  5. Maqaaleen uffataa, faayaa fir kan biroo akkamitti moggaafama?
  6. Ummata Arsi birattii faayidaaleen uffataa,faayaafi kan biroo maali?
  7. Sababoonnii akkaataa fayyadama uffataafi faayarratti garaagarummaa fidan maal fa'ii (umrii,saala, saala aadaa sadarkaa jireenyaa…)
  8. Bifnii uffataafi faayaa filatamu hiika qaba?
  9. Haala uffanaafi meeshaalee qabataniin namoota addaan baasuu dandeenyaa?
  10. How do you define traditional dress?
  11. Uffata aadaa ilaalchisee wanti jijjiramee jira?
  12. Deebiin lakk.11 eeyyee yoo ta'ee sababa isaa ibsuu dandeessuu?
  13. Haala fayyadama uffataalee aadaa ilaalchisee akkuma durittii kan itti fufee jura ?
  14. Uffataalee aadaa kana eenyutu hojjata?

15. Sadarkaalee uffannii aadaa itti hojjatamuu naa ibsuu dandeessuu?

b: English: Personal Information

Full Name----------

Age ----------

Sex----------

Marital status----------

Religion----------

Educational background----------

Occupation----------

Place of birth and Living area----------

- Information Regarding Culture and the Environment

1. What are traditional dress types known in your area?
2. Is there a difference in the way of dressing among male and female?
3. What are the special occasions in which traditional dress types are worn?
4. Do traditional dress types have meanings?
5. How do the people give names for dress types?
6. What are the functions of traditional dress types for Arsi people?
7. What are the factors for a difference in dress use (status, age, gender…)
8. Do the colors used for jewelries and clothes have cultural meanings?
9. Can we say something about the personality of an individual by looking ast the way he/she wear traditional clothes and jewelries?
10. How do you define traditional dress?
11. Do you think that there is a change in the use of traditional dress?
12. If the answer for No.11 is yes could you please mention the factors of the change?
13. Are there traditional dress types which are used among the people as it was before?
14. Who makes traditional clothes?
15. Can you narrate the steps in the process of cloth making?

Appendix 2 Annotated texts:Text 1

file:C:\Users\Tsigerada\Desktop\annotated document\annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf
Sunday, April 5, 2015 6:13 PM

ref 001 the definition of bokku
tx bok:un wɑ: mog:ɑ:fni ʔisɑ:wɑ: lɑmɑ ʔibsɑ
w bokuu-n moggaasa-ni isa-a waa lama ibs-a
mb bokuu n moggaasa ni isa a waa lama ibs a
ge sclapter NOM nomenclature nom he GEN thing two describe 3SgM-IMPF
ft the name boku describes two things

ref 002 the definition of bokku
tx tok:o kʼɑbɑtɑ ʔisɑ:ni kɑn ʔɑd:ɑ: kɑn tɑʔe
w tokko qabata isaan-i kan addaa kan ta'-e
mb tokko qabata isaan i kan addaa kan ta' e
ge one handheld they GEN which unique which be 3Sg-PERF
ft the first one is their handheld object which is unique

ref 003 the definition of bokku
tx kɑn se:nɑ:s kʼɑbu se:rɑ:s kʼɑbu
w kan seenaa-s qab-u seera-s qab-u
mb kan seenaa s qab u seera s qab u
ge of history also has 3SgM-IMPF law also has 3SgM-IMPF
ft it has history as well as law

ref 004 the definition of bokku
tx ku:n ʔɑm:o: ʔɑk:ɑ nɑ:n:o: kɑnɑ:t:i ʔɑb:ɑ gɑdɑ: sɑnuj: bok:u: dʒɑd.ɑn
w kuun ammoo akka naanno kana-a-tti abbaa gadaa san-u-yyu bokkuu jedh-an
mb kuun ammoo akka naanno kana a tti abbaa gadaa san u yyu
ge the other also according to area this GEN to father gada that FOC FOC
ft the other one is according to this area,the father of gada is also named as bokku

ref 005
tx bok:u ke:n:ɑ dʒeɗɑni:n
w bokku keenna jedh-an-iin
mb bokkuu jedh an bokku keenna jedh an iin
ge bokku say 3Pl-PERF sclapter our say 3Pl-PERF NOM
ft they say he is our bokku

ref 006
tx bok:u:n wɑ: lɑmɑ ʔibsɑ dʒetʃu:ɗɑ
w bokkuu-n waa lama ibs-a jeʔ-chuu-dha
mb bokkuu n waa lama ibs a jedh chuu dha
ge sclapter NOM thing two describe 3SgM-IMPF say INF is

ft hence bokku describes two things

ref 007
tx kʼabata san hin ʔibsa
w qabata san hin ibs-a
mb qabata san hin ibs a
ge hanadheld that neg describe 3SgM-IMPF
ft it describes the handheld object

ref 008
tx kʼaban:i kun ʔam:o: ʔak:uma ʔam:a ʔidʒa:n kʼabatama:n ʔargine:t:i dʒa:rso:n:i ʔurmi ɗe:ra: kʼaban bara ɗe:ra: kan ture
w qabata-ni kun ammoo akkuma ija-an qabatama-an arg-inee-tti jaarsa-oota-ni urmi dheeraa qab-an bara dheeraa kan tur-e
mb qabata ni kun ammoo akkuma ija an qabatama an arg in ee
ge hand held NOM this furthermore as eye with evidence with see 2PL PERF
ft as we saw it with our naked eyes elders are also saw it for the long period of time

mb tti jaarsa oota ni urmi dheeraa qab an bara dheeraa kan tur
ge to elder PL NOM age long has 3PL-PERF year long of be

mb e
ge -3SgM-PERF

ref 009
tx ʔa:n ʔak:a kʼabata gaba:bdu ɕikʼile tak:aʼn gen:e
w kan akka qabata gabaab-du ciqilee takka hin gee'-nne
mb kan akka qabata gabaab du ciqilee takka hin gee' nn e
ge of like handheld short 3SgF elbow one Neg approach 1Pl PERF
ft it is even shorter than an elbow

ref 010
tx mata:n ʔisi: bok:u: kʼaba:
w mataa-n isii bokkuu qab-a
mb mataa n isii bokkuu qab a
ge head NOM she sclapter has 3SgM-IMPF
ft it is thick on its tip

ref 011
tx bok:u: jetʃu:n wa:ni furdo: jab:u kʼabu
w bokku jedh-uu-n wanna-ni furd-oo yabbu qab-u
mb bokku jedh uu n wanna ni furd oo yabbu qab u
ge sclapter say INF NOM thing NOM thick 3SgF thick has 3SgM-PERF
ft bokku is something which has thickness

ref 012

tx cʼinɑ:n kɑ:nis ni kʼɑl:tɑ: dʒɑlɑ:nis tʼikʼ:o ʔisi: hin bɑlʔɑtɑ:
w cinaa-n kaan-is ni qall-at-a jala-an-is xiqq-oo isii hin ball-at-aa
mb cinaa n kaan is ni qall at a jala an is xiqq- oo isii hin
ge side NOM other AFF thin MID 3SgM-PERF bottom on small 3SgF she Neg
ft it is thin on the other side and a bit wide at the bottom

mb ball at aa
ge wide MID 3SgM-IMPF

ref 013
tx mɑ:lir:ɑ: bocʼɑn dʒen:ɑ:n ʔejersɑr:ɑ bocʼɑn nun dʒeɗɑn
w maaL-irraa boc-an jedh-naan ejersa-rraa boc-an nun jedh-an
mb maaL irraa boc an jedh- naan ejersa rraa boc an nun jedh an
ge what from form 3Pl say olive tree from form 3Pl us say 3Pl
ft when I asked, what it is made from? he said it is made from olive tree

ref 014
tx ʔɑk:ɑmit:i ʔɑrgɑt:ɑn dʒeɗe: gɑ:fɑɗe: ture: dʒɑ:rsotɑ bok:u: sɑn hɑrkɑt:i ʔɑrge
w akkam-itti argatt-an jedh-ee gaafat-dhee tur-e jaarsa-ota bokku san harka-tti arg-e
mb akkam itti arg at tan jedh ee gaafat dhee tur e jaarsa ota
ge how to find MID 2Pl say 1Sg ask 1Sg be 1S-PERF elder Pl
ft i have asked elders who hold bokku in their hand, how did they found it

ref 015
tx ʔog:ɑ: ʃɑnɑn hɑrɗa:t ʔɑrge
w waggaa shan-an hardha-at arg-e
mb bokku san harka tti arg e waggaa shan an hardhaa ti arg e
ge sclapter that hand in see 1S-PERF year five PL today is see 1Sg-PERF
ft i saw it five years ago

ref 016
tx hɑrkɑt:i ʔɑrge
w harka-tti arg-e
mb harka tti arg e
ge hand in see 2Sg-PERF
ft I saw it in their hand

ref 017
tx ʔisumɑ: 'n ʔergisɑnis hin ken:nisi dʒɑɗɑn
w isuma-aa hin ergisa-ni-s hin kennan-is jedh-an
mb isa uma aa hin ergisa an is hin kenn an is jedh an
ge he FOC GEN Neg lend 3Pl Neg borrow 3Pl say 3Pl-PERF
ft they said it is neither borrowed nor lent

ref 018
tx jero: tok:o: ʔɑm:o: bok:u:n hindʒira
w yeroo tokko ammoo bokkuu-n hin jir-a
mb yeroo tokko ammoo bokkuu n hin jir a
ge time one sclapter NOM Neg be 3SgM-IMPF
ft once upon a time there was bokku

ref 019
tx mɑ:li bok:u:n kun dʒen:ɑn bok:u:n kun ʔɑb:ɑ gɑdɑ:t:u kʼɑbɑtɑ:
w maali bokkuu-n kun jedh-naan bokkuu-n kun abbaa gadaa-tu qab-at-a
mb maali bokkuu n kun jedh naan bokkuu n kun abbaa gadaa tu qab
ge what sclapter NOM this say IMPE sclapter NOM this father gada FOC hold
ft i asked them what this bokku is and they said it is a handhold of aba gada

ref 020
tx wɑj:o:mɑt kʼɑbɑtɑ:
w wayyoom-a-tu qab-at-a
mb at a wayyoom oom a tu qab at a
ge MID 3SgM-IMPF wayyu CAUS 3SgM-IMPF FOC hold MID 3SgM-IMPF
ft it is hold by wayyu

ref 021
tx mɑ:l goɗɑmn:i nɑmɑ hɑrkɑt:i dʒen:ɑ:n gɑdi'n bɑ:sɑni'n ɗos:u
w maal godh-a inni nama harka-tti jedh-naan gadi hin baas-an hin dhoss-u
mb maal godh a in ni nama harka tti jedh naan gadi hin baas
ge what do 3SgM-IMPF it NOM person hand in say IMP let Neg out
ft if they are asked what they do with it,they hide it not let it out

mb an hin dhoss u
ge 3Pl-IMPF Neg hide 3Pl-IMPF

ref 022
tx mɑ:li jen:ɑ:n ʔɑk:umɑ kuno bɑtɑskɑ:nɑ jo:kin ʔen:u tɑ:botɑ: tɑ:botɑ wɑji:n mɑrɑni ɗos:ɑn sɑnɑ nus ɗos:inɑ: be: gɑdi:'n bɑ:fnu
w maali jedh-naan akkuma kuno bataskaana yookin ennu taabota taabota wayiin mar-ani dhoss-an sana nu-s dhoss-ina bee gadi hin baas-nu
mb maali jedh naan akkuma kuno bataskaana yookin ennu taabota taabota
ge why say IMP like as church or who tabout tabout
ft for the question why? they said as others covering tabout with something and hide we do the same

mb wayi in mar ani dhoss an sana nu s dhoss ina bee
ge some thing with cover 3Pl hide 3Pl-IMPF as we FOC hide 2Pl-IMPF

ref 023
tx namɑ hundɑt:i hin ʔɑgɑrsi:fmu
w nama hunda-tti hin agarsiis-am-u
mb gadi hin baas nu nama hunda tti hin agarsiif am u
ge let Neg out 2Pl-IMPF person all to Neg show PASS IMPF
ft it is not open for all

ref 024 025
tx guj:ɑ: bɑwu: kʼɑbɑ guj:ɑ: murti gud:ɑ: kʼɑbɑ:
w guyyaa bah-u qab-a guyyaa murti guddaa qab-a
mb guyyaa bah u qab a guyyaa murti gudd aa qab a
ge day out 3SgM-IMPF has 3SgM-IMPF day decision big Pl has 3SgM-IMPF
ft there is fixed day to see it it comes out at the desicion day

ref 026
tx guj:ɑ: jɑ:ʔɑ: gud:ɑ: bɑyɑ:
w guyyaa yaa'aa gudd-aa bay-aa
mb guyyaa yaa'aa gudd aa bay aa
ge day assemble big Pl out 3SgM-IMPF
ft it comes out at big assembly

ref 027
tx ru:fɑ:n mɑrɑni wɑ:n bɑre:dɑ: wɑ:n ʔurgɑ:ʔun mɑrɑni golɑ ɗoksɑni golɑ kɑ:ʔu: nɑ:n dʒeɗɑn
w rufa-an mar-ani waan bareed-aa waan urgaa-'u-n mar-ani gola dhoks-an-i gola kaa'-u na-an jedh-an
mb rufa an mar ani waan bareed aa waan urgaa 'u n
ge cloth with cover 3Pl something beauty 3SgM something perfume 3Sg with
ft they told me that they dressed it with decorated and perfumed cloth and keep it in a stall

ref 028
mb mar ani gola dhoks ani gola kaa' u na an jedh an
ge cover 3Pl stall hide 3Pl stall put 3Pl-IMPF me to say 3Pl-PERF

ref 028
tx ɑt:i mulʔi:su: dɑnde:s:u dʒeɗe:n kuɗɑ sɑgɑli sɑgɑltɑmil sɑd:e:tir:ɑt:i
w na-tti mullis-uu dandess-u jedh-ee-n kudha sagal-i sagaltami saddeet-irratti
mb na tti mullis uu dandess u jedh ee n kudha sagal i
ge me to show 2Pl can 2Pl-IMPF say 1Sg-PERF 3Pl ten nine DEF
ft in ninteen ninety eight I asked them would you miind showing me?

mb sagaltami saddeet irra tti

ge ninety eight on to

ref 029
tx mɑ: nɑt:i hin agarsi:fne ʔen:ɑ:n jo: ʔɑti nɑbira ɗufte: sit:i ʔɑgɑrsi:su nɑn dɑndɑ'ɑ kopʼɑ: ke: jo: kɑ ɗuftu nɑ:n dʒeɗɑn
w maa na-tti hin agarsiis-ne jedh-naan yoo ati na bira dhuf-tee si-tti agarsiis-uu nan danda'-aa kophaa kee yoo ka dhuf-tu na-an jedh-an
mb maa na tti hin agarsiis ne jedh naan yoo ati na bira dhuf tee si tti
ge why me to Neg show 2Sg say when you me near come 2SgM you to
ft why don't you show me? I asked and they said, if you come to us alone we can show you

mb agarsiis uu nan danda' aa kophaa kee yoo ka dhuft tu
ge show INF AFF can 2SgM-IMPF alone 2Sg-POSS IF come 2SgM-IMPF

mb na an jedh an
ge me 3Sg say 3Sg-PERF

ref 030
tx godinɑ ʔɑrsi:tit:i gɑrɑ nɑ:n:o: ziwɑ:ji sɑn bɑ:dij:ɑ: ke:s:ɑ gosɑ tok:ot dʒira
w godina arsi- ti-tti gara naannoo ziwaay san baadiyyaa keessa gosa tokkoo-tu jira
mb godina arsi ti tti gara naannoo ziwaay san baadiyyaa keessa gosa
ge zone Arsi in around area ziway there country side in clan
ft in the country side of Arsi Zone there is certain clan

ref 031
tx gosɑ wɑr:ɑ bok:ut:u dʒira
w gosa warra bokkuu-tu jir-a
mb tokkoo tu jir a gosa warra bokkuu tu jir a
ge one FOC be 3SgM-IMPF clan family sclapter FOC be 3SgM-IMPF
ft there is bokku clan

ref 032
tx ʔisɑ:ntu nɑ:n dʒeɗe ture
w isaantu na-an jedh-e tur-e
mb isaan tu na an jedh e tur e
ge they FOC me 3Pl say 3SgM-PERF be 3SgM-PERF
ft i have heard from them

ref 033
tx bɑrɑ kuɗɑ sɑgɑl dʒɑhɑ:tɑmi torbɑt:i ʔɑm:o: dʒɑ:rsɑ bule:s:ɑ rɑ:gɑ: wɑ: he:d:u be:kɑ dʒeɗɑni ɗɑgɑje ɗɑkʼe ʔɑɑdɑ:mɑ kɑnɑ ʔirɑ: bɑrɑtʃu
w bara kudha sagal jahaatami torba-tti ammoo jaarsa bul-e-essa raag-aa waa

heeddu beek-a jedh-an-i dhagah-e dhaq-e aadaa-ma kana irraa bar-ach-uu-f
mb bara kudha sagal jahaatami torba tti ammoo jaarsa bul e essa raag
ge year ten nine sixity seven at again elder old 3SgM forecast
ft in ninteen sixity seven i have heard that there is an elder who is knowledgeable and i went there to learn the culture

mb aa waa heeddu beek a jedh ani dhagah e dhaq e
ge 3SgM thing many know 3SgM say 3Pl hear 1SgM-PERF go 1SgM-PERF
mb aadaa ma kana irraa bar at uu f
ge culture DEF this from learn MID INF to

ref 034
tx dʒa:rsi sun ʔam:a: ʔasumar:a:n wa:n bok:u ga:f:i jo: na: ka:san ʔak:mit:i ʔargame ma:li bok:un dʒen:a:n bok:uni k'abata gaba:baɗa na:n dʒeɗan
w jaars-i sun ammaa asuma-rraan waan bokku gaaffi yoo naa kaas-an akkam-itti arg-am-e maali bukkuu-n jenn-aan bokku-n-i qab-at-a gabaabaa-dha na-an jedh-an
mb jaars i sun asuma rraan waan bokku gaaffi yoo na a kaas
ge elder DEF that this way on thing sclapter question when me to raise
ft when i asked him about bokku he told me that it is a short handheld object

mb an akkam itti arg am e maali bukkuu n jedh naan bokku
ge 3SMR how to find PASS 3SM-PERF what sclapter NOM say sclapter
mb ni qabata gabaab aa dha na an jedh an
ge NOM handheld short 3SgM me 3Pl say 3Pl-PERF
ft they said it is short

ref 035
tx ʔedʒersar:a: murame:t ʔam:a argu hindande:s:u hin dʒiru na:n:o: kana hin dʒiru na:n dʒɗan
w ejarsa-rraa mur-am-ee-t amma arg-u hin-dandeess-u hin jiru naanno kana hin jiru na-an jedh-an
mb ejarsa rraa mur am ee ti amma arg u hin dandeess u hin
ge olive tree from cut PASS 3SgM-PERF now see INF Neg can INF Neg
ft it is made from olive tree but now a day you can not get it in this area

mb jir u naanno kana hin jir u na an jedh an
ge be INF around this Neg be INF me 3SgHon say 3SgHon-PERF
ft
ref 036
tx ʔak:amit:i ʔargame jen:a:ni
w akkam-itti arg-am-e jedh-naan-i
mb akkam itti arg am e jedh naani
ge how to find PASS 3SgM-PERF say
ft I asked how was it discovered

ref 037 the legend about bokku
tx duri: na:n:o ʔak:a ʔisa:n na himanit:i na:n:o: mad:a wala:butit:i na:n:o

dɑl:o:tit:i wɑ:j:u:n gur:ɑtʃi dʒirɑ: dʒeɗɑn
w duri naannoo akka isaan na him-an-itti naannoo madda walaabu-ti-tti naannoo dalltootitti waayyuu-n gurraach-i jira jedh-an
mb duri naannoo akka isaan na him an itti naannoo madda walaabu ti
ge past area as he me tell 3SgM-PERF to around mada welabu
ft as he has told me long a go there was a black wayyu arround Madda Walabu or Dalo

mb tti naannoo dalloo ti tti waayyuu n gurraach i jir a jedh
ge in around dalo in person NOM black DEF be 3SgM-IMPF say
ft

ref 038 the legend about bokku
tx wɑ:j:u:n gur:ɑ:tʃi kuni kopʼɑ:gɑlɑ
w waayyuu-n gurraach-i kuni kophaa gal-a
mb an waayyuu n gurraach i kuni kophaa gal a
ge 3Sg-PERF person NOM black DEF this alone live 3SgM-IMPF
ft the black wayu lives lone

ref 039 the legend about bokku
tx nɑmni ʔit:i ʔin ɗijɑ:tu hin sodɑta
w nama-ni itti hin dhiyaat-u hin sodaa-at-aa
mb nama ni itti hin dhiyaat u hin sodaa at a
ge person NOM to Neg approach INF Neg fear MID 3SgM-IMPF
ft no one is approaching to him

ref 040 the legend about bokku
tx milʔu:n ʔisɑ:s jo: ʔɑk:ɑnɑ:n milʔɑte:s nɑmnis hin kufɑ:
w mil'uu-n isaa-s yoo akkana-an mil'-at-ee-s nama-ni-s hin kuf-aa
mb mil'uu n isaa s yoo akka naan mil' at ee s nama
ge way of looking NOM his FOC when as to see MIID 3SgM-PERF PERSON
ft people fall down when he saw them

ref 041 the legend about bokku
tx ʔit:i: ʔin ɗiyɑ:tu hin sodɑ:tɑnisi:
w itti hin dhiyaat-u hin sodaa-at-ani-si
mb ni s hin kuf aa itti hin dhiyaat u hin sodaat ani si
ge NOM Neg fail 3Sg-IMPF to Neg approach INF Neg fear 3Pl FOC
ft they frighten to approach him

ref 042 the legend about bokku
tx kɑnumɑ:f ʔɑk:ɑt:i ɗijɑ:tɑnin ɗɑbɑme dʒeɗɑn ʔintɑlɑ bɑre:dɑ: kʼɑj:isɑni ʔuw:isɑni bɑre:tʃisɑni bɑrbɑ:dɑni fidɑni jo: nɑmɑ tɑʔe: jo: mɑlɑ:ki jo: kɑ tɑʔu tɑʔe jo: dʒin:i tɑʔu bɑ:te: dubɑrti kɑnɑ hinɗi:su dʒedɑni
w kanuma-af akka itti dhiyaat-an-in dhab-am-e jedh-an intala bareedaa qayyis-ani uwwis-ani bareech-is-ani barbaad-ani fid-ani yoo nama ta'-ee yoo malaaki yoo ka ta-'u ta-'e yoo jinni ta'-u baat-e dubarti kana hin-dhiis-u jedh-an

mb kanuma af akka itti dhiyaat an in dhab am e jedh an
ge this for as to approach 3Pl to lose PASS 3SgM-IMPF say 3Pl-PERF
ft they don't have got a chance to approach him. therefore, they search for a beautyful girl,beautify and perfumed her and let to him. then they said, if he is a human or an angel but not an evil he will never let this girl

mb intala bareedaa qayyis ani uwwis ani bareech is ani barbaad
ge girl beauty beautify 3Pl colth 3Pl-PERF beautify CAUS 3Pl-PERF search
ft

mb ani fid ani yoo nama ta' ee yoo malaak i yoo ka
ge 3Pl-PERF bring 3Pl-PERF if human become 3SgM-PERF if angel NOM if
mb ta 'u ta 'e yoo jinni ta' u baat e dubarti kana hin
ge be INF be 3SgM-PERF IF satan be INF not 3SgM-PERF female this Neg
ft

mb dhiis u jedh an
ge let 3SgM-IMPF say 3Pl-PERF

ref 043 the legend about bokku
tx dubɑrti tun ʔɑm:o: jo: wɑ: fɑʗ'ɑ:sɑ: ʔit:i de:mi ʔɑk:ɑna ʔisɑ: fɑf:ɑʗ'ɑ:sɑ: de:mi dʒeɗɑnin
w dubarti tun ammoo yoo-waa facaas-aa itti deem-i akana isa-a facaas-aa deem-i jedh-ani-ni
mb dubarti tun ammoo yoo waa facaas aa itti deem i akana isa
ge female this-F again when something sow INF to go 2SgF like he
ft they advised the girl to sow something while she is going to him

ref 044 the legend about bokku
tx ʔɑk:ɑsumɑ ʔit:i kʼɑdʒelte:
w akka-s-uma itti qajeel-tee
mb a facaas aa deem i jedh ani ni akka s uma itti qajeel tee
ge GEN sow INF go 2SgF say 3Pl PERF like FOC to go 3SgF-PERF
ft she go ahead as they advised her

ref 045 the legend about bokku
tx ʔir:ɑ: fɑgɑ:tɑni tɑ:ʔɑni
w irraa fagaat-an-i taa'-an-i
mb irraa fag at an i taa' an i
ge from far MID 3Pl PERF sit 3Pl PERF
ft they sat at a distant

ref 046 the legend about bokku

tx bɑk:ɑ ʔin:i ɗɑkʼu san ɗɑɾe: wa: fɑcʼɑ:sɑ: ʔit:i ɗɑɾe birɑ tet:e
w bakka inni dhaq-u san dhaq-xee waa facaas-aa itti deem-tee bira teet-te
mb bakka in ni dhaq u san dhaq xee waa facaas aa itti deem
ge place he NOM go INF that go 3SgF-PERF thing sew 3SgF-IMPF to go
ft she met him and sat beside him

mb tee bira teet te
ge 3SgF-PERF beside sit 3SgF-PERF
ft

ref 047 the legend about bokku
tx jo: birɑ te:t:u lɑ:le dub:se ʔofit:i kʼɑbe
w yoo bira teet-t-u laal-e dubbis-e of-itti qab-e
mb yoo bira teet t u laal e dubbis e of itti
ge when beside sit 3SgF INF see 3SgF-PERF talk 3SgM-PERF self to
ft when she sit beside him, he talked to her and embraced

mb qab e
ge embrace 3SgM-PERF
ft

ref 048 the legend about bokku
tx ʔɑti tij:ɑ: dʒeɗe:ni ʔofit kʼɑbe
w ati tiyya jedh-ee-ni of-itti qab-e
mb ati tiyya jedh ee ni of itti qab e
ge you mine say 3SgM-PERF NOM self to embarace 3SgM-PERF
ft he said you are mine and embraced her

ref 049 the legend about bokkku
tx b:odɑ ʔɑm:o: sɑbɑbuma kɑnɑ:f nɑmni soda ɗisɑnit:n ʔɑk:ɑnɑ dubɑrti:n sun ɗɑn:ɑn ʔit:i ɗɑkʼɑn
w booda ammoo sababuma kanaaf namni sodaa dhis-ani-tiin akkana dubartii-n sun dhaq-naan itti dhaq-an
mb booda ammoo sabab uma kanaaf nam ni sodaa dhis ani tiin akkana
ge after again reason DEF this person NOM fear 3Pl-PERF like
ft after that people started to approach him

mb dubartii n sun dhaq naan itti dhaq an
ge female NOM that go to go 3Pl-PERF
ft

ref 050 the legend about bokku
tx jo: ʔitti ɗɑkʼɑni dʒeɗɑn nɑmumɑ
w yoo itti dhaq-ani jedh-an nama-uma
mb yoo itti dhaq ani jedh an nama uma
ge when to go 3Pl say 3Pl-PERF man is
ft when they approached to him, he is human being

ref 051 the legend about bokku 052 the legend about bokku

tx wɑ:j:u gur:ɑ:tʃɑ: nɑmɑ gur:ɑ:tʃɑ:
w waayyuu gurraachaa nama gurraachaa
mb waayyuu gurraachaa nama gurraachaa
ge respected black person black
ft wayyu is black black person

ref 053 the legend about bokku
tx hodʒ:ɑ:n ʔisɑ:s ɗe:rɑ:ɗɑsi nɑmɑ kɑ:w:ɑni ʔolit: jedhu
w hojjaa-n isaa-s dheeraa-dha-si nama kaa-wwani ol-tii jedh-u
mb hojjaa n isa a s dheeraa dha si nama kaa wwani ol tii jedh
ge height NOM he GEN FOC long is FOC person other Pl above to say
ft he is taller than others

ref 054 the legend about bokku
tx sodɑ:tɑ:tumɑ ɗɑkʼɑni
w sodaa-at-aat-uma dhaq-ani
mb u sodaa at aat uma dhaq ani
ge INF fear MID MID go 3Pl-PERF
ft they went to him with fear

ref 055 the legend about bokku
tx jo: ɗɑkʼɑni dʒeɗɑni wali gɑlu dɑndɑʔɑ:ni
w yoo dhaq-ani jedh-ani wali gal-u danda'-aani
mb yoo dhaq ani jedh ani i wali gal u danda' aani
ge when go 3Pl say 3Pl PERF each other understand INF can 3Pl-PERF
ft when they met him, they agreed with him

ref 056 the legend about bokku
tx wɑ:tu ʔɑsir:ɑ dʒirɑ:wɑ:n sɑn ʔegɑ: dʒirɑ ʔɑni
w waa-tu as-irra jir-a waan san eg-aa jir-a ani
mb waa tu as irra jir a waan san eg aa jir a ani
ge thing FOC here above be 3SgM-IMPF thing that care INF be 3SgM-IMPF I
ft he said, i am taking care of some thing above me

ref 057 the legend about bokku
tx kɑnɑ:fu me: ho:lɑ: gur:ɑ:tʃɑ fidɑ: dʒeɗe
w kanaafu mee hoolaa gurraacha fid-aa jedh-e
mb kanaafu mee hoolaa gurraacha fid aa jedh e
ge so pleace sheep black bring 2Pl say 3SgM-PERF
ft so please bring a black sheep, he said

ref 058 the legend about bokku
tx ho:lɑ: gur:ɑ:tʃɑ fidɑni kʼɑlɑni
w hoolaa gurraacha fid-ani qal-ani
mb hoolaa gurraacha fid ani qal ani
ge sheep black bring 3Pl-PEFR slaughter 3Pl-PERF
ft they brought a black sheep and slaughtered

ref 059 the legend about bokku 060 the legend about bokku

tx ʔanːan fidɑː dʒeʔɑːni ʔanːan fidɑni
w aannan fid-aa jedh-aani aannan fid-ani
mb aannan fid aa jedh naani aannan fid ani
ge milk bring INF say milk bring 3Pl-PERF
ft he said bring milk, they brought milk

ref 061 the legend about bokku
tx ʔɑːnːɑn lɑfɑtːi ɗiːbɑːsɑni
w aannan lafa-tti dhiibaas-ani
mb aannan lafa tti dhiibaas ani i
ge milk ground to sacrify 3Pl PERF
ft they sacrified the milk to the ground

ref 062 the legend about bokku
tx ɗiːgɑ sɑniːs lɑfɑ buːsɑn-i
w dhiiga san-ii-s lafa buus-an-i
mb dhiiga san iis lafa buus an i
ge blood that FOC ground drop 3Pl PERF
ft they dropped the blood to the ground

ref 063 the legend about bokku
tx ɗiːgɑ sɑn hoːlɑː gurːɑːtʃɑː sɑn fuːɗeː wɑːn sɑniʔi fɑƈɑːse
w dhiiga san hoolaa gurraacha san fuudh-ee waan san-itti facaas-e
mb dhiiga san hoolaa gurraacha san fuudh ee waan san itti facaas
ge blood that sheep black that take 3SgM-PERF thing that to sow
ft he took the blood of that black sheep and sacrified it into that thing

ref 064 the legend about bokku
tx ʔɑːnːɑn ʔilːe ʔitːi fɑƈɑːse
w aannan illee itti facaase
mb e aannan illee itti facaase
ge 3SgM-PERF milk also to sow
ft he also dropped milk to it

ref 065 the legend about bokku
tx ʔolumɑ hiːtʼːɑte: ʔɑtʃi gubːɑː ʔolumɑ kore fuːɗe dʒeʔɑːn
w ol-uma hiixxat-ee achi gubbaa ol-uma kor-e fuudh-e
mb ol uma hiixxat ee achi gubbaa ol uma kor e fuudh
ge above FOC stretching 3Sg-PERF there on above FOC climb 3SgM-PERF take
ft he climbed and streched up then took it

ref 066 the legend about bokku
tx jo: fuːɗɑn ʔɑmːo ʔinːi wɑːn gurːtʃɑ wɑjiti
w yoo fuudh-an ammoo inni waan gurracha wayi-ti
mb e yoo fuudh an ammoo in ni waan gurracha wayi ti
ge 3SgM-PERF when take 3Pl again he NOM something black thing is
ft when they took it, it was some thing black

ref 067 the legend about bokku 068 the legend about bokku
tx ʔunkʼo:ɗa ʔak: fak:i ɗa:gara: fak:a:ta:
w unqoo-dha akka fakkii dhagaraa fakkaat-aa
mb unqoo dha akka fakkii dhagaraa fakkaat aa
ge short is like picture stone look INF
ft It Is Short it looks like an axe

ref 068 the legend about bokku
tx gabaa:ba: ɗa
w gabaabaa dha
mb gabaabaa dha
ge short is
ft it is short

ref 070
tx ʔak:as faʔini ʔisa ʔam:o: ʔam:a ʔagarsi:se ʔam:a
w akkas fakki-n isaa amma agar-siis-e amma
mb akka s fakki n isa a amma agar siis e amma
ge like shape NOM it GEN now show CAUS 1Sg-PERF NOW
ft its shape looks like I showed

ref 071
tx jo:kin ʔam:o: bocʼni ʔisa bocʼa ʔam:a ʔani ʔisini: bok:u: dʒeɗe ʔisin: ʔagarsi:se kana fak:a:ta dʒeʔa:ni
w yookin ammoo boc-ni isaa boca ammaa ani isin-ii bokku jedh-e isin agar-siis-e kana fakkaat-a jedh-an-i
mb yookin ammoo boc ni isa a boca ammaa ani isin ii bokku jedh
ge or also form NOM it GEN shape now me you to sclapter say
ft as they said its shape looks like the one I showed you

mb e isin agar siis e kana fakkaat a jedh an
ge 1Sg-PERF you show CAUS 1S-PERF this look 3SgM-IMPF say 3SgHon-PERF
ft

ref 072
tx kantu wa:kʼa: buʔe: dʒira:
w kana-tu waaqaa bu'-ee jir-aa
mb i kana tu waaqaa bu' ee jir aa
ge PERF this FOC sky comedown 3Sg-PERF be 3Sg-IMPF
ft this is the one which came down from waaqa

ref 073
tx kana:fu wa:kʼa: buʔe: dʒira
w kanaafu waaqaa bu'-ee jir-a
mb kanaafu waaqaa bu' ee jir a
ge therefore God down 3Sg-PERF be 3Sg-IMPF
ft therefore it came down from waaqaa

ref 074

tx nɑmni kɑnɑ kʼɑbɑte wɑj:o:mɑ: hinkɑbɑdʒitu
w nam-ni kana qab-at-e wayyo-oom-a hin kabaj-atu
mb nam ni kana qab at e wayyo oom a hin kabaj atu
ge person NOM this hold MID 3Sg-PERF wayo MID is Neg respect 3Pl-IMPF
ft a man who hold this material became wayu and they respected him

ref 075
tx rɑb:i hɑ:rɗɑr:ɑ gɑn:u: ɗɑ:be: hirpʼe
w rabbi harda-rra gad-nuu dhaab-e hirph-e
mb rabbi harda rra gad nu u dhaab e hirph e
ge God today from down we for stand 3SgM-PERF help 3SgM-PERF
ft starting from today God helped us and made us stable
ref 076
tx lɑfti ʔin sotʃo:te
w laf-ti hin sochoo'-te
mb laf ti hin sochoo' te
ge earth NOM Neg move 3Sg-PERF
ft there was earthquake

ref 077
tx lɑfɑ sotʃ:i lɑfɑ:tin hin bɑd:ɑni
w lafa soch lafaa-tin hin bad-d-ani
mb lafa soch lafaa tin hin bad d ani
ge earth movement earth with Neg disappear 2SgF 3Pl-PERF
ft you disappeared because of earthquake
ref 078
tx bonnɑ:n hin bɑd:ɑni
w bona-an hin bad-d-an-i
mb bona an hin bad d an i
ge drought with Neg disappear 2SgF 3Pl PERF
ft you disappeared with drought

ref 079
tx ro:bɑ:n hin bɑd:ɑni
w rooba-an hin bad-d-an-i
mb rooba an hin bad d an i
ge rain with Neg disappear 2SgF 3Pl PERF
ft you disappeared with heavy rain

ref 080
tx bub:e:n hin bɑd:ɑni
w bubbee-n hin badd-ani
mb bubbee n hin bad d ani
ge wind with Neg disappear 2SgF 3Pl-PERF
ft you disappeared with wind
ref 081 082
tx birmɑdʒi dʒen:e:rɑ: kɑnɑ birmɑdʒi jetʃu:n birmɑtu
w birmaji je'-nn-ee-jir-a kana birmaji jedh-uu-n birmat-u

mb birmaji je' nn ee jir a kana birmaji jedh chuu n birmat u
ge birmaji say 2Pl PERF be 3SgM-IMPF this birnaji say INF NOM help INF
ft we called this is Birmaji Birmaji means helping

ref 083
tx wɑlit:i birmɑtu tok:itʃum:ɑ:n dʒirɑ:chu
w wal-itti birmat-u tokkoo-icha-umma-an jiraat-u
mb wal itti birmat u tokkoo icha umma an jiraat u
ge each other to help INF one DEF ness with live INF
ft living together it is oneness
ref 084
tx birmɑdum:ɑ: mirgɑ
w birmad-ummaa mirga
mb birmad ummaa mirga
ge help ness right
ft it is a cooperation and is a right

ref 085 the history of marriage
tx hɑrɗɑr:ɑ: kʼɑbe tun mucʼɑt:in ʔisin nɑ: ken:itɑn tun tij:ɑ
w harda-irra qab-e tun mucatti-n na-af kenn-itan tun tiyya
mb harda irraa qab e tun muca tti n na af kenn itan
ge today from start 3SgM-PERF this-F child 3SgF NOM me to give 2Pl-PERF
ft starting from today the girl you provided me is mine

ref 086 the history of marriage
tx ʔisin ʔil:e: ʔɑm:o: ʔintɑlɑ wɑli ken:itɑni
w isin-illee ammoo intala wali kenn-itani
mb tun tiyya isin illee ammoo intala wali kenn it an i
ge this-F mine you-Pl FOC again daughter each other give 3SgF 2Pl PERF
ft you also give daughter to each other

ref 087 the history of marriage
tx ʔintɑlɑ wɑli ken:itɑn sɑn nɑmni birɑ: ʔisini:t:i hin ror:isu dʒeɗʼe: se:rɑ kɑnɑ tumɑtɑni
w intala wali kenn-it-an san nama-ni isin-iitti hin rorris-u jedh-ee seera kana tum-at-an-i
mb intala wali kenn it an san nama ni isin iitti hin rorris
ge daughter each other give 3SgF 3Pl that person NOM you-Pl to Neg hurt
ft no one hurt you for the daughter you gave to each other for merriage. thus, they established this law

ref
tx
w
mb u jedh ee seera kana tum at an i
ge INF say 3SgM-PERF aw this establish MID 3Pl-PERF
ft

ref 088
tx ʔatʃir:ɑ:an ʔɑm:o: birmɑdʒi kɑnɑr:t:i dubɑrtum:ɑ:n tun mɑnɑ:bɑ:n ʔɑrgite: himte
w achi-rra-an ammoo birmaji kana-rra-tti dubarti-ummaa-n tun manaaba-aan arg-ite him-te
mb ach irraa n ammoo birmaji kana rra tti dubarti ummaa n tun
ge there from NOM again birmaji this on to female NOM this-F
ft the woman who was given to him saw a dream and told them

mb manaaba aan arg ite him te
ge dream with see 3SgF-PERF tell 3SgF-PERF
ft

ref 089
tx mɑ:l dʒen:ɑ:n godɑ ɗɑkʼɑ:ti ʔɑtʃit:i bɑk:ɑ godɑ: sɑniti mɑkʼɑ: kɑn:e:n bɑ:fɑɗɑ:
w maal je'-naan goda dhaq-aa-ti ach-itti bakka godaa san-itti maqaa kana-een baaf-at-aa
mb maal jedh naan goda dhaq aa ti ach itti bakka godaa san
ge what say IMP stall go 2PL-IMPF then there to place enclosure that
ft when they asked ,she told them to go to a stall and have these names

mb itti maqaa kana een baaf at aa
ge to name this Pl get MID 2Pl-PERF

ref 090
tx bultumɑ bɑ:sɑ: bulti nɑmɑ:tifi
w bultuma baas-aa bulti nama-a-ti-fi
mb bultuma baas aa bulti nama a ti fi
ge bultuma name 2Pl-IMPF wealth person GEN is for
ft name bultuma so that persons be wealthy

ref 091
tx ro:bɑle: ʔen:u: horɑtɑ bɑ:sɑ: hormɑ:tɑ nɑmɑ:tif
w roobalee ennu horata baas-aa hormaata nama-a-ti-f
mb roobalee ennu horata baas aa hor maata nama a ti f
ge robele who horata name 2Pl-IMPF breed person GEN is for
ft name horata for human breed

ref 092
tx bɑhɑ:rɑ bɑ:sɑ: bɑr:i nɑgɑ: ʔɑk:ɑ bɑʔu
w bahaara baas-aa bar-rii nagaa akka ba'-u
mb bahaara baas aa bar rii nagaa akka ba' u
ge bahara name 2Pl-IMPF year DEF peace as come INF
ft name bahara so that peaceful time will come

ref 093
tx bultumɑ bɑ:sɑ: ʔen:u ro:bɑle bɑ:sɑ: ro:bɑ: ro:bni ʔɑk:ɑ kʼɑdʒe:lu
dʒeɗɑme: godɑ sɑn ke:sɑt:i gɑdɑ:n sun lal:ɑbɑme
w bultuma baas-aa ennu roobalee baas-aa roobaa rooba-ni akka qajeel-u
jedh-am-ee goda san keessa-tti gadaa-n sun lallab-am-e
mb bultuma baas aa ennu roobalee baas aa roobaa rooba ni akka
ge bultuma name 2Pl-IMPF who robale give 2Pl-IMPF rain rain NOM as
ft name robele so that rain will come and gada was announced in that stall

mb qajeel u jedh am ee goda san keessa tti gadaa n sun
ge rain INF say MID 3Sg-PERF enclosure that in to age set NOM that

mb lallab am e
ge announce MID 3Sg-PERF

ref 094
tx ho: sɑni nɑmni kʼɑlʔɑte hori:n kʼɑlʔɑte dhume:
w hoo sani nama-ni qal'-at-e horii-n qal'-at-e dhum-ee
mb hoo sani nama ni qal' at e horii n qal' at e
ge time that person NOM thin MID 3Sg-PERF cattle NOM thin MID 3Sg-PERF
ft at that time human and animals were suffered and disastered

ref 095 096
tx ro:bu: ʔin kutu ɕɑ:mu:ʔin ro:bu
w roob-uu hin kut-u caam-uu hin roob-u
mb dhum ee roob uu hin kut u caam u: hin roob u
ge disaster 3-PERF rain INF Neg stop INF stop INF Neg rain INF
ft it rains continously never rain when it stops
ref 097
tx kɑnɑ:n ɕinkʼɑmɑni kɑn dʒeɗɑn ʔɑtʃir:ɑ:n ʔeb:i lɑfɑt:i gɑɗɑ:bɑte
w kana-aan cinqam-ani kan jedh-an ach-irraa-n ebb-i lafa-tti gad-dhaab-at-e
mb kana aan cinqam ani kan jedh an ach irraa n ebb i lafa tti
ge this with worry 3Pl-PERF say 3Pl there from NOM bless DEF earth to
ft they worried very much then blessing comes to them

mb gad dhaab at e
ge down stand MID 3Sg-PERF

ref 098
tx nɑmni gɑdɑ: kɑ ʔen:u mog:ɑ:sɑ kɑnɑ wɑli kʼo:de
w nama-ni gadaa ka ennu moggaasa kana wali qood-e
mb nama ni gadaa ka ennu moggaasa kana wali qood e
ge person NOM age set GEN who nomenclature this one another share 3S-PERF
ft human shared these names to one another

ref 099

tx ʔati birmadʒi ʔati baha:ra: ʔati ro:bale: dʒeɗani wali k'o:dan
w ati birmaji ati bahaara ati roobalee jedh-ani wali qood-an
mb ati birmaji ati bahaara ati roobalee jedh ani wali qood
ge you birmaji you bahara you robele say 3Pl-PERF each other share
ft they shared the names as you are birmaji, you are bahara and you are robele

mb an
ge 3Pl-PERF

ref 100
tx war:i wa:j:u gur:a:tʃa: suni war:a ʔam:a bok:u: dʒen:u ʔoromo kan taʔe kana:
w warra-i waayyu gurraachaa suni warra amma bokkuu jedh-n-u oromoo kan ta'-e kanaa
mb warra i waayyu gurraachaa suni warra amma bokkuu jedh n u oromoo
ge family NOM wayu black that family now sclapter say 1Pl INF oromo
ft those who are said to be wayu are the oromo

mb kan ta' e kanaa
ge be 3SgM-PERF this

ref 101
tx war:i kuw:an ʔam:o: ʔisa:nit:i hangafni ʔisa:ni
w warra-i kun-wwan ammoo isaan-itti hangafa-ni isaani
mb warra i kun wwan ammoo isaan itti hangafa ni isaani
ge family NOM this-M Pl they to elder NOM they
ft they are elders to others

ref 102
tx ʔangafni ʔisa:ni dʒeʔame gada:n kun wali k'o:dame
w angafa-ni isaani jedh-am-e gadaa-n kun wali qood-am-e
mb angafa ni isaani jedh am e gadaa n kun wali qood
ge elder NOM they say PASS 3Sg-PERF age set NOM this-M each other share
ft according to gada system they are taken as elders

mb am e
ge PASS 3Sg-PERF

ref 103
tx gada:n wali k'o:dame kun ʃanan ʃanan kun:i:n hundi ʔisa:tu mise:nsa kana taʔa:
w gadaa-n wali qood-am-e kun shan-an shan-an kun-nin hunda-i isaa miseensa kana ta'-aa

mb gadaa n wali qood am e kun shan an shan an kun
ge age set NOM each other share PASS 3Sg-PERF this-M five Pl five Pl this-M
ft all became members of these five gada grades that they shared

mb nin hunda i isaa miseensa kana ta' aa
ge Pl all NOM he member this-M be 3SgM-IMPF

ref 104
tx ʔab:ɑ:n wɑr:ɑ: kɑnɑ:n ʔɑlɑ ʔin tɑʔu
w abbaa-n warraa kan-aan ala hin ta'-u
mb abbaa n warraa kan aan ala hin ta' u
ge father NOM family this-M with out Neg be 3Sg-IMPF
ft husband couldn't to be out of these gada grades

ref 105
tx birmɑdʒi ro:bɑle: gɑdɑ: ʃɑnɑn kɑnɑ ʔɑlɑ ʔin tɑʔu
w birmaji roobalee gadaa shan-an kana ala hin ta'-u
mb birmaji roobalee gadaa shan an kana ala hin ta' u
ge birmaji robele age set five Pl this out Neg be 3SgM-IMPF
ft he can not be out of, birmaji,---or robale or the five gada grades

ref 106
tx mɑrtinu mise:nsɑ tok:o tɑʔu kʼɑbɑ dʒeɗɑni wɑj:o:mɑ kɑnɑ wɑli:f ken:ɑn
w mara-tinu miseensa tokko ta'-u qab-a jedh-ani wayy-ooma kana wali-if kenn-an
mb mara ti nu miseensa tokko ta' u qab a jedh ani
ge whole NOM DEF member one be 3SgM-IMPF has 3Sg-IMPF say 3Pl-PERF
ft they gave to one another wayoma so that all are member of gada

mb wayyooma oom a kana wali if kenn an
ge wayyo MID is each other to give 3Pl-PERF

ref 107
tx kɑnɑs ʔɑm:o: sirnɑ kɑnɑ ke:s:t:i guj:ɑ: kɑnɑ ʔɑk:ɑ fɑlɑ:tit: guj:ɑ: birmɑdʒi cʼiɗɑ goɗɑtɑn mɑ:l ʔɑk:ɑ goɗɑtʃu kʼɑbɑn wɑli himɑni
w kana-s ammoo sirna kana keessa-tti guyyaa kana akka falaa-ti-tti guyyaa birmaji cidha godh-at-an maal akka godh-at-u qab-an wali him-an-i
mb kana s ammoo sirna kana keessa tti guyyaa kana akka falaa ti tti
ge this FOC again ritual this in to day this as solution is at
ft again they had discussed on how to do at the particular day of Birmaji gada ritual

mb guyyaa birmaji cidha godh at an maal akka godh at u qab an

ge day birmaji ritual do MID 3Pl what as do MID INF has 3Pl
ft

mb wali him ani
ge each other tell 3Pl-PERF

ref 108
tx ʔak:ana goɗan:a: fala dʒeʔa:ni
w akka-kana godh-an-na fala jedh-an-i
mb akka kana godh an na fala jedh an i
ge this do MID 1Pl solution say 3Pl-PERF PERF
ft they said that they solve their problems in this way

ref 109
tx fal:i sun haga ʔam:atit:i darbe darbe: bij:a ken:a ke:s:at:u ra:ba
ja:b:atani hinmuɗisu
w fala-li kun haga ammaa-titti darbe darbee biyya kenna keessa-tti raaba
yaabbat-an-i hin muldhis-u
mb fala li kun haga ammaa ti tti darbe darbee biyya kenna
ge solution NOM this-M until now is to occasional occasional country our
ft and this mechanism is practicing in our area until now people are
occasionally performing

mb keessa tti raaba yaabbat an i hin muldhis u
ge in to raba sit on 3Pl-PERF PERF Neg show INF

ref 110
tx wa:n k'alantu dʒira jo: dʒalk'abani
w waan qal-an-tu jir-a yoo jalqab-an-i
mb waan qal an tu jir a yoo jalqab ani i
ge something slaughter 3Pl FOC be 3SgM-IMPF when begin 3Pl PERF
ft at the begning they do have some thing to slaughter

ref 111 112
tx wa:n falatantu dʒira bak:a ɗak'antu dʒira
w waan falat-an-tu jir-a bakka dhaq-an-tu jir-a
mb waan falat an tu jir a bakka dhaq an tu jir a
ge something abstain 3Pl FOC be 3SgM-IMPF place go 3Pl FOC be 3SgM-IMPF
ft there is some kind of sacrifice there is a place to go

ref 113 114
tx wa:n hodʒatantu dʒira tarti:ba san ʔit:i de:mani

w waan hojjat-an-tu jir-a tartiiba san itti deem-an-i
mb waan hojjat an tu jir a tartiiba san itti deem an i
ge something do 3Pl FOC be 3SgM-IMPF order that to go 3Pl PERF
ft there is some thing to do they pass in such order

ref 115
tx hundi ʔisɑ:tu ʔog:ɑ: sɑd:e:t sɑd:e:tin ʔog:ɑ: sɑd:e:t sɑd:e:tin wɑ:n kɑnɑ kɑbɑdʒɑ jetʃu:ɗɑ
w hundi isaa-tu waggaa saddeet saddeeti-n waggaa saddeet saddeeti-n waan kana kabaj-a jedh-uu-dha
mb hund i isaa tu waggaa saddeet saddeeti n waggaa saddeet saddeeti n
ge all with his FOC year eight eight NOM year eight eight NOM
ft all celebrate the ritual every eight year

ref
tx
w
mb waan kana kabaj a jedh uu dha
ge something this celebrate 3SgM-IMPF say INF is
ft

ref 116
tx ʔog:ɑ: sɑd:e:t sɑd:e:tin gujɑ: kɑnɑ ʧiɗɑ kɑnɑ goɗɑtɑ mɑnumɑ mɑnɑt:i hundinu
w waggaa saddeet saddeeti-n guyyaa cidha kana godh-at-an mana-uma manaa-tti hunda-inu
mb waggaa saddeet saddeeti n guyyaa cidha kana godh at an mana uma
ge year eight eight with day ritual this do MID 3Pl house MID
ft every member will celebrate the ritual every eight year at his house

mb manaa tti hunda inu
ge house at whole NOM

ref 117
tx ro:bɑle:n bɑk:ɑ dʒirut:i bɑrɑ ro:bɑle:ʧiɗɑ sirnɑ kɑnɑ rɑ:w:tɑ
w roobalee-n bakka jir-u-tti bara roobalee cidha sirna kana raawwat-a
mb roobalee n bakka jir u tti bara roobalee cidha sirna kana raawwat
ge robele NOM place be INF to year robale ritual ceremony this perform
ft at the year of Robele gada ritual, every member will perform the ritual in the place where he is living

ref 118
tx tɑrt:bɑ ʧiɗɑ: sɑntu dʒirɑ

w tartiiba cidhaa san-tu jir-a
mb a tartiiba cidhaa san tu jir a
ge 3Pl-PMPF sequence ceremony that FOC be 3SgM-IMPF
ft the ritulal has such sequance

ref 119 120
tx ʔin:i ke:s:i ʔisɑ: fɑgo:ɗɑ rɑ:ba jɑ:b:ɑtu
w inni keessa-i isaa fagoo-dha raaba yaab-at-tu
mb inn i keessa i isa a fagoo dha raaba yaab at tu
ge it NOM in DEF he GEN deep is raba sit on MID 3Pl-IMPF
ft it can be deeply explained tthey sit on raba

ref 121 122
tx but:ɑ: kʼɑlu dʒɑ:r:ɑ: kʼɑlu
w buttaa qal-u jaarraa qal-u
mb buttaa qal u jaarraa qal u
ge butta slaughter INF jarra salughter INF
ft they slaughter butta they slaughter jarra

ref 123
tx hɑgɑ ʔog:ɑ: sɑd:e:ti ʗiɗɑ kɑnɑ goɗɑtɑ: de:mɑ jetʃu
w haga waggaa saddeet-i cidha kana godh-at-aa deema jechuu
mb haga waggaa saddeet i cidha kana godh at aa deem a jechuu
ge until year eight NOM ceremony this do MID IINF go 3SgM-IMPF
ft until eight year tthey continue celebrating the ritual

ref 124
tx ʔog:ɑ sɑd:e:tir:ɑt:i ʗiɗɑ kɑnɑ rɑ:wʔɑte qulul:o tɑʔe ke:s:ɑ: bɑʔe: kɑn ʔit:iʔɑnut:i
w waggaa saddet-irra-tti cidha kana raaw'at-e qululloo ta'-e keessaa ba'-ee kan itti' an-u-ttii
mb waggaa saddet irra tti cidha kana raaw'at e qulqulloo ta'
ge year eight on to ceremony this perform 3SgM-PERF clean be
ft on the eighth year he performed the ritual and be purified and leave the turn to the next

mb e keessaa ba' ee kan itti an u ttii
ge 3SgM-PERF in out 3SgM-PERF that to nearby DEF to

ref 125
tx birmɑdʒi:n sirnɑ kɑnɑ rɑ:w:te: fɑlɑni ʔisɑ:n mirkɑne:s:ɑni wɑr:i mise:nsɑ ʔisɑ: tɑʔel:e: isɑ tɑʔe
w birmajii-n sirna kana raawwat-e fala-ani isa-aan mirkaness-an-i warra-i miseensa ta'-e-ille isa ta'-e
mb birmajii n sirna kana raawwat e fala an i isa aan
ge birmaji NOM ritual this perform 3SgM-PERF solution 3Pl PERF he with

ft all birmaji members performed the ritual and that is the way it is approved

mb mirkaness ani warra i miseensa ta' e ille isa ta' e
ge prove 3Pl family NOM member be 3SgM-PERF he be 3SgM-PERF
ft

ref 126
tx ʔatʃi:n bo:dɑ ʔɑm:o: ʔog:ɑ: sɑd:e:tin bo:dɑ bultumɑ
w achii-n booda ammoo waggaa saddeeti-n booda bultuma
mb ach IIn booda ammoo waggaa saddeet in booda bultuma
ge there with after again year eight with after bultuma
ft after eight years bultuma come to the power

ref 127
tx de:biʔɑ: bultumɑr:ɑ:n horɑtɑt de:biʔɑ: horɑtɑr:ɑ:n bɑhɑ:rɑ: bɑhɑ:rɑr:ɑ:n ro:bɑle ʔɑk:ɑsumɑt de:mɑ
w deebi'-aa bultuma-rraa-n horata-t deebi'-aa horata-rraa-n bahaaraa bahaara-rraa-n roobalee akkasuma-tti deem-a
mb deebi' aa bultuma rraa n horata t deebi' aa horata rraa
ge return 3Pl-IMPF bultuma on NOM horata FOC return 3SgM-PERF horata on
ft bultuma then horata then bahara then robele and it goes like this

mb n bahaaraa bahaara rraa n roobalee akkasuma tti deem a
ge NOM bahaara bahara on NOM robale like to go 3Sg-IMPF

ref 128
tx mog:ɑfni kun:in ʔɑm:o: ʔɑk:ɑ nɑ:n:o: nɑ:n:o:t:i gɑrɑgɑr hɑ:tɑʔu mal:e: bɑk:umɑ hundɑt:u gɑdɑ:n ʃɑnɑni kɑʔumsi kɑnumɑ:
w moggaaf-ni ammoo akka-kana naannoo naannoo-tti gargar haa ta'-u malee bakka-uma hunda-tti gadaa-n shan-ani ka'-u-msi kana-umaa
mb moggaaf ni kun in ammoo akka kana naannoo naannoo tti gargar haa ta'
ge naming NOM this Pl though like this area area to different IMP be
ft though the naming may differ from area to area, the origin of the five gada grade is the same

mb u malee bakka uma hunda tti gadaa n shan ani ka'ums i kana
ge 3Sg-IMPF with out place FOC all to age set NOM five DEF origin NOM this
ft

mb umaa
ge FOC

ref 129

tx ʔadaduma ʔoromo:n gargar fagaːtuːn mogːaːsa ʔofileːn dʒidʒiratɑː deːmeː
w adaduma oromoo-n gargar fagaat-uu-n moggaasa of-illee-n jijjir-at-aa deem-e
mb aadaa dhuma oromoo n gargar fagaat u un moggaasa of
ge custom last oromo NOM hereand there far INF with nomenclature self
ft the expansion of oromo results with differences in naming gada grades

mb illee n jijjir at a deem e
ge without NOM change MID 3Sg-IMPF go 3SgM-PERF

ref 130
tx raːgatu dʒiraː
w raaga-tu jir-a
mb raaga tu jir a
ge forecast FOC be 3SgM-IMPF
ft there is raagaa (forecaster)

ref 131
tx raːga saniːn dʒidʒirːatu
w raaga san-ii-n jijjir-at-u
mb raaga san iin jijjir at u
ge forecast that with change MID INF
ft they change with the help of the forecaster(raagaa)

ref 132 133
tx ʔakːanaːni miti waːtu ʔitːi hima
w akka-kana-an-i miti waa-tu itti him-a
mb akka kana an i miti waa tu itti him a
ge like this with NOM not somebody FOC to tell 3SgM-IMPF
ft it is not as they like somebody will tell them

ref 134
tx raːganis ʔebjuːɗaːn ʔargu
w raagaa-ni-s ebjuu-dhaan arg-u
mb raagaa ni s ebjuu dhaan arg u
ge forecast NOM FOC dream with see INF
ft the raagaa (forecaster) will see it in his dream

ref 135
tx ʔakːanumatt: taːʔani: malaːtaːn ʔargu
w akkun-uma-tti taa'-anii malataa-n
mb akkun uma tti taa' anii malataa n
ge like FOC to sit 3Pl-PERF imagination with

ft they can see it while they are thinking

ref 136
tx wɑ:n kɑnɑ ʔak:ɑnɑ goɗɑ: kɑnɑ goɗɑ: dʒeɗɑ:n
w waan kana akkana godh-aa kana godh-aa jedh-aani
mb waan kana akkana godh aa kana godh aa jedh aani
ge something this like do 3Sg-IMPF this do 3Sg-IMPF say 3Pl
ft he tell them what to do

ref 137
tx ʔɑtʃumɑr:ɑ:n sirni kun rɑ:w:ɑtɑmɑ: ture kɑn dʒeɗu dʒirɑ dʒɑ:rso:n:i
w ach-uma-rraani sirna-i kun raawwat-am-aa tur-e kan jedhu jir-a jaarsa-oota-ni
mb ach uma rraani sirna i kun raawwat am aa tur e kan
ge there FOC from ritual NOM this-M perform MID 3Sg-IMPF was 3Sg-PERF
ft elders said that starting from that time the ritual has been celebrated

mb jedh uu jir a jaarsa oota ni
ge say INF be 3Sg-IMPF elder Pl NOM

ref 138
tx bok:u:n wa:n ʔɑtʃir:ɑ:n kɑʔɑ:ni ʔedʒersɑr:ɑ:wɑ:n :ɑrgɑme:fi ʔedʒersɑ goɗɑn dʒeɗɑn
w bokkuu-n waan achi-rra-aan ka'-aan-i ejersa-rraa waan arg-am-ee-fi ejersa godh-an jedh-an
mb bokkuu n waan ach irra aan ka' aan i ejersa rraa
ge sclapter NOM something there on from begin 3Pl PERF olive tree from
ft because bokku was found from olive tree, they made it from it

mb waan arg am eef ejersa godh an jedh an
ge since find MID 3Sg-PERF oive tree make 3Pl-PERF say 3Pl-PERF
ft

ref 139
tx ʔedʒersɑ dʒɑbo dʒɑbo: ɗɑ ke:s:ɑ wɑ:n dʒɑbɑ:te:l:e: ʔisintu nu ʔoltʃɑ: dʒeɗu dʒirɑ:
w ejersa yaboo yaboo dha keessaa waan jaba-at-ee-lle isin-tu nu olch-aa kan jedhu jir-a
mb ejersa yaboo yaboo dha keessaa waan jaba at ee lle isin
ge olive tree yaboo yaboo is out of since strong MID 3Sg-PERF you-Pl
ft there is one saying, yaboo yaboo of olive tree you save us in our terrible occassion

ref

tx
w
mb tu nu olch aa kan jedhu jir aa
ge FOC we 3Pl-IMPF say be 3Sg-IMPF
ft

ref 140
tx mukɑ ʔin:i dʒɑbɑ:n tok:o ʔedʒersɑ:
w muka inn-i jabaa-n tokko ejersaa
mb muka inn i jabaa n tokko ejersaa
ge tree 3Sg NOM strong NOM one olive tree
ft olive is among the strongest trees

ref 141
tx dʒɑbe:n:ɑ mukɑ:tif ʔɑk:ɑ ʔedʒersɑ kɑnɑ: nu dʒɑbe:s:i dʒeɗɑni
w jab-eenna mukaa-tif akka ejersaa kana nu jab-eess-i jedh-an-i
mb jab eenna mukaa tif akka ejersaa kana nu jab eess i jedh
ge strong ness tree to like olive tree this we strong CAUS NOM say
ft in their prayer they say let you make us strong as olive tree

ref 142
tx ʔedʒersi ʔɑm:ɑ mukɑ fɑlɑ:ti
w ejersa-i amma muka falaa-ti
mb an i ejersa i amma muka falaa ti
ge 3Pl-PERF olive tree NOM now tree sacred is
ft olive is a sacred tree

ref 143
tx muk:e:n fɑlɑ: ke:s:ɑ ʔdʒersi sirnɑ gɑdɑ:i ke:s:ɑt:i ʔedʒersɑ:n wɑnti
rɑw:ɑtan dʒira
w muka-een falaa keessaa ejersa-i sirna gadaa keessa-tti ejersa-aan wanti
raawwat-an jir-a
mb muka een falaa keessaa ejersa i sirna gadaa keessa tti
ge tree Pl solution out of olive tree NOM ritual age set in to
ft among sacred trees olive tree has function in performing gada ritual

mb ejersa aan wanti raawwat an jir a
ge olive tree with some thing perform 3Pl be 3Sg-IMPF

ref 144
tx bok:u ʔisɑ goɗɑtɑn dʒetʃu:ɗɑ
w bokku isa godh-at-an jedh-uu-dha
mb bokku isa godh at an jedh uu dha

ge sclapter 3Sg make MID 3Pl-PERF say INF is
ft they made bokku from it

ref 145
tx kanaːfu: bokːuːn kʼabataː jeroː hundaː kʼabataːni deːmaniːni miti
w kanaafu bokkuu-n qabat-a yeroo hunda qab-at-ani deem-ani-ni miti
mb kanaafu bokkuu n qabata yeroo hunda qab at ani deem an ini
ge therefore sclapter NOM handheld time all hold MID 3Pl go 3Pl with
ft therefore bokku is a handheld object which is not always handeled

mb miti
ge not

ref 146
tx ʔabːaːn gadaːhundinu ʔabːoːtin gadaː hundinu ʔinkʼabatːi
w abbaa-n gadaa hunda-inu abboota-in gadaa hunda-inu in-qabat-ti
mb abbaa n gadaa hunda i nu abb oota in gadaa hunda i nu hin
ge father NOM age set all NOM FOC father Pl NOM age set all NOM AFF
ft all abba gadaa hold it

ref 147
tx guj:aːn lalːabaː sirna gudːaːɗa
w guyyaa-n lallabaa sirna guddaa-dha
mb qabat ti guyyaa n lallabaa sirna guddaa dha
ge hold 3Sg day NOM anouncement ritual especial is
ft gada ritual announcement day is especial

ref 148
tx sirnaː lalːabaː gudːaː kan kʼabataːni baʔaːn
w sirna lallaba guddaa kan qab-at-ani ba'-aan
mb sirna lallaba guddaa kan qab at ani ba' aan
ge ritual anouncement big which hold MID 3Pl-PERF out 3Pl-PERF
ft it is handled on this especial day

ref 149
tx guj:aː: cʼiidaː gadaː san kʼabataːni kan bːaʔaːn maleː guj:aː hundaː
kʼabataːni hindeːman
w guyyaa cidhaa gadaa san qab-at-ani kan ba'-aan malee guyyaa hundaa
qabat-ani hin-deem-an
mb guyyaa cidhaa gadaa san qab at ani kan ba' aan malee guyyaa
ge day ceremony age set that hold MID 3Pl which left 3Pl-PERF day
ft it is carried on especial ritual not every day

mb hundaa qab at ani hin deem an
ge all hold MID 3Pl Neg go 3Pl-PERF

ref 150
tx ʔak:a sibila: ʔak:a ʔebo: ʔak:a dul:a: ʔak:a ʃab:e:na: ʔoki ʔak:a ʔalange jero: hunda k'abatani hinde:man
w akka sibilaa akka eboo akka dullaa akka shabbeenaa yookin akka alangee yeroo hunda qab-at-ani hin-deem-an
mb akka sibilaa akka eboo akka dullaa akka shabbeenaa yookin akka alangee
ge like iron like spear like stick like stick or like whip
ft they are not carrying it and travel every day like that of iron,spear, stick or whip

mb yeroo hunda qab at ani hin deem an
ge time all hold MID 3Pl Neg go 3Pl-PERF
ft

ref 151
tx guj:a: k'abatani de:mantu dʒira
w guyyaa qab-at-ani deem-an-tu jir-a
mb guyyaa qab at ani deem an tu jir a
ge day hold MID 3Pl go 3Pl FOC be 3Sg-IMPF
ft there is a day to hold it

ref 152
tx kana:fu bok:u:n kana fak:a:ta:
w kanaafu bokkuu-n kana fakkaat-aa
mb kanaafu bokkuu n kana fakkaat aa
ge so sclapter NOM this look 3Sg-IMPF
ft so, bokku looks like this

ref 153
tx hid:i ɗalo:ta ʔoromo: bifa he:d:u:n himama:
w hidda-i dhaloota oromoo bifa heedduu-n him-am-a
mb hidda i dhaloota oromoo bifa heedduu n him am a
ge root NOM genertion oromo way many with tell PASS 3Sg-IMPF
ft the genealogy of oromo told in different ways
ref 154
tx ʔofir:a: ka:sani dʒa:rsi kuni ʔofir:a: ka:se: jo: san bara sanit:i bara kuɗa sagali:f jaha:tami torbar:at:i ʔanu ʔijo:l:e: ɗa ho: san
w of-irraa kaas-ani jaarsa-i kuni of-irraa kaas-ee yoo san bara san-itti bara kudha sagal-ii-f jahaatama-i torba-tti an-u ijoollee-dha yeroo san
mb of Iirraa kaas ani jaarsa i kuni of irraa kaas ee yoo san
ge self from begin 3Pl elder DEF this self from begin 3SgM-PERF time that
ft in ninteen ninety six at that timewhen I was child the elder told me the

genealogy begning from himself

mb bara san itti bara kudha sagal ii f jahaatam i torba tti an u
ge year that to year ninteen NOM and sixety NOM seven at i DEF

mb ijoollee dha yeroo san
ge children is time that

ref 155
tx kutɑ: kɑnɑ gɑrɑ sɑgɑl mo: ʔɑk:ɑna gɑrɑ sɑd:e:t l bɑrɑɗɑ:
w kutaa akkana gara sagal moo akkana gara saddeeti baradh-aa
mb kutaa akkana gara sagal moo akkana gara saddeeti baradh aa
ge grade like around nine or like around eight learn 1Sg-IMPF
ft I have been learning around grade eight or nine

ref 156
tx jo: sɑn dʒɑ:rsi kuni ʔofir:ɑ: kɑ:ɑ:se mɑ:l nɑt:i hime mɑkʼɑ:n ʔisɑ:ni ʃigidɑ: kolɑ:so dʒeɗɑmɑ
w yoo san jaarsa-i kuni of-irraa kaas-ee maal na-tti him-e maqaa-n isaan-i shigidaa kolaaso jedh-am-a
mb yoo san jaarsa i kuni of irraa kaas ee maal na tti him
ge time that elder DEF this-M self from begin 3SgM-PERF what me me tell
ft that old man was shigida kolaso who narriated me the genealogy begning from himself

mb e maqaa n isaan i shigidaa kolaaso jedh am a
ge 3SgM-PERF name NOM they GEN shigida kolaso say PASS 3Sg-IMPF

ref 157
tx kolɑ:so kɑ ʔen:u:ti jen:ɑ:n kɑn dɑl:o:ti
w kolaasoo ka ennu-ti jedh-naan kan dalloo-ti
mb kolaasoo ka ennu ti jedh naan kan dalloo ti
ge kolaso GEN who is say IMF GEN dalo is
ft when i asked who is a father of kolaso, he said his father is dalo's child

ref 158 159 160
tx dɑl:o kɑ ʔutubo:ti ʔutubo kɑ ʃɑ:mo:ti ʃɑ:mo kɑ lutʃɑ:nɑ:ti
w dalloo ka utuboo-ti utubo ka shaamoo-ti shaamo ka luchaanaa-ti
mb dalloo ka utuboo ti utubo ka shaamoo ti shaamo ka luchaanaa ti

ge dalo GEN utubo is utubo GEN shamo GEN shamo GEN luchana is
ft dalo utubo utubo shamo shamo luchana

ref 161 162 163
tx lutʃɑ:nɑ kɑn ʃɑrke:ti ʃɑrke: kɑ wɑ:be:ti wɑ:be: kɑ wɑ:riʔo:ti
w luchaanaa kan sharkee-ti sharkee ka waabee-ti waabee ka waari'oo-ti
mb luchaanaa kan sharkee ti sharkee ka waabee ti waabee ka waari'oo ti
ge luchana GEN sharke is sharke GEN wabe is wabe GEN wario is
ft luchana sharke sharke wabe wabe wario

ref 164 165 166
tx wɑ:riʔo: kɑ dɑb:o:ti dɑb:e kɑ ʔɑndo:ti ʔɑndo kɑ dɑ:w:e:ti
w waari'oo ka dabbee-ti dabbee ka andoo-ti ando ka daawwee-ti
mb waari'oo ka dabbee ti dabbee ka andoo ti ando ka daawwee ti
ge wario GEN dabe is dabe GEN ando is ando GEN dawe is
ft wario dabo dabo ando ando dawe

ref 167
tx ʔin:i gosti ʔisɑ: dɑ:w:e:ɗɑ jetʃu
w inn-i gosa-ti isa-a daawwee-dha jedh-uu
mb inn i gosa ti isa a daawwee dha jedh uu
ge he NOM clan is he GEN dawe is say INF
ft this means he belongs to dawe gosa

ref 168
tx gosɑ ʔisɑ:r:ɑ: lufe dɑ:w:e kɑ he:bɑni he:bɑn kɑn durɑt:i sini: hime
w gosa isa-a-rraa luf-e daawwee ka heeban-i heeban kan dura-tti isin-iif him-e
mb gosa isa a rraa luf e daawwee ka heeban i heeban kan dura
ge clan he GEN from pass 3SgM-PERF dawe GEN heban is heban GEN before
ft he continued listing, dawe heban

ref 169 170
tx he:bɑn kɑ ʔɑndo:to ʔɑndo kɑ ro:bɑ:ti
w heeban ka andoo-ti andoo ka roobaa-ti
mb tti isin iif him e heeban ka andoo ti andoo ka roobaa ti
ge at you-Pl to tell 1Sg-PERF heban GEN ando is ando GEN roba is
ft heben ando ando roba

ref 171 172 173
tx ro:bɑ:n kɑ ɗɑ:je:ti ɗɑje kɑ ʔutɑ:ti ʔutɑ: kɑ mɑndo:ti
w roobaa-n ka dhaayyee-ti dhaayee ka utaa-ti utaa ka mandoo-ti
mb roobaa n ka dhaayyee ti dhaayee ka utaa ti utaa ka mandoo ti

ge roba NOM GEN dhaye is daye GEN uta is uta GEN mando is
ft roba dhaye daye uta uta mando

ref 174 175
tx mɑndo kɑ ʔɑrsi:ti ʔɑrse kɑ ʈɑb:o:ti
w mandoo ka arsii-ti arsee ka xabboo-ti
mb mandoo ka arsii ti arsee ka xabboo ti
ge mando GEN Arsi is arse GEN xabo is
ft mando Arsi Arse xabo

ref 176
tx ʈɑb:o: kɑ ʔoromo:ti nɑ:n dzeɗɑn
w xabboo ka oromoo-ti na-an jedh-an
mb xabboo ka oromoo ti na an jedh an
ge tabo GEN oromo is i 3SgHon say 3SgHon-PERF
ft he told me that xabo is a decendent of Oromo

ref 177
tx ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o bub:u jɑ:j:ɑ: wɑ:j:u gur:ɑ:tʃɑ
w ambatoo daayyoo bubbu yaayyaa waayyu gurraacha
mb ambatoo daayyoo bubbu yaayyaa waayyu gurraacha
ge ambato dayo bubu yaya wayu black
ft ambato, dayo, bubu, yaya then black wayu

ref 178
tx wɑ:j:u kɑnɑr:ɑt:i horte:n ʔoromo: kɑn ʔin:i nɑ:n dʒeɗe
w waayyuu kana-rra-tti hortee-n oromoo kan inn-i na-an jedh-e
mb waayyuu kana rra tti hortee n oromoo kan inn i na an jedh
ge wayyu this on to geneology NOM oromo 3Sg NOM i 3SgHon say
ft the told me that oromo genealogy begins from wayyu

ref 179 180
tx ʔoromo:n durɑt:u ʈɑb:o ʈɑb:o kɑ ʔoromo:ti
w oromoo-n dura-ttu xabbo xabbo ka oromoo-ti
mb e oromoo n dura ttu xabbo xabbo ka oromoo ti
ge 3SgM-PERF oromo NOM first FOC tabo tabo GEN oromo is
ft before Oromo there was xabo xabo is a son of Oromo

ref 181
tx ʈɑb:o sɑdi be:kumsɑ ʈɑb:o: dʒen:ɑ:n dʒetʃu
w xabbo sadi beekumsa xabbo jedh-na-an jedh-uu
mb xabbo sadi beekumsa xabbo jedh naan jedh uu
ge tabo three knowledge tabo say 1pl-IMPF say INF
ft we are saying there are three xabos

ref 182

tx ʔoromo: ʈɑb:o:ti dʒeʔɑn
w oromoo xabboo-ti jedh-an
mb oromoo xabboo ti jedh an
ge oromo tabo is say 3Pl-PERF
ft they also said oromo is a son of xabo

ref 183
tx ʈɑb:otu kɑn ʔoromo:ti nun dʒeɗɑn
w xabboot-u ka oromoo-ti nu-n jedh-an
mb xabboo tu ka oromoo ti nu n jedh an
ge tabo FOC GEN oromo FOC we say 3Pl-PERF
ft again they said xabo is a son of Oromo

ref 184
tx gɑri:n ʔɑm:o: ʔoromo:n kɑn ʈɑb:o:ti kɑn dʒeɗus dʒira
w garii-n ammoo oromoo-n kan xabboo-ti kan jedh-u-s jir-a
mb garii n ammoo oromoo n kan xabboo ti kan jedh u s jir a
ge other NOM again oromo NOM GEN tabo is that say INF be 3Sg-IMPF
ft others say that Oromo is a decendent of xabo

ref 185
tx ʔin:i gɑru nɑmni ʔɑfɑ:nin hɑm:ɑnɑ: tɑrti:bɑ ʔɑk:ɑnɑ: kɑnɑt:i hime ʔisɑ tok:otʃa:
w inn-i garuu nama-ni afaan-in hamma-kanaa tartiiba akka-kanaa kana-tti him-e isa tokko-ichaa
mb inn i garuu nama ni afaan in hamma kana tartiiba akka kanaa kana
ge he NOM but person NOM oral with up to this sequence like this this
ft but he was the only person who narrated in such sequence

mb tti him e isa tokko ichaa
ge to narrate 3SgM-PERF he one DEF
ft

ref 186
tx bɑ:j:e: nɑmɑ dinkʼisi:sɑ:
w baayyee nama dinqi-siis-aa
mb baayyee nama dinqi siis aa
ge very person surprise CAUS 3SgM-IMPF
ft this is very surprising

ref 187
tx ʔe: ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o dubɑrti:n ʔɑrsi ʔɑ:dɑ: wɑji kʼɑbu
w ee ambatoo daayyo dubartii-n arsi aadaa wayii qab-u
mb ee ambatoo daayyo dubartii n arsi aadaa wayii qab u
ge ambato dayo woman NOM Arsi culture something has 3Pl-IMPF
ft arsi women have a custom called ambato dayo

ref 188
tx wɑnti tok:o jo: hɑrkɑ: buʔe:si ni ɗɑ:dɑtu
w want-i tokkoo yoo harkaa bu'-ee-si ni dhaadat-u
mb want i tokkoo yoo harkaa bu' ee si ni dhaadat u
ge thing NOM one when hand drop 3Sg-PERF FOC AFF summon 3Pl-IMPF
ft whenever something dropped from their hand they summon

ref 189
tx gosɑ:n ɗɑ:dɑtu
w gosaa-n dhaadat-u
mb gosa an dhaadat u
ge clan with summon 3Pl-IMPF
ft they summon with the name of their gosa

ref 190
tx ʔob:ole:s:ɑ:n ɗɑ:dɑtu
w obboleessa-aan dhaadhat-u
mb obboleessa aan dhaadhat u
ge brother with summon 3Pl-IMPF
ft they summon with the name of their brother

ref 191
tx ʔe: ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o dʒeɗu
w ee ambato daayyoo jedh-u
mb ee ambato daayyoo jedh u
ge ambato dayo say 3Pl-IMPF
ft they say ambato dayo

ref 192
tx ʔe: ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j: ʔɑk:ɑm nun dʒetʃɑ: dʒirɑ nɑmni kun mɑ:l nun dʒeɗɑ:
dʒirɑ ʔe ʔɑmbɑto da:j:o dʒeɗu
w ee ambato daayyoo akkam nu-u-n jedh-aa jir-a nam-ni kun maal nun jedh-aa
jir-a ee ambato daayyoo jedh-u
mb ee ambato daayyoo akkam nu u n jedh aa jir a nam ni
ge ambato dayo how we GEN NOM say 3SgM-IMPF be 3SgM-IMPF person NOM
ft they say what is this person saying o! ambato dayo

mb kun maal nu n jedh a jir a ee ambato daayyoo jedhu
ge this-M what we NOM say 3SgM-IMPF be 3SgM-IMPF ambato dayo say
ft

ref 193
tx ʔit:i:n ɗɑ:dɑtu
w ittii-n dhaadat-u
mb itt iin dhaadat u
ge to with 3Pl-IMPF
ft they summon with it

ref 194
tx ʔam:ɑ ʔodo wɑnti tok:o jo: ʔɑk:ɑnɑt:i jo: lɑfɑ buʔe: ʔebɑlun kij:ɑ dhufe nɑmɑ dʒɑ:l:ɑtɑn tok:o mɑkʼɑ: ɗɑwu
w amma odoo wanti tokkoo yoo akka-kana-tti yoo lafa bu'-ee ebalu-n kiyya dhuf-e nama jaallat-an tokko maqaa dhaw-u
mb amma odoo wanti tokkoo yoo akka kana tti yoo lafa bu' ee
ge now if thing one when like this to when ground drop 3Sg-PERF
ft if some thing dropped from their hand, they summon the name of their beloved

mb ebalu n kiyya dhuf e nama jaallat an tokko maqaa dhaw
ge somebody NOM mine come 3Sg-PERF person love 3Pl-IMPF one name call
ft

ref 195 196
tx ʔit:i:n ɗɑ:dɑtu jetʃu:ɗɑ mɑkʼɑ: ɗɑwu
w ittii-n dhaadat-u jedh-uu-dha maqaa dhaw-u
mb u itt iin dhaadat u jedh uu dha maqaa dhaw u
ge 3Pl-IMPF to with summon 3Pl-IMPF say INF is name call 3Pl-IMPF
ft they summon with it they call the name

ref 197
tx ʔe: ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o dʒeɗɑn
w ee ambato daayyoo jedh-an
mb ee ambato daayyoo jedh an
ge ambato dayo say 3Pl-PERF
ft they say ambato dayo

ref 198
tx ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o kɑn dʒeɗɑn ʔɑmbo ʔɑmbɑte ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o
w ambato daayyoo kan jedh-an ambo ambatee ambato daayyoo
mb ambato daayyoo kan jedh an ambo ambatee ambato daayyoo
ge ambato dayo that say 3Pl-IMPF ambo ambate ambato dayo
ft saying that ambato dayo, ambo ambate ambato dayo

