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TO: Dean, School of Graduate Studies

FROM: Berhanu Matthews (Ph.D)
Chairman, Faculty Graduate Commission, ILS

SUBJECT: **Correction** of M.A. Thesis

This is to confirm that Mulugeta Jawore (M.A. Literature candidate) has included the necessary corrections into his thesis as recommended by the Examination Committee.

Thank you.

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A Preliminary Classification and Descriptive Study of Oral Narrative: The Case of the *Dubämmo Tärikä*

Mulugeta Jawore

APPROVAL OF BOARD OF EXAMINERS

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A PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF ORAL NARRATIVE: THE CASE OF THE DUBAMMO "TÄRIKÄ"

MULUGETA JAWORE

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment for
The Degree of Master of Arts in Literature

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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I express my appreciation and thanks to all of them.

Key to Pronunciation

The following English letters need to be pronounced in a different way than the usual English pronunciation when they appear in the words and terminologies of the *Dubämmos'* local languages. The explanations that are cited below are believed to be of help here after reading them.

- e = has to be pronounced as 'e' in 'leg'.
- a = has to be pronounced as 'a' in 'ask'.
- ä = has to be pronounced as'a' in 'sack'.
- u = has to be pronounced as the second 'u' in the word 'beautiful'
- q, š, č, ǯ, ṫ, ṗ, ṡ = represent the pronunciations of Amharic letters, i.e., ቀ, ሽ, ቸ, ጨ, ጠ, ጰ, ፀ respectively which are also heard when pronounced in the *Dubämmos* local language.

ABSTRACT

There is no research work that particularly deals with the *Dubämmos'* identity, culture, history, folklore or other similar aspects. The researcher of this thesis, therefore, has tried to explore the social situations through interviews as well as close observations during his 40 days of stay in the group. As for the notion of Oring, since the basis of the historical narratives is often a historical event or person, the narratives are believed to be about real people, places or events. They also can represent the past as well as the present based on shared oral experiences of the group [1986: 125] . In like manner, the basis of ***tärikä***, the nearest English translation of which is also "history," is a past event and about historical figure personalities. And they are also believed to be about real people, places or vents.

Generally speaking, this project is a preliminary genre classification and descriptive study of the *Dubämmos'* ***tärikä***. The research goal of the project is describing the research outcome, i.e., how the *Dubämmos* perceive their past experience as well as their present situation through a descriptive study of their ***tärikä***. The wealth of the ***tärikä*** oral narratives that the *Dubämmos* have inherited and recreated has a promising research potential. This research, accordingly, has tried to classify ***tärikäs*** according to their local senses and has recorded each type of the ***tärikä*** data with their general context. In addition, it has also tried to study descriptively their features and their contents. And finally it has tried to pointout the research finding in the "conclusion' part of this study through a thematical descriptive study. The final outcome of this study at this level, however, is not an end by itself. It is just a preliminary study's preliminary finding which leads to a more indepth analytical study.

1. GENERAL BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

First of all, the social group, the Dubämmos, about which this study is concerned has to be identified as a specific type of group in order to address it distinctively to the readers. One of the traits that are believed here to enable to identify the group particularly is the social interactions of its members with other neighbouring ethnic groups. At present the *Dubämmos* consider themselves as particular ethnic group who are external to the others. The neighbouring ethnic groups are also considering the *Dubämmos* particular ethnic group who are external to them. As it is pointed by Oring [1986: 24-25], an ethnic group exists if it is claimed first by the members themselves. And the claim should be recognized both by those within and those outside the group.

The other group identification traits as has been noted by Oring, are the commonly shared social, traditional and cultural backgrounds. As pointed above, membership in an ethnic group should be claimed first. Then comes identifying with a historically derived and shared cultural tradition [1986:24]. Thirdly, the members in the group have to claim to have a common descent. As for the notions of Oring [Ibid] and Schutte, in Tonkin, etal. [1989:217], in most cases the common descent is the basis of the formation of an ethnic group. Members of the *Dubämmo* social group also claim to have common descent, shared culture, tradition and style; and recognized by the members as well as by the outsiders though sometimes it may not be practically acknowledged by the outsiders due to some negative interactions with the group. Because of these three basic reasons the group will be referred in this study as an 'ethnic group'. In its process, this study, at its limited scop will try to prove whether the ***tärikä*** which is locally called oral "history" confirm the applicability of the term to the group.

This thesis consists of four parts. The first part is a general background. There are about ten sub-topics in it including this introductory sub-topic. Then what comes next is the second sub-topic of the chapter which describes the general social background. Under this sub-topic the early migration history, the present geographical setting, religion, language, economy and the traditional administrative system of the group are discussed briefly. The third sub-topic is devoted to reviewing related literatures. As to the researche's knowledge, there is not even a single work that is particularly dealing with the *Dubämmo*

way as well as to deliver the reader as much information as possible.

The last, but not least, part of this study is the conclusion. This part is devoted to a thematic descriptive study. It is also in this part that the content of the folk narrative, i.e., ***tärikä*** is treated in order to get a proper research outcome. There are two reasons why the thematic descriptive study is incorporated in the conclusion part. The first reason is avoiding repetitions in the main body of the study . The narratives, contextual data, especially the conversational narratives by themselves describe and discuss the issues that are raised in them in a very simple way. Their description is clear and can be understood very easily Hence, describing their contents again in the main body of this study is believed to be repetition. Secondly, it is clear that the research finding is better described in the conclusion part. In the case of this study, the thematic description is also part of the process of describing the research finding. Hence, the thematic descriptive study, unavoidably, has also become the conclusion of this study.

1.2. THE DUBÄMMO [Social Background]

As for the genera oral testimony of the elder members of the group, the *Dubämmos* have come from Gondar to the Southern part of Central Ethiopia some 450 years ago. The name "*Dubämmo*" has been widely known by the neighbouring ethnic groups as well as by the group itself as an identification name of the ethnic group since long ago. It was originated from the Amharic word "*Dubälɔ*". "*Dubälɔ*" was the name of the *Dubämmos* second traditional king.

Womä[1] *Dämie is* known to be the first traditional king of the *Dubämmos*. He together with his followers migrated from Gondar and finally settled at the present "*Dubämmo Land*".[2] But he died before he could widely be known in the new geographical and social context. Since *Dubalɔ* was an elder son of *Womä Dämie* he was substituted in the place of his father. After that *Womä Dubälɔ* became more familiar in the society throughout his life. After some time, *Womä Dubalɔ* became

[1] *Womä* is a *Kiz* word. It is a kind of title given to any one of the *Dubämmos* who are chosen by *Häuzulä* to be a traditional king of the group.

[2] It is the way how the neighbouring people as well as the *Dubämmos* themselves call the area where *Dubämmos* live.

popular in the society and also through time the people under his leadership started to be called "*Dubäl-mɔ̀n,*" which means "*Dubälɔ̀'s* People". The geographical setting under the control of *Dubälɔ̀* has also started to be called as *Dubäm Uli,* which means "*Dubälɔ̀'s Land" since, almost the early period of their settlement in the Dubämmo land.*

After the name of the second *Womä, Womä Dubälɔ̀ was* in corporated through time into the *Hädiyissätä [Hädiyissä]*[1] language, it has become *Dubämmo*. Now it is commonly understood by all the neighbouring ethnic groups as well as by the *Dubämmos* themselves to be the name of a particular ethnic group that is living in Hadiya zone, on the highland of the Sorro *Wɔ̀rɔ̀dä* [2] . Though *Womä Dämṫe [Dɔ̀ṫä]* is not mentioned often; sometimes we can get his name being raised for some reasons. For example, there is one small district which is named *Dɔ̀ṫä*. In this case also it is the Amharic word "*Dämṫe*" which is through time adopted into the accent of the *Hädiyissä* language and has become *Dɔ̀ṫä* since then. Sometimes some people use the word *Dɔ̀ṫä* instead of the word *Dubämmo*. On the other hand, sincē the word *Dubämmo* does not include all the lineage groups when used as the name of the ethnic group under the *Dɔ̀ṫäs*, the people were discussing the matter at the time when the researcher approached them and they were trying to devise the most inclusive name. And as for the attitude of the general public towards them, *Dɔ̀ṫä* seems to be preferred almost by most of the members of the group.