ref 199 200 201
tx ʔɑmbɑto kɑdɑ:j:oti dɑ:j: kɑ bub:u:ti bub:u kɑ jɑ:jɑ:ti
w ambato ka-daayyo-ti daayyoo ka bubbuu-ti bubbu ka yaayyaa-ti
mb ambato ka daayyo ti daayyoo ka bubbuu ti bubbu ka yaayyaa ti
ge ambato GEN dayo is dayo GEN bubu is bubu GEN yaya is
ft ambato dayo dayo bubu bubu yaya

ref 202 203
tx jɑ:jɑ: kɑ wɑ:j:u:ti wɑ:j:u gur:ɑ:tʃɑ:
w yaayyaa ka waayyuu-ti waayyuu-n gurraachaa
mb yaayyaa ka waayyuu ti waayyuu n gurraachaa

ge yaya GEN wayu is wayu NOM black
ft yaya wayu wayyu is black

ref 204
tx kanatu ʔam:o garba ʧeʔe: ɗufe:
w kana-tu ammoo garba ce'-ee dhuf-e
mb kana tu ammoo garba ce' ee dhuf e
ge this FOC again sea cross 3SgM-PERF come 3SgM-PERF
ft this is the one who came from abroad

ref 205
tx ba:r gama ʧeʔe: ɗufe: kan dʒeɗanis dʒiru
w baar gama ce'-ee dhuf-ee kan jedh-an-i-s jir-u
mb baar gama ce' ee dhuf ee kan jedh ani i s jir
ge sea beyond cross 3Sg-PERF come 3SgM-PERF that say 3Pl PERF FOC be
ft there are people who say he came by crossing a sea

ref 206 the original land of Oromo1
tx ʔes:at:i ʔargame namni kun na:n:o: dal:o:ti
w essa-tti arg-am-e nama-ni kun naannoo dalloo-ti
mb u essa tti arg am e nama ni kun naannoo dalloo ti
ge 3Pl-IMPF where to find PASS 3SgM-PERF person NOM this area dalo is
ft this person was found in the area called dalo

ref 207 the original land of Oromo2
tx na:n:o: mad:a wala:buti
w naannoo madda walaabu-ti
mb naannoo madda walaabu ti
ge area mada walabu is
ft it was around mada walabu

ref 208
tx ʔam:a kana ʔes:a: baʔe: namni kun dʒen:a:n mad:awala:buti ʔargame na:n:o: sanit:i kan dʒeɗamu dʒira
w amma kana essaa arg-am-ee nama-ni kun jedh-naan maddawalaabu-ti arg-am-e naannoo san-itti kan jedh-am-u jir-a
mb amma kana essaa arg am ee nama ni kun jedh naan
ge now this from where find PASS 3SgM=PERF person NOM this-M say IMP
ft for the one who asked his original land, he is from madawalabu or he is from there
mb maddawalaabu ti arg am e naannoo san itti kan jedh am
ge madda from find PASS 3SgM-PERF area that at which say PASS

mb u jir a
ge INF be 3Sg-IMPF

ref 209
tx kun ʔɑm:ɑ ʔofir:ɑ: kɑ:se:tnin nɑmni kun ʔɑm:ɑ kɑnɑ de:me dʒirɑ dʒetʃu:ɗɑ
w kun amma of-irraa kaas-ee-t-nin nama-ni kun amma kana deem-e jir-a jedh-uu-dha
mb kun amma of irraa kaas ee t nin nama ni kun amma kana
ge this now self from begin 3SgM-PERF ACC person NOM this much this
ft this person could narrate in such sequence begning from himself

mb deem e jir a jedh uu dha
ge go 3SgM-PERF be 3SgM-IMPF say INF is

ref 210
tx ʔɑk:ɑmit:i ʔɑk:ɑ kɑnɑ jɑ:dɑte:tin ʔin:i ʔime bɑ:j:e nɑ dinƙisi:sɑ dʒɑ:rsi kun
w akkam-itti akka kana yaadat-ee-tin inn-i him-e baayyee na dinqi-siis-a jaarsa-i kun
mb akkam itti akka kana yaadat ee tin inn i him e baayyee
ge how to like this remember 3SgM-PERF ACC he NOM tell 3SgM-PERF very
ft I am very surprised how this elder could remembered and narrated in such a manner

mb na dinqi siis a jaarsa i kun
ge me surprise CAUS 3SgM-IMPF elder NOM this

Appendix 2
text 2
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Sunday, April 5, 2015 6:05 PM

ref 001 description of kallo kasaa
tx kɑl:o:n kɑsɑ: kɑ dʒɑɗɑn kɑnɑ fɑk:ɑ:tɑ:
w kalloo-n kassaa kan jedh-an kana fakkaat-aa
mb kalloo n kasaa kan jedh an kana fakkaataa
ge kalloo NOM kasaa that say 3Pl this looks
ft kallo kasaa is like this

ref 002 kallo kasaa
tx ʔɑ:dɑ:f se:nɑ: ʔoromo: ke:s:ɑt:i
w aadaa-f seenaa oromoo keessa-tti
mb aadaa f seenaa oromoo keessa tti

ge culture and history ormoo in to
ft in oromo culture and history
ref 003 kallo kasaa user 004 kalloo kasaa user
tx kɑ dubɑrti:n ʔil:e ʔuf:ɑt:u kɑ ɗi:rtil:e: ʔuf:ɑt:u
w ka dubartii-n ille uffat-t-u ka dhiirti illee uffat-u
mb ka dubartii n ille uffat t u ka dhiirti illee uffat u
ge that female NOM also wear 3SgF INF that male also wear INF
ft it is worn by woman male also wears it

ref 005 occassion for the use 006 history
tx ɗi:rti: jo: rɑ:ba ɗɑʈ:u ʔuf:ɑt:i dur ʔuf:ɑt:i
w dhiirti yoo raaba dhaq-x-u uffat-t-i dur uffat-t-i
mb dhiirti yoo raaba dhaq x u uffat t i dur uffat t i
ge male when raaba go 3SgF INF wear 3Sg long ago wear 3SgF PERF
ft male wears while going to raabaa it was worn long ago

ref 007 occassion for use
tx du:lɑ: jo: ɗɑʈ:u ʔisɑ ʔuf:ɑt:e du:lti
w duulaa yoo dhaq-x-u isa uffat-t-e duul--t-i
mb duulaa yoo dhaq x u isa uffat t e duul t i
ge war when go 3SgF INF it wear 3SgF PERF travel 3SgF PERF
ft he wears while traveling to war

ref 008
tx ʔin si:rbɑni:ni
w hin sirb-an-iin
mb hin sirb an iin
ge Neg sing 3Pl with
ft they sing by wearing it

ref 009
tx ʔɑ:dɑʔɑ:fi se:nɑ: ʔoromo:ʔotin ʔinsirbɑn
w aadaa-fi seenaa oromoo-tin hin-sirb-an
mb aadaa fi seenaa oromoo tin hin sirb an
ge culture and history oromo with Neg sing 3Pl-PERF
ft in the culture and history of Ormo they wear while singing

ref 010 011
tx rɑ:bɑ:n ɗɑƙe:ti gɑdɑ:ni wɑg:ɑ: sɑd:e:tɑmɑ:
w raabaa-n dhaq-e-ti gadaa-ni waggaa saddeetamaa
mb raabaa n dhaq e ti gadaa ni waggaa saddeetamaa
ge raaba NOM go 3SgM-PERF is gadaa NOM year eighty
ft they went to raabaa with it the eighty year gadaa

ref 012

tx kɑ ʔit:i:n fiʻu ʔisi: ʔuf:ɑte:ti
w ka itt-in fixu isii uffat-e-ti
mb ka itt in fix u isii uffat e ti
ge of to with complete INF it wear 3SgM-PERFA is
ft he perforemed the ritual by wearing it

ref 013 014
tx wɑcʼ:u ʔofir:ɑ:n ʔisɑ uf:ɑte:ti jo: du:lɑ ɗɑkʼul:e
w waccuu ofi-rraan isa uffat-e-ti yoo duula dhaq-u-llee
mb waccuu ofi rraan isa uffat e ti yoo duula dhaq u llee
ge cotton cloth self above it wear 3SgM-PERF when war go INF even
ft by wearing it above waccuu when he is going to war

ref 015 016
tx jo: go:lɑ baʔul:e ʔisi: ʔuf:ɑtɑ:
w yoo goola ba'-u-lle isii uffat-aa
mb yoo goola ba' u lle isii uffat aa
ge when stale come out INF it waer 3gM-IMPF
ft when he come out from gola he wears it

ref 017
tx wɑnte: kʼɑbɑte:tnin
w waante kab-at-e-tniin
mb waante kab at e tniin
ge sheild hold MID 3SgM-PERF
ft holding shield(waante)

ref 018 color description
tx wɑn:i gur:ɑtʃi filɑmu:fi
w wann-i gurraach-i filat-am-uuf
mb wann i gurraach i filat am uuf
ge something NOM black DEF choose PASS INF
ft the reason for selecting balck is

ref 019 color description
tx wɑ:n ʔumɑmɑ:n wɑl kʼɑbɑtu:f
w waan umama-an wal qab-at-uuf
mb waan umama an wal qab at uuf
ge because nature with each other connecte MID INF
ft because it is connected with nature

ref 020 color description
tx lɑfti ʔoromo:n ʔir:ɑt ɗɑlɑte gur:ɑ:t:i
w laf-ti oromoo-n irra-tti dhalat-e gurraa-t-ti

mb laf ti oromoo n irra tti dhalat e gurraa ti
ge land DEF oromo NOM or to born 3SgM-PERF black is
ft the land that the oromo born was black

ref 021 color description 022 color description
tx gurɑ:t:i gɑ:fɑ fɑlɑ:f bɑje:l:e
w gurraat-ti gaafa falaa-f bayee-lle
mb gurraat ti gaafa falaa f bay' lle
ge black is time fala for out even
ft it is black at the time he came out for falaa

ref 023 color description
tx gɑ:fɑ se:rɑ murɑte:l:e
w gaafa seera mur-at-e-lle
mb gaafa seera mur at e lle
ge time law decide MID 3SgM-PERF also
ft also at the time of law decision

ref 024 color description
tx wɑ:n gur:ɑ:tʃɑ:f hori gur:ɑtʃɑ:f korʼe:s:ɑ gur:ɑtʃɑ:n fɑlɑte baje
w waan gurraacha-af horii gurraacha korpheessa gurraachaan falat-e baj-e
mb waan gurraacha af horii gurraacha korpheessa gurraachaan falat
ge somethimg black and cattle black young ox black solution
ft he completed the ritual by black cattle

ref 025 color description
tx sɑmɑji:n dʒɑlɑ bulul:e
w samaayiin jala bul-u-lle
mb e baj e samaayii n jala bul u lle
ge 3Sg-PERF out 3SgM-PERF sky NOM under live INF even
ft the sky we are living under it

ref 026 color description
tx tɑ wɑkʼni nu: ke:n:e gur:ɑ:t:i
w ta waaq-ni nu-u kenn-e gurraat-ti
mb ta waaq ni nu u kenn e gurraat ti
ge that God NOM we forgive 3SgM-PERF black is
ft that God gave us is black

ref 027 color description
tx wɑn:i ʔoromo:n kʼɑbu tʼɑkʼlɑ:l:ɑ:n mulu:n isɑ:tu
w wann-i oromoo-n qab-u xaqlaallaa-n muluu-n isa-a-tu
mb wann i oromoo n qab u xaqlaallaa n muluu n isa a tu
ge something NOM oromo NOM has INF all NOM full NOM it GEN FOC

ft all the things that the oromo has

ref 028 color description
tx homɑm:ɑ:n ʔisɑ:tu wɑ:n ʔumɑmɑ:n wɑlƙɑbɑtu wɑ:n tɑʔe:f
w homamaa-n isa-a-tu waan umamaa-n wal-qab-at-ef
mb homamaa n isa a tu waan umamaa n wal qab at ef
ge everything NOM it GEN FOC everything nature with eachother connect MID
ft everything is connected with nature

ref 029 color description
tx hori gur:ɑ:tʃɑ filɑtɑ ʔoromo:n jo: filɑtu
w hori gurraacha fiat-a oromoo-n yoo filat-u
mb hori gurraacha fiat a oromoo n yoo filat u
ge cattle black choose 3SgM-IMPF Oromo NOM when choose 3SGM-IMPF
ft oromo choose black

ref 030 color description
tx hori: gur:ɑ:tʃɑ filɑtɑ
w horii gurraacha filat-a
mb horii gurraacha filat a
ge horii black choose 3SgM-IMPF
ft the people choose balck

ref 031 color description
tx fɑlɑ:fil:e hormɑ:tɑ:fil:e hori gur:ɑtʃɑ filɑtɑ:
w falaa-f-illee hormaataa-f-illee hori gurraacha filata-a
mb falaa f illee hormaataa f illee hori gurraacha filat aa
ge sacrifice for even breeding for even cattle black choose 3SgM-IMPF
ft even for sacrifice and breeding they choose black

ref 032 color dscription
tx kɑnɑ:f horiin gur:ɑtʃi filɑtɑmɑ: dʒɑtʃu ɗɑ
w kana-af horii-n gurraach-i fialat-am-aa jedh-u dha
mb kana af horii n gurraach i fialat am aa jedh u dha
ge this for cattle NOM black DEF choose PASS 3SgM-IMPF say INF is
ft that is why black color is choosen

ref 033 the profession of coth making
tx ʔɑb:oʔotɑ ken:ɑr:ɑ: ʔɑkɑ:kɑj:u:n ken:ɑ ʔɑb:ɑ: ken:ɑt:i dɑbɑrse:t
w abb-oota keenna-rraa akaakayyu-n keenna abbaa kenna-tti dabars-et
mb abb oota keenna rraa akaakayyu n keenna abbaa kenn tti dabars
ge father Pl our from grandfather NOM our father our to pass
ft our grandfather passed it to our father

ref 034 the profession of cloth making
tx ʔɑb:ɑ:n keen:ɑ nu bars:se:t
w abbaa-n keenna nu-u bar-siis-et
mb et abbaa n keenna nu u barsiis et
ge 3SgM-PERF father NOM our we for teach 3SgM-PERF
ft our father tought us

ref 035 the profession of cloth making
tx nu ʔɑm:ɑ ʔilmɑ ken:ɑt: dɑbɑrsi:ne:t hodʒɑtʃisɑ:t dʒir:ɑ
w nu amma ilma keenna-tti dabars-in-et hojjat-chis-aat jir-r-a
mb nu amma ilma keenna tti dabars in et hojjat chis aat jir r a
ge we now son our to pass 1Pl PERF work CAUS IMPF be 1Pl IMPF
ft we passed to our sons and making them to work on

ref 036 the profession of cloth making 037 the profession of cloth making
tx wɑ:n ʔumɑmɑr:ɑ:ɗufe wɑliken:ɑ: ʔɑkɑ:ku ʔɑbɑ:bu
w waan umama-rraa dhuf-e wali-kenn-aa akaaku
mb waan umama rraa dhuf e wali kenn aa akaaku
ge something nature from come 3SgM-PERF eachother give INF grandfather
ft it came from nature it is transfering from grandfather

ref 038 the profession of cloth making
tx wɑ:n wɑli ken:ɑ: bɑrsi:sɑ:t
w waan wali kenn-aa bar-sis-aat
mb waan wali kenn aa barsiis aat t
ge something eachother give INF teach INF is
ft which is something transferring through teaching

ref 039 the profession of cloth making
tx kun ʔɑm:ɑ ʔɑkɑ:ku ʔɑbɑ:bur:ɑ: ʔumɑmɑr:ɑ
w kun amma akaakuu-rraa abaabu-rraa umama-rraa
mb kun amma akaakuu rraa abaabu rraa umama rraa
ge this now forefathers from grandmothers from nature from
ft it is from forefathers,foremothers and from nature

ref 040 thte profession of cloth making
tx gɑ:fɑ ʔorom:n ɗɑlɑt:er:ɑ
w gaafa oromoo-n dhalat-e-rraa
mb gaafa oromoo n dhalat e rraa

ge starting Oromo NOM born PERF from
ft starting from the time oromo born

ref 041 the profession of cloth making
tx waliʔi ken:a: waliʔi ken:a: wal barsi:sa: wa:n ɗufaniff
w wali kennaa wali-itti kenn-aa wal barsiis-aa
mb wali kennaa wali itti kenn aa wal barsiis aa
ge eachother gift eachother to give IMPF eachother teach
ft by giving to eachotherand teaching to eachoter

ref 042 the profession of cloth making
tx kana ʗa:fi harka: kʼabna: nu ʔam:a
w kana caafi harka-a qab-n-aa nu amma
mb kana caafi harkaa a qab n aa nu amma
ge this tip hand on has 1Pl IMPF we now
ft we know have its tip

ref 043 the profession of cloth making
tx kale:s:a tumatan ke:s:a:n ka ɗufe
w kalessa tumat-an keessaa ka dhuf-e
mb kalessa tumat an keessaa ka dhuf e
ge yesterday declare 3Pl from of come PERF
ft it came from rtaditional law

ref 044 the profession of cloth making
tx ʔaka:ku ʔaba:bu ken:at nu barsiise
w akaakuu abaabu kenna-tu nu bar-siis-e
mb akaakuu abaabu kenna tu nu barsiis e
ge forefather foremother our FOC we teach 3SgM-PERF
ft our forefathers and foremothers thought us

ref 045 cloth making process
tx kʼalmar:at:i tarti:bat dʒira:
w qal-ma-rra-tti tartiib-at jir-a
mb qal ma rra tti tartiib at jir a
ge slaughter INF on to order MID be IMPF
ft There is a step to be followed in the process of slaughtering

ref 046 cloth making process

tx ʔɑk:umɑ ʔisin argitɑ kɑl:o: kɑsɑ:fi kalʔo: bonkofil:e
w akkuma isin arg-it-an kalloo kasaa-fi kalloo bonkoo-f-illee
mb akkuma isin arg it an kalloo kasaa fi kalloo bonkoo f illee
ge like you-Pl see 3SgF 2Pl kalloo kasaa and kalloo bonkoo also

ft As you have seen for kalloo kasaa as well as bonko

ref 047 048
tx hɑ:lɑ ʔit: kɑlɑntu dʒirɑ ʔɑk:ɑ ʔisin ʔɑrgitan kɑnɑ
w haala itti qal-an-tu jir-a akka isin arg-it-an kana
mb haala itti qal an tu jir a akka isin arg it an kana
ge style to slaughter 3Pl FOC be PERF as you-Pl see 3SgF 2Pl this
ft There is a way how to slaughter

ref 049
tx dizɑ:jini ʔisɑ joki:n ʔɑm:o: hɑ:l:i ʔɑk:ɑ ʔuf:ɑtɑ: tolut:i ʔergɑ kʼɑlɑme bo:dɑ
w dizaayini isa-a yookin ammoo haala akka uffata-af tol-u-tti erga qal-am-e booda
mb dizaayini isa a yookin ammoo haala akka uffata af tol u tti erga
ge design it GEN or again style as wear for comfort INF to after
ft After it is design following the appropriate cloth type e

ref 050
tx ɕorɑ: ʔiɑ: kɑnɑ ʔir:ɑ: ɕorɑn
w coraa isa-a kana irraa cor-an
mb qal am e booda coraa isa a kana irraa cor an
ge slaughter PASS PERFA after flesh it GEN this from remove 3Pl
ft thye remove the unwanted part

ref 051 052
tx fo:n kɑnɑ ʔir:ɑ: ɕorɑn ɗisɑni: hinɗisɑni
w foon kana irraa cor-an dhis-an-i hin-dhis-an-i
mb foon kana irraa cor an dhis an i hin dhis an i
ge meat this from remove 3Pl strech 3Pl PERF Neg strech 3Pl PMPF
ft they removed the meat strech it

ref 053

tx ɗisu dʒetsu:n ʔak:a walit: hin gogojine
w dhis-u jedh-u-n akka wal-itti hin gogoy-in-ne
mb dhisu jedh u n akka wal itti hin gogoy in ne
ge strech say INF OM like eachother to Neg dry PERF
ft streching means to make it not to bend

ref 054
tx haƥisani sir:it:i ɗisan
w haphis-an-i siritti dhis-an
mb haphis an i siritti tti dhis an
ge thin 3Pl PERF finely to strech 3Pl
ft by streching properly they make it thin

ref 055 056
tx ʔerga ɗisani bo:da ʔam:o: cora: ʔisa: kana ʔir:a: kʼunƈisan
w erga dhis-an-i booda ammoo coraa isa-a kana irraa qunciis-an
mb erga dhis an i booda ammoo coraa isa a kana irraa qunciis an
ge after strech 3Pl PERF after then flesh it GEN this from pick 3Pl
ft after streching they remove the unwanted

ref 057
tx kʼunƈisani jo: kʼulkʼul:aje
w quncis-an-i yoo inn-i qulqulaa'-e
mb quncis an i yoo inn i qulqulaa' e
ge pick 3Pl PERF when it NOM clean PERF
ft after removing if it si cleaned

ref 058
tx kʼot:oɗa:n mukat:i fan:isani
w qottoo-dhaan muka-tti fannis-an-i
mb qottoo dhaan muka tti fannis an i
ge axe with wood to hang 3Pl PERF
ft hunging on the wood and using an axe

ref 059
tx mukar:at:i ʔol fan:isani ʔak:anat:i mukat:i fan:isani
w muka-rra-tti ol fannis-an-i akka-kana-tti muka-tti fannis-an-i
mb muka rra tti ol fannis an i akka kana tti muka tti fannis an i
ge wood on to up hang 3Pl PERF like this to wood to hang 3Pl PERF
ft they hang it on the wood

ref 060
tx ɗɑ:bɑte du:gɑ ʔin:i
w dhaabat-e duug-a inn-i
mb dhaabat e duug a inn i
ge stand 3SgM-PERF scrach 3SgM-IMPF he NOM
ft he scrap it by standing up

ref 061
tx du:ge ribu: ʔisɑ; kɑnɑ ʔergɑ kʼulkʼul:es:e
w duug-e ribu isa-a kana erga qulqulless-e
mb duug e ribu isa a kana erga qulqulless e
ge scrach 3SgM-PERF RIBU it GEN this after clean PERF
ft he clean it through scraping

ref 062
tx du:g:ɑ:nu gɑrɑgɑrɑ
w duugg-aa-nu garagara
mb duugg aa nu garagara
ge scrach INF FOC different
ft Scrapping itself is done in different ways

ref 063
tx du:g:ɑ: ʔitil:e ʔitil:e tʼikʼ:uma du:gɑn
w duug-aa itillee itillee xiqquuma duug-an
mb duug aa itillee itillee xiqquuma duug an
ge scrach INF itillee itiellee small scrach 3Pl-PERF
ft they scrap itille not so much

ref 064
tx kɑ ʔuf:ɑtɑmu ʔɑm:o: sir:it:i gɑdi kʼabani du:gɑn cʼorɑ: ʔir:ɑ:
w ka uffat-am-u ammoo sirritti gadi qabani duug-an coraa irraa
mb ka uffat am u ammoo sirritti gadi qabani duug an coraa irraa
ge that wear PASS INF again finely down make scrach 3Pl-PERF flesh from
ft a skin for those is scraped finely

ref 065
tx hapʼisɑn hin hɑ:pʼi:sɑn du:gumɑ:n hɑ:pʼisan
w haphis-an hin haaphiis-an dugu-maan
mb haphis an hin haaphiis an duug u maan
ge thin 3Pl Neg thin 3Pl-PERF scrach INF with
ft it become thin through scraping

ref 066
tx ʔɑtʃi kɑʔɑ:nit waji:n mɑrɑni hɑ: ʔin:i lɑ:fu ʔegɑn
w achi ka'-an-it wayii-n mar-an-i haa inn-i laaf-u eg-an
mb achi ka' an it wayii n mar an i haa inn i laaf u
ge then stand 3Pl PERF something with cover 3Pl PERF let it NOM soft INF
ft then they put the skin by covering with somethig

ref 067
tx hinsuk:umɑn
w hin-sukkum-an
mb eg an hin sukkum an
ge wait 3Pl-PERF Neg rub 3Pl-PERF
ft they rub it

ref 068
tx suk:um:ɑ:n kun ʔil:e: jero: bɑʔe: fuɗɑtɑ
w sukkumm--aan kun illee yeroo baayye fudh-at-a
mb sukkumm aa n illee yeroo baayye fudh at a
ge clean INF NOM even time very take MID IMPF
ft the rubbing process is time consuming

ref 069 070
tx sirritti sukkumɑni lɑ:f:isɑn ʔergɑ lɑ:f:isɑni bo:dɑ
w sirritti-sukkum-an-i laaffis-an-i erga laaffis-an-i booda
mb sirri sukkum an i laaffis an i erga laaffis an i booda
ge fie clean 3Pl PERF soft 3Pl PERF after soft 3Pl PERF after
ft they finely ruband soften it after softening

ref 071
tx mi:ɗɑgse lɑ:f:ise kɑsɑ: ʔisɑ:
w miidhags-e laaffis-e kasaa isa-a
mb miidhag s e laaffis e kasaa isa a
ge beauty CAUS 3SgM-PERF soft PERF kasaa it GEN
ft he beautify and soften the kasaa

ref 072
tx kɑn dʒɑɗe sɑn ʔodo ʔintoḱi:n
w kan jedh-e san odoo hin tuq-in
mb kan jedh e san odoo hin tuq in
ge that say PERF that before Neg touch PERF
ft he do not touch the kasaa

ref 073
tx kɑcʼe ʔisɑ:r:ɑ: gogɑ: kɑ bɑdu bɑdu ʔir:ɑ: bɑ:se
w qaccee isaa-irraa gogaa ka bad-u bad-u irraa baas-e
mb qaccee isa a irraa gogaa ka bad u bad u irraa baas
ge tip it GEN from skin that remove INF remove INF from takeout
ft after removing the unwanted part

ref 074
tx mi:ɗɑ:s:e lɑ:f:ise
w miihags-e laaffis-e
mb e miihag s e laaffis e
ge 3SgM-PERF beauty CAUS 3SgM-PERF soft 3SgM-PERF
ft he beauty and soften it

ref 075
tx ʔoge:t:i dubɑrtit:i: ken:ɑ
w ogeet-ti dubarti-tti kenn-a
mb ogeet ti dubarti tti kenn a
ge skilled 3SgF female to give 3SgM-IMPF
ft Gives it to a skilled woman

ref 076
tx dubɑrti ʔɑrsi kɑn kɑnɑ hodʒɑt:u dʒirti
w dubarti arsi kan kana hojjat-t-u jirti
mb dubarti arsi kan kana hojjat t u jir t i
ge female Arsi that this work 3SgF INF be 3SgF PERF
ft There is an Arsi woman who performs this activity

ref 078
tx ʔisi:n ʔɑm:o: bifɑ bɑrbɑ:dɑmun
w isii-n ammoo bifa barbaad-am-uu-n
mb isii n ammoo bifa barbaad am uu n
ge she NOM then way need PASS INF NOM
ft she also makes as it is needed

ref 079
tx kɑn mijɑ barbɑ:tsisu mij:ɑ
w kan mi'a barbaachis-u mi'a
mb kan mi'a barbaachis u mi'a

ge of bead need INF bead

ft For those which need bead, they make ornaments

ref 080
tx kɑn go:dɑ: bɑrbɑ:tsisu go:dɑ:
w kan goodaa barbaachis-u goodaa
mb kan goodaa barbaachis u goodaa
ge of fringe need INF fringe
ft for the one that needs fringe they make fringe

ref 081
tx bifɑ ʔɑd:ɑd:ɑ:tin hin ɗisɑni
w bifa adda addaa-tin hin dhis-an-i
mb bifa adda addaatin tin hin dhis an i
ge style different different with Neg strech 3Pl PERF
ft they scrach in different ways

ref 082 083
tx ʔuf:ɑtɑ: ʔɑk:ɑ tolu: goɗɑn hɑ:fur:i ʔɑk:ɑn ɗo:fne
w uffataa akka tol-u godh-an haafurr-i akka-hin dhoofn-e
mb uffataa akka tol u godh an haafurr i akka hin dhoofn e
ge wear as fit INF make 3Pl-PERF smell DEF as Neg disturb 3Sg-PERF
ft They make it ready for clothing to avide the smell

ref 084
tx ʔhɑ:fur:i ʔisɑ: ʔɑk:ɑʔin ɗo:fne
w haafurr-i isa-a akka-hin dhoofn-e
mb haafurr i isa a akka hin dhoofn e
ge smell DEF it GEN as Neg disturb PERF
ft to avoid the bad smell

ref 085
tx wɑ:n ʔurg:es:ɑni:ntu dʒirɑ
w waan urg-eess-an-in-tu jir-a
mb waan urg eess an in tu jir a
ge something perfume CAUS 3Pl with FOC be IMPF
ft there is something used for perfuming

ref 086

tx gogɑ:n jo: gog:e: dʒɑɗu ʔɑfu:rɑ ɗɑʔɑ:
w gogaa-n yoo gog-e jedh-u afuura dha'-aa
mb gogaa n yoo gog e jedh u afuura dha' aa
ge skin NOM when dry PERF say INF smell disturb IMPF
ft when it dries the smell is disturbing

ref 087 cloth making process
tx ʔɑk:ɑ ʔɑfu:rɑ hin ɗo:fne wɑnti ʔurge:s:ɑntu dʒirɑ
w akka afuura hin dhoof-ne wanti urg-eess-an-tu jir-a
mb akka afuura hin dhoof ne wanti urgeess eess an tu jir a
ge as smell Neg disturb PERF something perfume CAUS 3Pl FOC be IMPF
ft to avoid the smell they perfuming with something

Appendix 2 annotated text 3
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Saturday, April 4, 2015 4:23 AM

ref 001
tx tuni ʔɑm:ɑ si:nkʼe:
w tun-i amma siinqee
ft this is siinqe
mb tun i amma siinqee
ge this-F NOM now siinqee

ref 002
tx si:nkʼe:n tun ʔɑm:ɑ gɑrɑ:gɑrumti kʼɑbdi
w siinqee-n tun amma garaagarumti qab-d-i
ft this siinqe has difference
mb siinqee n tun amma garaagarumti qab d i
ge siinqe NOM this-F now difference has 3SgF PERF

ref 003
tx gɑru gɑrɑ:gɑrumti ʔisi mɑ:ltu goɗe gɑru gɑrɑ:gɑrumti ʔisi mɑ:ltu goɗe
w garaagarumti isi maal-tu godh-e
ft what makes is different is
mb garaagarumti isi maal tu godh e
ge difference it-F what FOC make PERF

ref 004
tx tuni ʔɑb:ɑ: mɑnɑ:ti: gɑ:fɑ hɑ:ɗɑ mɑnɑ: fu:ɗɑ:f bɑʔu
w tun-i abbaa manaa-tii gaafa haadha manaa fuudh-aaf ba'-u

ft for a husband cameout to take a wife
mb tun i abbaa manaa tii gaafa haadha manaa fuudh aaf ba' u
ge this-F NOM father house for day mother house take to out INF

ref 005
tx dubɑrti tɑk:ɑ jo: ke:n:ɑnifi
w dubarti takka yoo kenn-an-iif
ft when they gave him a girl
mb dubarti takka yoo kenn an iif
ge girl one-F when give 3Pl for

ref 006
tx si:nkʼe: murɑni:f dʒetʃoʔo dubarti ten:ɑ:
w siinqee mur-an-ii-f jedh-oo dubarti tenna-a
ft they cut siinqee for our woman
mb siinqee mur an ii f jedh oo dubarti tenna a
ge siinqe cut 3Pl PERF for said INF woman our GEN

ref 007 008
tx ʔisɑ: wɑd:es:ɑ murɑn wɑd:es:ɑ sɑ ʔegɑ murɑni
w isa-a waddeessa mur-an waddeessa ega mur-an-i
ft they cut waddesa for him after they cut waddesa for him
mb isa a waddeessa mur an waddeessa ega mur an i
ge he for waddesa cut 3Pl waddesa after cut 3Pl PERF

ref 009
tx si:nkʼe: tɑnɑl:e ʔisɑtu kʼɑbɑte gɑlɑ dʒɑtʃu
w siinqee tana-lle isa-tu qab-at-e gal-a
ft he took the siinqee with him
mb siinqee tana lle isa tu qab at e gal a
ge seenqe this-F also he FOC hold MID PERF enter IMPF

ref 010
tx wɑd:es:ɑ sani:n wɑli:n
w waddeessa san-iin waliin
ft together with waddesa
mb waddeessa san iin waliin
ge waddesa that-F with together

ref 011 description of siinqee with three tips
tx ʔegɑnɑ:ho: tun ʔɑm:ɑ ʔisi:n ɗɑnkʼu sɑdi kʼɑbdu tun
w eganaa hoo tun amma isi-n dhanku sadi qab-d-u tun

ft moreover the one which has three tips
mb eganaa hoo tun amma isi n dhanku sadi qab d u tun
ge then egain this-F now it-F NOM tip three has 3SgF INF this-F

ref 012 description of siinqee with three tips
tx tuni tɑ ʔɑb:ɑ: mɑnɑ:ti
w tun-i ta abbaa manaa-ti

mb tun i ta abbaa manaa ti
ge this-F NOM GEN father house is
ft this belongs to husband

ref 013 descrition of siinqee with threee tips
tx tuni tɑ hɑ:ɗɑ mɑnɑ:ti
w tun-i ta-haadha manaa-ti
ft this belongs to wife
mb tun i ta haadha manaa ti
ge this-F NOM GEN mother house is

ref 014 description of siinqee with three tips
tx tun ʔɑm:o: tɑ fin:ɑ ʔisɑ:n dʒid:uʔut:i ɗɑlɑtuti
w tun ammoo ta finna isaan jidduu-tti dhal-at-t-u-ti
ft whereas the middle belongs to the offspring
mb tun ammoo ta finna isaan jidduu tti dhal at t u ti
ge this-F whereas GEN offspring they middle in give birth MID 3SgF INF is

ref 015
tx gɑru: nɑmni ken:ɑ ʔɑm:ɑ hi:kum:ɑ ʔisi ʔudu hiben:e
w garuu nam-ni kenna amma hiik-uma isi uduu hin-beek-n-e
ft but, people though they do not know its meaning
mb garuu nam ni kenna amma hiik uma isi uduu hin beek n e
ge but people NOM our now meaning it if Neg know Pl PERF

ref 016 017
tx mukɑ kʼɑbɑtɑni dʒeɗʼe lɑ:lɑ ʔisiin mukɑ: miti
w muka qab-at-an-i jedh-aa laal-a isi-in mukaa miti
ft he took it sa we hold a stick it is not a stick
mb muka qab at an i jedh aa laal a isi in mukaa miti
ge stick hold MID 3Pl PERF say INF see INF it-F NOM stick not

ref 018 019
tx ʔinu si:nkʼe: rɑb:i ʔin dʒen:u jo: fɑ:ru: ke:n:ɑ ke:s:ɑt:il:e
w inu siinqee rabbi hin-jedh-n-u yoo faaruu kenna keessa-tti-ille
ft we are not saying siinqe is God in our blessing

mb inu siinqee rabbi hin jedh n u yoo faaruu kenna keessa tti ille
ge we siinqe God Neg say 1Pl INF when song our in to

ref 020
tx ʔɑte:te: si:ikʼe te:n:ɑ lo:ti kʼɑbɑn:e
w ateetee siinqee teenna looti qab-at-n-e
ft we hold our jewelry stick
mb ateetee siinqee teenna looti qab at n e
ge ateete siinqee our jewelry hold MID 1Pl PERF

ref 021 022
tx rɑb:i ke:nɑ mo:ti kɑɗɑn:e dʒet:i dubɑrti:n te:n:ɑ
w rabbi keenna mooti kadhat-n-e jedh-t-i dubartii-n tenna
ft we beg our king-God our woman says
mb rabbi keenna mooti kadhat n e jedh t i dubartii n tenna
ge God our king beg 1Pl PERF say 3Sg INF woman NOM our

ref 023
tx wa:n:i ʔisi rɑb:i dʒen:e ʔit:i ʔɑmɑn:e hin dʒir:u
w wann-i isi rabbi jedh-n-e itti aman-n-e hin jir-r-u
ft we are not belief in siinqe like God
mb wann i isi rabbi jedh n e itti aman n e hin jir r u
ge hing NOM she God say 1Pl PERF to belief 1Pl PERF Neg be 1Pl INF

ref 024
tx ʔɑ:dɑ: te:nɑ: wɑ:n tɑ:te:f
w aadaa tenna waan ta'-at-ef
ft it is bacause it is our culture
mb aadaa tenna waan ta' at ef
ge culture our since be MID

ref 025
tx hɑ:rɗɑl:e boru:l:e nu wɑ:n ɗi:fnu:f hin kʼɑbnu
w harda-lle boruu-lle waan dhii-n-uuf hin qab-n-u
ft today as well as tomorrow we winn never stop
mb harda lle boru lle waan dhiis n uuf hin qab n u
ge today as well as tomorrow as well as stop 1Pl INF Neg has 1Pl INF

ref 026
tx ʔɑ:dɑ:n te:n:ɑ bɑre:dɑ:
w aadaa-n teenna bareedaa
ft our culture is beautiful
mb aadaa n teenna bareedaa

ge culture NOM our beautiful

ref 027
tx ʔɑni kɑnumɑ dʒetʃo bɑrbɑ:de:ti dɑbɑlɑtɑ:n
w ani kana-uma jedh-t-uu barbaad-e-ti dabal-at-aan
ft i want to say this in addition
mb ani kana uma jedh t uu barbaad e ti dabal at aan
ge I this FOC say F INF need IMPF is add MID to

ref 028 029
tx si:nkʼe: wɑrɑ:nɑ be:rɑ: ɗɑwɑrwɑ:tɑ de:mɑ dʒen:ɑ
w siinqee waraana beeraa dhawarwaata deem-a jedh-n-a
ft siinqee is a spear of women we say I will go to dhawatwata
mb siinqee waraana beeraa dhawarwaata deem a jedh n a
ge siinqe spear women dhawarwata go INF say 1Pl IMPF

ref 030
tx ʔɑ:dɑ: ke:n:ɑl:e: jo: ʔibsinu
w aadaa keenna-lle yoo ibs-in-u
ft when we discribe our culture
mb aadaa keenna lle yoo ibs in u
ge culture our when describe 1Pl INF

ref 031
tx ʔɑsir:ɑt:il:e: wɑ: he:d:u kʼɑbdi
w asi-rra-tti-illee waa heeddu qab-d-i
ft it has many things
mb asi rra tti illee waa heeddu qab d i
ge here on to again thing many has 3SgF PERF

ref 032
tx dubɑrti:ni gɑ:fɑ: kʼɑnɑfɑ:n tumɑmte:
w dubartii-ni gaafa qanafa-an tum-am-t-e
ft when a woman with qenefa hit by someone
mb dubartii ni gaafa qanafa an tum am t e
ge woman NOM day qanafa with hit PASS 3SgF PERF

ref 033
tx hɑgɑ dʒiʔɑ dʒɑhɑ: kʼɑnɑfɑ: sɑn bokʼɑtʃiftut:i
w haga jia jahaa qanafaa san boqot-is-t-u-tti
ft until six months she rest her qenefa
mb haga jia jahaa qanafaa san boqot ot is t u tti
ge until month six qanafa that rest MID CAUS 3SgF INF to

ref 034
tx ʔisi hin ɗɑ:nu
w isi hin dhaan-u
ft no one hit her
mb isi hin dhaan u
ge she Neg hit INF

ref 035
tx nɑmɑ ʔormɑ: ɗi:sɑ: ʔɑb:ɑ:mɑnɑ: ʔisi tuƙu hin kɑbu
w nama ormaa dhis-aa abbaa manaa isi tuq-u hin qab-u
ft let alone others her husband can not hit her
mb nama ormaa dhis aa abbaa manaa isi tuq u
ge person non relative let alone 2pl-IMPF father house she touch 3SgM-IMPF

ref 036
tx gɑ:fɑ ʔisi:n ɗɑwɑ:mte dʒet:e
w gaafa isii-n dhaw-aam-t-e jedh-t-e
ft if she is hit by someone
mb hin qab u gaafa isi in dhaw aam t e jedh t e
ge Neg can IMPF if she NOM hit PASS 3SgF PERF say 3SgF PERF

ref 037
tx hinʔili:lfɑt:i
w hin-iliilfat-t-i
ft she screams
mb hin iliilfat t i
ge Neg scream 3SgF IMPF

ref 038
tx ʔegɑ ʔili:lfɑt:e: jo:mɑ sɑʔ ʔit:i fi:d:e
w ega iliilffat-t-e yooma san itti fiig-d-ee
ft after she scream others will run to her
mb ega iliilffat t e yooma san itti fiig d ee
ge after scream 3SgF PERF moment that to run 3SgF PERF

ref 039
tx jo:mɑ sɑni: hɑw:ɑn:i ʔit:i jɑ:ti
w yooma sani haawwata-ni itti yaa'-t-i
ft at that moment women will gather to her
mb yooma sani haawwata ni itti yaa' t i
ge moment that women NOM to gather F INF

ref 040 041
tx ʔegɑ jɑ:te: ʔule: ʔisi:ʔiti dʒetʃo wɑrɑ:nɑ ʔisi:ʔiti
w ega yaa'-t-e ulee isi-i-ti jedh-an waraana isi-i ti
ft after their gathered they say it is her spear it is her spear
mb ega yaa' t e ulee isi i ti jedh an waraana isi i ti
ge after gather F PERF stick she GEN is say 3Pl-PERF spear she GEN is

ref 042 043
tx si:nkʼe: ʔofi: kʼɑbɑt:e gɑ:fɑ ʔisi: ʔili:lfɑt:u
w siinqee ofi qab-at-t-e gaafa isi-in iliilfat-t-u
ft by holding her own siinqe when she scream
mb siinqee ofi qab at t e gaafa isi in iliilfat t u
ge siinqe own hold MID 3SgF PERF when she NOM scream 3SgF INF

ref 044 045
tx nɑmu ʔisi dʒɑlɑ hin ɗɑ:bɑtu ʔin sodɑ:tɑni
w nam-u isi jala hin dhaab-at-u hin sodaat-an-i
ft no one stand on her way they afraid
mb nam u isi jala hin dhaab at u hin sodaat an i
ge person no she way Neg stand MID INF Neg fear 3Pl PERF

ref 046 047 048
tx hin wɑj:ɑni wɑj:o:mɑ kʼɑbdi hin kɑbɑdʒɑni
w hin wayyoom-an-i wayyoma qab-d-i hin kabaj-an-i
ft they respect she has respect they respected
mb hin wayyoom an i wayyoma qab d i hin kabaj an i
ge Neg respect 3Pl PERF respect has 3SgF PERF Neg respect 3Pl PERF

ref 049
tx de:t:un te:n:ɑl:e: kʼɑnɑfɑ:n ɗɑwɑ:mu hinkʼɑbdu
w deet-tu-n teenna-llee qanafa-an dhaw-aam-u hin-qab-d-u
ft our mother should not be hit while she wears qenefa
mb deet tu n teenna llee qanafa an dhaw aam u hin qab d
ge give birth FOC NOM our also qanafa with hit PASS IMPF Neg has 3SgF

ref 050
tx tukʼɑmu hin kʼɑbdu
w tuq-am-u hin qab-d-u
ft she should not be touched
mb u tuq am u hin qab d u
ge IMPF touch PASS IMPF Neg has 3SgF IMPF

ref 051
tx hɑgɑ dʒiʔɑ jɑhɑ: kɑbɑdʒɑ: kʼɑbdi
w haga ji'a jahaa kabajaa qab-d-i
ft until six months she has respect
mb haga ji'a jahaa kabajaa qab d i
ge until month six respect has 3SgF PERF

ref 052
tx jo: ʔisi:n rukutɑmte: ʔɑm:o: jo:mɑsɑ ʔit:i bɑʔɑ:ni
w yoo isi-in rukut-am-t-e ammo yooma-san itti ba'-an-i
ft if she is hit by somenoe, they gather immediately
mb yoo isi in rukut am t e ammo yooma san itti ba' an i
ge when she NOM hit PASS 3SgF PERF but moment that to come out 3Pl PERF

ref 053
tx hirkʼɑm:u gɑ:rɑ:
w hirqammu gaaraa
ft mountains hirkamu
mb hirqammu gaaraa
ge hirqamu mountain

ref 054
tx me: dʒ:lto wɑ:mɑ: dirmɑm: lɑ:lɑ: dʒet:i
w mee jaaltoo waam-aa dirmammuu laal-a jedh-t-i
ft let you call my dear to see the weal
mb mee jaaltoo waam aa dirmammuu laal a jedh t i
ge let dear call IMPF weal see 1Sg-IMPF say 3SgF PERF

ref 055
tx hɑ:w:ɑnni ʔit:i bɑ:te: jo:mɑ sɑ ʔililfɑt:i
w haawwat-ni itti ba'-at-ee yooma san iliillfat-t-i
ft our women will gather immediately and scream
mb haawwat ni itti ba' at ee yooma san iliillfat t i
ge women NOM to comeout 3SgF PERF moment that cry 3SgF IMPF

ref 056
tx ʔisi:n hi:kɑ ʔɑk:ɑnɑ: kʼɑbdi dʒetʃo
w isi-in hiika akka-kanaa qab-d-i jedh-uu
ft this means it has such meanng
mb isi in hiika akka kanaa qab d i jedh uu
ge she NOM meaning like this has 3SgF PERF say INF

ref 057 058

tx de:t:u hɑrmɑ ʔɑ:nɑni de:t:u tij:ɑ ɗɑ:nɑni
w deet-tu harma aanan-i deet-tu tiyya dhaan-an-i
ft a mother with breast of milk they hit my mother with breast of milk
mb deet tu harma aanan i deet tu tiyya dhaan an i
ge give birth FOC breast milk NOM give birth FOC mine hit 3Pl PERF

ref 059
tx mɑnɑ: ʔɑnɑ wɑ:mɑni kɑ ʤɑɗɑn
w mana-a ana waam-an-i ka jedh-an
ft and they call me from my home
mb mana a ana waam an i ka jedh an
ge house from me call 3Pl PERF of say 3Pl

ref 060
tx ʤechɑ kɑnɑ fɑʔɑ:tu ʤirɑ
w jecha kana fa'aa-tu jir-a
ft there are sayings like this
mb jecha kana fa'aa tu jir a
ge word this and others FOC be IMPF

ref 061 059
tx jo: hɑ:wɑti te:n:ɑ de:t:u ɗɑ:nɑn
w yoo haawa-ti teenna deet-tu dhaan-an
ft whey they hit our mothers
mb yoo haawa ti teenna deet tu dhaan an
ge when women NOM our give birth FOC hit 3Pl

ref 062
tx hin dɑ:tu ɗɑle tun bɑ:tu mɑle
w hin daak-u gal-e tun baat-u male
ft i will never return do grinding untill this problem solved
mb hin daak u gal e tun baat u male
ge Neg grind IMPF return 1SgF-PERF this-F out INF unless

ref 063
tx hindɑ:ku gɑle ʤen:ɑ
w hin-daak-uu gal-e jedh-n-a
ft we say i will never return and do grinding
mb hin daak uu gal e jedh n a
ge Neg grind IMPF comein 1Sg-PERF say 1Pl INF

ref 064
tx jo: hɑ:w:oti te:nɑ ɗɑ:nɑn

w yoo haawwat-i teenna dhaan-an
ft if they hit our mothers
mb yoo haawwat i teenna dhaan an
ge if women NOM our hit 3Pl-PERF

ref 065
tx jo: kʼɑnɑfɑ:n ɗɑ:nɑn
w yoo qanafa-an dhaan-an
ft if they hit they while they are wearing qenefa
mb yoo qanafa an dhaan an
ge if qanafa with hit 3Pl-PERF

ref 066
tx ʔit:il:e: dɑbɑlɑtɑ jo: ʔɑk:ɑs ʔisi de:t:u te:n:ɑ ɗɑ:nɑn
w itt-illee dabalata yoo akka-s isi deet-tu teenna dhaan-an
ft in addition, if they hit our nursing mothers
mb itt illee dabalata yoo akka s isi deet tu teenna dhaan an
ge in again addition if like FOC she give birth FOC our hit 3Pl-PERF

ref 067
tx gurbɑ:n dʒɑrdʒɑrɑ:n tume de:t:u
w gurbaa-n jarjar-aa-n tum-e deet-tu
ft restless boy hit our nursing mother
mb gurbaa n jarjar aa n tum e deet tu
ge boy NOM restless 3SgM NOM hit 3SgM-PERF give birth FOC

ref 068
tx jɑ:rsɑt nu: ʔɑrgɑ: bɑk:ɑ ge:t:u dʒeɗɑ:t ɗɑn:ɑ
w jaarsa-tu arg-aa bakka geet-tu jedh-aa-t
ft we are say elder will see the case
mb jaarsa tu arg aa bakka geet tu jedh aa t
ge elder FOC see PERF place arrive FOC say INF ACC

ref 069
tx tumɑ: sɑn bɑk:ɑ ge:t:u
w tum-aa san bakka ga'-et-u
ft the place where that hit will arrive
mb tum aa san bakka ga' et u
ge hit INF that place arrive 3SgF INF

ref 070
tx gurbɑ:n dʒɑrdʒɑrɑ:n tume de:t:u
w gurbaa-n jarjaraa-n tum-e deet-tu

ft restless boy hit our nursing mother
mb gurbaa n jarjaraa n tum e deet tu
ge boy NOM restless NOM hit 3SgM-PERF give birth FOC

ref 071
tx dʒ:ɑ:rsɑt nu: ʔɑrgɑ: bɑk:ɑ ge:t:u dʒen:ɑ
w jaarsa-tu nu-u arg-aa bakka ga'-et-u jedh-nn-a
ft we say elder will see the case
mb jaarsa tu nu u arg aa bakka ga' et u jedh nn a
ge elder FOC we GEN see INF place arrive 3SgF INF say 1Pl IMPF

ref 072 073
tx hi:k:ɑ: ʔɑk:ɑnɑ: jo: bɑ:te:tu ʔisi:n ƭikʼ:o ʔisi
w hiika akka-kanaa yoo ba'at-ee-t-u isi-in xiqqoo isi
ft this kind of meaning if she came out and after amoment
mb hiika akka kanaa yoo ba' at ee tu isi in xiqqoo isi
ge meaning like this if out 3SgF PERF FOC she NOM small she

ref 074
tx ʃɑnɑtʃɑtu dʒirɑ
w shan-acha-tu jir-a
ft there are groups of shanacha
mb shan acha tu jir a
ge five DEF FOC be 3SgM-IMPF

ref 075
tx ʃɑnɑtʃi mɑ:ngud:o:n:i ʔit:iʔin bɑ:ne tɑ:te
w shan-ach-i maanguddoo-nn-i itti-hin ba'-an-e ta-'at-e
ft if those elders do not asked her immediately
mb shan ach i maanguddoo nn i itti hin ba' an e ta' at e
ge five DEF NOM elder Pl NOM to Neg out 3Pl PERF be 3SgF PERF

ref 076 077
tx jo:mɑsɑ ʔit:i bɑjɑni jo:mɑ sɑn gɑ:fɑtɑni
w yooma-san itti bay-aan-i yooma san gaafat-an-i
ft they gather immediately they ask immediately
mb yooma san itti bay aan i yooma san gaafat an i
ge moment that to gather 3Pl PERF moment that ask 3Pl PERF

ref 078
tx sɑd:e:tɑ kʼɑritʃo ke:n:ɑt:e
w saddeeta qaricho kenn-at-t-e
ft after giving sadeta qaricho

mb saddeeta qaricho kenn at t e
ge sadeta qaricho give MID 3SgF PERF

ref 079
tx jo:mɑ sɑn se:rɑ ʔisi:ti:n hordofɑni:fi
w yooma san seera isi-i-tin hordof-an-ii-fi
ft then they see the cas by following her law
mb yooma san seera isi i tin hordof an ii fi
ge moment that law she GEN with follow 3Pl PERF for

ref 080
tx ʔɑm:umɑ kʼɑlɑni:fi
w amm-uma qal-an-ii-f
ft they slaughter for her
mb amm uma qal an ii f
ge now FOC slaughter 3Pl PERF for

ref 081
tx jo: ʔin:i ťikʼ:o kʼɑlu dide:l:e jo: wɑ:n gog:ojinu tɑ:te
w yoo inn-i xiqqoo qal-u did-e yoo waan goggoy-in-u ta'-at-t-e
ft if he be let to sloughter
mb yoo inn i xiqqoo qal u did e yoo waan goggoy in u
ge if he NOM small slaughter INF refuse 3SgM-PERF IF thing dry 1Pl INF

ref 082 atete song 083 atete song 084 atete song
tx lɑgɑ ʃe:dɑmɑ: hin ɲɑ:ɗu ho:lɑ: ʔɑk:ɑ dʒe:dɑlɑ:
w laga sheedamaa hin nyaat-dh-u hoolaa akka jeedalaa
ft the shedama river i don't want to eat sheep like that of fox
mb ta' at e laga sheedamaa hin nyaat dh u hoolaa akka jeedalaa
ge be 3SgF PERF river shedama Neg eat 1Sg IMPF sheep like fox

ref 085 086
tx hin be:ku dilgo: ʔɑsu ɗimilbo dʒet:i ʔɑk:ɑsumɑ
w hin beek-u dilgoo asuma dimilbo jedh-t-i akka-s-uma
ft i do not know oblique she says here is dimilbo
mb hin beek u dilgoo asuma dimilbo jedh t i akka s uma
ge Neg know INF dildo here dimilbo say 3SgF INF like FOC FOC

Appendix 2 annotated text 4

file:C:\Users\Tsigerada\Desktop\annotated document\annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf
Friday, April 10, 2015 8:52 AM

ref 001
tx mɑkʼɑ:n kij:ɑ mohɑm:ɑd nɑmo: nɑ:n dʒeɗɑni
w maqaa-n kiyya mohaammad namoo na-an jedh-an-i
mb maqaa n kiyya mohaammad namoo na an jedh an i
ge name NOM my mohamed namo i 3pL say 3Pl PERF
ft my name is Mohamed Namo

ref 002
tx nɑ:n:o:n ʔani ture ʔɑ:nɑ: godinɑ ʔɑrsi liʧɑ: ʔɑ:nɑ: ʔɑdɑ:b:ti
w naannoo-n ani tur-e aanaa godina arsi lixaa aanaa adaabbaa-ti
mb naannoo n ani tur e aanaa godina arsi lixaa aanaa adaabbaa ti
ge area NOM me was PERF district zone arsi west district adaba is
ft I live in west Arsi zone Adabbaa town

ref 003
tx mɑgɑ:lɑ ʔɑdɑ:b:ɑ: ke:s:ɑ dʒirɑ:tʃɑ: ture
w magaala adaabbaa keessa jiraach-aa tur-e
mb magaala adaabbaa keessa jiraach aa tur e
ge town adaba in live INF was PERF
ft I belong to Adaabbaa

ref 004
tx dʒɑlkʼɑbɑ: gɑrɑ:gɑrum:ɑn kɑl:t:i si:nkʼe:tin dʒiru nɑ:n:o: ʔɑ:nɑ:le: ʃɑ:l:f sirɑ:ro: kɑnɑt:i si:nkʼe: dubɑrto:tɑ: hɑrki ʧɑ:lɑ:n ɗɑnkʼu sɑdi kʼɑbɑ:
w jalqaba garaagarummaa-n kallatti siinqee-tin jiru naannoo aanaa-lee shaallaa-fi siraaro kana-tti siinqee dubarti-ootaa harki caalaa-n dhanqu sadi qab-a
mb jalqaba garaagarummaa n kallatti siinqee tin jir u naannoo aanaa
ge first difference NOM way siinqee with be INF area district
ft in the areas such as shaallaa and siraaro siinqee has three tips

ref
tx
w
mb lee shaallaa fi siraaro kana tti siinqee dubarti ootaa hark i caalaa
ge Pl shala and siraro this at siinqee woman Pl hand NOM more
ft

ref
tx
w
mb n dhanqu sadi qab a

ge NOM tip three has IMPF
ft

ref 005
tx darbe darbe:m:o: ka ʃan kʼabus dʒira
w darbe darbe-immoo ka shan qab-u-s jira
mb darbe darbe immoo ka shan qab u s jir a
ge pass pass however that five has INF also be 3Sg-IMPF
ft one can also see siinqee with fve tips

ref 006
tx garam:o: ʔa:na: ʔada:b:t: jo: de:bine si:nkʼe:n ɗankʼu ʔin kʼabdu
w gara ammoo aanaa adaabbaa-tti yoo deebi-ne siinqee-n dhanqu hin qab-du
mb gara ammoo aanaa adaabbaa tti yoo deebi ne siinqee n dhanqu hin qab
ge to but district adaba to when pass we siinqe NOM tip not has
ft but, in adaabbaa and tis surroundings siinqee has no tips

ref
tx
w
mb d u
ge 3Sg F IMPF
ft

ref 007
tx kuni ʔakka nat: fak:a:tut:i kan ʔana: ʔada:b:a: odo:n ka:sin dura ka
ʔana:le: ʔam:a harɗ aj:a:na kanar:t:i hirma:tanitin jo:la:l:e: sade:n sun
taʔun isani lama:n kʼar:e:r:t: dʒiran ʔab:mana:f haɗa mana: kan bak:a
buʔani dʒaɗame:ti: kan ta:ʔu jo:taʔu sadaf:an dʒid:u dʒrtu:m:o: ʔab:a:
mana:f haɗa mana: dʒid:ut: fi:n:i hin ʔargama:
w kuni akka na-tti fakkaat-u-tti kan aanaa adaabbaa odoo-hin kaasin dura ka
aanaa-lee amma hardha ayyaana kana-irra-tti hirmaat-ani-tiin yoo laa-llee
sadee-n sun ta'-uu-n lamaa-n qarree-irratti jira-n abbaa manaa-fi haadha
manaa kan bakka bu'a-ni jedhameeti kan taa'-u yoo ta'u sadaffaa-n jiddu
jir-tu immoo abbaan manaa-ti fi haadha manaa jidduu fiinn-i hin argam-a
mb kuni akka na tti fakkaat u tti kan aanaa adaabbaa odoo hin kaasin
ge this like me to seems INF at of district adaba before Neg begin
ft the three tips on siinqee represents father, mother and the son or
daughter

ref
tx
w
mb dura ka aanaa lee amma hardha ayyaana kana irra tti hirmaat ani
ge before of district pl now today ceremony this on at participate they
ft

ref

tx
w
mb tiin yoo laa llee sadee n sun ta' uu n lamaa n qarree irratti jir
ge NOM if see we three nom that be INF nom two nom tip on be
ft

ref
tx
w
mb an abbaa manaa fi haadha manaa kan bakka bu' an i jedhameeti
ge 3Pl father house and mother house that place belongs 3Pl PERF say
ft

ref
tx
w
mb kan taa' u yoo ta' u sadaffaa n jiddu jir tu immoo abbaan
ge that sit INF when be INF three nom between found it father
ft

ref
tx
w
mb manaa ti fi haadha manaa jidduu fiinn i hin argam a
ge house is and mother house middle offspring the not see juss
ft

ref 008
tx fi:n:ɑ ʔɑrgɑmu sɑnɑ: fɑk:om: sɑnɑ:fi kɑn tɑ:ʔe nɑt: fɑk:ɑ:tɑ:
w fiinna argamu san fakkoommi saniif kan taa-'e na-tti fakkaata
mb fiinna argamu san fakkoommi saniif kan taa 'e na tti fakkaata
ge offspring found that symbol for that that sit it me to seema
ft i think the third symbolizes the son or daughter

ref 009
tx kɑn ʃɑni sun ʔim:o: mɑrsɑ: gɑdɑ: ʃɑnɑn ?oromo: bɑk: bu:ʔuɗɑ:n kʼo:dɑ
dubɑrto:n: ʔɑtʃi ke:s:ɑt:i kʼɑbɑn ʔɑgɑrsi:suɗɑ:f
w kan shan-i sun immoo marsaa gadaa shan-an oromoo bakka bu'uu-dhaan qooda
dubarti-oon-ni achi keessa-tti qab-an agarsiis-u-dhaa-f
mb kan shan i sun immoo marsaa gadaa shan an oromoo bakka bu' uu
ge of five NOM that again round gada five DEF oromo place represent INF
ft the five tips n siinqee represents the role of woman in each gada system

ref
tx
w
mb dhaan qooda dubarti oonn i achi keessa tti qab an agarsiis u dhaa
ge with part woman Pl DEF there in at has 3Pl show INF is
ft

ref 010
tx garam:o: ʔa:na: ʔada:b:t: jo: de:bine wan:a ʔak:as ʔin ʔagar:u
w gama aanaa adaabbaa-tti yoo-deebi-ne wanna akkasi-hin agar-ru
mb f gama aanaa adaabbaa tti yoo deebi ne wanna akkasi hin agar- ru
ge for way district adaba to while back we case like not see we
ft this is not common in adaabbaa

ref 011 012
tx si:nk'e:n ga:tʃana dubarti:ti warа:na dubarti:ti
w siinqee-n gaachana dubartii-ti waraana dubartii-ti
mb siinqee n gaachana dubartii ti waraana dubartii ti
ge siinqee nom shield woman is spear woman poss
ft siinqee is shield of woman it is a spear of woman

ref 013
tx mal:t:o ʔangoti
w mallattoo angoo-ti
mb mallattoo angoo ti
ge symbol power is
ft it is a symbol of power

ref 014
tx ʔak:uma war:i ʔab: gada: bo:k:u harkat:i k'abatu halange: harkat:i
k'abatu wara:na harkat:i k'abatu wara:n: ʔisa:ni si:nk'e: sana jetʃuda:
w akkuma warr-i abbaa gadaa bokkuu harka-tti qabat-u halangee harka-tti
qabat-u waraana harka-tti qabat-u waraana-ni isaan-i siinqee san jehuu dha
mb akkuma warr i abbaa gadaa bokkuu harka tti qabat u halangee harka
ge like group nom father gadaa sceper hand with hold jus whip hand
ft as abbaa bokku holds bokku, whip and spear in his handn
as abbaa gadaa holds bokkuu, whip and spear in his hand,
woman holds their siinqee

ref
tx
w
mb tti qabat u waraana harka tti qabat u waraana ni isaan i siinqee
ge with hold INF spear hand with hold INF spear nom they poss siinqee
ft

ref
tx
w
mb san jehuu dha
ge that called is
ft

ref 015
tx kana:fi ɗank'u wal fak:atu sanʔin k'abu

w kanaa-fi dhanquu wal-fakkaat-u san hin-qab-u
mb kanaa fi dhanquu wal fakkaat u san hin qab u
ge this for tip each other similar INF that not capture INF
ft that is why siinqee has different forms

ref 016
tx kuni mɑ:l ʔɑgɑrsi:sɑ:
w kun-i maal agarsiis-aa
mb kun i maal agarsiis aa
ge this NOM what show INF
ft this shows

ref 017
tx nɑ:n:o: ʔɑd:d:ɑ: ke:jsɑt:i kɑl:ɑt: ʔɑd:d:ɑ:tin ɗe:rɑtʃu jerotin nɑmni hɑwɑ:sni kun ʔim:o: te:s:um:ɑ lɑfɑ:tin ʔɑd:ɑ:n fɑgɑ:tʃun vɑ:re:ʃini: murɑ:sɑ ʔɑk:ɑ ʔu:mu:
w naannoo adda addaa keessa-tti kallatti addaddaa-tin dheerachuu yeroo-tin nam-ni hawaas-ni kun immoo teessuma lafaa-tin adda-an fagaa-chuu-n vaareeshinii muraasa akka uum-uu
mb naannoo adda addaa keessa tti kallatti addaddaa tin dheer ach
ge area different different in at direction different NOM lengh MID
ft placement difference, time difference and geographical location brought the variation

ref
tx
w
mb u yeroo tin nam ni hawaas ni kun immoo teessuma
ge INF time with human nom soiciety nom this onthe other hand setlement
ft

ref
tx
w
mb lafaa tin adda an fagaat chuu n vaareeshinii muraasa akka
ge geographical with different from far MID NOM varesion small as
ft

ref
tx
w
mb uum uu
ge make INF
ft

ref 018
tx ʔɑtʃir:ɑ: kɑn ɗufe mɑle: bu:ʔurɑt: kɑ:j:o:n si:nkʼe: bɑk:ɑ kɑmit:u tok:umɑ
w achi-irraa kan dhuf-e malee bu'uura-tti kaayyoo-n siinqee bakka kam-ittu

tokkuma
mb achi irraa kan dhuf e malee bu'uura tti kaayyoo n siinqee bakka
ge there from of come PERF except base to aim NOM siinqee place
ft however, the function of siinqee is the same in all the reas

ref 019 020
tx mɑl:t:o dubɑrti:ti me:ʃɑ: dubɑrtiti:
w mallatto dubarti-ti meeshaa dubarti-tii
mb kam ittu tokkuma mallatto dubarti ti meeshaa dubarti tii
ge which FOC one symbol woman is material female is
ft it is a symbol of woman it is woman's material

ref 021
tx me:ʃɑ: wɑrɑ:nɑ:ti
w meeshaa waraanaa-ti
mb meeshaa waraanaa ti
ge material spear is
ft it is weapon

ref 022
tx dubɑrti: si:nkʼe: kʼɑbɑt:e: de:mtu kɑmu hɑ:tɑʔu kɑnʃɑnkʼu kʼɑbu kɑn ʃɑnis kɑn tok:s hodʒin ʔisɑ:ni tok:mɑ:
w dubarti siinqee qabat--tee deem-t-u kamu haata-'u kan dhanquu qabuu kan shan-i-s kan tokko-s hojii-n isaan-i tokkuma
mb dubarti siinqee qabat tee ee deem t u kamu haata 'u kan
ge woman siinqe hold 3SgF PERF go 3SgF INF whichever let INF that
ft any siinqee weather it has five or one tips its function is the same

ref
tx
w
mb dhanquu qabuu uu kan shan i s kan tokko s hojii n isaan i
ge tip has INF of five DEF also of one also work NOM they NOM
ft

ref 023
tx mɑl:t:o dubɑrti:ti
w mallattoo dubartii-ti
mb tokkuma mallattoo dubartii ti
ge one symbol woman is
ft it is a symbol of woman

ref 024
tx dubɑrti ʔsɑ kʼɑbɑt:e: de:mtu ʔɑk: nɑmɑ me:ʃɑ: wɑrɑ:nɑ: hɑngɑ fuɲ:nit:i hiɗɑte:ti
w dubarti isa qabat-tee deem-tu akka nama meeshaa waraanaa hanga funyaa-n-itti hidhat-ee-ti
mb dubarti isa qabat t ee deem t u akka nama meeshaa waraanaa

ge woman it hold 3SgF PERF go 3SgF INF LIKE person material wor
ft a woman holding siinqee is similar with that of the one who hold weapon

ref
tx
w
mb hanga funyaan itti hidh at ee ti
ge up to nose to hold MID 3SgM-PERF is
ft

ref 025
tx nɑmni ʔsi: fundurɑ hin kʼɑťːɑːmuru
w namni isii fundura hin qaxxaamur-u
mb nam ni isii fundura hin qaxxaamur u
ge person NOM she infront NEG pass IMPF
ft no one crosses aganist her way

ref 026
tx jo: ʔisiːn fundurɑ kʼɑbɑteːtiniːn jo: ʔisiːn deːmtu ʔarge kɑrɑːʔ̲in kʼɑťɑːmuru
w yoo isii-n fundura qabat-tee-tin yoo isii-n deem-t-u arg-e karaa-hin qaxxaamur-u
mb yoo isii n
ge when she NOM
ft the one who saw her infront of him, he will never cross

ref
tx
w
mb fundura
ge INFRONT

infront
ft

ref
tx
w
mb qabat t ee tin yoo isii n deem t u arg e karaa hin
ge hold 3SgF PERF is when she NOM go 3SgF INF see PERF road Neg
ft

ref
tx
w
mb qaxxaamur u
ge cross IMPF
ft

ref 027
tx ɗɑ:bɑte hɑgɑʔsi:n tɑrtu ʔegɑ:
w dhaabatee-t haga isii-n tar-tu-tti eeg-a
mb dhaabat ee t haga isii n tar t u tti eeg a
ge stand PERF until she NOM pass pass INF to after 3SgM-PERF
ft he stop walking till she cross

ref 028
tx jo: ʔisiin birɑ get:m:o: ʔɑl sɑdi:f hɑrkɑsɑ: lɑmɑ:nin mɑrgɑ kute ʔt:i: dɑrbɑ
w yoo isii-n bira geet-t-ee-immo al sadii harka-isaa lamaa-n marga kut-e itti darb-a
mb yoo isii n bira geet t ee immo al sadii harka isaa a lama
ge when she NOM beside arrive 3SgF PERF also time three hand he GEN two
ft when she arrived, he cut bunch of grass on both hands and give her three times

ref
tx
w
mb an marga kut e itti darb a
ge DEF grass cut 3SgM-PERF to pass 3SgM-IMPF
ft

ref 029 030
tx mɑ:li:fi si:nƙe:n wɑ:j:uɗɑ dubɑrtini:s wɑ:j:uɗɑ
w maalii-fi siinqee-n waayyuu-dha dubartii-n-i-s waayyuu dha
mb maal iifi siinqee n waayyuu dha dubartii n i s waayyuu dha
ge what for siinqee NOM waayyuu is woman NOM DEF also waayyuu is
ft this is because siinqee is waayyuu woman is waayyuu

ref 031
tx wɑj:utu wɑj: hɑrkɑ kʼɑbɑ
w wayyuu-tu wayyuu harka-a qab-a
mb wayyuu tu wayyuu harka a qab a
ge waayyuu FOC waayyuu hand from has 3Sg-IMPF
ft waayyuu holds waayyuu

ref 032
tx kɑnɑ:f ɗilte ɗin:ɑ jedʒe:t mɑrgɑ ʔɑl sɑdi mure ke:n:fi
w kanaaf dhiiltee dhinna jedh-eet marga al sadii mur-e kenn-aa-fi
mb kanaaf dhiiltee dhinna jedh eet marga al sadii mur e kenn
ge forthis salute salute say 3SgM-PERF Grass time three cut 3SgM-PERF GIVE
ft that is why he salute-dhiltee dhinnaa ad give her a banch of grass three times

ref

tx
w
mb aa fi
ge 3SgM-IMPF to
ft

ref 033
tx kanaːf buːʔurːi isaːni faːjidaːn ʔisaːni tokːuma jetʃuɗa ʔakːa fuːlː
kanatːi bahe bira tarːe
w kanaaf bu'uur-ri isaan-i faayidaa-n isaan-i tokkuma jechuu-dha akka
fuullee kana-tti bah-ee bira tar-re
mb kanaaf bu'uur ri isaan i faayidaa n isaan i tokkuma jechuu dha
ge therefore source NOM they NOM use NOM They NOM same say is
ft as mentioned earlior their basic function is the same

ref
tx
w
mb akka fuullee kana tti bah ee bira tar re
ge like fuldura this to out PERF beside pass
ft

ref 034
tx naːnːo: mataːtin joː laːleː dubarto:nːi ʔam: ʔanaː ʔadabːti ɗufan mataː
ʔisaːni guftaː ʔitː guftatanitin hundi ʔisaːnitu kan ʔagarːeː
w naannoo mataa-tin yoo laal-l-e dobart-oon-ni amma aanaa adaabbaa-ti
dhuf-an mataa isaan-i guftaa itti guftat-an-itiin hundi isaan-itu kan
agar-ree
mb naannoo mataa tin yoo laal l e dobart oon ni amma aanaa adaabbaa
ge area head with if see 1Pl PERF woman Pl NOM now district adaabbaa
ft coming to headdress women from adabbaa wear goftaa on their head

ref
tx
w
mb ti dhuf an mataa isaan i guftaa itti guftat an itiin hund i isaan
ge from come 3Pl head thei GEN gufta to wear 3Pl with all NOM they
ft

ref
tx
w
mb i tu kan agar r ee
ge NOM FOC that see 1Pl PERF
ft

ref 035
tx naːnːo: ʔanaː nansabo kokːosa ʔakːasumas darbe darbeː naːnːo: ʃalːfi

sirɑ:rot: jo:lɑ:l:e: gɑru dʒirbi ʔit: ɗɑhɑ:tɑnit mɑtɑ:gɑrsi:sɑni kɑn turɑni
w naannoo aanaa nansaboo kokkosa akkasuma-s darbee darbee naannoo shaallaa-fi siraaro-tti yoo laal-l-e garu jirbii itti dhahaat-an-i mataa garsiis-ani kan tur-an-i
mb naannoo aanaa nansaboo kokkosa akkasuma s darbee darbee
ge area district nansabo kokkosa and also also occasionally occasionally
ft however, those from nansabo, kokkossa, shaallaa and siraaroo braide their hair with thread

ref
tx
w
mb naannoo shaallaa fi siraaro tti yoo laal l e garu jirbii itti
ge area shaallaa and siraaroo at if see 1Pl PERF but cotton to
ft

ref
tx
w
mb dhahaat an i mataa garsiis an i kan tur an i
ge braide 3Pl PERF hair show 3Pl PERF that be 3Pl PERF
ft

ref 036
tx kun mɑ:lin:i gɑrɑ:gɑrum:ɑ: jo: lɑ:l:e: kɑmtu ʔɑdɑ: ʔoromo:ti jo: dʒen:e jo:lɑ:l:e: kɑn wɑr:ɑ mɑtɑ:gɑrsi:se mɑtɑ:ɗɑ:n jo:kɑ:n bi:nʈe jo:kɑ:n ɗɑhɑte dʒirbi:ɗɑ:n ɗɑhɑ:te de:mu santu ʔɑdɑ: ʔoromo: kɑle:s:ɑ duɗɑ:ɗɑ jetʃuɗɑ
w kun maal-inn-i garaagarummaa yoo laal-l-ee kamtu aadaa oromoo-ti yoo jen-ne yoo laal-l-e kan warra mataa garsiis-e mataa-dhaan yookaan biinxat-ee yookaan dhahaat-e deem-u san-tu aadaa oromoo kaleessa duudhaa jechuu-dha
mb kun maal inn i garaagarummaa yoo laal l ee kamtu aadaa oromoo ti
ge this what it NOM difference if see 1Pl PERF which culture oromo is
ft when we analyze which shows Oromo culture, those who braided and show their hair uncovered are typical oromo culture

ref
tx
w
mb yoo jen n e yoo laal l e kan warra mataa garsiis e mataa
ge if say 1Pl PERF if see 1Pl PERF of family hair show PERF hair
ft

ref
tx
w

mb dhaan yookaan biinxat ee yookaan dhahaat e deem u san tu aadaa
ge braide or let PERF or braide PERF go INF that foc culture
ft

ref
tx
w
mb oromoo kaleessa duudhaa jechuu dha
ge oromo yesterday tadition say is
ft

ref 037
tx kan war: ʔadab:a wan:i ʔak:as godʃatani:f ʔam:a ʔa:da: kana ha hordofan male:ʔamanti hordafto:ta ʔamanti ʔisla:mati
w kan warr-i adaabbaa wanni akka-s godhat-an-iif amma aadaa kana haa hordof-an malee amantii hordof-toota amantii islaamaa-ti
mb kan warr i adaabbaa wann i akka s godhat an iif amma aadaa
ge of fmily NOM culture something NOM like also make 3Pl to now culture
ft though they are tried to particiapte in cultural aspects, adaabbaa women are influnced by islamic religion

ref
tx
w
mb kana haa hordof an malee amantii hordof toota amantii islaamaa ti
ge this follow 3Pl though religion follow Pl religion islam is
ft

ref 038
tx ʔak: ʔa:da: ʔamanti ʔisla:ma:tit:i se:ra ʔamanti ʔisla:ma:tit:i dubarti:n mata: mulʔifatʃun ʤorka:ʤa
w akka aadaa amantii islaamaa-tti seera amantii islaamaa-tti dubarti-in mataa mul'ifa-chuu-n dhorkaa-dha
mb akka aadaa amantii islaamaa tti seera amantii islaamaa tti
ge according culture religion Islam is law religion islam to
ft according to islamic religion, it is forbidden for woman to show their hair

ref
tx
w
mb dubarti in mataa mul'ifa chuu n dhorkaa dha
ge female NOM hair show INF NOM forbiden is
ft

ref 039
tx ʔam:aj:u ma:l ʔagar:te: jira ʔa:da:kana lama:n gid:t:i ʤib:a:tu ʤir:a

jetʃuɗa
w ammayyu maal agar-r-eet jir-ra aadaa kana lamaa-n gidduu-tti dhiibbaa-tu jir-a jechuu-dha
mb ama yyu maal agar r eet jir r a aadaa kana lamaa n gidduu tti
ge now FOC what see 1Pl PERF be 1Pl IMPF culture this two DEF between to
ft as we can see there is influnence on culture

ref
tx
w
mb dhiibbaa tu jir a jedh chuu dha
ge effect FOC be IMPF say INF is
ft

ref 040
tx hagam ʔamanti:n ʔa:da:r:t:i ɗi:b:a ʔam:a ge:s:e:fi na:n:o:n kamtu ʔamanti:n ʔa:da: mi:ɗa: ʔak:a jiru na:n:n kum ɗi:b:an ʔamanti ʔak:a'n dʒir:e ʔa:suma:n wal bira k'abne:la:l:u dande:n:ɗa wa:n taʔe:f
w hagam amantii-n aadaarratti dhiibbaa amma geesis-ee-fi naanno kam-tu amantii-n aadaa miidhaa akka jiru-fi naannoon kum dhiibbaa-n amantii akka hin jirr-ee-fi asumaa-n wal bira qab-n-e laal-uu madaal-uu dandeen-n-u-dha waan ta'-ee-f
mb hagam amantii n aadaarratti dhiibbaa amma geesis ee fi naanno kam
ge how religion NOM culture affect how bring PERF and area which
ft this shows how religion influences culture and which area is more influenced

ref
tx
w
mb tu amantii n aadaa miidhaa akka jiru u fi naannoon kum dhiibbaa
ge FOC religion NOM culture problem as be INF and area which problem
ft

ref
tx
w
mb n amantii akka hin jirr ee fi asumaa n wal bira qab n e
ge NOM religion like Neg be PERF and thsi way O eachother near put 1Pl PERF
ft

ref
tx
w
mb laal uu madaal uu dandeen n u dha waan ta' ee f
ge see INF evaluate INF can 1Pl INF is because be PERF
ft

ref 041

tx ʔisɑ:fu ʔoromo:n dur dubɑrti:n mɑtɑ: ɗɑhɑt:e: tije de:mti
w isaafu oromoo-n dur dubartii-n mataa dhahaat-te-tiye deem-ti
mb isaafu oromoo n dur dubartii n mataa dhahaat t e tiye
ge for this oromo NOM long ago female NOM hair braide 3SgF PERF
ft long ago oromo woman braide her hair

ref
tx
w
mb deem t i
ge GO 3SgF perf
ft

ref 042
tx mɑtɑ:nis gosɑ mɑtɑ: ɗɑhɑt:un kʼɑbdi
w mataa-n-i-s gosa mataa dhahaat-t-u-n qab-d-i
mb mataa ni s gosa mataa dhahaat t u n qab d i
ge hair NOM also type hair braide 3SgF INF NOM has 3SgF PERF
ft there was a special way of hair making

ref 043
tx kɑnɑf sun ʔɑmɑj:u wɑr: ɗi:b:ɑ:n ʔɑmɑnit sun dʒɑlɑ hin dʒir:e: ɗa
w kanaaf sun ama-yyuu warra dhiibbaa-n amanti sun jala hin-jir-ree dha
mb kanaaf sun amma yyuu warra dhiibbaa n amanti sun jala hin jirr
ge for this that now FOC those NOM relogion that under Neg be
ft thosewho are free from the religion influence are not covering

ref
tx
w
mb ee dha
ge PERF is
ft

ref 044
tx kɑn wɑr: mɑtɑ:sɑ:ni bi:ʈɑni dʒirbi ʔit: ɗɑhɑ:tɑni ʔɑk: hɑɗɑ ʔɑgɑr:e kɑnɑt:ti mi:ɗɑgɑni de:mɑn
w kan warra mataa-isaan-i biinx-ani jirbii itti dhahaat-ani akka hardha agar-ree kana-tti miidhag-an-i deem-an
mb kan warra mataa isaan i biinx an i jirbii itti dhahaat an i akka
ge of thoe hair they GEN comb 3Pl PERF cotton to draide 3Pl PERF like
ft they freely make their hair and beautfy themselves

ref
tx
w
mb hardha agar r ee kana tti miidhag an i deem an
ge today see 1Pl PERF this to beauty 3Pl PERF go 3Pl
ft

ref 045
tx ʔisɑ:n kun ʔim:o: hordɑfto:tɑ ʔɑmɑnti ʔislɑmɑ wɑ:n tɑʔɑ:ni:f mɑtɑ:sɑ:ni ɗof:ɑtɑn
w isaan kun immoo hordof-toota amanti islaamaa waan ta'-a-an-if mataa-isaan-i dhoffat-an
mb isaan kun immoo hordof toota amanti islaamaa waan ta' an if
ge they this whereas follow Pl religion Islam because be 3Pl NOM
ft but those who are followers of Islamic religion cover their hair and hide it

ref
tx
w
mb mataa isaan i dhoffat an
ge hair they GEN hide 3Pl
ft

ref 046
tx ʔisɑ:n kuni ʔim:o ʔɑmɑnti ʔoromo: wɑ:kʼe:f:t:o:ta jetʃuɗɑ
w isaan kun immoo amanti oromoo waaqqeeffat-toota jechuu-dha
mb isaan kun immoo amanti oromoo waaqqeeffat toota jechuu dha
ge they those on ther hand religion oromo waqeffataa Pl say is
ft those who do not cover their hair are oromo waaqeeffataa

ref 047
tx wɑ:kʼe:f:t:o:tɑ wɑ:n tɑʔɑ:ni:f ʔɑmɑnti durɑ: ʔoromo: ʔisɑ gɑnɑmɑ: wɑ:n hordofɑni:f kɑnɑ:fi gɑrɑ:gɑrum:ɑn ʔisɑ:ni
w waaqqeeffat-toota waan ta'-an-i-f amantii oromoo isa ganamaa waan hordof-an-iif kanaa-fi garaagarummaan isaan-i
mb waaqqeeffat toota waan ta' an i f amantii oromoo isa ganamaa
ge waaqeffataa Pl because be 3Pl PERF religion oromo tit morning
ft this is the difference between followers of Islamic reilgion and oromo waaqeeffannaa