The area where the *Dubämmos*[3] are permanently settled is found in the Southern part of Ethiopia, specifically in South Shoa, and more specifically in Hadiya zone, *Soro* Wɔ̀rɔ̀dä, on the highland area neighbouring in the North with Soro-Hadiya and Kembata, in the South with Donga and Wolayta, in the East with Kembata and Badawacho and in the west with Soro-Hadiya and Tembaro. There are

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[1] *Hädiyissätä* is how the Kembata speaking people call the Hadiya language. *Hädiyissä*, on the other hand, is how the Hadiya speaking people call the Hadiya language.

[2] *Wɔ̀rɔ̀dä* is a small district which is larger than *Qɔ̀bɔ̀le* but smaller than *Awräjä*.

[3] In this paper whenever the word "*Dubämmos*" is used it refers to the society (the people) and when its singular form, i.e., "*Dubämmo*' is used it refers ethnic identity.

some members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group that are living in different neighbouring districts due to some factors [that are well explained in the contextual ***tärikä***, i.e., in, Chapter 3].

The *Dubämmos* have never been recognized so far as a self-sufficient particular ethnic group. Hence the total number of the group is not yet officially known. But the elder members of the group estimate the total number of the members of the ethnic group who are living on the *Dubämmo* land to be above 102,000. But, unless it is justified with a well systematized official counting practice, the above cited figure will not be as such reliable here, however, the elders speculation about the size of the mass can be recognized as orally transmitted information based evidence.

As for the oral testimony of the *Dubämmo* people, they are members of a migratory ethnic group. While they were migrating from North to South, they also brought with them the Arks of *Silässie* and *Michael*. They all were Orthodox Christians from the very beginning. Though they have lost the Ark of Michael during the invasion of Ahmad Gragn, they preserved the *Silässie.* Ark and it is still there on the *Dubämmo Land* being worshipped in the Sibu Selassie Church.

There are also many members of the group who are following other religious faiths. Though most of the *Dubämmo* people are not worshipping it now, the prophetic spirit which is known by the name *Häuzulä* used to be worshipped widely almost by every member of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group as well as by many people from other ethnic groups. As for the verbal witness of the elder member of the group, whenever the ***tärikä*** of the *Dubämmos* is accounted there is always *Häuzulä* behind the historical figure personalities of the group as a cause of the effects. It does not possess other people except the members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group.

The other religious activity that is highly expanding in the *Dubämmo* people is Protestant religion. It is dominating both Orthodox Christianity and the prophetic

spirit of *Häuzulä*.

When we come to their language, *Dubämmos* claim that they have their own language. They call their language "*Kiz*" [*Kizissä*]. *Kizissä* and *Kɔ̀mbätissä*[1] are almost the same except some differences in their dialect. In few cases, however, they use different words to explain the same idea or thing. For example, in *Kizissä* "*Gunzieč̌u*" means in *Kɔ̀mbatissä* "*Mɔ̀ssɔ̀le*," "*Mentič̌o*" in *Hädiyissä* and its meaning in English is "Woman."

Concerning their economic background, most of the *Dubämmo* people are farmers. They depend on their farm products for their living. They mainly produce: barley, wheat, oats, *Ensɔ̀*, beans, peas, and the like. They also breed cows and sheep. Horse breeding, to tame them and galloping are the skills for which the *Dubämmos* are known well. They are widely known for such qualities and largely demanded in markets. Even in the markets of neighbouring districts the best quality horses are called "*Dɔ̀ntič̌ Färäš̌u*" of which direct translation is "A horse that is born and bred on the *Dɔ̀ntä Land*". But as people repeatedly use it referring the best quality of horse, through time they have started to say "*Dɔ̀ntič̌uä*" or "*Dɔ̀ntä*" whenever they want to say something is good.