ref
tx
w
mb waan hordof an iif kana af i garaagarummaan isaan i
ge because follow 3Pl PERF this for PERF difference they GEN
ft

ref 048
tx guftɑ: guftɑtʃu:fi guftɑtʃu ɗɑbu gid:u gɑrɑ: gɑrum:ɑ:n dʒiru mɑd:i ʔisɑ: kɑnɑr:ɑ: nɑt:i fɑk:tɑ:
w guftaa guftachuu-fi gufta-chuu dhab-u gidduu garaagarummaa-n jiru madd-i isa-a kana-rraa na-tti fakkaataa
mb guftaa guftachuu fi gufta chuu dhab u gidduu garaagarummaa n jir

ge guftaa wear and wear INF loose INF between difference NOM be
ft i think the difference between wearing and not wearing guftaa relied on this point

ref
tx
w
mb u madd i isa a kana rraa na tti fakkaataa
ge INF source NOM it GEN this from I to seem
ft

ref 049
tx tole: gɑ:ri guftɑ:n gur:ɑ:tʃɑ:
w tolee guftaa-n gurraacha
mb tolee guftaa n gurraacha
ge ok guftaa NOM black
ft guftaa is black

ref 050
tx ʃɑ:ʃin ʔim:o: ʔit:n hiɗɑtɑn ʔɑdi:ɗɑ
w shaashi-in immoo ittii-n hidhat-an adii-dha
mb shaashi in immoo ittiin hidhat an adii dha
ge shashi NOM whereas with hang 3Pl white is
ft shaashii which tie to it is white

ref 051
tx gurɑ:tʃi ʔɑk:umɑ be:kɑmu wɑ:kʼmi gur:ɑ:tʃɑ:
w gurraach-i akkuma beekam-u waaq-ni gurraachaa
mb gurraach i akkuma beek am u waaq ni gurraachaa
ge black NOM as know PASS INF God NOM black
ft black obviously represents waaqaa

ref 052
tx ʔɑk:ɑ fɑlɑ:sɑmɑ ʔoromo:tit: wɑ:kʼni gur:ɑtʃɑ
w akka falaasama oromoo-ti-tti waaq-ni gurraacha
mb akka falaasama oromoo ti tti waaq ni gurraacha
ge according world view Oromo is to God NOM black
ft according to Oromo world view waaqaa is black

ref 053
tx gur:ɑtʃɑ dʒetʃu:n ʔɑk:ɑ nɑmo:n:i tok:o tok:o se:ʈɑn:i gur:ɑtʃɑ dʒeɗan kun ʔɑk:s :ʔoto: ʔin t:ne ʔɑk:ɑ fɑlɑ:sɑmɑ ʔoromo:ti ʔɑk:ɑ fɑlɑ:sɑmɑ ʔoromo:ti wɑ:kʼni gur:ɑ:tʃɑ
w gurraacha jechuu-n akka nam-oonn-i tokko tokko seexan-ni gurraacha jedh-an kun akka-s otoo hin-taane akka falaasama oromoo-ti-tti akka falaasama oromoo-ti-tti waaq-ni gurraacha
mb gurraacha jechuu n akka nam oonn i tokko tokko seexan ni gurraacha
ge black means NOM as person Pl NOM one one satan NOM black
ft though some argue that black represents devile,in oromo world view it is

black represents waaqaa

ref
tx
w
mb jedh an kun akka s otoo hin taane akka falaasama oromoo ti tti
ge say 3Pl this like also Neg according world view oromo is to
ft

ref
tx
w
mb akka falaasama oromoo ti tti waaq ni gurraacha
ge according world view oromo is to God NOM black
ft

ref 054 056
tx gur:ɑtʃɑ dʒetʃun guftɑ:nis gur:ɑ:tʃɑ wɑ:kʼnis gur:tʃɑ
w gurraacha jechuun guftaa-ni-s gurraacha waaq-ni-s gurraacha
mb gurraacha jechuun guftaa ni s gurraacha waaq ni s gurraacha
ge black means guftaa NOM also black God NOM also black
ft guftaa is black waaqaa is also black

ref 055 056
tx gur:ɑtʃɑ dʒetʃn kɑn kʼulkʼul:ɑje: kʼulkʼul:u kɑn tɑʔe
w gurraacha jechuun kan qulqullaa'-e qulqullu kan ta'-e
mb gurraacha jechuun kan qulqullaa' e qulqullu kan ta' e
ge black means of clean PERF pure of be 3SgM-PERF
ft black is pure which is clean

ref 057
tx wɑ:kʼɑ gur:ɑtʃa gɑrɑ: gɑrbɑ: tok:otʃɑ mɑkʼɑ:: ɗib:ɑ: dʒeɗɑnit wɑ:kʼɑ kɑɗɑtu
w waaqa gurraacha garaa garbaa tokk-icha maqaa dhibbaa jedh-an-i-t waaqa kadhat-u
mb waaqa gurraacha garaa garbaa tokk icha maqaa dhibbaa jedh an i t
ge God black stomach Oak one DEF name hundred say 3Pl PERF is
ft in their prayer people say, black waaqaa whose has hundred names and whose hand is full of oak

ref 058
tx ʔeb:ifɑtu jetʃuɗɑ ʔɑk: ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔoromo:t:i
w ebbifat-u jechuu-dha akka aadaa oromoo-tti
mb waaqa kadhat u ebbifat u jechuu dha akka aadaa oromoo tti
ge God pray INF bless INF means is according culture oromo to
ft they bless according to the oromo culture

ref 059
tx kɑnɑ:f sinbo:ɗɑ

w kana-af sinboo-dha
mb kana af sinboo dha
ge this for beauty is
ft it is beautyful

ref 060
tx gɑrɑ birɑ:tin kun gɑrɑ wɑ:kʼɑ:tin jo:lɑ:l:e: gur:ɑ:tʃi kʼulkʼul:u tɑʔusɑ:
w gara biraa-tin gara waaqaa-tin yoo laal-lee gurraa-chi qulqulluu ta'-uu-sa-a
mb gara biraa tin gara waaqaa tin yoo laal l ee gurraa chi qulqulluu
ge way other with way God with when see 1Pl PERF black DEF pure
ft hence black is pure like waaqaa

ref 061
tx wɑ: hundɑ dɑndɑ: tɑʔu ʔisɑ:
w waa hunda danda'-aa ta'-uu isa-a
mb ta' uu sa a waa hunda danda' aa ta' uu isa a
ge be INF he GEN every thing all can INF be INF he GEN
ft waaqaa is omnipotent

ref 062
tx feɗi ʔɑd:ɑd:ɑ:f ɗim:ɑ'n kʼɑbu
w fedhii addadda-af dhimma-hin qab-u
mb fedhii addaddaa f dhimma hin qab u
ge interest different for care Neg has INF
ft he do not need human support

ref 063
tx ɲɑ:tʃu ɗugu mɑ:lo mɑ:lor:ɑ: kɑn kʼulkʼul:ɑ:ʔe: tɑʔu ʔɑgɑrsi:suɗɑ:f gur:ɑ:tʃi jetʃu:ɗɑ
w nyaach-uu dhug-uu maaloo maaloo-rraa kan qulqullaa'-ee ta'-u agar-siis-uu-dhaafi gurraa-chi jechuu-dha
mb nyaach uu dhug uu maaloo maaloo rraa kan qulqullaa' ee ta' u
ge eat INF drik INF what what from that clean 3SgM-PERF be INF
ft this shows that he is free from eating, drinking an the like

ref
tx
w
mb agar siis uu dhaafi gurraa chi jechuu dha
ge see CAUS INF is black DEF means is
ft

ref 064
tx gɑrɑ guftɑ:t:i jo:de:bine: fɑk:om:in gur:tʃɑ: sinboɗɑ
w gara guftaa-tti yoo deebi-ne fakkoommi-n gurraachaa sinboo-dha
mb gara guftaa tti yoo deebi' n e fakkoommi n gurraachaa sinboo dha
ge way guftaa to if return 1Pl PERF symbol NOM black beauty is
ft when we come back to guftaa, black is a symbol of beauty

ref 065 066
tx gur:ɑ:tʃi mɑtɑ: ʔisɑ:tin simboɗɑ mɑl:t:o simboti jetʃuɗɑ
w gurraach-i mataa isa-a-tin sinboo-dha mallattoo sinboo-ti jechuudha
mb gurraach i mataa isa a tin sinboo dha mallattoo sinboo ti jechuudha
ge black DEF self it GEN with beauty symbol beauty is means
ft black by itself is beautyful it is a symbol of beauty

ref 067
tx bɑre:dinɑ:
w bareedina
mb bareedina
ge beauty
ft its beautyness

ref 068
tx ʔɑk:ɑ fɑlɑsɑmɑ ʔoromo:tit:i simbo ʔagarsi:suɗɑ:fi
w akka falaasama oromoo-ti-tti simboo agarsiis-uu-dhaa-fi
mb akka falaasama oromoo ti tti simboo agarsiis uu dhaa fi
ge according world view oromo is to beauty show INF is to
ft this is according to oromo philosophy

ref 069
tx de:bine:m:o ʃɑʃin ʔɑn ʃɑ:ʃi dʒeɗɑmu kɑn gufɑ ʔit:in dubɑrt:o:ni hiɗɑtɑn jo:lɑ:l:e ʔɑdiɗɑ
w deebi-nee-mmoo shaashii-n kan shaashii jedhamu kan guftaa ittin dubart-oon-ni hidhat-an yoo laa-llee adii-dha
mb deebi n ee mmoo shaashi n kan shaashii jedh am u kan guftaa
ge return 1Pl PERF also shaashii NOM of shaashii say PASS INF that gufta
ft again shaashii which tied on guftaa is white

ref
tx
w
mb ittin dubart oon ni hidhat an yoo laa ll adii dha
ge with woman Pl NOM tie 3Pl if see 1PA white is
ft

ref 070
tx ʔɑk:ɑ ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔoromo:tit:i ʔɑdi:n kɑl:t: ʔɑdɑdɑ:tin wɑn: ʔɑdɑd:ɑ:l:e: dʒirɑ:tu kɑl:t:i kɑnɑ:n ʔog:u lɑ:l:u ʔɑdi:n mɑl:t:o gɑdɑ:modʒ:iti:
w akka aadaa oromoo-ti-tti adii-n kallatti adda addaa-tin waan addaddaa-llee jiraat-u kallatti kana-an ogguu laal-l-u adii-n mallattoo gadaamojjii-ti
mb akka aadaa oromoo ti tti adii n kallatti adda addaa
ge according culture oromo is to white NOM direction different different
ft though it can be analyzed in different ways, white is a symbol of aged

ref
tx
w
mb tin waan addaddaa llee jiraat u kallatti kana an ogguu laal
ge with something different though live INF direction this with when see
ft

ref 071
tx mɑl:t:o dʒɑ:rsɑ:ti
w mallattoo jaarsaa-ti
mb l u adii n mallattoo gadaamojjii ti mallattoo jaarsaa ti
ge 2Pl INF white NOM symbol gadaamojji is symbol elder is
ft it is a symbol of elder

ref 072
tx mɑl:t:o be:kumsɑ:ti
w mallattoo beekumsaa-ti
mb mallattoo beekumsaa ti
ge symbol knowledge is
ft it is a symbol of knowledge

ref 073
tx nɑmni tok:o ʔilkɑ:n dʒeɗɑn ʔɑk:ɑ bulmɑ:tɑ ʔoromo:tit:i jo:kɑ:n ʔim:o: ʔ ɑk:ɑ ʔoromo:n dʒeɗut:i ʔilkɑ:n dub:i:n gɑ:fɑ ʔɑr:i:n dɑlkʼɑbe dub:i bɑrɑtʃu:n ɗufɑ
w nam-ni tokko ilkaan jedh-an akka bulmaata oromoo-ti-tti yookaan immoo akka oromoo-n jedh-uu-tti ilkaan dubb-ii-n gaafa arrii-n jalqab-e dubb-i barach-uu-n dhuf-a
mb nam ni tokko ilkaan jedh an akka bulmaata oromoo ti tti yookaan
ge person NOM one tooth say 3Pl according law oromo is to or
ft according to oromo culture the one who starts to have white hair seems to be knowledgeable

ref
tx
w
mb immoo akka oromoo n jedh uu tti ilkaan dubbi i n gaafa arrii n
ge also as oromo NOM say INF to tooth speak INF NOM when NOM
ft

ref
tx
w
mb jalqab e dubb i barach uu n dhuf a
ge start PERF speak INF learn INF NOM come 3SgF-IMPF
ft

ref 074
tx kun nɑmni ʔɑk:ɑ ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔoromo:tit:i kɑ hɑ:jo:mu kɑ gɑmno:mu ʔog:ɑ:
ʔɑfurtɑmɑ ke:s:ɑ:
w kun-i nam-ni akka aadaa oromoo-ti-tti ka haayy-oom-u ka gamn-oom-u waggaa
afurtama keessa
mb kun i nam ni akka aadaa oromoo ti tti ka haayy oom
ge this NOM person NOM according culture oromo is to that knowledge CAUS
ft this happen in forteeth years of age

ref
tx
w
mb u ka gamn oom u waggaa afurtama keessa
ge INF that CAUS INF age forty in
ft

ref 075
tx gɑ:fɑ gɑdɑ: gɑhe: ɗɑgnɑ kʼɑbɑte: ʔab:ɑ: gɑdɑ: tɑʔe
w gaafa gadaa gah-ee dhagna qab-at-ee abbaa gadaa ta'-e
mb gaafa gadaa gah ee dhagna qab at ee abbaa gadaa
ge when gadaa reach 3SgM-PERF curcumciation be MID 3SgM-PERF father gadaa
ft at the time when he is circumcised and become a father of gadaa

ref 076
tx nɑmni ʔɑngo kɑ fuɗɑtu wɑg:ɑ: ʔɑfurtɑmɑ ke:s:ɑ:
w nam-ni angoo ka fudhat-u waggaa afurtama keessa
mb ta' e nam ni angoo ka fudhat u waggaa afurtama keessa
ge be 3SgM-PERF erson NOM power that take INF year forty in
ft man come to power at the forty years of age

ref 077
tx nɑmni kɑ nɑm bultʃu wɑg:ɑ: ʔɑfurtɑmɑ bo:dɑ
w nam-ni ka nam bulch-u waggaa afurtama booda
mb nam ni ka nam bulch u waggaa afurtama booda
ge person NOM that person govern INF year forty after
ft man leads after forty years of age

ref 078
tx kunis mɑ:lin:i biltʃinɑ sɑm:u:ti
w kun-i-s maal-inni bilchina sammuu-ti
mb kun i s maal inn i bilchina sammuu ti
ge this NOM also what it NOM development mind is
ft this is because he is matured

ref 079
tx kun kɑnɑ:f mɑl:t:o be:kumsɑ:ti
w kun kana-af mallattoo beekumsaa-ti

mb kun kana af mallattoo beekumsaa ti
ge this this for symbol knowledge is
ft it is a symbol of knowledge

ref 080
tx mɑl:ɑt:o hɑ:j:um:ɑ:ti
w mallattoo haayyu-mmaa-ti
mb mallattoo haayyu mmaa ti
ge symbol knowledge able is
ft it is a symbol of knowledgeable person

ref 081
tx kɑnɑ:f kɑnumɑɑf bɑk:ɑ bu:su:dɑf kɑn ʔit:i:n hiɗɑtɑni
w kana-af kan-uma-af bakka buus-uu-dha-af kan itt-in hidh-at-an-i
mb kana af kanumaaf um af bakka buus uu dha af kan itt in hidh at an
ge this for this DEF for place put INF is for of to wth cover MID 3Pl
ft they wear t to represent this symbol

ref 082
tx lɑm:ɑf:m:o: guftɑ:n sun ʔɑk:ɑr:ɑ ʔin bu:ne
w lamma-ffaa-immo guftaa-n sun akka-irraa-hin buu'-n-e
mb i lamma ffaa immo guftaa n sun akka irraa hin buu' n e
ge PERF two rank also guftaa NOM that as from Neg drop 1Pl PERF
ft secondly, it secures guftaa on hair

ref 083
tx kuni fɑjidɑ: ʔin:i kɑl:t:i birɑ:tin kʼɑbu:ɗa
w kun-i faayidaa inn-i kallatti biraa-tin qab-uu-dha
mb kun i faayidaa inn i kallatti biraa tiin qabuu u dha
ge this NOM function it NOM direction onother with hsa INF is
ft ths is it function

ref 084
tx kɑn birɑ:m:o ʃɑ:ʃi:n wɑn:i goɗɑtɑmu:f mɑl:t:o: gufɑ:n sun ʔɑk: ʔir:ɑ
hinbu:ne ʔɑk:ɑ sir:it:i kʼɑbu:fi gotʃu:ɗɑfi
w kan biraa-immoo shaashii-n wann-i godh-at-am-uu-f mallatto guftaa-n sun
akka irraa-hin buune sirritti qab-uu-fi gochuu-dha-fi
mb kan biraa immoo shaashii n wann i godhatam at am uu f
ge of another also shaashii NOM reason DEF wear MID CAUS INF for
ft shaashii keeps guftaa on head

ref
tx
w
mb mallatto guftaa n sun akka irraa hin buu' n e sirritti qab uu
ge symbol gufta NOM that of from Neg drop 1Pl PERF correctly hang INF
ft

ref 085
tx mɑl:t:o:n sɑ: kɑnɑ
w mallattoo-n isaa kana
mb fi goch uu dha fi mallattoo n isa a kana
ge for make INF is for symbol NOM it GEN this
ft this is its symbol

ref 086
tx ʔɑk: ʔir:ɑ: ʔin bu:ne: tɑri:l:e: jo:sirbɑn guftɑ:n ʔir;ɑ:'n bu:ne dʒɑbe:s:e ʔɑk:ɑ kʼɑbu:fi
w akka irraa-hin buune tarii-illee yoo-sirb-an guftaa-n irraa-hin buu'-n-e jabeess-ee akka qab-uu-fi
mb akka irraa hin buu n e tarii illee yoo sirb an guftaa n irraa
ge of from Neg drop 1Pl PERF incase also when sing 3Pl guftaa NOM from
ft it secures guftaa on hair while they are singing

ref
tx
w
mb hin buu' n e jab- eess ee akka qab uu fi
ge Neg drop 1Pl PERF strong CAUS 3Sg-PERF as hang INF for
ft

ref 087
tx bɑre:dina ʔisɑ:niti jetʃu:ɗɑ
w bareed-ina isaan-i-ti jechuu-dha
mb bareedina isaan i ti jechuu dha
ge beauty they GEN is means is
ft it is their beauty

ref 088
tx tol:e fɑ:jɑ dubɑrti: jo:lɑ:l: fɑ:jɑ dubɑrti bɑ:ʔe:ɗɑ
w tolee faaya dubartii yoo-laal-l-ee faaya dubartii baayyee-dha
mb tolee faaya dubartii yoo laal l ee faaya dubartii baayyee dha
ge ok jewelry woman when see 1Pl PERF jewelry woman many is
ft women's jewelry are many

ref 089
tx kun mɑtɑ:r:ɑ: jo: dʒɑlkʼɑbne: tɑrti:bumɑ:n ʔɑk:ɑsit:i ʔilɑ:l:e: dubɑrti:n ʔɑrsi ʔoromo: ʔɑrsi jetʃuɗɑ ʔɑk:mɑ ʔɑrmɑ:n ʔolit:i kɑ:fne guftɑ: guftɑt:e: ʃɑ:ʃi:ɗɑ:n hiɗɑt:e: de:mti
w kun mataa-irraa yoo jalqab-n-e tartiib-uma-an akka-s-itti ilaal-l-e dubartii-n arsii oromoo arsii jechuu dha akkuma armaan oli-tti kaaf-n-e guftaa guftat-tee shaashi-dhaan hidh-at-t-ee deem-ti
mb kun mataa irraa yoo jalqab n e tartiib uma an akka s itti ilaal
ge this head from when start 1Pl PERF order DEF with like FOC ti see
ft as it is mentioned earlier, Arsi woman covers her hair with guftaa and secure it using shashii

ref
tx
w
mb l e dubartii n arsii oromoo arsii jechuu dha akk uma armaan oli tti
ge 1Pl PERF woman NOM arsi oromo arsii means is as FOC above to
ft

ref
tx
w
mb kaaf n e guftaa guftat t ee shaashi dhaan hidhat t ee
ge mentione 1Pl PERF guftaa wear 3SgF PERF shaashii with hang 3SgF PERF
ft

ref 090
tx kun guftɑ: gur:tʃɑ ʃɑ:ʃi: ʔɑdi:n kʼɑbɑni
w kun guftaa gurraacha shaashii adii-n qab-ani
mb deem t i kun guftaa gurraacha shaashii adii n qab an i
ge go 3SgF IMPF this guftaa black shaashii white with tie 3Pl PERF
ft the black guftaa is kept with white shaashii

ref 091
tx kɑnɑ gub:ɑn gutɑ:n mi:ɗɑginɑ:f dʒetʃɑ dɑrbɑtɑ hiɗɑn
w kana gubba-an guftaa-n miidhag-inaa-f jecha darbata hidh-an
mb kana gubba an guftaa n miidhagina af jecha darbata hidh an
ge this on with guftaa NOM beauty for say darbata tie 3Pl-PERF
ft above guftaa they wear darbataa

ref 092
tx dɑrbɑtɑ dʒɗɑni
w darbata jedh-an-i
mb darbata jedh an i
ge darbata say 3Pl PERF
ft they call it darbata

ref 093
tx dʒirbi bo:rɑr:ɑ: jo:kɑ:n dʒirbi bifɑ bɑre:dɑ: kʼɑbu
w jirbii booraa yookaan jirbii bifa bareedaa qab-u
mb jirbii booraa yookaan jirbii bifa bareedaa qab u
ge cotton white or cotton color beautyful hsa INF
ft it is a cotton with white or beautyful color

ref 094 095
tx di:mɑ:s tɑʔu dɑndɑʔɑ: ke:l:o:s tɑhu: dɑndɑhɑ
w diimaa-s ta'-u danda'-aa kelloo-s tah-u dandah-a
mb diimaa s ta' u danda' aa kelloo s tah u dandah a
ge red also be INF can IMPF yellow also be INF can IMPF
ft it can be red or yellow

ref 096
tx bifɑ bɑre:dɑr:ɑ: hodʒɑtɑme: dɑbɑtɑ dʒeɗɑmɑ
w bifa bareed-aa-irraa hojj-at-am-e darbata jedh-am-a
mb bifa bareed irraa hojj am e darbata jedh am a
ge color beautyful from make CAUS PERF darbata say CAUS IMPF
ft it is made from cotton with beautyful color

ref 097
tx kunis fɑ:jɑ dubɑti:ɗɑ jetʃɗɑ
w kun-i-s faaya dubartii-ti jechu dha
mb kun i s faaya dubartii ti jechu dha
ge this NOM FOC function woman is mens is
ft it is woman jewelry

ref 098
tx guftɑ: gub:ɑ:n gɑrɑnɑ:n ʃɑ:ʃi:n kʼɑbɑme: gɑrɑnɑ:n dɑrbɑn:i jo: ʔir:ɑ dʒirɑ:te hinmiɗɑgɑ
w guftaa gubbaa-n garanaa-n shaashi-in qab-am-e garanaa-n darban-ni yoo irra jiraat-e hin miidhag-a
mb guftaa gubbaa n garanaa n shaashi in qab am e garanaa n
ge guftaa above on here form shaashii with secure CAUS PERF here on
ft guftaa secured with shaashii in one side and darbataa in another side is attractive

ref
tx
w
mb darban ni yoo irra jiraat e hin miidhag a
ge darbata NOM when pass exist PERF Neg beauty IMPF
ft

ref 099
tx simbo: ʔɑd:ɑ: ʔumɑ:
w sinboo addaa uuma
mb sinboo addaa uuma
ge beauty unique ceat
ft it makes a beautyful color

ref 100
tx si:kʼne:tini:n jo: lɑ:l:e:m:o: kɑlɑtʃɑr:ɑt:i kɑn goɗɑtɑn sɑndɑ:bɑ kɑ dʒeɗɑmu dʒirɑ
w siiq-n-ee-ti-niin yoo laal-l-e-immoo kallacha-irra-tti kan godhat-an sandaaba ka jedham-u jira
mb siiq n ti nin yoo laal l e immoo kallacha irra tti kan godh at
ge next 1Pl is when see 1Pl PERF also forehead on to of put MID
ft there is sandaabaa which is tied to the forehead

ref
tx

w
mb an sandaaba ka jedh am u jir a
ge 3Pl sandaaba that say PASS INF be 3Sg-IMPF
ft

ref 101
tx sandɑ:bni kun ʔɑlbu:dɑ bifɑ di:mɑ: kʼɑbur: ɑ: hodʒetɑmɑ
w sandaab-ni kun albuuda bifa diimaa qabu-irraa hojjatam-a
mb sandaab ni kun albuuda bifa diimaa qab u irraa hojj at am a
ge sandaaba NOM this mineral color red has INF from make MID PASS IMPF
ft sandaabaa is made from minirlal which has red color

ref 102
tx bɑ:j:e bɑredɑ:ɗɑ
w baayyee bareedaa-dha
mb baayyee bareedaa dha
ge very beautyful is
ft it is very beautyful

ref 103
tx ʔɑk:umɑ guj:ɑ: ʔɑgɑrtɑn bifɑ ʔɑdɑd:ɑ: kʼɑbɑ
w akkuma guyyaa agar-tan bifa adda adaa qab-a
mb akkuma guyyaa agar tan bifa adda addaa qab a
ge like day see 1Sg-Hon color different different has IMPF
ft as you saw the jewelries have different colors

ref 104
tx kɑnɑ:f me:ʃɑ:n goɗɑtɑni tɑri kunis di:min: kun kɑl:ɑt:i ʔɑd:ɑd:ɑ:tin
lɑ:lu danden:ɑ
w kana-af meeshaa godh-at-ani tari kun-i-s diim-in-ni kun kallatti adda
addaa-tin laal-uu dandeen-n-a
mb kana af meeshaa godh at an i tari kun i s diim in ni
ge this for material put MID 3Pl PERF may be this NOM FOC red being NOM
ft so we can analyze red color in various ways

ref
tx
w
mb kun kallatti adda addaa tin laal uu dandeen n a
ge this direction different different with see INF can 1Pl IMPF
ft

ref 105
tx tok:o di:mi:n:i gosni ʔisɑ: go:tum:ɑ:ɗɑ
w tokko diim-inni gos-ni isa-a goot-ummaa dha
mb tokko diim in ni gos ni isa a goot ummaa dha
ge one red being NOM type NOM it GEN hero being is
ft one is bravness

ref 106
tx lɑm:ɑf:ɑ: ʔɑm:o: sɑɲiɗɑ
w lamma-ffaa ammoo sanyii dha
mb lammaffaa ammoo sanyii dha
ge second whereas offspring is
ft second is offspring

ref 107
tx di:mi:n:i sɑɲi ɗa ho:rmɑ:ta :
w diimin-ni sanyi dha hoormaataa
mb diim in ni sanyi dha hoor maata
ge red being NOM offspring is produce process
ft redness is offspring and productivity

ref 108
tx ʔɑk:ɑ ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔoromo:ti t:i wɑ:kʼɑ ʔumɑ: ʔume: dʒɗet ʔisɑt:i ʔɑmɑnɑ
w akka aadaa oromoo-ti-tti waaqa umaa umee jedh-eet isa-tti aman-a
mb akka aadaa oromoo ti tti waaqa umaa um ee jedh eet
ge according culture oromo is to God creature creat PERF say 3Sg-PERF
ft according to oromo culture the people beleive that waaqaa is creature

ref
tx
w
mb isa tti aman a
ge he to beleive IMPF
ft

ref 109
tx kɑnɑ:f ʔoromo:n hori buli dʒeɗe nɑmɑ ʔeb:isɑ
w kana-af oromoo-n hor-ii bul-i jedh-ee nama ebbis-a
mb kana af oromoo n hor ii bul i jedh ee nama
ge this for oromo NOM breed 2Sg-IMPF live 2Sg-IMPF say 3Sg-PERF person
ft that is why bless be multiply

ref
tx
w
mb ebbis a
ge bless 3Sg-IMPF
ft

ref 110
tx hori buli:n sun hori:s horu taʔa:
w hori bulii-n sun horii-s hor-u ta-'aa
mb hor i bul ii n sun horii s hor u ta' aa

ge breed 2Sg-IMPF live 2Sg-IMPF NOM that cattle FOC produce INF be IMPF
ft multiply means having many cattle

ref 111
tx nɑmɑs horu taʔɑ:
w nama-s horu ta'-aa
mb nama s horu ta' aa
ge human FOC breed be IMPF
ft and having many children

ref 112
tx wɑ:kɑ ʔumɑ: ʔume: dʒeɗet kɑnɑ:f ʔoromo:n hori buli nɑmɑ:n dʒeɗee nama ʔeb:sɑ
w waaqa uumaa umee jedh-et kanaaf oromoo-n horii bul-i nama-an jedh-ee nama ebbis-a
mb waaqa uumaa um e jedh et kana af oromoo n hor
ge God creature creat 3Sg-PERF say 3Sg-PERF this for oromo NOM breed
ft that is why oromo bless like that

ref
tx
w
mb ii bul i nama an jedh ee nama ebbis a
ge 2Sg-IMPF live 2Sg-IMPF person to say 3Sg-PERF erson bless 3Sg-IMPF
ft

ref 113
tx hori buli:n sun hori:s horu: tɑʔɑ
w horii bul-ii-n sun horii-s hor-u ta'-a
mb hor ii bul ii n sun horii s hor u ta' a
ge breed 2Sg-IMPF live 2Sg-IMPF NOM that cattle FOC breed INF be IMPF
ft muliply means having many cattle

ref 114
tx nɑmɑs horu tɑʔɑ
w nama-s hor-u ta'-aa
mb nama s hor uu ta' aa
ge PERSON FOC breed INF be IMPF
ft and having many children

ref 115
tx ʔisɑ kɑna tɑʔu:n ʔim:o: bifa diimaa taʔuunsaa ʔimmoo dubɑrti:n hɑ:ɗɑ:
w isa kana ta'-uu-n immoo bifa diimaa ta'-uu-n isa-a immoo dubartii-n haadhaa
mb isa kana ta' uu n immoo bifa diimaa ta' uu n isa a immoo
ge this this be INF NOM also color red be INF NOM it GEN also

ft redness represents mother

ref 116
tx hinhorti
w hin-hor-ti
mb dubartii n haadha hin hor ti
ge woman NOM mother Neg breed is
ft mother gives birth

ref 117
tx kɑnɑ:f kɑnɑ:n fɑk:su:ɗɑ:n jo:kɑ:n ʔɑm:o: fɑk:om:i kɑnɑ:f wɑ:n qɑbu nɑt:i fɑk:ɑ:tɑ
w kana-af kana-an fakkeess-uu-dhaan yookaan ammoo fakkoom-mii kanaaf waan qab-u na-tti fakkaataa
mb kana af kana an fakkeess uu dhaan yookaan ammoo fakkoomii kana af
ge this for this with represent INF is or whereas symbol this for
ft i think it has this symbol

ref
tx
w
mb waan qab u na tti fakkaataa
ge something has INF me to seem
ft

ref 118
tx ʔɑsin buʔe ʔɑm:o: ʗɑl:e: ʔɑd:ɑ: kan dʒeɗɑmu dʒira
w asii-n bu'-ee ammoo callee addaa kan jedham-u jir-a
mb as iin bu' ee ammoo callee addaa kan jedh am u jir
ge here with down 3Sg-PERF whereas callee addaa that say PASS INF be
ft there is callee addaa

ref 119
tx kɑn gufɑ:ɗɑ:n goɗɑtɑn
w kan gufataa-dhaan godh-at-an
mb a kan gufataa dhaan godh at an
ge 3Sg-IMPF of guftaa with wear MID 3Pl-PERF
ft it is worn together with guftaa

ref 120
tx kunis fɑ:jɑ ʔɑd:ɑr:t:i goɗɑtɑmu
w kun-i-s faaya adda-irra-tti godh-at-am-u
mb kun i s faaya adda irra tti godh at am u
ge this NOM FOC jewelry forehead on to put MID PASS INF
ft this is also jewelry wonrn on forehead

ref 121
tx ʔɑk:ɑsumɑt:i jo: gɑdi bu:ne mormɑr:ɑt:i kɑn goɗɑtɑmu dʒira
w akkasuma-tti yoo gadii buu-n-e morma-rra-tti kan godh-at-am-u jira
mb akkas as uma tti yoo gadii buu n e morma rra tti kan godh at
ge like FOC same to when below down 1Pl PERF neck on to of wear MID
ft there is jewelry worn on neck

ref
tx
w
mb am u jir a
ge PASS INF be IMPF
ft

ref 122
tx sir:it:i wɑlit:i mɑʔɑne kɑni goɗɑtɑmu dʒirɑ
w sirri-tti wal-itti maxxan-e kan godh-at-am-u jira
mb sirri tti wal itti maxxan e kan godh at am u jir a
ge correct to eachother to connect PERF of wear MID PASS INF be 3Sg-IMPF
ft it appears together

ref 123
tx ʔɑk:umɑ guj:ɑ: lɑ:lɑ: tur:e:t:i
w akkuma guyyaa laal-aa tur-ree-tti
mb akkuma guyyaa laal aa tur r ee tti
ge like day see IMPF be 1Pl PERF to
ft as we saw earlier

ref 124
tx ʧɑl:e: mormɑ:l:e: kɑ dʒeɗɑmu hindʒira
w callee mormaa-llee ka jedham-u hin-jir-a
mb callee mormaa llee ka jedh am u hin jir a
ge callee neck also of say PASS INF Neg be 3Sg-IMPF
ft there is callee necklace

ref 125
tx nɑ:n:o nɑ:n:t:i gɑrɑ:gɑrum:ɑ: kʼɑbɑ:tʃu dɑndɑhɑ
w naannoo naannoo-tti garaagarummaa qabaachuu dandah-a
mb naannoo naannoo tti garaagarummaa qab aa chuu dandah a
ge area area to difference has IMPF INF can IMPF
ft it can be different in different places

ref 126
tx ʔɑtʃi gɑt:ɑre ʔim:o: kɑn kʼomɑr:ɑt:i gɑdi rɑr:ɑʔu kɑ:furɑ kɑ dʒeɗɑmu dʒirɑ
w achi gadi-taree immoo kan qoma-irra-itti gadi rarra'-u kaafura: ka jedham-u jira
mb achi gadi taree immoo kan qoma irra itti gadi rarra' u kaafura: ka
ge there below pass also of chest on to down drop INF kaafuraa of

ft there is a necklace which streched on chest

ref 127
tx kɑn bifɑ ʔɑdɑd:ɑ: kʼɑbu
w kan bifa adda qab-u
mb jedh am u jir a kan bifa addaa qab u
ge say PASS INF be IMPF of color different has INF
ft it has different color

Appendix 2 annotated text 5

file:C:\Users\Tsigerada\Desktop\annotated document\female clothes and their description.eaf
Friday, April 10, 2015 8:52 AM

ref 001
tx ʃɑmɑr:ɑn Im:o: wɑ:n ʈiʈiʼ:o kʼoʈoʈo dʒɗɑntu qɑbɑ
w shamarr-an waan xixiqqo qoxoxoo jedh-an-tu qab-a
mb shamarr an waan xixiqqo qoxoxoo jedh an tu qab a
ge girl Pl something small-Pl qoxoxo say 3Pl FOC has IMPF
ft Girls have small clothes called qoxoxo

ref 002
tx kʼeʈɑ:t:i ʔodo: hindɑrbin ʃɑmɑr:ɑni:f kʼoʈoʈo:
w qexxaa-tti odoo hin-dabr-in shamarr-an-if koxoxo
mb qexxaatti tti odoo hin dabr in shamarr an if koxoxo
ge qexxaa to before Neg pass IMPF girl Pl for qoxoxo
ft Before girls pass to qeexxaa cloth they wear qoxoxo

ref 003
tx ʈiʼkuma ʔisi:n ʔɑk:ɑ gu:rdi ʔɑm:ɑ: kɑnɑt:i
w xiqq-uma isii-n akka gurdi ammaa kana-tti
mb xiqq uma isii n akka gurdi ammaa kana tti
ge small DEF she NOM like skirt now this to
ft it is small like that of skirt

ref 004
tx ʔuf:ɑtɑ gɑbɑ:bɑ: gurdi dʒɑn:u kɑnɑ
w uffta gabaabaa gurdi jen-n-u kana
mb uffta gabaabaa gurdi jen n u kana
ge cloth short skirt say 1Pl INF this
ft the cloth what we call short skirt

ref 005
tx gɑbɑ:bsɑni ʃɑmɑr:ɑn kɑn goɗɑt:u dʒirɑ
w gabaabs-an-i shamarr-an kan godh-at-t-u jir-a
mb gabaabs an i shamarr an kan godh at t u jir a

ge short 3Pl PERF GIRL pL that do MID 3SgF INF be 3Sg-IMPF
ft girls wear by making it short

ref 006
tx kal:o san walin kan dubarti:n ʔam:o: kal:o handa:ra: kan dʒan:u kana:n kan ʔuf:atani k'e':a:tu dʒira
w kalloo san walin kan dubartii-n ammo kallo handaaraa kan jedh-n-u kana-an kan uffat-an-i qeexxaa-tu jir-a
mb kalloo san walin kan dubartii n ammo kallo handaaraa kan jedh n
ge kalloo that with of female NOM moreover kalloo handaaraa that say 1Pl
ft together with kalloo handaaraa they wear qexxaa

ref
tx
w
mb u kana an kan uffat an i qexxaa tu jir a
ge INF this with that wear 3Pl PERF qexxaa FOC be 3Sg-IMPF
ft

ref 007 008
tx dʒal:i ʔisa: mija: k'e':a:n ma:lir:a: hodʒatama:
w jall-i isa-a mi'a qexxaan maal-irraa hojjat-am-aa
mb jall i isa a mi'a qexxaan n maal irraa hojjat am aa
ge bottom DEF it GEN bead qexxaa NOM what from make PASS 3Sg-IMPF
ft it has beads at the bottom qexxaa is made from

ref 009
tx goga: raʔe:tif goga: busa:ja: borofa:fi ʔar:ol:e:
w gogaa ra'ee-ti-f gogaa busaayaa borafaa-fi arroolee
mb gogaa ra'ee ti f gogaa busaayaa borafaa fi arroolee
ge skin goat is and skin calf bufalo and
ft the skin of goat, calf, bofalo and small cattle

ref 010
tx jo:kin bosonu dʒan:u kanar:a: ʔisar:a: k'alani
w yookin bosonu jed-n-u kana-rraa isa-rraa qal-an-i
mb yookin bosonu jed n u kana rraa isa rraa qal an i
ge or antelope say 1Pl INF this from it from slaughter 3Pl PERF
ft or antelope by slaughtering it

ref 011
tx ʔerga dʒad'ani bo:da ʃamsani
w erga jedh-an-i booda shams-an-i
mb erga jedh an i booda shams an i
ge after say 3Pl PERF after 3Pl PERF
ft after this they store it

ref 012

tx ʔɑk:ɑ rife:nsi ʔir:ɑ: luƙ:ɑʔu goɗɑni sir:it:i suk:umu
w akka rifeensi irraa lukka'-u godh-an-i sirritti sukkum-u
mb akka rifeensi irraa lukka' u godh an i sirri tti sukkum u
ge that hair from remove INF MAKE 3pL PERF well to INF
ft they finely to remove the hair from the skin

ref 013
tx ʔisi: lɑmɑ joki sɑdi ʔɑk:ɑ furdina nɑmɑ:tin
w isii lama yooki akka furdina nama-a-ti-n
mb isii lama yooki akka furd ina nama a ti n
ge it two or as fat ness person GEN is NOM
ft two or three of it odepending on the appearance of a person

ref 014
tx gugurdɑ: jo:tɑʔe lamɑ:
w gugurda yoo ta'-e lama
mb gugurda yoo ta' e lama
ge big-Pl it be 3Sg-PERF two
ft if big make ist two

ref 015
tx ƭiƭik':ɑ: jo: tɑʔe sɑdi ʔisɑ: ʔɑk:ɑ ʔɑrgitɑn wɑliʔ hoɗɑn:i
w xixiqqaa yoo ta'-e sadi isa-a akka argit-an wali-tti hodhani
mb xixiqqaa yoo ta' e sadi isa a akka argit an wali tti
ge small-Pl if be 3Sg-PERF three it DEF as see 3Pl each other to
ft if small they sew three of it

ref
tx
w
mb hodhani an i
ge sew 3Pl PERF
ft

ref 016
tx ʔisɑ wɑliʔ hoɗɑni gɑƈɑbsɑni ʔɑk:ɑnɑ dalgɑ hiɗɑtu
w isa wali-tti hodh-an-i gadi casbs-an-i akka-kana dalga hidh-at-u
mb isa wali tti hodh an i gadi cabs an i akka kana dalga hidh
ge it together to sew 3Pl PERF bend 3Pl PERF like this diagonal tie
ft by sewing together they wear it diagonally

ref 017 018
tx ʔɑk:ɑ gurditit:i hiɗɑtu gɑr mɑle bare:dɑ:
w akka gurdi-ti-tti hidh-at-u gar malee bareed-a
mb at u akka gurdi ti tti hidh at u gar malee bareed a
ge MID INF LIKE skirt is to tie MID INF great beauty it-IMPF
ft they wear it like a skirt it is very beautiful

ref 019

tx ʔisɑ:nis ɗɑɗɑ:n lɑf:isu suk:umu
w isaan-is dhadha-an laaffisu sukkum-u
mb isaan is dhadha an laaffisu is u sukkum u
ge they also butter with soft AUS INF
ft thye also sukkum it using butter

ref 020
tx kun ʔɑm:o: sɑdɑrkɑ: sɑni ʔolʔɑ:nɑ:n ʔombɑ: dʒɑɗɑmɑ
w kun ammoo sadarkaa san-i olaanaa-n omboaa jedh-am-a
mb kun ammoo sadarkaa san i olaanaa n omboaa jedh am a
ge this again stage that DEF great NOM omba say PASS 3Sg-IMPF
ft above it there is ombaa

ref 021 022
tx kɑlʔo hɑndɑ:rɑ:ti kɑ ʔɑ:ne ʔombɑ: dʒɑɗɑmɑ ʔombɑ:ni gud:ɑɗɑ
w kallo handaaraa-tti ka aanee ombaa jedh-am-a ombaa-ni guddaa-dha
mb kallo handaaraa tti ka aanee ombaa jedh am a ombaa ni guddaa dha
ge kalloo handaaraa to that next omba say PASS IMPF ombaa NOM big is
ft next ot kalloo handaaraa is ombaa ombaa is big

ref 023
tx godɑ:mbɑ: bultʃinsɑ mɑgɑ:lɑ: ke:s:ɑt:i ʔɑrgitɑni dʒirtu
w godambaa bulchiinsa magaalaa keessa-tti arg-it-ani jir-t-u
mb godambaa bulchiinsa magaalaa keessa tti arg it an i jirt u
ge museum administaration town in to see 3gF 3Pl PERF be 2Pl-Hon
ft you sow it in the town administrative museum

ref 024
tx gud:ɑ:ɗɑ ʃub:o kʼɑbɑ hɑndɑ:rɑ kʼɑbɑ
w guddaa-dha shubboo qab-a handaara qab-a
mb guddaa dha shubboo qab a handaara qab a
ge big is fringe has 3Sg-IMPF embrodery has 3Sg-IMPF
ft it is big and has fringe and embroidery

ref 025
tx gud:ɑ:ɗɑ ʔombɑ:n suni
w guddaa-dha ombaa-n sun-i
mb guddaa dha ombaa n sun i
ge guddaa is ombaa NOM tha DEF
ft ombaa is big

ref 026
tx kɑl:o hɑndɑrɑ: sɑn ʔisɑ gud:ɑ:ɗɑ jetʃuɗɑ
w kalloo handaaraa san isa guddaa-dha je-chuu-dha
mb kalloo handaaraa san isa guddaa dha je chuu dha
ge kalloo handaaraa that in big is say INF is
ft it is bigger that kalloo handaaraa

ref 027

tx ʔombɑ: dʒɑdhɑmɑʔn:i ʔombɑ:n sun dʒirɑ
w ombaa jedh-an-ii-n ombaa-n sun jir-a
mb ombaa jedh an ii n ombaa n sun jir a
ge ombaa say 3Pl PERFA NOM ombaa NOM that be 3Sg-IMPF
ft it is called ombaa

ref 028
tx sun hɑw:o:tɑ gugurd:o:t goɗɑtɑ
w sun hawwota guguddoo-t godh-at-a
mb sun hawwota guguddoo t godh at a
ge that women big-Pl FOC wear MID 3Sg-IMPF
ft it is worn by big women(elders)

ref 029
tx hɑw:ɑtɑ:f dʒɑ:rtole:n hinuf:ɑtu
w hawwata-af jaart-oolee-n hin-uffat-u
mb hawwata af jaart oolee n hin uffat u
ge woman for elder Pl NOM Neg wear IMPF
ft young women and old women wear it

ref 030
tx jero cʼiɗɑ: yero sirnɑ gɑdɑ: jero jɑ:ʔɑ:
w yeroo cidhaa yeroo sirna gadaa yeroo yaa'aa
mb yeroo cidhaa yeroo sirna gadaa yeroo yaa'aa
ge time wedding time ritual gadaa time assembly
ft at the time of wedding, gadaa ritual and assembly

ref 031
tx haw:ɑn:i gugurdɑ: sɑn ʔuf:ɑt:i
w hawwan-ni gurguddaa san uffat-t-i
mb hawwan ni gurguddaa san uffat t i
ge women NOM big-Pl that wear 3Sg-F PERF
ft big women wear it

ref 032
tx dubɑrti:n ʔɑm:o kɑl:o sɑni:f kʼe:tʼ:ɑ: sɑn ʔuf:ɑt:i
w dubartii-n ammoo kalloo san-ii-f qeexxaa san uff-at-t-i
mb dubartii n ammoo kalloo san ii f qeexxaa san uffat t i
ge female NOM again kallo that DEF and qeexxaa that wear 3SgF PERF
ft the young woman also wears that kalloo and qexxaa

ref 033
tx kɑbirɑ: ʔɑm:o: boke:f bonk: kɑdʒɑɗɑn dʒirɑ
w ka-biraa ammoo bokee-f bonkoo ka-jedh-an jir-a
mb ka biraa ammoo bokee f bonkoo ka jedh an jir a
ge DEF other also bokee and bonko that say 3Pl be 3Sg-IMPF
ft others are bokee and bonkoo

ref 034

tx bokeef bonkooni gogaama lo:nir:ɑ: hodʒɑtɑmɑ
w bokee-f bonkoo-ni gogaa-ma loonii-rraa hojjjat-am-a
mb bokee f bonkoo ni gogaa ma loonii rraa hojjjat am a
ge bokee and bonkoo NOM skin DEF cattle from make PASS 3Sg-IMPF
ft bokee and bonkoo is made from cattle skin

ref 035
tx gogɑ: rɑ:d:ɑni dʒɑb:ile: kɑn:en ʔir:ɑ: hodʒɑtɑmɑ
w gogaa raad-dan-i jabbi-lee kan-neen irraa hojjat-am-a
mb gogaa raad dan i jabbi lee kan neen irraa hojjat am a
ge SKIN calf Pl NOM calf Pl this Pl from make PASS 3Sg-IMPF
ft it is mad from heifer and calf skin

ref 036
tx rɑ:d:ɑnr:ɑ: hodʒɑtɑmɑ
w raad-dan-rraa hojjat-am-a
mb raad dan rraa hojjat am a
ge calf Pl from make PASS 3Sg-IMPF
ft it is made from heifer

ref 037
tx rɑ:d:ɑn ʔir:ɑ: wɑ:n:i hodʒɑtɑmu:fi
w raad-dan irraa waan hojjat-am-uuf
mb raad dan irraa waan hojjat am uuf
ge calf Pl from because make PASS INF
ft the reason why it is made from heifer is

ref 038
tx gogɑ:n hori:ɗɑlɑ:tif kormɑ: gɑrɑgɑrɑ
w gogaa horii-dhalaa-ti-f kormaa garagara
mb gogaa horii dhalaa ti f kormaa garagara
ge skin cattle cow is and ox different
ft the skin of cow and an ox is different

ref 039
tx kɑn kormɑ: hindʒɑbɑ:tɑ:
w kan kormaa hin-jabaat-a
mb kan kormaa hin jabaat a
ge of ox Neg strong 3Sg-IMPF
ft an ox's os strong

ref 040
tx gogɑ:n hori sɑʔɑ: kuni hin lɑ:fɑ
w gogaa-n horii sa'aa kun-i hin laaf-a
mb gogaa n horii sa'aa kun i hin laaf a
ge skin NOM cattle cow this DEF Neg soft 3Sg-IMPF
ft the skin of a cow is sof

ref 041
tx kʼalʔisɑni jo: du:gɑni sir:it:i suk:umɑn
w qall-is-an-i yoo duug-an-i sirri-tti sukkum-an
mb qall is an i yoo duug an i sirri tti sukkum an
ge thin CAUS 3Pl PERF when scrap 3Pl PERF fine to 3Pl
ft if they make it thin by scraching and

ref 042
tx ɗɑɗɑ: dibɑn cʼɑrkʼimɑ ʔɑm:ɑ ʔuf:ɑn:u kɑnɑ
w dhadhaa dib-an carqi-maa uffat-n-u kana
mb dhadhaa dib an carqi maa uffat n u kana
ge butter smear 3Pl textile FOC wear 1Pl INF this
ft and smear it in to butter, it looks like that of fabricated textile

ref 043
tx ʔɑk:ɑ wɑ:n dʒrbir:ɑ: hodʒ:ɑtɑme lɑ:fe:tumɑ ʔɑk:ɑ gɑ:rit:i ʔisɑ:ni
ʔɑdʒɑdʒama jetʃuɗɑ
w akka waan jirbi-rraa hojjat-am-e laafee-t-uma akka gaarii-tti isaan-i
ajaj-am-a
mb akka waan jirbi rraa hojjat am e laaf ee t uma akka
ge like somethiing cotton from make PASS 3Sg-PERF soft PERF is FOC like
ft it becomes easy and soft as if it is made from cotton

ref 044
tx ʔisɑ bonko:ni
w isa boonkoo-ni
mb gaarii tti isaan i ajaj am a isa boonkoo ni
ge good to they PERF order PASS 3Sg-IMPF it bonko NOM
ft it is bonkoo

ref 045
tx boke:ni dʒɑl:i qɑro:rɑ:ɗɑ handɑ:rɑ hin kʼɑbu
w bokeen jal-li qarooraa-dha handaara hin qab-u
mb bokeen jal li qarooraa dha handaara hin qab u
ge bokee bottom DEF fringe is embroidery Neg has INF
ft bokee has fringe but not embroidery

ref 046
tx kɑsɑ: ʔuf:ɑtɑni:n kʼofɑ kʼɑbɑ:
w kasaa uffat-an-ii-n qofa qaba
mb kasaa uffat an iin qofa qab a
ge kasaa wear 3Pl with only has 3Sg-IMPF
ft it hasonly tips to wear

ref 047 048
tx gɑrɑ kɑ:nin handɑ:rɑʔin kʼɑbu kʼɑro:rɑme
w gara kaan-in handaara-hin qab-u qarror-am-e
mb gara kaan in handaara hin qab u qarror am e

ge to other with embroidery Neg has INF fringe PASS PERF
ft it has no embroidery

ref 049
tx kɑsɑ:l:eʔin qɑbu
w kasaa-llee-hin qab-u
mb kasaa llee hin qab u
ge kasaa even Neg has INF
ft it has no extended kasaa

ref 051
tx ʔɑm:ɑ wɑr:i kʼɑlmɑt:il:e kɑsɑ: bɑrbɑ:tʃiu
w amma warr-i qalma-tti-llee kasaa barbaachis-u
mb amma warr i qalma tti llee kasaa barbaad chis u
ge now those DEF slaughter to ille kasaa need CAUS INF
ft those which need kasaa while slaughtering are

ref 052
tx ʔɑk:umɑ be:kɑmu dizɑjini:n ʔisɑ: gɑrɑ gud:in:ɑ kʼɑlmɑ ʔɑk:ɑ kɑl:o
w akk-uma beek-am-u dizaayinii-n isaa gara guddinna qal-ma akka kalloo
mb akk uma beek am u dizaayinii n isa a gara guddinna qal ma
ge like FOC know CAUS INF design NOM it GEN side largest slaughter INF
ft its design more of the kalloo is

ref
tx
w
mb akka kalloo
ge like kalloo
ft

ref 053
tx kɑl:o ɗi:rɑ: kɑl:o ʔidʒol:e:kɑl:o dubarti kɑl:o hɑndɑ:rɑ:
w kalloo dhiiraa kalloo ijoollee kalloo dubartii kalloo handaaraa
mb kalloo dhiiraa kalloo ijoollee kalloo dubartii kalloo handaaraa
ge kalloo male kalloo children kalloo female kalloo handaaraa
ft male kalloo, children kalloo, female kalloo, kalloo handaara

ref 054
tx kɑl:o busɑ:jɑ: kɑl:o hori dizɑ:jini:n ʔisɑ: kʼɑlmɑ horiʔir:ɑt:i
w kalloo busaayaa kalloo hori dizaayinii-n isaa qal-ma horii-rra-tti
mb kalloo busaayaa kalloo hori dizaayinii n isa a qal ma
ge kalloo calf kalloo livestock design NOM it GEN slaughter ING
ft kalloo of calf and livestock is its design is while slaughtering

ref
tx
w
mb horii rra tti

ge livestock on to
ft

ref 055
tx ʔisɑt:i ʔɑnse dɑm:o kɑn dʒiru hɑrsɑmɑ kɑ dʒɑɗɑntu dʒirɑ
w itti aans-ee dammoo kan jir-u harsama ka jedh-an-tu jir-a
mb itti aans ee dammoo kan jir u harsaa ka jedh an tu jir a
ge to next PERF again that live INF harsama that say 3Pl FOC be 3SG-IMPF
ft the next one is harsama

ref 056
tx hɑrsɑmni hɑrsɑmni gɑrɑ:gɑrum:ɑ:n ʔin:i kʼɑbu
w harsam-ni harsam-ni garaagar-ummaa-n inn-i qab-u
mb harsam ni harsam ni garaagar ummaa n inn i qab u
ge harsama NOM harsama NOM different ness NOM it DEF has 3Sg-IMPF
ft the difference that harsama has is

ref 057
tx hɑrsɑmni hin lukʼ:ɑʔu
w harsam-ni hin luqqa'-u
mb harsam ni hin luqqa' u
ge harama NOM Neg scrach INF
ft the hair is not removed

ref 058
tx hɑrsɑmni rife:nsumɑ:n suk:umɑme
w harsam-ni rifeens-um-aan sukkum-am-e
mb harsam ni rifeens um aan sukkum am e
ge harsama NOM hair DEF with PASS 3Sg-PERF
ft harsama is soften with hair

ref 059
tx rife:nsumɑ:n lɑ:fe mɑrʼifɑtɑni: dʒɑlumɑt:i ʔɑkːɑ ʃiritʼitit:i ho:tɑʔe:
w rifeens-um-aan laaf-e marxifat-an-i jal-um-at-ti akka-shirixiii-ti-tti hoo-ta'-ee
mb rifeens um aan laaf e marxifat an i jal um at tti akka
ge hair DEF with soft 3Sg-PERF 3Pl PERF bottom DEF MID at like
ft the hide is soften with hair and they wear it diagonally

ref
tx
w
mb jirbii ti tti hoo ta' ee
ge cotton is to when be 3Sg-PERF
ft

ref 060

tx dʒala ʔak:anat:i datʃa:sani ʃinʃinani
w jala akka-kana-tti dachaas-an-i shinshin-an-i
mb jala akka kana tti dachaas an i shinshin an i
ge bottom like this to bend 3Pl PERF 3Pl PERF
ft bend

ref 061
tx ʔak:a ʔam:a ke:s:a se:nidʒen:u dalga hiɗatani gurdi sun
w akka amma keessaseeni jedh-n-u dalga hidh-at-an-i gurdi sun
mb akka amma keessaseeni jedh n u dalga hidh at an i gurdi sun
ge like now keessa seeni say 1Pl INF diagonal tie MID 3Pl PERF skirt that
ft that skirt is worn diagonally like that of keessa seeni

ref 062 063
tx ʃinʃiname hiɗatama mija ʔit:i hingoɗan
w shinshin-am-e hidh-at-am-a mi'a itti hin-godh-an
mb shinshin am e hidh at am a mi'a itti hin godh an
ge PASS 3g-PERF tie MID PASS IMPF bead to Neg put 3Pl
ft they do not add beads

ref 064
tx hanfalaa mataa isaa k'aba
w hanfalaa mataa isa-a qab-a
mb hanfalaa mataa isa a qab a
ge hanfalaa head it GEN has 3Sg-IMPF
ft it has its own hanfalaa

ref 065
tx martinu hanfala: k'aba wanti dalga hiɗatan kun
w marti-nu hanfallaa qab-a wanti dalga hidh-at-an kun
mb marti nu hanfallaa qab a wanti dalga hidh at an kun
ge all DEF hanfalaa has 3Sg-IMPF some thing diagonal tie MID 3Pl this
ft those worn diagonally have hanfalaa

ref 066
tx hanfala: ka dʒaɗan gogaːr:a: kan hodʒtan kan ʔak:a sab:ata:tit:i kan ʔit:i faj:a damantu dʒira
w hanfalaa ka jedh-an gogaarraa kan hojjat-an kan akka sabbataa-ti-tti kan itti fayyad-am-an-tu jir-a
mb hanfalaa ka jedh an gogaarraa kan hojjat an kan akka sabbataa ti tti
ge hanfalaa of say 3Pl skin of make 3Pl of like sabbataa is to
ft hanfalaa is made from skin and used as sabbataa waist tie

ref
tx
w
mb kan itti fayyad am an tu jir a
ge that at use PASS 3Pl FOC BE 3Sg-IMPF
ft

ref 067
tx ʔin:i gud:ɑ:f ťik:ɑ: kʻɑbɑ dʒen:ɑ:ni
w inn-i guddaa-f xiqqaa qab-a jedh-nn-aan-i
mb inn i guddaa f xiqqaa qab a jedh nn aan i
ge it NOM big and small has 3Sg-IMPF inform 1pl INF PERF
ft we can say it has big and small

ref 068
tx ʔɑmɑ bonko:n boke:n kun sir:it:i dʒiru bɑd:ɑ:r:ɑt:i
w amma bonkoo-n bokee-n kun sirri-tti jir-u badddaa-rra-tti
mb amma bonkoo n bokee n kun sirri tti jir u badddaa rra tti
ge now bonkoo NOM bokee NOM this to be INF on to
ft in baddaa areas bokee and bonkoo are available

ref 069 070
tx kofɑle: dʒiru kok:osɑ dʒiru
w kofalee jir-u kokkosa jir-u
mb kofalee jir u kokkosa jir u
ge kofalee be 3Pl-IMPF kokkosaa be
ft they are found in kofele in kokkosaa

ref 071
tx ʔɑnɑ: nɑnsabo ʔɑnɑ: dodolɑ:tif ʔɑnɑ: ʔɑdɑ:b:ɑ: sir:it:i dʒiru
w aanaa nansaboo aanaa dodolaa-f aanaa adaabbaa-tti sirritti jir-u
mb aanaa nansaboo aanaa dodolaa f aanaa adaabbaa tti sirritti jir
ge 3Pl-IMPF nansabo district dodolaa and district adaabbaa in be
ft they are broadly found in districts, nansabo, dodolaa and adabbaa

ref 072
tx nɑ:n:o birɑ: hindʒiru ʔɑm:ɑ kun:in
w naannoo biraa hin-jiru amma kunniin
mb u naannoo biraa hin jir u amma kunniin niin
ge 1Pl-IMPF area other Neg be 3Sg-IMPF now those DEF
ft they are not found in another areas

ref 073
tx we:dɑre:fi wɑ:l:un wɑ:n hɑlkɑn ʔf:ɑtɑni
w weedaree-fi waalluu-n halkan uffat-an-i
mb weedaree fi waalluu n halkan uffat an i
ge weedaree and waalluu NOM NIGHT 3Pl PERF
ft weedaree and waalluu are night clothes

ref 074
tx wɑ:l:un ʔɑm:ɑ gogɑ: sɑngɑ: sir:it:i du:gɑni
w waalluu-n gogaa sangaa sirritti duug-an-i

mb waalluu n gogaa sangaa sirri itti duug an i
ge waalluu NOM skin ox scrach 3Pl PERF
ft waalluu is made by softenning an ox hide finely

ref 075 076
tx ɗisɑni lɑ:f:isɑni jero gud:ɑ: fuɗɑtɑ:
w dhis-an-i laaffis-an-i yeroo guddaa fudh-at-aa
mb dhis an i laaffis an i yeroo guddaa fudh at aa
ge strech 3Pl PERF soft 3Pl PERF time long take MID 3Sg-IMPF
ft they sre streching and softenning it needs a long time

ref 077
tx humnɑ gud:ɑ: fuɗɑtɑ lɑ:f:isɑni
w humna guddaa fudh-at-a laaffis-an-i
mb humna guddaa fudh at a laaffis an i
ge energy big take MID 3Sg-IMPF soft 3Pl PERF
ft it needs energy

ref 078 079
tx kun:i:n we:dɑre:fi wɑ:l:un wɑ:n ʔuf:ɑtɑni rɑfɑni:n
w kunnin weedaree-fi waalluu-n waan uffat-an-i raf-an-i
mb kunnin weedaree fi waalluu n waan uffat an i raf an i
ge those weedaree and waalluu NOM some thing wear 3Pl PERF sleep 3Pl PERF
ft those waallu and weedaree they are worn at night

ref 080
tx gɑnɑmɑ gɑnɑmɑ ʔufɑtʃu mɑle: nɑmni gud:ɑ:n hori ke:s:ɑ:n tɑ:ʔɑ
w ganama ganama uffa-chu malee nam-ni guddaa-n horii keessa-an taa'-a
mb ganama ganama uffa chu malee nam ni guddaa n horii keessa an
ge morninig morning wear INF except peron NOM ealder NOM cattle in with
ft despite this, an old man wears it while sheperding

ref 081
tx kɑrɑ: fɑgo:n ʔinde:mɑni
w karaa fagoo-n hin-dee-an-i
mb taa' a karaa fagoo n hin dee an i
ge sit 3Sg-IMPF way far NOM Neg go 3Pl PERF
ft it is not worn while traveling to far places

ref 082
tx ʔuf:ɑtɑni hinde:mɑni
w ufft-an-i hin-deem-an-i
mb ufft an i hin deem an i
ge wear 3Pl PERF Neg go 3Pl PERF
ft they are not wearing it fro travel

ref 083
tx kɐʔe: ke:s:ɑ ʔɑk:ɑnɑ:n mɑrʈifɑtɑni dɑrbu ʔɑk:ɑnɑ nɑʈɑlɑ:t:i dɑrbɑtɑni
w qe'ee keessa akka-kana-an marxif-at-an-i darb-u akka-kana naxalaa-ti-tti darb-at-an-i
mb qe'ee keessa akka kana an marxif at an i darb u akka kana
ge village in like this with MOD 3Pl PERF put INF like this
ft they wear it like showl while they are arround their village

ref
tx
w
mb naxalaa ti tti darb at an i
ge showl is to put MID 3Pl PERF
ft

ref 084
tx mɑnɑt:i ʔuf:ɑtu dʒetʃu ʔɑk:ɑ wɑyɑ:tit:i
w mana-tti uffat-u jech-u akka wayaa-ti-tti
mb mana tti uffat u jech u akka wayaa ti tti
ge house in wear INF say INF like wayaa is to
ft they wear it at home

ref 085
tx bɑrɑ wɑyɑ:n hinɗufin ʔisɑ dʒɑlɑ se:nɑn
w bara wayaan hin-dhuf-in isa jala seen-an
mb bara wayaan n hin dhuf in isa jala seen an
ge year wayaa NOM Neg come PERF it below enter 3Pl
ft before the introduction of wayaa they used it as a blanket
ref 086
tx we:dɑre: sɑn ʔɑk:ɑsit:i suk:umɑni la:f:isɑni
w weedaree san akkas-itti sukkum-an-i laaffis-an-i
mb weedaree san akkas itti sukkum an i laaffis an i
ge weedaree that like to 3Pl PERF soft 3Pl PERF
ft they soften that weedaree

ref 087 088
tx kun ʔitil:emɑ: ʔitil:e: dɑlgɑ ʔɑfɑtu
w kun itillee-ma itillee dalga afat-u
mb kun itillee ma itillee dalga afat u
ge other itillee is itillee diagonal starch INF
ft the other one is itillee they laid itillee diagonally

ref 089
tx ʔɑfɑtɑ:f kɑn goɗɑmu
w afata-af kan godh-am-u
mb afata af kan goh am u
ge mattress to that make PASS INF

ft it is used to laid on the ground

ref 090
tx jo: ʔir:ɑ rɑfɑni kɑ ʔɑm:ɑ gog:ogɑ: fɑk:ɑ:tu su:tɑ sutɑ:n lɑ:fɑ
w yoo irra raf-an-i ka amma goggogaa fakkaat- suuta suuta-an laaf-a
mb yoo irra raf an i ka amma goggogaa fakkaat suuta suuta an laaf
ge when on sleep 3Pl PERF of now dry look gradual slow with soft
ft it looks dry, but while they are sleeping on it it gets softenning

ref
tx
w
mb a
ge 3Sg-IMPF
ft

Appendix 3 Oral Plays

Oral play 1 Muka Mukkurree Ganne

A. Mukaa mukkurree ganne
B. Ee ,ganne.
A. Maal fa'a?

B .maraaroo

A. maal fa'a?

B.ciirontaa.

A. maal fa'a?

B.biixxannaa.

A.maal fa'a?

B. sokorruu.

A. maal fa'a?

B.qacama.

A. maal gatta?

B.heexoo

A. dogoggorte.

B. maalif?

A.heexoon muka qorichaa kan raammoo garaa baasuu,ijaarsaafi meeshaa manaa heedduun kan irraa hojjatamu waan ta'eef.

B.mukaa mukkurree ganne!

A. Ee, ganne.

B.maal fa'a?

A. xexee

B.maal fa'a?

A.maal fa'a?

B.saatoo.

A. maal fa'a?

B. uleefoonii.

A. maal fa’a?

B.reejjii.

A. maal fa’a?

B.waleenuu

A. maal fa’a?

B. kokoflaa.

A. maal gatta?

B.aanannoo.

A. beekte

B.beekaan sii haa dhalatu

A. Siifillee.

B. mukaa mukkurre ganne.

A. Ee, ganne.

B. maal fa’a?

A. Dhoqna.

B. maal fa’a?

A. Qobboo.

B. maal fa’a?

A. Qaraaruu.

B. maal gatta?

A. Waddeessa.

B. Dogoggorte.

A. maalif?

B. Waddeessi-muka seeraati.

Gaafa fuudhaa qabatan.

Muk meeshaan manaa kan addaa irraa hojjatamu.

A. seeraan buli, seeraan ooli!

B. atillee!

Oral play 2 Gama Keenna Roobee Gama Keessan Roobee?

A. Gama keenna roobee?
B. Ee,roobee.

A. maal roobee?

B.madda margaa.

A.maaltu dheeda?

B.sa'a haadha urtitii.

A.haati urjii deette?

B.ee,deettee?

A.maal deette?

B.ilmaa intala.

A.kam golloo kaayanii, kam gola kaayan?

B.intala gola kaayanii, ilma golloo kaayan.

A.waa qalaniif?

B.ee, qalaniif.

A. Maal qalaniif?

A. korpheessa eegee coomaati.

B.sii jifanii?

A. ee. jifan

B.naa jifanii?

A.ee, sii jifan

B.eessa naa keette?

A.bitimaa karaarraa.

B.soqee hin dhabnee maaltu fudhate?

A. harraagoo boddeettu koolaan dhahee fudhate.

B.ariitee?

A. ee, ari’e.

B. fiiddee?

A.ee, fiige

A. kuftee?

B. ee, kufe.

A.dhiiddee?

B.Ee,dhiige.

A.eessa dhiidde?

B.jilba qara.

A.maaliin haqatte?

B.cabbii waabee gamaati.

A.waabeen guutuu moo hirdhu’u?

B.Qara hirdhu, hancufa kiyya itti tufnaan guute.

A.attamin ceete?

B.ni konkoonadhe.

B. Konkonaan deemsa maali?
A. konkonaan deemsa raachaati.
B. Raachumatu konkonaataaa, naachi hin konkoonatu?

A. naachi waan bishaan galaati.

B.naachumatu bishaan gala, roophiin bishaan hingalu?

A.roophiin waan gurra al’taati.

B.roophimatu gurra bal’ata, woraanni gurra hinbal’atu?

A.woraanni waan arfii addaataati.

B.woraanumatu arfii addaataa, daaraan arfii hinaddaatuu?

A. daaraan waan baasani gatan.

B.daaraama baasani gatanii, keessummaa baasani hingatani?

A. keessummaan waan bulee lufaati.

B. keessummaatu bulee lufaa, galaanni bulee hinlufuu?

A.galaanni waan lafarra looyaati.

B. galaanumatu lafarra looyaa, bofni lafarra hinlooyu?

A. boofni waan nama iddaati.

B.bofumatu nama iddaa, kinniifni nama hin idduu?

A. kinniifni waan dammeessaati.

B. kinnisumatu dammeessa kaamoo hindammeessitu?

A. kaamo waan dukkoo galaati.

B. kaamoomatu dukkoo gala, idaayyaan dukkoo hingaltu?

A. idaayyaan faaya dhiiraati.

B.idaayyaatu faaya dhiiraati, wonteen faaya dhiiraati miti?

A. wonteen meeshaa gootaati.

B.wontematu meeshaa gootatii, hirboorri meeshaa gootaati miti?

A. hirboorri faaya qondaalaati.

B. hirboorumatu faaya qondaalaati, sokorti faaya qondaalaati miti?

A.sokorti faaya bareedinaati.

B. sokorumatu faaya bareedinaati mararoon faaya bareedinaati miti?

A. maraaroon waan lafaa margaati.

B. maraaromatu lafaa margaa, margi lafaa hin marguu?

A.margi soorata saayyaati.

B.margumatu soorata saayyaatii, bishaan soorata saayyaati mitii?

A.ee, madda margi soorata saayyaati.

A fi B

Ee, madda margi saayyaa sifa’a!

Dhamti saayyaa namaa sifa’a!

Araarri kiyyaa fi kee nuu sifa’a! Nageenni nama maraa sifa’a!

Appendix 4 List of Consultants

R.No.	Name of consultant	age	Religion	Place of interview	Marital status	occupation
1	Bonsemo mieso	51	Islam	Shasemene, Kokosa and Kofele	Married	Wst Arsi Zone culture and tourism office :Language and culture expert
2	Birhanu Beriso	52	Christian	kokosa	Married	Gove't worker
3	Tamirat Gemeda	50	Christian	kokosa	Married	Teacher
4	Jemila Kedro	27	Islam	kokosa	Married	Women affair vice governer
5	Dame Tufaa	37	Christian	kokosa	married	Contrat worker(Cloth maker)
6	Shek Kedir Hayato	67	Islam	adaba	Married	Traditional medicener(user)
7	Abdela Lugema	38	Islam	kokosa	Married	Government worker
8	Negeso Dido	32	Islam	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
9	Aba Jebo Cewica	84	Christian	kokosa	Married	(agriculture)
10	Fatima Jarso	46	Islam	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
11	Heleme Hajii Abdallaa	40	Christian	kokosa	Married	Agriculture

12	Halkame Hajafero	41	Christian	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
13	Fure turaa	46	Christian	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
14	Geshe xikako	67	Christian	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
15	Immishu kequu	74	Christian	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
16	Kediro Ganamo	65	Islam	kokosa	Married	Agriculture
17	Hajii Mohammed Jaarso	79	Islam	Adaba	married	Agriculture
18	Ayyaantu Duubee	74	Islam	adaba	married	Cloth maker
19	Anniyyoo Batisa	52	Islam	adaba	married	Cloth maker
20	zayituna Limaso	35	Islam	adaba	divorced	Cloth maker
21	Ashaa Baati	37	Islam	adaba	widow	Agriculture
22	Imiho Churre	35	chrstian	adaba	widow	Cloth maker
23	Shumbe Waayo	38	chrstian	adaba	married	Cloth maker
24	Homaati Galmo	40	Islam	adaba	married	Cloth maker
25	Robdu Biftu	37	Islam	Kofele	married	Agriculture
26	Waaqo dadhoo	42	Islam	Kofele	married	Cloth maker
27	Haji Abdulqadir Bati	60	Islam	Kofele	married	Cloth maker
28	Bariso Summi	57	Islam	Kofele	married	Cloth maker
29	Mohamed Namo	36	Islam	Adaba	married	Gov't worker
30	Bekele ganamo	40	Islam	Kofele	widow	Cloth maker

31	Shiru korroso	48	Islam	Kofele	widow	Cloth maker
32	Garibe Bati	40	Islam	Kofele	married	Cloth maker
33	Kamad Hordofa	58	Islam	kofele	married	Cloth maker
34	Zeneba Mohamed	60	Islam	kofele	married	Cloth maker
35	Qeraa Kadir	32	Islam	Kofele	married	Cloth maker
36	Gebramlak Bariso	65	Christian	Kofele	Married	Cloth maker
37	Ashaa Bati	70	Islam	Adaba	Married	Agriculture
38	Amashu haxatu	75	Islam	Adaba	Widow	Agriculture
39	Shek kadir Hayato	78	Islam	kokosa	Married	Merchant
40	Makaa Yammetaa	35	Islam	Kofele	Married	Cloth maker
41	Dammitu Roobee	44	Islam	Kofele	Married	Agriculture
42	Haji Adam Haji Amda	47	Islam	Kokosa	Married	Private worker
43	Ramiyaa Amaan	33	Islam	Adaba	Divorced	Private worker
44	Mominaa tessoo	36	Islam	Kofele	Married	Agriculture
45	Waatilee Jaarsoo	40	Islam	Kokosa	Married	Government worker

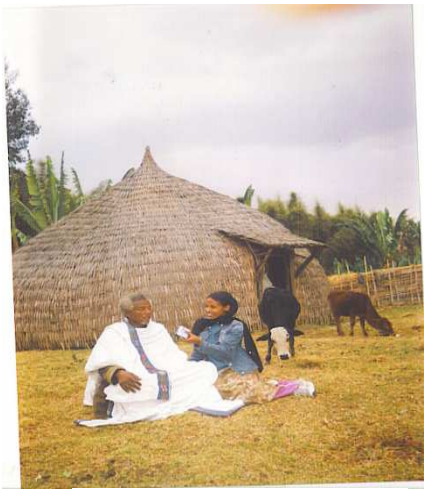
Appendix 5. Photos



Kokosa market



Interview with obbo Nagesso Didhoo



Interview with obboo Kadiro Ganamoo



Observation In kokosa market



Interview with obboo Immishu Kequu



Kokkosaa women with traditional Dress





Interview with Addee Jamilaa Kadiroo



Interview with Addee Damme Tufaa



Obbo Jaboo Cawwichaa
One of The Consultants



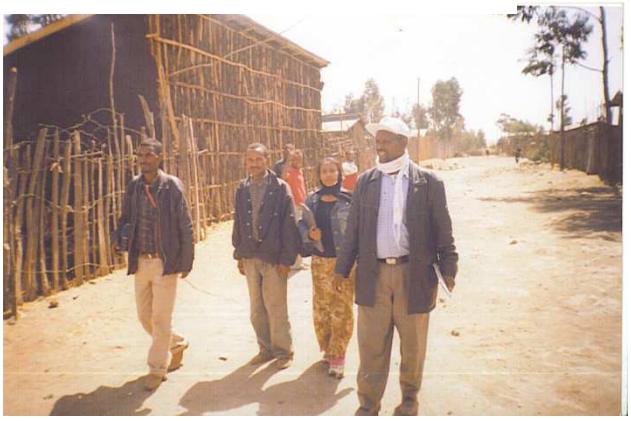
Interview With Obboo Gashee Xiqaaqoo



Interview With Ajii Mohammed Jaarso



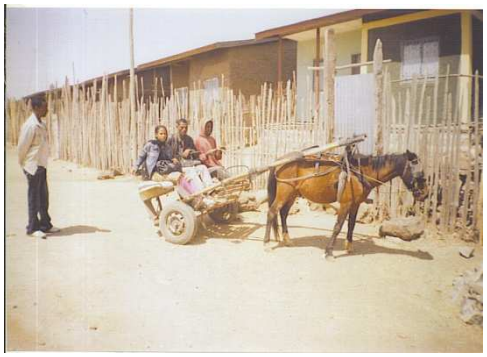
traditional food and drink containers



Consultants, Obbo Bonsemo Mi'esoo and Obboo Abdallaa Lugamaa while travelling to cloth makers house



Interview with Obboo Bonsemo Mi'essoo



The Researcher While Travelling to the Cloth Makers House



An elder while reading entrail



Addee Ammashuu Haxaatu showing how to use boraatii

Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

This study focuses on Arsi people who belong to one branch of the Oromo ethnic group in the Oromia regional state of the Federal government of Ethiopia. The Oromo are one of the most populous ethnic groups inhabiting Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. The people live in a territory that extends from the highlands of Ethiopia in the north, to the Ogaden and Somalia, in the East, to the Sudan border in the west and across the Kenyan border to the Tana River in the South (Baxter, P.T.W., Hultin, Jan and Trivlzi, Alessandro, 1996, p.1). Fayisa (1996) describes the settlement location of the Oromo people as follows:

> Oromia is located in the Horn of Africa between 2^0 and 12^0 north latitudes and between 34^0 and 44^0 east longitudes. It is bordered in the east by Somali and Afar lands and Djibouti, in the west by Sudan and the Nilotic peoples of the Gambella lowlands, in the south by Kenya and a constellation of peoples belonging to the Sidama groups of nations and in the north by Amhara and Tigrai whose land and in the history is known as Abyssinia. (p. 21)

Even though there are changes and modifications in the administrative classification of the people in different places recently the Oromia regional state is bordered by all regional states of Ethiopia except Tigray.

Adejumobi (2007, p.3) pointed out that the Oromo covers the largest percentage composition of the Ethiopian population. “The Oromo 40%; Amhara and Tigre together 32 %; Sidamo [sic] 9%; Shankella [sic] 6%; Somali 6%; Afar 4%; Gurage 2%; and the rest are 1%”. More explicitly, the result of 2007 census indicates that the total population was 27,158,471 which were 36.7% of the total population. In the same year, the sex composition of the region was 13,676,159 male and 13,482,312 female which were 50.36 and 49.64 percentage respectively (CSA, 2008, p.10). Gadaa (1988, p.1) also states that the Oromo are one of the most numerous people in Africa who share a common language, history, common political, religious and legal institutions. The people are spread across the vast territories of northeast Africa and outside Ethiopia. They also live in North Kenya, and Eritrea.

When we come to language, Afan Oromo is the mother tongue of the majority of the population in the zones and districts of Oromiya. Baxter (1978) asserted that, though there are many differences of pronunciation, vocabulary and syntax between the differing dialects of Oromo, an intelligent and eager native speaker of one dialect can make himself/herself understood in any other, and soon become fluently at ease in it.

On the other hand, the ways of life of the Oromo were predominantly pastoral with limited agricultural practices. As Baxter (1978) stated, in the early sixteenth century, there was a population upsurge and Oromo were spread rapidly. Likewise, according to Arsi Oromo oral history, there was a big animal called *Ammawayii* which was the re evacuations and the dispersal Galanticho (Galan), Machicha (Macca), and Arsicha (Arsi) in different directions. As consultants told the animal was an unusual creature and eats whatever it gets in its way including human being. Therefore, in order to survive from this attack, the people were obliged to expand to the present residence. Mekuria (1996, p.50) points out social scientists, historians and anthropologists assume population pressure and shortage of land were the pushing factors behind the expansion.

Therefore, whatever the reason, as a result of their expansion, there are great ecological variations in Oromo lands, and hence great variations in mode of life and modes of production from pastoral nomadism [sic] to itinerant trading to hoe agriculture (Baxter 1978, p. 284). Cattle-rearing has long been part of their lives and cereal crops have been parts of their livelihood. They use cattle for food, ritual, status, wealth accumulation, and sacrifice in initiation ceremonies. They use cattle products for fertilization, fuel, clothing, etc. They have also been rearing domestic animals. The Oromo cultivate grain crops, such as teff, sorghum, maize, barley and wheat, using the hoe and plough. Coffee is an important cash crop in the areas where these people live.

Despite the shift in livelihood basis, social status and emerging variation in folk customs, production and use of material culture, oral literature and cultural performances, as a result of their expansions across sheer geographical areas and contact with peoples of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, the Oromo maintained their rich cultural features which enable the society to share history and identity.

The Oromo have rich cultural practices and activities which are interrelated and can be classified into major genres of folklore. These are oral literature which includes, tapha ijoollee (children plays) *durdurii* (folktale), *baacoo* (joke) *hibboo* (riddle), ogwalalo (oral poetry) etc. Material culture *(meeshaalee aadaa)* such as *uffata* (clothing), *faaya* (jewelry), *dhugaati aadaa* (traditional drinks), *manneen aadaa* (traditional houses) etc., Folk custom such as *sirna fuudha-heeruma* (marriage custom), *sirna awwaalaa* or *boo'icha* (funeral ceremony), *irreecha* (thanksgiving ritual) etc., and performing folk arts such as *sirba aadaa* (a traditional dance), *draamaa aadaa* (traditional drama) and *muuziqaa aadaa* (traditional music) etc.

The different genres of folklore are major indicators of identity. They help to know the people, and help to introduce them to others. In this regard, various researches have been conducted on different genres of Oromo folklore. As the available literatures show, the research on material culture is a recent phenomenon, as compared to other genres of folklore in Ethiopia in general, Oromo in particular. Therefore, it is to fill such a research gap on the material culture that this study is planned to be conducted on one of the major genres of material culture- traditional Dress.