The *Dubämmo* people have their own traditional administrative system which is still functioning locally. There are about nine hierarchical administrative levels in the system. These are *Womä*, *Bušäšä*, *Eräšä*, *Mɔ̀gäbä*, *Gäzɛ̀-Änä [Gädɔ̀nä, Gäzɔ̀nä* or *Gätɔ̀nä] Moč̌onä, Dänä, Korofirä* and *Wom-Beto [Wombeto]*.

***Womä*:** is a traditional king of the ethnic group. He has responsibility to administer and lead the group. It is *Häuzulä* the prophetic spirit, who nominates a traditional king out of the members of the group. But his nominee has to be approved by the society. He never appoints a new traditional king as far as the

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previous one is alive.

When the previous *Womä* dies [when he becomes *Qobä*[1]], *Häuzulä* orders his consultants to keep the news secret until a new *Womä* is arranged. When the prophet[2] is possessed by the prophetic spirit [*Häuzulä*], then the one that has to be a traditional king is spiritually viewed. Then he announces a unique sign that he spiritually viewed on the body of the new nominee to his close assistants and they start looking for him. If the task of searching for the new nominee takes more than three days, *Häuzulä* orders his close assistants to bury the corpse of the previous traditional king secretly before it perishes. But when the death of the king is officially announced, they prepare a coffin and put in it a shrouded corpse model in order to enable the mourners to pay the last visit to the dead one who is physically represented by a model body without the knowledge of the visitors. The traditional mourning and burial ceremony cannot be performed unless the mourners believe that the death of their traditional king is true.

As soon as the nominated new candidate is found, then the death of the previous traditional king will be announced widely. Every member of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group is expected to come from every direction to the mourning and burial ceremony. Of course, since there is a coronation ceremony after the burial ceremony, every body wants to be there and participate in the coronation ceremony.

When a new *Womä* is coronated all the people say "*Hebo*[1] " to express their agreement. Then they put their *Womä* on a white horse and escort him to a house which is arranged well in order to receive the newly coronated *Womä*. There he will be handed over the *Läəkä,* a precious ring which has a high reflecting power. It is worn on one of the two arms by *Womä* as a sign of administrative power. No one

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[1] *Qobä* - is *Kiz* word. It is to mean that somebody has gone to heaven. In the *Dubämmos* tradition if their *Womä* died, no one can say that "*Womä* died". It is a taboo expression. Instead of this, they say "*Womä Qobä Ihemä,*" which means, "*Womä* has ascended to paradise".

[2] The prophetes are the mediums of the spirit, i.e., *Häuzulä*, and each of them are called, "*Häuzul-Mɔnco,*" which means "A man of *Häuzulä* (the spirit)."

[1] *Hebo* - it is a joy song accompanied with traditional dance

can see it except the chosen ones. It is believed by the group to kill and cause blindness and sterility if it is seen by the ones that are not allowed to see it.

***Bušašä*:** is a title of a man who closely assists *Womä*. In the absence of *Womä* he leads the social meetings of the ethnic group.

***Eräšä*:** Tributes are usually brought for *Häuzulä* from different places, such as: from Wolayta, from Janjero, from Hadiya, from Kembata, from Jimma, etc. Most of the time the tributes are in kind, like: cows, sheep, horses mules, grains, honey, thick cotton blanket, etc. These tributes are consistently paid once in a year, or they are paid occasionally by those peoples whose problems are solved by *Häuzulä*. The tributes that are paid yearly are locally termed by *Wɔ̃leto*. It is one-tenth of the yearly total income. *Womä* has his own share of the tributes that are collected by *Häuzuɬlä's* close assistants. It is *Eräšä* who collects the share from *Häuzulä* on the side of *Womä.*

***Mɔ̃gäbä*:** There are about fourteen sub-ethnic lineage groups in the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. There are also many small family groups in each sub-ethnic lineage group. There are many *Mɔ̃gäbäs* in the hierarchical administrative chain. The *Mɔ̃gäbäs'* job is transmitting messages between *Womä* and the entire people of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. They serve as a communication line or bridge between *Womä* and the *Dubämmos*.