As stated in Sintayehu (2010) Ethiopians have several cloth types. They can be grouped into three major categories. According to him, the first one includes traditionally processed skin and hide clothes; the clothes under the second group are indigenized mill clothes, and the third group of clothes are the hand woven clothes or ʃamma. Of course, there can be different ways of classification concerning clothes in Ethiopia. Therefore, this study focuses on identifying the Arsi people's dress types in which clothes are the major parts, documenting the processes of making those clothes and describing the changes observed and giving reasons for the change. In addition, studies on documentation are very limited. So, this study is planned to document and preserve traditional dress types among the people.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The need for the integration of culture in language study leads the field of linguistics to establish a new discipline as a sub-field existing in its own right. This field is named as Documentary Linguistics (Gilbert, Himmelmann, Nikolas P. and Mosel, Ulrike, 2006) or which is named as

Documentary Linguistics and Culture in our university, AAU, in the Department of Linguistics and Philology.

These days, especially in the preservation of little known languages, there is a need to document and study not only their linguistic aspect but also their cultural elements as well. These cultural elements include the material as well as the spiritual embodiments. Under the materials point of view, things are continually in the process of becoming something else in the sense of slow, gradual change because of various reasons. (Lyman, R.Lee and O'Brien, Michael J. 2006) and they need to be documented. Material culture is a means of communication in rituals which are common among Arsi. Since object language is one part of communication in which dress is included under it, the effect of cultural assimilation on customs of a particular people, particularly on the change of object language, with regard to communication, has to be studied just as we are studying language change (Ezra Ayele, 1987). Therefore, the current study aims collecting data from the field in the context of cultural occasions for the purpose of linguistics as well as folkloric description and documentation of one of the endangered domains of material culture-traditional dress among Arsi Oromo.

Even if the history of material culture is as early as that of the history of humans, its study has been quite out of fashion, though not so very long ago it was otherwise. Field-workers still record random data as come to hand and gather up museum specimens, but serious and systematic attention has been given to language, art, ceremonies, and social organization **(**Dorson, 1972; Prown, 1982**).** The definitions of folklore compiled by Leach (1996)[1] given by different scholars indicate that most of the definitions focus on the oral as well as customary aspects of human experiences. This shows the degree of emphasis given to material culture as a genre in the field of folklore study. Moreover, the limitedness of studies on material culture despite its significance as valid source knowledge on socio-cultural features of oral societies in Ethiopia motivated me to conduct research on the issue.

[1] Leach, Maria, 1996.Dictionary *of Folklore, Mythology and Legend.* In the book 21 intellectuals gave different definitions for folklore among them most of them gave emphasis to oral and social folk custom part of folklore.

Material objects are used by a much broader cross section of the population and are therefore potentially a more wide-ranging, more representative source of information than words. They offer ways of understanding the mind of the great majority of non- literate people, past and present, which remain otherwise inaccessible except through impersonal records and the distorting view of contemporary literary elite (Prown, 1982). The Arsi people like many other oral societies in our country, have different genres of folklore (Boonsamo Mi'eessoo 2013; Jeylan 2005). Among these genres, dress is the distinct and the most popular identity marker of the Oromo people (Klemm, 2002). And it holds true for the Arsi Oromo. This is, therefore, the third reason for deciding to conduct this study on Arsi Oromo traditional dress.

In everything we do and everywhere we go we find out that our knowledge is incomplete and problems are waiting to be solved. We have to address the void in our knowledge and try to resolve those unresolved problems we encounter by asking relevant questions and seeking answers and solutions to them. (Osuji and Ishola, 2009, p. 6). Even though my first and second degree research experiences in the study area have given me a very good insight into the changes observed over the years in the use of dress types among the people, still a wide knowledge gulf remains to fully understand the scope and explain the causes and trends of this change.

A number of scholars have conducted research on different genres of folklore. They have collected and published several of these genres, such as oral poetry, proverbs, folktales, riddles, etc which are subgenres of oral literature (Fekade, 2001). Nevertheless, as compared to other genre of folklore, the Oromo material culture in general and Arsi Oromo material culture in particular is not well studied and their social significances are not strongly demonstrated in folkloric research (Yenealem, 2000). Thus, this study attempts to fill the given knowledge gap. Moreover, it tries to carry out documentation works with a view to digitally capturing some of the rapidly changing and steadily vanishing aspect of dress and cloth making skills among the Arsi Oromo.

Therefore, the following research questions are designed to guide the present research on the intrinsic values of dress and cloth making among this particular study community:

- What did the cloth-making wisdom look like among the Arsi Oromo before the introduction of fabricated clothes?
- Who makes traditional clothes?
- Is there a difference in the types of dress with age, gender and social status?
- Do the people give meanings to different dress types?
- Who wears the traditional dress? And when?
- Does the clothing embody symbolic meanings?
- Is there a change observed in the traditional dress of Arsi Oromo People? If any why?

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

The main objective of this research is to describe and document indigenous cloth making and dressing tradition among Arsi Oromo towards preserving the skills and knowledge embedded. In so doing, it tackles the endangerment traditional dress face in the age of globalization.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

More specifically, the study aims at:

- identifying dress and their types and material basis of origin;
- describing the process of making traditional clothes among the study community;
- classifying dress types according to age, gender, and social status of users;
- finding out the cultural occasions in which these dress types are used;
- investigating the symbolic meanings attached to traditional dress;
- elucidating change and continuity in cloth-making and dress tradition and giving reasons for the underlying changes;
- creating an audio-video corpus of data related to the analyzed cultural feature;

1.4 Research Methodology and Procedures

Research methodology is inclusive of the research methods and covers the overall approach to the research process. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done

scientifically. Research methodology in general is, the strategy, plan of action, a process, or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice, and use of methods to the desired outcomes. Its process begins from thinking about the research topic, writing up of the research project to the report about the research output (ending). (Kothari, 2004, p.8)

There are two major types of research methods. These are qualitative and qualitative research. There is also a research type which combines qualitative and quantitative research which is called mixed-methods. They are called research methods in general. The quantitative research method is based on a quantitative measurement of some characteristics. It is applicable to phenomena that can be expressed in terms of numerical values. (Osuji, and Ishola, 2009, p.12).

Qualitative research, on the other hand, is concerned with describing phenomena in words to gain an understanding of the issues being researched within the context of the research (Kothari, 2004). It helps to answer questions about the nature of phenomena with the purpose of describing and understanding the phenomena from the participant's points of view. (Osuji, and Ishola, 2009, p.13) The qualitative research is sometimes referred to as the interpretative, the naturalistic, the constructivist or the post-positive approach. This type of research is concerned with attitudes, opinions and behaviors and the data generated are not subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis.

In general, qualitative research is a means to understand the world. It helps the researcher to see things in their natural settings and those meanings that people bring to them can be brought from different sources of data be collected by using different ways of data collection techniques. Since this study is concerned with describing cultural aspects through observation, interview, and having various ways of discussion, it applies a qualitative research method. The present research, in this connection, is an ethnographic work for it is based on an extended fieldwork as a means of data collection. According to Marvasti (2004), ethnography means describing a culture and understanding another way of life from the native point of view. In Ethnography it is assumed that people make inferences- that go beyond what is explicitly seen or said to what is meant or implied. People display their culture through behavior in specific social contexts. Those displays of behavior do not give meaning; rather, meaning is inferred i.e. someone has to figure out meaning. Moving from what is heard or observed to what is actually meant is at the center of

ethnography (Neuman 2007, p. 276). According to Geertz (1988), an ethnographer ought to be going out to places; coming back with information about how people live there; and making that information available to the professional community in a practical form. On the other hand, as Dundes (1965), Dorson (1972) and Sims and Stephens (2005) describe, collecting and analyzing various genres of folklore of a given society gives insights into the culture, philosophy and other ways of life. Since this study focuses on traditional dress of Arsi Oromo people, using ethnographic research is preferred to be more valuable.

1.4.1 The Steps for Topic Selection

At the initial stage, the title of the project was 'Documentation and Interpretation of Traditional costume: the case of Arsi Oromo'. However, after the search and reading of literatures, this title was changed to 'Interpretation and Documentation of Traditional Clothing: the case of Arsi Oromo'. The reason for the change was twofold. One, during my first seminar presentation, the ideas rose from audiences concerning the sequences of activities in relation to "interpretation" and "documentation" creates a question in my mind on which comes first through time; I discovered that the process of the research will end up with the documentation which includes the interpretation itself. As a result, I decided to put the word interpretation first and the documentation came next. Two, in the process of reading and data collection I had a problem of choosing the appropriate term for the human body covers. There were terms such as costume, clothing and dress in which their definition is sometimes overlap. Therefore, I decided to use the term clothing than costume which denotes the specific body covers for specific purpose. But the problem of selecting an appropriate term was still continuing. In order to solve such problem, I found various literatures in relation to these terms. Lastly I came across the definition given to dress by Eicher, Evenson and Lutz (2000). Then, I decided to use the term 'dress' in stead of clothing. This is because according to these scholars the term clothing lucks concepts related with body modification. Therefore, as it was presented in the title, the term dress and its definition has a room to show body modification and body supplements which are cultural aspects of a society to avoid bias.

With regard to data presentation, by considering the purpose of Documentary Linguistics and Culture which aimed at to preserve the endangered languages and endangered domains of

culture, I prefer to use the term description which is the first task of preserving the culture of the people as it is narrated as well as used by the people. Lastly, why traditional? Here I need to explain the word traditional by taking the definition given by (Awolalu, 1976, p.1). According to him, “This word means indigenous, that which is aboriginal or foundational, handed down from generation to generation,” the word is related with the customs and activities upheld and practiced by every society today from the past.

1.4.2 Research Paradigm

Once the researcher chooses a research method to conduct the study, the next step is a decision to choose an appropriate paradigm (worldview). There are different types of research paradigms. The most important paradigms or worldviews which are applied by different researchers are: post positivism, social constructivism (most of the time incorporated with Interpetivism), advocacy or participatory and pragmatism.

For this particular study, social constructivism is appropriate. This is because, for any researcher who wants to understand the world he/she lives and works in, is inevitably related to this paradigm (Creswell, 2007). It helps the researcher to develop subjective meanings to his/her experiences i.e. functions directed towards some kind of objects. These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for complex views rather than narrow them into a few categories or ideas. The meanings are not simply imprinted on individuals, but are formed through interaction with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate on individual, lives. (Creswell, 2007, p.21). Therefore, according to this paradigm, the world is turned into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs and recordings which are techniques as well as equipments of data collection in culture study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, pp.3-4). This research by and large relied on the consultant’s views of the various cultural situations in relation to Arsi Oromo traditional dress. Therefore, it is employed in order to understand and interpret different symbols and functions in relation to this cultural aspect.

1.4.3 Sample Selection Techniques

The first step in the data collection process is to find an adequate and appropriate sample. It has already been mentioned earlier that West Arsi Zone is selected for indigenous techniques of preserving traditions and culture are more prevalent. Before the recent establishment of these zones, Arsi people were governed under one administrative zone called Arsi Administrative Zone.

But, Arsi is divided into two administrative zones since 2006. These are: Arsi Zone and West Arsi zone. Among these, West Arsi Zone[2] was selected as a research site. This was done based on the information found from culture and tourism office in the first travel to the Arsi Administrative zone. Hence, the three districts of west Arsi Zone namely Kokosa, Kofele and Adaba were selected for this research. Kokosa is selected as it is the center of indigenous cultural practices. Whereas, Adaba and Kofele are known the most by their cloth makers as well as for their people who are known for wearing traditional dress regularly.

Upon my arrival in the districts, I met consultants easily. This is because of my presence in one of the districts-Kokosa when I was conducting my MA research. Purposive sampling was employed to select key consultants for the study. Using this sampling technique the researcher chooses consultants because of their specific knowledge of the research topic and they are liable to generate useful data for the project (Kothari, 2004). As it is also stated in Berg (2001, p.32), when developing a purposive sample researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some group to select subjects who represent this population. In this regard, I made contact with Obbo Bonsemo Mi'esso, who is a language and culture expert of West Arsi Zone Culture and Tourism office. He has worked as a teacher in most parts of the zone. He was also one of the key consultants in my MA fieldwork research. I selected him purposively to identify appropriate consultants for the study. Then, he planned to go with me to the three districts as an assistant for selecting consultants who are believed to be knowledgeable of their culture in the area. Then, key consultants were selected from each district; the purpose of this research was explained to

[2] The districts found in the West Arsi Zone were parts of the former Arsi administrative Zone and some of them were parts of East Shewa and Bale zones.

them. Then they were asked to share ideas on the research topic based on the interview guiding questions.

In addition to purposive sampling, a 'snowball' sampling was used to select consultants who are expected to shed light on the research objectives. With the help of Obbo Bonsamo Mi'esso, I tried to locate key individuals from each districts, and then asked them to name other likely consultants who possess the same attributes as they do (Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest, and Namey, p.5; Patton, 1990, p.182). The consultants who were selected for this study through snowball sampling were cloth makers and some of them were dress users.

In sum, purposive sampling and snowball sampling helped me to select the consultants for in-depth individual interviews, focus group discussions and even observation. Due efforts were made to select samples from areas of research places where diverse experiences or socio-cultural contexts were believed to possibly exist. As stated in Gilbert et al. (2006), having a variety of consultants[3] is advantageous for the researchers in order to collect available information for their research. Therefore, according to them, "Working with a number of consultants allows the researcher to draw on each consultant's strengths, and also to correlate sociolinguistic parameters such as sex, age, place of origin and languages spoken with linguistic parameters" (p.52). Accordingly, Consultants were selected from various backgrounds. Totally 21 consultants for focus group discussion and 24 consultants for interview and observation were selected using snowball and purposive sampling techniques.

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

1.4.4 Data Collection Techniques

Data for the present research were collected from different sources. It was collected from consultants using interview, observation and Focus group discussions. Material data were also found from different administrative offices and archives, photographs, dress type collections which were archived at a small museum of culture and tourism office of west Arsi zone and the archive center of Walta Information Center. In addition, secondary data of possible published and unpublished sources which might help to cross check and support data from the primary sources were also found from IES, Kenedy and the former ILS libraries.

According to Goldstein's (1964) and Fekade's (1991E.C) view, especially for a study which involves contextual approach, observation and interview are effective techniques of obtaining data for a folkloric study. Moreover, Blaxter (2006) and Stake (2010) suggested that, in a general sense, most researchers' projects in the social sciences employ mixed-method approach. It is of course, then advantageous for researchers to use more than one technique. In this research participant observation, different forms of interview and focus group discussions were used for data collection.

1.4.4. 1 Participant Observation

Participant observation is the most important technique of data collection in contemporary qualitative fieldwork research. It refers to the procedure in which the researcher tries to get some kind of membership or close relationship to the group he or she is studying (Nachmias, 1987: p.289 in Gemechu, 2007).

In participant observation the researcher 'enter into the field' and immerses herself in the social context that she wants to study, lives like and with the people who are the focus of the study, shares in their daily lives, asks them questions, listening to what is said in conversations, discovers their hopes and pains, understand their worldviews and motivations through a process of identification. In general, observation in participant observation is not looking at things – rather looking through things (Phatlane, 2007, p.67). Therefore, data collected using observation in natural situation, allows the researcher to both enter into and comprehend the situation being described (Patton, 1990).

In participant observation, according to, Bryman (2004, p.29), Daymon and Holloway (2002, pp. 206-210) the researcher has some or all of the following four different roles to play. First, the researcher can be a complete participant. In this case, the researcher is an active member of the social setting he/she is studying and his/her real identity and agenda is not known to others. And he/she participates in daily activities performed by the people being researched.

Second, the researcher can be a participant-as-observer. In this case, other members know the identity of the researcher and she/he is immersed in regular interface in the daily lives of the people and the participants in the field and the researcher's participation as a part of that culture is limited. Third, the researcher can act as observer-as-participant. In this case, the researcher is mainly an interviewer. Data is collected by engaging in some observations with little participation. The fourth role that the researcher can play is she/he can be a complete observer. In this case, the researcher is engaged in observation without involvement or participation in the situation (Bryman 2004, p.301).

As the researcher who made use of participant observation for data collection, I had a role of both participant-as- observer and complete observer in my different sessions of fieldwork. I was mainly engaged in conducting interviews, combined with some observation, but I was engaged very little in participation as most of the activities were not familiar to me. In general, Data were gathered through observation of rites of passage (including *ateetee* ritual) where traditional dress is likely to be worn. It was also employed when cloth makers were making traditional clothes. The purpose of these observations was to find out whether traditional dress exists, and to generate information relating to events during which traditional dress is worn.

This method was found useful during the festival and the ritual I attended. It was difficult to talk to participants in the festival while they were performing, acting by wearing clothes; they had different dress types, and they were singing and dancing according to their culture. Instead, observing the events was more convenient to me in order to keep track of events. Based on this observation, data collected from the field is analyzed under data presentation chapters of the dissertation. Thus, through participating and observing the different events, the study was able to identify different types and usages of traditional dresses and their symbolic significance to

activities. The study also used traditional dress items documented, displayed in museums and photographs and videos of dress worn on those cultural occasions.

1.4.4.2 Interview

This section deals with interview as a research method. In this study this technique was used to include interviewees from different backgrounds, ranging from youth to elder, from the workers to the users and people from different religions. I found this very important as it gives to the data a diversified perspective to cloth making, usage and history of dress among the people. Among the interview types semi-structured and unstructured interview types were employed for the data collection.

Semi-structured interview is a "face-to-face encounter between the researcher and participants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words (Creswell, 2007, p.133). In semi-structured interview a topic guide is used most of the time. It usually has a list of the key questions the interviewer would like to cover, with some useful prompts to encourage the interviewee to talk about specific issues if they do not come up spontaneously. In the process of interview, I prepared a list of 15 questions before the fieldwork in relation to the history of dress, types of dress and the issues related to culture change and presented to consultants to tell me any aspect of the topic under discussion. But while I was presenting the questions, their sequence was not fixed and I used the order of questions depending on the background of the consultants as well as the situation in which the questions were presented. In addition, further questions were asked based on the answers from consultants. Such kind of interview helped me to ensure an open non-treating atmosphere and created a relaxed atmosphere for discussion with consultants (Bryman, 2004).

The other interview type which was used in this research is unstructured interview. In this type of interview, the researcher has an interview guide or a list of issues that are typically covered (Bryman 2004, p.113). This type of interview is used to explore the respondent's own perceptions and accounts in detail. With this regard, this interview type helped me to use informal ways of questioning and to have in-depth interview with consultants with regards to the history of dress types and cloth making tradition among the people.

Regarding the way interview was held with consultants, most of the interview was conducted via face- to face interaction with consultants during fieldwork. In addition, in the area where clarification was needed telephone interview was also applied.

1.4.4.3 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussion is useful for researchers to learn about conscious, semiconscious, and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics of participants through a process of discussion among various groups (Bloor, Michael, Frankland, Jane, Thomas, Michelle and Robson Kate, 2002). As it is indicated in Berg (2001), the person in the focus group discussion has the following roles to play. "As facilitator or moderator he/she tries to: control the assembly, alter the pace of discussions, change the direction of comments and interrupt or stop conversations" (p. 117). In this study, the technique was used to have clear understanding about the history of dress and cloth making among the people.

In my fieldwork, I had three groups for focus group discussion based on the following ground. As focus group discussion is a discussion with people who have been selected for they share certain characteristics which are relevant to the topic under discussion. The first had six members who were from Kofele and the main focus of the group discussion was on the symbolic difference and similarity of different forms of *siinqee* observed among the Arsi Oromo people. Whereas, the focus group discussion with seven members of Adaba consultants was on the history and present existence of *ateetee* ritual in relation to the use of dress and the current status of traditional cloth making among the people. The third focused group discussion was about the role of religion on traditional dress and history of cloth making among the people in relation to gender and participants were six from the three districts. Those discussions helped me to identify causes and effects of the present style and status of traditional dress and cloth making among the people.

In general, the focus group discussions were conducted with the Arsi Oromo elders and women. The discussions were held with each group at different times and places as the research sites are different.

1.4.5 Data Collection Equipments

Under this topic the three obvious modes of data collection equipments including writing field notes, audio recording on cassette tapes, and videotaping data which are applied to collect data from the field are discussed (Marvasti (2004, p.54).

1.4.5.1 Still Pictures/Photograph/

Among the various forms of electronic documentation equipments used for data collection, this part points out the advantages of employing photograph as one of my research tools.

Picture gives a vivid view of the topic – the material culture and its elements under discussion and can help to construct and represent reality. Therefore, I decided to employ photo as one of the tools in the process of data collection. Collier and Collier (1986), as cited in (Gemechu, 2007) stated, camera's vision contains a number of nonverbal truths which enables the observer to reconstruct reality.

This methodological tool of documentation, which is proved to be crucial in representing the settings of the process of cloth making and categories of traditional dress types, is more appropriate for visual than the use of words (Gemechu, 2007). In describing the material aspects of culture, words may not be as efficient as pictures as there is a tendency of overlooking some points while describing. In this kind of research which is very much relied on material aspects of the culture, photographs are of primary importance, because they offer vivid illustration of the various issues (Oyenyi, 2012). Therefore, It is nonetheless important to consider which camera is suitable for what occasion (Collier and Collier, 1986 cited in Gemechu, 2007). With this regard, I used Sony Steady Shot DSC-W610 (14.1) Mega Pixels digital camera for recording the sessions of fieldwork held in different times.

1.4.5.2 Audio and Video Recordings

This section presents the methodological advantages of employing audio and video recording as means of my research equipments.

Since the verbal messages are the primary sources produced by the consultants, the verbal responses, statements, opinions, arguments and interactions had to be carefully recorded by the researcher for later use. Tape recorder is an important device for such activities. Bartis (2002) states, “The use of sound recorders has made the collection of folklore a different task than it was in the days when pencil and paper were the primary meanses; and the ability to record the performer’s voice has preserved a human presence for future generations to hear and study”(p.9).

This shows that using tape recorder and other technological equipments are by far better ways of advancements in data collection during fieldwork. The technological advancement in relation to audio recording makes the generation advantageous as it helps to preserve a human presence in order to hear and study. As he further explained, recording via technological equipments is important because it collects the information just as it was spoken, sung, or played (2002). Therefore, in this regard, I used Digital Voice Recorder WS-331M, Sony tape cassette recorder and phone memory for the data collection.

In addition to the verbal responses, audio-video data of opinions, arguments and interactions of the consultant’s was recorded using video camera. As presented in Daniel (2012, p.1), video is a documentation tool which clearly communicates who and what we see, who we choose to listen, and to reach our conclusions. He further says, “As photographs and films demonstrate, visual images are far better at capturing the context as well as the action of an event since the eye of the camera often freezes moments the human eye ignores…”(2012,p.1). In this regard, video recording was made using Sony Steady Shot DSC-W610 (14.1) Mega Pixels Digital Camera and Sony handy mini-divi player camera with each consultant’s as well as with the groups in the process of cloth making, and the rituals.

1.4.5.3 Note Book as Recording Equipment

Handwritten notes, later converted into computer files, are often the only way to document certain participant observation activities, such as informal or spontaneous interviews, observation, and generally fieldwork experience. In my fieldwork I usually used video and audio recordings as my concern was on the visual (material) aspect of culture. But, in the cases that the consultants were reluctant to give data via video or audio I used notebooks. For instance, during

the focus groups discussions that the participants were not willing to be recorded notebook was used for data collection. In addition, I was taking notes while observing dress types in the museums and the archival record of marriage ceremony in Walta information center. Moreover, it was also employed for recording information related to the background of the research areas.

1.4.6. Transcription, Translation and Analysis

It is obvious that transcription is a translation between forms of data, most commonly to convert audio or video recordings to text in qualitative research. According to Austin (2006, p.89), in the process of documentation, transcription is one form of analysis and a broad section of documentation includes transcription, translation, annotation and notation of metadata. In the process transcription, the data which was recorded using various forms of equipments was converted into: one, the data on tape cassette was transferred from analogue to digital form; two, the data on the digital audio recorder in AMR (Audio Media Recorder) format was transferred to Mp_3format first using a software called AMR to Mp3 converter. Then, it was converted to WAV format using Audacity for annotation in ELAN software.

The data recorded using phone memory in WMA format was transferred to WAV format by using Boxfit WMA to Wav Convertor. And then, all the records in different formats were converted to WAV format using Audacity. Regarding the video file, as it was done in the audio different software's was used to make the data easily accessible for the annotation. Therefore, handbrake was used to make the file readable with VirtualDub-1 video editing software. Cutting and saving the selected data was done using this software and it was saved as an AVI file format for the video annotation in ELAN. And it was also converted to mp4 format using free video converter.exe for the documentation purpose. Then selected parts of the data were transferred from Audacity in WAV format for the Audio and AVI format from virtual Dub to transcribe, translate and annotate using ELAN software. On the other hand, the data collected by means of audio-video recordings of which the recording was difficult to transfer into ELAN and Audacity software were ideally transcribed as word files for the analysis and documentation. Then after transcription, the collected records needed for the description were translated into English.

As the research is an ethnographic research, it was concerned with the description of events and cases in relation to the traditional dress. Therefore, the analysis is presented in two ways. One, when evidences are needed to support ideas in the form of direct quotation, texts were taken from the annotated data and presented in the form of tx, w, ge and ft order. The rest parts of the annotation are attached under the appendix for the one who is interested to see the linguistic feature of the language under the study. Or for the texts which are not annotated but needed for the direct quotation, the data from the video and audio are presented in Afan Oromo-English version. Accordingly, the analysis part is divided into the following chapters: "the Process of Traditional Cloth making: the case of Arsi Oromo", the next two chapters present the description of Arsi Oromo traditional dress. This is done to keep the balance between chapters in the dissertation. The description is basically based on the age and sex difference. Moreover, status difference is also included as a distinctive factor for the difference in hair style, other body modifications and body supplements. Gender is also one of the ways to show the cultural meanings related to dress. With this regard, the traditional dress description is divided into two. These are: the description of traditional dress types among female and traditional dress types among male and the last chapter of the analysis is, "Cultural Occasions and the role of Dress as a form of Nonverbal Communication in the context of Arsi Oromo". Therefore, the transcribed and annotated data served the purpose of the discussion and analysis being guided by the research questions outlined in section 1.2.

1.4.7 The Settings for Data Collection

In the process of appropriate data collection from field, choosing the context which helps the fieldworker to collect the available data is a very important task to be accomplished. Goldstein (1964) and Fekade (1991 E.C) categorizes fieldwork setting into three. These are: natural setting, artificial setting and induced natural setting. In the natural setting, the researcher is an active observer while the participants are performing cultural activities in the actual time and place. In contrast, the artificial setting is fully organized by the researcher out of the context for the sake of collecting a data which is difficult to collect within a natural context. The third category is in between the aforementioned settings. It can be natural because there is cultural performance by participants which is truly part of their culture. It is also artificial in a sense that the ceremony is

arranged by the fieldworker (before or after the actual time of performance) because of various reasons. In this case, the collector is not free from affecting the performers. All three setting were employed in this research accordingly. Data was collected through natural settings during the *ateetee* ritual and cultural show during the National Tourism days. On the other hand, induced-natural setting was employed for data collection on the process of cloth making. This was done by providing the raw materials which were necessary for cloth making. Moreover, data related with the history of traditional dress among the people were collected using artificial setting.

1.4.8 Duration of the Fieldwork

Fieldwork-based research can be categorized into three sequential stages. These are: Pre fieldwork stage, during (actual) fieldwork stage, and after (post) fieldwork stage (Dorson 1972; Sims and Stephens 2005 and Goldstein 1964). In pre –fieldwork stage, tool preparations were carried out. During fieldwork, the actual field work data collection practices were accomplished. In the process of post fieldwork, the researcher was busy in the process of analysis which include transcription, translation, annotation and analysis of the data.

The fieldwork of this study was carried out in five phases. The first fieldwork was conducted from 30th January 2010-8th February, 2010 for the identification of the research sites. At this time, key consultants from districts were identified. The second field work was on the history of cloth making and was conducted in Adaba district from 1st to 20th November 2011. This was, of course, the actual fieldwork for the collection of available data. The third fieldwork took place from 18th November 2012 to 15th December 2012 in Tikur wuha on the national day of Culture and Tourism. The fourth fieldwork was conducted at Kokosa district during the Asara ritual which was celebrated from18th to 22nd November 2013. The last fieldwork was conducted in Kofele district from 21th June to 5th July 2013. The main focus of the fieldwork was to collect data concerning the process of making traditional clothes among the people.

1.4.9 Ethical Considerations

Research in social sciences and humanities is often concerned with collecting data from people. Almost inevitably this raises questions about the way in which people who provide data should be treated by researchers, and such questions are often ethical in nature (Paul, 2003). Research

ethics are about being clear on the nature of the agreement the researcher entered into with his/her research subjects or contacts. Fieldwork is a complicated process as it involves ethical concerns and ethical decision made during fieldwork belongs to the domain of professional ethics (Crabtree, Benjamin F and Dicicco-Bloom, Barbara 2006, p.316; Sims and Stephens 2005). Every recorded data, photos, notes and transcriptions are the results of voluntary consultants. Patton and Cochran (2002, p.5) emphasized that the researcher should ensure that participation is voluntary, no harm comes to the respondents, the research is of some benefit to the participants, and that their privacy will be protected. Because Ethical issue involves getting the informed consent of those we are going to interview, observe or take materials from it involves researching agreements about uses of the data, and how its analysis will be reported and disseminated (Mack, et al, 2005,p.31).

As a researcher, I had responsibilities to fulfill with respect to ethical issues concerning my consultants as well as the data to be collected. The ethical considerations mentioned above are carefully entertained in the current research. As I have already pointed out in sample selection section, I managed to meet a key consultant at the zone and one of the districts who helped me to collect data from the field. Whenever I met consultants and whatever the technique I employed for data collection, the first step was introducing myself and introducing the objectives of the study and also trying to give the general overview of the questions I had in written form for collecting the data. I asked permission to record using tape recorder or video and to take their photo graph using digital photo camera. For instance, in the case of audio recording by considering Patton and Cochran's (2002, p.22) idea which says, "If an audiotape is going to be used, the respondent's prior permission must be sought". This was made with each consultant's proper introduction of general background about her/himself for voice identification during transcription.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Material culture identifies cultural practices, wisdom, meaning and identity of a society. It is a means to know oneself. Accordingly,

- The current study on material culture would enhance the knowledge about traditional dress in Oromia in general and the Arsi Oromo in particular.
- It also gives information to other people who are unfamiliar with the specific culture and the people;
- It will also be used as a data base, to carry out preservation activities in order to salvage the core elements of Arsi dress as well as cloth making traditions from the danger of extinction.
- What is more, this work hopefully contributes to the growing scholarship on the Oromo material culture and initiates further studies in similar areas in general and on Arsi people in particular.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

Descriptive research is designed to clearly describe a situation or behaviors prevailing at a particular time (Diem, 2002). Such kind of research usually uses qualitative approach to describe situations. Therefore, this research as it is descriptive focuses only on one of the endangered domains of Arsi Oromo culture - the traditional dress. According to Dorson's (1972) classification, folklore is categorized into four broad genres. These are: oral literature, material culture, performing folk arts, and social folk custom. Among the genres of folklore, this study again focuses on traditional dress which is one of the sub-genres of material culture.

It is however limited to west Arsi Zone. Among the 12 districts constituting the Zone, three districts selected for the fieldwork. These are: Kokosa, Adaba and based on the reasons mentioned under sample selection techniques. Therefore, description of the data based on fieldwork focused only on the traditional dress of Arsi Oromo in the aforementioned research sites. Moreover, among the linguistic features this study delimited to the nonverbal communication which is the most important issue in the study of material culture. In addition, the full annotation of texts which were used in the description was about 34 minutes of audio-video recordings.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

It is natural for researchers particularly for fieldworkers to face challenges while conducting fieldwork in their study area. While collecting data, the major difficulty was the feeling of uncertainties and reluctance to give information on the part of some consultants. There were also consultants who refused to be recorded (video or tape record or both). For example, in the case of focus group discussion; the members were not interested to be recorded during the discussion. As far as material culture is concerned, it is obvious that visual data is more appropriate than that of oral description. But, the only option I had was taking a note while interviewing those consultants who refused to be recorded in any ways. In addition, during data collection I was asked to pay money for consultants, but their lack of interest to give appropriate information for the study was the basic barrier. The other problem I faced during the different sessions of field work was the absence of consultants at their home. When I arrived there, I was usually informed that they went to other towns or districts to visit their families or relatives. In Arsi especially amongst Muslims, it is common to find a man who has a family of different wives. These families live in different parts of the zone. In such circumstance what I had to do was to wait until I found them. This is time consuming and daunting task for research.

The other problem was related to the access to a museum in Shashemene town. The need to visiting and have a picture of *ombaa cloth* for example, was not successful due to of the unavailability of the museum workers. Actually, I had a chance to see it but not allowed to take photograph. I was asked to bring letter of permission from the town office. When I came back to the museum after facing many challenges to get the letter of permission, I was told that the museum was locked and was not opened until the last day of my departure from the town. For such reason, I obliged to depend on the oral description of the dress types given from consultants to fill the gap of information regarding the traditional dress types of Arsi. Moreover, there was also a problem of finding and taking picture of each types of traditional dress on the daily basis. To solve this problem, I tried to take pictures of dress types available at the small museum of Tourism and culture Bureau in West Arsi zone. Most of them are collected by a culture and language expert, Obbo Bonsamo Mi'esso.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The current study is generally divided into nine chapters. The subsequent of these chapters are structured as follows. Chapter one attempted to set the background of the study and the methods employed for the study. It introduces the Oromo people and their cultural features to give an insight as a window to see the research in hand, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, scope of the study, importance of the study and about the methods employed to collect, transcribe, organize and describe the relevant data obtained from the fieldwork.

Chapter two discusses relevant theories and reviews of related studies in an effort to establish a theoretical framework for interpreting data. Chapter three covers the social organization and cultural settings of Arsi. Chapter four discusses the process of traditional cloth making among Arsi Oromo. Chapter five presents the Description of Arsi Oromo Female Traditional Dress. Whereas, chapter six is about the Description of Arsi Oromo Male Traditional Dress. Chapter seven deals with cultural occasions and the use of Arsi Oromo dress as a form of nonverbal communication. Chapter eight is devoted to the findings and conclusion drawn from the analysis. It also presents recommendations. Finally, references and appendices are included in the dissertation.

Chapter Two: Review of Related Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to give a theoretical basis by reviewing materials studied on folklore in general and material culture in particular. It also explores studies so far conducted on the particular topic under investigation, i.e. on dress and cloth-making tradition. The chapter has three sections. The first section presents a review of literature related to material culture in general and dress and non-verbal communication in particular. The second section of the chapter deals with a review of previous research works with its focus on the concept of folklore and related fields. The third section is devoted to the theoretical frame works which are used to analyze the data collected from the field.

2.1 Conceptualizing Material Culture, Its Components and Related Concepts

Dorson (1972) classified folklore into four major genres. These are oral literature, material culture, social folk custom and performing folk arts. The first genre, oral literature is composed of folk narrative, folk song or folk poetry, with their subcategories. Folk songs, for instance, consist of work songs, ritual songs, children songs etc. which are genres that are, according to Dorson (1972, p.2), passed down from generation to generation through oral performance. The second category, namely the material culture, 'responds to techniques, skills, procedures, and formulas transmitted across the generations and subject to the same forces of conservative tradition and individual variation as verbal art' (Dorson, 1972, p.2). This major genre of folklore is concerned, for example, with how societies build their homes, make their clothes, prepare their food, farm and fish and do all their other everyday activities. It is concerned in brief with the society's craft arts. With regard to the third category, that is the social folk custom, it relates to community and family observances in connection with villages, households, churches, holidays, rites of passage such as those performed and the customs and beliefs of a given folk expressed at different occasions like birth, initiation, marriage, and death etc. The fourth category according to Dorson-performing folk arts includes genres such as folk music, folk dance and drama. Under this topic concepts related to material culture, its components and related concepts are presented here below.

2.1.1 Material Culture: Definition and its Nature

Material culture is defined by different scholars in different ways. Walls (1990,p. 107),defined material culture as, "it is the transformation of natural resources to cultural artifacts that we commonly call material culture-those tangible creations that are based upon and incorporate human needs ,ideas, values and beliefs". Material culture is also defined by Prown (1982, p.1) as a field of study where the beliefs, values, ideas, attitudes, and worldview of a particular community or society at a given time are investigated through artifacts. It refers to the material objects which surround the human society. In this case the term is used to entitle the material objects under investigation. Woodward (2007, p.3) described the term as how an apparently inanimate things within the environment act on people, and are acted upon by people, for the purposes of carrying out social functions, regulating social relations and giving symbolic meaning to human activity. The definition shows that the term and its investigation are related with the interaction between human and material objects which are made and used by human beings themselves. It is also concerned with the use of these objects in the conduct of social life.

Hence, the term 'material culture' includes two concepts. On the one hand, the term designates the field of study (it may be sometimes followed by the term study or not) in which those material aspects of a culture can be studied. On the other hand, the term represents objects which human beings create and use on a daily basis in the culture they belong. The objects which are included under material culture could range from clothes worn by each of us to dishes we use our kitchen; they can be large and often-costy items such as cars and homes to less-expensive artifacts like pocket knives. Thus, it mainly refers to something moveable and noticeable by touch and so has a physical, material existence that is one component of human cultural practice. Moreover, the physical or technological aspects of our daily lives, including food items, houses and raw materials which are used for production of objects in human activities are all included under material culture (Woodward, 2007).

Material culture which is created on daily basis can be used for various functions. Some artifacts might be stylish, but others are not. Some might be readily available and mass-produced in factories, while others might be hand-crafted items. As folklorist Glassie (1999) emphasized, material culture often reveals much about a past that is difficult to study in other ways. Most

importantly, it tells us about a place and a time, about the people who created or used the artifacts, about change over time. Just as we create material culture, so too are we shaped by the material culture that surrounds us.

Material culture and objects are used by all societies in order to represent specific and distinctive characteristics that denote their uniqueness; they can reflect or emphasize an identity or a specific characteristic of a social group. As Miller and Tilley (1996) argue, it is very important to analyze the way in which artifacts are implicated in the construction, maintenance and transformation of social identities. With the study of objects and symbols we can get an insight into the material aspects of human existence and in the way in which social groups use objects as a means of expression and to identify themselves in a given context. **(**Serrano, 2004).

The four major genres of folklore are interrelated to each other though. As folklore is a field of cultural study, they could be studied independently with their distinctive characteristics and subgenres. This means then, each major genre of folklore can be studied by different fields of studies whose focuses are on culture. As Sims and Stephens (2005) stated, the study of folklore touches on every dimension of human experience and artistic expression. It has grown out of the study of literature, has roots in anthropology, and contains elements of psychology and sociology. In many ways, it is the study of culture, visual and performing arts, sculpture, architecture, music, theater, literature, linguistics, and history rolled into one. Therefore, the study of material culture, as one of the four genres of folklore is an interdisciplinary engagement. It is studied in many disciplines including folklore, anthropology, archeology, linguistics, etc. yet the interest in it varies periodically. Speaking of this reality, Woodward (2007, p.26) states "…Contemporary studies of material culture have developed a strongly interdisciplinary nature. Various disciplines have aspects of material culture as their concern: art history, design and fashion studies, architecture and landscape design, consumer research and marketing studies."

According to the given explanation, these days, fields of studies including, folklore, linguistics, anthropology and etc. deal with aspects of material culture from their own disciplinary perspectives. Yet, even if, there is difference in perspectives, material culture remains the basis of interpreting human cultural diversity and historical development. That makes it interdisciplinary on the one hand and popular field of study on the other. And also this gives the

way to the emergence and development of material culture study in the contemporary world. Therefore, in this study, material culture is discussed as a bridge between folklore and linguistics by focusing on dress, genre of material culture, as a form of non verbal communication in linguistics.

We study material culture for various reasons. Objects in one's culture accumulate histories and have the ability to tell multiple stories about the people. Objects are important in our socialization; they help us to represent ourselves and to understand the other. Material culture is an evolving process in which cultural life is objectified; it is where objects are constructed as social forms, reflecting not just cultural values, but also the different social, political, historic and economic factors that affect social life such as globalization. Likewise, we can understand the social structures, social classes such as inequality and social differences in a group or individual level better by studying the culture with its material aspect.

In this regard, Prown (1982), identified several reasons why material culture is studied. He pointed out that other than the reasons mentioned above, material culture is focused upon, because of:

A. Inherent Values attached to material object: the most obvious cultural belief associated with material objects has to do with the way people value or give credence to an object. According to Prown, the intrinsic structure of an object itself has a value which is established by the scarcity of the materials used. Such kind of value will inhere in the object for as long as the material continues to be valuable. In other words, a value that grows from utility will inhere as long as an object continues to be useful and can return when an archaic object again becomes useful. In addition to material and utilitarian values, certain objects have aesthetic value, some possess spiritual value and some express attitudes toward other human beings or toward the world. This can be expressed through using materials in their natural condition as opposed to reshaping them.

B. The role played by material objects as surviving Historical Evidence: Objects created in the past are the only historical occurrences that continue to exist in the present. They give an opportunity to see, touch and examine the past; through materials made in the community, we have an opportunity for direct sensory experience of existing historical events. Moreover,

objects are both witnesses of the period that they are a part of, and they are the indexical evidences of the social, economic or ideological circumstances.

C. The role played by Material objects as more representative sources of information**:** Objects give an opportunity of a way to understand the mind of the great majority of non-literate people, past and present. They are used by a much broader cross section of the population and are therefore potentially a more wide-ranging, more representative source of information than words. Regarding material objects as authentic cultural aspects**,** certain basic beliefs in any society are so generally accepted that they never need to be uttered. Therefore, it can be difficult to detect problems which are essential for cultural understanding based on what society expresses. Rather, they can be detected in the way in which a society expresses itself through the objects made for various purposes, or/and in style.

D. The role played by material objects to enable the researcher for investigating culture through its Cultural Perspective: The study of systems of belief through an analysis of artifacts offers opportunities to avoid the researcher's own cultural perspective. Cultural interpretation through artifacts helps us to examine the other culture in the first instance not with our minds, but with our senses.

2.1.2 Material Culture: Genres and Ways of Classification

With regard to subgenres of material culture, Dorson (1972) classifies it into five subgenres. These are: folk crafts, folk art, folk architecture, folk costume and folk cookery". On the other hand, Prown (1982), suggested ideas on the importance of some system of material culture classification. He explained that there are varieties of objects that fall within the compass of material culture and categorizing material aspects by their physical existence does not work. This is because materials are products of multiple substances; even we can get different raw materials at times in a single artifact. The same is true of classifying material objects on methods of fabrication. Thus, according to Prown, the most promising mode of classification is by function. On the basis of function-based classification, the genres of material culture are arranged in a sequence of categories that progresses from the aesthetic to the more utilitarian. These are: Art, Diversions, Adornment, Modification of the landscape, Applied Arts and Devices.

Art include paintings, drawings, prints, sculpture and photography. Diversions include books, toys, games, meals and theatrical performances. Under Adornment are, jewelry, clothing, hairstyles, cosmetics, tattooing, and other alterations of the body. Modifications of the landscape include architecture, town planning, agriculture, and mining. In Applied arts are furniture, furnishings, receptacles; and Devices cover machines, vehicles, scientific instruments, musical instruments and implements.

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

2.1.2.1 Dress

There are three basic terms which are repeatedly used in different texts to categorize material objects which are attached to the human body. First let's see the definition given to each terms-namely costume, dress and clothing.

As Yoder (1972, p.295) stated, "Folk costume is the visible, outward badge of a folk-group identity, worn consciously to express the folk-group identity." It is the means by which one community expresses their uniqueness. Yoder (1972) further explained from the functionalist point of view that, costume can be defined as the form of dress which externally symbolizes the identity of a folk community and expresses the individual's various relationships to and within that community. As it is also stated in Yodor (1972), costume is used as a symbol as well as a variable for the community. As a symbol, it expresses the basic needs as well as the basic composition of a folk community; in this case, folk costume is used as utilitarian for the community. As a variable, it becomes, like regional architecture, a means of identifying the local, the vernacular.

In addition, Deppe (2010) defines costume as a type of dress that signifies the departure from the ordinary and the assumption of another's role. In this case it is considered as a dress type and a means by which one distinguishes him/herself from the others. The definition is given based on its theatrical function which is used to refer to the clothing worn in a specific historical and/or

cultural setting. On the other hand, Skov and Milchoir (2008) define, the term costume with the broad concept like that of dress for it connotes a whole outfit or a whole appearance. In this case they treated the term and its concept as it has the advantage over the term clothing, but at the same time, the term has been associated with unchanging dress, as a form of anti-fashion.

Sklov and Milchoir (2008) in their study entitled "Research approaches to the study of Dress and Fashion" presented that until 1970s the definition of clothing was taken as the most common form of dress and was commonly related to clothes of western society as an indication for "civilization" where as the body adornment such as tattoo, scarification, piercing and make-up, which were perceived to be more 'primitive'. Thus, according to the scholars, the definition of clothing is associated with westernization or "civilization". And it excludes body covering and body modification which can be treated as dress types by other people in the world.

The term dress is defined by different scholars at different times. According to Roach and Musa (1980) cited in Kaiser (1990), Dress is the total arrangement of all outwardly detectible modifications of the body itself and all material objects added to it. It refers to any visible, touchable or a material object connected to the human body. According to this definition, the term dress encompasses material objects such as pants, skirts tops and other related body coverings. It also includes material items often thought of as accessories, shoes, gloves hats, bows ties, jewelry and the like.

Roach-Higgins and Eicher (1992, p.7) define dress as, "an individual assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements of the body. Dress would, by this definition, include garments, jewelries, accessories, headdress, mutilation and scarification." The given definition seems broader than that of the definitions given for the previous terms. It gives the chance to extend the components included under the term dress and is, therefore, preferred as a topic of the current work.

As mentioned above, dress involves both modifying and supplementing the body. And modifying and supplementing the body is carried out with the involvement of all senses. The visual aspects of dress (such as shape and color), appear primarily, but the other senses are also involved, such as touching skin, textiles, or leather, smelling scents applied to or associated with

body or fabric, hearing the crunch of jewelry, and tasting pomades or lipstick are all related with senses (Peek and Yankah, 2004, p.205).

The three basic terms, dress, costume and clothing are interrelated. They are used interchangeably in various works. For this study it is preferred to use the term Dress since it helps to avoid the confusion that occurs in relation to the term clothing, cloth and clothe. It also useful to have a broad understanding of the culture of body covering among the people around the world and to avoid the bias which may be created by looking at the clothing system of the community with the eyes from other people in other places. In this case, I agree with Eicher's definition cited in (Skov and Milchoir, 2008) the justification for using the term Dress. She defined dress as a key concept to include both body supplements and body modifications. With this definition, dress is a multi-sensory phenomenon, engaging the senses of hearing, touch and smell as well as vision.

Because clothing is easily seen and felt, sight and touch most quickly come to mind, as in the case of making decisions about color and texture in the clothes we wear or in the cosmetics we apply to our skins. However, the definition of dress as the things we do to the body and the things we put on the body includes more than clothing, or even clothing and accessories. The definition encompasses many ways of dressing ourselves. Thus, in this particular study the term dress is used in its broad sense so that costume/clothes and jewelry will be treated under this broad concept. Generally, it is better to use Peek and Yankah's (2004, p.205) expression which says, "'Dress' is a more comprehensive concept than either clothing or fashion. Dress encompasses more than clothing, for it includes covering and modifying the body."

As explained above, the basic concepts which build the term dress are body modifications and body supplements. Body modifications are temporary or permanent changes made on the appearance of our body. Likewise, body supplements are the things added to the body which are displayed by a person and worn at a particular moment in time. The elements of an individual dress, the body modifications and body supplements are classified according to the relationships they have to the various parts of the body. Therefore, the effect of the things we use on our body

is related with body modification. On the other hand, the relation of the things and our body is treated under body supplement.

Our body can be modified through dress permanently or temporarily based on the ways that change perception of the body by the wearer or by others. Aspects of the body that are perceived visually, such as color, volume and proportion, shape and structure, or surface design are sections of body modification. In addition, body modification includes the feelings, the sounds, the odors, or the tastes.

The color of the hair and skin, for example, can be changed by use of many different processes. It can be dyed or lighted or can get other type of color based on the color applied to it. On the other hand, the skin color can be changed based on the modification made on it. It can be changed through tattoo, powdering, painting, staining or bleaching.

The size and proportion of the body can also be changed by wearing various kinds of clothes, such as using extra made clothes on the shoulders and using small or large bra brings a change of appearance on the wearer. Permanent modification concerning volume and body proportion can be created using thechnology through surgery.

Hairstyle is the most known method for changing the shape of beards and hairdos. The effects of various styles using various forms of hair cut or different types of cultural or modern treatements brings a change on the shape and structure of portions of our body. Moreover, the change on surface design of our body are a results of various designs made on the finger or toe nails as well as the complete hair away from the skull and creation of design on the scalps. These all are parts of body modification (Eicher, Evenson, and Lutz, 2000).

Body supplements are characterized by the way they are made or applied to the body. As stated in Eicher et al, (2000), body supplements can be made or applied through covering, suspending, inserting, clipping or adhering and handholding. Supplements which are included under coverings can be face or neck wrapping. Various forms of scarf to cover neck or head are types of body supplements which are said to be body enclosures. There are various ways that our body can be ornamented using local or imported jewelries. These are suspended body enclosures

which hang from a portion of the body. These include Earrings for pierced ears hang from earlobes, necklaces which hang from the neck, bracelets which hang from wrist or arm; or cultural materials which hang from waist to the hip.

Among the dress types which are suspended to the body-jewelry is, according to Evans (1970, p.39), one of the oldest forms of the decorative arts. It answers to the deep human love of intrinsically beautiful materials, to the deep human wish for bodily beautification to the superstitious need for reinforcing human powers by things that seem to savage more lasting and more mysterious than man.

Jewelry is a form of personal adornment; which includes such as brooches, rings, necklaces, earrings, and bracelets. The choice of materials for the jewelry making depends on cultural differences and the availability of the materials for its making. It can be appreciated because of its material properties, its internal or external structure, or for its meaningful symbols (Evans, 1970).

In the previous times, jewelry was made of readily available natural materials, such as animal teeth, bone, different types of shells, carved stones and wood. Initially, it was more of a functional item, used to fasten articles of clothing together. However, through time, it was adapted to be purely used as an object of aesthetic ornamentation. Moreover, it also came to be used as a cultural, spiritual and religious symbol (Evans, 1970). Traditional jewelries are usually worn together with traditional clothes. They can be worn by the society in festivals, rituals and special occasions or every day. Depending on the culture of societies in the world, the way of adorning the body can be different, but the practice of adornment (jewelry) is commonly observed.

It is obvious that the difference in culture brings variation in dress style among people in the world. According to Eicher et al (2000), there are dress types applied by inserting, clipping, or adhering to the body which are all forms of body supplement. Inserted attachments to the body include such things as hairpins, combs, barrettes, and natural or artificial flowers thrust into the hair or through a hole in the earlobe, like earring. In addition, insertions of real or artificial hair into the natural hair of an individual to increase apparent length of volume and to enable the hair

to have a style of weaving and also insertion of ornamental supplements such as earrings for pierced ears, lips and nose are all included under body supplements made by insertion.

Fastener materials are most of the time used as a bridge between the body supplement and the body. In this case, pressure fastenings are used to clip or hold attachment onto various parts of the body. Hair fasteners provide ornamentation in several cultures. There are also body supplements which can be fixed to the body using glue or mastic. These adhered or glued attachments include such items as false mustaches, false eyelashes and false finger nails. In India, most adult Hindu women wear a small dot in the center of their forehead as a mark of beauty and indication of the presence of a spiritual third eye. The other aspect of dress under body supplement is tattoo. As it is described in Eicher, et. al (2000, p. 19), "Tattoos are an increasingly important aspect of dressing the body." Therefore, they are treated as one form of dress.

Handheld objects are the other forms of body supplements. Very often, these are the personal properties which go with clothes, various forms of modifications and jewelries of an individual. Handheld objects can be carried by an individual or other person depending on the norms of the culture of which those materials are used. Some examples of handheld objects are umbrella, bag, and purse (Smith and Eicher, 1982).

According to Eicher, et.al (2000), classifying dress into body modifications and body supplements has the following advantages. These are: first, classifying dress into body modifications and body supplements has an advantage as it acknowledges the changes that can be made to the body surface through paint, tattoos, perfumes, and hair style, which all modify the body, and thus dress it. Therefore, using the classification system helps to talk and write about dress without making unfair or biased judgment on the various cultures and people around the world.

Second, the other advantage of the classification system concerned with the understanding of the details of the physical form of dress items and practices and the relationship of this form of the body. This means dress terms are culture specific and they can be understood when they are studied within their cultural context. Thus, this classification system allows us to use indigenous dress related cultural terms instead of judging it within others' culture.

The last point in relation to the advantage of classification system is related with the complex nature of this cultural aspect (dress). It is concerned with the relationship between the complexity and detail apparent in any dress ensemble and the role of those elements of dress in nonverbal communication about the identity, activity, and particular feel of the wearer. In the communication process, both small and large elements of dress have a role in communicating information about the individual.

Therefore, in order to make use of those advantages of the dress classification system for the research people and their dress culture, the term dress is applied in the current research. Moreover, dress in this context also acts as a visual form of social control related to status, gender, and ethnic identity.

2.1.2.1.1 History of Dress and Cloth Making

Available archaeological literatures suggest that in human history, the first known humans who used to make clothes were the Neanderthals. According to Prendergast and Tom, (2004) this human species lived from about 200,000 B.C.E to about 30,000 B.C.E. They used to make tools such as spears and knives and the use of those traditional tools made them strong hunters. In order to fulfill their basic necessities, the Neanderthals have started hunting wild animals such as mammals, hairy mammoths, bears, dears, and other kinds of animals that live and shared their environment. Likewise, Prendergast and Tom, (2004, p.1) argue that change in weather condition created through time triggered a change in the manner early hominids lived and cared about their body. In order to cope up with climatic changes, they started to cover their body.

The same source points out that, at that time, Neanderthals were settled on the northern areas of Europe and Asia. But, ice rocks created on the areas of their residence made them feel cold and need to build shelters. Or they were forced to migrate to other parts of the world where they felt to be appropriate for their living. Because of these and other reasons, Neanderthals lived in several areas of the world and began to use more tools: to hunt, to build Shelters, and to develop the first known forms of human clothing (Prendergast and Tom, 2004, p.2).

In the history of human beings, the other human species that is referred as the father of modern man is Homo- Sapiens. This species begun to appear on various parts of the world around 40,000 years.[4] At the beginning this human species was assumed to be much like Neanderthal man in the uses of different tools, methods of hunting and food gathering, and in creation of clothing. As it was observed in the Neanderthal time, there was a dramatic change in weather condition in the areas where they lived. In order to survive they needed to find ways to keep warm and dry. Thus, Animal skins provided their first forms of clothing and footwear. And this is where the history of clothing started.

With regard to tool preparation and clothing, the basic characteristic that distinguishes Cro-Magnon man from Neanderthal is that these species were advanced than the previous ones in their use of tools and cloth making. They started to use tools such as stone and bone scrapers to strip the flesh and fat from the flesh side of the skins and design the skins into primitive forms of clothing. Moreover, Cro-Magnons began to decorate the body with body paint and perhaps tattoos. Therefore, the information given in relation to human species until Cro-Magnon shows that the use and making of clothing and other type of dress goes with the history of human species in the world. And the changes observed on the development of human species in relation to clothing, cloth making and body decoration shows that dress and cloth making history is dependent on the development of human species.

As literature indicates it is difficult to identify the first cloth worn by humans. The reason for the problem in identification is related with that of the nature of the first clothe type and the level of technological advancement in preserving the clothe types worn by the early human. As it was indicated earlier, the oldest clothing's worn by our ancestors were made from furs and animal skins. As Woodward (2007) states, “The problem of understanding the clothing of early humans is made even more difficult by the fragile and destructible nature of fur. While bones and stones

[4] In fact recent archaeological discoveries in Ethiopia suggest that the evolution of Homo-Sapiens took place by far earlier than this period (see Robert Sanders 2003). Fossil discoveries from lower Awash in Afar region of Ethiopia suggest that this date could be pushed further back in time to 160,000 years ago. Homo-sapiens Idaltu, (as it is referred to in contemporary archaeological literature) is the earliest fossil evidence of modern man on earth. It seems that as this group started to move north from the tropics and settled in the temperate world where cold climatic condition forced them to find a way of covering their body, Homo-Spines, particularly, the Cro-Magnon man began to fashion clothes out of animal skin.

may survive for thousands of years, fur decomposes and disappears. The same is true with human hair and skin" as they are directly related to the concept of dress. Woodward further states, there is a problem in identifying the first dress types used by human, but this does not mean that there is no evidence to suggest about the early dress types in the life of human. Because, in some cases, human remains have been embedded in ice or discovered in extremely dry caves, and clothing has been preserved. Moreover, another form of evidence comes from early rock paintings and drawing which have portrays of human clothes, hair, and body decoration.

The wearing of clothes is exclusively a human characteristic. Thus, it is common feature for most of societies in the world. Anthropologists believe that animal skins and vegetation were adapted into coverings as protection from cold, heat and rain, especially as humans migrated to new climates.

On the other hand, according to Danesi (2004, p.182), it is difficult to point out exactly when or why people first wore clothes. But, archeological evidences show that they probably began to wear clothing more than 100,000 years ago-and probably for much the same reasons we wear clothes today. Regarding the function of dress for the early people, they may have worn clothing to protect themselves, to improve their appearance, and to tell something about themselves for others. For example, a prehistoric hunter may have worn the skin of a bear or a reindeer in order to keep warm or as a sign of personal skill, bravery, and strength as a hunter. In such case the cloth is used to tell the status of the wearer (Danesi, 2004). This holds true for the Arsi people who are subject of the present research.

In the history of dress, though there are different views about the exact time for its emergence, Prendergast and Tom (2004) suggested that, the first assembled piece of clothing was the tunic. According to them, a tunic is made from two pieces of rectangular animal hide which are sewn up together on one short side with a hole left for the head. This rough garment was placed over the head and the stitched length lay on the shoulders, with the remainder hanging down. Ancient Egyptians were known by wearing this kind of cloth.

Prendergast and Tom (2004, p.12) further explained that, in addition to covering their body with animal hides, starting from the existence of Neanderthals, early humans did enjoy wearing

decorative objects. The visual evidences found on grave sites of Neanderthals indicate that both men and women liked to ornament themselves with varieties of jewelries such as bracelets and necklaces which were made from a length of animal hide strung by beads, shells, teeth bones or other small objects. This idea also tells about how the history of jewelry is as early as that of clothes in human life.

In the case of dress history in Africa, as it is presented in Prendergast and Tom (2004, pp.37-38) ancient Egypt was a country with long history of dress; the best known pieces of jewelry among ancient Egyptians were worn on different parts of the body, such as a jewelry that was hung over chest by a chain around the neck. In addition, other forms of dress like, various forms of jewelry were worn by the people, including necklaces, earrings, bracelets and rings. In general, the culture of covering and ornamenting the different parts of human body through modification and supplementing was started at early times of human life and still continues to exist among people who live in different parts of the world.

With regard to cloth making, leather has long history in the development of cloth making of mankind dating back to time immemorial; and it has been playing roles in the day-to-day life of mankind. It was mentioned earlier that from prehistoric times human beings used the skins of animals to satisfy their basic needs. They used hides for making material objects to carry out some basic activities such as to make clothes, shelter, carpets and even decorative attire. As Natesan (ND), argues, in the first place, humans were pure and simple hunters, and their clothes were made from the hairy skins of their quarry. By taking Eskimos as an example, it is also stated that the present time the Eskimos are clothes in this way, and there is little doubt that they are the descendents of the cave- men. As Natesan (ND, p.14) also stated, torso is the first apparel used to adorn primitive people; and was made from animal skin.

Depending on the economic status, life style and geographical settings, dress types used by a society and the raw materials used for their making varies among the people of the world. The clothes and other forms of dress especially of the people of antiquities were usually made of the raw materials found in their place of living. For instance, in the society which lives on cattle grazing, animal skin can be the raw material for the making of clothes and jewelries. Similarly, the society which lives on cultivation of land and conservation of forests can possibly make

clothes by hammering the fibers from the bark of trees. When human beings began living on husbandry and cultivating plants that produce fibers, they also learned to spin and weave materials to make their garments. But, it is obvious that through time as the standard of living and development of the world changed, different stages of cloth making and wearing styles are introduced in diverse setting.

Leather work is also known among people who live in parts of Ethiopia. According to Loop (2003), in the history of leather in Ethiopia, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were times when the processing of wild and domesticated animal hides for armor, clothing, shoes, and household items was of considerable importance in the Ethiopian economy.

In previous times, like people in different parts of the world, Arsi Oromo people way of life was dependent on cattle grazing; these days, together with the cultivation of land, the people are practicing agrarian life. Since the antiquities, the people life is attached to their cattle. They depend on the cattle for their food (meat and dairy products), use their skin or hide as a raw material for making clothes and jewelries. Accordingly, therefore, the Arsi Oromo's are known by wearing clothes and adorning their body with the materials made from animal skin. Thus, each member of the people, from small to big, from child to old commonly wear clothes and jewelries made of animal skin (Yenealem, 2000).

2.1.2.1.2. Functions of Dress

Dress has diverse functions. These functions are expressed in the available literature in various ways. One of the primary purposes of clothing is to keep the wearer comfortable as it is one of the basic human needs. In hot climates, clothing provides protection from sunburn or wind damage; while in cold climate, clothes have a function to protect the body from cold. It can be said that clothing makes the wearer to adjust him/herself with the external condition. Similarly, clothes have seasonal and regional aspects, so that thinner materials and fewer layers of clothing are generally worn in warmer seasons and regions than in colder ones.

The other function of dress is preventing the body from foreign elements **(**Leones, 2009). Dress, regardless of cultural difference, helps to protect against many things that might harm the uncovered human body. It helps to protect the human body from rain, snow, cold and wind and

other bad weather conditions, including the scorching sun. For such reasons the wearer uses different dress types based on the elements he/she might encounter.

Dress also helps to reduce the level of risk in various activities, such as work or sport. The clothes which are worn in various types of sports are varied depending on the nature of the activity. This holds true for various types of works too. Clothes worn can protect the human body from infections or injury. For example, a laboratory technician at work wears clothes or masks to avoid direct contact of the body with the chemicals which can have harmful effects.

On the other hand, dress has historically been used as one of the most important and visually immediate markers of class, status and ethnicity in various societies. As one of the many forms of expressive culture, dress practice shaped and gave form to social bodies. **(**Fair, 1998). Likewise, according to Mupfumirs and Nyaradzo (2013), in the nineteenth-century, clothes served as an important and visually immediate signifier of class and status in Zanzibar. In similar terms many of the world's cultures, the clothes of wealthy members of the society were more ornamented than that of the working classes.

Among the early Egyptians, the display of jewelries functioned as means to show wealth and status. They adorned all parts of their body with jewels, such as, anklets, bracelets, and necklaces. Beside their use as markers of status and wealth, Jewelries also functioned as a guardian from evil. As Nxumalo stated, in some cultures, jewelries are made for children to protect them from those who believed to be posse's evil eyes. Many items of jewelry thus had a spiritual purpose in carrying images to the gods that protected the wearer (2008, p.34).

As Fair (1998) also stated, among dress types, jewelries also plays a role in showing rank and importance of the individual or group in the society. For instance, an Egyptian who could afford the expense used to wear brightly colored jewelry to show her/his rank and importance in society, as well as their love of beauty. Jewelry has also played an important role in religion denoting membership and status within the practitioners as well as various social groups. For as long as precious metals and gemstones have been used to create jewelry, it existed as a symbol of wealth.

There are different views on the reason why human beings began to wear clothes which in one way or another are related to the function of dress. Kaiser (1990) lists four theories of clothing according to their use, namely the modesty, the immodesty, the adornment and the protective theory. The first assumption suggests that people first wore clothes to cover their genitals; this termed as the shame hypothesis or modesty theory. This assumption is thought to have its origin in the bible which states that, clothes were initially worn by Adam and Eve to cover their nakedness because of innate shame, after their fall from grace. The theory emphasizes that clothes was adopted, out of a sense of shame or modesty, to conceal the genitalia.

The second assumption is related to immodesty, which was proposed by psychologist Westermarck (1921) cited in (Kaiser 1990). According to this assumption, human beings first have worn clothes in order to attract attention rather than to cover their genitals (Lurie, 1981). According to this theory, using different kinds of clothes to attract others have a long history. And this also implies that people used to wear clothes in order to protect their body. The attraction hypothesis maintains that the original purpose of clothing was to draw attention to oneself, more particularly to the genital area and their erotic functions, thus, hopefully, 'increasing the observer's sexual interest in the wearer'.

Adornment theory on the other hand, emphasizes the decorative nature of dress. Its proponents argue that adornment or "ornamentation" is the initial reason for wearing clothes, by putting the evidence that "savages" or the "primitives" may be naked but they are still adorned, as compared to the modesty covered "civilized" western people. (Kaiser, 1990).

The dominant idea on the beginning of human clothing is associated with natural and environmental phenomena. According to this assumption, different kinds of environmental as well as natural conditions made the early people to start wearing clothes. Therefore, the origin of wearing clothes is attributed to the need to protect oneself from the environmental conditions. And the reason hypothesizes protection as the main reason for starting to wear clothes. In other words, the hypothesis relies on the protective function of dress.

From this one can conclude that plenty has been suggested as to what caused humans to start wearing clothes. But no one of those assumptions can by itself fully explain why the naked

primitive human beings decided to dress up. Instead, it has become obvious that no single event has been responsible for it in isolation, but rather a variety of environmental, psychological and socio-cultural factors in combination have been involved in this change. Therefore, instead of searching for the origins of clothing, it is better, to look into the functions of clothing or what dress is for. On this subject more consensuses seems to have been reached than on the origins of clothing. In general, whatever the reason for wearing or using different types of dress, there are dress types that dictate which should be worn depending on the situation, cultural context and what is desired to be achieved. In this way, dress has a function of keeping traditions alive and fostering our cultural beliefs, by reinforcing norms for situations based on cultural and social acceptance.

2.1.2.2 Dress and Non-Verbal Communication

Communication can be defined as the exchange of ideas, information and knowledge between sender and receiver through an accepted code of symbols. Passing or receiving information about a particular fact or circumstance is one of the most important objectives of communication. It can be done either through spoken or written language or by using any other system of signs or signals. When we think of exchanging our ideas with others or giving some information to others, we do it in two ways. We either speak or tell or we can just do it without words. Burgoon (1978) stated that using language we could transfer information, maintain relationship, express attitudes, and demonstrate feelings and personalities. We can communicate through language in different ways like verbal or non-verbal means of human communication.

Among the two basic forms of communication, verbal communication is associated with the language we use when we communicate through speaking. However, nonverbal communication is a form of communication expressed through gestures/body language/, behaviors and social interactions. It also considers how people respond to communication, such as changes in facial expressions and voices, psychological changes and physical appearances. Nonverbal communication is considered as an indispensable component of human interaction and it bears close relationship with culture. Each culture has a set of norms regarding the appropriateness of different types of body language and paralinguistic factors (Fan and Yongming, 2010).

Non-verbal communication is a substantial portion of our interaction as it is presented in the process of sending and receiving messages from another person. And “in fact, a significant amount of communication that goes on between people is nonverbal” (Aliakbari and Abdollahi, 2013, p.35). These messages can be transferred through gestures, engagement, posture, and even dress, and hygiene. Non- verbal channels are rich and effective in transmitting a large amount of information in the social interaction. For example, our manners of dressing, hair style, ornamentation, facial expression etc. are sources of information. Therefore, we are using non-verbal language like that of verbal language in our daily life communication. Moreover, Aliakbari and Abdollahi, (2013, p.35) says,

> Non-verbal communication usually occurs through the process of communicating wordless messages using the medium of “silent language”. It is accomplished through different types of nonverbal communication signals such as gesture, body language or posture, facial expression and eye gaze, object communication such as clothing, hairstyles or even architecture, vocal cues.

Nonverbal communication is an area of study which is interdisciplinary by its very nature. As Matsumoto et.al, (2013) stated, it is an area of study for many disciplines- sociology, psychology, anthropology, folklore, language study, computer science, criminal studies etc. The fields tend to focus on a slightly different aspect of nonverbal communication depending on their areas. But, there is more overlap amongst those disciplines than divergence because of their common concern on the types of nonverbal communication. Literally the term nonverbal only excludes communication through speaking, but, the features it may include are virtually limitless. Nonverbal communication refers to communication through touch or smell, through various kinds of artifacts such as masks and clothes. It has also sometimes been used to include vocal features such as intonation, stress, speech rate, accent and loudness. In addition, it can refer to different forms of body movements such as facial expression, gaze, pupil size, posture, gesture and interpersonal distance (Bull, 2001).

In general, non-verbal communication is a form of communication in which messages are transferred from sender to receiver without speaking or using words. There are various forms of nonverbal communication which are proposed by different scholars. According to Brooks (1978), non-verbal communication falls into eight categories. These are: Para language, vocal

non-verbal, sign language, gesture and body action, object language, tactile communication, space and time communication and silence.

On the other hand, as stated in Yammiyavar, et al. (2008), different field of studies on nonverbal communication such as counseling psychology, linguistics and social anthropology have identified areas of study in non-verbal behavior into nine categories as paralinguistic, kinesics, facial expressions, visual behavior, proxemics, touch, occulesics, artifactics and chronemics.

*Paralinguistics /paralanguage/ according to (*Yammiyavar et al., 2008; Brooks, 1978*),* deals with vocal cues, such as pitch, tone, intonation, and accent that accompany speech. These also include sounds from the throat, such as humming or filling silence with sounds like 'ummm' or 'aaaa.' This form of nonverbal communication usually comes simultaneously with verbal communication. In the case of filing the gap between speeches, for example, in conversation between two individuals one of *them may use "um" or "aa"* sounds to get a gap for thinking.

Proxemics deals with the study of space elements, such as distance between people and objects. Chronemics is related to the study of time and its relative understanding by the persons involved. Pauses, silences, and response lag during an interaction are some of the issues. Proxemics and chronemics are together termed as space and time communication in Brooks (1978), and they are treated as one type of nonverbal communication.

Kinesics, body language or body movement is a form of nonverbal communication which includes gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, touching, and any other movement of the limbs and the body. Body shape, physique, posture, height, weight, hair, and skin color are the physical characteristics associated with kinesics **(**Lunenburg, 2010). Artifactics is also treated in Yammiyavar, et al. (2008, p.33) as one of the forms of nonverbal communication, but it has similar characteristics with that of body language and kinesics. This form of nonverbal communication has been associated with the study of non-verbal messages sent out by personal accessories, such as dress and fashion accessories used by a person. Though there are different terminologies proposed by scholars in the field of nonverbal communication in relation to material aspects, they have common characteristics in transmitting messages. In this study, the main purpose is to show the importance of material objects in maintaining nonverbal messages.

Therefore, in the subsequent sections and chapters of the thesis, concepts related with object language, Kinesics *and* Artifactics *are used* interchangeably.

Object language is the common form of nonverbal communication through which we enrich our way of communication with others by the means of material objects. It comprises the display of material things, art objects, clothes, the decoration of room, hairstyle implements, machines and the human body. Because, all the decorations made on human body, such as clothes, rings, hair styles and jewelries have clearly defined communicative events (Efa, 2012). Therefore, the style and quality of clothes, the way the hair is made or cut and kinds of ornaments worn by individuals can communicate about status, religion, gender, culture, profession, marital status etc. Body language is then, an important part of how people communicate but there are differences in the use of object language from culture to culture.

Dress, is one of the most common forms of object language; the types of clothes that an individual wears, the hair style, the way the body is adorned convey nonverbal clues about his or her personality, background and social status, and how others will respond to him/her. People use clothes, body art, body modifications and supplements to communicate who they are and what they stand for. Moreover, according to Danesi (2004, p.178) "clothing is more than mere bodily covering for protection. It is a sign system that is interconnected with the other sign systems of society through which we can send out messages- about our attitudes, our social status, our political beliefs, etc." This is where dress plays a role as a form of nonverbal communication in general, and object language in particular, in transmitting messages.

Dress is also both an individual and a social means of communication. The symbolic significance of the dress of an individual must be understood within its socio-cultural and historic or time boundaries. It is one aspect of human behavior in which society is reflected through nonverbal way of communication. This means understanding the meaning of dress within a society, culture, and specific time period can help in understanding the social, political and economic events and changes that take place in dress. Thus, cultural context has a great place in understanding the meaning of dress as a form of nonverbal communication.

Africans, like others around the world, use a wide variety of materials, techniques, styles, and forms to cover and display their body effectively. Although certain items or practices may cover a wide geographic area, there is no single form or style that can be called "African dress." However, Smith and Eicher (1982, p.1) stated that it is possible to say, African dress is a system of nonverbal communication. It aids in personal and socio-cultural identification of African people who are living in different geographical setting in their daily lives. Therefore, dress symbols, like food and housing symbols, are some of the most effective forms of non-verbal communication at the intercultural and cross-cultural levels that individuals may encounter.

In this regard, Arsi Oromo people use different material objects in different occasions to communicate different messages. Among them clothes, as they are one of the forms of object language, communicate sex, status, age, and economic wealth. Those various forms of nonverbal communication have features which distinguish them from other forms of communication. As it is stated in Devito (1989, p.214) and Adler (2003, p.150) cited in (Ifa, 2012), there are different characteristics of non-verbal communication which are taken as universals. These are: contextuality, multi-channeled, continuous, rule governed bound to culture and believable.

The first characteristic of nonverbal communication is its contextuality. Like verbal communication, it exists in a context and that context determines to a large extent the meanings of any non-verbal communication behaviors. The other feature of nonverbal communication has to do with its multi-channeled nature; all parts of the body usually works together to get across a particular meaning. A variety of meanings is also perceived through non-verbal behaviors.

The third characteristic of non-verbal communication refers to its continuous communicative nature. The messages which are transferred through non-verbal ways are continuous as long as we are in the presence of someone else; that person may perceive our behavior as communication, particularly non-verbal. This means then, that all behaviors communicate are particularly important with regard to non-verbal communication. Non-verbal communication, according to the scholars, is also ruled governed and bound to culture. It is regulated by a system of rules that state what is and what is not appropriate expected and allowed in a social situation. They are culturally determined. For instance, there are differences among cultures and nationalities about the relative value of speech versus silence, the relative value of talk versus

action, the social role of small talk or gossip, etc. Finally, the characteristics of non-verbal communication is related with the idea of, we believe non verbal behaviors even when these behaviors contradict verbal messages and this is treated as believable characteristics of nonverbal communication.

Furthermore, nonverbal communication has various functions. According to Ekman and Friesen (1969), cited in Matsumoto et al; 2013, pp.9-10), the basic functions of nonverbal behaviors are: Repeating, Substituting, Complementing, Accenting, Regulating, and Contradicting.

The use of nonverbal behavior indicates what is simultaneously happening with what is being said in words. Emblems- are the nonverbal behaviors that we use to display what we mean. Example: head nods while someone saying “yes”. Nonverbal behaviors also help to say things rather than words. People often answer questions others ask by responding nonverbally rather than verbally. For example, nodding of head to answer a question rather than saying “yes”.

Nonverbal behaviors enable the speaker to strengthen what is being said with words. In this case there are nonverbal demonstrators that support what is being said verbally. For instance, a friend says “I am so sorry” and at the same time displays a sincerely sad face.

Sometimes nonverbal behaviors may simply accent a particular part of verbal communication. For instance, someone may tell us how to pronounce a word by moving one hand up and down while uttering the word. In this case the gestural expression helps to communicate accent. There are also nonverbal behaviors that helps to control the flow of conversation, and tell us when it is our turn to talk, or when the other person stopped talking. While telling a story to a friend, one may pause to allow room for comments. There are cases that nonverbal behaviors transmit message to the opposite of what is being said. For instance, when people are saying one thing yet their nonverbal behavior is telling us something completely different. This can be happen when someone says, “I am so sorry” while smiling.

2.1.2.3 Dress and Gender

In most cultures, gender differentiation of clothing is considered appropriate for men and women. The differences can be in styles in which they are made, colors used or selected for the

clothes or other forms of dress and their way of production. Gender is the traditional cultural expression of maleness and femaleness and gender role refers to society's evaluation of behavior as masculine and feminine.(Sophia, Susan and Caleb 2013, p.2). In folklore, gender is expressed in interpersonal, familial, and communal behavior; public and private ritual; speech and song; music; food ways; costume; vernacular architecture and domestic space; religious and other forms of belief medical, political, and the like. Male and female may have particular physical attributes that distinguish them as human beings, but their biological forms are not the sole constituents of their gender. This is because; the concept of gender consists of the social construction of sexual identity within a particular cultural context. Thus, categories of gender are culturally defined, shaped, and imbued with significance and sets of expectations. Gender, therefore, is a central organizing category for experience; it emerges at various times and in various situations as a salient marker by which people identify themselves. It is one of the basic ways in which people encounter and interpret the world as individuals and differentiate community membership.

In the application of symbolic interactionist theory to the study of dress, the theory which will be discussed under theoretical framework of this study, Mupfumira and Nyaradzo (2013, p.290) says, gender is an aspect in which the role of an individual is identified through interaction. Gender roles in relation to dress are reinforced through the use of specific dress symbols. According to Rouse (1989), cited in Mupfumira and Jinga (2013,p. 290) , clothes and other forms of body modifications such as hairstyles, makeup, scarification of tattooing can communicate quite pleasing information about the individual.

In the discussion of gender role, role learning and role enactment are important points. Role learning is the situation in which an individual is learnt his/her gender role in the community. Therefore, role learning enables the person to define the characteristics which is expected in his particular role. In addition, role learning helps the role player define his/her role. For example, learning about the female role would help the role player to observe how perceivers react to her clothes and would make adjustments. The gendered dress encourages each individual to internalize gendered roles (Eicher and Higgins, 1997). Role enactment can be referred to as the

use and selection of particular dress symbols for a role an individual plays. An individual selects particular dress symbols in order to play a role (Mupfumira and Jinga, 2013).

In most cases, the dress makes the man or woman. According to Peek and Yankah (2004), there is a difference in the type of clothing worn by young African boys and girls. Generally, they have less covering and more revealing dress symbolic of being young and available for courtship after puberty. On the contrary, married adults, especially women whose dress was more covering to symbolize their marriage and mothering status (Nxumalo, 2008, p.35).

Moreover, in some cultures, religious laws determine what men and women are required to wear. Traditionally, they were laws that regulated and reinforced social hierarchies and morals through restrictions on dress, food, and luxury expenses. In most settings, they were not effective. Regarding gender differences in religions, in Islam, for example, the standard components of clothes require women a head covering and loose-fitting, non-transparent clothing that covers the whole body, maybe with the exception of the hands and face (Boulanouar, 2006, p.6). The religion requires women to wear more modest forms of attire, usually hijab. What qualifies as "modest" varies in different Muslim societies; however, women are usually required to cover more of their bodies than men are. Although Muslim men are also required to be ‘‘modest in dress’’, but Islamic religion does not oblige men to veil. Thus, as Ssenyonjo (2007, pp.3-4) writes, “Compared to Muslim women, Muslim men are much free to decide what parts of the body to cover”.

Folklore, as the expressive elements of a culture, not only manifests, but also helps to construct and determine rules, behaviors, and ideas within particular cultures relating to men’s and women’s sense of themselves and their interrelationships. Therefore, specific folkloric activities can be recognized as distinguishing markers of gender within a given culture. The idea of maleness and femaleness in the culture is related with the concept of gender which is termed in Hirut (2012) as socialization. In her study on the Arsi Oromo, entitled, “Gender Relation, Female Genital Mutilation and Reproductive Health”, she divides the way members of the family in the culture are socialized into three stages. According to her classification, the first stage refers to the role of the mother’s protection and education of the child on how to be fed and feed itself for survival between one and three years of age. At this stage, children of both sexes are treated

equally. They can freely play together but usually referred to as *mucaa* (male child) and *mucatti* (female child) (2012, p.109).

The second stage of socialization (role learning) is the stage where boys and girls are treated differently. This is where gender differentiation starts among the people. At this stage, as Hirut (2012, p.109) stated between the age of five and seven, a girl is told to clean the house and the shed, fetch water for her mother and to help her mother in many other reproductive chores. She is also told to beautify[5]herself, wash and plait her hair. In the culture, boys are also told to help their father outside home, keeping the cattle. She also stated that, in the third stage of socialization, the girl receives orientations on her duties and manners as a mother and wife in her future life. Thus, a girl should behave and learn from her mother how to serve her future husband and keep up with her family responsibilities when she is married. In general, girls are expected to learn activities in the house such as preparing food and helping their mothers and prepare themselves for their future life. Boys, on the other hand, shepherd cattle and other activities preformed outside home. Long ago, boys were expected to learn and practice hunting. Therefore, these role learning activities enable boys and girls to have the acceptable gender role among their community.

As explained earlier, in addition to other social activities, gender can be expressed through dress use which is one of the ways in which the role division among cultural groups can be visualized. Therefore, by considering the important points mentioned above in relation to dress and gender, identifying the relationship between gender and traditional dress in the context of Arsi is one of the main topics of discussion in this study.

2.1.2.4 Dress and Symbol

The term symbol refers to any "thing" (an event, object, relationship, etc.) that conveys meaning. Scholars in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, psychology, and the humanities, have contributed to the long intellectual history of the study of symbols.

[5] Data from the field shows that girl's role learning as a girl and demonstrating the girl to beautify herself is connected to reaching the age of ten and above. In Arsi Oromo culture, this time is believed to be the time when girl's beauty and cleanness attracts males for marriage.

Symbol is defined and functions differently according to the given culture. Because of such reason the meaning of a symbol within one society may differ from its meaning in different societies. Luzbetak (in Kizito 2002, p.19) stated that a symbol can have different meanings according to the context in which it is used. Clothing, division of labor, social class, wedding customs, have a particular set of meanings and values. Such things/objects which are viewed as a symbol have a very particular referent or set of referents. They are taken by their society as being something more than what they are themselves. Symbol therefore, may refers to material objects, or be stored in memory as an image that evokes meaningful responses. It is also used to define or represent realities. Dress has a particular set of meanings and values. Thus, dress is viewed as a symbol in this study.

2.1.2.5 Dress and Identity

Identity is the formation of group boundaries within the structures of the world view. For one group to be able to distinguish itself from other group requires us versus not-us- boundary. Davis (in Kaiser 1990, p.320) describes identity as "any aspect of self about which individuals can through symbolic means communicate with others." It is the right by which individuals assume a role in a given particular situation. One is able to establish what and where a person is in social terms.

Mathisen (2003, p.355) identifies two connotations of identity as "From one point of view, it has to do with the feeling that something is and remains the same; the feeling of continuity …having an identity also means being different from others" (Emphasis mine).From the given definition one can understand that identity can be seen from two dimensions. The first dimension is about what we think about ourselves and about others; the second one is what others think about us. These two concepts are the concerns of identity.

Material objects are used by all societies in order to represent specific and distinctive characteristics that signify their uniqueness; they can reflect or emphasize an identity or a specific characteristic of a social group. Objects can facilitate interpersonal interactions and assist a person to act upon him or herself. Therefore, with the study of objects and symbols we

get an insight into the material aspects of human existence and the way in which social groups use objects as a means of expression and to identify themselves in a given context.

Dress, as one of the forms of material culture, can be the most obvious and yet most subtle ways of preserving our sense of self to others, our perception of what we think we are or what we want to be (Walls; 1990, p.113). The clothes we wear, the adornments we made on our body and the materials we hold on our hand are more than just covering and beautification. According to Morris, quoted in Kizito (2002, p.22) this means then, "we dress not just for comfort, but for self-expression". The identity of an individual is expressed in various ways.

> Dress marks an individual's many identities, such as gender, age, occupation, religion, community, and ethnicity. For example, wrapping a woman's cloth to the left or a man's to the right designates gender, as does the use of several styles of caps for Yoruba men in contrast to the head ties worn by Yoruba women. In some groups, boys and girls before puberty may go without clothes and wear only beads; at adolescence or when entering school, they wear trousers and shirts or frocks. Schoolchildren often wear uniforms; a practice encouraged during colonial times and continued since then (Peek and Yankah, 2004, p.37).

According to the given explanation, there are many ways that the identity of an individual or group can be expressed and dress is the mechanism in which identity is visualized. Therefore, dress is one of the nonverbal symbols which enable someone to have the inner feeling of which he/she is or develop a sense of identity in social context and it can be situated or shaped through situation involvement. The image of identity which an individual discloses to the world via clothing is a composite of many factors (Gerrard, ND[6]). Values, attitudes, mood and social norms will play a part, as social feedback does; with individuals constantly comparing themselves to others. In such cases, clothes and ornamentation are strategic representations through which we project our personalities and values. Therefore, "Clothes are expressions of identity, one of the perennial means whereby we signal to the social world who and what we are; they are part of our repertoire of social technology, a means whereby ideas of identity are grounded in the visual" (Twigg, 2007, p.291)

[6] ND refers to the publication date is not mentioned.

In general, dress types and identity are concepts related to each other. As discussed above, dress is an expression of identity. It is one of the persistent means whereby we express ourselves to the social world who and what we are; dress is a means whereby ideas of identity are grounded in the visual. But, this expression operates within a cultural context that assigns distinctive meanings to social forms.

2.1.2.6 Dress and Color

Human beings use color to manipulate their personal appearance and environment (Hutchings, 2004). A large part of using various colors falls within the area of folklore under oral literature, social folk customs and material objects that have been handed down within families, neighborhoods and relatives, generations or geographical areas. Most of the time the types of colors we use are parts of our culture; they are activities that give us feelings of belongingness and of doing the right thing in a group we are belonging.

As Hutchings (2004) stated, color is our perception. It is not a property. Therefore, it exists as a function of our vision and cerebral function. The meaning and interpretation of the color depends on the view of the individual as well as the community in which the individual belongs. Because of such reason, a color can symbolize anything we (individual or social) want it to symbolize. To strengthen this idea, Hutching (1997), in his study on the color green presented evidences on how a color can get different meanings depending on the people or groups perception for that particular color depending on cultural differences.

Hutchings (2004, p.1) acknowledged that there are four principles of color selection in folklore. According to him, the first principle is results by the contrast displayed; the second principle is based on color selection as a transfer from the perceived or actual usefulness of the color; the third one is color selection by association, and the fourth principle is color selection by availability. As dress is one genre of folklore, color selection for dress can depend on the reasons mentioned above.

In everyday language the Principle of Singularity controls the use of color words as symbols. As Hutchings (2004), suggested the biological mechanism permitting these many and contrasting uses of color depends on the fact that a color can ‘mean’ whatever we wish it to ‘mean’. This is

to mean that, color is not the property of an object rather it is a perception. As human beings our imagination and creativity as well as the availability of color give us power to manipulate our appearance and environment.

There are basically two major reasons for the use of color in our daily life (Huthings, 1997). The first reason is broadly related with legislation; it includes the use of color for diverse purposes, such as traffic lights, supermarket, school uniforms, and choice of colors for uniforms in different community services. The second reason for use of color in our daily life is related with culture, society or individual. With this regard Huthings (1997) suggested that the colors individuals or groups use in everyday life tell stories about themselves. For instance, in the case of body decoration and clothing, the colors used for decorating and the clothes betray background and membership of particular social group. And also color choice can be depended on the individual interest.

In general, folklore is about what we do, what we believe, how we perform, how we use things and how we behave as we go about our lives. Thus, colors used on special occasions belong to family and social group. What we observe on the material aspects of folkloric genres, such as the clothes, jewelries, various forms of modifications and household material objects the colors used for the making and/or beautification convey a meaning about the users.

In Africa, ancient Egyptians were using a variety of colors in their clothing, and these colors had symbolic meanings. Green, for example, stood for life and youth; and yellow was the symbol of gold. Red, which symbolized violence, was seldom used, and black was reserved for the wigs worn by both men and women. According to Peek and Yankah was, by far the most revered and sacred color among the Egyptians; it symbolizes purity (2004, p.23).

In the case of South Africa, according to Nxumalo (2008, p.37), again color used in dress types plays an important role in indicating the background of the wearer. With regards to married Zulu women, decorations of their entire dress indicate their different places of origins, mainly through color. On the other hand, Levinson, quoted in Xulu (2002, p.20), states, “To the Zulu the white bead means love and purity, black is darkness, difficulty and misfortune; green signifies sickness; yellow symbolizes wealth; blue means happiness; and red is the red from sore eyes which have looked in vain for their love.”

According to the given idea in the context of Zulu, various colors have symbolic meanings to represent. Therefore, despite culture differences of culture among the people living in the world, color symbolizes the world view and attitudes of its users; and an interest for a color can be expressed in various ways, such as, clothes, jewelries household material objects etc. Thus, in the study of dress, the role of color is one of the important elements of investigation.

2.1.2.7 Dress and Culture Change

The word culture is originated from the Latin verb (colere; colo, colui) and the noun {cultura}; Concepts never exist in isolation, but always in a complex network of conceptual relationship (Budin, ND). The Latin term *colo, -ere*, with its root meaning "to cultivate", generally refers to patterns of human activity and the symbolic structures that give such activity significance. Though they are rooted in the same origin, there are different definitions given to the term culture and they reflect different theoretical bases for understanding, or criteria for evaluating, human activity. The survey made by the two eminent anthropologists, Krober, A.L and Kluckhohn, Clyde who came up with more than150 definitions of culture shows how the term is used in different field of studies (Avruch, Kevin, 2004). He defines culture as, “a derivative of individual experience, something learned or created by individuals themselves or passed on to them socially by contemporaries or ancestors” (p.5).

Every human society has a distinctive culture which governs the behavior of its members in relation to their physical and socio-cultural environment. One of the basic characteristics of culture is that, it is learned and stable but not inherited; this does not in any way suggest that its patterns are static and unchanging; rather culture is dynamic by its very nature (Oke, 2004) cited in Noel,2011). Because of its dynamic nature it is in a continuous state of change. When we talk about change, it is directly related with society and culture. This is because it is difficult to think about culture without the existence of the human race (folk). This is on the other way to mean that, change in society brings change in culture or vice versa. According to Preston (2000) cited in Noel (2011, p.32), there are two terms which are related to change in relation to culture and society. These are social change and culture change. The term social change is a term used in the sociology; and the term cultural change is used in the field of anthropology as both are related to culture and society.

With regard to the dynamic nature of culture, it is possible to say all societies undergo a process of culture change and sometimes cultural continuity. But these changes and continuities may be so incremental that the members of the society are hardly aware of it. As Noel (2011, p.32) presented, nonetheless when a society is characterized by change and continuity, it would be important to examine it based on the following issues. These are: the rate of change and continuity, the processes of change and continuity, and the directions of change and continuity. Moreover, Lowethal (1975), argues that a people's trace of the past is to be sure of the enduring identity and this is where the process of continuity undergoes. Therefore, people need to hold on to the past, for the past is important.

Folklore as it incorporates human and cultural aspects; it is subject to the concept of change and continuity. It entails continuity over time through which many generations transfer the experience to their future generation. Gupta(ND) in her study " Folklore: Literature, Art craft and Music" on her special emphasis on India, states that taking migration as an example for culture change and continuity perpetuation, acceptance and integration or rejection of a particular folklore in the new environment has brought out interesting pictures. According to her explanation:

> The two interesting pictures which emerge are: Situation (one) where some members of the community have moved out of the native place carrying with them the folklore to the new environment, continue to follow the practices in content and spirit. Situation (two) the members who have not moved to a new environment, bring alterations under the influence of the changing local environment. The folklores, which were taken by the early migrants to other regions, thus continued without many modifications in this altered culture situation but the same folklores see modification and change in the native situation. (ND, p. 3)

According to the given idea, reasons for change in folkloric aspects are not only related with the case of migration, rather it depends on the surrounding situation as well as the need for the owners of the folkloric elements in preserving their culture and transmits it to generations.

As explained earlier, the change and continuity in cultural practices results from various reasons depending on the situation in which those cultural aspects of the owners could be affected. Like other places in the world, as Adeyemi (2008) stated, the phenomenon of change and its impact on material culture as a visual means to translate societal cultural values and social organization

is profound in the developing society of Africa. According to him, the reasons for change in cultural practices in relation to material culture could be expressed through, the way the material is made, the raw material for making and the way it is functioned.

Srivastava (2005), cited in Disele,P.L.P., Tyler, D and Power, Jess,(2011), presented that social change may result from changes in the materials used in material culture due to alterations in cultural values and meanings. According to him, basically there are three sources of social change. These are: discovery- a new addition or combination of previously existing knowledge, inventions-a new application or combination of previously existing knowledge and borrowing- by which a social arrangement is taken from another society and applied intact or in some modified form). One of the effects of such changes or influences is, it results with the gradual extinction of some aspect of our traditional arts and crafts.

In general, a society undergoes transformation due to certain causes and there are cases that a society continues to practice those cultural elements. With this regard again Srivastava (2005) cited in Disele, and Power, (2011) states that, social and cultural variables are critical in defining the nature of relevant groups. To describe the group's lifestyle, values, preferences and the nature of good or better settings for them, there must be a supportive environment to reduce or eliminate stress by modulating the rate of social and cultural changes. They also found that certain variables of culture are useful in identifying a people, hence its continuity.

We can conclude that culture change can be a result of two basic reasons. These are: internal (changes result from within a society) and external (changes result from outside factors). The given two aspects of culture change are also named as enculturation and acculturation, respectively.

2.2 Review of Research Works Related to Dress and Cloth Making

This section is devoted to reviewing the existing research works on traditional dress and cloth making tradition. Studies already done on a topic, serves very important functions. As it is stated in Newman (2007) previous works which are related to the topic help us in different ways. They help us narrow down a broad topic by showing us how others conducted their studies. They also

inform us about the state of knowledge, on a topic. From the studies by others, therefore, we can learn the key ideas, terms and issues that surround a topic. Based on the given idea, existing research works are reviewed and discussed. Even though general literature dealing with dress and cloth making as abundant, to make this research more focused and clear, eleven academic works focused on dress and cloth making are selected for review. Two of them are prior works conducted on traditional cloth making; six M.A. Research works were focused on cloth making and/ or analysis of clothes and jewelries. One M.A and one PhD works were accessed online. The other PhD work on art history of dress is accessed in IES library. Therefore, the review is presented in three sections namely, review of local studies, online research works and comparisons and contrasts of previous works and the present research.

2.2.1 Review of Local studies

Under this section, review of local works was carried out. Two research articles, one PhD research, and seven MA research works were consulted. Among them, the two research articles conducted on leather making and the working communities are: "the Preparation of Hides with Stone Tools in South Central Ethiopia" conducted by Gallagher in 1974 and "Gurage Hide working, Stone Tool use and Social Identity" conducted by Brandt (1997). The focus of Gallagher's (1974) research was to show the process of hide making among the people in southern part of Ethiopia. Emphasis was given to traditional material, especially the role of obsidian tools in the making of clothes from hides. Data for the research was collected from six different places and 12 people were subjects of the research. Among them persons from Gurage, sidama and Arsi were identified as interviewees. The findings indicate that traditional tanners in the selected areas are marginalized. This is because other people believed that the tanners are not clean and they are also believed to be evil eyed. The research reviewed focused on the status of the traditional leather workers.

Brandt's (1997) study focused on the archeological function of stone tools. As reported, the work is most of the time performed by males. Similar to the study reviewed above, the findings show that the professionals are marginalized from the rest of the community; their economic status is low and so does is their political and social life. The author suggested that their way of making

hides and the raw materials used might make them different from the same professionals in other places. The hides and raw materials can be symbolic, the author concluded.

MA and PhD Research works and their respective authors revewied under this sub topic are: Klemm, Peri (2002) "Shaping the Future, Wearing the Past: Dress and Decorated Female Body among the Afran Qallo Oromo in Eastern Hararghe Ethiopia"; Helen Alamirew (1999 E.C) "bahilawi jäʃäklana jäk'oda sira bädänbäc'a inna akababiwa""; Yenealem Aredo (2000 E.C) "jäarsi ʔoromo setotʃ albasatina geťageť ťinat(bekokosana gedeb asasa weredawotʃ); Seid Yimam (2002 E.C) " bäkämise zuriya bämigäɲu gäťär akababiwotʃ wäťat wändotʃ inna setotʃ aläbabäs inna agijageť"; Yared Tefera (2002 E.C). "bäsek'otanna bäabargale gaťarama waradawotʃ jäsetotʃ inna jäwendotʃ jealäbabäs inna jäagijageť mahibärawi isetotʃ"; Atsede Yaregal (2003E.C) " bahilawi jäkonso hagäräsabawi albasat inna geťageťotʃ gälac' täntaɲ ťinat"; Degisew Tilahun (2003 E.C) " bahilawi jäʃeklana jäk'oda sira bäburena wänberima wärädawotʃ"; except Klemm's research work, all of the studies cited were presented to the Department of Ethiopian Languages[7] and Literature and the Department of Ethiopian Literature and Folklore but, Klemm's research work is presented for the graduate shool of Emory University.

The studies cited above can be categorized under two sections. These are research works focused on folk craft and research works focused on the description of clothes and jewelries following (Dorson, 1972) classification.

Klemm's (2002) PhD dissertation aimed at examining the relationship between the art history of the research community and their material culture particularly dress." The study also aimed at identifying the political, social and economic events which are related with the various types of dress among the people. The research is mainly concerned with the art history of dress with special emphasis on Harerge Oromo particularly on female.

Helen's research (1999) main objective was to collect the available data and show the steps in cloth making as well as to identify the materials used by traditional tanners and weavers. Part of

[7] Research works which were conducted in the department of Ethiopian languages are all written in Amharic.

the objectives was focused on analyzing oral literature related to those activities. The focus was the study was on the process of cloth making and the products of animal skin and cotton which are related with the concept of dress.

The findings reported indicate that the process of animal skin cloth making is easier than that of weaving in relation to its design and beautification. However, she contradicted herself elsewhere in the thesis section that materials made from animal skin need hard working. Her findings also show the oral poetry collected and analyzed reveal the social place in which those traditional works have in the community.

Yenealem's (2000) study is comparative and conducted on the two districts of west Arsi zone, Kokosa and Gadab Hasasa. Emphasis was given to the description of female clothes and jewelries. The main objective of the study was to describe the present status of traditional clothes and jewelries available among Arsi Oromo. The desire of the people for the continuation of traditional clothes and jewelries is one of the findings. The other finding reported was the observation of change through time in the use and availability of clothes and jewelries.

Seid's research (2002) focused on the identification of traditional clothes and jewelries worn by young male and female members under the age of 15 to 29 of the kemise Oromo people. The study specifically aimed at examining the symbolic significance, the social functions of clothes and jewelries. Documents, interviews, focus group discussions were the techniques employed for data collection. The findings indicated that the youth's current use of traditional clothes and jewelries is gradually decreasing. Viewing the use of the traditional clothes and jewelries as foolishness or "uncivilized" is given as a reason for the decline.

Yared's (2002) research was conducted on the clothes and jewelries of both sexes in selected rural districts of Sek'ot'a and Abergele. The focus of the research was on the sub genre of material culture which is folk costume according to Dorson's (1972) classification. The main objective of the research was to show the social significance of clothes and jewelries as well as to preserve these cultural values of the community. Data was collected by using interview and observation and the Fleming model for material culture interpretation was applied in the analysis.

4 clothes and 7 were jewelries identified and analyzed. The findings also show that those clothes and jewelries have socioeconomic value.

Degisew (2003) conducted her research on the traditional pottery and tannery of Bure and Wenberima districts located in Amhara region. The main purpose of the study was to examine the process of making, the importance of traditional craftsmanship as well as the functions of materials produced in the community. In the research the social place of traditional pottery makers and tanners was explained. The study emphasized the social functions of the materials in expressing the community.

Atsede (2003) research focused on Konso people. The study aimed at interpreting the material characteristics of dress in the research area, and identifying the artistic functions of dress and the changes observed on the use of dress through time among the people. The research methods used for data analysis are interview and observation. Elements of dress selected for the analysis are clothes, hair styles and jewelries. The dress types selected for the research didn't consider kids from age 10-14. No information was found about the dress types of the age groups. Moreover, the researcher didn't mention anything about her observation during fieldwork on the dress type worn by those age groups of the people. The number of dress types collected from the field is very limited too. The reason for a limited number of dress types in the culture is the tradition of putting the dress of the deceased person in the grave during her/his burial ceremony.

2.2.2 Review of Online Research Works

There are two research works reviewed under this section. These are: kizito, Joseph (2002) "The Importance of Dress on Christian Worship: Some Missiological Implications". It is submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of master in theology; and Chaney, Mary Alice's (2011) thesis entitled, "Hmong Baby Carriers in Minnesota: A material culture study" is submitted to the faculty of the graduate school of the University of Minnesota.

The objective of Kizito's research was to describe the importance of dress in the South African Christian context, particularly within the black Christian society. The study gave emphasis to the function of clothing. In the thesis focus was given to one occasion in which clothing can be worn by people. It is stated that uniforms worn in religious places help the group to distinguish them

from other groups who belong to other religions. Therefore, in addition to the belief system, wearing styles help to identify the person as a member of one church.

The purpose of the Chaney (2011) research work was to examine and analyze Hmong baby carriers using material culture analysis. The researcher was also interested to see the role of immigration in the change of baby carriers among Hmong. Construction techniques of baby carriers and materials for making baby carriers were examined. The findings show that there has been a corresponding change in fabric from basic cotton and other natural fibers to synthetic fabrics in addition to the change in the colors(the colors are the same but they are more brighter than the original ones) and the ways the baby carriers are made. The study concluded that these changes in fabric and color affect the visual aesthetics of Hmong baby carriers which may in turn results in the distortion of symbols and meanings related with the identity of the people. There is also a shift in the function of baby carriers used as a utility to carry babies and children to be taken as a gift and an art. The reason for this is the change in the life standard of the people from rural to urban and living within a culturally diverse population who behave differently.

2.2.3 Differences and Similarities between the Previous Works and the Current Research

This section presents a comparison and contrast of the studies reviewed with the present research. The two research articles presented earlier have differences and similarities with the present research. In both studies focus was given to the professionals of traditional clothing. However, concepts related to the process of cloth making were also included; and this is the point where they are similar with the present research. With regard to Atsed's work,it has no findings and summary which are relevant for the research. Among the previous works, no research has been conducted on the interrelation between folklore and linguistics, the subject of the present research. Unlike other studies, Atsede tried to incorporate the definition of dress from broader perspectives. But she included only three types of dress in her research. These are: clothes, jewelries and hair styles. However, the current study tries to incorporate dress types which are taken as traditional among Arsi Oromo. On the other hand, according to Atsede's observation, the decline in the number traditional clothes and jewelries among the research group

was the tradition of putting traditional clothes of the dead in the grave. But, the data from the field showed that there is no burial of clothes together with the corpse in Arsi Oromo culture.

Among the local studies, Klemm, Seid, and Yenealem works were conducted on the Oromo ethnic group. The Others, Degsew, Yared, and Helen's studies are on the Amhara culture. While Atsede's research subjects were the Konso people of the SNNP region.

Helen's and Degsew's studies focused on one of the subgenres of material culture, folk craft. Jewelries and other parts of dress were not included in their research. The current study is different from their study in that, focus is given to the process, types and uses of dress types which make it have a broader scope. In this regard, Klemm, Yenealem, Seid, Yared and Atsede's works are similar in their emphasis to one of the subgenres of material culture that is folk costume (dress). In Seid, Yared and Atsede's works both male and female clothes were discussed. However, Klemm and Yenealem's works differ from theirs as they focused only on female clothes and jewelries. Again in Seid's work only youth clothes and jewelries were selected for the study. Likewise, there is age limit in Atsede's work in that children's clothes up to the age of 14 were not included; but there is no age limit stated in Yared's and Yenealem's work as well. On the other hand, these studies are similar to the present research on their focus on clothes and jewelries. In addition, the present research is similar to Yared, Seid and Atsede's study in their emphasis on both male and female clothes and jewelries. But, it is different from Yenealem's and Klemm's work in that their works were limited to female clothes and jewelries.

To see the overall status of dress, it is difficult to delimit to some age group as it was done in Atsede and seid works. On the contrary, in this study all age groups are included for the description of traditional dress among people selected for the study.

Kizito's study described the importance of dress in relation to its religious role, one aspect of dress function for the people in the study. Whereas, Chaney's study focused in describing the importance of only one type of dress- children carrier and the way it is made. In their discussion on the function of clothes they are similar; but, they differ from the current study in that, their focus is only on clothes which are among the types of dress.

Moreover, the previous studies have difference and similarities with the present research. Gallagher, Brandt (1997), Helen (1999), and Degsew (2003) research works are similar with this research on their focus on the process of cloth making in general and on their research topic on tannery in particular. The study in hand is similar to Seid, Yared, Degsew, Helen, Yenealem and Atsede's studies on their field of interest on material culture in folklore.

Klemm's (2002) and the present study have similarity in that both give attention to the clothes and jewelries-dress among the research community observed through time. So does the Chaney work was targeted the continuity and change of baby carriers through time. Regarding the process of cloth making, which is one part of the present research, it is different from Klemm's and Kizito's studies. Unlike, Klemm and Kizito, Chaney presented the process of making baby carriers as Degsew and Helen did; this is what makes them similar to the present research. Chaney's work is different from the present study in that only one type of cloth was analyzed.

In general, the previous works reviewed and the present research differs in the scope, subject of the study and study area selected for the studies. Moreover, the interdisciplinary discussion on the study of dress, the documentation process and the need of preserving dress observed among the people through time makes the present research different from the previous research works.

To conclude, despite the difference between the previous works and the current research, I have to acknowledge that the works reviewed above provided immense information and insight into various aspects of dress in general and cloth-making tradition in particular from a wider perspective. Some of the ideas and information embodied in them were utilized as inputs for sharpening my argument and to show the existing knowledge gaps that need to be bridged.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This section aims to review the theories from the relevant literature which inform the research so that the question of the intrinsic values of traditional dress and cloth making among the Arsi Oromo shall be addressed. It examines relevant theories, and provides the theoretical background to the study and documentation of traditional dress. There are different kinds of approaches

applied to interpret folklore materials. Among them this research focuses on contextual, semiotic and symbolic interactionist approaches.

2.3.1 Contextual Approach

Contextual approach is the major guideline for the collection and analysis of the folklore genres. The folklore concept applies not only to a text but also to the context in which a tradition is performed or communicated together with its function (Dorson, 1972). He further indicated that, the application of the contextual approach to the study of folklore was developed in the second half of the 20th century. For the application of this approach, the researcher needs to go further rather than simply taking a note or tape-record a text, for the text (data) is only part of each unique event. Therefore, the whole performance or communicative act and the visible cultural aspects must be recorded.

Generally, contextual approach adopts a socio-historical perspective in which the form and content of the folklore text (in this case text is the material aspect (Sims and Stephens 2005) is analyzed. The analysis is based on their (texts) ideological meanings and functions within the socialization process of a particular society. Thus, contextual approach calls attention to the function of a folkloric form in its context of use. Dress, like any other social phenomenon, cannot be analyzed in isolation or in terms of only one set of social relations, and because it is so intimately part of the total status system, it has to be seen within the systematic context.

2.3.2 Symbolic Interaction Theory

Symbolic Interactionist theory is a sociological theory that focuses on the processes of person to person interactions and how people develop viewpoints about themselves and others (Ritzer 2008) cited in Mupfumira and Jinga (2013). Historically this theory has been emerged out of the American philosophical tradition of pragmatism and the proponents were the late ninteenth – century pragmatists such as Charles Peirce, William James and John Dewey. (Rizer, George and Smart, Barry, 2001). Moreover, Symbolic interaction theory had its genesis at two different universities: the University of Chicago and the University of Lowa. However, “Most of the symbolic interactionism principles and developments steemed from the Chicago school”(Rizer and Smart, 2001). The school was where George Harbert Mead was a popular and widely

respected teacher. Mead played a critical role in establishing the perspective of the school which focused on an approach to social theory emphasizing the importance of communication to life and social encounters. Mead[8] was also the most important bridge between the pragmatic tradition and sociology. The inspiration of Mead has been derived from the philosophical works of John Dewey, one of the proponents of symbolic interaction and his colleague from Chicago University.

In the history of symbolic interaction theory, the most important disseminator of mead's ideas was his student Harbert Bulmer. He supported and scholarly applied Mead's theories for sociological analysis and eventually published a book entitled *Symbolic Interactionism* in 1969. This work becomes recognized as the major explication of the symbolic ineteractinist perspectives. Again long with one of his colleagues, Everett Hughes, Blumer had a major enfluence on a group of students he taught at Chicago University in 1040s and early 1950s. Such notable scholars such as Becker, Goffman, Gusfield, Lopata, Stone, Strauss and Turner, further develop the perspective and become known as the second Chicago school (Sandstrom, Kent and Fine, Gary 2011).

From sociological point of view, social life can only proceed if the meaning of symbols is shared by members of a society. This is because the purpose of interaction is to create shared meaning. To examine this, then, social interactionist focuses on the communication between the wearer and the perceiver and the process involves shared meaning. This theory focuses on how meanings, labels and definitions affect and are affected by social life. People learn and use symbols and their meaning during the course of social interaction; again symbols, and objects as symbols, can be modified and their meanings altered, based on the social context; therefore, people interact with symbols forming interactions around them and the ability to communicate using symbols make humans to be different from other organisms.

With regard to dress, researchers have approached the study of dress from theoretical perspectives originating in different disciplines and findings thus tend not to be complementary. Kaiser (1983, p.4) cited in Mupfumira and Jinga (2013, p.291) presented three principal

[8] One of his famous books, Mind, Self and Society is often taken as a charter for symbolic interactionist approach.

approaches to the study of dress. These are: symbolic interactionist, cognitive and cultural. Among them the focus of this study is on Symbolic interaction theory/approach, symbolic interactionism views the perception of dress as involving both the wearer and the perceiver bringing to an encounter their own social constructs; dress may symbolize something different to both and as a result of the dynamic interaction between the two participants; the symbolic value of the clothing may have changed both. Therefore, researchers using this approach have tended to use qualitative methods to evaluate the perceptions of both the wearer and the perceiver, and there has been a tendency to assume that social constructs are not quantifiable (Kaiser, 1990).

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

2.3.3 Semiotics Approach

The third approach which was selected for the description of the data for this research is semiotic approach. Semiotics is the science of signs and signs are artifacts or acts that refer to something other than themselves. So, the study of signs and the way they work is called Semiology or Semiotics (Fiske, 1982). In the history of semiotics, modern semiotic analysis can be said to have begun by two men. These are: a Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and an American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914). (Peirce called his system semiotics, and that has become the dominant term used for the science of signs. Saussure's semiology differs from Peirce's semiotics in some respects, but as both are concerned with signs, I will treat the two as more or less the same in this research.

The study of material culture is concerned with semiotics in its conviction that artifacts transmit signals which explicate mental patterns or structures. Semiotics, according to Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p.466), offers a set of assumptions and concepts that permit systematic analysis of symbolic systems. Like symbolic-interactionist and the qualitative paradigm, semiotics

embraces the view that meaning is not inherent in any sign (or text). Artifacts can yield evidence of the patterns of mind of the society that fabricated them, of our society as we interpret our responses (and non responses), and of any other society intervening in time or removed in space for which there are recorded responses.

Clothes, coverings, the objects with which we adorn ourselves, the signs that engrave and decorate us are the forms through which our bodies relate to the world and to other bodies. Just as language is the device for shaping the world that is typical of the human race, so in every society and culture dress is a form of projection, or simulation, of the world, valid both for society and for the individual, expressing itself in signs and objects through which the human body is placed, temporally and spatially, in its surroundings (Gill, 2002, p.47).

In our lives we constantly send messages that consist of different signs. The messages transferred through the clothes we wear, the way body is adorned, facial expressions etc. are based on the codes which are culturally defined system of relationships. Weather we are aware of it or not, living in a certain environment we internalize sets of codes that affect our semiotic behavior. These all are related with nonverbal communication which is a core element for semiotics and the subject of this study.

Like that of spoken aspect of language, material aspects of one's culture serve as signs and can convey a great deal of information. When we contact people, either in real life or in mass-mediated texts, such as advertisements, commercials, and films, we pay a great deal of attention to things like their hairstyles, their clothing and the shoes they wear and their body ornaments. All of these objects are signs meant to convey certain notions about what these people are like.

Thus, semiotics maintains that the construction of meanings depends, in part, on the context of the sign in relation to the interpreter and the culture in which both are situated. The process can be presented in the following way:

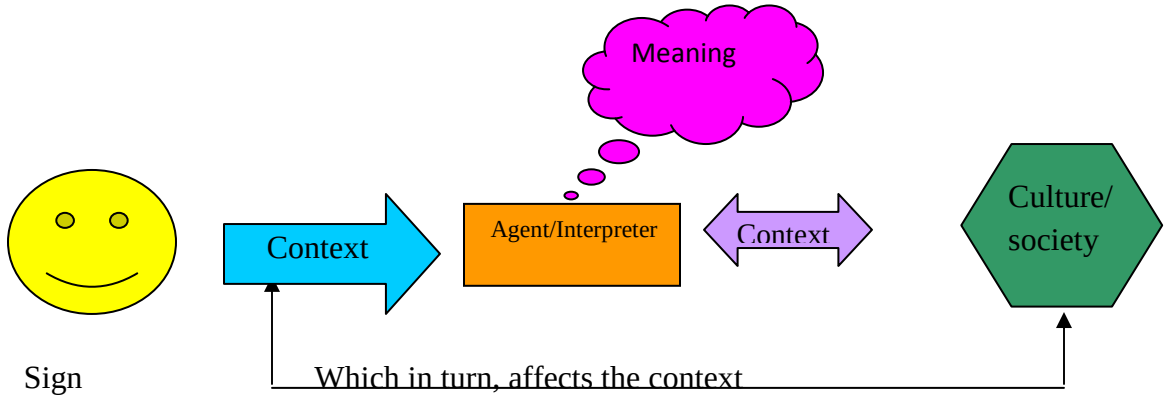


Figure 1.*Model adopted from Joniak, Lisa,http://www.slis.indiana.edu/faculty/hrosenba/www/Research*/methods

A culture usually provides a pattern for the way its people should dress and Kaiser (1990) referred this as a code. But individuals make modifications to codes which are referred to as messages. Dress signs are made up of signifiers, such as the garments, or accessories which carry the message, and the signified, or content of the message. We can take, for example, doctor's white coat as a signifier which signifies cleanness.

In sum, based on the given idea, in this study, a combination of approaches, i.e., contextual approach, symbolic interactionist and semiotics approaches were applied for data description for they consider the interrelationship of text, context, meaning and function.

Chapter Three: Background of the Study Area and the People

This chapter deals with a brief description of the study area and history of Arsi people: their genealogy, language, religion and beliefs to acquaint readers with the geographical and socio-cultural context of the study community.

3.1 Glimpse of the Research Areas

Under this topic brief descriptions of the historical, genealogical background Oromo in general of the Arsi in particular, their folkloric features, socio-political structure of the people and the livelihood basis are discussed.

3.1.1 History of Origin and Genealogy of Arsi Oromo

Arsi people are one of the largest groups of the Oromo people residing in a vast territory stretching from East Shewa to Bale in Ethiopia. The term Arsi is used for both the dialect and speakers of the language. There are different views about the origin of the Oromo people ingeneral. Some say that the people came from outside the current boarders of Ethiopia while others argue the people's homeland has always been Ethiopia. In connection to this Daniel (2002) in his research on Arsi Oromo, states that recent literatures on the history of Oromo people place their original homeland somewhere around Arsi and Bale. Daniel further extends the conclusion reached by Mohammad (1990, p.4) “the original home of the Oromo was in the cool highlands of Bale around Madda Walabu.” (2002, p.23). Accordingly, the writers appear to agree on the original homeland of the Oromo people as from around *Madda Walaabuu*. In addition, *Obbo Bonsemoo Mi’eesso*, one of the key consultants of the current study stated that the oral narrations of the people shows the homeland of the founding father of the Oromo was in the area called *Madda Walaabuu*. According to his narration, this person was called *Waayyuu* and had been living in the area called *Madda Walaabu*. (Appendix 3 text 1 (206-207)[9])

On the other hand, Adejumobi presented different views on the original homeland of the Oromo. It is based on the data he found from the people’s oral tradition. As he presented:

[9] The full annotated data is found in ELAN annotation 1 (206&207) annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

> Oral traditions carried out by the Oromo ascertain that they came from the Borana region of southwestern Ethiopia, and many go on pilgrimages to the "Land of the Abba Muda," the home of their spiritual leader, in the northern Borana region of southwestern Ethiopia. Oromo traditions also attest to population translocations to southern parts of Ethiopia (2007, p. 9).

As Mindaye (2005) further explained, different assumptions about the home land of the Oromo are made based on the experience and interest of writers. Therefore, a number of writers, amateurs and professionals, domestic and expatriate have developed their own theories regarding the question of the Oromo's original home land. The speculations and assertions of some writers are inclined towards viewing the Oromo as not the original settlers of Ethiopia, but "migrated" from somewhere else; others content that they were indigenous to this part of Africa. Concerning this idea, consultant Boonsemo also narrated that: One group says the founder of bokku who was said to be the first Oromo had come from outside Ethiopia. On the other hand, there are groups who claimed that the original land of the Oromo was around *madda walaabu* (Appendix 3 text 1(205&208)[10]). Moreover, Asmerom on his well known study of the Borana Oromo as claimed that Oromo oral tradition and historical documents trace the Oromo as indigenous to the high lands of Bale, Borana, and Guji, more specifically *Madda Walaabu* areas (1973) in today's regional state of Oromia. [11] Various scholars who are interested in the cultural, political, social as well as economical aspects of the Oromo debate on their origin. However, the oral tradition of Arsi Oromo strongly claimed that the original home land of Oromo is around *madda walaabu*, the area where *waayyuu*, the founder of *bokku*, was lived. Therefore, as tradition is one of the strong areas in which the worldview and identity of the people is reflected, one can possibly understand that Oromo people are insiders of Ethiopia.

[10] The full annotated data is found in ELAN annotation 1 (205&208) annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

[11] Owing to the fact that the Oromo have mainly transmitted their history through oral discourse, the social history of this people, particularly which spans before the 16th century, is shrouded in mystery and thus, is a point of speculation and debate that are not yet resolved. It is a contested terrain, the narrative of which is used to justify either the aboriginality or the intrusiveness of the Oromo people to the current territory they inhabit. Particularly for the later, it is often used to portray the Oromo as alien intruders and as a means to delegitimize their historical claim to the land they inhabit. Controversial as it is, it has also a political edge that goes beyond the scope of the current study and will not be discussed further.

With regards to genealogy of Oromo in general and Arsi Oromo inparticular, there are several views pertaining to their classification. The Oromo, according to (Gemetchu, 1993; Dejene, 2002) are divided into five major groups. These are: the *Tulamaa* and the *Maccaa*, the *Sabboo* and the *Goonaa*, the *Raayyaa* and the *Aseboo*, the *Siikkoo* and the *Mando* and the *Ituu* and the *Humbannaa*.

On the other hand, Eshete (2008 and Jebessa (1995), stated that genealogically, the Oromo refer back their origin to two great ancestors, namely Borena and Barentuma. These ancestral divisions characterize the cultural and national identity of the nation. In addition, Jebessa (1995) classified the two major groups in the following way: Borena family includes Mecha, Tulama, Akako, Luba, Chele, Abo, Sego, Sabo and Gona while Barentuma family includes Kereyu, Hubena, Werenesha, Akechu, Itu, Lalo, and Merewa.

However, Alemayehu (2007, p.19*)* used a different genealogical classification as follows: Tulama, Macha, Arsi, Guji, Borena, Itu, Humbana, Raya, Yeju and Liben. Alemayehu's way of classification is to some extent similar to that of Gemechu's and Dejene's classification but it is different from that of Eshete's and Jabesa's. He listed out general groups of Oromo family branches instead of categorizing them under the two major moieties: Borena and Barentu/ Barentuma.

As the information from the different sources indicates, the Oromo trace their genealogy to two great ancestors, namely “Borena” and “Barentuma”; these lines of ancestors divisions characterize the cultural and national identity of the nation (Eshete, 2008). However, according to Zelalem (2012, p.46), “There is misunderstanding between the Oromo elders and native scholars on the source and meaning of the terms “Borana" and “Barentu"; whether it refers to the names of individuals or the direction of the Oromo people's units.” He further explained that some sources indicate the two terms represent the names of individuals, Borana the senior (*angafa*) and Barentu the junior (*quxusu*). Others do assert that each term is built from two Afan Oromo independent morphemes i.e. the term-Borana" is the combination of *Boro* and *aana* that literally means “distant from sun rise" or simply the `West' (west of Ganale river); likewise, the word *Barentu* comes from two words: '*Barii'*, and '*Aantu'*. This means, the two words together signify ‘those facing the east" or simply the East (east of Ganale River), (Zelalem, 2012, p.47).

The naming system's according to second assumption the focal point is distance of the settlement from the Genale river. In other words, the name of each branch is given based on the settlement of the people. Thus, as Zelalem (2012, p.47) further claimed, "if there is an agreement on the assertion which follows the etymological explanation it would not be complex to identify which group of Oromo belongs to Borana and/or Barentu. However, if not, the question remains ambiguous."

That being the case, the Barentu Oromo includes the following major sub groups. These are: The Walloo Oromo, the Marawa Oromo, the Afran Qallo, the Humbannaa Oromo, Dhumuga Oromo, the Ambo (Ambato). There are also additional subdivisions: The Qallu, The Gabra people and the Garre. The focus area of this study is under Ambo (Ambato) branch which has a descendent called Arsi.

Quoting Aba Bahrey a 16th C. Abyssinian monk, Mindaye (2005) writes about the genealogy of the Oromo to which the Arsi belong as follows:

> …Oromo constituted two all-encompassing groups during the time of their movement. These groups, who are said to have been living together under the same *caffe* (council) in the area supposed to be their original home land prior to their dispersion, were the Borena and Barentu. Among them, the Borena are reported as having been the eldest (angafa) and Barentu the younger (quxusu). (2005, p.6)

According to the given idea, the Oromo people start counting their descendent from Borena and Barentu. Moreover, Borena is said to be the eldest and Barentu is said to be the younger sons of Oromo. The information found from the bulletin which was prepared for the Millineum festival in 2000 E.C in *Asaasaa,* one of the districts of west Arsi Zone, also asserts that Arsi is one of the sub families of Barentu. *"Arsiin dameelee lamaan oromoo (boorana fi bareentummaa) keessatti maqaa dameelee baareentoo keessaa kan tokkooti" (2000, p.2) "among the two meioties (branches) of Oromo, borena and barento (u), Arsi is one of the branches of Barentuma."*

Of the two moieties indicated above, the Arsi descended from the Barentu Oromo who inhabits by and large the eastern parts of the Oromia Region in Ethiopia including West and East Hararghe, Arsi i.e. Arsi and West Arsi according to current administrative division of Oromia;

Bale and East Shewa zones. In addition to this, descendants of the Barentu moieties are scattered across a sheer territory of Ethiopia including Dire-Dawa and Jijiga Zone of the Somali Region in the East, Amhara Administrative Zone of the Afar Region, in the northeast Oromia Zone of the Amhara Region, as well as Raya Azebo districts of Tigray in the north. Among the Barentu decendantes Arsi people are the majority in Arsi province and one of the branches of Oromo people, and inhibit centeral part of Ethiopia in the south, to the east in the area from Bale, to the shewa provinces in the west, and the Harerge and shewa provinces in the north and the sidama province in the south east (Anwar, 2011, p. 3).

Oral traditions provide different explanations in relation to the term Arsi. According to some oral traditions, Arsi is the name of the founding father of the main tribe (Teshome 2008). According to this oral tradition, the founding father of the Arsi Oromo, "*Arse*" begot three children. In addition, Husen (2000) says, the Arsi woman used to say "Arsi sadan" "the three Arsi" while they confirmed about their idea. But, he further explained that, there is no adequate evidence with regards to the third son/daughter of Arsi. However, Abdul Qadir (2000, p.18) writes, there are three immediate decedents of Arsi. These are: Sikkoo, Mando and doorii (waato). Again he further classified the descendents of doori or waato[12] into three. They are: Cora, Kamise and Baate. Most studies which were conducted on Arsi on the other hand, indicated that, Arsi is the founding father and had two "sons". According to (Hirut, 2001, p. 53; Daniel, 2002, p.12), "The Arsi oral tradition confirms that a man called Arsi had two sons called Siko and Mando who in turn had five and seven sons respectively. These twelve sons of Siko and Mando are the fathers of all Arsi Oromo inhabiting today's Arsi and Bale zone".

There is also controversial idea about the sex of Arsi and the decedents above Arsi. As we can see in the above explanation, Arsi is a man who begot two sons. But on the other hand, Husen (2000) stated that Arsi is a female[13] who was a wife of Ambeto whose father was Daayyoo. On

[12] Eventhough some literatures presented that the discendents of Arsi are three; no data was found from the fieldwork about the third branch.

[13] This seems to be controversial to see female decendants in the society where male patterned genealogical classification is the main issue. This holds true to Arsi Oromo who counted genealogical lineage from the male side. Instead the next one seems to be convenient.

the contrary, he also presented Ambeto as a father of Arsi. Moreover, as Obbo Bonsemo told Arsi is the decendent of Ambato whose father was dayyo. According to his description of what he has been told by one of the Oromo elder, Shigida Kolaso;

mɑndo kɑ ʔɑrsi:ti

mando ka arsii-ti

mandoo GEN Arsii-is

mando Arsi

ʔɑmbɑto dɑ:j:o bub:u jɑ:j:ɑ: wɑ:j:u gur:ɑ:tʃɑ

ambatoo daayyoo bubbu yaayyaa waayyu gurraacha

ambatoo daayyoo bubbu yaayyaa waayyu gurraacha

ambato, dayo, bubu, yaya then black wayu (Appendix 2 Annotated texts Text 1(174&177)[14])

And the genealogy it goes like this. The narration tells that the genealogy of Oromo begins from wayyu, who was the founder of bokku. The known subgroups of Arsi are mando and sikko. According to (Husen, 2000; Abas, 1982 and Teshome, 2008) these two groups subdivided into seven and five warras (relatives) respectively which are taken as children's for the two above mentioned groups of Arsi.

The two major branches of Arsi Oromo and their branches described by Abas (1982) are the following:

- Mandoo Arsi
  - Warra[15] Rayyaa
  - Warra wanarma

[14] The file is also found in ELAN Annotation 1(174&177)bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

[15] Warra is the second level next to mana (lit. house) in Arsi Oromo kinship frame. This level consists of two or more manas. Father's household all his married sons households are the members of the set.(Daniel,2002,p. 30)

- Warra Kajawaa
- Warra Hawaxa
- Warra Waayyuu
- Warra Utaa
- Warra Harawaa

- Sikko Arsi
  - Warra Buulalaa
  - Warra Waajii
  - Warra Wacalee
  - Warra Jawwii
  - Warra Ilaan (Abas,1982)

And also in (Husen, 2000, pp.30-31) the main and sub branches of Arsi are presented in the following way:

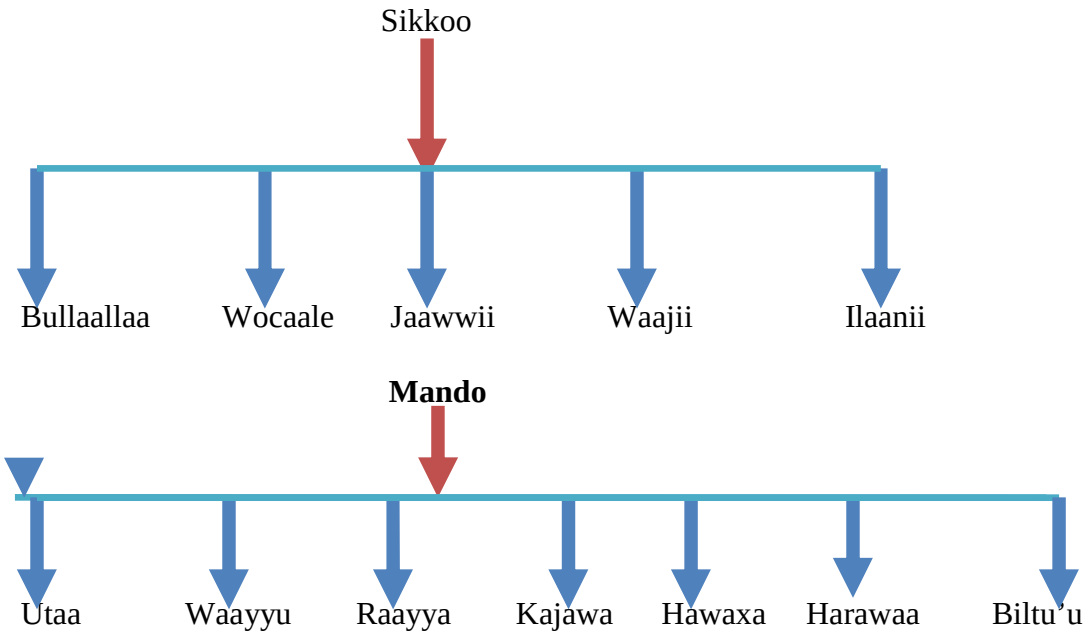


Figure 2. Geneology of Arsi Oromo

According to Teshome (2008) the two moieties of Arsi has five and seven warras respectively. These are: The *Shanan Sikkoo* (the five ones of *Sikkoo*) are *Bullallaa*, *Wacaalee*, *Jaawii*, *Waajii* and *Ilaannii*. Whereas, seven sub-moieties of *mando* collectively called *Torban Mando* (the

seven ones of *Mando*) this includes *Raayyaa*, *Kajawaa*, *Hawaxaa*, *Utaa*, *Waayyuu*, *Harawaa* and *Biiltuu*. Again as obboo Bonsemo, one of the key consultants, listed the two mioties of Arsi are sikkoo and *mando* which is the same with the previous literatures. But the classification has a bit difference with the names of the subclasses from the previous literatures mentioned above. These are: according to him, *Sikkoo* begots five children, bulaalla -Bocaaclee- waajii-Jaawwee and Heellaa. The seven children of *mando* are *Utaa- Waayyuu-Faarachuu-Abiyyuu- Raayyaa-Haraxaa* and *Wanaama*. To summarize the genealogical lineage of Arsi in the literatures presented above, including the forefathers:

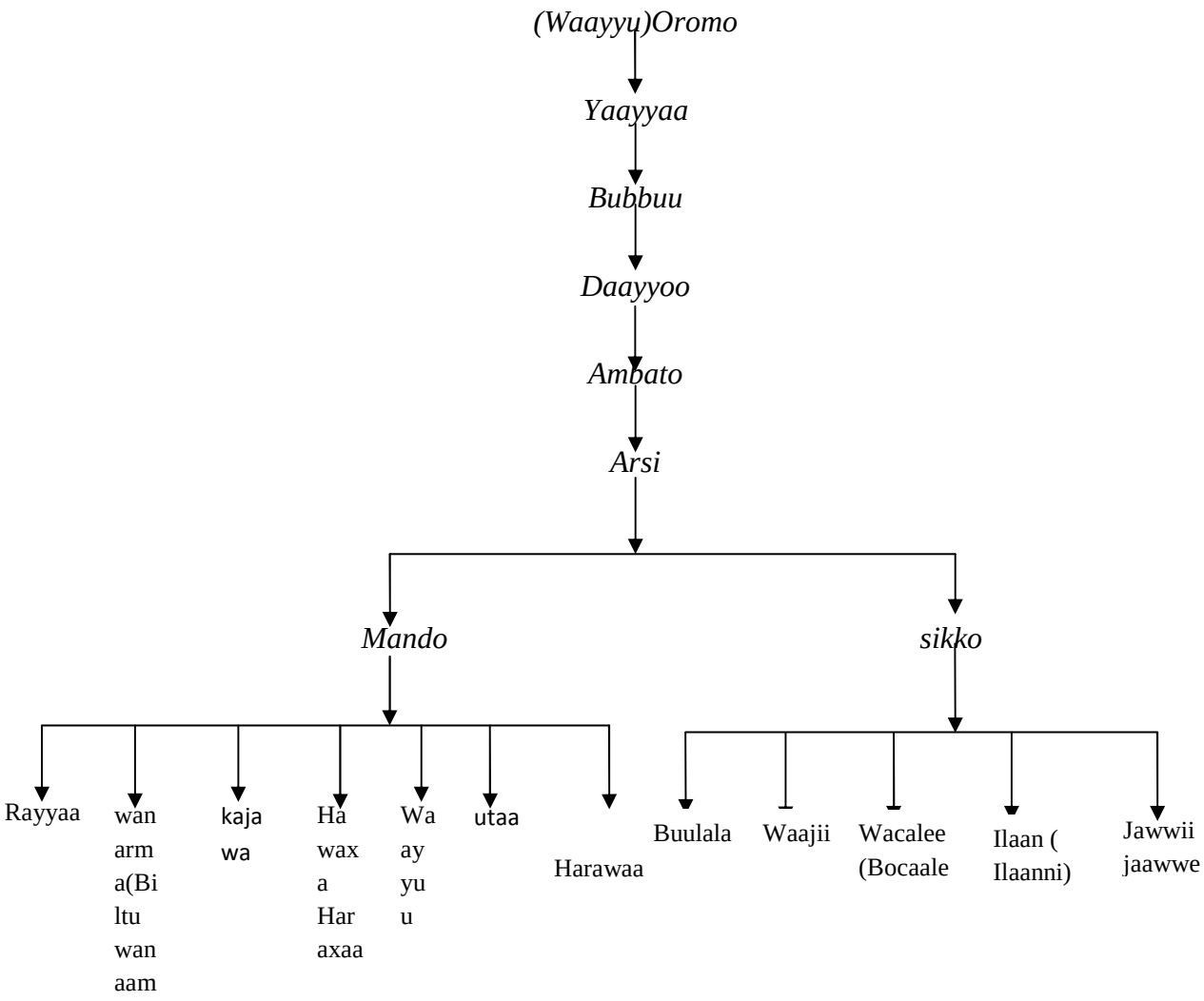


Figure 3. Summary of the Geneology of Arsi

Despite the difference which is observed on the names given to warra's or ijoollee (relatives or children), the data presented in the above sources indicate that the major branches of Arsi Oromo are basically two. These are: *Sikkoo* and *Mando* and also the number of children for each branch are similar in all sources. As a part of documentation project, the intention of this section is just to give an insight concerning the genealogy of Arsi Oromo. But, identifying the fact in relation with the genealogy of the people basically the classification of Arsi as well as the names of descendents from the Arsi needs further historical studies.

As explained above the two main branches of Arsi are *Mando* and *Sikkoo*. Despite the classification the people of Arsi and Bale are the sons of the two brothers who closely tied with each other in culture, language, religion and in general in socio-political organization (Abas, 1982). *Mandoo* refers to the Arsi Ormo residing in the Arsi proper (contemporary Arsi zone) and northern Bale Zones, while *Sikkoo* refers to those groups of Arsi Oromo residing mainly in the rest of Bale Zone. There is one saying that the people in both areas share. That is *"Baaleen maqaa lafaati malee ummanni Arsuma,"* meaning, Bale is the land of settlement; the people are the same; both are Arsi (Bonsamoo; Interview, 3 November 2011). But for the one referring to the present administrative classification of Arsi and Bale, it is difficult to classify the population into *mandoo* and *sikkoo*. This is because there are districts which were incorporated as a part of West Arsi Zone from the former Bale province.

3.1.2 Folkloric Features

There are various cultural features which identify Arsi people. These cultural features are folkloric elements which can relate and/or differentiate them with other Oromo families and also distinguish them from other ethnic groups. These folkloric elements can be categorized into oral literature, material culture, performing folk arts and folk custom.

These four genres of folklore are interrelated in their very nature. Even though, there is an interconnection between the genres, based on the interest of the researcher each can be studied under distinct genre. In addition to traditional dress which is one of the subgenres of material culture and the major focus of this study, the people are rich in the practices and uses of the various forms of folklore.

A. Material culture

Arsi people are known by their traditional food and drink which is classified under one of the sub genre of folklore-material culture. These traditional foods and drinks are parts of the material aspects of the people. Food ways are the most significant cultural features and identity markers of the people. There are various types of traditional foods known among Arsi. Among them *marqaa* (Porridge) is the most common traditional food. This food is usually made from barley flour and butter. Culturally there are three kinds of *Marqaa*. These are: *Marqa kurkuto, marqaa Laaqaa* and *Marqaa buldha'a*. The difference of these foods comes from the process in which they are prepared. The raw materials used for making those foods are basically butter and barely or wheat flours. In Arsi barley and wheat four and butter are common raw materials for making not only Porridge but also other traditional food types. Among them *qamashaa* is the known traditional food type of Arsi. *Qamashaa* is made from wheat flour and butter; first, the flour is made into dough and it is made to have a shape of pasta. Using cultural material spread it out separeately in order to be dried using sunlight. Then after it is died, it is cooked like that of pasta and mixed with butter and ready to be served to the family or it is served to participants on cultural occasion.

On the other hand, milk and milk products as well as drinks made from honey are common cultural drinks which are served in various occasions in Arsi. For instance, *Bokaa* is one of the traditional drinks known among the people. It is made from a mixture of pure honey and water. As consultants Addee Dame and Obboo Tamirat told, to make this cultural drink water and honey are mixed and put in cultural container for at least a month. Then, it can be served to guests, family members as well as guests from the male relatives and his accompanies at the day of wedding. In general, this cultural drink is served for special guests and in especial occasions. Other material aspects such as traditional houses, material objects used for serving those traditional foods and drinks, etc. are the material aspects of the culture and the identity marker of the people.

B. Oral Literature

Oral literature is one genre of folklore. There are various forms of oral literature which are common among various cultures in the world. Okpewho, in his book on *African Oral Literature* defines oral literature as a collection of cultural aspects that includes "riddles, puns, tongue-twisters, proverbs, recitations, chants, songs, and stories . . . the verbal aspect of folklore" (1992, p. 4). Arsi Oromo also have various forms of oral literature. Among them songs are the most repetitive forms of oral literature in the culture. These songs are expressions of happiness as well as sorrow. Songs performed during Ateetee ritual (see chapter 6), the known ritual which is performed by females who get married in the culture, farewell song (*boyicha durbaa*) which is performed by a girl on her wedding day and by her friends and praise song recited by a woman whose husband has died are categorized under oral literature. For example, the following folk song is a solo which is performed at the actual day of a wedding by the bride *(Ashoo)* and her friends and is included under oral literature.

Afan Oromo	***English***
Fardi adii ati badii	*you white horse let be cursed*
Situ karaa kana baasee	*its you who showed the way*
Hiree durbaa ati badii	*let the fortune of a girl be cursed*
Situ biyyaa ana baasee	*it is you who makes me depart from my family*
Biyyaa bayuun laga shani	*departing the village needs long travel*
Biyyaa bayee, tiyya oduun haga sani	*it is time for my departure, no one will talk about me*

(Husen, 2000, p.56)

In this oral song the bride presents her unwillingness to depart from her family as her departure may result with leaving in the area which is very far from her village. In this case, she blamed the fortune of girls in general and her case in particular.

On the other hand, during *ateetee* ritual women who participate in the ritual express their feeling, the reason for their gathering and complain with regards to the abuse of their rights using folk

songs. In general, songs which are performed by members of the culture in different levels (children, youth and elders) are the means's in which the identity of the people is expressed.

C. Social Folk Custom

Social folk custom is one of the major genres of folklore. It refers to the cultural activities or traditions which are performed by the people time and again. This genre includes festivals celebrations, folk religion, rituals, etc. The rituals and celebrations among the people can be celebrated, annually occasionally, seasonally, etc. *ateetee* ritual, wedding ceremony, funeral ritual etc. which are included under folk customs are features of Arsi Oromo culture.

Arsi have a custom on how the people respect each other and make a relationship to one another. Traditionally, the people identify their relationships in three principal ways. The first is *anooma* (relation through descent or parentage). The second is relation through *Soddooma* (relation through affinity or marriage). These two types of identifying relations together indicate the people's system of classifying *Warrooma* (family relationship).

The third and the broadest form of relationship is Arsomaa (Arsihood), and it refers to the cultural homogeneity of the people. It is a concept for the unity and love among themselves. As Husen writes, the concept of Arsoma refers to:

> *Arsomni maqaa hiddaafi dhiiga tokkumma'at, fuja'a (yabo'o) Arsiin ganama walitti kennate jechu'u, dhaamsa akaakileefi abaabile'e Arsi'it. Kanalle'e waan tayeef, "Arsomni" ilma Arsi taye mara biratti, maqaa ulfaata'a,maqaa jaalalaatifi obbolaawummaat. Namni Arsi'i wal-beekulle'e baatu, "Arsoomaa jedhii! waliin jedhu", (2000,pp.78-79)*

> *Arsoma is the name which stands for the symbol of unity that the Arsi people gave to each other; it is a message inherited from ancestors. Because of this, Arsoma is a name for love, honor, nobility and brotherhood to all members of Arsi. Persons from Arsi whether they know each other or not, they say "say Arsoma" to one another.*

On the other hand, according to Abas,

> *The Arsi developed the concept of Arsoma (Arsihood). This was an expression on unity, integrity, solidarity and inter-dependence among the Arsi. Arsoma was not only a norm and social value, but an obligation to be fulfilled by each member of*

a community (Arsi tribes) for whatever asked in the name of Arsoma. (1982, pp.15-16).

Wherever Arsi people live, the concept of Arsoma unites them and helps them to build solidarity and brotherhood. The custom attached to this concept has provided Arsi with an identity that has been passing to clans and other groupings for a long period of time. The concept is also an obligation for each member of the society to accept traditional rules and regulations which are performed by the society.

In Arsi culture, there is also a cultural concept which governs each member of the people to live as an ethical member of the people. This concept is termed as *waayyu* and the act of performing what is right and wrong is called *wayyooma*. As Husen (2000, p.252) stated, "*Wayyoomni safu'uu, ulfina, wal-jaalala." wayyooma is related with love each other, respect to each other and it is related with an expression of astonishment.* Again, regarding its definition Ayalew stated that the term *waayyuu* is "Not easily translated into English". But by taking some representation given by researches for the concept, presented as: "something which is sacred or something that should not be touched." among the cultural norms observed among Arsi Oromo, the concept of *Waayyuu* is the primary one and as the constituting part of the *Gadaa* system, *waayyuu* is one of the major constructs in a traditional Oromo worldview. Therefore, "It is reflected in various cultural practices and has played a significant role in defining the position and the rights of women in traditional Oromo society." (Ayalew, 2012, p.43).

In general, the Arsi Oromo associates *waayyuu* with women, and with material objects which belong to the female sphere. In addition, according to Husen (2000) it also related with the respect given to marital relatives, respected persons among the people and the material used by those respected persons. Such as, the horse and the whip of the hero (*qondaalaa*) and persons like the in-laws of both partners. In general, in Arsi the word *waayyu* is a representation of sacred, honor and respect.

Of all the genres of social folk custom, marriage seems to be the most important defining institution in the Oromo culture. Like in all Oromo groups wedding rituals among Arsi Oromo is highly elaborate. The study of its essence, thus, provides an essential insight in understanding the entire cultural fabric of the society. There are many elements in a wedding that shape Arsi ideas,

practices and traditions, such as the rite of passage of the bride and groom to adulthood, the history of the clan and its ancestors, and the kinship links between two clans.

In the regions of the Arsi Oromo, the wedding period takes place during a quieter time, after the fall harvest and before preparing the land for the crop planting, generally between the months of November and February (Bonsamo, Interview, 1 November, 2011). On the night preceding a wedding, from a distance one can often see the tent that has been set up for the occasion, and if it is a clear night, one can hear the voices of youths gathered outside, practicing their songs, which are accompanied by the *dibbee* (single or double membrane, circular, metal framed drum).

There are different kinds of marriage practices among Arsi. According to my consultants, the marriage types among the people can be classified into two. These are: the known marriage practices and marriage practice recently introduced to the culture. According to consultant Mohammed, the history of marrige custom starts with fudha shifa and fudha jabbi qaraxa. According to him, we can divide types of marriage customs among Arsi people based on two ideas. These are: Marriage customs which are parts of *himana gadaa* and marrige practices which are not parts of *gadaa* but practiced among the people .(Mohamed Namo, Casseette 3, November 2013)

Again under the marriage type *himana gadaa*. There are two types of marriage. These are: fuudha *shifaa* (*shifaa* marriage) and fuudha *qaraxaa* (marriage with calf). *Shifaa* marriage is a marriage in which the bride take *siinqee* (the sacred stick), green grass and *xuunxoo* with her and accompanied by her brother and her father to *malkaa* (a place which has natural water and grass. The bride, the father and her brother go to *malkaa* to meet the groom and his father.

The place is culturally believed to be blessed and sacred. after arrival to *malkaa* the blessing takes place by their family members. Then the groom and his father take the bride to their village. This type of marrige does not exist among the people. There was a security problem while the bride accompanied to *malkaa* as well as to the grom's village. This was because of small number of accompanies participaed in the ceremony at that moment. And others who need to take the bride can easily take her by attacking the father and the brother or the groom and the

groom's father. These is where *hamamoota*[16] introduced among the people and the marriage practice start to change into other types of marriage practices.

The *jabbii qaraxaa* marriage type is the second marrige practice under *gadaa* approved marriage types. The would-be -bridegroom come with six calf to ask the family to give him one of their daughters. In this case, the girl's mother takes one calf; the brother or the adopted brother takes one calf; one calf taken by the girl's father. Then the girl's father can take the rest three calfs in addition to one calf or he can give it back to the bride and groom as a gift *(geegayo)* for their wedding. This type of marrige is also not existed as it was practiced before in present days. It is modified or changed and practiced among the people.

The second broad category of marrige types which were not included in the *Gadaa* system but known among the people(Mohamed Namo, casseettee 3,November,2013) are:*Gabbara* (single m arriage), *walgaraa* (exchange marriage), *buttaa* (forced marriage), hawwata (persuation), dhaala (inheritance), membeto (hirphaa) (renew marraige), , *addabaana* (entering to the boy's house for marriage) and *gursummaa* (marriage to the divorced woman) among these the most practiced one is known as *gabbara* (Yenealem, 2000 E.C; Hirut,2012).

- ***Gabbara* (payment of bride wealth) marriage type**

Gabbara is a type of marriage and the most acceptable one other than the rest marriage types in Arsi. This marriage starts with the process of mate selection. In this case, the father of the son has a great place and responsibility in mate selection of for his son. There are cases that the boy may suggest the girl which is going to be his future wife. Though the son has the right to suggest his mate, the father may reject or accept on the ground that the girl and /or the parents belong to a descent or low socio-economic class. Then negotiation comes next. The process is performed by the "go between" the boy and girl parents called *ketticha* or *halengicha*. The mission of the ketticha should be consolidated by milki (Omen) and miju'uu ceremony. Milki (Omen) is believed to be not only an indicator of the success or failure of marriage at initial stage, but also

[16] A group of individuals who accompany the groom in his way to take the bride from her village and at the time of going back to his village.

the future life of the partners. The days which are selected for milki /Omen/ are Thursday, Friday and Sunday (Yenealem 2000 E.C).

The symbols for good fortune includes, coming across a person carrying a container full of water or milk, a pregnant woman, a woman carrying a baby, two women/men walking together and people driving cattle. On the other hand, coming across a person carrying empty container, a widow and being crossed by a fox on their way etc. are taken as bad fortune (Omen) (Daniel, 2002). Again the good and bad *milkii* is also seen on what the girl performs or carries upon the arrival of *ketticha* to her family's house. If they found the girl milking cow, churning milk or carrying a container full of water or milk, the *milkii* is said to be good. If she is found carrying an empty container, it is bad. Therefore, goodness and badness of *milkii* determine the possibility of getting married by the girl, which is critically observed by the boy and his parents.

Mijuu dhuguu ceremony is takes place at the would-be- wife parents house. The would-be-husband, *ketticha*, the father, one important person from the would-be- husband's *gosa* /clan/ and the sons of one of the would-be-husband's brother would attend the ceremony. And the kin relatives from the would-be- wife are attendants of the ceremony (Daniel, 2002, p.73)

The discussion on decision of the amount of the bride wealth (*gabbara*) between the *ketticha* and the would-be-wife parents continue after the *mijuu* ceremony. The amount of bride wealth depends on the physical appearance of the girl and the social background of her parents. Thus, payment of increasing bride wealth is one of the causes for the rise of different types of marriages among the people. After the decision has made the would-be- husband comes with anecklace made from small beads-tafse, ring-*qube* which is generally called qube kadhima and the process is called *kadhimannaa* (engagement) and put it on her neck. This is culturally a symbol for the girl to be engaged. No one ask her for marriage. Then the circumcision ritual comes next to the engagement ceremony and will end with the wedding ceremony.

- ***Walgaraa* (Marriage by Exchange)**

This type of marriage is a marriage which is performed by the exchange of sisters among the two clans. In this case a father can give his daughter to the brother of a girl he wants to marry. Or the

boy gives his sister to the brother of the girl he wants to marry. Both girls are compared on the bases of their physical maturity. (Mohamed Namo, Cassette 3, November 2013). This type of marriage as consultants told has a historical background. As they said there was a man called Datu Sakako who said to be the founder of this type of marriage to the Arsi Oromo culture. The basic reason for the introduction was to escape from high bride price expected by a girl's family from a boy and his family. Though this tradition introduced by an individual to the people, they have been practicing since many years.

There is another reason for the introduction of this tradition according to Daniel (2002). On the contrary, some consultants insist that it was introduced with the coming of Islam. But rather, it seems true that Islam Adopted *walgaraa* as one of the mechanisms to accommodate itself with Arsi Oromo tradition. In this type of marriage girls have no right to give idea on the marriage process. The girl may marry to an old man or young but to the one she doesn't know before. This type of marriage also follows the processes mentioned in *walgaraa* section. And will endup with wedding ceremony.

- ***Buttaa* (Abduction)**

This type of marriage is an informal and illegal way of acquiring a wife which Arsi Oromo adopted through time. Consultants claimed that there are reasons for the applicability of this type of marriage among the people. The first reason is the increase in the bride wealth. The second reason is that the social group in which the boy belongs or the low socio-economic capability of the boy and his parents allow the boy to abduct the girl who is going to be his wife.

The boy can abduct the girl if he fears that her parents may refuse the relationship because of the descent social group he belongs. On the other hand, if his parents do not afford the amount of bride wealth expected from them for the marriage process because of the low economic status, in this case the boy will decide to get the girl forcefully

The plan of abduction is arranged secretly and carefully. The boy tells this mission to his intimate friends or relatives who are strong enough in the process of abduction and able to keep the secret not to be recognized by others. This also includes selection of the place where the girl

frequents and appropriate time. In the culture the frequent places the girl can be found are the way to market, the way for fetching water or the way to firewood, or on the way to school or/and when her parents are not around home. In this type of marriage the girl is taken without her knowledge and she has no right to give comments on what happen around her. This type of marriage will also end with *gabbara* if the negotiation after abduction ends peacefully. If not, as Daniel stated, as it is executed by forceful means it does not end with peace sometimes it ends with a big fight between the abductors and the parents and relatives of the girl (2002). With all its side effects and problems, butta is habituated in the culture and practiced as a part of marriage type among Arsi Oromo.

- ***Hawwata* (Persuasion)**

Hawwata is the other type of marriage which is arranged based on the mutual interest of the boy and the girl. The agreement is arranged without the knowledge of their family. The agreement may be facilitated by third party like intimate friends from both sides especially to get the willing of the girl. Market places, traditional festivals, rituals and celebrations are the places where pre arrangement is made and implemented. As compared with the previous mentioned types of marriage, in the case of mate selection *hawwata* gives a bit freedom to the girl. And it is preferred by youngsters. But the boy has a responsibility to legalize the marriage either through *gabbara* or *walgara.*

- ***Dhaala* (Widow Inheritance)**

This marriage practice specifies that the man's widow must marry his surviving brother in order to continue the relationship between the widow and the family of deceased husband. Therefore, it is a compulsory marriage of a widow by her deceased husband's younger brother. The practice is mainly intended to maintain the deceased man's lineage. In the culture this practice is needed mainly to provide for her children a new father and keep the children in the father's extended family, clan and patrilineal descent. Often times the widow's marriage to her younger brother-in-law is performed without her total consent. Although she has the right to voice her concerns and refuse the offer, there is a higher chance that she would not be successful (Daniel 2002; Yenealem 2000 E.C).

However, in case the deceased husband does not have brother, the chance goes to classificatory brothers. “If this is also impossible either because of lack of classificatory brothers or for other reasons, the final alternative left is to select one man from the lineage after confirming his genealogical proximity” (Daniel, 2002,p. 81). There is a ceremony which is performed by the deceased family for the transfer of the woman from widowhood to married status. It is called *miilloo kennu*. In the ceremony, the inheritor announces taking responsibility of handling the family of the deceased brother. Then *Korma* (bull), *eeboo* (spear), *miilloo* (traditional three legged chair), *wayaa* (cotton cloth), *sa’aa* (milk cow), *hoolaa* (sheep) and *farada* (horse) are given to the heir from the deceased brother’s property. The property which is transferred to the heir depends on the economic status of the deceased. At the end of the ceremony the heir blesses the widow and the orphans. Moreover, the participants on the ceremony also bless the new partners for their peaceful future marriage life. This is the time when the marriage is approved in the culture.

According to literatures on the Arsi Oromo marriage practices and data found from the field work, *dhaala* is practiced among Arsi for two reasons. These are: one to not let the widow to marry a man out of that lineage (*halagaa*), if it happens culturally it is believed that the woman may go far from the deceased family together with her kids and the kids may not be loved by the father-in-low and they may forget their origin. The other reason is that if the widow marries another person (*halagaa*) he will hire the property of the deceased husband. In order to secure the kids from ignorance of their father’s lineage and to protect the property of the deceased, *Dhaala* is preferred to be the acceptable way among the people.

- ***Milbaato/Membeto(Substitution Marriage)***

The other type of marriage which is included under informal marriage types in Arsi is *milbaato or milbeto*.This is a type of marriage in which the sister of the deceased woman (wife) is given to the widower. Mohamed Namo defines it as, “*Miila baate miilbaatoo kajedhu miila baate sana miila biraatin bakka buusu jehuudha* (Cassette 3 November 2013). According to him, the term Milbato is derived from two words. These are *miila* and *baate/o miila* means leg and *baate* mean leave, went out or die. The meaning of the compound word is substitution of someone (dead)

with the other. This marriage practice is performed after the burial ceremony of the deceased. In the culture it is taken as the mechanism for compensation. In the process one strong man from the clan of the widower ask the clan of the deceased wife saying *"Imimmaan abbaa manaa Ishii nu haxayaa; itillee du'a intalaatiin walitti dachaafamte nuuf diriirsaa". Lit.* Wipe the tear of her husband, sprawl or stretch the hide folded by the death of wife.

Though, the idea of substitution usually comes from the widower. But, the arrangement depends on the already existing relationship between the two parties. Therefore, some forty days after the burial, the parent of the deceased wife, smear the deceased sister's head with butter and bring her for the widower as a replacement (Daniel, 2002).

- ***Addabaana***

This is a type of marriage taken place when a girl is left unmarried or when her father wants to give her to someone whom she does not like. In this case the girl chooses unmarried young man and then runs a way to his house without the knowledge of the man mostly in the evening.
On her arrival she tries to enter to the house by saying:

Adda baana shifaa xabboo mana citaa; you man' in the grass built house
Warra afaan golaa; na jalaa goraa be off those who standing on my way to the sleeping room

It means, Let us unite with our flower (*shifaa),* be off those who standing on my way to sleeping room (in this case she is demanding to let her enter the house. Thus, she will stand beside the pillar until she is given a reply. Then, the family of the man she went to asks her the name of the man she wants. Subsequently, they ask her clan */gosa*/ in this case, however, such proposal for marriage is not acceptable immediately by the boy. He will be advised not to reject. But if it is not acceptable by the boy's parents too, for different reasons, the next day she will be taken back to her parents after anointing her head with butter. But if accepted, the next day two *jaarsaa*/ Facilitators/ would go to her parents for negotiation.

In the culture, there are marriage types which are practiced rarely among the people. These are *mata dabaa*/ smearing the head with butter/ where there is an agreement between boy's and girl's family are not capable to arrange the marriage ceremony , *Fuudha Gursumma* (Remarriage of Divorce) and Biidhaa (incidental marriage) (Daniel 2002; Yenealem, 2000E.C).

3.1.3 Beliefs and Religions

Before the introduction of various forms of religions, the people around the world were practicing their traditional religion which is commonly called traditional religion. If we take African people, they have traditional religion which were practiced by the early generations and continue to be practiced by today's African people. As Awolalu stated,

> When we speak of African Traditional Religion, we mean the indigenous religious beliefs and practices of the Africans. It is the religion which resulted from the sustaining faith held by the forebears of the present Africans, and which is being practiced today in various forms and various shades and intensities by a very large number of Africans, including individuals who claim to be Muslims or Christians.(1976,p.1).

According to the given definition, the term traditional religion is not related with primitiveness and indicates only the past. But, it is also the feature of the present society living all over Africa. Like other people in Africa, before the introduction of Christianity and Islam, the Oromo practiced their own religion, which is a belief in a monotheistic, one-supreme deity, known as *Waaqaa*. According to Gadaa (1988, p.19), Waaqa can loosely be translated into English word God. Waaqa, for the Oromo, is the creator of universe, source of order and justice, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent. The belief in such a powerful creator is called *Waaqeffanna* (a belief in Waaq- a supreme God), (Jeylan, 2005). However, the Oromo believe that despite the inaccessibility of Waaqa, rituals and prayers provide a path of communication through which the power of divinity can flow into the human world. There are also other smaller divinities called *ayyaana* to deal with day-to-day activities (Dejene, 2002, pp.44-45).

Oromo's believe that Waaqa Tokkicha (the one God) created the world. They call this supreme being *Waaqa Gurraacha* (the Black God). Most Oromos still believe that it was this God who created heaven and earth and other living and non-living things. In addition, Dirribi (2011, p.17) defines the traditional religion of Oromo people as: "our forefathers had their own---religion in which their world outlook was built about creation and the nature around us, which is *waaqeffannaa*".

Arsi people as they are families of Oromo have been following *waaqeffannaa*. In recent days, in particular, there are Christian and Muslim religion followers in different parts where the people

live. Since the area is rich with traditional practices such as *ateetee*, birth and death rituals and the people are lovers of their culture, they are practicing traditions which are domains of the traditional religion.

3.1.4 Socio-Political Institutions

Among Oromo people there are institutions in which the society governed by. These are *Gadaa* system in general and *siinqee* institution among some groups of Oromo. According to (Asmerom, 1973, p.50) "The *Gadaa* System is an institution that represents an extreme development of a type of social structure known to anthropologists as age set". On the other hand, Bassi (1996, p.150) defines *Gadaa* as "certainly a very strong symbol of Oromo ethnic identity, but as with most symbols, it may have multiple meanings. It manifests itself in a wide range of social phenomena, including perspective rules, ceremonies, rites, public offices and actual physical villages." Like the Oromo as a whole, the Arsi Oromo were ruled by *Gadaa* system. Yet, as Abdurahman, (1991) describes, when the centrality of the *Gadaa* System began to decline and the *Gadaa* System got special features in Arsi itself; *Aloo* began to replace the *Gadaa* system as an institution. However, consultants from the research sites claimed that *aloo* is not the equivalent of *Gadaa* system rather it is an equivalent of the English term law/*seera*/ *Aloo* and it is the general term for truth.

The key consultant Obbo Bonsamo defines *aloo* as *"Aloo jechuun dhugaa jechuu dha seera jechuudha*" (Interview 2, November 2011). *Aloo* means truth; it is law. Arsi person says *aloo* or *dalloo*. He further extends his description that *Aloo* means a law which is acceptable among the people; *dalloo* is something which is modified through time. For instance in the case of crime if concerned body says "it is already decided" while standing and without looking case carefully, they say this is not *aloo*. Because in the culture the case of crime is listened while the traditional court members are all present and sit together on a specific place. Therefore, if this is not appropriately practiced the participants may refuse to accept the decision. In general, *aloo* refers to truth and traditional law accepted by the people (Mohamed Namo; Interview 3 November 2013; Bonsemo Miesso; Interview 2, November 2011).

Whereas, the *Gadaa* system is a system in which Gadaa classes succeed each other every eight years providing military political, social and cultural leaderships for the Oromo nation. According to consultants *gadaa* system has basic features. It can be seen as a political system, economic system, social system and belief system. For example, Gadaa as a political system is explained by Bonsemo (Bonsemo Miesso, casseettee 4, June 2013) as the reason for treating gadaa as political system is, people are allowed to participate; governed by common law under this system.

In Arsi according to consultants, *Gadaa* has five grades namely; Birmaji, Bultuma, Horaataa, Baharaa and Robele which follows an order from older to younger. *Birmaji* symbolizes *birmadu*, the first wife (symbolizes the first female of Arsi given for marriage to *waayyuu*[17]); with this regard Bonsemo described how those five grades are named after their function in the following way:

birmɑdʒi jetʃu:n birmɑtu

birmaji jedh-uu-n birmat-u

birmaji say-INF-NOM help-INF

Birmaji means helping,

wɑlit:i birmɑtu tok:itʃum:ɑ:n dʒirɑ:chu

wal-itti birmat-u tokkoo-icha-umma-an jiraat-u

each other-to help-INF one-DEF-ness-with live-INF

Living together; it is oneness

According to the data found from fieldwork, the wife of *waayyu* was the one who told the people at that time to name the five *gadaa* grades in the following manner. And each grade is named in relation to the responsibility of the members included under it. With this regard, the second grade in Arsi *gadaa* system is *Bultuma*. It stands for *long* life for cattle and people;

bultumɑ bɑ:sɑ: bulti nɑmɑ:tifi

bultuma baas-aa bulti nama-a-ti-fi

bultuma name- 2Pl-IMPF wealth person-GEN-is-for

[17] Oral history says that wayyuu is the founder of Bokku (a sacred material object) carried by abba bokku and the female who was send to him to identify weather he was human or angel was named as birmadu.

name bultuma so that persons be wealthy

The third *gadaa* grade is *Horata*. It is named wishing successful reproduction;

ro:bɑle: ʔen:u: horɑtɑ bɑ:sɑ: hormɑ:tɑ nɑmɑ:tif

roobalee ennu horata baas-aa hor-maata nama-a-ti-f

horata name-2Pl-IMPF breed-process person-GEN-is-for

name horata for human breed

The fourth *gadaa* grade is namely *Baharaa* and is named after wishing peace and healthy years;

bɑhɑ:rɑ bɑ:sɑ: bɑr:i nɑgɑ: ʔɑk:ɑ bɑʔu

bahaara baas-aa bar-rii nagaa akka ba'-u

bahaara name-2Pl-IMPF year-DEF peace as come-INF

name bahara so that peaceful time will come

Robale is named after quest for rain. And it is said to be the youngest gadaaa grade in Arsi gadaaa system.according to the data the wife of wayyuu diclare by saying:

ro:bɑle bɑ:sɑ: ro:bɑ: ro:bni ʔɑk:ɑ kʼɑdʒe:lu

roobalee baas-aa roobaa rooba-ni akka qajeel-u

roobale name-2Pl-IMPF rain-NOM as rain-INF

name robele so that rain will come (see the examples 03-08 in Appendix 2 text 1 (082-083 and 090-093[18]))

In general, the five Arsi gadaa grades are birmaji-bultuma- horata-bahara-and robele from oldest to youngest respectively. Moreover, a special feature of the Arsi *Gadaa* practice was that each clan was autonomous and independent. Hence, it had its own Gadaaa area and a community form of the *Gadaa* government under Abba Bokku, who served as the spokes person of the assembly.

There are different views on the present existence of *gadaa* system in Arsi. Some says that it is still practiced among the people. But others including Abduraman and Mohamed agreed that *Gadaa* system in Arsi is not functioning like before. According to Mohamed (cassette 3,

[18] The data is also found in annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

November 2013) the introduction of Islam among the people is one of the reasons for the decline in the practice of *gadaa* system in Arsi.

Intellectuals give different views on the reason why Arsi people release *gadaa* system. But according to consultant Mohamed, refusing the previous governmental administration and prefering to accept the Islami religion was one of the remarkable reasons for it. To protest the rulers most of them converted to Islam. There conversion on the other hand makes the *gadaa* system to decline among the people. Therefore, the introduction of religions to the people brings a change on the traditional way of life.

On the other hand, the *siinqee* is one of the cultural features among Arsi. It is a sacred stick which is given to a woman in order to protect her rights. According to Mohammed, *siinqee* is described as:

si:nkʼe:n gɑ:ʃɑna dubɑrti:ti

siinqee-n gaachana dubartii-ti

siinqee-NOM shield woman-is

wɑrɑ:nɑ dubɑrti:ti

waraana dubartii-ti

spear woman-is

(Appendix 2 text 4(011&012[19]))

According to the description Siinqee is of woman's shield (weapon), a spear and a symbol. As abba bokku holds bokku on his hand; has halangee on his hand. Siinqee unique to woman and it is a symbol for womanhood. Carrying siinqee in her hand symbolize her with that of a warrior full of his staffs.

Therefore, *siinqee* is not merely a term for a material symbol, like that of *Gadaa* system it also refers to an institution, to a women's organization totally excluding men, and it has both religious and political functions. (Marit, 2009). In general, the word *siinqee* is used to describe various mobilizations conducted by women.

[19] The data is also found in *Annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf*

In the history of the establishment of *siinqee* as an institution, according to oral tradition it is believed that the basis for the *Siinqee* institution has been traced to the customary laws of the Oromo *Gadaa* System and its religious roots. In this customary law system, Oromo women have been granted protection by the divine gift from *Qaallu* (religious leader) to *abbaa gadaa* who has been given *bokku* for himself and to take *siinqee* (ritual stick) and a *qanafaa* (sacred piece of wood) for his wife (Tsehay 2008, p.39; Ayalew 2011, p.44). Starting from that time onwards *siinqee* is accepted as an institution for Oromo people in general and Arsi Oromo woman in particular.

As it is explained above, si*inqee* has numerous functions rather than serving as a symbol of transition from girlhood to womanhood (will briefly discussed in the analysis chapters). As to a women's organization, it has both religious and political functions. As an institution, it serves as an important means in peace making, mediating between two fighting parties to prevent violent actions, creating opportunities to correct offensive events. Women use their *siinqee* in various occasions related with religious, social, political and economic contexts, to protect their rights; to declare control over sexuality and fertility; to protect their social rights and to maintain religious and ethical authority. (Tsehay, 2008)

As *Gadaa* system and *siinqee* have great place in socio- political aspects of the Oromo people in general Arsi Oromo in particular, the value system of the people has been influenced by these institutions that functioned parallel to each other but again functioned hand in hand for building the people. Asefa Jaleta (2010, p.50) states "These two institutions helped to maintain *saffu* in Oromo society by enabling Oromo women to have control over resources and private spaces, social status and respect, and sisterhood and solidarity by deterring men from infringing upon their individual and collective rights."

In Arsi Oromo culture, like that of *gadaa*, *siinqee* functioned as an institution beside its existence as a material object or as one of the handheld objects of a woman.

3.1.4. 1. The Research Areas: an Over View

West Arsi was established as one of the 17 administrative Zones of Oromiya Region in 2006 G.C. The capital of the Zone is Shashemene; far away 250 km. South East of Addis Ababa.

(WAPDO, 2008). West Arsi zone has 12 districts which were districts of different zones before its establishment. These zones are Bale zone, East shewa zone and Arsi Administrative zone. Dodola, Nensebo Kokosa and Adaba were taken from Bale zone. Districts such as Arsi Negelle, Siraro and Shashemene were districts of East Shewa zone. The last two districts which were taken from Arsi Administrative zone are Gedeb Hasasa and Kofele (Yenealem 2000 E.C). Now those districts are districts of the new established zone called West Arsi. After having surveyed the area and consulted available data among 12 districts found in the zone 3 were selected for this research. These localities are: Kokosa, Adaba and kofele.

Kokosa District is one of the 12 districts in the west Arsi Zone of Oromia region; The Current Kokosa District was administered in 1968E.C**.** It is located at the western most point of the zone. (WAPDO, 2008) The district is located in the humid temperate climatic zones; however, the modification of the climate is caused by difference in altitude. The district is 105km far from the capital of the Zone and 360km from Addis Ababa**.** The District shares boundary with Arsi zone in the North, Nensabo and Dodola in the South east, Bansa and Arbegona in the South and Shabadino and Hawassa in the West. The administrative town of the District is Kokosa.

Wild life also has significant role for economic development of the district. The wild life in the district is limited in varieties and small in size the major type of wild life of the district Antelope, Hyena and Fox are some of the common wild animals. There is no wild life sanctuary in the district.

According to the projection made from the 2007 Population and Housing census, the total population of Kokosa District was144, 505. About 40 percent of the urban and 19 percent of the rural population of the district were supplied with potable water in the year 2008/09.

The Arsi Oromo in the district are highly committed for their tradition. The people in the area are known by preventing their culture. One can see the woman wearing traditional clothes, together with different types of jewelries. In addition she is identified with cultural object holding on her hand especially the woman who gets married. And also males are identified by

their traditional clothes. Moreover, the people in the district have various cultural practices like people in other districts.

The second district which was selected for this research is Kofele. It is located at southern part of West Arsi zone. The information found from West Arsi Zone Plan and Development Office shows that the district extends from 060 50' to 070 09' north and 38038' to 39004' east. The district is located in the humid temperate climatic zones; however, the modification of the climate is caused by altitude and within an area of 802km2 .The District is far away 25km from the capital of the Zone and 270km from Addis Ababa. It shares boundary line with Gedeb Hasasa in the East, Dodola in the Southeast, Shashemene in the west, *qore* in the North and Southern people's regional state in the South. Kofale is the administrative center of the District.

A survey of the land in this district shows that 30% is arable or cultivable, 29% pasture, 2.9% forest, and the remaining 38.1% is considered swampy, mountainous or otherwise unusable. Vegetables are an important cash crop; hides and skins are the primary export for Kofele. Kofele is one of the districts of Bale in previous time. With the reestablishment of zones it is included under the present West Arsi Zone. According to the CSA report on 2007 the total population of the district was 179,508.

The third research site for this research, Adaba, was administered in 1949 E.C. the district is found in the East part of the zone. Astronomically the district is located 2300m within an area of 1621.52km.^{2} the district is 98kms far from West Arsi Zone and 353kms from Addis Ababa**.** The district shares boundary with in Gadab Asasa in the North, Nensabo in the South, Dinsho in the East and Dodola in the West. The administrative center of the district is Adaba. Adaba is also one of the districts of Bale in previous time. With the reestablishment of zones it is included under the present West Arsi Zone. The report from Central Statistical Agency, the projection made in 2007 shows that the total population of the district was 138,649.

The Arsi Oromo in these districts are highly committed for their tradition regardless of the expansion of Islamic religion which appeared with its own religions practices and has an impact on the traditional practices of the people. Nonetheless, the people in the area are known by preventing their culture. One can see the woman wearing traditional clothes, together with

different types of jewelries, other body modifications and body supplements. And also males are identified by their traditional dress types. Moreover, they have various cultural practices like people in other districts. But as compared to Kokosa Districts in addition to the use of traditional dress types, the people in the area are also known by making traditional clothes.

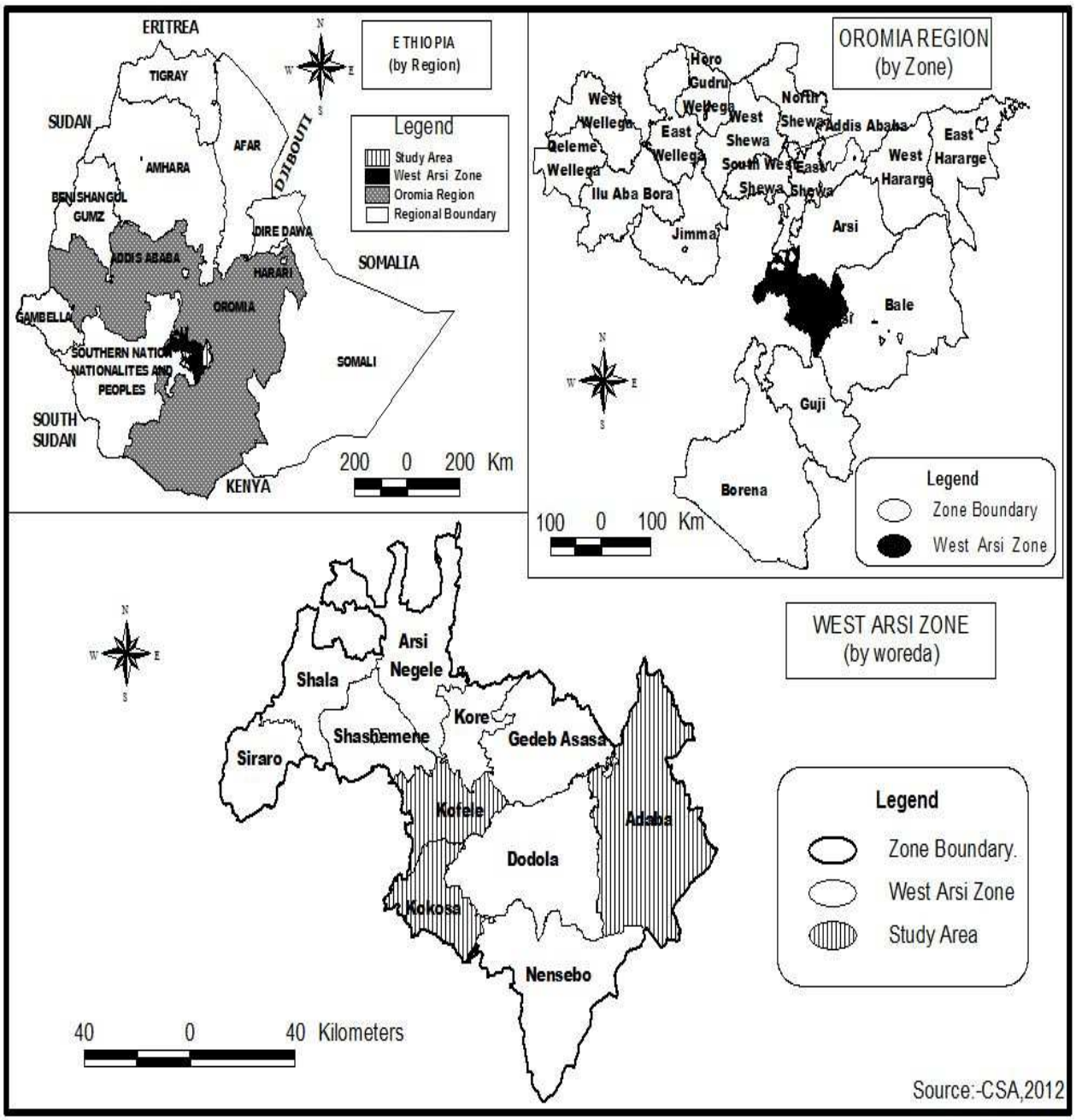


Figure 4 the Geographical Location of Research Sites

3.1.4. 2 Arsi Oromo Livelihood Basis

Arsi livelihood is based largely on subsistence farming. The Arsi land is suitable for the cultivation of bread wheat, barley, emmer wheat, linseed, and field pea as other Oromo's do (Sumner, 1997), the Arsi hold high regard for cattle economy. The people economy is mostly depended on their cattle. In previous time, the wealth of one person was depended on the number of cattle he/she has. But, currently the wealth of a person is depended on the land which is covered by enset, especially in Kokosa. The people love their cattle. They eat their flesh and use their skin for clothes and jewelries.

The Arsi attach greater social and economic value to their animals. As Hirut (2001) and Haberland (1963) put it, the life of an Arsi Oromo particularly that of women is highly attached to the possession of animals' product. In the past and even at present, the major source of income for Arsi women is milk and its products. On the other hand, cattle and sheep are suitable animals for sacrifice among the people. So, in Arsi, animals are both sources of income and prestige in the society in general, and are object of scarifies (Daniel, 2002). The people use milk and milk products for food as well as a means for income, eat their flesh and use their skin for cloth making.

Chapter Four: Cloth-making Tradition among the Arsi Oromo

This chapter deals with traditional cloth making of Arsi Oromo living in west Arsi zone with special emphasis on the research areas. It is divided into three sections. The first section presents background information on the process of cloth making, such as sources of hides and skins, cattle market and stages of cloth making. The second section deals with a detailed description of the process of tanning in distinct stages namely, stretching, scraping and softening. Included under the third section is the final step of cloth making which involves decorating, perfuming and ornamentation. It answers the question who makes traditional clothes and how?

4.1 The Process of Cloth Making- Background Information

Before beginning the discussion on the process of cloth making, it is important to give background information on the source of skin- the raw material for making traditional leather clothes. In the history of traditional Arsi Oromo dress, the raw materials are found from a skin of cow, calf, ox, goat, sheep etc. which are domestic animals commonly linked with the lives of the agrarian society. According to Bariso (Interview: 28 June, 2013), skins of leopard, Ibex and other wild animals used to be sources of traditional clothes in the past.

Among the research areas of the present research, Kofele is known for its cattle production. There is also a day specifically identified for cattle. Wednesday morning, especially around 9:00 a.m., is a time for sellers and buyers to meet in the cattle market. The market looks like a zoo with a variety of domestic animals, such as calf, ox, cow, sheep, goat etc. with a variety of colors (*gurraacha*-black, *adii*- white, *dharrawaa*- brown, etc). The market also avails a dry skin of an animal. The process of selling and buying is done with a free negiotation between the buyer and seller of the animal or the dry skin arround a village or in the market. In the buying and selling of an animal, therefore, the buyer chooses and buys a cattle with the desired color he/she wants for the cloth and an occasion for slaughter. Here below is a picture taken from the market on 25 June, 2013.



Photo 4.1 kofele cattle market

At this, it is worth nothing that Arsi people are very sensitive to the color when they buy cattle. This is because, in the culture, colors have meanings in relation to the various rituals performed by the people. The black color is the most favored for the rituals like *ateetee* and marriage ceremony. The color is believed to be related with *waaqa*- the Supreme Being. The Oromo says "*waaqa gurraacha*" "black supreme being". The people relate black color with their creator. Hence, this shows the special place given to the color in the lives of in the people. Consultant Haji Abdul qadir described that,

wɑn:i gur:ɑtʃi filɑmu:fi

wann- gurraachi filat-am-uufi

the reason for selecting black is

wɑ:n ʔumɑmɑ:n wɑl kʼɑbɑtu:f

waan umamaa-n walqab-at-uuf

it is related with nature (Appendix 2 text 2(018-019)[20])

[20] The data is also found in annotation 3(018-019)annotation_3cloth making and color description.eaf

The consultant's answer also indicates that the reason for selecting black in the culture is related to nature which itself is believed to be black. As mentioned earlier, based on the choice of the buyer, the cattle is bought and taken home. The skin of the calf can be used by the buyer or sold to the tanner (*duugaa*) for the cloth making. There are professional males who have a skill of taking off skin from the carcass. The following picture was taken representing induced natural setting arranged by the researcher. The calf in the picture is bought mainly for its skin, the raw material for cloth making.



Photo 4.2 a black calf bought for cloth making

The cloth making process has various stages. These include, slaughtering (optional), skinning (optional), stretching, scraping, softening etc. The process of skinning starts with taking the hide or skin off from the carcass by maintaining its natural shape as much as possible. In the Arsi cloth making tradition, the skinning process is carried out in two ways. One, the design or form of the cloth follows the natural appearance of the animal during skinning. The cloth type which is commonly designed in this way is *kallo kasaa*, in which the four legs and the tail are skinned with especial care. Eventually they appear to be five tips on the cloth. As consultants told,

kɑlmar:ɑt:i tɑrti:bɑt dʒirɑ

Qalmarratti tartiibat jira

There is a step to be followed in the process of slaughtering

ʔɑk:umɑ ʔisin argitɑ kɑl:o: kɑsɑ:fi kalʔo: bonkofil:e

Akkuma isin argitan kalloo kasaafill bonkofille

As you have seen for kalloo kasaa as well as bonko

hɑ:lɑ ʔit: kɑlɑntu dʒirɑ

Haala itti qalantu jira

There is a way how to slaughter (Appendix 2 text 2(045-047)[21]

Two, the way skinning is carried out to make *itillee- traditional carpet* is not as difficult as that of *kallo kasaa*. As consultants described, the hide or skin is skinned without necessarily maintaining its natural shape or design. They would rather take good care of skinning so as to avoid cuts or holes in the surface of the skin or hide.

In both ways, the skilled person cuts and skins the leg taking special care no to make holes on the hide or skin[22]. As Bariso Som'i and Waaqoo Daadoo described, at the time of taking off the hide from the carcass, it is also essential to skin the tail as it has a bone. The bones are removed by cutting through the underside of the tail. (Interview: 26 June 2013)

[21] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3 (045-047) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf)

[22] As it is stated in (Natesan,ND, p.14)the suffixes hide and skin, when added to the noun animal tell the relative size of the animal. The body covering of big animals' such as buffalo and cattle is called hide. Such type of raw material is longer in size, thicker in substance and heavier in weight. The body covering of smaller animals' such as calf, goat, sheep, etc. is called skins



Photo 4.3 the skinning process

4.2 The Process of Cloth Making-Tanning

This section describes the nest step in the process of cloth making; after the skinning process is completed. It is known as tanning- a process which includes; stretching, scraping and softening. Tanning has two distinct stages. First, the flesh and fats are immediately removed from the hide after skinning. Next, to begin the tanning process, the skins are soaked into water to make them clean and soft.

According to Waaqoo, a skilled person and a traditional cloth maker around Kofele for the past 32 years, tanning is a tiresome task needing much time. (Interview 26 June 2013). In the culture persons who line on tanning are commonly known by the name called *saraatanyaa*[23]. It is a borrowed term from Amharic- its meaning is worker.

If the tanner does not want to tan the hide immediately after skinning, he removes the flesh, fat, and other membranous tissues as possible. This process is called *ciruu* and it is done by nailing the skin on the hair side facing the ground. Bonsemo one of the consultants described the process in the following way;

[23] However, literatures stated that those people who are in a low economic status and also known by their skill of making traditional leather are named as waataa (Hirut 2012;Daniel,2002).

dizɑ:jini ʔisɑ joki:n ʔɑm:o: hɑ:l:i ʔɑk:ɑ ʔuf:ɑtɑ: tolut:i

Dizaayinii-n isaa yookin ammo haall-i akka uffataa tol-u-tti

Design-NOM or again way-DEF as dress comfort-INF-to

ʔergɑ kʼɑlɑme bo:dɑ

erga qal-am-ee booda

after slaughter-PASS-PEFR

After it is design following the appropriate cloth type

ʔergɑ ɗisɑni bo:dɑ ʔɑm:o:

Erga dhis-an-iin booda

After stretch-3Pl-with after

After stretching,

corɑ: ʔisɑ: kɑnɑ ʔir:ɑ: kʼunɕisɑn

Coraa isa-a kana irraa quncis-an

Flesh it-GEN this from remove-3Pl

They remove the fat from it (Appendix 2 text 2 (049, 055&056)[24])

In the process, each skin's size and shape determine the number of woods required for stretching-*dhisuu*. After streching, the *duugaa* (the person who perform the stretching process) removes any remaining muscle tissue and fat from the inner side of the skin. While scraping-*ciruu* the tissue and fats from the skin, a special care is taken not to scrape the skin deep. The craftsman, *sarraatanyaa* uses hide scraper: a tool made of bone, stone or medium sharp iron used for removing the unwanted from an animal hide.

[24] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3 (049, 055&056) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf)



Photo 4.4 the process of nailing and scraping

If tanning is to be done after some days of skinning, the skin is thus soaked into water. This is usually done if the hide/skin is not recently skinned. Soaking helps to minimize the foul smell and enables removing the unwanted part from the inner side easy. Then, the skin is stretched-*dhisuu* to remove only bits of flesh and fat without causing damage to the raw hide itself. In the past, Arsi Oromo tanners used to tie the hides in a bundle and string it high up in a tree so as to keep it safe from scavengers. As reported by consultants:

mukɑr:ɑt:i ʔol fɑn:isɑni ʔɑk:ɑnɑt:i mukɑt:i fɑn:isɑni

Muka-rra-tti ol fannis-an-i akka-kana-tti muka-tti fannis-an-i

Wood-on-to up hang-3Pl-PERF like-this-to wood-to hang-3Pl-PERF

ɗɑ:bɑte du:gɑ ʔin:i

Dhaab-at-e dug-a inn-i

Stand-MID-3SgM-PERF scratch-3SgM-IMPF he-NOM

He is scratching by standing (Appendix 2 text 2(059&060)[25])

Otherwise, the tanner stretches the hide on the ground on sunny day with sticks pounded on it (Garibe; Interview: 27 June, 2013).

[25] The data is also found in ELAN Annotation 3 (059&060) annotation 2cloth making and color description.eaf)



Photo 4.5 hide ready for scraping

At this time, the hide must be stretched as wide and evenly as possible, usually on a frame made of poles but possibly between stakes/*mukkeen*/ pounded into the ground. This is because as Waaqoo Daadoo (personal interview 26 June 2013) explained, the more the hide is stretched the larger the final piece of leather. In general, stretching the hide/skin is carried out in two ways in order to keep its hairy side clean- the tanner-*duugaa* uses a grassy ground or 'chaff' as a carpet or hangs the hide/skin on a frame of wood prepared for the purpose so that scraping-*ciruu* is done by standing.

Consultant Waaqoo further explained that to have with a hide that ultimately doesn't have any holes or nicks, it is better to use a bone or a blunt iron cutter. At this step the tanner removes every bit of flesh and fat, including the paper thin epidermal layer of the hide/skin.



Photo 4.6 blunt iron cutter -*gundaadhaa*

The blunt iron cutter is used to get rid of every bit of unwanted flesh and fat from the inner side of the skin or hide. This process is called *duuguu*.



Photo 4.7 the process of scraping

Like that of skinning, the process of *duuguu* demands different steps for making varied types of clothes.

du:g:ɑ:nu gɑrɑgɑrɑ

Duugg-aa-nu garagara

Scratch-IMP-FOC different

Scrapping itself is done in different ways. (Appendix 2 text 2(062)[26])

If the hide is intended to be made into *bonko*, only the inner side i.e the flesh side- of the hide needs to be scraped as there is no need to remove the hairy side of the hide. However, if the intention is to make piece of clothes, such as *Qexxaa*, the hair from any side of the skin or hide must be removed. Thus, it is better to lay the hide in the sun light for two to three days after the

[26] The data is also found in ELAN Annotation 3(062) annotation_3cloth making and color description.eaf

inner side is scraped. Then the hairy part is scraped by a hide scraper. As such it is a tiresome work as compared to the task of cleaning the inner part of the skin or hide. This is a key step in which the raw material is given or shaped into the desired thickness. According to Bonsemo,

haʔisɑn hin hɑ:ʔi:sɑn du:gumɑ:n hɑ:ʔisan

Haphis-an hin haaphis-an dugaa-um-aan haaphis-an

Thin-3Pl Neg thin-3Pl scratch-FOC-with thin-3Pl it become thin through scraping

it become thin through scraping (Appendix 2 text 2 (065)[27])



Photo 4.8 the process of removing the outer hair

[27] The data is also found in Annotation 3(065) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf

After the outer hair is removed, the raw material should then be rinsed. Thus, it is soaked again in water then thoroughly hung on a string so that it is just wets. To put the hide in the water first, it is folded and fastened on one of the hide holes with a thick rope.



Photo 4.9 preparing the hide for soaking

As Waaqoo explained, fastening the hide with a rope has two functions. One, it prevents the hide not to sink down to the dipper side of the water (river); two, it protects the hide from wild animals like hyena as it is particularly difficult for the person to stay around the river or water and watch the hide for two to three consecutive nights.



Photo 4.10 the process of putting the hide into river

Next to soaking there is a task of smearing a chemical on to the surface of the hide/skin in order to make it is easily bendable, soft and manageable. Therefore, the hide or skin has to be rinsed soft and wet to make it ready for smearing a chemical. The task of soaking takes two to three days as it has already been pointed out. After soaking, the hide is taken out of the water, drained and thoroughly rinsed. At this stage the hide must be moist and hence bendable enough to absorb the mixture of oil made from the fruit and water. The hide should not be too wet; otherwise, the mixture will be less effective.

The chemical used for softening the hide or skin is prepared by the craftsman-*sarraatanyaa* a day before taking the hide out from the water. The professionals use what is found in their area, such as a mixture of seeds of castor plant and water. In the past, those persons who ordered the cloth used to bring butter for the workers who are engaged in the very task of softening the hide/skin. However, currently a chemical extracted from seed of castor plant is commonly used as butter is no longer easily found.



Photo 4. 11 castor plant



Photo 4.12 preparing a mixture of the fruit and water

A day after the hide is taken out of the water; it is smeared with the mixture. At this stage it is possible to stretch the hide without nailing as the hide has relatively elastic and manageable

enough as needed. As it was observed during the fieldwork workers smear the chemical into the hide with their hand. This is a step in which the hide is ready for softening –*laaffisu*.



Photo 4.13 smearing the hide to make it soft

Eventually, after the hair is taken off the hide and the chemical is added to it, the hide gets creamy color.



Photo 4.14 The smeared hide

The next step is *laaffisuu*-softening. At this stage, the hide or skin smeared with a chemical is bended and put in some place for two or three days depending on the weather condition. After two to three days the hide is taken away from the place where it was kept and the task of rubbing continues. This process is named *sukkumuu-rubbing.* The work is tiresome and time consuming. Then after, the tanned hide is stretched again on a frame and the most tedious part of the work begins. At this time, every inch of the hide must be scraped repeatedly until after every bit of hair, flesh and fat on one side or both sides' disappears (Bariso Simi'iii, Appendix 2 text 2). In general, the scraping and stretching work helps to remove all moisture and permanently destroys the tough nature of the skin making it soft and looks somewhat cream colored heavy and feel.

When the hide is soaked, a wooden wedge is the best tool used repeatedly until no more water leaks from the hide. The second scraping tool is a stick, between two and three inches in diameter, with one end carved into a smooth, blunt, rounded point as it was done in the process of scraping. The task of cleaning the hide and getting rid of its unwanted elements is known *as qota baasu*. Included in the task also is designing the hide or skin for the desired cloth type of those whose design is not made while slaughtering. (Bonsemo Mieso, 30 June Interview 2013)



Photo. 4.15 the task of removing the unwanted elements-*Qota baasuu*

4.3 The Final Step of Cloth Making-Decorating, Perfuming And Ornamentation

This section of the chapter finally presents and describes the last step in the process of Arsi Oromo traditional dress. It includes decorating, perfuming and ornamentation. Unlike in the distinct stages of the process of tanning in Arsi Oromo cloth making presented in the preceding section, decorating, perfuming and ornamentation is most commonly performed by female professionals. Consultants described the process in the following way:

mi:ɗɑ:s:e lɑ:f:ise

Miidhag-s-ee laaff-is-ee

Beauty-CAUS-3SgM-PERF soft-CAUS-3SgM-PERF

After he finely soften

ʔoge:t:i dubɑrtit:i: ken:ɑ

Ogee-tt-i dubarti-ti-tti kenn-a

Skilled-3SF-DEF female-is-to give-3SgM-IMPF

Gives it to a skilled woman

Dubɑrti ʔɑrsi kɑn kɑnɑ hodʒɑt:u dʒirti

Dubarti arsi kan kana hojjat-t-u jir-t-i

Female Arsi that this work-3SgF-INF be-3SgF-IMPF

There is an Arsi woman who performs this activity

ʔisi:n ʔɑm:o: bifɑ bɑrbɑ:dɑmun

Isii-n ammo bifa barbaad-am-uu-n

She-NOM also style need-PASS-INF-NOM

She also makes as it is needed (Appendix 2 text 2(074-076)[28])

These women are widely known among the people of their skill of converting the well-tanned hide or skin into the desired style of clothes. Included under the finalizing stage also is incensing or perfuming the hide/skin with a smoke of certain pleasant smelling roots. They also use a red soil as a chemical to change the color of the skin/hide to red and it is called *gabiiba*.Moreover, they smear an ointment prepared from butter and good smelling roots called *urgoo* on the clothes. This is done in two ways. As consultants described the process it includes the following:

kɑn mijɑ barbɑ:tʃisu mij:ɑ

Kan mi'a barbaachis-u mi'a

Of bead need-INF bead

For those which need bead, they make ornaments

kɑn go:dɑ: bɑrbɑ:tʃisu go:dɑ

kan goodaa barbaachis-u goodaa

of fringe need-INF fringe

for the one that needs fringe they make fringe

ʔuf:ɑtɑ: ʔɑk:ɑ tolu: goɗɑn

Uffataa akka tol-u godh-an

wear as fit-INF make-3Pl

They make it ready for clothing (Appendix 2 text 2 (079-082)[29])

[28] The data is also found in ELAN Annotation 3(074-076) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf

[29] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3 (079-082) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf

If it is *afata/itillee*, in the final step the hide is adored with natural smoking made good smelling roots to avoid the bad smell.

ʔhɑ:fur:i ʔisɑ: ʔɑk:ɑʔin ɗo:fne

haafurr-i isa-a akka-hin dhoofn-e

smell-DEF it-GEN as Neg disturb-PERF

to avoid the bad smell

wɑ:n ʔurg:es:ɑni:ntu dʒirɑ

waan urg-eess-an-in-tu jir-a

Something perfume-CAUS-3Pl-with-FOC be-IMPF

There is something used for perfuming (Appendix 2 text 2 (084-085)[30])

The skilled woman makes use of different forms of natural perfuming dry roots and woods to avoid the smell. On the other hand, if the skin is needed for other forms of clothes, such as *boke*-gown and *qexxaa*-skirt, the woman fastens beads to it by way of embroidering the fringe to ornament the skin.

[30] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3(084 & 085) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf



Photo 4.16 *itilleee*- traditional bed sheet

The skills of making traditional clothes pass from one generation to another. Very often the skill transmission is limited within members of the family. As Consultants told, the process of transmitting the skills of traditional cloth making involves a father transferring the craftsmanship to his son especially on the second step and the process under it in this chapter. According to the data:

ʔɑb:oʔotɑ ken:ɑr:ɑ: ʔɑkɑ:kɑj:u:n ken:ɑ ʔɑb:ɑ: ken:ɑt:i dɑbɑrse:t

abb-oota keenna-rraa akaakayyu-n keenna abbaa kenna-tti dabars-et

father-Pl our-from grandfather-NOM our father our-to pass-PERF

our grandfather thought our father

ʔɑb:ɑ:n keen:ɑ nu bars:se:t

abbaa-n keenna nu bar-siis-et

father-NOM our we teach-PASS-PERF

our father taught us

nu ʔɑm:ɑ ʔilmɑ ken:ɑt: dɑbɑrsi:ne:t hodʒɑtʃisɑ:t dʒir:ɑ

nu amma ilma keenna-tti dabars-in-et hojjat-chis-aat jir-r-a

we now son our-to pass-1Pl-PERF work-PASS-IMPF be-1Pl-IMPF

we passed it to our son and they are doing (Appendix 2 text 2 (033-035)[31])

Therefore, as they said, the reason why usually the craftsmanship is limited to father son relation is, the details of the process of making traditional clothes need close observation and commitment as these traditional leather making techniques used by the professionals take much time-consuming and are tedious. Children are therefore, growing helping their father according to the norm and traditions of the society. This provides opportunities to learn and practice the skill.

Currently, however according to the information found from consultants, obboo Waaqo, obboo Bariso and obboo Hajiabdulqadir (Interview, June 2013), in Kofele district, the number of traditional cloth makers and the transmission of the tanning skill is unsatisfactory. This is due to various reasons. As they said, the expansion of formal education in the areas, the position given to those professionals and the lack of knowledge about the profession are the main factors responsible for the decline of the craft.

As a result, currently, it is difficult to find many craftsmen in their place of living. This holds true to other districts where the data for this research was collected. With regard to the skill of ornamentation, it is very often learned and passes from one woman to the other through observation, and extension in the path of continuity. The skill also passes from mother to daughter following the same pattern.

To sum, the process of traditional cloth making among Arsi Oromo requires two categories of skilled persons in the craftsmanship. These are: the tanner and the ornamentor. Tanning and ornamenting involve various steps. Both include the steps, skinning, stretching, removing and scratching. The type of clothes desired determines the effort to be exerted on scratching. Ornamentation is performed by a woman whose skill is widely known by ornamenting traditional dress among the people. Part of the ornamentation is the natural way of making the skin/hide smell good.

[31] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3(033-035) annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf

The present status of Arsi Oromo traditional cloth making indicates that the craft of tanning is in danger of extinction. The status qua, therefore necessitates introducing and documenting the traditional clothes known among the Arsi Oromo. The ornamentation work performed by a group of women group in all areas of this research could not be successful in preserving the culture without an integrated effort.

Generally, the process of cloth making is summarized in the following figure.

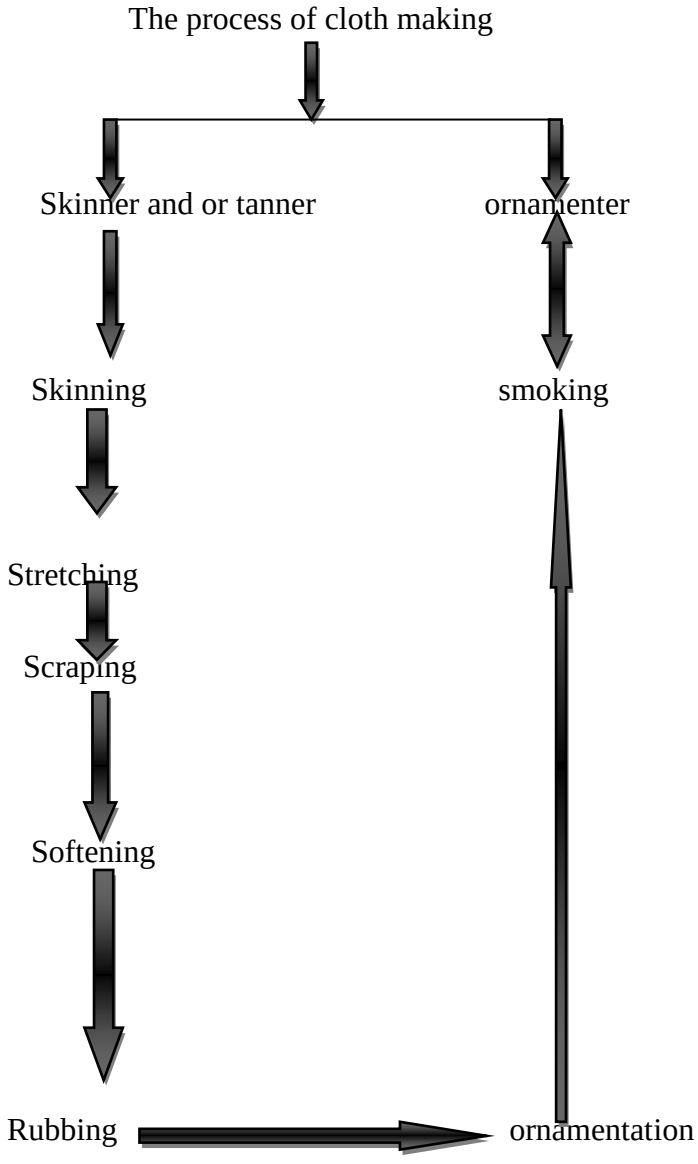


Figure. 5 the Process of Cloth Making

Chapter Five: Description of Arsi Oromo Female Traditional Dress

This chapter deals with the description of Arsi Oromo female traditional dress. As explained in chapter two basically the term dress is a combination of two basic concepts. These are body modifications and body supplements. Under these concepts there are ways in which the term dress can be defined. According to the data collected from the fieldwork, Arsi Oromo dress can basically be classified into the following streams. *Uffata* (cloth), *faaya* (jewelry), *haala dhahinsa dabbasaa* (hair style) and *qabata* (handheld object). In addition, there are types of body modification and body supplements included under this classification. Therefore, based on the given classification, the basically divided into three sub sections. Children dress types, dress types of a girl at adolescent, and woman dress types. This classification is based on the status and age differences between female among the people

5.1. Female Children Dress Types

In Arsi Oromo culture, except the difference in the declaration[32] of sex at the time of birth for male and female, there is no difference observed with regards to dress among small children. No new cloth is made or prepared for the new born. At this stage mothers are responsible to prepare clothes to their new born babies from used clothes or body covering materials. *Xuunxoo*, one of the basic necessities for new born from the very beginning, is prepared for the baby to feed milk/*aannan*/. *Xuunxoo* is a milk bottle made from calabash and is used as a milk bottle to feed a baby. The woman who gave birth to twins, sew two *xuunxoo* together with animal skin and decorate them with beads of different colors. Sewing the two bottles together as one helps the mother to feed them at the same time. The primary function of *xuunxoo* is to feed the baby with, but it is also categorized as a dress type if it is decorated and ornamented. And at this stage the *xuunxoo* is used as a handheld object which is carried by others as mothers hold it to feed their babies with. The following picture shows the milk bottles-*xuunxoo* of twins. It is ornamented using different colors of beads and *dooqa-ilillaa*.

[32] The declaration is an announcement of the sex of a new born in cultural way. In Arsi culture the sex of a new born is identified through the number of ululating (an expression of welcoming the baby to this world). In the case of male women say iliil, iliil--- five times. However, it is only four ululating for the new born baby girl.



Photo 5. *1 Xuunxoo*-traditional decorated milk bottle

In Arsi a month after the baby is born, there is a cultural *dooqa*- bangle made for him or her. It is made from beads patterned in a string of animal hide.



Photo 5.2 *dooqa* bangle made from animal skin and bead *(ililla*a)

In addition to *dooqa* there is *bito-* bangle which is worn by children. It is made from wire or thin iron where the tip is opened. The two jewelries are culturally called *guddiiftu daa'immani.* Beside their function as ornamentation this name commonly given to them depending on their function as *"Babies guard/ security"* as an object which helps to prevent a baby from persons who are believed to be evil eye. If the baby worn it on his/her wrist, persons who are traditionally believed to be evil eyes can see it rather than looking at the beauty and appearance of the baby, so that the baby is saved from the evil eye and able to be protected from different diseases.



Photo 5.3 *bitoo daa'immani /babies wrist bangle/*

Children at the time they begin to walk and play outside, they start to wear *kallo*[33] of small calf. Children *kallo* is made from the small wild animals or calf skin. It is small in size. The skin of those animals is chosen in order to fit the clothes size to the stage of the children as well as to make it comfortable to them.

In addition to kallo, until both male and female children approached to the adolescent stage, they wear waist tie called *Maxaanxee mudhii-* jewelry made from a bunch of beads and string of animal hide. In previous times, children under puberty were used to wear it.

[33] *Kalloo* is a common name for the cattle skin clothes which looks like Gown. But based on its style, the age and status of male or female who wears it, it has got different names. Moreover, it is common cloth type for male, female, small and big among Arsi.

The string of animal skin was used as a waist tie and the ornamentations dropped to cover their sex organ. But currently such kind of dress type is not available. (See table 1)

As the girl approached to be at the stage of puberty, she used to wear a short skirt made from animal skin called *Qoxoxoo*. As consultant Obbo Bonsemo described:

ʃɑmɑr:ɑn ʔɑm:o: wɑ:n ʈiʈikʼ:o kʼoʈoʈo dʒɖɑntu qɑbɑ

shamarr-an ammoo waa-n xixiqqoo qoxoxo jadh-an-tu qab-a

girl-Pl also something-NOM small-Pl qoxoxo say-3Pl-FOC has-3Sg-IMPF

Girls have small clothes called qoxoxo

kʼeʈɑ:t:i ʔodo: hindɑrbin ʃɑmɑr:ɑni:f kʼoʈoʈo:

qexxaa-tti odoo hin-darb-in dura shamarr-an-iif qoxoxoo

qexxaa-to while Neg-pass-IMPF before girl-Pl-for qoxoxoo

Before girls pass to qeexxaa cloth they wear qoxoxo (Appendix 2 text 5(001&002)[34])

according to the given idea, *qoxoxoo* is a kind of short skirt made from animal skin and worn by small girls. But these days it is not found among girls in the research areas. But, currently factory made clothes which are bought from market are common among girls at this stage.

Regarding jewelry, female children have an earring called *Qashoo*-small size earring attached to their earlobe. In addition, they do have *Dooqa* necklace and *Albu* anklet on their leg. Even, currently it is obvious to see small female children with beaded necklace in the research areas. The other distinctive cultural feature for the identification of male and female among the people is the hair style. The small female children hair style is named as *guutuu lit.full* i.e all the time, the hair in the front and in the middle is not shaved while the rest hair is removed from the skull then the unshaved hair continues to grow so that it will give other hair style for the girl at the time she enters to the adolescent stage. Here is a picture of a small Arsi female child with *guutu* hair style.

[34] The data is also found in ELAN Annotation 5 (001&002 female clothes and their description.eaf)

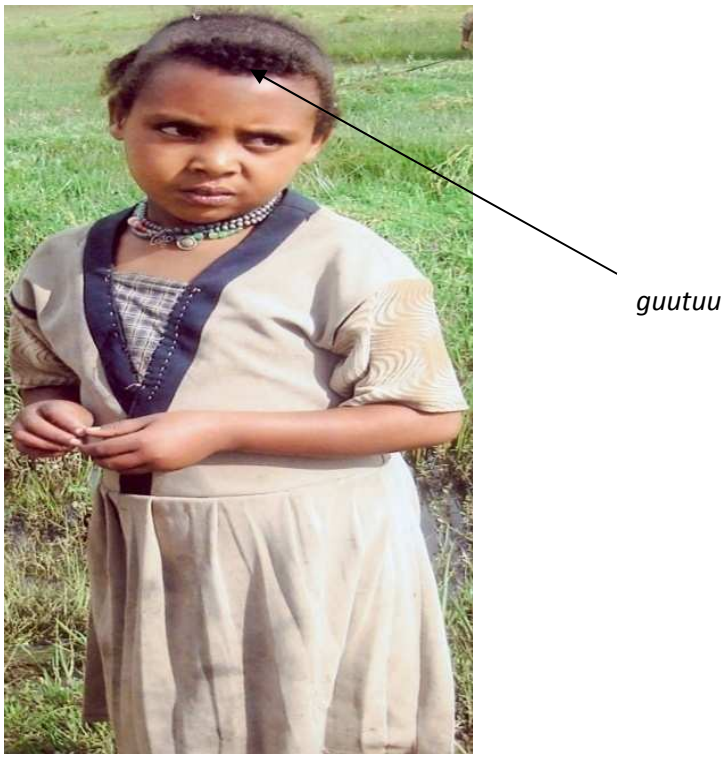


Photo 5.4 *guutuu*-hairstyle of Female Child

5.2 Description of Arsi Oromo Female Dress at Adolescent (*Durba Godayyaa*)

In Arsi Oromo dress culture, the number of female dress types increases as age and status increases or changes. Girls at the stage of adolescent have large number of dress types as compared to the girls under adolescent. The girls at this stage can be classified into two goups. The first group includes girls who are not engaged-*durba godayyaa hinkaadhimamne* and the second group includes girls who are engaged-*durba godayyaa kaadhimamte*.

5.2.1 Traditional Dress Types of a Girl who is not Engaged-Durba Godayyaa Hinkaadhimamne)

Basically there are two types of clothes which are worn by girls at this stage. These are: clothes made from animal skin and clothes made from cotton. As explained earlier, Arsi Oromo are known by wearing clothes made from animal skin or hide. Therefore, according to oral sources clothes made from cotton are not indigenous to the culture as compared to clothes made from animal hide or skin (Geshe Tikako: Interview 12 May 2011). People are using cotton clothes

since many years, they are considered as cultural clothes like that of clothes made from animal skin.

The girls at the adolescent stage are different in their dress style; they wear [35]*qolo durbaa*, cloth made from cotton which covers above the waist to above the knee part of their body. It is worn by unmarried girls. In the culture, the girl wears this cloth until the day of her wedding. As (Birhanu Bariso; Kadir Ganamo) described, this name is given to this type of cloth because of the combination of color patterns it is made from. In the culture, when something has a variety of patterns and strips it is named as *qoloo hollee or barru*. (Interview, 13 may 2011). White, red and black are common color combinations of this cloth. Below the elbow it has tear in both sides and has fringe of different colors at the tip.

Among animal skin clothes girls have a cloth called *kallo gown* like that of girls under puberty. And it is worn above *qolo.*

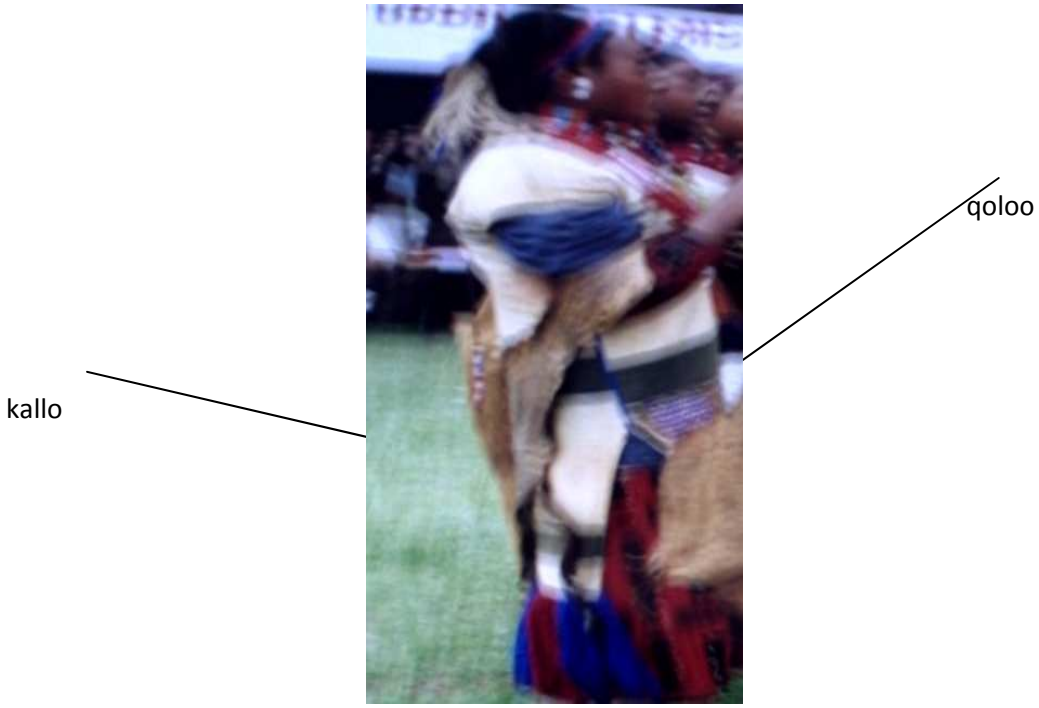


Photo 5.5 Arsi Oromo Girl

[35] Qolo is common name for one of the dress types made from cotton. But it is different in use and style based on status of female. Therefore, to make the difference clear, words for distinction are added next to the term-qolo

The girl at this stage has a hair style called *godayyaa* in which the front and the middle hair is braided. The braided hair in the front is *godayyaa and* the tip of the middle hair is fastened by a thread or cotton called *heeqoo* as an ornamentation and also it helps to lengthen their hair. This hair style helps them to have a good appearance while they are performing traditional songs-where head movement is the central part of the performance.

Next to the hair style the girls at this stage have a forehead jewelry *callee addaa or callee adda jalee which refers to callee-bead* and adda or adda jalee- forehead. Their upper ridge is decorated with a string of coral and a piece of chain either hangs down from the forehead or it lies along the parts of the hair. At this stage there is an earring known by the name *billiqqe or balaqqee*[36]. It is large size drop earring made from iron and has a shape of triangle at the dropped tip. On their neck they wear *callee hudhoo* which is made from beads like that of *callee addaa.*



Photo 5.6 a girl with *billiqqe* or *balaqqee* and *callee hudhoo*

Girls also have a permanent tattoo-*haxaro of vertical lines* on both cheeks and it is supposed to add beauty and is a symbol for the maturity for a girl to adolecence (Roobduu biiftu: Interview, 18 June 2013). As it is a permanent body modification, it stays with them throughout their life.

[36] Billiqqee sibilarraa kan hojjetamtu babaxxee takkat jira.(casseette 4, Bonsemo miesso)

Sometimes, it is obvious to see a girl living in the research areas with such kind of body modification. But, very often it is common to see among women in the research areas (See table1).

The way the nail is modified is also one feature dress types of girls at this stage. In the culture, girls who are not engaged are not allowed to cut their nail using sharp materials. This is because the concept to cutting (muruu) has great place among Arsi and it is related with the loss of something which is very crucial in ones life. Therefore, they shorten their nail using their teeth which brings some modification from the natural shape and size that the nail has.

When we come to the hand, girls at this stage wear a bangle called *bito*. As consultant Geshe Tikako (Interview 18 June 2011) told, *girls* put on or worn it on the wrist of their left hand. The term *bito* is derived from the Afan Oromo word-*bitaa*- which means left. They put this jewelry on the wrist of their left hand and *bito* at this stage is bigger than that of small girls' *bito*. Girls at this stage are allowed to participate on wedding ceremony. Usually, they sing cultural songs together with young male members of their village. At the time they move their head, their decorated hairstyle (*heeqoo*) gives them additional beauty together with the hitting of *kabalaa* in a ternary rhythm that contrasts with the binary rhythm of the songs with the combination of the sound which comes out from a bunch of *bito* in their hand while hitting *kabalaa* with *ulee*. *Kabalaa* is a handheld musical instrument made from cow or ox horn. In the cultural songs they use it as a drum and hit it with a wood (ulee) so that sound accompanies their song and head movement. Here under a girl with traditional dress while performing traditional song is presented.



Photo 5.7 Arsi Oromo girl with hair style and handheld object

5.2.2 Traditional Dress for Engaged Girl-*Durba Godayyaa kaadhimamtee*

Adolescence is the right time for girls to be engaged. The Arsi Oromo have dress culture which indicates that the girl has been engaged. If we see their clothes, there is a gown which is made from animal skin like that of *kallo* but it is made differently. *Boke* is a gown made from animal skin. It is clothe similar to *kalloo* but different because of its embroidery and beads added to it.

boke:ni dʒɑl:i qɑro:rɑ:ɗɑ handɑ:rɑ hin kʼɑbu

bokee-ni jall-i qarooraa dha handaara hin qab-u

bokee-NOM bottom-DEF embroidery is fringe NEG has-IMPF

it has fringe at the bottom but not embroidery(Appendix 2 text 5 (045[37]))

[37] The data is also found in Annotation 5(045)annotated document\female clothes and their description.eaf)

It has embroidery at the bottom but not fringe and is decorated by beads of different colors on the top around the shoulder. Strings of beads are also attached here and there on the rest parts of the cloth. This cloth is also worn by a young woman, a woman who gets married recently.



Photo 5.8 Boke

Until her wedding day she continues to make her hair with *godayyaa* style, wear a forehead jewelry-*callee addaa* and *biliqe* earring. But her jewelry on her neck is different from that of the girls who are not engaged and even from that of married woman. At the day of *kaadhimachuu* (engagement), the would-be husband brings *tafse*[38] which has *qube* and *meetaa* at the tip as an engagement ring, the same as that of engagement ring put on the finger he puts it around her neck. Culturally a round shape *qube and meetaa* are added into *tafse* is a symbol for the girl is going to be a bride in the near future. This is identified when a girl wears this ring on her neck. Culturally this necklace is called *qube kaadhimaa. Lit.* an engagement ring. And the necklace

[38] Tafse and tamse are terms which refers to one necklace except the pronounciation substituting /f/ with /m/ or Viseversa they the terms refers to the same jewelry.

stays on her neck until she gets married. The necklace is a very distinctive feature of engagement for the girl in the culture. Starting from that day, no one will ask her for marriage.

This is because, it is culturally approved that the girl with *qube* and *tafse* on her neck is dedicated to someone for marriage. If someone neglects the cultural rule, and tries to force her for marriage through *buttaa*[39], he will be punished by the traditional law. Starting from her engagement day onwards until her wedding day, she wears *qolo*-the cloth which was discussed under (section 5.1.2.1) and *boke*.

Among the components of an engagement necklace for an engaged girl, *meeta* is also used as a necklace by *qaallu or qaallicha* [40] (A leader). If a conflict appears between *qaallicha* and other member of the people, the one who is a reason for the conflict (wrong doer) brings *meeta* for the peace making. Culturally this material object is a symbol for peace and the conflict is being resolved.

Moreover, there is nail cutting or removing cultural rule for those who are engaged or married. Culturally, girls are not allowed to cut their nails until they get married. *As* consultant Mohamed described, *"Durbi qeensa hinmurattuu haaduudhan takkaahuu milaaciidhan ilkaanumaan muratii malee. Mulaaciin hinmuratan dhoggaa'a"*. (Interview 3: December, 2013). Girls can shorten their nail using the tip of their teeth. But, the right time for the girl's body could be touched by blade is, the time of *kittaanaa* (this will be discussed indetail under chapter seven), which is one of the ways of girl's initiation into the wedding. He further narrated the time for the nail modfication as "*mulaaciin gaafa nafa isii tuqu gaafa gaccibsanii. Gaccibsuu jechuun gaafa dhagan qaban"*. The expression shows that at the day of *kittaanaa* (circumcision), blade touches her body. She is obliged to cut her nail (by others) using blade at the circumcision before the wedding day and then after. therefore, in the culture the way the nail is modified is different depending on the status of the girl. Therefore, there is a change in the appearence of nails before and after it is shorten using blade which is one of the means of body modification.

[39] This marriage type is briefly discussed in chapter 3

[40] In the culture *Qaallu/qaalicha/* are group of people who are believed to be pure and gifted. Therefore, in the culture everybody is expected to respect them

5.3 Traditional Dress Types of a Bride (*Ashoo*) on her Wedding Day

In Arsi Oromo culture, the bride can easily be distinguished from her attendants', friends and women on her wedding day with her way of dressing.

On this particular day, the bride wears *qolo* top together with *Kalloo handaaraa. Kalloo handaaraa* is a kind of *kallo* made from animal skin. As Bonsemo Mieso (Interview 26: June 2013) told *Kallo handaraa* is a gown worn by married woman and young woman. It has *handaraa (fringe)* on the bottom tip. The *handaraa (fringe)* is made by splitting the skin and making it to have a curl shape for the bottom part of the cloth. The girl starts to wear this cloth on her wedding day and continues to wear it while she is a young mother. In addition to its fringe the cloth has an ornamentation made from beads of double string on the top as well as randomly in the middle



Photo 5.9 *Kalloo handaaraa*

On the wedding day, in addition to *kalloo handaaraa* the bride wears *qolo qomo* (a shirt with different colors) as well as a cloth which shows her transition from girlhood to womanhood and

it will continue to be worn by woman until old age in the culture. Moreover, the bride wears-*qexxaa* skirt which covers the below waist part of the body which is made from animal skin. As my consultants (Bonsamoo Mi'esso, Abdella Lugamaa and Shumbe wayyoo) explained, in earlier times the cloth was made from two different animal skins. The skin of goat and a skin of wild animal for instance, buffalo skin was used for its making.

kɑl:o sɑn wɑlin kɑn dubɑrti:n ʔɑm:o: kɑl:o hɑndɑ:rɑ: kɑn dʒɑn:u kɑnɑ:n kɑn

kalloo san walin kan dubartii-n ammo kallo handaaraa kan jedh-n-u kana-an kan

kallo that with that female-NOM also kalloo handaaraa that say-1Pl-INF this-with of

ʔuf:ɑtɑni kʼeʼ:ɑ:tu dʒirɑ

uffat- an- i qexxaa-tu jir-a

wear-3Pl-PERF qexxaa-FOC be-3SgM-IMPF

Together with that kallo female wears what we call qexxaa

gogɑ: rɑʔe:tif gogɑ: busɑ:jɑ: borofɑ:fi ʔɑr:ol:e:

gogaa ra'ee-ti-f gogaa busaayaa borafaa-fi arroolee

skin goat-is-and skin (calf or goat) buffalo-and arrole

it is made from goat and calf skin or buffalo and arrole skin

jo:kin bosonu dʒɑn:u kɑnɑr:ɑ: ʔisɑr:ɑ: kʼɑlɑni

Yookin bosonu jed-n-u kana-rraa isa-rraa kal-an-i

or antelope say-1Pl-INF this-from it-from slaughter-3Pl-PERF

they skinned from the slaughtered antelope (Appendix 2 text 2 (006-010)[41])

[41] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf

Among the dress types worn by a bride on her wedding day, kalloo handara is a gown which was made from two or more domestic or wild animal skin. In earlier times when killing wild animals was taken as a symbol for bravery, male member of the people especially fathers who are known as qondaala brought the skins of those wild animals and it was made for their daughter. But recently, a cloth of such kind is not functioning. Instead, there are attempts to be made for revitalizing this traditional cloth by using goat's skin as a row material. Below is photo of qexxaa made from goat skin.



Photo 5.10 Qexxaa

Together with *qolo qomo and boke the bride wears qexxaa* skirt on her wedding day which is secured by *hanfalaa* or *sabbata* traditional-waist tie. Moreover, she is also identified by her hair style. On that particular day, her hair is not braided; rather it is combed to the both sides and butter is smeared on it. In previous times, the bride's hair at the center of fontanel is shaved, so that it distinguishes the bride from others. The shaved part of the hair was called *banti a*nd the bride with that hair style is named as *bantitti*. (Bonsemo Mieso: Telephone Interview 10 July, 2014). But, recently, traditional marriage ceremony is not practiced as it was done in the previous times because of various reasons. Therefore, this results with the decline in the practice

of having a bride with such kind of hairstyle. During the stay for fieldwork in the study areas, the researcher didn't see a bride with *banti* hairstyle.

However, in the districts such as Kofele and adaba, a bride wears a headdress called *guftaa* and secures it using a white cotton shawl called *shaashii*. She covers her hair as a symbol for her status transition from girlhood to womanhood. But, as consultants confirmed, because of the butter smeared on her hair by her family as well as the groom's family, she is not using other head as well as forehead jewelries in this particular day. With regards to modifications, she can have the permanent *haxaroo-tattoo* on her chin and different types of jewelries on her ear, head, neck, and hand (wrist and arm) which will be discussed in woman section (see section 5.1.4).

As mentioned in the literature review chapter, any modification or supplement related with nails is also taken as a dress type(body modification or body supplement). One special feature which distinguishes a bride from her accompanies is a modification made on her nail. Unlike other girls her nail is removed all in all especially in earlier times, using blade on the day of *kittaanaa*. This is to make the bride not to scratch her husband with her nails in the process of deflowing (first sex). In addition, in Arsi Oromo culture, expecially for the bride, there is a form of cultural body supplement used to change the color of hand and legs using cultural smoking method using different natural woods called *qayyachu.*

On that particular day, the bride accepts different gifts of traditional handheld objects as her staffs from her family. Among those handheld objects, *siinqee* is one of the basic gifts which are given to her as a symbol for the transition from girlhood to womanhood. According to Kuwee (1997, p.3), "*siiqqee* is a stick given to the bride from her mother on her wedding day and stay with her throughout the rest of her life". On the wedding day when the mother blesses her daughter, she holds one end of the *Siinqee* and the daughter the other symbolizing the link between the mother and the daughter on one hand and the link among all women, on the other, as the wedding is a rite of passage for the bride to be a womanhood like that of her mother and women in the village.

But only for this particular day siinqee is carried by her husband while they are traveling to her new village. In this case, *siinqee* is functioning as a handheld object carried by others. (Eicher and Higgins, 1992, p.2). As consultants told:

si:nkʼe: tɑnɑl:e ʔisɑtu kʼɑbɑte gɑlɑ dʒɑtʃu

siinqee tana-lle isa-tu qab-at-e gal-a

siinqee thisF-also he-FOC hold-MID-3SgM-PERF enter-IMPF

He (the groom) took the siinqee with him (Appendix 2 text 3(009)[42])

This handheld object is carried by her husband only at the day of the wedding. Then after, siinqee is carried only by the owner (female) in various cultural occasions as a symbol of being a woman.

In addition, in the culture an engaged girl is expected to play role learning as a wife before her wedding by performing various activities related to her future life usually from her mother. Among the activities expected from her sewing cultural materials, arranging equipments for her new home are basic. These materials include *qorii*- a cultural dish used to put cultural food and usually served for the husband; *orboo*- milk container while milking. The other handheld objects which are owned by a bride on her wedding day includes, *buqqee urgoo, xuunxoo*, sieve etc. which are traditional containers for, perfumed butter (made from a mixture of butter and leaf with attractive smell and it is used as an ointment), milk, cleaning grains respectively. And these all are carried by others. As it was mentioned earlier *xuunxoo* is basically a milk bottle which helps the mother to feed a baby. In addition, *Xuunxoo* is one of the gifts given to the bride on her wedding day. At the day of her wedding *xuunxoo* full of milk is sent with her accompanies so that she can drink the milk if she feels tired because of long journey from her family's village to her new village. Those cultural materials can be prepared by her or can be donated to her from her relatives and her mother.

At the time of her departure those materials are packed using a cultural material called *itillee* and sent with her to her new home.

[42] Annotation 2 (009) kofele consultants sinke and kenefa description eaf.



Photo 5.12 gifts prepared for a bride

Except the dress types mentioned above, from the time of her marriage on wards the clothes, jewelries and handheld objects used by a bride is similar with that of the woman group. Therefore, to show them one by one it is better to describe dress types used by Arsi Oromo woman.

5.4 Description of Traditional Dress for Woman

This section will have three categories. These are clothes, jewelries and handheld objects and other modifications of Arsi Oromo women dress types.

5.4. 1 Women Clothes

In the areas where Islamic religion is dominant, women are expected to cover their hair due to their religion, Islam. Therefore, in the research areas like Kofele and Adaba, it was observed that the woman who follows the religion covers her hair using a black fabric headdress called- *Guftaa* as opposed to the bride who made her hair *banti* style on her wedding day usually in kokkosa. For the followers of the religion, *guftaa* is one of the symbols to be in the status of womanhood.

nɑ:n:o: mɑtɑ:tin jo: lɑ:le: dubɑrto:n:i ʔɑm: ʔɑnɑ: ʔɑdɑb:ti ɗufɑn naannoo mataa-tin yoo

laal-l-e dobart-oon-ni amma aanaa adaabbaa-ti dhuf-an

place head-from if see-1Pl-PERF woman-Pl-NOM now district adabba-from come-3Pl

mɑtɑ: ʔisɑ:ni guftɑ: ʔit: guftɑtɑnitin hundi ʔisɑ:nitu kɑn ʔɑgɑr:e:

Mataa isaan-i guftaaa guft-at-an-i hundi isaan-i-tu kan agar-r-ee

Head they-GEN guftaa guftaa-MID-3Pl-IMPF all they-GEN-FOC of see-1Pl-PERF

When we come to head we so that all women from adabba covered their head with guftaa

kɑn wɑr: ʔɑdɑb:ɑ wɑn:i ʔɑk:ɑs goɗɑtɑni:f ʔɑm:ɑ ʔɑ:dɑ: kɑnɑ hɑ hordofɑn

kan warra adaabbaa wanni akkas godh-an-ii-f amma aadaa kana haa hordof-an

of family adaabbaa something like do-3Pl-IMPF-for now ulture this IMP follow-3Pl

male:ʔɑmɑnti hordɑfto:ta ʔɑmɑnti ʔislɑ:mɑti

malee amanti hordaf-toota amanti islaamaa-ti

Though religion follow-Pl religion Islam-is

The reason why they do this is, though they are followers of the culture, they are

followers of Islam (Appendix 2 text 4(o35&038)[43])

According to the given description, in the case of adaba those who are followers of the culture and followers of Islamic religion as well cover their hair using *guftaa*. There are different ideas concerning this cloth, either it is treated as traditional cloth or a religious cloth. As Mohammed explained traditional dress by taking the two groups of Arsi Oromo, Kokosa and Adaba, with a reference to *guftaa* headdress on one of the festivals of Tourism day in that: those Adaba women are all followers of Isalm:- that is why they cover their hair. On the contrary, Kokkosa women are followers of traditional religion of Oromo and they are not covering their hair. The difference in wearing or not wearing *guftaa* brings difference among the people and the religion is the basic reason for the difference. (interview 3 Mohammed December 2013)

[43] The data is also found in ELANannotation (035 and 038) annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

The explanation given above tells us how the introduction of religion affects the way of dressing among the people, by taking the two districts (Adaba and Kokosa) as indicators for this comparison.

The other idea is raised by Bonsemo (Interview 4: November 2011), which says. Even though, *guftaa* is a type of cloth which was introduced to the people with the advent of Islam, it can be taken as a traditional cloth. Moreover, as consultants Ashaa and Garibe, described, since it is a long time that *guftaa* is used by women together with traditional dress types, it is considered as one part of Arsi woman traditional dress. The purpose of this section is to identify the traditional cloth types of Arsi woman. The controversies regarding this cloth need further historical investigation.



Photo 5.13 *Guftaa*

Next to *guftaa,* a woman wears *Saashsii* a white cloth to secure *guftaa* and it is hang on to the back of the head.



5.14 Shaashii headdress

When the woman gives birth to the first baby she starts to wear a traditional gown called *Kalloo kasaa*. It is a kind of *kalloo* and commonly worn by husband and wife in different times. The cloth is the same but different in its way of preparation for husband and wife. In the previous times when hunting and killing wild animals was a symbol of heroism among the people, a husband who killed leopard used the skin for making this cloth. *Kasaa* refers to the skins on the parts of legs and the tail. The skins on the leg parts of the carcass are not removed. In addition to the skin on the legs and tail part of the animal, the outer part hair of the skin is not removed. According to consultant Birhanu Bariso (Interview, 15 November 2011) the five tips of the cloth represents the five *Gadaa* grades of Oromo in general Arsi Oromo in particular.

The color of the animal makes the cloth to have a beautiful look and also shows the heroism of the person who wears it, as the colors helps to identify the type of an animal which was hunted. Regarding the users of this cloth, consultant Bariso told that,

ʔɑ:dɑ:f se:nɑ: ʔoromo: ke:s:ɑt:i

aadaa-f seenaa oromoo keessa-tti

in oromo culture and history

kɑ dubɑrti:n ʔil:e ʔuf:ɑt:u

ka dubartii-n ille uffat-t-u

it is worn by woman

kɑ ɗi:rtil:e: ʔuf:ɑt:u

ka dhiirti-ille uffat-t-u

also worn by male (Appendix 2 text 2(002-004)[44])

[44] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 3cloth making and color description.eaf

According to the given description, *kallo kasaa* is a dress type which is common for both male and female. Regarding the way it is worn, the husband (a man) wears it with the flesh side attached to his body, so that the outer side of the skin is visible to anybody.

On the other hand, the inner part of the skin is ornamented with a thread of different colors and it is worn on the other side of the way male wears it by a woman. Like that of *qexxaa* skirt this cloth is not common among the people.



Photo 1.15 *kallo kasaa* of a female

In addition to *kallo kasaa*, the woman can wear *kallo handaaraa* and *boke* at the early stage after her marriage until she gives birth to the third child. Due to early marriage, a woman is considered young though has three children. At this stage she is allowed to wear clean and attractive clothes with different kinds of ornaments. Moreover, she is expected to be young, active, clean and beautiful.

When she has got more than three to five children, she stops wearing clothes such as boke and gives it to her children. Then she starts to wear *Bonkoo* which is a kind of *kallo* but bigger than it. It is made from cow hide and the reason for selection of cow hide for preparation of this cloth is women at this stage are believed to be mothers of many children. And this is the implication

for their fertility; there is no ornamentation on it. (Abdela Lugema Interview; 8 November 2011) But neatness and having good smell are important features of this kind of cloth. Generally, this cloth is common for aged women among the people.



Photo 5.16 *Bonkoo*

There is a cloth worn by woman especially common for elders called *Ombaa.* This cloth is similar with that of *bonkoo* in its size and with that of *kallo handaaraa* with its ornamentation. According to consultant obboo Bonsemo,

ʔombɑ: dʒɑdhɑmɑʔn:i ʔombɑ:n sun dʒirɑ

ombaa jedh-an-iin ombaa-n sun jir-a

ombaa say-3Pl-IMPF omba that be-3SgM-IMPF

it is called ombaa

sun hɑw:o:tɑ gugurd:o:t goɗɑtɑ

sun hawwota gu-guddoo-t godh-at-a

that elderF Pl-big-FOC wear-MID-IMPF

that is worn by women elders(Appendix 2 text 5(027&028)[45])

In the previous times it was worn on special occasions such as cultural rituals and wedding. But currently it is not no more functioning. But the researcher was able to see its sample which was found in the museum which is located at Shashemene town .

In addtion to other gown clothes, in the culture women can also wear *kallo*, which small boys and girls like to wear on their back, either on the chest to protect their breasts or on the back as protection when carrying their baby. Under *kallo kasaa, boke, bonko or kallo handaaraa* (as explained in section 6.1.2), there is traditional blouse (top) worn by woman called *qolo qomo.* This is a cloth made from cotton and thread. Regardless of its size, it is common for female from the stage of wedding to an old age.



Photo 5.17 Qolo dubartii:

[45] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 5(027&028)female clothes and their description.eaf)

Before cotton and fabricated clothes were introduced to the area, women were used to wear two types of skirts. These are *qeexxaa* and *harsamaa*. As discussed earlier, *Qexxaa* is a skirt made from different (most of the time two) animals skins and is worn by a bride and young married woman together with *kallo kasaa*, *kallo handaraa* and *boke*. the second type of skirt is *harsamaa*- a traditinal cloth made from cow hide.

This cloth is worn by a woman who gives birth to more than three to five children like that of *bonkoo,* it has no ornamentation too. The reason for the selection of cow hide is related with the fertility nature of a cow. As consultant Abdalaa Lugema told, the name *Harsamaa* is derived from the Afan Oromo words- *horaa, sa'aa* and *nama* which respectively mean (be fertile (got wealth), cattle/cow and (human). (Interview 7, June 2011). Generally it means give birth to children and be wealthy with your cattle and thus, wearing *harsamaa* is a symbol of wealth and being aged.



Photo 5.18 harsama

Even though, *harsamaa* is traditional leather cloth for Arsi woman, it is rarely worn by woman in present days. Instead of *harsamaa*, women wear *waccuu or keessa seeni* as cultural clothes

which were introduced to the people after *harsamaa*. Thus, currently, it is obvious to see women wearing *keessa seeni* or *waccuu* clothes made from cotton in public gatherings.



Photo 5. 19 a kokkosaa woman with *waccu* skirt

An Arsi Oromo woman uses traditional belt made from hide strings called *Hanfalaa*. It is made from well prepared soften cattle hide and used to tie *qexxaa* or *harsamaa* to the waist.

hanfalaː ka dʒaɗan gogaːrːaː kan hodʒtan kan ʔakːa sabːataːtitːi kan

hanfalaa ka jedh-an gogaa-rraa kan hojjat-an kan akka sabbataa-ti-tti kan

hanfalaa of say-3Pl skin-from of make-3Pl of like sabbaraa-is-to of

ːʔit i fajːa damantu dʒira

Itti fayyadam-an-tu jir-a

With use-3Pl-FOC be-3SgM-IMPF

There is hanfalaa that they use like that of sabbataa (Appendix 2 text 5(066)[46])

The given ideas show that *hanfalaa* and *sabbata* are waist ties used by woman. Currently, this kind of cloth is rarely used by some women. Instead a cotton waist tie (belt) called *sabbata* is available among women. It is also used to secure *keessa seeni* or *waccu* skirts which are worn with almost the same style with that of *qexxaa* and *harsamaa* and women are users of this traditional waist tie.

In addition to other clothes of women there is a one sided thread made cloth which is worn above *harsamaa* called *qolo Ateetee*. It is worn by a woman who starts to participate on *sirna ateetee* (a ritual in which women are major actors). It has different colors patterned with a strips design.

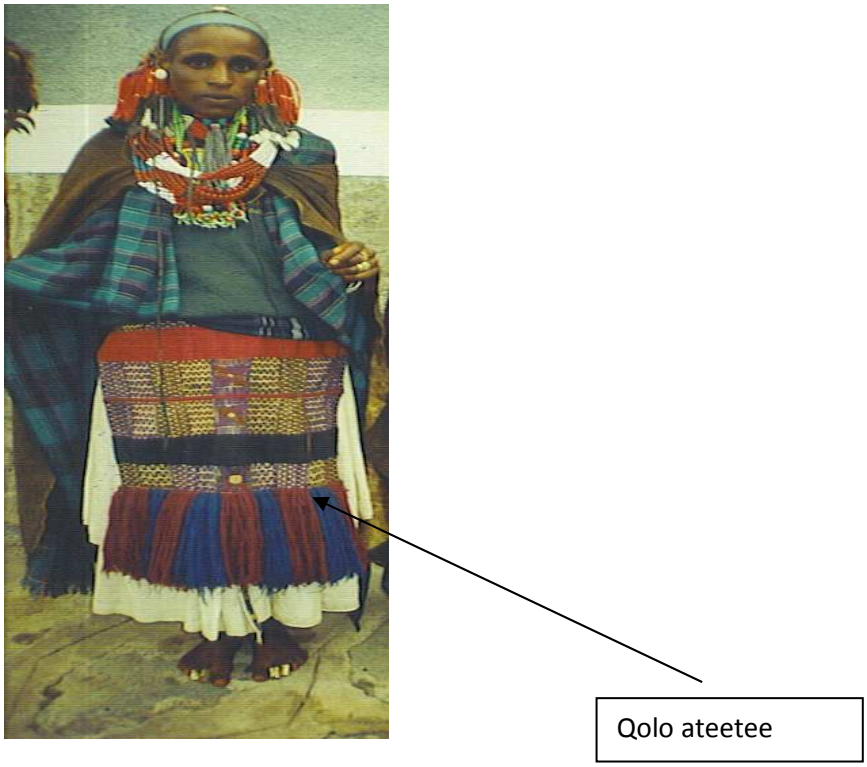


Figure Photo 5.20 a woman with qolo Ateetee

[46] The data is also found in annotation 5(066) female clothes and their description.eaf

In Arsi Oromo culture women had clothes which were worn during their stay at home or night clothes. Those clothes were made from animal hides. *Wedare* is cloth which was used as night cloth or additional cloth worn for comfort and warm. In the present times, this kind of cloth is not used by woman. Currently women use sheets and thick worm clothes for night and thread made factory made clothes for the day and cold time.

In addition, there is a traditional tanned hide which is used as bed mattress-*itillee*. This traditional bed sheet is common for both male and female among the people. It is made with special care to make it soft and comfortable.

kun ʔitil:emɑ:

kun itillee-maa

the other itillee-is

the other one is itillee

ʔitil:e: dɑlgɑ ʔɑfɑtu

Itilleee dalga afat-u

Itilleee straight stretch-3Pl-INF

ʔafɑtɑ:f kɑn goɗɑmu

Afata-af kan godh-am-u

Stretch-for of make-PASS-INF

There is itillee that they use as a mattress (Appendix 2 text 5(087-089)[47])

According to consultant Bariso Somii'i, after a cow or an ox is slaughtered, the fresh skin is scratched, the flesh part is removed and rubbed strongly, and it is smeared by butter to make it soft and easily bendable. In addition, as the traditional leather maker (sarraatanyaa) waaqoo

[47] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 5(087-089) female clothes and their description.eaf

(Interview 13 Record 41) said, such kind of clothes can be prepared in two ways. It can be made from a hide in which only the flesh side of the hide is cleaned and softened. It can also be made from a hide in which the outer hair is all removed. This cloth is also named *afata-matress* and has different functions. It is used by guests as a carpet to sit on in such occasions- wedding and ceremony funeral procession. These days, *itillee* is also used as a prayer mat by Islam religion followers. (Interview 13 Record 41**)**



Photo 5.21 itillee

Gigishaa is cloth made from cattle skin. It is worn by a widow whose husband is murdered. In the culture, this cloth is given to the widow from the murderer or his relatives as a symbol of peacemaking. However, interview with my consultants and my observation in different sessions of the fieldwork show that this cloth is not found among the people.

5.4. 2 Women Jewelry

There are of different kinds of women jewelries worn by an Arsi woman. As mentioned earlier, in the culture, the number of jewelries increases as the age increases and status changes. Unlike the jewelries mentioned in the earlier sections, women Jewelries cover from the forehead to toes. Among these *Sandaaba*: is a red color forehead jewelry which is made from diamond. It has a

heart shape in the middle. Like that of *guftaa* it is typically worn by a woman who follows Islamic religion but by whom lovers of their culture.

Consultants agreed that, like that of *guftaa* it is a jewelry which is imported from Arab world. But it is considered as a cultural material among the people. This is because, it has long history among the people and the people also adapted and use it as a traditional jewelry together with other traditional jewelries. As consultant Bonsemo Miesoo states, *sandaaba* was introduced to the people not long years ago. It was imported from Arab together with the introduction of Islamic religion. Therefore, the people take and use it as a cultural jewelry. The jewelry as shown in the picture is red and has a heart shape in the middle. The other forehead jewelry is *lotu* which commonly used by all Arsi women. It is made from a string of animal skin and a red wire is used to fasten a bunch of small beads together. Those beads commonly called *mi'a* with different colors are fastened at the tip of the string for ornamentation.

Like that of *lotu* there is additional head jewelry worn by a woman called *fororaa*. This jewelry is worn next to *lotu* but its size is large because of the size of beads for its making. It covers the front head and the tip part drops at the back of both ears. *Fororaa* is made from full of beads as opposed to *lotu*. It is usually made from a mixture of white, red, gray and silvery color beads and has leaf shape ornamental materials at the tip. The bunch of those ornamental objects drops on both sides of the ears and the combination those ornamental materials make the jewelry colorful and attractive.



Photo 5.22 Sandaaba, lotu and *Fororaa* jewelries

In Arsi Oromo culture, one of the basic symbols of a nursing woman is having a cultural sacred jewelry on the forehead which is named as *qanafaa*. *Qanafaa* is made from a new cut stick (flexible) caw skin, beads of different colors and wire. It is tied on the forehead by *tephaa* (leather strap) and stays on the forehead up to the fourth or the fifth month of the newly born baby. The woman who gave birth will wear *qanafaa* on the fourth day- if the new baby is a boy and on the fifth day- if the new baby is a girl. The nursing takes shower- *nafa dhiqachu* on one of these days depending on the sex of the newly born baby.

This sacred object is made by her husband or her father in-law and is a symbol for respect and it is used as a symbol for the social position of a woman among the women. This is because, a woman with jewelry on her forehead is respected by all members of the society and she is also called *waayyuu* (respected woman). The number of *qanafaa* the woman put on her forehead depends on the number of children she gave birth at a time. If they are twins, she will put on two *qanafaas*. *Qanafaa* has a special place and she is respected by her husband and other member of the people. No one can touch a woman with *qanafaa* otherwise it is taken as an abuse committed

on the woman in particular on the women in general and leads to the ritual called *iyya dubartii* which results with *ateetee* ritual.



Single Qanafaa



twin's qanafaa

Photo 5.23 Qanfaa

An Arsi woman wears *Qola.* It is used as a hair band or hair fastener when it is worn above *guftaa* next to *shashii* in the case of most of Adaba and Kofele women. For women who are not covering their hair with *guftaa,* it is used to make their hair stay as it is and gives additional beauty for their hair because of its color combination.



Photo 5.24 Qola

Next to *qola* the woman who is not covering her hair braided her hair to the back and the edge is unbraided. The unbraided hair is fastened with colorful thread called *heeqo*. This hair style distinguishes a woman from that of a girl with godayyaa hair style even if they use heeqoo fastener to ornament and lengthen their hair.

Next to head and forehead jewelries Arsi woman is also identified by her earring-*qarrisaa*. It is made from lion tooth and has white color. This jewelry is circle in shape and attached to an earlobe. This jewelry is circle in shape and attached to an earlobe. In the research areas it is common to see women putting *qarrisaa* on their earlobe. At the time killing wild animals was taken as heroism in Arsi, husbands brought the lion teeth together with the skin and the tooth was made to earring by traditional professionals for the wives. This jewelry which is found among woman is inherited from mother to daughter in the previous times. As consultants (Faxime Jaarso; Hellame Haji Abdallaa: Interview 18 November 2012) described, these days no new *qarrisa* is made and available for use except the ones inherited.

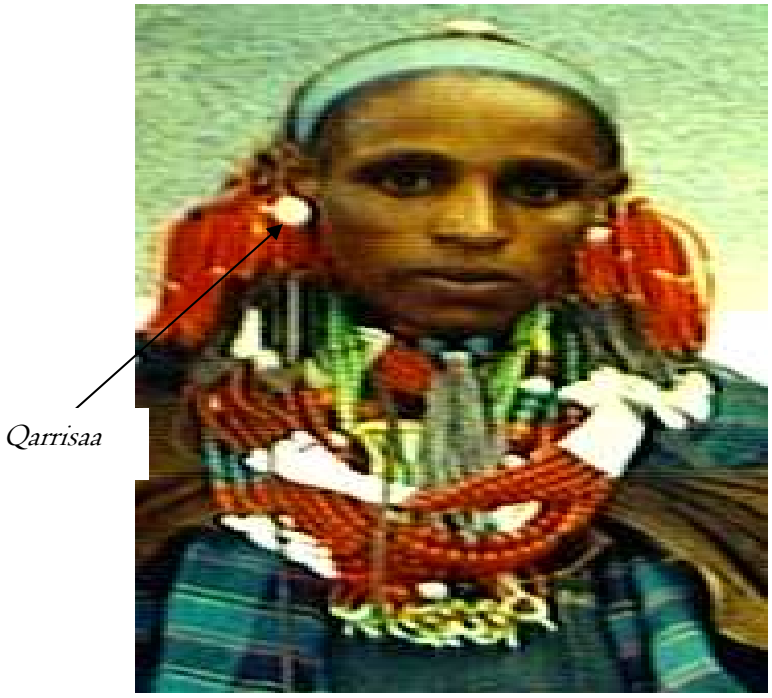


Photo 5.25 *qarrisaa*

Arsi women have many types of necklaces which are larger in number as opposed to jewelries worn on other parts of their body. Most of them are made from beads of different colors and with different sizes. Let's see those necklaces which are common for Arsi Oromo women. To begin with, *Callee hudhoo,* it is a necklace attached to woman neck. The term *hudhu* refers to hanging. The close attachment of this jewelry to the neck makes it to have the name *hudhoo*. It is made from different colors of bead and string animal skin which is used as a thread to fasten the beads together. This jewelry is common among girls and women.



Photo 5.26 *callee hudhoo*

Women also wear necklaces known as *hadhooftu*, which is made from a bead, with deep green color and medium size. *Jomoree* is also a woman necklace which is rectangular medium size jewelry. It is made from beads with a variety of colors. Most of the time white, light blue, red and green color beads combined together and fastened by using string of hides or skins for making this jewelry.



Photo 5.27 *Jomoree*

The other necklace which is only worn by woman is *jombolaa.* It is a single size necklace made from one color bead. There is also a necklace which looks similar with *jombollaa* called *kaafuraa*. This jewelry is worn by a woman and has creamy color. As compared with *jombollaa* this jewelry is made of beads with medium size and there is a difference with their color.



Photo 5.28 *Jombollaa* and *kaafuraa*

In addition to the above necklaces, one of the distinctive features that distinguishes Arsi Oromo woman from girls is having *Kalxataa or dhangalaasaa* on her neck. It is rectangular in shape and extended to the waist or more. This necklace is larger than other woman's necklaces. It is made from different colors of beads and string made of animal skin is used to arrange different colors of beads in such order. In addition to its function this jewelry shows an economic status, being rich.



Photo 5.29 kalxataa (dhangalaasaa)

The other necklace which is commonly worn by an Arsi woman is *tafse or tasfe* necklace. It is also made from beads of different colors but unlike other jewelries a woman can wear one or

more *taf*se at a time. consultants (Damme Furaa, Faxime Jaarso and Hellame Hajii Abdallaa) told that, in the culture having more *tafse* on the neck is a symbol of wealth like that of *kalxata* (Interview; December 2011). *Tafse* can be a single beaded jewelry or a combination of strings made from a variety of beads. This jewelry is very often made from medium size beads.

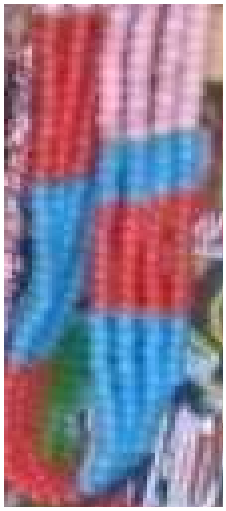


Photo 5.30 Tafse necklace

The other type of necklace is *Callee jaari or Calle faaxime.* This necklace is typically worn by an aged woman as a symbol of aging. It has a medium size and rectangular in shape. In the middle of the beads it has an ornament made from animal skin which has a circular shape. The string of beads follows a pattern of white, red, and yellow, white, blue and red. There are strings of bead with red colors fastened together used for hanging on a neck.



Photo 5.31 ***Callee jaari or Calle faaxime***

An Arsi woman has the only necklace made from iron called *Maracoo*. It is circle but open in one side. At the open ends it has rings and a string made from strong thread or leather with small beads added to hang on neck. This jewelry is not common for all woman rather it is worn by a *qondaala's (the hero's)* wife.



Photo 5.32 *Maracoo*

Arsi women put on ring(s) which are worn on finger(s). Arsi married woman put a round ring on her finger. This kind of ring is similar to that of engaged girl ring but as opposed to the modern marriage ring a woman can put on two or three rings on her fingers of one or both hands. In the culture having a large number of *qubes* on fingers is a sign of wealth like that of having more *tafse* necklace on the neck.



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Photo 5.33 Qube

An Arsi woman has *bito* on her wrist which is a thick but single size bangle with deep red or golden color. This bangle is made from iron and put on the left hand. It is common with all female members of Arsi Oromo regardless of its size and sometimes the raw material used for its making. Most of the time small girls' *bito* is made from wire and is commonly worn on the left

hand. The word *bitaa* refers to left (hand) and the jewelry has got the name based on the hand where it is worn.



Photo 5.34 bito /wrist bangle/

In Arsi culture, a woman used to wear a bangle worn on the right hand. This jewelry was called *Mirgo* and the name of this jewelry is derived from the hand where it was worn. However, these days it is not common among the woman. In addition to bito women put on *Naashaa or weccaasaa* bangle which is a deep red color on the left upper arm. It is thicker and bigger than *bito* but their color is almost similar.



Photo 5.35 *Naashaa* or *waccaasaa* /arm bangle/

No one could tell the exact time when mirgo was out of use but there is another type of wrist jewelry worn on the right hand as a substitution to mirgo called *Laakka mandhe. Lakkaa mandhe is worn on the right wrist.* It is single size jewelry like that of *bito* and made from nickel. There is also a hand jewelry which is worn on the right upper arm and has the same name like that of right wrist jewelry called *laakkaa (laakkayaa).* But to identify from that of the wrist bangle it is named as *lakkaa irree. Irree* refers to upper arm. It is hand jewelry (bangle) with silver color and has big size. It is also made from nickel like that of *laakkaa mandhe*. It has circular shape but open at one end and is bigger than that of *laakkaa mandhe.*



Photo 5.36 Laakka mandhe and laakkaa irree-
wrist bangle and arm bangle

In the history of dress among Arsi wearing shoe has not been common for woman. Instead women worn toe ring called *saasiraa.* As consultant Obbo Bonsamo Mi'esso described,*"Qubeen quba miilaarratti godhatamu saasiraa jedhama. Kunis yeroo sana dur kopheen hinturree .kanaaf miilaan deeman waan ta'eef quba afurirratti ykn sadiirratti illee hingodhatama. Baay'ee miidhaga jechuudha"* Bonsemo mieso: Interview 5 (June 2013). According to the description, at the time there was no tradition of wearing shoes among the people especially among women they used to wear leg ring(s) to one or both legs toe(s). Like that of *qube*- finger ring, a woman can wear two or more *saasiraa*. Having more *saarsira* on toes is a sign of wealth.



Photo 5.37 *saasiraa*

5.4. 3 Handheld Objects and Other Body Modifications

In addition to jewelries, Arsi woman can be identified with her handheld objects. Most of the handheld objects are given to a woman from her mother and relatives at the day of her marriage. These objects are generally known as her staffs. *Siinqee* is one of the gifts given to a bride as symbol for a transition from girlhood to womanhood.

Siinqee is a compound word derived from two Afan Oromo words. These are *siin* and *Qa'ee*. (Geshe Tiqaqo; Kediro Hayato: Interview 15 November 2011)The word *siin* refers to by you or by the help of you and *Q'ee* refers to the surrounding or the village. When the two words combined together it gives a meaning of *let the bride live in peace with the new community (with her husband and his families).* It is the hope that her mother wishes to her daughter (the bride) future life. *Siinqee* stick is given to a woman in order to protect her rights.

Siinqee has different shapes especially on its tip. There is *siinqee* which has the strings of cattle hide on its tip. This indicates a number of ateetee rituals in which the woman participated. This type of *siinqee* is common among Arsi women in the Kokkosa area. On the other hand, there are

*siinqee*s with three or a single tip. According to information found from group discussion with Kofele consultants' siinqee is described in the following way:

tuni ʔɑm:ɑ si:nkʼe:

tun-i amma siinqee

thisF- NOM now siinqee

this is siinqe

si:nkʼe:n tun ʔɑm:ɑ gɑrɑ:gɑrumti kʼɑbdi

siinqee-n tun amma garaagarumti qab-d-i

siinqee-NOM thisF now difference has-3Sg PERF

this siinqe has difference

ʔegɑnɑ:ho: tun ʔɑm:ɑ ʔisi:n ɗɑnkʼu sɑdi kʼɑbdu tun

eganaa hoo tun amma isi-n dhanku sadi qab-d-u tun

then again this-F now it-F-NOM tip three has-3SgF-INF this-F

Moreover the one which has three tips

tuni tɑ ʔɑb:ɑ: mɑnɑ:ti

tun-i ta abbaa manaa-ti

tun-NOM GEN father house-is

this-F belongs to husband

tuni tɑ hɑ:ɗɑ mɑnɑ:ti

tun-i ta-haadha manaa-ti

this-F-NOM GEN-mother house-is

this belongs to wife

tun ʔɑm:o: tɑ fin:ɑ ʔisɑ:n dʒid:uʔut:i ɗɑlɑtuti

tun ammoo ta finna isaan jidduu-tti dhal-at-t-u-ti

thisF whereas GEN offspring they middle-in give birth-MID-3SgF-INF-is

Whereas, the middle belongs to the offspring (Appendix 2 text 3(011-014)[48])

According to the given description, three tips on *siinqee* are symbols for the wife, the husband, and the offspring. In addition, according to consultant Mohammad there is *siinqee* with five[49] tips.

kɑn ʃɑni sun ʔim:o: mɑrsɑ: gɑdɑ: ʃɑnɑn ʔoromo: bɑk: bu:ʔuɗɑ:n kʼo:dɑ dubɑrto:n:

ʔɑtʃi ke:s:ɑt:i kʼɑbɑn ʔɑgɑrsi:suɗɑ:f

kan shan-i sun immoo marsaa gadaa shan-an oromoo bakka bu'-uu-dhaan qooda

dubarti-

of five –NOM that again round gadaaa five- DEF oromo place represent-INF-with part woman- oon-ni achi keessa-tti qab-an agarsiis-u-dhaa-f

Pl-DEF there in-to has-3Pl show-INF-is-for

The five tips n siinqee represents the role of woman in each gadaa system,

(Appendix 2 text 4(010)[50])

As described above the siinqee with five tips represents the role of women in each gadaaa grades. Moreover, there is also *siinqee with a single tip* which symbolizes unity among women. The focus group discussion held with Adaba consultants reveals that, *siinqee* is generally a symbol for the unity of Arsi women.

Therefore, *siinqee* as one of the handheld objects of Arsi woman symbolize sacred, unity among women in particular and among the people in general as there is also a *siinqee* with five tips which represents the *gadaa* grades whose actors are dominantly males. In general, this means then the form of *siinqee* is not made arbitrarily, but, with culturally approved symbol.

[48] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 2(011-014) annotation 2 kofele consultants sinkʼe and kʼenefa discription.eaf

[49] Though consultants told that there is siinqee with five tips, I couldn't came across such form of siinqee in the research areas

[50] The data is also found in ELAN Annotation 4(010)annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf



Photo 5.38 different forms of siinqee

In general, Arsi women after their wedding day hold their *siinqee* to all public meetings, *ateetee* rituals and ceremonial occasions as a symbol of their honor and as an indication of their married status.

Among handheld objects *ulee Shifaa* is a stick carried by Arsi female in two ways. One, it can be carried by a girl who is going to boy's home for *Addabaana* marriage- one of the informal marriage types among Arsi. Two, it can also be carried by the woman whom husband has died. In the case of the girl for the *addabaanaa* marriage, as it is not legal marriage, no one prepares and gives her *siinqee* and thus she has to make the stick for herself. On the other hand, the woman who lost her husband in death never holds siinqee in public gatherings. In the culture, the death of the husband is a symbol of *siinqee's* cut. Gabre Amlak Barisii (Interview, 20 November 2013) said that, *"when the husband dies siinqee is also cut"*. Therefore, *siinqee* is a symbol for marital life; thus the death of the husband is a symbol for the cut in *siinqee*. It is possible to see that loss of husband results in loss of the privilege to hold the stick, which symbolizes an intact marriage.

The other handheld object which is carried by woman is *Boraati*- a traditional pillow made from wood. In the culture *boraati* is given to the bride on her wedding day together with *siinqee* and other gifts by her family and relatives. On the wedding day, the husband receives the gift from the bride's family and carries it together with his staffs to their new home. Culturally butter is

common ointment for both male and female. This cultural staff enables the butter not to leak down to her face and to her body on her move or while at the time of her sleep and it can also be decorated with colorful beads and thread or *teephaa* (leather strap).



Photo 5.39 Boraati dubarti (female pillow)

As described in previous sections, *Xuunxoo* is a handheld cultural object. This cultural object is also carried by Arsi woman while she participates in public gatherings especially in ateetee ritual until her stay for the ritual. In such occasions, *xuunxoo* helps as a milk container in which the milk is distributed for the participants. It is also used as a cultural material to indicate the skill and economical status of the woman who carries it. As Hajji Mohamad Jarso described, *"Durbartii karaaratii yoo itti dhufne ta dureti tahiyyeetti meeshaa isaan qaban kana ilaallee addaan bahee ifa galee nutti mullata*" (Interview December, 2012). *"If we meet a woman on our way, we can identify she is either rich or poor, and skilled or not skilled by looking at the materials she hold on her hand"*. The expression shows how material objects plays a role in identifying the economical status and the groups the woman can belongs to in the culture. This holds true for *xuunxoo* as it is one of the handheld objects.



Photo 5.40 *Xuunxoo-milk container*

In addition to *xuunxoo,* Arsi woman has a handheld object *Buqqe urgoo* - a traditional woman accessory which helps to put perfumed butter with natural plants having pleasant smell. A woman uses the butter as an ointment or lotion and carries it while she moves around for special occasions.



Photo 5.*41 Buqee urgoo*-cultural perfomed butter container

Together with cultural handheld objects Arsi woman carries *qorii* full of *miccirraa* which is a cultural food made from butter and barley flour in the occasions such as ateetee gathering and at the time she travels to far places to ask family or friends.



Photo 5.42 qorii/ container for cultural food/

In addition to handheld objects, Arsi women can be identified by their permanent tattoo- *haxaroo* which has been discussed on the previous sections of Arsi Oromo traditional dress types. But as mentioned above because of its permanent nature it is used as a distinguishing feature for a woman too.

In general, this chapter was planned to examine the traditional dress types of Arsi Oromo female in all stages. It was classified under four sub sections. Those sections discuss the dress types used by Arsi Oromo female in each stage. Therefore, to give a general summary of Arsi Oromo female dress types it is presented in the following table:

Table 1. Summary of Female Traditional Dress Types

Female classification	Clothes	jewelries	Hair style	Handheld objects	Other body modifications and body supplements
Small girls	*Kalloo* *Maxaanxee mudhii*	Earring: *Qashoo* Bangle :*bito and dooqa (ilillaa),albu-leg jewelry*	*guutuu*	*Xuunxoo*	
Girls who are not engaged	Kallo Qoxoxo skirt *qolo durbaa*	forehead: *callee addaa or callee adda jalee* *earring:* *biliqqe or balaqe.* Necklace:*callee hudhoo.* Bangle: *bito,*	Godayyaa *The back hair fastened with heeqoo*	*kaballaa* ulee (wood)	*Haxaroo*- tatto
Girls who are engaged	*Kalloo handaraa* *qolo qomo* *qeexxaa*	*Forehead:* *callee addaa* *earring:biliqe* necklace:*qube kaadhima a combination of* *(tafse,qube and meetaa)*	*Godayyaa* *the hair fastened with heeqoo*	*kabala* ulee (wood)(occassional)	*Haxaroo*-tatto
A bride-*ashoo* on wedding day	*shaashii* with or without *guftaa* *Boke* *qolo* top *Qexxaa* skirt	Earring: *Biliqqee* Necklace: *Callee hudhoo*	*bantii*	*Siinqee, buqqee urgoo, orboo, gingilchaa* and other staffs carried by others	*haxaroo*

	hanfalaa or *sabbataa waist tie*	Bangle*: bito,*			
Woman dress types	*Headdress:* *Guftaa and Saashsii* *Kalloo kasaa* *kallo handaaraa boke* and *Bonkoo* *Hanfalaa* or *sabbataa* waist tie *Ombaa* *qolo qomo.* *harsamaa* *keessa seeni* or *waccuu* *qolo Ateetee* *Weedare* *Itlille* *Gigishaaa*	*Forehead: Sandaaba,lotu* *fororaa* *qanafɑa* *hair style: heeqo* Earring: *Qarrisa,* *Necklace:callee hudhoo* *Hadhoftu, Jomore,Jombola* *Kaafura,Kalxata or dhangalasa,tafse* / or *tafse* *Calle jaari or Callee Faaxime* Finger Ring: *qube Bangle: maracoo* bito *,mirgo,naashaa or waccaasaa* *Laakka mandhe and lakkaa irree* *Toes ring:Saasiraa*	heeqoo	*Siinqee* or *Ulee Shifa* *Boraatii* *xuunxoo* *-Buqqe urgoo* *Qorii carried by self*	haxaroo

Chapter six: Description of Arsi Oromo Male Traditional Dress

Under this section dress types of an Arsi male will be discussed. Male dress types are few in number and common for male members of Arsi as compared to female dress types. For the descriptive analysis those dress types are classified into two major groups. The first one is based on age groups and the second one is based on the status groups. In addition, this chapter also discusses the related issues such as, continuity and change, status, gender and color as reflected in Arsi Oromo traditional dress.

6.1 Description of Arsi Male Traditional Dress types among age Groups

This sections deals with traditional dress of male age groups among Arsi. And it is divided into three sub sections. These are: *ijoollee* (children), *Dargaggoo* (young) and *Jaarsa* (old aged).

6.1.1 Description of Male Children Dress types

In Arsi Oromo traditional dress culture, dress types for both male and female from the early stage to the stage under adolescent is mostly the same with a slight difference. A month after birth there is a cultural bangle made for a baby boy the same with that of a female baby which is called *dooqa*. It is made from finely prepared skin and has *ilillaa* beads at its tip. In addition, there is *bito*- bangle which is worn by boys. The two jewelries are culturally called *guddiftu daa'immani*. Literally it means "Babies Guard / security". These cultural jewelries have the same function like that of female child. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, *xuunxoo* is also a cultural object which is prepared for a baby to feed milk with. It is obvious that the primary function of *xuunxoo* is to use it as a milk bottle for a baby which is utilitarian material. But the additional ornamentation added to it makes to be attractive and the baby can play with it. That is why it is treated here as one type of children handheld object carried by others (Eicher et al 2000).

When Male children start to walk and play outside on the age around four to five, they start to wear *kallo* of small calf. Until they approach to the adolescent age, they wear *kallo* when they participate in *shepherd* activity. In addition, they do have *Maxaanxee mudhii*- jewelry made from beads and strings of hide like that of female child.

One of the distinctive features which distinguish male and female children under adolescent is their hair style. The hair style of the boy is different from that of a girl in that, except the front hair all hair on the skull is shaved. This hairstyle is known as *Sunna. And below is a boy with a sunna* hairstyle



Photo 6.1 small boy with a *Sunna* hair-style

6.1.2 Description of Young male (Dargaggo) *Dress Types*

At this stage, As compared to the girls the number of dress for male is few. At the time they approach to adolescent they start to wear *qomo or hindake*- a shirt made from cotton and *gonfaa-trouser* made from animal skin. *Kalloo*-gown is also common for boys at adolescent age.



Photo 6.2 *kalloo*

Kalloo Busaaye is a cloth which is made from goat skin. The cloth is worn by the young boy who is going to marry in the near future. This cloth for the young boy is a symbol for the prospect change in status from boyhood to husband hood.

In the previous times, there was a cloth called *gonfaa-a kind of trouser* which was made from animal skin or hide depending on the age of the wearer. However, at this time there is no such type of *gonfaa* which is worn among the people rather it is substituted by the cotton trouser with the same name - *gonfaa*. The recently used cotton *gonfaa* has black and white Colors. Most part of the cloth has white color and the black is used as embroidery. This cloth is common for all males except children regardless of its size with different styles. It can be worn like a short or a trouser depending on the interest of the wearer. *Sabbataa*- waist tie is used to secure *gonfaa*. It can be in different length regardless of its function and the age of a person who uses it. But at the early stage of adolescent it is used as a belt to secure *gonfaa* to their waist.



Photo 6.3 *Gonfaa*

Boys at the stage of adolescence can be identified with their *gofare or afro* hair style. At this stage their hair all grows long. Boys are also identified by their tooth cleaning stick called *rigaa* in their mouth or putting it at the back of their ear. Moreover, this stage is the time when boys are participating in public gatherings, for instance, at a wedding ceremony a young boy hold

ulee- a stick in addition to his cultural dress. This cultural stick helps him as a support while he is jumping in the performance of cultural songs and dances. Young male is expected to keep his cleaning as this is the time to prepare himself for marriage. Therefore, to get acceptance from the girl's family side has to keep his neatness and physical appearance.

Culturally, young males if they are not hunters, it is not common to wear shoes. (For the overall structure of the dress types at this stage see table 2) but, currently, it is obvious to observe a young who wear shoes bought from market.

*6.1.3 Description of Elder Men (***Ga'essa***) Dress Types*

The dress types under this section are depended on the status of an old man in his previous life times. But, clothes like that of *kalloo, gonfaa, sabbataa, hindake,* are common traditional clothes for old men among Arsi.

In Arsi old aged man has a headdress called *shaashii*. Especially elders who participate in conflict resolution process wear *shaashii* on their head.

Next to *shaashii* they do have *hindake* shirt together with one of different types of kallo such as, *kallo kasaa, kallo waatii gayyaa, kallo busaayaa, kalloo qeerransaa, kallo leencaa*. But this is true when the man was a known hunter in his village during his young age. If not he simply wears kallo and *hindake*. In addition, there is a cloth which covers the waist and below part of the body called *gonfaa*. And it is tied by *sabbataa*- cotton waist tie.

Before the introduction of cotton clothes among the people like that of *weedare* of woman there was cloth called *Waalluu* which was made from an ox hide. It has been used as a night cloth as well as cloth for cold weather while they were around home. It was worn by male adults as *weedare* was worn by woman adults. The other cloth is *Wayaa haraqo*- a kind of thick shawl but made from cotton. It is worn by young(especially a groom) and old age males with different sizes. After *waallu* become out of function this cloth was introduced to the people. These days it has various functions among Arsi male clothes. It is worn on occasions such as wedding, conflict resolution, funeral etc. in addition; it is used for covering the carcass for burial. Moreover, this cloth is also given as a gift for the bride's family by the groom on the wedding day.

Itillee is a traditional tanned hide which is used as bed sheet. This traditional bed cloth is common among the people and has no gender difference in its usage. It is made with special care to make it soft and comfortable. As consultant Briso Somi'i (Interview 3 July 2013) explained: *After a cow or an ox is slaughtered, the fresh skin is scraped by a professional person. After that the flesh part is removed and rubbed strongly and smeared by butter to make it soft and easily bendable*. In addition, as the traditional tanner (*sarraatanyaa*) waaqoo Daadhoo (Interview 26 June 2013) said, such kind of clothes can be prepared in two ways. One, it can be made from a hide in which only the flesh side of the hide is cleaned and softened. Two, it can be made from a hide in which the outer hair is all removed. This cloth is also named as *afata- mat*. *Itillee* has different functions in the areas. It is used as a carpet for guests to sit in the occasions such as, wedding and funeral ritual. These days, *itillee* is also used as a prayer mat for praying by Islam religion followers.

Arsi Oromo aged man does not have jewelries which identifies him from other male groups like that of an aged woman. But, he can have *machallaa* earring which stays with him throughout his life, if he used to be *qondaalaa*-a hunter in his young age.

The handheld object which is carried by an old man who participates in the process of conflict resolution, wedding or other cultural festivals and rituals is *Halangee*. It is a whip made from *Roophii* (hippopotamus) skin. *Halangee* has two types. One is with a single tip and the other with a double tip. *Halangee* with a single tip is carried by abba bokku(this will be discussed under the second section of this chapter) during the process of conflict resolution or in the process of law formation. The second type of *halangee* is carried by elders during pray, wedding ceremony and on the celebration of cultural festivals and rituals. In addition it is obvious to see elders carrying long stick (*ulee*) during their travel. In addition to *halangee* and *ulee*, an old man has *boraatii (*pillow) handheld object. He carries with him if he travels to other areas and pass the night where he is going.



Photo 6.4 Elders who wear *shaashii and hold halangee*

In the traditional dress history of Arsi, wearing shoe is not as early as wearing clothes. According to consultants in the research areas, it is difficult to tell exactly when the people especially males start to wear shoe. But, there was shoe *kophee* which has been worn by males from *qondaalaa* (this will be discussed under the second major group) to elder which was made from the leg part of an ox. It is like sandal and has been made by a person who has a skill to make it- who is called *ogeessa*; the process of making this traditional shoe is also named as *kophee qoru*. But currently such kind of shoe is not observed on the areas in which data for this research was collected. However, I had the chance to see the shoe which was displayed in the museum found in Arsi Administrative, Tourism and culture office on the first visit for the identification of research sites for the study. Currently, it is obvious to observe an old man who can afford to buy fabricated shoes wearing shoes bought from market or travel with bare foot.

6.2 Description of Male Traditional Dress Types in Different status

Under this section, dress types of three social groups will be discussed. These are: a groom (*ashilaa*) dress types, *qondaalaa* dress types and bokkuu (abbaa bokku) dress types.

6.2.1 Description of a Groom (Ashilaa) *Dress types*

In Arsi Oromo dress culture, dress types of a groom starts from headdress. In the culture, there is a cloth type called *Shaashii* -white cloth which is worn on the forehead and hangs on the back of head. It is worn by a groom at the day of his wedding. It helps to prevent the butter on the groom's hair not to leak down to his face and his eyes. (Mohammed Namo, Interview, November 2013)

Historically on the wedding day next to *shaashii*, the groom used to wear *qomoo* or *hindake* and *kalloo* gown, but recently *kalloo* is substituted by *wayaa haraqoo* a white cotton thick shawl. *Gonfaa* trouser is also worn by a groom on his wedding day. *Gonfaa* as it was explained in young boy section, it was made from animal skin, but these days it is substituted by a cotton trouser with the same nomenclature- *gonfaa*.

As consultant Mohamed Namo (Interview 3, November 2013) described, in his wedding day, the groom *(ashilaa*) wears wayaa. If he is from wealthy family he can wear qiidaa(a cotton showl with quarter thickness or four fold). If he is from the middle income family, he wears qoola, which is half of qiida(a cotton showl with double thickness). He holds *halangee*(whip) in his hand, he wears shaashii on his forehead and wears *gonfaa* trouser and top shirt called *hindake*.(see. table 2) These clothes hve been worn by a groom at the time fabricated clothes were not introduced to the people. And currently those dress types are used together with the fabricated clothes among the people.

Like that of *siinqee* for woman, *waddessaa* is a cultural stick which is carried by a groom at his wedding day. ***"****Guyyaa sana Ashilaarraa yoo kaane ashilaan waddeessa qabata. Mukni kun muka waddeessaati. Borumsaa fuudhaati waddeessa kana murata jaarsa wajjiin galgala. Har'a galgala murata". Mohamed namo:* Interview 3, November 2013) according to him, On the eve of the wedding, he goes with one of his relatives to the area in which the *waddeessaa* tree found

and that person cut a wood about a meter and gives it to the groom. On the wedding day the groom holds the stick with him to the bride's family house. As consultants told *waddeessaa* is one of the special handheld objects carried by a groom on his wedding day.

tuni ʔab:a: mana:ti: ga:fa ha:ɗa mana: fu:ɗa:f baʔu,

tun-i abbaa manaa-tii gaafa haadha manaa fuudh-aaf ba'-u

this-NOM father house-for day mother house take-to out- INF

For a husband (groom) cameout to take a wife(bride),

ʔisa: wad:es:a muran

isa-a waddeessa mur-an

he-for waddeessa cut-3Pl-PERF

They cut waddesa for him

Annotation 2 (004 and 007)annotated document\annotation 2 kofele consultants sinkɛ and kɛnefa discription.eaf

In the culture *waddeessaa* is a symbol of fertility for the bride and the groom the future life as the tree in which it is cut is known by its diversified leaves. In addition *to waddeessaa*, he holds *halangee*. Culturally the *halangee* carried by the groom has a symbolic significance of being in the stage change of status from boyhood to manhood as a married person as well as a symbol for his maturity.

In Arsi the groom starting from his wedding day starts to use pillow during sleep. The handheld object *boraati dhiiraa* is a traditional male pillow which is made from iron or wood. The male *boraati*, as the picture shows, has a rectangular shape. But unlike the woman's *boraati* no ornamentation is added to it. This traditional pillow has two functions. One, it helps to secure the butter on his hair like that of *shaashii* while he is sleeping. Two, in the culture it is believed that the groom is a matured person who is expected to be active to manage his life and his family. Therefore, the *boraati* helps him to be active and not to be sleepy. In other words, it helps him to listen to the surrounding all the time during his sleep. Beside its use at home the person may take his *boraati* with him while he travels to other places.



Photo 6.5 Boraati dhiiraa /male pillow

Before the introduction of different types of shoes to the people, in addition to clothes and handheld objects, Arsi Oromo male used to wear kophee (shoe) made from an ox leg.

6.2.2 Description of a Hero (Qondaalaa) *Dress Types*

In Arsi culture there are persons who are respected and believed to be heros. Such kinds of persons are culturally called *qondaalaa (abbaa mirga) (Sg.)* and *qondaaltota (Pl.)*. Especially in previous times when killing wild animals was taken as bravery, male members of the people were competing to be nominated as *qondaalaa* which is the opposite of *hurkoo*. The persons in this group are persons with higher status. Therefore, they have dress codes that distinguish them from other members specially males among the people. According to Mohammed (Interview, November 2012):

> *According to Arsi Oromo culture, a person who didn't kill is called hurko. To the opposite a person who killed is known as qondaalaa or a father of right. If we see how this status can be achived, in previous times, the one who killed strong wild animals such as lion, bufallo etc.gets a right to be named as qondaalaa. Some times, a person who killed not only lion, but also giraffe is also called qondaalaa but the status as qondaalaa is less than that of the previous one. The other means for this nomination is killing an enemy. If one kills an enemy and cut the genitila organ of the dead he gets the better status in the group of qondaalaa.*

A person who gets the right to be *qondaalaa* has different dress codes. These dress codes covers from the head to the leg. To begin with head jewelry, *Qororo mataa* covers the forehead to the head at the back like that of shaashii. It is worn by *qondaalaa* together with an ostrich feather called *warraaqaa*- jewelry made from long grass called *wiixaa*. The *wiixaa* fasten together and have a round shape the same as the size of the head. Its primary function is to secure other heroic object-*warraaqaa* on the head while he is moving here and there during a cultural song-*geerarsaa* or on his travel to public gatherings. On the other hand, it is also function as jewelry. Therefore, this object is a symbol for heroism.

In between *qororo mataa* and the head, *qondaalaa* put an ostrich feather-*Warraaqaa* for his cultural right of being a hunter of *guchii* (ostrich) with different colors. In the culture the feather is a symbol of strength and heroism.



Photo 6.6 qororo and warraaqaa

In addition to *warraaqqaa* and *qororo mataa, qondaalaa* has an earring called *machallaa* which stays on his ear throughout his life. He put it wherever he travels as identification for his

braveness. In the culture this earring is only worn by *qondaalaa*. It is circle in shape and worn on the left earlobe as a symbol for his heroism. Next to *machallaa* earring *qondaalaa* wears *maracoo* necklace as a symbol for his braveness of being a hunter of lion or other wild animals too.



Photo 6.7 *machallaa and maracoo*

In addition to an earring and the necklace, *qondaalaa* also wears wrist bangle-*Sagetto***.** As it is shown in the next picture, it is open at one end like that of *maracoo* and made from iron but it has no ornamentation.



Photo 6.8 *sagetto*

Hirboora is arm bangle worn by *qondaalaa*- the hero. Its primary function is to help him to be strong during hunting (Mohammed Namo; Interview, November 2012).

As explained earlier the term *kallo* is common for animal skin/hide clothes among the people. Therefore, *kallo* can also be worn by *qondaalaa* like other members of the people. Unlike other members *Qondaalaa* can have more clothes made from hide or skin depending on the type of animal he killed during hunting. Those clothes are identified by the names of wild animals killed added next to the term *kallo*.

At the previous time, when killing wild animals was not forbidden, *Kallo mi'aayaa* was made from a leopard or lion skin. The term *mi'aayaa* is a common name for skins of wild animals and can be classified as *kallo qeeransaa* (Leopord skin), *kaalloo leencaa* (lion skin) or *kalloo satawwaa* (giraffe skin) etc. It is a gown and one of the clothes worn by *qondaalaa* as a symbol for his bravness. As killing wild animals was taken as a right among Arsi, wearing this cloth is a symbol for proud and heroism for the wearer. Culturally no one is allowed to wear this cloth, except the one who has a right. But, recently no one is allowed to kill wild animals to get such a title. Therefore, it is not common to observe such kind of clothes among the youngsters and thus it is worn by old age men who used to be hunters in their previous life time in the areas. The following picture shows *abbaa Mirgaa (qondaalaa)* who wears leopard skin as a symbol for his heroism.

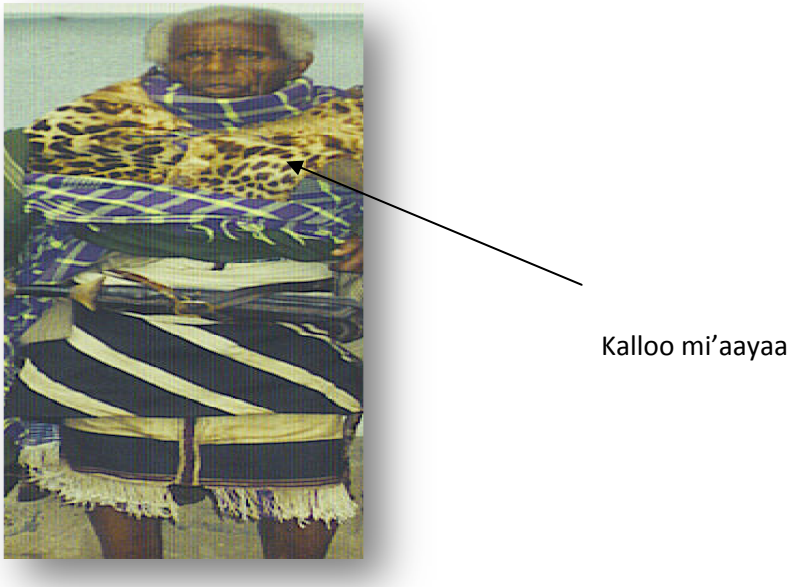


Photo 6.9 *kallo mi'aayaa*

As it was mentioned in woman dress section there is a cloth type which can be commonly worn by male and female especially by husband and wife in different styles. This cloth is *Kallo kasaa*. In the previous time, a man who killed leopard brought the skin for making this cloth. But the way it is skinned needs a special care. As consultant Birhanu Bariso (Interview; 15 November 2011) told, *Kasaa* refers to the skinning process in which the style of the clothes is designed on the carcass before it is removed. On the other hand, the term also refers to the skins on the parts of legs and the tail. The skins on those parts of the carcass are not cut out while skinning.

In addition to the skin on the legs and tail part of the animal, the hair on the outer part of the skin is not removed. This is because, the color of the animal makes the cloth to have a beautiful look and also shows the braveness of the person who wears it, as the color helps to identify the type of an animal hunted. Because of the implication of heroism and bravery it has, the husband/ a man wear the cloth with the flesh side attached to his body, so that the outer side of the skin is visible to anybody.



Photo 6.10 kalloo kasaa

Kallo Waatii Gayyaa is a cloth made from a newly born calf skin. Immediately after the birth of a small calf it is slaughtered and the skin is removed from the carcass. The process of skinning is called *gayyaasu*. This happen, if the color of the new born calf is very attractive. For example, a skin with white and the small portion is covered by color like brown or black is preferred for such kind of cloth. It used to be worn by *qondaalaa* in addition to other *kallo* clothes.

Qondalaa wears *gonfaa* trouser which is common for male from young to old age among the people. As it was explained in youth dress section, in previous time it was made from animal skin, but these days, it is substituted by a cotton trouser-*gonfaa*.

Qondaalaa also used to wear *Sabbataa* cotton waist ties to secure *gonfaa*. He can wear it with three to four folds. This is because; during hunting the person may be attacked by a wild animal or an enemy. Therefore, in addition to its function as a waist tie, some of its part helps as a first aid to bind a wound during attack or helps to put *bilayaa(by qondaalaa/the hunter)* on waist for skinning wild animals killed during hunting.

In the history of Arsi dress culture, wearing shoe *Kophee* is not as early as clothes and other types of dress. As consultants confirmed, it is difficult to tell exactly when the people especially males start to wear shoe. But, there was shoe which has been worn by *qondaalaa* which was made from the leg part of an ox. It is like sandal and has been made by a skilled person. But, currently such kind of shoe is not common in the areas in which data for this research was collected.

In addition, there is traditional tanned hide which is used as a cloth to sleep on called *itillee*. This traditional cloth is common for male and female among the people. It is made with special care to make it soft and comfortable. Even these days this traditional cloth is common among the people especially for those who are leaving in country side so does for *qondaalaa*.



Photo 6.11 *itillee* displayed for sale at kofele market

Qondaalaa also has handheld objects that distinguish him from other members of the people. One of the material objects which is carried by *qondaalaa* (hunter or warrior) is *eboo*[51]- *a* spear and it is also named as *waraana* among other Oromo groups. It has two parts. One, It has triangular shape *arrowhead* and the tip part is very sharp this pointed end of an arrow helps for penetration. Two, the other part is made from wood and it helps to attack wild animals from far place. It is a traditional weapon which is used to attach an enemy as well as to kill wild animals. In addition to *eboo, qondaala* carries *Gaachana (waanta)* cultural shield in his hand. As *eboo* is a cultural weapon to attack wild animal or enemy, this handheld object helps to defend attacks from the other side. It is usually used in the war places to protect the body from sharp things as well as stonesor other foreign materials thrown from others.

[51] In Arsi Oromo culture, other than its function as a weapon, this handheld object has cultural function as a symbol for peace. At the day of *Ebo Irkifanna*, one of the rituals in the process of marriage among Arsi, the mediator and his followers from the groom's side come to the girl's family house let their spear outside as a symbol for peace and unity.



Photo 6.12 *eboo and gaachanaa*

When the *qondaalaa* goes for hunting he takes bilayaa together with other materials. Most of the time, he put it on to the waist between *gonfaa* and *sabbataa* for killing or skinning the animal.



Photo 6.13 Billayaa (knife)

6.2.3 Description of the Father of Bokku (Abba Bokkuu) *Dress Types*

In Oromo *gadaa* system in general Arsi *gadaa* system in particular, *Abbaa bokku (father of bokku)* is a man who is allowed to hold the culturally sacred object bokku -scepter. And he is a leader in the *gadaa* system. As mentioned by Ayalew, (2012, pp.41-42). "The Abbaa Bokku is the chairman who presides over the assembly." According to him, the primary activity of *Abbaa Bokku* is to preside over the parliament (Caffe) to declare the laws, and to act when necessary as ritual expert in the *Gadaa* ceremonies. On the other hand, (Amborn 2009, pp.398-399) also indicated that the group of those entitled - *abbaa gadaa*, are persons of high socio-religious status. Primarily, these are sacral dignitaries connected with the society's ancestors, such as lineage or clan elders who trace their descent directly to the mythic birth of their primal ancestor. At the time of this status *abbaa bokku* has dress codes which distinguish him from other male members.

Abbaa Bokku wears *Shaashii* headdress. There is also a cultural forehead object worn by abba bokku called *Kallachaa*. It is a cultural material which distinguishes *abbaa gadaa* from other Arsi male members. It is a traditional political status symbol worn on the forehead with certain dignitaries. In Arsi like other groups of Oromo, *Kallachaa* is believed to be a sacred object which symbolizes a link between the human and the supernatural world; its function is to open up this connection between different spheres. It is therefore, this sacred object and jewelry only worn by qualified persons.

Kallachaa



Photo 6.14 Kallachaa

Among clothes worn by *abbaa gadaa*, *Kallo Waatii Gayyaa is* a gown made from a newly born calf skin. Immediately after the birth, a small calf is slaughter and the skin is removed from the carcass. This happen when the color of the new born calf is white and the small portion is covered by brown or black color. In previous time it was worn by *abbaa gadaa* on wedding ceremony as well as *gadaa* ritual. In the culture a person who is nominated as *abbaa gadaa* is expected to be responsible and free from any social as well as political crime. Therefore wearing this cloth which is made from the newly born calf is a symbol for the man person is said to be pure.

At the time the use of skin clothes turn down among the people because of various reasons, *leelashe* was introduced as one of the clothes worn by *abbaa bokku.* It is a kind of thick shawl 'Gabi' made with special way and it is worn by elders as well as by *Abbaa Gadaa*. Like that of *Waatii Gayyaa* this cloth is worn for special occasion like marriage ceremony and conflict resolution.



Photo 6.15 *leelashe*

Abbaa gadaa also wears *gonfaa* trouser which is common for males from young to old age. The same raw material like that of young male *gonfaa* was used to make this cloth. But currently, just

like other male members of the people cotton *gonfaa* is used by *abbaa bokku.* To secure *gonfaa* to his waist *abbaa gadaa* uses *Sabbataa*- cotton waist tie.

Regarding the handheld objects, there are male accessories carried by *abbaa bokkuu*. Among them *Bokku*-scepter is a sacred cultural object carried by *abbaa bokku*. According to oral history, the first *bokku* which has short length was come down from God and received by the man called *waayyuu* who was believed to be the first person to hold that sacred object. As consultant Bonsemo Mieso (annotated texts: text 1 annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf) told, it was not visible all the time. It is put in special place and come out for special occasions. According to Arsi oral history, there is one legend about the foundation of the first *bokku*. According to the narration,

Bokku was found in *Madda Walaabuu* in the place called Dallo. There was a person with black color called *waayyuu*. He was living alone and no one was able to see him. If anyone tries to see him, he/she was fallen down to the ground because of his power and appearance. Everyone was afraid of his appearance and can't communicate with him. According to the legend, one day the people was agreed to search and send a beautiful girl who is beautified her body with a traditional supplement of good smell called *qayyaa*. they ordered her by saying:

Dubɑrti tun ʔɑm:o: jo: wɑ: fɑƈɑ:sɑ: ʔit:i de:mi ʔɑk:ɑna ʔisɑ: fɑf:ɑƈɑ

dubarti tun ammoo yoo-waa facaas-aa itti deem-i akana isa-a facaas-aa

female this-F again when something sow INF go 2SgF like he GEN sow INF

:sɑ:de:mi dʒeɗɑnin

deem-i jedh-an-in

go 2SgF say 3Pl-PERF

They advised the girl to sow something while she is going to him (Appendix 2 text 1 (043)[52])

At the time, they thought that if that person (waayyuu) is not an angle he will not send the girl back to them. The girl did what they said and when she arrived sit and behind him. Then he saw and embraces her and said, "You are mine!". After that, when the people come and see

[52]) the data is also found in ELAN annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

him, they confirmed that he is a man but with unusual appearance. While they were communicating he asked them to bring a black sheep and milk for sacrifice to take the sacred material from the sky to the ground. They brought the sheep and the milk. After slaughtering the sheep, according to the legend he splashes the blood and the milk to the object and took it out of the sky. This was the way bokku was first introduced to the people. According to the legend that person introduced them in the following way:

wɑ:tu ʔɑsir:ɑ dʒirɑ:wɑ:n sɑn ʔegɑ: dʒirɑ ʔɑni,

waa-tu as-irra jir-a waan san eg-aa jir-a ani

thing-Foc here-above be- 3SgM-IMPF thing that care be- 3SgM-IMPF I

he said, I am taking care of something above me, (Appendix 2 text 1 (056)[53])

Therefore, as mentioned above after the accomplishment of cultural ritual to that sacred material to show the object to the people, he showed them. The first *bokku* which was cared by wayyuu had the following feature:

jo: fu:ɗɑn ʔɑm:o ʔin:i wɑ:n gur:tʃɑ wɑjiti

yoo fuudh-an ammoo in-ni waan gurracha wayi-ti

when take-3Pl again he-NOM something black thing-is

when they took it, it was something black

ʔunkʼo:ɗɑ

Unqoo dha

Short is

It is short

ʔɑk: fɑk:i ɗɑ:gɑra: fɑk:ɑ:tɑ:

Akka fakki dhagaraa fakkaat-a

Like picture axe looks-INF

[53]) the data is also found in ELAN annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

it looks like an axe

gɑbɑ:bɑ: ɗɑ

gabaabaa dha

It is short (for examples 12-15 see Appendix 2 text 1 (066-069)[54])

The oral history of the people shows that in Arsi, the person who was the founder of this sacred object was *waayyuu* and lately the person with the same responsibility is named as *Abbaa bokku* who is allowed to hold this sacred object in cultural and ritual occasions. The cultural occasions are conflict resolution, to prey for togetherness, for making social law etc. Moreover, in Arsi the person who is allowed to hold this sacred object is also called *bokku.* Bonsemo told that,

ku:n ʔɑm:o: ʔɑk:ɑ nɑ:n:o: kɑnɑ:t:i ʔɑb:ɑ gɑdɑ: sɑnuj: bok:u:

kuun ammoo akka naanno kana-a-tti abbaa gadaaa san-u-yyu bokkuu

the other also according to area- GEN to father gadaa that-FOC-FOC bokku

dʒɑd-ɑn,

jadh-an

say- 3Pl-PERF the other one is according to this area, the father of gadaa is also named as bokku. *(Appendix 2 text 1(004)[55])*

In *gadaa* system *bokku* is transferred from father to son. Regarding form of bokku in the legend it is presented that it is short and thick. But these days it is obvious to observe *bokku* which is larger than the one showed in the picture in the left side.

[54] The data is also found in ELAN annotated document\annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

[55] The data is also found in ELAN *annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf*





Photo 6. **1**6 the short and long forms of *bokku*

The other handheld object which is carried by *abba bokk*u is *halangee* –whip. *Halange* with a single tip is carried by *abbaa bokku* during the process of conflict resolution or in the process of law making. *Halangee* with a double tip is also hold by *abbaa bokku* during pray, wedding ceremony and on the celebration of cultural festivals and rituals.

On the discussion under traditional dress types of Arsi Oromo male, the classification was made based on age and status. And it is observed that there are dress types which are basic features to distinguish one from the other. Therefore, here under table is presented to show the overall structure of Arsi male dress types.

Table 2: Arsi Oromo Male Dress Types in Different Groups

Male classification (age and status)	Clothes	jewelries	Hair style	Handheld objects	Other body modifications and body supplements
Small male	*kallo Maxaanxee mudhii*	Bitoo bangle, (*Dooqa ilillaa*	*Sunna*	*Xuunxoo*	
Young age male	*Qomo or hindake-* *Kallo* *Kalloo Busaayaa gonfaa* *Sabbataa*		*gofare*	*ulee-*	teeth cleanser (rigaa)
An elder man dress types	shashii *kalloo,hindake gonfaa, sabbata, , kallo, (kallo kasaa, kalloo waatii gayyaa, kalloo bu-saayaa, kalloo qeerransaa, kalloo leencaa.)* **are optional** *Waalluu, Wayaa haraqo or kaalimii* *Itilleee*	This depends on the previous status of the man in his young age		*Halangee* *Long stick (ulee).*	*Kophee*
A groom (shilaa) at the wedding day	*Shaashii* -Qomoo or hindake and kalloo gown,		*gofare*	*Waddessaa halangee, Boraat ii dhiiraa*	kophee

	wayaa (qiidaa or qoola).Gonfaa.				
The *qondaalaa*-hero dress types	*Kallo, Kallo mi'ayaa (kallo qeeransaa* (leopord skin), *kaallo leencaa* (lion skin) or *kallo satawwaa* (giraffe skin) etc.) *Kallo kasaa.* *Kallo Waatii Gayyaa, Sabbataa* *gonfaa* *Kophee, Itilleee*	*Qororo mataa* Warraaqaa Earring: *machallaa* necklace: *maracoo* *hand jewelry:* wrist bangle: Sagetto arm *bangle: hirboora*		*Eboo Gaachana (waanta)* traditional shield *billayaa* *boraatii*	
Abba bokkuu traditional dress types	*Shaashi*-headdress. *KallooWaatii Gayyaa*, *lelashe*, Gonfaa *Sabbataa*	*Kallachaa*		*Bokkuu* *Halangee, boraatii*	

6.3 Culture change and Continuity as Reflected in Arsi Oromo Traditional Dress

This sub section discusses data from the fieldwork on issues of change and continuity in the traditional dress of the Arsi Oromo.

6.3.1 Aspects of Culture Change

Like every traditional people around the world the Arsi Oromo follow their culture. Even today, at the time of the global expansion of a sophisticated life style, the people loyally practice

wearing the various traditional forms of dress types. They wear clothes made from animal skins; and these clothes are products of the traditional leather making craftsmanship. However, this does not mean that there is no change in the use of various traditional dress types among the people. As culture is dynamic and dress is one characteristic feature of culture, ultimately culture change holds true in the Arsi Oromo traditional dress.

There are changes in wearing dress observed through time and geographical distance amongst the people. The driving forces for the changes can be classified into internal and external factors or enculturation and acculturation based on the data from fieldwork.

In the history of Arsi dress culture, one of the main factors for changes in the usage of traditional dress was related to the previous governments. According to the consultants the government officials prohibited the people from wearing clothes made of hides and skins. As Shek Kadir Hayato narrated, long ago in Arsi Oromo, there was a proclamation. One day, the government officials who carried a black skin hanged on a long stick move here and there shouting "Awaji! Awaji". They were simultaneous observing the surrounding. The officials announced that no one would be allowed to wear clothes made of skin and hide starting as of that particular day. If not, as they warned, the one who goes to the market and towns clad in such kind of clothes would either be taken to the jail or the clothes would be publicly tore up on his or her body. Starting from that time *bonkoo*-the known woman cloth among Arsi -was disappeared. (Interview; 3 July, 2013)

According to the given information, the external implosion on the people was one of the causes of the decline in the use of traditional dress. It shows that historical circumstances can affect people's culture in one way or another. Consequently, there was a shift in use from skin to cotton type clothes. Clothes made of cotton were not indigenous to the Arsi Oromo culture (Bonsemo Mi'essoo November 2011). The people were obliged to adopt a new dress type superimposed on them against their dressing style which was used as a symbol of their identity, too. Therefore, they stopped wearing those clothes so much that it resulted in loss of identity as their traditional clothes are their identity markers.

This was a remarkable shift in the people's dressing culture. At that time as consultant Kadiro said, for instance in the case of Kokkosa the only chance the people had was to adapt the type of dress which was found near to them among the Sidama ethnic groups.

Moreover, the people found the cotton clothes challenging when the clothes were introduced. Bonsamoo remembered (Interview 4, November 2012), the cotton cloth was uncomfortable, rough and not easily attached to the body like their leather clothes which normally was smeared in butter. Therefore, as he said on at the beginning the Arsi Oromo were wearing those clothes by smearing them butter; through time, the cotton clothes became part of the culture as observed in the research areas.

In relation to the change in cloth types among Arsi, there was also a shift in the color psychology of the people. As described earlier, white color alone is not favored among the people. However following the adoption of cotton clothes which are white in color, the Arsi Oromo started to take the clothes as their cultural dress.

The other external factor which contributed to the change in the use of traditional dress is linked to scarcity of grazing land due to population growth. As the clothes are made of animal skin and butter is used for their making, the decrease in the production of milk and its related products brings a decline in the production of those traditional clothes. As consultants agreed, the scarcity of land results in the destruction of trees or deforestation which in turn causes scarcity of rain and the consequent drought which claims the lives of cattle. Hence, the production of butter which is needed for cloth making becomes inadequate. Therefore, they were obliged to wear clothes made of cotton and other types of fabricated clothes.

Still further, there is similarity in the types of clothes and hair styles between the Oromo and Sidama ethnic groups who live in and around the district known as Kokosa. If we take qolo, and *godayyaa* hair style as well as the girls earrings for example, we notice resemblance between girls of the two groups. (I, the researcher, am an eye witness from my fieldwork experience). This instance of acculturation may have come from geographical proximity, as it is evident that Arbegona, one of the districts of Sidama, is only eight kilometers far from Kokkosa. The consultants suggested that most of the jewelries and clothes made from cotton originated in the

Sidama groups who are neighboring the Arsi Oromo in kokosaa. (Bonsemo Mieso, Geshi Tikako, Kadiro Ganamo; Dame Tufa, Interview, November, 2012). The borrowing process might trace itself back to the common genealogy of the two ethnic groups as both are Cushitic in affecting the cultural/ traditional dress of the people. It is a further area of investigation, however.

On the other hand, religion plays a role. For example, if we take *guftaa*, one of the dress types introduced to the people via Islamic religion. Interestingly, it is accompanied by a change in the hair style of the Arsi Oromo women. Consultant *Mohammad Namoo* pointed out that women are allowed to wear finely made *bonko* but Islamic rules prohibit women who braid their hair with *heeqoo* from leaving their hair uncovered. They have to cover their hair with *guftaa*.

ʔɑk: ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔɑmanti ʔislɑ:mɑ:tit:i se:ra ʔɑmɑnti ʔislɑ:mɑ:tit:i

Akka aadaa amanti islaamaa-ti-tti seera amanti islaamaa-ti-tti dubartii-n

According culture religion Islam-is-to law religion Islam-is-to

According to the culture of Islamic religion

dubɑrti:n mɑtɑ: mulʔifɑtʃun ɗorkɑ:ɗɑ

mataa mul'ifat-chuu-n dhorkaa dha

female-NOM head show-INF-NOM forbiden is

according to Islamic religion, it is forbidden for women to show their hair

ʔɑmɑj:u mɑ:l ʔɑgɑr:t: jirɑ

Amma-yyuu maal agar-r-eet jir-r-a

Now-FOC what see-1Pl-PERFbe-1Pl-IMPF

What we see now is

ʔɑ:dɑ:kɑnɑ lɑmɑ:n gid:t:i ɗib:ɑ:tu dʒirɑ jetʃuɗɑ

Aadaa lamaa-n giddu-tti dhibbaa-tu jir-a

Culture two-DEF between-to effect-FOCbe-IMPF

as we can see there is influnence on culture (Appendix 2 text 4(039&040)[56])

To reiterate, one of the rules of Islam prohibits a woman from covering her hair. Therefore, the introduction of Islam to Arsi Oromo brought a shift in the hair style. This has inturn resulted in a conflict between practices of Islam and the traditional practices of the people. The woman had to shift their custom of decorating themselves from uncovered hair style to covered hair style with *guftaaa*. This ultimately brings cultural change.

kun mɑ:lin:i gɑrɑ:gɑrum:ɑ: jo: lɑ:l:e: kɑmtu ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔoromo:ti dʒen:e

kun maal-inn-i garaagarummaa yoo laal-l-e kam-tu aadaa Oromoo ti jedh-n-e

this what it-NOM difference if see-1Pl-PERF which-FOCculture oromo is say-1P-PERF

if we see The Difference on which is the oromo culture

jo:lɑ:l:e: kɑn wɑr:ɑ mɑtɑ:gɑrsi:se mɑtɑ:ɗɑ:n jo:kɑ:n bi:nťe

yoo laal-l-e kan warra mataa gar-siis-e mataa-dhaan yookaan binx-at-e

when see-1Pl-PERF of group show-CAUS-PERF head-with or comb-MID-PERF

when we see those who show their hair by combing or braiding their hair

jo:kɑ:n ɗɑhɑte dʒirbi:ɗɑ:n ɗɑhɑ:te de:mu santu ʔ

yookaan dhah-aat-e jirbii dhah-aat-e deem-uu

or braid-MID-PERF cotton braid-MID-PERF go-INF that-FOC

or who is going with the braided with cotton

ɑdɑ: ʔoromo: kɑle:s:ɑ duɗɑ:ɗɑ jetʃuɗɑ

san-tu aadaa oromoo kalessa dudhaa-dha jedh-chuu-dha

[56] the data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

that-FOC aadaa Oromo yesterday tradition-is say-INF-is

that is the indegnious culture of the oromo(Appendix 2 text 4(037)[57])

According to the given description, the previous form of hairstyle has symbolic meaning as it is an identity marker for the people. Thus, the change in clothing brought about in the gradual development of a new culture in dressing style. In addition, the explanation given above also shows how the religion dictates the cultural practices in relation to traditional hairstyles which is one form of dress. Here under the picture of two Arsi Oromo women is presented.

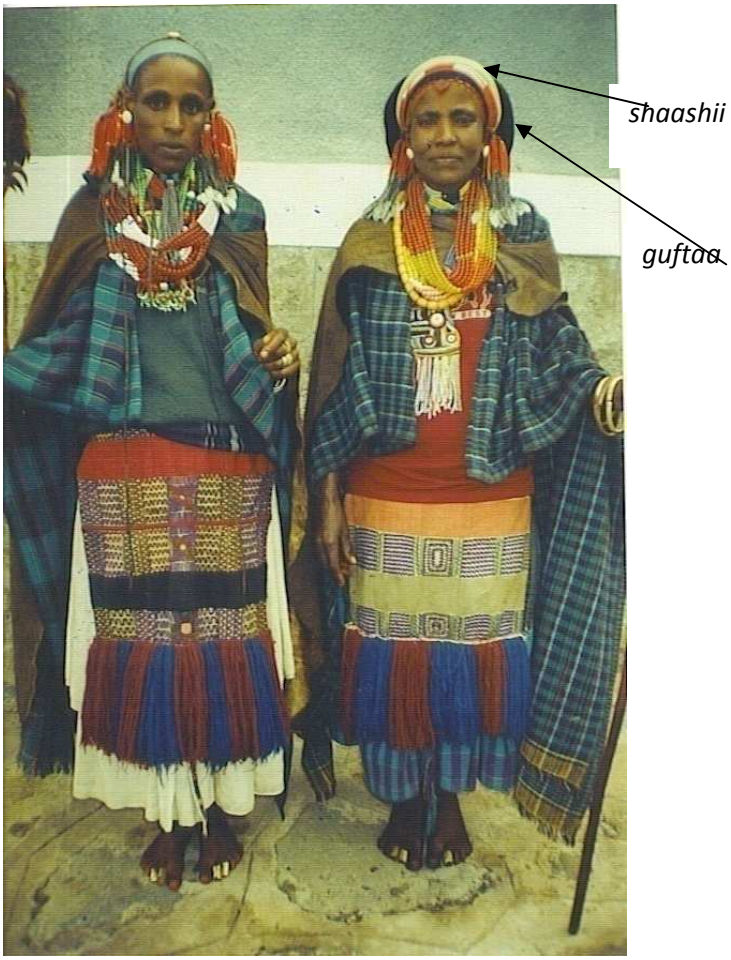


Photo 6.17 Arsi Women with traditional dress types

[57] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

The given picture shows the Christian and Islam religion followers with traditional dress. And visible difference in relation to hairstyle is *guftaa* and *shaashii* worn by the woman from Islamic religion.

On the other hand, formal education is referred as one of the possible factors contributing to the change in the traditional dress among the Arsi Oromo. As consultants pointed out, children who are sent to school are not willing to wear traditional dress types. They also do not want to learn how those traditional clothes are made. They prefer wearing modern clothes bought from market. As consultant Kadiro Ganamo said, children therefore cannot get the chance to learn about their identity as the neglected traditional dress types have symbolic meanings attached to them. In other words, it results in a loss of identity. Consultant Asha Bati described this situation using the following expression, *"Ijoolleen amma tekelooftee tekoloojii hordoftii"* (interview 1, group Discussion ; 18 November 2012). Children of this generation follow technlogy. This means that they are reluctant to wear traditional dress types.

The other factor associated with change is related to the way the cloth is made. Individual inventions bring about a change on the traditional dress style such as embroidery. Currently women participate in the decoration of those traditional clothes. It helps the women to generate income driven by a spirit of competition and creativity to introduce new designs. The best example for this is *bonko*. This cloth, as consultants agreed, has no ornamentation since it is worn by aged women. It symbolizes that they have matured children and they are aged enough and hence no need for additional beauty. It is culturally believed that for a woman of this age, her beauty is the children and the cattle she has rather than her decorated appearance.

6.3.2 Aspects of Continuity of Culture

Oral literature is one of the folkloric genres which include various subgenres. These are basically divided into prose narratives and poetry (Zerihun, 2000). Among these, cultural songs and plays have a great role in the continuation of cultural practices. Words and expressions used during oral poetry enable children to ask and understand what is around them. Hence, children plays have great place in the continuation of traditional practices. In this regard, there are various forms of oral literature which are common among Arsi Oromo. However, this section

emphasizes on identifying the role of children plays in the continuation of cultural practices especially that of traditional dress. For example, oral plays presented in the form of dialogue play a vital role for teaching children about their culture and surroundings. Among various forms here are some of the oral plays in context:

Play one: *Gama keenna Roobee Gama Keessan Roobe?* Literally means there was rain in our area. Did it rain in your area?

This play is presented in the form of dialogue. It is played between two children by way of asking and answering. Here is an example:

A. There was rain in our area. Did it rain in your area, too?

B: Yes it did.

A: What was in the rain?

B: Grass

A: Who will graze it?

B: Stars' mother cow.

A: Did the stars' mother give birth?

B: Yes she did.

A: What did she bear?

B: male and female (appendix 3; oral play 2)

The dialogue continues by extending the questions from simple to complex forms. If the first question is answered, the speaker will continue asking. After some steps the dialogue brings a slight change from the previous issues. The first speaker will then ask the second child for approval in comparative terms.

At the time of discussion, if child "B" answered to the question, saying: the snake bites human beings. Then the dialogue continues in the following way:

A. Is it only snakes, but not bees which bite human beings?

B. Bee produces honey.

A. Is it only bees, but not *kaamoo* which produce honey?

B. Kaamoo lives in *dukkoo*.

A. Is it only *kaamoo*, but not *idayyaa* who lives in *dukkoo*?

B. *Idaayyaa*[58] is male's beauty.

A. Is it only *idaayyaa*, but not a shield which is the beauty of male?

B. Shield is a property of heroes.

A. Shield is a property of heroes but is *hirboora* not?

B. *hirboraa* is hunter's jewelry

A. Is only *hirboora* not *sokora* which is jewelry for the hunter?

B. *Sokora* is jewelry for beauty

A. Is it only *sokora*, but not *mararo* which is an ornamental jewelry

B. *mararo* grows in the ground (appendix 3;oral play 2)

Then the dialogue shifts to other issues on their surroundings. In the given dialogue form of play, there are terms such as, *hiroboora*, *sokora* and *waantee* which are jewelries and handheld objects. Therefore, through the dialogue children can learn about the traditional material objects and their functions among the people. Though there is no pride enjoyed by killing wild animals these days, but the dialogue indicates who wears what type of the traditional Arsi dress as embodiment of honor.

Play 2; Muka mukkurree ganne! We threw the unwanted tree

A. we threw the unwanted tree

B. Yes we threw

A. What else?

B.*Mararoo* (appendix 3; oral play 1)

This play is presented in the form of question and answer. When the first child asks a question, the second child is expected to answer. And if the answer is correct, the first child continues

[58] A recently married woman

asking by saying: “what else?” and saying “what will you throw” in the middle of their dialogue. At the moment child “B” is expected to answer the name of plant which is not as such important among the people.

The dialogue continues in the same manner. And it ends with answering or losing truck of the question. For both ends, there is a conclusive remark; and the play continues with the first expression “muka mukkurree gannee”. Let’s see the next dialogue:

A. We threw the unwanted tree

B. Yes we threw

A. What else?

B. Waleenuu

A. What else?

B. Kokoflaa

A. What will you throw?

B. *anannoo*

A. You are right!

B. let the clever one born for you

A. same to you (appendix 3;oral play 2)

In the above dialogue, child “B” knows the type of tree which has no cultural significance in the community. In this case, he/she is appreciated by the one who seeks the answer. Therefore, this is a dialogue which ends with a blessing. The other one is:

A. We threw the unwanted tree

B. Yes we threw

A. What else?

B. Dhoqna

A. What else?

B. Qobboo

A. What else?

B. qaraaruu

A. What will you throw?

B. waddeessaa

A. ‘no’

B. ‘Why?’

A. *waddeessaa* is sacred tree. It is holded at the wedding day. (Appendix 3; oral play 2)

In this dialogue, child “B” failed to know the type of tree or wood to be thrown. In such cases the one who asks is expected to tell the exact answer. This is the way how children learn about their surroundings. Moreover in the given dialogue, one of the handheld objects-*waddeessaa* and its function is presented; and this is how the generation learns about their material culture.

According to Bosamoo (2013), these kinds of plays help the people to teach their culture to the new generation. Using such kinds of plays, the children can learn what is found in traditional Arsi culture. Plays also help to preserve traditional dress types. Therefore, the oral aspects interrelated with material culture should be given due attention.

In addition, regardless of modifications on the dress types and designs there are activities performed at zone as well as district level to preserve the culture. One of such phenomena is a cultural show annually presented during Tourism and Culture day, started in 1998 E.C. At this occasion, each district in the Zone displays its traditional dress types and other folkloric genres such as traditional drinks and foods. There is an award to be given to representatives who managed to demonstrate indigenous Arsi Oromo culture in best possible ways. This is one way of preserving culture of the people. Moreover, the culture and tourism office captures what is presented with recordings on this day. This also plays a role in preserving the culture and creating awareness among the generation on the meaning and preservation of culture.

What is more, the role of women groups who are engaged in making traditional clothes should not be undermined in relation to continuity of the indigenous culture. There are female groups of designers who help each other on how those traditional clothes are decorated. Garibe Bati is one of the members of *waldaa sinqee* in Kofele. According to her, currently there are considerable

changes in the revival of traditional Arsi Oromo clothes. The women who are interested in their culture meet and work together to preserve their tradition are participated in sewing and decorating *Bonko* which is the most common cloth type among Arsi.

In general, as culture is dynamic not static, changes on cultural aspects of one's culture is inevitable. Culture changes occur due to various reasons. Those factors may result in a complete distraction of the traditional practices of dress making and/ or shift to other forms of traditional practices. This held true in Arsi traditional dress in which leather clothes were substituted by cotton made clothes. The society can preserve its culture and pass it to the next generation through some coordinated efforts. Individual activities and oral aspects of culture play a great role in the continuation of tradition in this regard.

6.4 Traditional Dress and Status in the Context of Arsi Oromo

In Arsi Oromo dress culture, gender and age brings difference in the use of dress types. These dress types can help to determine the position of an individual in a group. Even though there are clothes and other dress types which are commonly used by the people within the same age and status boundary, there are also dress types which are special features of male or female with different status and age groups.

If we take the status differences among female, an engaged girl has various dress indicators which distinguishes her from girls who are not engaged. For example, *qube kaadhimaa* (lit. Engagement ring) necklace which is made from the combination of *tafsee, meetaa* and *qubee* is only worn by a girl who is engaged starting from the day of engagement ceremony called *qubee (kaadhimachuu).* It might be obvious to see a girl who is engaged and a girl who is not engaged wearing *qolo skirt* at the same time. But, it is not culturally accepted for both girls to have *qubee kaadhimaa* on their neck. This is because, this material object is an indicator for the girl to be passing from one social position to the other and therefore, it is only worn by an engaged girl.

In addition, in Arsi Oromo dress culture, a girl who is in the status of being a bride, has dress types that distinguishes her from other girls especially on her wedding day. As described earlier, the hair style, the type of clothes and handheld objects (they are carried by her husband and the attendants for this particular day) differ her from others and these all are symbols for her to be in

a transition stage to the status of womanhood. Moreover, having many types of jewelries specially necklaces, having finger and toe(s) rings, hand jewelries such as *laakkaa* (right hand wrist bangle), and *naashaa (left hand arm bangle)* jewelries are special status indicators for the Arsi woman of being in the status of womanhood.

Among the women groups a woman who gave birth recently has a special social position. This social position is expressed via her forehead sacred jewelry-*qanafaa* in addition to other physical changes observed on her body. This jewelry distinguishes her from other women and used as a status indicator.The number and size of jewelries also plays a role in identifying the status of a person who uses it. For instance, *tafse* and *darbataa* necklaces are among the major status indicators. Wearing two or more *tafse* on the neck as well as having a large size *darbataa* which might extendes from neck to below the waist show the woman is wealthy. Therefore, in this case dress types help to show the economic status of the woman who wears it.

Regarding the Arsi Oromo male, there are different dress types used by males in different social positions among the people. As discussed earlier, like that of female dress types which can be used commonly among the same gender group, males do have dress types which are commonly used. But, beside this, there are dress types that differentiate one person from the other depending on his social position. For example, on the wedding day, the groom (*ashilaa*) can be easily identified by his *waddeessa* -handheld object which is a symbol for his status change from unmarried to married.

On the other hand, being *qondalaa* or *Abbaa Mirgaa* (the hunter or the hero) is among the status positions in Arsi Oromo culture especially in the previous times. The person in this social status uses clothes, jewelry, handheld objects to demonstrate his position in the community. Especially jewelries which are uncommon among other male groups such as *qororoo mataa* (head jewelry), *warraaqaa* (an ostrich feather), *machallaa* (earring), and *sagettoo* and *hirooraa* bangles are the special features of a person who is in this social status. Those jewelries are concrete symbols to identify that person from others. In general, clothes, jewelries, handheld objects, hairstyles and other traditional body modifications and body supplements can help to differentiate one preson from the other based on the status.

6.5 Traditional Dress and Color in the Context of Arsi

Like people living in different parts of the world, Color use is common among Arsi people. Especially most of the female dress types are made from beads of different colors. In the case of clothes, except cotton clothes, all are depended on the color of the animal as well as the color of clay smeared on the skin or hide for ornamentation. Consultants from the three research areas commonly agreed that white is not dominant color for clothes and jewelries. In order to be chosen as a raw material for clothes it has to be combined with other colors especially with black. As consultant Mohamed told the *shaashii* headdress which is common among woman, a groom, *abbaa gadaa* and elders is a symbol of maturity and elderly. According to him,

ʔɑk:ɑ ʔɑ:dɑ: ʔoromo:tit:i ʔɑdi:n kɑl:t: ʔɑdɑdɑ:tin wɑ:n

akka aadaa oromoo-ti-tti adii-n kallatti adda addaa-tin waan

According culture oromo-is-to white-NOM direction different different-with something

ʔɑdɑd:ɑ:l:e:

addaddaa-llee

different-though

dʒirɑ:tu kɑl:t:i kɑnɑ:n ʔog:u lɑ:l:u ʔɑdi:n mɑl:t:o gɑdɑ:modʒ:iti:

jiraat-u kallatti kana-an ogguu laal-l-u adii-n mallattoo gadaaamojjii-ti

live-INF direction this-with see-1Pl-INF white-NOM symbol gadmoji-is

Though it can be analyzed in different ways, white is a symbol of aged (Appendix 2 text 4 (072)[59])

As discussed in woman clothes section, *shaashii* is always worn together with a black headdress called *guftaa.* In the case of a groom, who covers the head except the hair with *shaashii,* it is a symbol for maturity. On the other hand, woman who uses *guftaa* head dress uses *shaashii* to secure guftaaa in this case black color is combined with that of white. Moreover, elders who are respected among the people use *shaashii* while they are participated in rituals as well as conflict

[59]The data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

resolution. Therefore, based on the given information, white in this case is part of the culture and is a symbol for maturity and elderly. It is,

mɑl:t:o dʒɑ:rsɑ:ti

mallattoo jaarsaa-ti

symbol elder-is

it is a symbol of elder

mɑl:t:o be:kumsɑti

mallatto beekumsaa-ti

symbol knowledge-is

it is a symbol of knowledge (Appendix 2 text 4(073 and 074)[60])

Among different colors used for dress types, black has great place in the color choice of Arsi. It is believed that the color symbolizes the neutrality, purity and the omnipresent nature of God (waaqaa). According to the data:

ʔɑk: fɑlɑ:sɑmɑ ʔoromo:tit: wɑ:kʼni gur:ɑtʃa

akka falaasama oromoo-ti-tti waaq-ni gurraacha

According philosophy Oromo-is God-NOM black

According to Oromo philosophy God is black

gur:ɑtʃa dʒetʃun guftɑ:nis gur:ɑ:tʃɑ

Gurraacha jedh-un guftaaa-ni-s gurraacha

White say-INF guftaaa-NOM black

Black means guftaaa is black (Appendix 2 text 4(054 and 055)[61])

In the world view of Oromo, the black color is represented by God, who is believed to be all rounded, neutral, pure and omnipresent. On the other hand purity is a symbol of beauty:

[60] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

[61] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

gur:ɑ:tʃi mɑtɑ: ʔisɑ:tin simboɗɑ

gurraach-i mataa isa-a-tin simbo-dha

white-NOM head it-GEN-with beauty-is

White by itself is beauty (Appendix 2 text 4(067)[62])

Therefore, purity of God is taken as beauty in the context of *guftaa* which is one of the distinctive features of Arsi women especially for those who cover their hair. On the other hand, regarding the color of cattle chosen for various occasions as well as for clothes, consultants told that black color is the dominant color in the culture.

The other color is red. This color is used as embroidery for male cotton cloth- *wayaa*. There are also dress types which have red color such as *sandaabaa, qolaa, fororaa,* and *qolo* (this has other additional colors). Mohammed states, this color can be defined indifferent ways:

tok:o di:mi:n:i gosni ʔisɑ: go:tum:ɑ:ɗɑ

tokko diim-in-ni gos-ni isa-a gootummaa dha

one red-DEF-NOM type-NOM it-GEN hero is

one is bravness

lɑm:ɑf:ɑ: ʔɑm:o: sɑɲiɗɑ

lamaffaa ammo sanyi-dha

second also –species-is

it is also species

second is offspring (Appendix 2 text 4 (107and 108)[63])

One, the color red is a symbol for a hero, whom his bravness is approved by the wild animal or an enemy in which blood is sacrified for this cultural symbol. On the other hand, the color represents the continuation of life. However, as described in the previous chapters, different

[62] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

[63] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 4 Mohamed Namo Annotation.eaf

types of jewelries and decoration of handheld objects are made from beads of different sizes and different color. But, consultants agreed that except the colors which are basically taken as part of the culture, such as red, white and black, others are used just to make a variety for the sake of beauty and attraction. Ayyaantu duubee is one of the cloth makers in Adaba, according to her explanation, the patterns for the variety of colors depend on the individual skill and there is no cultural pattern which is approved to have symbolic meaning. The researcher also tried to look at the ornamentation made on different types of dress, the observation therefore results with different types of ornamentation of the same cloth-*bokee* with different pattern of color combination. Therefore, one could understand that the increase in the number of parties who participant in the ornamentation process for the sake of income brought a competition between the groups and the outcome may result with deviation from the cultural pattern. Even though, the people especially females are known by their jewelries with varity of colors, there is no strict cultural pattern known among the people for using or not using different types of colors.

Chapter Seven: Cultural Occasions and the Role of Dress as a form of Nonverbal Communication in the context of Arsi Oromo

This chapter deals with the interdisciplinary nature of folklore and linguistics. Regardless of the culture difference among the people in the world, birth, marriage and death are rites of passage. These social events are accompanied by different practices according to the culture. Objects used in birth, marriage, funeral etc. may communicate gender, social status, the societal economic system, social and religious life. There are various forms of festivals and celebrations included under the major genres of folk customs practiced among Arsi Oromo. Among them marriage custom, Ateetee ritual and funeral ritual are discussed in this chapter.

This is because; these rituals are the known practices as well as occasions which help to show the function of dress as a form of nonverbal communication. On the other hand, in order to demonstrate the gender and age difference in the use of dress, marriage custom is preferred to be selected. In addition, Ateetee ritual is selected to reveal the relationship between dress and cultural ritual which are sub genres of folk custom. Moreover, the reason for the selection of funeral ritual is to describe the shift in the use of traditional dress among the people in the extreme occurrences of happiness and sadness which portray symbolic meanings nonverbally. In addition, to share Tabony's idea, "Since death and mourning are human activities participated in by all cultures, a study of social practices surrounding these activities makes a useful point of comparison between places and people" (2000, p.2).

7.1 Marriage Customs and the process of Marriage (wedding) among Arsi Oromo

This section focuses on describing the common process of wedding ceremony to show the symbolic meanings of dress as a form of non verbal communication. "Marriage in Oromo culture is the responsibility of the boy's and the girl's families rather than being only that of the two individuals" (MBAYA, 2002, p.226) this holds true for Arsi Oromo as marriage is a relationship between two families, and between clans. For the Arsi as well as for most of the other Oromo groups, marriage is one of the outstanding features of social relations in which every member of the community is to build up his own family and by this means to extend and prolong his clan.

Marriage has a remarkable place in the life of Arsi people; it is a means of building social interrelation also considered as a way of getting a significant place in a social responsibility among the community for a married person considered as having reached full development of a mature age. For the people, marriage is one of the three naturally inevitable occurrences which are called "*Sadan uumaa Xabboo*". They are the three inevitable occurrences or rites of passage, *dhaloota*-birth, *fuudha-heeruma*-marriage and *Du'a*- death. As consultants told there are basically two controversial issues concerning who *xabbo* is. Some say *xabbo* is a founding father of Oromo and others say that Oromo is a founding father of *xabbo*. According to consultants the two controversial ideas are:

ťɑb:otu kɑn ʔoromo:ti nun dʒeɗɑn
xabboo-tu kan oromoo-ti nu-n jedh-an
xabboo-FOC GEN oromo- is we-NOM say-3Sg
They said xabo is a son of Oromo
gɑri:n ʔɑm:o: ʔoromo:n kɑn ťɑb:o:ti kɑn dʒeɗus dʒira
garii-n ammoo oromoo-n kan xabboo-ti kan jedh-u-s jir-a
Others-NOM again oromoo-NOM GEN xabboo-is that say-INF-FOC be- 3SgM-IMPF
Others say that Oromo is a son of xabbooAppendix 2 text 1(182-184)[64])

The two ideas presented above show that xabbo is one of the decendents either before or after the Oromo. And culturally it is believed that the three occurrences are gifts (orders) from *xabboo*. Among the three rites of passage, In Arsi culture, to be married is to be a full member of the people but to unmarried or get married but die without a child is considered as to be one of the bad misfortunes.

The Oromo's have a traditional marriage custom which descended from earlier times. As Arsi people is one of the groups of Oromo, the marriage ritual has a long history. According to the data from the fieldwork, the history of marriage starts around *madda walaabu* in the place where

64 The data is also found in ELAN Annotation 1(182-184) annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

the original land for Oromo people. And the first marriage was held between *waayyu* (the founder of *bokku*) and one of the Oromo girls. According to the data *waayyuu* has been announcing that marriage among people is an acceptable custom. By saying:

> harɗar:a: kʼabe tun mucʼat:in ʔisin na: ken:itan tun tij:a
> harda-irraa qab-e tun muca-tti-n na-a-f kenn-itan tun tiyya,
> today-from start-3SgM thisF child-3SgF-NOM I-GEN-to give-2Pl-PERF thisF mine
> Starting from today the girl you provided me is mine (Appendix 2 text 1(085)[65])

In addition, the data also shows that marriage among the group is one of the acceptable cultural practices which were also believed to be announced by *waayyuu*. According to Obbo Bonsemo, *waayyuu* gave the first rule of marriage by saying:

> ʔisin ʔil:e: ʔam:o: ʔintala wali ken:itani
> Isin-illee ammoo intala wali kenn-it-an-i
> YouPl-FOC again daughter each other give-3SgF-3Pl-PERF
> You also give daughter to each other
> ʔintala wali ken:itan san namni bira: ʔisini:t:i hin ror:isu dʒeɗe: se:ra kana tumatani
> Intala wali kenn-it-an san nama-ni isin-ii-tti hin rorris-u jedh-ee seera kana tum-at-an-i
> Daughter each other give-3SgF-3Pl that person-NOM 2Pl-GEN-to Neg hurt-INF say-3SgM law this establish-MID-3Pl-PERF
> No one hurt you for the daughter you gave to each other for marriage. Thus, they established this law (Appendix 2 text 1(086&087)[66])

The well-known marriage practice among Arsi passes through different phases. As the written sources, oral data found from consultants in the research areas as well as archival sources show, the marriage process starts with mate selection, preceded by sending of *ketticha* (go-between) to the girl's parent, *ebo irkifannaa (house interance)*, *miju* ceremony, then *Qube* (betrothal), which is followed by *kittaanaa* (circumcision) and the wedding-*Cidhaa*. Based on the process

[65] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf)

[66] The data is alsofound in ELAN annotation 1bonsemo, bokku and the origin of oromo.eaf

mentioned above the marriage custom can be basically divided into three phases. These are: before the wedding day, the wedding day and customs related to after the wedding day.

7.1.1 Marriage Custom before the Actual Wedding Ceremony

For the Arsi Oromo, the first marriage in particular does not take place by the agreement between the partners. Culturally parents have an exclusive right and responsibility to select a marital partner for the son and daughter. This is very often applicable to girls than to boys, especially in the case of *walgaraa*[67]. For the Arsi people the girl's lineage, socio-economic background and capacity to manage a family are the criteria put more than any thing for such a union. On the other hand, marriage among Arsi is preferred in early stage of adolescence. There is one proverb which says "*Fuudhaafi Deemsi ganamaa*" "travel and marriage has to be early". In the process of mate selection, an Arsi father has to go slowly and carefully through different stages in selecting partner for his son.

The first and major factor to be considered is the rule of exogamy, which prescribes individuals, not to select their marriage partners from the clan to which they belong. In Arsi it is believed that, after the eight generation, the kinship link is genetically weak and is no longer a pertinent factor for the marriage transaction. Culturally it is also believed that marriage to one's own blood relatives would affect the future generation. Children born to such marriages would be weak and retarded physically or mentally and the partners also develop leprosy- "*ciccitu*". (Hirut, 2012)

Consultant Obbo Bonsemo described that the other factor which is considered as a cultural rule in mate selection is the social class in which the girl and her family belong. The girl should not be from the blacksmiths (tumtu), also the son's father has to make sure that the girl is not belongs to the outcast group, the potters *(waataa)* or tanners *(cawwaa)* who are the marginalized groups among the people. (Interview; June 2013)

[67] *Walgaraa*-marrige by exchange is one of the marriage customs among Arsi in which the boy is expected to give his young sister to the brother of his would be wife in order to get marry her.

After the identification of the girl based on the above criteria, the process of marriage starts with *kadhata* literally it means begging. This is the most dominant and prevalent type of marriage negotiation in Arsi. In the process, the father starts thinking of sending a mediator *ketticha* or *halangicha* to the girl's parent. *Ketticha* is a person who knows the background of both families; he can be from one of the girl's relatives and can also be father's brother, close relative or intimate friend of the boy's family.

Ketticha is also known by the name called *riqicha*-the bridge. This person is the one who can bring the two families together in marriage smoothly. The sending of the *ketticha* can be in two ways. The first is, he can be asked by the son's father to go and ask the girl's parent for marriage which is proposed by his son. The second is the father can ask the *kettich*a to go and ask the girl's parent whom he selected to his son for marriage. The second option can happen if the father is not willing to accept his son's mate selection based on known cultural reasons.

At the day the boy's family decided to send the mediator. It is believed that reading of entrail is the very first way to see what will happen regarding the marriage. So, black sheep is slaughter in the fence of boy's family and the elder in the village is asked to read the fortune from the entrail. Then, if the reading shows bright hope, the process started at that day.

The first meetings of the *keticha* (go-between or match maker) and the father of the girl are not easy (Hirut, 2012) .On the first arrival of the *ketticha he* is not allowed to enter to the house. After a long exchange of salutation, the girl's father will ask him the purpose of his visit. The *kettichaa*- standing outside home, will then tell to the girl's father that he has been sent to him to request his daughter's hand in marriage to the son of so and so (the boy's father and his clan/*gosaa*). If the girl's father is not interested with the marriage relation between his and the requesting clan, he can inform the *ketticha* that they/the family/ have already promised the girl's hand in marriage to the other person. But, if interested he says that there is a need to discuss with relatives and clan members about it as the girl is not only the daughter of her father and her mother. Therefore, he promised him that family and relatives need time to discuss the matter. After that the *ketticha* is given an appointment to come back on appointed date.

On the supposed date he will come with other persons to hear the decision. Fortune/Omen *milkii* has a great place in Arsi Oromo marriage custom. On the way to the girl's parent house the

kettichaa and his accompanies give attention to everything around them. Because, culturally the future life of the proposed partners depends on what the three persons observe on their way to the house of the girl's parent. Whatever they see in every direction is culturally interpreted as a good/bad fortune/omen. This process is called "*miilki laaluu*". In Arsi Thursday, Friday and Sunday are the days which are selected for "*milki lallachu*"as these days are symbols of good fortune/omen in the culture (Yenealem, 2000). Other things like coming to a couple, a woman with a full container of milk/water, the girl milking a caw or carrying a container full of milk or water are also taken as good fortune */miilki gaarii*/. Everything that happens to the opposite such as, coming to a widow who is known by shaved hair (will briefly discussed in the 3rd section of this chapter), meeting the one who is digging the ground, a woman with empty container etc. are interpreted as a bad fortune. In the process of marriage *milki lallachu* (observing fortune) is not completed within one day. It will continue until both families decide the wedding day. Fortune is observed by the girl's parents and the relatives as well as by the boy's parents and their relatives.

Upon the arrival of the ketticha and his accompanies, if everything they observed are symbols of good fortune, they will say *"milkiin nu laattee isiniis nuu laadhaa" "Good fortune is given to us, so you should give us your daughter"* (Tamirat, Interview, 13 December 2012). In this day, they are allowed to come into the house. This day and the custom is culturally called "*ebo irkifanna*" literally it means leaning the spear to the wall. At this day, the *ketticha* and his accompanies are identified by their spears and the *kettichaa* holds a leathered whip called *halangee*. *Eboo* (spear) is a symbol of braveness and masculinity and *kettichaa*'s whip is a symbol of intellegence and wisdom. However, in this particular day the men leave their spear outside the girl's parent house. This symbolizes that they came for peace and to make a good relationship. This is a cultural means by which peace is expressed non- verbally through cultural object-*Eboo* which is one of the forms of dress.

On this particular day, the girl's mother invites the known traditional porridge-*marqaa* made from barley with butter which is served with milk for the guests. This is a symbol for acceptance of the request and in the culture this cultural food is served for the the person (s) to be liked. In the process the girl's family start announcing that the relationship is acceptable before the go between and his accompanies ask them about their decision. This act of offering guests is again the cultural way of understanding each other. Though, the girl's family is on the way to accept

the marriage relation, the process and looking for the omen continues. "At this point the *ketticha* is told to observe the omen *(miilki*) and they also do the same" (Hirut 2012, p.145). This is the way that the two sides can get time to identify the good and bad in order to study the background of each other. After the invitation and discussion the *ketticha* and his accompany are appointed to come back and confirm the observed omen and its interpretation for the marriage negotiation.

Again on the fixed date, the *milki* is observed by sending elders together with *ketticha* to the girl's family. On their way, they observe what they see during their travel to the house of girl's parent and they came to the girl's parent to inform that the son's father wants to relate with them through marriage. If the things they observed interpreted as good omen, the *ketticha* and his accompanies will repeat what the *ketticha* said on the second day of the request. "The good fortune given to us, so you should give us your daughter". The girl's parent, if the *milki* they observed is good on their side too, they can agree to the marriage of their daughter into the son of the family who sends the request.

After the agreement has been reached between the *ketticha* and the elders from the boy's side and the girl's family, there is a ceremony of preparing traditional drink and food in the house of girl's parent. This occasion is called *mijuu dhugu*. In this occasion the *ketticha*, the would-be-husband and his father, the best man from their clan and one of the sons of the boy's brother as well as the kin relatives from the girl side are attending the ceremony. On this particular day, *Qorii* full of *daraaraa*[68] (traditional food made from roasted barely, barely flour and butter) and two baarree/ sabaree of yogurt and traditional drink made from honey-*bokaa* these all are served for the occasion. *Bokaa* is preferred for its sweetness so that the prospect husband and wife will enjoy mutual love and acceptance to others in their future life.

[68] Culturally this cultural food has another name called *miccirraa*. But, if it is served in the occasions such as mijuu dhuguu and circumciation it is named as *daraaraa*-flower



Photo 7.1 Baarree/seberee/ a cultural container of milk

After this, the *kettichaa* and the girl's parent discuss about the bride price and the date for *qubee* (engagement). On the fixed date, the would-be-husband come with a necklace made from *Meetaa, Tafse* of different color beads, green grass and *qubee* and hangs the necklace on the would-be-wife's neck. After that he puts the green grass on the traditional carpet (*itillee)* in which she sits on. In this case the green grass is a symbol for fertility. The necklace represents their union. Starting from that day the girl said to be engaged *(kaadhimamte)* and no one ask her for marriage. This is a culturally approved custom that any one from the culture can identify that she is engaged without asking anything about her. Sometimes betrothal *(kaadhimachu)* is performed while a boy or a girl is too young to say anything about his/her future between the two families. As we can see here cultural materials such as Qube and necklaces used to transfer messages through nonverbal way. No words are needed if the girl is engaged or not. Observing those ornaments is enough.

The other step on the process of marriage among Arsi Oromo which follows the *qube* ceremony is the *kittaanaa* ritual. Daniel (2002) explained that *Kittaani (aa)* (circumcision) next to *qubee* is believed to be among the essentials which qualify the girl for womanhood. Even though, the side effect of *kittaanaa* on health is introduced to the people by health officials in the areas, and there is a change in attitude towards it, but (Mohammed Namo, Bonsemo Mieso, and Bariso Sumi interview) agreed that, it is one of the cultural activities which are basic for the traditional

wedding ceremony among the people. On this ritual her intimate male friend (goshoo[69]) and her would-be-husband attend the ceremony. *Kittaani* (circumcision) is performed by *ogetti* (skilled woman). On the eve of this ritual, the would-be-husband and his best man bring *damma* (honey), *wayaa*, a cloth made of cotton which is to be worn by the girl and this symbolizes the boy's desire of keeping his fiancé warm and comforatble, along tailed sheep which is slaughtered and eaten by the girl for recovering from the wound and the long tail symbolizes the virginity and dignity the girl is expected to have , *qorii* full of *daraaraa*-cultural food made from roasted barely, barely flour and large amount of butter as well as two *Orboo*/container/ full of milk. At the actual day, the boy and the girl sit side by side, put their hand with *daraaraa* one after the other and eat the *daraaraa* on their hand. She eats from his and so does he. Again they drink the milk from one container at a time and the two families will also do the same. Eating and drinking together is culturally a symbol for unity and togetherness in their future life. Next to *kittaanaa* especially in previous times, the girl's finger nails are removed by using blade. As consultants said, this is to make the girl not harm him when the husband has sex with her.

7.1.2 The Wedding Ceremony

The wedding day is the actual day for the marriage custom to be performed. The actual wedding day could be from one to two months after the circumcision ritual (Bonsemo, Bariso and Garibe November, 1012). It is the very important day in the life of both the bride and the groom. On the wedding day, about fifty to hundred men from the same clan, known as *hamammoota*- the groom's father and his best man *(jaalaa)* accompany the groom to take the girl/bride from her parent's home.

According to Arsi Oral history, *hamaammota* has its own history. Among the two indigenous marriage practices of Arsi, its history is directly related to *fuudha shifa*. In this type of marriage the participants were only six. According to Mohammed (Interview 3, November 2013) there has been a challenge to the girl's parent as well as to the boy's parent on their way to *malkaa* (the place of blessing the couples) or boy's village. They were forced to give the girl to other person

[69] Gosho/goshicha is usually from the girl's gosa and hence is fully known and recognized as a girl's guard and companion by the family.(Daniel,2002:p.89)

because of the small number of accompanies. For the sake of security, increasing the number of accompanies was taken as a social mechanism among the people. This is where *hamaammoota* starts to be part of the Arsi Oromo culture.

On the wedding day, there is preparation for the acceptance in both families. All members of the community from young to old participate in the ceremony. The girls and the boys sing and dance together. At the same time, elder women together and elder male also sing and dance together on the other side of the house. The researcher doesn't come across the time where elder male and female sang together.

On the other hand, there is a ceremony which is performed by the mediator called *dhibaafachu*, the father, and the mother at the house of the groom's family. The groom, the father and mediator sit out side on the cultural three legged chair called *barcuma.* At this time, the groom's mother brings a spoon[70] full of butter, holding her *siinqee* on her left hand and gives the spoon to the mediator. The participants in this ceremony are all dressed in traditional clothes and hold cultural objects in their hands.

On this particular day the groom has to take a stick *Waddeessa* with him. Moreover, he wears *wayaa* (cloth) which has two types depending on the wealth of his family. He wears *qiidaa-* a four fold thick *wayaa* if he is from a wealthy family or wears *qoola* a cloth of two fold wayaa. Again among handheld objects, he holds *eeboo* (spear) and *halange* (whip). Wayaa worn by a groom is different from others in that it is smeared in butter. Culturally *Halange* has various roles. First, it helps to drive horse with. Second, it is carried to frighten the bride with, if she attempts to refuse when he deflowers her. Again *halange* and *eboo* are symbols of masculinity and braveness. In addition, the groom wears *shaashi* on his head in order to secure the butter as well as it symbolizes maturity, *qomo (hindake)* on the above waist part of his body, *gonfaa* trouser which is secured by *sabbataa* and shoe made from animal skin or shoe bought from market.

[70] Acultural spoon made from made from a cattle horn

Immediately after the mediator has received the butter first he puts it on the tip of *waddessaa*, then on the mother's head, the father's head and the son's head consequently and lastly he puts it on his own head and gives the spoon back to the groom's mother. The process is called *dhadhaa dibuu* (butter smearing) at this time the mediator bless the groom and express his good hope for the wedding day to be completed in a peaceful manner. Next to it *bokaa/a traditional honey drink/* is presented for them and they drink together. The father and his son, the mother and the groom and the father and the mediator drink *bokaa* from the same container. Culturally this is a symbol of togetherness and it is believed that the groom promised to his family that he we will not let them and he is always by their side. Then, sheep is slaughtered for the reading of fortune from its entrail. Usually, it is performed by an elder who is believed to be knowledgeable. Others stretch the enrtail while he is observing fortune from it. At the same time he gives the following blessing to show the good things he observed. By saying:

Hundinu misha gaarii wama takka shakka hinqabu; Things are all fine; : it has no doubt
Mandoyyuu itichee golgatti amba itichee; Mondo is stable, and peaceful
Waaqni dhugaa nuu haagodhu; Let God make it good for us;
Waaqni kuno nagaa nuu jijjiree. God has changed our life

(blessing 1:10:01-10:13)..\Users\Tsigerada\Desktop\video file\video 2 marriage ceremony.mp4

In this blessing the elder tells what he understands from the entrail reading. He recites that marriage and peace among the society-mando elders are blessings from God.

After this, the entrail is tied to the neck of the groom's father. In the process, he also presents blessing "*bulii itiii ijaarami; bulii itititt ijaaramii bulii amba keessattii itiii*. Literally this means: Let you (the groom's father) have long and peaceful life in your community as well as in your family by acknowledging his role in rearing a boy who is going to fulfill his cultural responsibility by getting married. Moreover, the sheep's blood also has a cultural symbol in relation to the wedding. It is kept in the container called *qorii*. The blood which is poured on to the ground during the slaughter is culturally believed to be a sacrifice for the earth. Because of this reason, the person who slaughters the sheep takes the blood from the ground and gives

blessing to the boy's family by smearing the blood in the knife on their forehead in the following way:

Laftana nuu ititi waaqana nuu ititi nu araarami *Let the earth be stable let the sky be stable Forgive us*

Arsi tana abbaa ilma wal beeksisii *Let Arsi father and son to understand each other;*

Haadha ilma walbeeksisi *Let mother and child understand eachother*

Haadha warraaf abbaa warraa walbeeksisi *Let you help wife and husband to understand each Other*

Soda wal beeksisii *Let marriage relatives understand each other*

Arsi tana gosee arbaa godhii *Let God help Arsi to be the largest (Arba)*

Arsi tana gosaan bulchi *Let the Arsi people to be governed by gosa*

Dhugaa nu bubbisi dubbii nu beeksisi *Let we speak truth let we know what we are doing*

(blesssig 2; 09:25-09:49)video file\video 2 marriage ceremony.mp4

In the time of blessing, the participants agree to the blessing most of the time by repeating the last word uttered by the elder. For example, in the first expression participants say, *itichii*, then *araarami, beeksiisi*, etc. it goes like this. Here is also a blessing to the earth (*lafa*) and to the sky *(waaqaa).*

Live long life (the bride and the groom)

Let you be a man who live with gosa peacefully

Let you be a man of seera

Let you live peaceful life with your family

Let you be a man always to be respectful

Let you and your family let the family be strong as an iron

(blessing 3;08:39-09:07)video file video 2 marriage ceremony.mp4

After this blessing, the genital organ of the sheep is separated from the body and tied on the groom's right hand and he will go to the bride village by having it on his wrist. This culturally symbolizes, "I have come after slaughtering a sheep" as it is a sign of maleness and braveness.

The next major process in the wedding ceremony on the actual day is traveling to the girl's village. On the way, the groom is identified from other participants as well as his accompanies *(hamammota)* with his well decorated horse. If by chance there is someone who wears a leopard skin (*kalloo mi'ayaa*) among the *haamaammotaa*, the groom's honor will increase in the eyes of the bride's relatives and elder people. Because wearing such dress type communicates the presence of a heroic person from the groom's side. When they arrived at the girl's village, they are not allowed to enter the gate. At the moment, individuals from the bride's family approach to welcome them and invite them to sit there. They sit and bless the girl and the boy and her family and after blessing they will be invited to enter and sit on the traditional carpets *(itillee)* prepared for them which symbolizes the acceptance and respect for the guests. The yogurt full of *seberes* is served to the participants. At this moment the mediator puts his *halange* which is a symbol of intellegence and wisdom into the *sabaree* and gives it to the father and son to sip the yogurt. After that everbody drink including the bride's father. As mentioned before in Arsi Oromo culture, having a drink together from the same container is a symbol of union and belongingness and one can see from this how material objects can transmit messages via non verbal communication. Among the *seberes* two of them will be returned to the bride's family with the yogurt. Likewise, the participants will do the same to the *bokaa* which is served to them next to the yogurt/*itittu*. Therefore, what we can understand here is the role of those traditional handheld objects in transmitting nonverbal messages.

At the same day at the bride's house, while the men are involved in the ceremonies that seal the marriage between the groom and bride and the two clans, the bride sits in the dark in the enclosed sleeping space (*golaa*) which is found at her family's home with female friends and relatives. In this personal room, the girls and women cry and help the bride singing *bayee-bayee* (farewell song). This is a solo repertoire, and the bride, the girls and women take turns in singing *bayee-bayee* all afternoon until the departure of the bride. When the girl sings a *baye-bayee* solo, she concentrates on recurrent themes: spirits and ancestors, her parents, her mother's love, the family, the gift, the wedding day, the ugliness and unkindness and other imagined faults of the groom, his mother, his clan and his lineage. Though it is culturally believed that the father-in-law becomes a father to the bride and the bride is ready to leave her home, but it is sad to do so. This

all are the issues mentioned through the poetic expressions. Here are some examples from *bayee-bayee* solo on the issues raised by the girl.

Haat tiyyaa, Roobduun, qamadii hafte daattee, *My mother Roobdu grinds all wheat in the house*

Haat tiyyaa, Ashiyyoon, takkatti qabdu baaftee! *Mother Ashiyyoo planned to give her Only girl for marriage*

takkatti'i, ilma keessaa, mee baasaa galgaleessa'a *Let you send the only girl among the boys in the family not early*

naqattoo, harkisa'a diinni duudee, mee narraa hayyisa'a *Omba came to take me please don't let them to do so. (Husen, 2000 p.136-137)*

In this farewell song the bride tries to express her feeling of sadness. This is because as it is expressed in first line she is the only female in the family and she doesn't need to depart from them.

They came delightfully
Look! She is frightening
My family never punishes me
I have no power it is your position to govern me
You can punish me I already lost my relatives
Let my friends not be crule to me
Please accompany me not to be far from me.
we will not meet from summer to winter.

(Farewell song;(11:18-12:19) video file\video 2 marriage ceremony.mp4)

As can be seen from this solo, it is the moment for the bride to express her sorrow. For a young woman, her wedding is one of the most difficult rites of passages in her life. Not only will she go to a far off location where she may not know anybody, but this is also the passage into womanhood.



Photo 7.2 the bride and her friends performing farewell- bayee-bayee solo

This particular occasion for the women, on the other hand, is a time of sorrow and fear, because the bride will go to live with another clan that is often very far away, and often she knows neither the groom, nor his family.

From the girl's side changes will be observed in dressing style on her wedding day as compared to the previous times. From this particular day onwards the girl starts to wear *qolo* (the above waist cloth made of cotton and thread), *boke* above *qolo* on her shoulder, she wears *qexxaa* skirt which is secured by *sabbata* or *hanfalaa*. In the case of one of the research sites-Kokosa starting from this particular day the bride changes her hair style. She is not using any headdress on her hair, rather her hair style is changed from *godayyaa* to *bantii* she let her hair unbraided. But in the case of Adaba and Kofele, very often the bride starts wearing *guftaa* which is a symbol of a change in marital status because of the Islam doctrine that woman should cover her head.

As it was explained under chapter two, one of the major characteristics of Non-verbal communication is its collectivity (package). Therefore, in this case the collective appearance of

the bride at the day of her wedding transmits messages through non-verbal way that she is a woman. On the actual wedding day, in the morning the bride is smoked with dried roots of *sardo* grass- *qunnii* which has an attractive smell and the process of beautification is *called qayyachu*. Then after, the girls accompany her in her *bayee-bayee* solo. The girls are different in their dress style from the bride in that, they wear *qolo*, cloth made from cotton and *kalloo*



Photo 7.3 girl's hair style, jewelry and hair style

kallo made from animal skin which is worn on the shoulder and it extends to above the knee. They made their hair *godayyaa* hairstyle and both cheeks have a permanent tattoo *haxaroo* which symbolizes girlhood and beauty. They also have *bito* bangle on their hand.

From the groom and other participants side, after drinking and eating out side home the gift ceremony will continues. The groom presents his gift-*wayaa* to the bird's father and they drink *boka* from the same container at once and kiss the father's forehead and his shoulder. The gift symbolizes his respect and having a drink is a symbol of unity with the birde's family. Next he presents the same kind of gift to her mother who is sitting in side home with woman accompanies. And do the same of what he did to the father.

After the gift ceremony and the time for departure, the groom stands in front of the house with *waddessaa* and *halangee* in one hand and a calf on the other hand. Culturally the calf is a gift to her younger brother ; it symbolizes as a substitution of his sister. At this moment the groom says

to her brother, I gave you a calf for the substitution of your sister; let the calf will give you more cattle as I wish your sister will give birth to children. Then he is allowed to enter to *gola*.

At the time, the bride family is ready to send their daughter to her new village, material gifts of milk containers, food containers as well as materials used for her daily activities as a wife and the dowry gets ready. In addition, there is a process of blessing and message transfer from the girl's family to the groom and his family. First, the bride's mother stands in front of the door having *barree* on her hand, at the same time she holds seven *buna qalaa* on her hand. She takes three and gives the other three to the groom. Second, she eats the *buna qalaa* on his hand and he also does the same. Eating the same thing from one's palm is culturally a symbol for promise not to do bad thing to one another. And the last *buna qalaa* is left as a symbol for the bond between the two families. At last she says, "*Hoo baarree hoo barsee",* "Take *baarree* and promise". This means then, I gave you my daughter and promise me to take care of her. The groom in his turn promise her mother by saying I take baarree(symbol for the bride) and promise to fufill my responsibility." this is how the two family promise to each other. On the other hand, other participants in their song say:

Waddeessaa baarree offalaa maarree	*waddeessaa and baarree be succeesful*
Ashoo Ashilaa eefooyee lamaa	*the bride and the groom become one*
Ashilaan Ayyaa eegalee lamaa	*The groom no more to be alone*
Waddeessaa baarree offalaa maarree	*waddeessaa and baarree be succeesful*

*(*Mohammed Namo, 3Interview ;November 2013)

This expression indicates the unity of husband and wife as *waddeessaa* is a sign for manhood and baarree is a sign for womanhood. The other blessing and message transfer comes from the bride's father. The father sitting in between his accompanies starts to transfer messsages. It is presented in the following manner:

Yes! I gave you my daughter!	*I send a message!*
her mother is from this family and her gosa is	
named as (indicationgthename)	*I send a message!*

I as you already know her father's gosa is! I send a message!

my doughter knows problem! I send a message!

She knows pamper(comfart)! I send a message!

do not hurt my doughter! I send a message!

Be fertile for two years three yearsfor the sake of her! I send a message!

be fertile for two to three years for my sake

befertile for two to three years for your sake I send a message

solute your in-lows I send a message

respect your family I send a message

member of this gosaa are your in-low respect them I send a message

ask them when they feel sick I send a message

(Mohammed Namo; Interview 3, Novmber 2013)

The father teachs or reminds the new member of their family about their culture do and don't based on the custom of the people. This also shows how the norms among the people are transferred from generation to generation.

After such and related issues are raised and the message is transferred from the father to the groom and his family, the groom and his accompanies confirmed their willingness to fulfill the responsiblitis given to them by saying, *we heard and received all the messages you send for us! Let it be a will of God."* after this cultural process the groom is allowed to take the bride.

At the time of departure, one woman among the relatives embraces the bride and takes her out. This is because; in the culture the bride is expected to close her eyes until she is far from her compound. In addition, it is believed that looking back at the time of departure to the compound and family makes her sad and experiences her bad memory. Thus, to avoid this, she is embraced by the woman; Then sits on the horse back which is prepared for her and all the stuffs including *siinqee* and other cultural objects presented for her are packed and dowry will be taken with her to her new village. At the time the bride leaves the house, the calf entered into the house-*golaa*.

At the moment, as the bride is being "taken" from her home, her young friends gather in a circle outside to cry and sing *tartarii birraa* for her departure. (Leila, 2009). Traditionally, the bride comes back to visit her family after three months of married life, which generally corresponds to the spring. Their song is in call and response manner, accompanied by clapping using traditional musical instrument made from a horn and hold by girls. Similar to *baye-bayee*, the youngsters are feeling unhappy because of the departure of their friend, and the music is a means for them to overcome their unhappiness and to say a final goodbye as a group.

On her journey to the new village, she is also identified with the presence of *siinqee* on her husband hand only for that day. In Arsi, marrying with *siinqee* is culturally regarded as formal marriage. If a woman is married based on *siinqee,* she has full rights. If she is married without *siinqee,* she has no power in her husband's family (Tsehay, 2008). In their travel to the bride's new home, she is identified with her style of dress such as *kallo handaraa* gown, *qolo* blause, *qexxaa* skirt, and *banti* hair style or a hair covered with *guftaa*, as well as different forms of jewelries.



Photo 7.4 a young woman with her accessories

In addition to *siinqee*, the bride also has decorated *buqqee urgoo* which is traditional woman accessory used to put perfumed butter which is again carried by others for this day only. It is ornamented with beads. She uses the perfumed butter as an ointment or lotion and *boraatii* on her hand. These all are symbols of the transition to womanhood in Arsi Oromo culture.

Again, in the groom's family house, the welcome ritual is a joyful celebration for welcoming the bride as a new member into the groom's family and clan. At this moment the boy's mother, neighbors and relatives are waiting the bride and the groom as well as accompanies by performing cultural activities related to the wedding.

At the time which is expected to be the right time for their arrival, the women sing traditional songs in a raw or a circle. At the same time, male elders who are wearing *wayaa* and *gonfaa* by having ulee on their hand come together and participate in the ceremony

The girls and the boys sing a cultural song called *Tirrii. Tirrii* is a song in antiphony, with a group of girls and a group of boys that respond to each other. These groups form two facing lines that are several meters apart. The girls bring the percussion, called *kabalaa*, an idiophone composed of two pieces of wood that are hit together. (Leila, 2009). During the performance, while the girls stay in place, the boys move their line forwards and back. When the boys are ready, they move intowards the girls, and as they do so, they jump from one leg to the other and make throat scraping sounds.

During this time, the girls shake their heads quickly in up and down motions, at the time they move their head their decorated hairstyle give them additional beauty together with the hitting of *kabala* in a ternary rhythm that contrasts with the binary rhythm of the songs. At the moment the boys tend to move their legs and entire body more violently. Culturally, boys and girls are not supposed to touch each other during the dances, so moving the stick forward or back is a way of playing this unspoken rule.



Photo 7.5 girls and boys performing tirri song

The groom's mother sits on cultural carpet-*itillee* having a cultural spoon full of butter and the women stand around her and sing cultural song. As the groom and bride together with accompanies arrive at home, the groom's mother stands up and waits for her son to get out of his horse. At this time immediately children not less than three are allowed to sit on the groom's horse. This is culturally a symbol for the good willing of the family, clan of the groom and bride to have children in their future life. The mother again smeared the horse with the butter to bless it as it brought back her son safelly. Then the bride gets out from her horse and invited to sit on the lap of the groom's mother.



Photo 7.6 the bride sitting on her mother-in-law's lap

Then elder women from the clan handed green grass and put on her lap. As mentioned earlier, this symbolizes fertility. Again they sow grains on her breast and hip. The women spit out yogurt on her breast and belly by saying “let your belly give birth to children and let your breast feed children with milk.” In this case the grain is a symbol for need of children. These and similar cultural rituals allows the bride to be accepted as a new member of her husband’s extended family and clan. In some respects, the bride almost becomes a new replaced sister and daughter to the members of her husband’s extended family. This means that she would be treated more equitably and viewed as a more important new member as soon as she gives birth to her first son, takes more household responsibilities, increases her overall production or contribution (both physical and material), and gains more influential roles and social status in the home of her husband’s extended family.

On the same day, there is a cultural ritual which is performed by husband and wife who are knowledgeable in performing the ritual and acknowledged to be good models of mates among the community. The ceremony is known by the name *badaafachu*. This is done by those partners in the *golaa*- a sleeping room which is prepared for the groom and bride. They put the raw folded

barely or coffee in the fire and put it into butter and give it to the bride and groom. This is the first feast that the bride has in her new family. Bartels (1983) remarked that the grains of coffee in the bowl symbolize a woman's ovaries, and once penetrated by the butter, they come to represent the woman's fertilization. Although the children from this union will take the lineage and clan from their father, they will always be connected to their mother's clan, thus assuring an ongoing link between the two clans then they give them yougert todrink together from the same container. After this ritual they leave the room for them and come out of it.

7.1.3 Customs Related with After the Wedding Day

The wedding ceremony has various cultural occasions and it will continue until the first visit of the bride and the groom to the girl's parent after they start to live together.

The next day of the wedding ceremony is the day for the bride to receive gifts for her new home. The husband's family slaughters an aged cow for her. Culturally the reason for selection of an aged cow is a symbol of hope of long life of the bride and her partner. During thr selection, they take care of the health and physical appearance of the cow. Because the cow which is selected for the gift is the symbol of a bride and it is related with the fortune for her future marital life.

After the ritual is completed and the bride is to be one member of the husband's community, the style of dress is changed to the woman status. At the time of her travel from one place to another for different occasions, she wears and holds cultural clothes, jewelries and handheld objects. Before she gives birth to a baby regarding below waist clothes she wears *qexxaa*, she has above waist cloth called *qolo*, and short beautiful gown made from animal skin called *boke*. The woman at the early stage of her marriage also put hand jewelry. They are of two types. One is a jewelry worn on the wrist and the other one is a jewelry worn on the arm. *Bito*- literally it means left is the jewelry worn on the left hand. It can be one or more. In the culture the large number of *bito* is a symbol of wealth. She can put naashaa on her left arm and *laakkaa mandhee* and *laakkaa irree* bangles on her right hand.

Table 3. Marriage Custom and the Symbolic Role of Dress as a Form of Nonverbal Communication

Particular occasions	Users of dress types	Dress types	Symbolic meanings embaded to them (nonverbal cues)
Before wedding ceremony a.*ebo irkifannaa*	The kettichaa and his accompanies	*Eboo*/spear/ *Halangee*/Leathered whip/	Masculinity Wisdom Intelligence
b. milki laaluu	Widow	Shaved hair	Bad omen
c. qubee ceremony	The girl to be engaged	*Meetaa,tafsee* and *qube* together as necklace	Announcing that she is engaged and no one asks her for marriage
d.eve of circumcision	A gift from boy for the girl	*Wayaa*,	The boy's desire of keeping his fiancé worm and comfortable
e. after circumcision	The would-be wife	Removal of nails with blade	Powerloss Calm, decent
The actual wedding day	The groom	*Wayaa* smeared in butter is of two types *Qiidaa* (four fold wayaa) or *Qoola*(two fold wayaa) *Waddeessaa*	Beauty, wealth wealth as compared to the second Maturity Masculinity A change in social status (boyhood to manhood)
		Eboo/spear/ *Halangee* *Sabbataa* waist tie(belt)	masculinity Wisdom, knowledgeable maturity
	knowlkedgeable elder	*Bilaya a*(to smear a blood with)	Strongness

	Guests	*Itilleee*/prayer mat/	Respect and worm welcome, acceptance
	Groom's accompanies	*Sabaree* /milk container/ *Qorii*/traditional food container/	drinking and eating from these handheld objects is a symbol of Unity and Togetherness
	The bride's father, mother and best men from the clan	*Wayaa* gift from the groom	Respect
	A bride	*Boke*-gown *Qexxaa*-skirt *Banti*-hair style *Siinqee* and *xuunxoo* hold by the groom,and attendants	A change in status from girlhood to womanhood
	Girls	*Godayyaa* hair style *haxaroo* tatto on both *Calle addaa* *Bitoo*	girlhood Puberty beauty
	Women participants	*Siinqee* *Buqqee urgoo* *Boke*-gown *Bonkoo*-gown *Guftaaa*-headdress *Shurrubbaa*-hair-style with heeqoo *Sandaaba*-forehead jewelry *Qola*- hair band *Fororaa*-headdress jewelry *Lotuu*-forehead jewelry *Qarrisaa*-earring *Callee addaa*	Woman right Young woman Adult woman Religions status of woman hood Womanhood(kokkossaa) Religions status of womanhood Womanhood

		Callee hudhoo *Haadhoftuu,* *Kaafuraa,* *Jomoree* *Jombollaa* *Callee faaximee*	aged
		Darbata (kalxata),	thickness symbolizes economical status
		Tafsee	its number symbolizes wealth
		Maracoo	symbolizes the high social status as a wife of a hero
		Qubee-ring	womanhood its number symbolizes wealth
		Bitoo-bangle	womanhood
		Mirgoo or *naashaa laakkaa*-wrist bangle and arm bangle	
		Saasiraa-toes ring	its number symbolizes wealth

7.2 *Ateetee* Ritual

Ritual is one of the most powerful socialization mechanisms known. Through our daily rituals, our domestic and public ceremonies our rites of passage which accompanies birth, marriage death and other important markers of our lives we define and re-affirm our traditions and ourselves. (Laird and Ann, 1988)

Laird and Ann further explained that "Words may accompany ritual; ritual takes us beyond language and beyond our conscious, cognitive categories because of its powerful use of myth, metaphor and symbol" (1988, p.157). Everything which is connected with ritual cannot be expressed only through words. Above all however, ritual involves action, it is performed,

enacted, and reflecting the past and shaping the future at one and the same time. Moreover, it is one of the forms of folk customs in which its use of folk imaginative arts like myth, metaphor and symbol makes it the powerful mechanism for the building and reconstruction of socialization among the people.

Ritual is a "set of actions, performed mainly for their symbolic value, which is prescribed by a religion or by the traditions of a community" (Laird and Ann1988, p.158). It can have various forms and purposes; while sacrifices or worship are practices of religious manner, symbol or gift giving are rituals with practical purpose. These intents were often connected with the society and thus the rituals served as a means of strengthening the relationships within the society. This holds true for Oromo people rituals in general and that of Arsi Oromo in particular.

Oromo rituals recreate, enact, and maintain the social order. This social order symbolically expresses the cosmological order Prayers link the earthly part of the cosmological order with the Divine one they generally call for Waaqa's intervention in the cosmos, which he has created and sustains. (Bartels, 1983).

As far as Arsi Oromo is concerned, there is a ritual performed by women. It is the social mechanism by which they secured the violation of their right caused by nature and/or men. In the case of gender related abuse, when a woman discouraged or attacked by her husband or another person verbally, or physically she can gather with other women in front of the person's house to perform a song and poetry-based ritual. This ritual is called *ateetee* ritual.

There are various reasons for the preparation and Enactment of this ritual among Arsi women. Those reasons can be generally categorized under the two basic types of Ateetee. These are *ateetee falaa* and *ateetee goraa*. Ateetee is a ritual performed by woman. It is a sacred award given to woman for their good manner. Therefore they can bless or curse based on the acts committed on woman or the people. (Bonsemo Mi'essoo; Interview Record 47)

The classification is based on the case related to Arsi Oromo in general and Arsi Women in particular. On the other hand, the gathering of women is also named as *ateetee*.

Ateetee ritual can be celebrated when natural crises take place such as drought and famine, in the area where the people are living. It is also celebrated to pray for the fertility of a woman who needs to have a child or to give birth peacefully. Moreover, in recent days, *ateetee* ritual is started to be celebrated at the day of Culture and Tourism in a district, zone, region or national level. These all are included under *ateetee falaa*.

On the other hand, *ateetee* ritual can be performed for the reason of the conflict between husband and wife or may be the conflict between a woman and a man in the village or far from the village. Such cases are included under *ateetee goraa*. Next, each cases will be discussed as a type of *ateetee* basically inrelation to material culture and nonverbal communication.

When we are talking about ateetee ritual, it is inevitable to talk about material objects. The most important ceremonial objects which accompany *ateetee* ritual are *siinqee* (ritual stick) and *qanafaa* (sacred piece of wood). According to Arsi Oromo oral history, Oromo women received certain ceremonial objects and powers from the Gadaa system. Culturally it is believed that Abba Gadaa/father of Gadaa/ brought to his wife two symbols of female honor and authority. These are a *siinqee* (ritual stick) and a *qanafaa* (sacred piece of wood). She used the *siinqee* in an ointment and other important ceremonies. *Qanafaa* is a sacred material object which is to be tied around her forehead after giving birth, and for four or five months afterward. This wearing of the *qanafaa* represented the high dignity of mothers, and served as the focal point of female protest and resistance.

There are different views about the time of performance for the ritual. Jeylan (2004) argues that early British accounts of ateetee as a fertility goddess with annual ceremonies. According to the data from the fieldwork and the argument presented by Jeylan, there is no fixed date for the performance of *ateetee* ritual. The time for the performance of this ritual is case based. It can be related with fertility, famine, offence etc.

In Arsi, whenever natural disasters fall, women gather and perform the ritual. Therefore, when crops failed, the rains stopped, epidemics spread, or in times of war, women are the appropriate Arsi people members who prayed to relieve the hardships. In such cases, the men formally ask them to gather around a riverside-*malkaa*. Then the women gathered and prayed to get solution

for the trouble. (Bonsamo mi'esso Interview, Record 47; Immishu kequu; Interview, 12 November 2011 and Garibe Bati; Interview; 29 June 2013) According to the oral history, for example, in the case of a need for rain, after the women have prayed, *Waaqaa*- the Supreme Being, would immediately provide the community members with as much rain as they wanted. Therefore, what can be understood from this is that women's *ateetee* rituals belong to a cultural belief that women are intermediaries between waaqa and human. These and related cases are included under the *ateetee* type-*ateetee falaa* in which the term *falaa* is refers to -solution.

In Arsi, women use the *ateetee* ritual, among other things, for rituals of conception. Similar to other communal rites, according to (Ferraro, 1995; Harris, 1995 cited in Jeylan, 2004) it is used also to enhance their group solidarity. The fruitfulness needs is one occasion that triggers group solidarity among them. It is obvious that an Arsi couple would ask the *saddeetoo* senior mothers to set up an *ateetee* ritual for them. Therefore, the village women would gather and celebrate a sing with call and response prayers. (Gebreamlak Bariso; Interview 20 November 2013) in the process of the ritual the the *seddeettoo* bless and the woman and other participants take turn in accepting the blessing. It is presented in the following way:

The Senior Mothers	The child-seeking woman with other attendants
Lafa tana nu dhagayi! (O listen this Earth!)	*Dhagayi (Listen)!*
Waaqa kana nu dhagayi! (O listen God!)	*Dhagayi (Listen)!*
Malkaa tana nu dhagayi! (O listen this ford!)	*Dhagayi! (Listen)!*
Waaqa dachiif Samii uumte nu dhagayi!	*Dhagayi (Listen)!*
(O listen God who created the Earth and the Sky!)	
Waggaa dhufu ilma ardaa dhaalu haa baattu!	*Ee, haa baattu (yes, may she bear)!*
Let she next year bear a baby son who inherits the homestead!)	
Tuni toltuu	*(This is well)!*
Toltuu	*(Well)!*

(Jeylan, 2004,pp.114)

Once the women are in *Ateetee* ritual, they are observing a ritual and many taboos come into full force. As it is stated in Jeylan, "For instance, any free communication with them immediately turns into formal estrangement." (2004, pp.114) Moreover, while these women go to and back from the ritual place, "one has to avoid crossing their path. In this case, one has to stop with a respectful silence and wait until the women pass off" (2004, pp.114).

I remember what was happened before some years. It was a time for the first travel to Kokosa which is one of the districts of West Arsi for data collection. On the way to the town, women not more than ten carrying *siinqee* in their hand and holding a bunch of grass came to the main road, at that moment the driver was immediately stopped the car. I asked my key consultant (Bonsamo Mi'esso) about what is happening. The response was in the occasions when women go to *malkaa*, no one crosses them. Otherwise they scream at him/her and/or claim. If they met, one should ask respected salutation by saying *dhiiltee dhinnaa* (save us your eyes! then women respond by acknowledging the salutation and allow to pass saying *offalaa dabraa* (let you pass).

After this formal salutation he/she gives them grass to show his/her respect to the gathering. This is because, a woman with bunch of grass and *siinqee* are respected in the culture. Therefore, no one is allowed to cross until the woman/women cross the road. If one just overlooks and steps into their path, they start to curse that person.

As mentioned in chapter two, nonverbal communication is contextual and culture based. In the cases like not crossing the woman holding *siinqee* and bunch of grass one has to know what he/she is doing in relation to such cultural activities. In addition, this cultural activity is a means by which message is transferred through non verbal way and can be understood in the context of that culture.

Each *ateetee* ritual involved several actual meeting before it is concluded by a sacrifice. The equipments a woman uses in the ritual are passed down from mother to daughter and include *siinqee*, cultural clothes, jewelries, and food and drink containers. At the day for the ritual performance, the women go to an area of suitable grass and water-*malkaa*- because symbolically these kinds of areas are considered as the sources of life *(*Bosamoo Mi'esso*;* Interview 4 July 2013 Record 47*)* the women on the way to *malkaa* are identified by their handheld object, *killa* - with *miccirraa* (a cermonial food), *cicoo* (handheld object) full of milk. They gather there to pray for peace, for rain and for health of human and cattle.

In addition to those handheld objects, woman who participates in *ateetee* ritual is identified by her way of dressing. The same as that of wedding ceremony, having headdress or braided hair style with jewelries; Putting earring, wearing various forms of necklaces such as, *jomore, kalxata, hudhoo, jombollaa, hadhooftu* etc. hand jewelries such as *qube, bito, naashaa, laakkaa,*

and *saasiraa* (leg ring) jewelries are cultural features which identify woman from other members of the people.

Therefore, for someone who observes the gathering of women with cultural dress together with those material object can understand that they assemble for ateetee ritual. So, it is obvious to understand the role of dress in the ritual without a need for verbal explanation. Moreover, in the culture beside *ateetee* gathering for pray of good days for the people, members of the community may ask them to pray and bless for their wealth of cattle by sanctifying gifts. This special way of gathering is called *asaraa*. Currently, it is celebrated once a year particularly at the day of culture and tourism day.

The *Ateetee* ritual and its success are celebrated by singing, praying, blessing and receiving gifts. Whatever the case of the women gathering, it can be ateetee gora or ateetee fala, it is common to sing, pray and bless by the women. After the food and drink is distributed to the participants. Prays are offered that the year will be prosperous for people and their animals and peace will prevail among family members. Here is the oral poetry recited by the women in one of their gathering in praying *waaqa* to give them rain. The blessing and pray is presented in the form of poetry.

ʔɑte:te: si:ikʼe te:n:ɑ lo:ti kʼɑbɑn:e

ateetee siinqee teenna looti qab-at-n-e

ateetee siinqee our jewelry hold-MID-1Pl-PERF
we hold our jewelry stick-siinqee
rɑb:i ke:nɑ mo:ti kɑdɑn:e
rabbi keenna mooti kadhat-n-e
God our king beg-1Pl-PERF
We begged our king-God (Appendix 2 text 3(020&021)[71])

In the above folksong it is mentioned that how the women pray to God for forgiveness and his help. Moreover, one can understand the role of the material object siinqee in the process of pray.

[71] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 2 kofele consultants sinkʼe and kʼenefa discription.eaf

As it is presented above, in Arsi Oromo there are various reasons for the performance of Ateetee ritual to be held. In the case of the conflict between husband and wife, if he is beating of his wife with *Qanafaa* or not allow his wife to participate in women gatherings, she prepares herself for complain. This is one of the reasons for the *ateetee goraa* to be organized. *Qanafaa*, as it is explained above, is a sacred object or the high dignity of mothers which distinguishes the woman who gives birth recently from other women.

In Arsi Oromo culture the sex of a baby born is identified at the day of their birth. If the baby born is male, members of the family announce the born of a baby boy by ululating */ilii ilii ilii ilii ilii*/ five times. Likewise, if the baby born is a female the relatives or intimates declare the sex of the baby born by ululating four times. Thus, the listeners around the house or even in the nearby village are informed about the sex through paralanguage which is the vocal but nonverbal dimension of communication. Based on this cultural implication there is a time difference in which the woman puts *qanafaa* on her forehead. In the given time, the woman should be respected and no one is allowed to discourage, attack or dishonest her. If this cultural rule is obeyed the woman calls her friends for help of securing her right.

gɑ:fɑ ʔisi:n ɗɑwɑ:mte dʒet:e
gaafa isii-n dhaw-aam-t-e jedh-t-e
if she-NOM hit-PASS-3SgF-PERF say-3SgF-PERF
if she is hit by someone,
hinʔili:lfɑt:i
hin-iliilfat-t-i
Neg- scream-3SgF- IMPF
she screams (Appendix 2 text 3(036&037)[72])

In the culture, the husband has to respect traditions related to birth, which include not mistreat his wife. If he beats or verbally abuses her, she immediately consults to the concerned bodies.

[72] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 2 (036-037)annotation 2 kofele consultants sinkʼe and kʼenefa discription.eaf

There are *saddeettan hanfalaa* (council of senior mothers) who are responsible to solve such kind of problems. Mohamed Namo (Interview; 21 November 2013) defines council of senior mothers as a cultural female organization which is an exclusively non kin women's social organization. The association have motto which stressed on their right, "*Mirga keenyaaf niqabsoofna*" (we struggle for our right). It is true. They devote their time and energy whenever anybody breaks the rule of their culture. Moreover, as stated in Jeylan (2004), only married and postmenopausal women were allowed to be the members of this village sphere association.

On the other hand, the absence of a woman from women ateetee gathering without her interest is taken as yakka -wrong doing- and her husband who is the case for such activity is regarded as *yekkamaa* /wrong doer/. Therefore, if one of the reasons happened, thus an offended wife leave her responsibility , hold her *siinqee* and calls *ateetee* outside her house by ululating (calling) *"ilii-ilii-ilii"* loudly until neighbors gather and join her. The ritual activity relates to this case is, as consultant Bonsemo Mi'esso described, categorized under *ateetee goraa* which is a gathering for peace and for keeping their (women's) right.

This shout (scream) for gathering is known as *Iyya dubartii or iyya siinqee*. The phrase *iyya dubartii* refers to woman's shout, and *iyya siinqee* is a shout of *siinqee*. This means as *siinqee* is the cultural weapon for woman, shouting by holding *siinqee* is directly related with in search of security.

At the time such scream is noticed from outside, women who have heard the ululating (the call) are expected to come and join the woman having their *siinqee* on their hand. Even those women who are breast feeding at the time of the scream should let the babies cry and leave the house to join in the scream. This act is culturally acceptable by the people. Therefore, no one blame them for their action. This is because, in the culture violation of women's right is like cutting her *siinqee* and this is regarded as killing the woman (Ashaa Baati; group Discussion 18, November 2012).

Moreover, the women consider the offense committed against a single woman as violation committed against them as a group. For this reason, no woman in the village is excused for her absence from the protest unless and otherwise, she has an absolute problem she cannot control

over. They will not tolerate any woman who breaks this female solidarity. But in the serious cases that a woman prevented from attending the scream may send her staff and then counted as her presence. In this case, *Iyya siinqee* is the mode of non-verbal communication between Arsi women. It is a way of telling one another that *seera rabbi* (law of God) is disturbed and regarded as *waayyu* is lost.

If the neighbors who have heard the scream and come together consider the woman has a cause, they join her until all the women of the neighborhood have gathered. Then what ever the case upon the arrival of women in the village, the next step is asking the offended wife to speak out her objection. After this, the women either directly proceed to the ritual or most probably take an appointment for another time. Likewise, after abandoning their houses, the women gather in the compound of the misbehaving husband or man and sing songs of resentment. By saying:

de:t:u hɑrmɑ ʔɑ:nɑni

deet-t-u harma aanan-i

give birth-3SgF-INF breast milk-NOM

a mother with breast of milk

De:t:u tij:ɑ ɗɑ:nɑni

Deet-t-u tiyya dhaan-an-i

Give birth-3SgF-INF mine hit-3Pl-PERF

They hit a mother (my dear)

Mɑnɑ: ʔɑnɑ wɑ:mɑni kɑ dʒɑɗɑn

Mana-a ana waam-an-i ka jedh-an

House-from me call-3Pl-PERF that say-3Pl

They call me from my home (appendix2 text 3(057-059)[73])

Usually, whether it is a raw or circle two women from the group come out in front and dance a cultural song by having *sinqee* in their hand and wearing traditional clothes and jewelries.

[73] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 2 kofele consultants sinkʼe and kʼenefa discription.eaf



Photo 7.7 Women performing cultural song

In such cases of abuse, the *ateetee* ritual begins with the male elders taking a bundle of green grass-*coqorsaa*- to the women-a sign of reverence and reciting a formal apology for invading their space. Because it is culturally approved that women are the major actors in the *ateetee* ritual. The male elders start the communication by saying all together, *Dhiltee dhinna* (save us from your eyes). This way of expression is formal among the people at the beginning of communication. Then, the women elders accept the grass, responding, *Hoffola Hobbayaa* (Be saved!) or *Ijarraa hafaa!* (Survive our eyes!).



Photo 7.8 the *ateetee* gathering

After the opening, the men ask the women the reason for their protest. Then one of the female elders (*saddeetto*) recounts the crimes committed against the female community, against motherhood (protected by *ateetee*, thus this protest is named for the goddess). The next step is calling for the offender to *ateetee*. In the process of the ritual, the offender for example, a husband who beat his wife with *qanafaa* is expected to be present on the occasion and he is directly asked if he has dedicated the offence. The outcome is that the wrongdoer asks their forgiveness by compensating the group and appeasing their divinity. Therefore the wrong doer expected to ask excuses in three ways. In this case, he usually does this by sacrificing a cow or calf for the women to feast on or buy cotton thick shawl (*gaabii)* to the woman he/she abused or making honey and serving to the participants or can do all depending on the complexity of his crime. Therefore, if he admits his guilt, he will apologize for his act, offer a gift for the gatherings and ask forgiveness then, reconciled with his wife or the woman, then after he gets back to his home.

In the process of giving and taking the gift for example in the case of *asaraa*, the male elders cut green leaf and tits wood from the forest and put it in the areas which can be seen easily and tie the gift (cow) using a rope. At this moment the women come to it and put the bottom tip of their *sinqee* on the body of the cow together and bless. This is the way the women show their acceptance for the gift. At this time they bless the person who presents the gift for the gathering in the following way.

Gurbaa gabbataa kiyyaa gabbadhuu kaa ayyoo tiyyaa, you good boy be respectful and be wealthy

*Gurbaa ulfaataa kiyyaa ulfaadhuu kaa ayyoo tiyyaa. you respected person be respectful (*Interview 2 Group Discussion; 18 November 2012)

.



Photo 7.9 the ateetee gathering at the time of blessing the gift giver

After the blessing the slaughtering process will continue. As the consultants of one in the focus group discussions explained, the gifts which are given for the *ateetee* participants are depended on the interest of the women gatherings. Culturally there are gifts for scarify which are acceptable and not acceptable. As they said sheep is not preferred as a gift for the ritual. If it is given to them as a gift, they sing the following folksong to indicate that the gift is not appropriate for the ritual. Moreover, using poetic expression they express protest concerning the gift. By saying,

lɑgɑ ʃe:dɑmɑ

laga sheedamaa

river shedema

the shedama river

hin ɲɑ:ɗu ho:lɑ:

hin nyaat-dh-u hoolaa

Neg eat 1Sg IMPF sheep

I don't want to eat sheep

ʔɑk:ɑ dʒe:dɑlɑ:

akka jeedalaa

like fox

like that of fox (Appendix 2 text 3(082-084)[74])

In the given *ateetee* song the women express their unwillingness to receive the sheep presented by the wrong doer for them as a gift for the compensation of wrong doing.

[74] The data is also found in ELAN annotation 2 kofele consultants sink'e and k'enefa discription.eaf

on the other hand, if the women are happy with the gift, they song the following folksong to show their acceptance in the following way:

Gurbaa gabbataa kiyyaa gabbadhuu kaa ayyoo tiyyaa; *you boy with good physical appearance*

Gurbaa ulfaataa kiyyaa ulfaadhuu kaa ayyoo tiyyaa. *you respectful boy be respectful forever*

*(*Interview 2 Group Discussion ;18 November 2012)

After that, through the ritual celebration they bless and confirm him that they forgive him for his wrong doing. By saying, "listen to us we are going to give you blessing" *(*Interview 2 Group Discussion ;18 November 2012).

In the ritual the cow or calf is slaughtered, the the skin on the tail is splitted and given to the women. At the time each woman tie the skin at the tip of their sinqee. In the culture specially around kokosa the number of splitted cow or calf skin is a sign for her participation on the number of women gatherings-ateetee.

In the ritual the women gather in some place by making a raw or circle and sing traditional songs. The thanks giving for their cattle is one of the various folk songs which are performed in the ritual.

Ya Sayyaawoo saayyaawoo(3x) *o! my cow/s/(3x)*

yee saayyaa gonboo yoo itti raasan bareeddii orbooon *it is very joyful to make butter using'orboo'*[75]

yaa Sayyaawoo saayyaawoo(3x) *you cow/s/(3x)*

yee saayyaa gonboo yoo itti raasan bareeddii orboon you cow!

you beloved cow/cattle/ it is very joyful to prepare butter by using'orboo'

(Interview 2; Group Discussion;18 November 2012)

The women in the ateetee gathering raise various issues using the songs. In addition to the issues related to rain making and gifts they also bless and present their pray to ateetee.

[75] It is a cultural material object which is used as a milk container.

Malkaananna dilteedhinna lilteetinnaa you blessed area/malka/ be save us from your eyes

Sa'aa namaa qixxee jirraa ilililililiiii human and cattle are all fine (equal)

Si jaalannee sindeebinaa kaayyoo laalaa sijaalannee sindeebinaa we love and respect you(ateetee)!

Anaa wajjin Rabbii wajjin sijaalannee sindeebinaa with God and the folk we love and accept you!

(Interview 2; Group Discussion; 18 November 2012)

In general, *ateetee* ritual is said to be a public gathering of women and it serves as religious, family and social function in inter and intra Arsi people.

In the process of *ateetee* ritual, as it is a time for blessing and good joy there could be a curse. If the offender does not confess his mistake in person or in absentia, the women impose a more serious curse called *abaarsa siinqee* (the curse of *siinqee*). This is the stage when all of the women rest their *siinqee* on the ground and pray to *Waaqaa* for the offender to be punished. And it is believed that the person who is cursed by the women gathering will immediately punished by God.

As explained above, the ritual is performed by women; and it is special occasion for them. Culturally in the ritual girls are not allowed to participate. The conflict is resolved by *siinqee* which is a weapon for woman and girls are not allowed to hold *sinqee*, unit they get married. Therefore, the reason for the absence of girls is connected with the role of siinqe in the ritual as well as the social class they belong in the society. Moreover, *ateetee* ritual is one of the most important cultural occasions which help to show the role of Arsi Oromo woman dress types in transferring messages through nonverbal way as dress is a form of nonverbal communication.

Table 4. *Ateetee* ritual and the symbolic role of dress as a form of nonverbal communication

Particular occasions	Users of dress types	Dress types	Symbolic meanings embaded to them (nonverbal cues)
ateetee ritual gathering of woman with their *siinqee* because of woman scream	Woman	*Qanafaa* *Siinqee*	High deginity of mothers A weapon for women right protection in search of security.
at the day of the ritual	Women gathering	All dress types described under marriage ceremony (see table 3) and handheld objects*(killaa* and *qorii* full of milk and *miccirraa*)	together symbolizes womanhood Their diginity and respect*(wayyooma)*
the day of secrifice	Gift given to a woman(women) offended by a wrongdoer Elders	thick shawl (*gaabii*) *Eboo*/spear/ *Halangee*/Leathered whip/ Bunch of grass-*coqorsaa*	Respect A need for forgivness Masculinity Wisdom Intelligence Fertility Peace

7.3 Funeral Ritual

This section deals with funeral ritual. This ritual is divided into three phases. These are customs and the dress types related to pre burial, actual burial day and dress types which accompany the ceremony and post burial with the dress types viewed in the ceremony. Based on these three

phases of the ritual, the roles of Arsi Oromo dress in relation to nonverbal communication are discussed.

In many ways, death is the most significant rite of passage. It is a phase of the life-cycle that all humans go through. The inevitability of death means that people prepare themselves for death throughout their lives. Funeral customs are parts of the rites of passage connected with death. Whereas, death is a rite of separation which is highly developed at a funeral, but in some cultures and religions, it is again taken as a period of transition, both for the deceased on his or her way to the afterlife, and for those who remain behind to come to terms with their loss. According to Kulmar (2000) cited in Kõivupuu (ND[76]) funeral is the specific way of treating a corpse. In the ceremonies associated with death, the main theme has, on the one hand been the integration of the deceased person with the community of the death, and on the other hand, reorganization of the surviving community by means of the funeral customs.

As it is mentioned earlier, death is a rite of passage and it is common to human beings. This holds true of Arsi Oromo who classified death as one of the three inevitable occarances of xabbo-the rites of passage. In spite of a difference in funeral customs depending on the culture, funeral consists of several different sub-customs like burial goods and sacrifices, funeral feast, mourning and taboos, etc. As it is a ritual, traditional and it is followed precisely according to the culture.

7.3.1 Pre Burial Ritual

Arsi Oromo, like any society in the world, has rites related to death and has a culture of funeral custom. In the traditional Arsi Oromo culture, the death of a person has been announced in two ways. The first one was by shouting/ iyya/. This is at the time the death of the person is approved, one person is selected from the family or the neighbour to climb a large tree and shout by saying *"uu...uu... uu... "*three times. This is the first call to aware the nearby's for accompany. Then after, the villagers come togather the second way of announcing the death proceeds.

[76] No publication date

The other way in which the death of a person is announced was by sending persons on the horse back to the areas in which relatives and friend of the deceased are living. Different persons send to different areas to announce the death. This can be done in two ways. If the deceased is the father or the mother, the massenger take time and disuss the issue with the neighbours to tell about the death. If the person is by far relative friend to the deceased, the person on the horse back at the time he arrived to the area moves here and there back and forth and announcing the death by calling the name of the died person, by saying "he/she has died and the burial ceremony will be held at this and this place and time." and by doing this, he moves here and there and travels to other places to declare the death or may tell the death to one of the members of that family to announce.

As Bonsemo (Interview 4 July 2013, Record 47) explained, after the introduction of mobile telephone to the areas where the people live, the need to send messangers for the announcement decreases and horses get rest from being ride to far areas.

After the messsengers coming back from the areas he has been sent, the sorrow for the departure can be expressed in different ways. Mourning is an important aspect of a funeral custom among Arsi; it represents respect for the deceased and expresses sorrow for his/her departure. In the culture, there is praising of the dead by mentioning his/her/ good deeds in his/her life time. The praise can be recited to the husband or the son or can be mother or daughter or again other relative to the one who is expressing sorrow because of the death. If a husband has died, the wife praises him by mentioning his good things like his bravness, heroic deeds, social life and the love he had given to her and his family by using poeitic expressions. In the culture this kind of expression is called *faaruu booyicha* literally it means a song of mourning which will be discussed later.

In the culture, there are various kinds of preparations for the good bye of the dead. Depending on the person who departed from family or the relative, the way the cloth is worn and the style of hair is different. At the day of her husband's death, his brother or one of the close relatives shave the widow's hair. In addition, members of the deceased's immediate family will also make their hair cut to demonstrate the fact that they are in mourning. The hair cutting and shaving within the

immediate family is meant to represent great loss. In the death of the wife the husband and their children cut their hair. In the Arsi culture according to consutants obbo Bonsamo Mi'esso and Mohammed Namo cutting one's hair is a sign of grief. No one cuts his/her hair unless there is loss of family and close relative by death. The woman whose husband has dead got her hair shaves to express her sorrow. Except hair shaving in the case of the husband's for the wife, other members of the Arsi people cut, but not shave their hair to expresses their sorrow.

Culturally in Arsi white is a sign of grief and bad luck. Therefore, when the husband dies, the wife wore white old piece of cloth on her forehead as sign of mourning in addition to other cultural implications. (Abdulqadir, Bariso and Bonsemo; Interview July 2013). This is the way that mourning is expressed using nonverbal way.

In the culture, preparing the deceased for the burial is one of the activities to be performed in the funeral ritual. The sex of the person who prepare for the burial depends on the sex of the deceased. According to the culture the corpse is bathed by the persons of the same sex. This means female for female and male for male. Thus, two or three elderly neighbors, usually those having considerable experience with the practice of preparing the dead, are asked to perform the task. For instance if the deceased is female, one of the elder female or two wash the body and the arms and legs of the dead are tightly secured with ropes or cords. Then, she/ they put *wayaa* on her body. After that male elders warped the body with that *wayaa* prepared for the coverage.

At the day of the burial heroic things related to the deceased come out and carried by his relatives. Some of them are spear *(eboo),* clothes *(wayaa*), *kallo* and whip (*halangee).* If the deceased has no skin leather (*kalloo)* his wife wears his coat reversed. The widow wears her *boke* or *kallo handara* in its reversed side to show her feeling for being loss of her husband.

Clothing for the deceased is one important item in the process of funeral custom. The burial clothes are chosen according to the deceased's age and social status. New cloth *(wayaa)* is bought from the market immediately after death or before when the person is in a state of coma. The body is wrapped in a white *wayaa* by tearing off its embroidery to show that it is used for grief. Mahammed Namo (Interview, 20 November, 2013) says, "*Wayaa*- cloth that is wrapped to the corpse body is different based on social status of the deceased's family. Those who are

economically better are wrapped by *wayaa* (double thick wayaa-*qoola*) while those who are economically poor are expected to wrap in half of it." This shows how clothes make difference between individuals based on their economy and status.

In Arsi, one of the distinctive feature of the funeral customs is the praise in the form of song. In the culture, the deceased's wife is expected to sing a praise song to express her feeling for her husband through *faaruu booyicha*. His heroism, his braveness and maleness is expressed through the oral poetry. Therefore, the wife is expected to be active in performing and creating poetic expressions related with the death of her husband. Otherwise everybody can complain about her inactiveness. (Bonsamoo mi'essoo; Interview 4 July 2013, Record 47)

In the praising ritual, the wife sits in the middle of the woman mourners on the traditional carpet or traditional three legged sit-*barcumaa* made from wood prepared for her. And then, she starts to praise her husband through poetic expressions. In this sorrow song the wife maintioned various issues in relation to her husband's death. Such as his bravness, his good manner, the love he had to her and his children, his plan for their future life etc. Let's see the following as an example:

Gaara kiyya gaara kiyya gaaratu narraa jige *my mountain I have lost my head master*

Aduun gaaraan qaariite *the sun set*

kaarruu biyyeen gaaditee *the soil(earth) is going to swallow the beautiful teeth.*

(Mohammed Namo; Interview 3December 2013**)**

She expresses her deep sorrow by a means of methaphor and taking the character of bigness and grace from the mountain and give it to human (her husband) . This is to show his grace and the great place he has/had/ in her life. Using the oral poetice expression she also mentions his beauty through his teeth. She also raise issues in relation to children rearing. Her fear on how it will be difficult to rear and manage children with out him. By saying: It is impossible for me (woman) to manage the house and the children with out you!

Other issues in relation to deceased's wife and her family life at the moment she impress the mourners and they feel depressed with sorrow. Mourners also tear their clothing; bleed their face

with their nails as an expression of grief. And especially the women take off the cloth on the above waist and bleed their breast and chest using a stick or a leaf which has sharp tips. This act of expressing depression continues until the corpse buried in the burial ground or grave.

7.3.2 Ritual at the Day of Burial and Dress Types Observed on the Ceremony

At the day of the burial, those close relatives who are living in different places such as children, father or brother/s and in-laws bring *sangaa* (an ox) for the burial. For example, if the deceased has six female children and if they are all married, each of them is expected to bring one ox. Therefore, a minimum of six oxen are slaughter for the love and respect of the deceased. In previous time, all the oxen which are slaughtered for the burial were left for the poor and individuals who are not relatives. But recently, according to consultants' slaughtering many cattle become decrease because of rules in Islamic religion in the areas.

In the process of burial, the burial ground is selected by the family and the father or the brother or close relative take off the first soil and gives it to the diggers. *Bonsemo, Interview 2013,)* The first soil for the burial is put by one of the above mentioned individuals. At the time of the burial, the corpse which is covered by *wayaa* is placed in the burial ground. After that, the person who removed the first soil of the burial ground will also do the same while the corpse is buried. In this particular day, close relatives wear the deceased clothes and jewelries to show his bravery if he was hunter or warrior in his life time. The leather clothes are worn and handheld objects and jewelries are carried in front of the public. They wear their clothes upturn to express their sorrow and the way the cloth is worn symbolizes grief.

Before the introduction of religions and modernization in the area, the warped corpse is directly placed in the burial ground and the horn of the slaughtered cattle- *horii awwaalaa or masko* is cut out and put on the wood which stands on the soil of the burial of the deceased for memorial. The number of the horns on the burial is symbol for the status of the deceased.

Offering foods and drinks at the gate of the graveyard after the burial is not common for the Arsi culture. No food or drink which is given for the mourners except the *maasko* or *horii awwaalaa* (cattle for the burial) which is donated for the poor and non kin relative. This is because in the

culture, having a drink or food before the burial is considered as forgetting the deceased and not feeling sad.

The tradition of offering food to mourners after the funeral is quite common among the study people. The food that is served at such ceremonial gatherings tends to be highly symbolic and it signifies the continuity of life and of communal solidarity. Therefore, mourners will be served food and drinks at the deceased house after the burial ceremony at the time those who attended the burial come back from the burial. Nonetheless, there is no especial preparation of food and drink for the funeral. But when it occurs, those close to the deceased, neighbors and his or her family might bring bread, milk, grain or flour, honey, and butter (Bonsomo Mi'essoo, Telephone Interview, 11 August, 2014). This is the way that the people help each other. They make traditional food–porridge with milk and invite to the sympathizers for the remembrance of the departed person and to think kindly of him/her. In addition, concerning this idea as Mohammed explained the deceased family while they come for the burial, bring cultural foods and drinks which helps the deceased family to serve their accompanies in the ritual. According to him, it is common for the relatives to bring porriage flour and butter to the deceased house for the occasion.

In the Arsi culture, mourning is much related to the widow. The way she mourns is highly serious as compared to male members of the people. At the day of the mourning she wears the deceased's *kallo, kalloo qeerransaa* or *kallo waati gayyaa* one of them reversed- to the opposite side of the normal way of wearing to express her sorrow. Moreover, cloth relatives hold his spear and heroic materials such as shield and warraaqaa to express his heroic deeds in his life time.

7.3.3 The Post Burial Ritual

The time for mourning depends on the age of the deceased. In the culture, if the deceased is a baby the mourning may last in two to three days. But for the adolescent and for an old, the mourning might take five to eight days or a month. There is a ritual for the finalization of the mourning. In the house of the deceased black sheep slaughtered and neighbors and relatives attend the ritual. Its meat is served for the participants. After this ritual, no one is allowed to weep (loudly) to express his/her sadness. This final ritual is known as *nageeffachuu* (accepting death as normal or inevitable and as one of the rites of passages).

After the *nageeffachu* ritual the next step is the arrangement of a ceremony for the construction of a grave for the deceased. The family of the deceased arranged a ceremony of eating and drinking and asks the relatives and neighbors to participate in the searching of the stone- *soddu*. The stone for *soddu* is most of the time found in the areas far from the village. Therefore, relatives and neighbors have to help the family of the deceased person. After it is found and brought to the deceased house, it is placed on the grave. An outlying of stones is placed symbolically and successively by each of the deceased's children. If the person has one child the stones are only two to represent the deceased and the only child. If he has four and above children, the number of stones are depended on the number of children he possessed in his life time. Therefore, a number of stones represent the number of children possessed by the deceased. In the case of higher status individuals, the burial is often placed in a highly visible or public space. The size of the deceased's stone pile is an indication of the man's importance and social position as burial practices are highly symbolic of an individual's social position in the culture. On the other hand, if an individual dies without having been married, she or he is placed closer to the homestead and a large tree is planted as the individual's memory. No *soddu* is placed on this grave.

A married individual however, will receive the more traditional stone-pile burial. If the individual death is because of murder, in addition to the stones as an indication for the children he possessed, one stone is placed a bit far from the other stones. And everybody who pass by that grave understands that he killed by someone.

In addition to the stones and horn of *'horii awwaalaa'or masko*, -an ox slaughter for the occasion-there are cultural objects which are placed on the grave. If the deceased is male his cultural food container-*qorii* is broken and hangs on to the wood on the grave. Likewise, if the deceased is a female, her pillow- *boraati* and milk container-*killa* is broken and placed on her grave. Other expressions for example, the picture of wild animals that were hunted by the deceased are designed on the stones to indicate the heroism and braveness of the man.

These handheld objects all are the dress types which symbolize and indicate the sex and the status of the deceased. One could understand that the cultural representation of the deceased in

the society is expressed through material objects. Therefore, this shows how the dress types play great role in transmitting messages through nonverbal means of communication.

In addition, after the *nageeffachu* ritual up to the first one or two years, the widow is expected to change her style of life. She abstains from wearing jewelries, wears *boke* or *bonko* and *qexxaa* or *harsama* in the opposite side; she eats simple food (abstain from eating butter and drinking milk) and not indulge in entertainment, not use butter as an ointment for her hair doesn't wash her leg and parts of her body, and doesn't sleep on the place she did before. These all are the opposite acts in relation to the woman appearance before she lost her husband. It shows how the change in role of cultural acts and dress style can communicate messages about the culture of Arsi Oromo in general and Arsi woman in particular. After the first year of mourning, she could begin to wear a traditional wardrobe like before. A variety of jewelries could be added as well. A woman could now beginto reenter society, traditional dances and remarriage would still be forbidden by people until the first year and a half of mourning was completed.



Photo 7.10 the way boke is worn at the time of funeral

Therefore, the change in the way of clothing adornment and hair styles identified the woman to be a widow and any one can understand that she is in mourning. Therefore, one can see the

change in the role of dress among Arsi as an indicator for the people culture on how dress can help to transmit messages in its role as a form of nonverbal communication.

Table 5. *Funeral ritual* and the symbolic role of dress as a form of nonverbal communication

Particular occassions	Users of dress types	Dress types	Symbolic meanings embaded to them (nonverbal cues)
Pre burial	the widow	Hair shave white piece of cloth on the forehead	great loss grief and bad luck
	the widower	Hair cut growing beard	grief (mourning)
	deceased children	Hair cut	
The actual burial day	Corpse	Burial clothes *Wayaa*(single thickness) *Qoola*(wayaa with double thickness) deceased's *kallo, kalloo*	Wealth Economical status
	Widow	wears qeerransaa or *kallo* *waatii gayyaa* reversed- to the opposite *gigishaa*-gown	Sorrow A means for conflict resolution
	Deceased relatives and friends	*eboo*-spear *waantee*-shield *warraaqaa* qorii full of traditional food killa full of milk qorii full of butter	to show heroism, bravness and masculinity Belongingness Accompany cooperation
Post burial	On the grave (male)	Hung Broken *qorii* (by the family)	death
	On the grave(for female)	Broken *Boraatii* Broken *killaa*(by the family)	death

Particular occassions	Users of dress types	Dress types	Symbolic meanings embaded to them (nonverbal cues)
	Widow	abstains from wearing jewelries wearing *boke* or *bonko* and *qexxaa* or *harsamaa* in the opposite side no hair making, doesn't wash her leg and parts of her body	sorrow

As described in the main sections of this chapter, customs are means's in which the culture of one society can be expressed in different ways. Therefore, this shows the interrelation between folk custom and material culture and the interrelation between dress and folk customs in particular. Moreover, the description of these customs helps as a means to show the role of dress as a form of nonverbal communication. Among the characteristics of nonverbal communication contextuality and collectivity are common among the customs described above. The dress types used in the occasions tells that though they can be understood as a dress types to identify Arsi people from other ethnic groups, it requires to have knowledge of the culture.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter discusses the summary of the whole chapters and major findings of the data analysis, conclusions and recommendations.

8.1 Conclusions

The main purpose of the current study was to describe and document Arsi Oromo traditional dress types and cloth making tradition towards preserving the skills and knowledge embedded in cloth making. There were seven questions that guided the research. They focused on pre-modern time's cloth-making wisdom, dress types vis-à-vis social status age and gender, meanings of traditional clothing practice and trends of changes in the traditional dress of Arsi Oromo.

In order to meet the objective and answer the questions, the study was informed by the social constructivist paradigms of research. It applies a descriptive qualitative research method known also as ethnographic approach.

The study focused on West Arsi zone with a particular attention to the traditional dress which is one of the sub-genres of material culture. Purposive sampling technique was employed to select three districts of the zone namely Kokosa, Kofele and Adaba. Key consultants were also purposively selected while other consultants were selected through snowball sampling: 21 consultants for focus group discussion and 24 consultants for interview. The data collection techniques were observation, different forms of interview and focus group discussion together with the use of data collection equipments such as still pictures/ photograph/ audio and video recordings and note book.

In addition to the description of Arsi Oromo traditional dress, attempts have been made to utilize linguistic knowledge in order to document those materials. So, modern multimedia technologies and apparatuses were employed to digitally record and analyze visual images of vernacular dress. Data collected in both audio and video recordings were annotated using ELAN which includes transcriptions and translations from the source language- *Afaan Oromoo* to target language- English. Therefore, this work indicates interdisciplinary link between linguistics, folklore and anthropology.

In the current study, traditional dress types were identified based on age, gender and status to examine the various forms of Arsi Oromo dress types. Results indicated that Arsi Oromo traditional dress is gender specific with the exception of *Kallo* and *itillee* which are common clothes with no gender demarcation. In Arsi Oromo traditional dress culture leg ring(s) (*saasira*) belongs only to a woman, whereas, shoes (kophee) belong to males. *Bito* is found to be common with all female members of Arsi Oromo regardless of its size and sometimes the raw material used for its making.

Traditional dress types also serve as a sacred object, status indicators and identity markers in general. *Qanafaa* is an object which is worn by a woman who gave birth recently. It symbolizes respect for the woman who owned it. In addition, this object is used as jewelry on the wearer's forehead. Scepter (Bokku) is found to be among the male traditional dress types. Moreover, it is a sacred object that indicates the wearer is a traditional political leader in the society.

Findings of the present research also demonstrate that there is a change as well as continuation in the use and functions of traditional dress among the people. Traditional dress types can functions for utility or ornamentation purposes. Currently, traditional dress is limited to age groups on the average of 35 and above years of age. Children and youth under these age groups are in flux because of various reasons. Enrollment in formal education, having access to the urban life, and religion play a role in the declined use of traditional dress among these age groups.

One strong area of continuity in the area is seen in the rituals which are observed even after the community is converted to various religions. In Ateetee ritual for instance, Arsi Oromo women meet in the areas of collaboration with their varied cultural dress types. Oral literature also plays a vital role in the preservation of traditional dress. There is also an individual effort made to preserve traditional dress. Culture oriented groups of women *gumii siinqee* (siinqee group) try to preserve traditional clothes and jewelries through innovative practices, such as decorating those traditional dress types.

Arsi Oromo traditional dress types represent the material culture of the people. They play a great role in expressing the people in various ways. These cultural features demonstrate cultural meanings, beauty, marital status, social position, and wealth of the wearer. Among clothes

Maracoo and kalloo kasaa are found to be specific dress types which are commonly worn by the hero and his wife. These traditional dress types play a role as an indicator of heroism for the hunter or the warrior as well as respect for his wife by the people. This shows that heroism is much valuable in the lives of the people and dress types also show the social position of an individual in a group. Moreover, among the traditional clothes *kalloo* kasaa is found to be the only cloth which is commonly worn by husband and wife. A single *kalloo kasaa* is made in two different ways so that the husband wears it the external part of the animal skin, the hair. Whereas, the wife wears the internal part of the skin put out ward; it is decorated with different colors of thread. *Guftaa* and *sandaabaa* are common dress types among Arsi Oromo which are used as indicators of the followers of Islam.

The result of the study also shows that in the process of ornamenting clothes made from cotton, the patterns for the variety of colors depend on the individual skill and there is no cultural pattern which is approved to have symbolic meaning. The researcher also tried to look at the ornamentation made on different types of dress, the observation therefore results with different types of ornamentation of the same cloth-*bokee* with different pattern of color combination. Therefore, one could understand that the increase in the number of parties who participant in the ornamentation process for the sake of income brought a competition between the groups and the outcome may result with deviation from the cultural pattern. Even though, the people especially females are known by their jewelries with varity of colors, the finding of this study demonstrated that there is no strict cultural pattern known among the people for using or not using different types of colors.

There are clothes which have an extended function following the introduction of Islamic religion in the areas where Arsi Oromo live. *Itillee* was traditionally used as a mat for guests, and it is used as a cloth to sleep on. In addition to this function however, these days, it is used as a prayer mat by the followers of Islamic religion.

In Arsi Oromo culture, clothes also have a role to play in conflict resolution as a means for peace making. *Gigisha* and *meetaa* are examples in this case. Moreover, dress and jewelries have symbolic meanings in Arsi Oromo culture. Jewelries are used as a symbol of wealth to show the economic status of the wearer. Therefore, wearing *dhangalaasaa*, having a number of *qube*,

saasira and *tafse* jewelries are symbols of economic superiority and hence higher status among the people. There are also dress types which are symbolically sacred. *Qanafaa* and *bokku* are sacred material objects in which the wearer gets acceptance and respect.

Currently *Qexxaa* from female and *kalloo busaayaa* from male clothes are not commonly functional among the people. This is because hunting which used to be commonly practiced among the people is no more functional these days. Therefore, these dress types made of wild animal skins are not found among the people rather in the case of *qexxaa* it is substituted by cloth made from goat skin. *Qarrisaa* is a type of jewelry which can be used as an earring as well as an ornamentation for clothes; but these days like that of *qexxaa* and *kalloo busaayaa* it is found rarely among women who inherited from their mothers. They hide it when they were not allowed to wear their traditional dress types in previous times.

Most of jewelries are limited amongst the generation whose age ranges from 35 and above. This is because the raw materilas are not availabe among the people. Consultants suggested that most of the women who use the jewelries were given as a gift at the time of their marriage from their mothers.

Handheld objects are also parts of traditional dress in Arsi Oromo. The materials used for hunting and /or fighting and dress types used by *qondaalaa* in his life time are carried by mourners at the day of his burial to show his braveness and heroic deeds. Woman handheld objects *siinqee* is carried for the bride by the groom at the day of their wedding. Moreover, *xuunxoo* which is initially a milk container used to feed a baby is decorated well and it can be taken as handheld object carried by a mother until the baby starts to hold and drink milk from it. This handheld object on the other hand is carried by a woman as a milk container during her travel for cultural occasions/ ceremonies.

Cultural occasions are one of the meanses in which dress as a form of nonverbal communication is treated. Hair style and the way cothes are worn are the basic areas in which dress as a form of communication is identified. In addition handheld objects play a role in marriage, ateetee and funeral customs as one of the forms of dress as a form of nonverbal communication. The findings of the study show among the characteristics of nonverbal communication contextuality

and collectivity are common in marriage, ateetee and funeral customs in Arsi Oromo dress culture. The dress types used in the occasions tells that though they can be understood as a dress types to identify Arsi people from other ethnic groups, it requires to have knowledge of the culture.

The dress type which resisted the influence of modernity in kokkosa is the hairstyle of girls-*godayyaa*. It is very common to see girls with their *godayyaa* in rural parts of the district. *Bonkoo, siinqee* and various forms of jewelries are found to be the distinctive cultural features of women's traditional dress.

Cultural features are meaningful if they are collected and treated in their cultural context. Accordingly, the data shows that the cultural meanings of traditional dress can be understood if the perceiver and transmitter are in the same context, so that they could have shared meanings.

Though literature asserts that ancient people of Egypt were the first users of traditional dress in the world history, the researcher argues that the Arsi Oromo women are also known by wearing a bunch of jewelries to adorn their body since time immemorial; they were particularly known by their necklaces with a variety of colors and types. In addition, the Arsi Oromo dress types are indigenous and share a long history as the first cloth was approved to be tunic and made of animal skin hair/ fur. This may suggest that the Arsi are one of the people of antiquities who wore clothes made of animal skin. One may possibly argue that the Arsi are one of the Oromo groups who have early history of traditional dress.

Lack of knowledge of the culture and tradition of the people limited the possibility of modernizing the traditional clothes without losing their distinct Arsi Oromo roof.

Though urbanization, the spread religion and modern education have a positive contribution in the life of the community, they also played a significant role in the decline of Arsi Oromo traditional dress. In general, the current status of Arsi Oromo traditional dress is characterized by continuity, modification and replacement; some dress types have completely disappeared from the culture. There are dress types which are substituted by others with regards to the raw material

used for making. Currently there are dress types which are functioned among the people with some modifications.

The process of Arsi Oromo traditional dress passes through various steps. The activities are basically performed by two professionals. The skinning and tanning are performed by the tanner (always male), whereas the ornamentation is performed by the craftswoman. Currently, however according to the information found from consultants in one of the districts, the number of traditional cloth makers and the transmission of the tanning skill is unsatisfactory. This is due to various reasons. The expansion of formal education in the areas, the position given to those professionals and the lack of knowledge about the profession are the main factors responsible for the decline of the craft.

As a result, currently, it is difficult to find many craftsmen in their place of living. This holds true to other districts where the data for this research was collected. With regard to the skill of ornamentation, it is very often learned and passes from one woman to the other through observation, and extension in the path of continuity. The skill also passes from mother to daughter following the same pattern.

Girls and woman both young and an old, adorn themselves with a rich repertoire of body arts including scarification, tattooing hair dressing, jewelry, and clothing within certain contexts and arrangements, these body body modifications and supplements communicate specific kinds of information to an informed observer. The decorated body is coated with intentional messages that represent her position among the people, pass on information about her cultural and spiritual beliefs, and visually indicate cultural meaning within the people.

8.2 Recommendations

The results of this study suggest that it is essential to preserve the people's culture which threatened by gradual extinction. Though there are activities performed by the zone as well as district level tourism and culture bureaus and most of them are outcomes of individual efforts. It is crucial to have a well organized and systematized effort which also demands a collective participation of various stakeholders to preserve the Arsi Oromo cultural and traditional dress.

In this regard, the present study also suggests that the group of women who devoted their time and efforts to preserve and revive traditional dress types among the Arsi people is worth appreciating. However, data from the fieldwork and observation reveals a concern on the part of me as a researcher. I was wondering whether the attempt by the women was mainly business or preservation oriented. Therefore, authorities concerned should take a part in teaching those people about the cultural significance of those traditional dress types.

According to the findings oral plays help the people to teach their culture to the new generation. Using such kinds of plays, the children can learn what is found in traditional Arsi culture. Plays also help to preserve traditional dress types. Therefore, the oral aspects interrelated with material culture should be given due attention.

On the other hand, the hairstyles and jewelries of Arsi and their neighboring ethnic group-sidama have common visual expressions. This study has only touched just a part of the research possibilities in this area due to its scope which is not comparative in nature. Future comparative enquiries into the historical connections between the hairstyles and dress types of Arsi and Sidama should be therefore conducted in order to find out why the people share those cultural features.

Attention should be paid not only to the preservation of traditional cloth making skills and practices but also to the way that such skills are learned and passed down. There should be a training related with the symbol embedded on each traditional dress types that signifies the people as an identity marker.

It is very important to teach the generation about their indigenous culture which identifies them from other Oromo groups as well as other ethnic groups. Therefore, schools (elementary and junior) in the Arsi Oromo areas should play a role in the preservation of the culture by using the material objects as well as terms related with dress types as a teaching aid; this helps to develop a common understanding on the culture among the children enrolled in the formal education. This is essential to create awareness among the children who are members of that group to protect the culture from extinction.

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