***Gäzi-Änä [Gädɔ̃na, Gätɔ̀nä, Gazɔ̃nä]*:** is a rank [title] given to the *Dubämmo* wariors when promoted by *Womä* to be war leaders.

***Moc̣onä*:** is a title given to a man that assists *Mɔ̃gäbä*. In the absence of *Mɔ̃gäbä* he plays the role of *Mɔ̃gäbä*.

***Dänä*:** is a title given to a man who is administrating a small group of people that live together in the same village.

***Korofirä*:** When the former *Womä* dies, the close assistants of *Womä* assign a man that can cover the responsibility of *Womä* until the prospective *Womä* who is recommended by *Häuzulä* is identified. Hence *Korofirä* is a tentative *Womä* who administers the *Dubämmos* for a short transition period.

***Wom-Beto [Wombeto]*:** it means "the son of *Womä*" [the son of the traditional king of the group]. Every male member of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group is considered as a son of king by descent and each male member is referred by, "*Wombe* So - and - So." *Wombe* is the short form of *Wombe*to [*Womi-Beto*]

1.3 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Few of those scholars, who have studied the South people in different fields, have noted some points about the *Dubämmos* in their works of study. Ulrich Bräukämper, who is well known for his many useful researches on the Ethiopian peoples in different fields of study, is one of the few.

In his article titled "The Correlation of Oral Traditions and Historical Records in Southern Ethiopia," that is published in the Journal of Ethiopian Studies, referring the oral witnesses of the *Dubämmo* informants, he has noted that the "Kembata-Speaking" *Dubämmos* migrated from Gondar to South Ethiopia and settled at the present "*Dubämmo Land*" /1973:35/. On the other hand in his book titled Die Kembata, Uirich Bräukämper has noted, however, without mentioning the name of the informant that has given him the information, that the *Dubämmos* migrated from the Eastern Sidamo highland, specifically from Kawena, between 1550- 1570 E.C. /1983: 295/.

Tesfaye Habisso, in his unpublished manuscript entitled "Some Records of South West Ethiopia and a Short History of Kembata and its People," has noted that the *Dubämmos* are one of the Kembata tribes who through time adapted to the *Hädiyissätä* language [1987: 62].

In his another unpublished Amharic manuscript, entitled "KEMBATA: the History of Administration, Surrounding and Nationality in Ethiopia," Tesfaye has noted that *Dubämmos* are one of the Kembata ethnic groups that used to be ruled under Semitic leadership and which through time could establish their own small state due to the disintegration of the Semitic ruling power during the invasion of Ahemad Gragn [1991: 36].

In another Amharic manuscript, entitled. "the Kembata and the Hadiya Ethnic Groups': Some Features of History and Geography," Tesfaye has pointed that the *Dubämmos /Dɔntäs/* are relative groups to the Kembatas who also used to speak *Kɔmbätissätä*. As for him, it was since the beginning of the 20th century that they have become highly dominated by the Hadiyas and changed their original language, i.e., *Kɔmbätissätä* into *Hädiyissä.* The cultural, political, geographical and economic conditions are also considered in the study as the basic causes of the Hadiya's domination over the *Dubämmos* [1994: 296-97].

On the other hand, Lapisso G. Dilebo, in his book that is published in Amharic and titled "The Long History of the Ethiopian People and State," has noted that the *Dubämmos* are one of the Southern originated ethnic groups that migrated either from Hadiya or from Sidama or from Derassa during the great migration period [1989: 163].

According to the researcher's general observation during his field stay, this time the Hadiya and the Kembata peoples have become highly suspicious of the *Dubämmo's* presence with them. The Hadiyas, as Tesfaye also has noted, call them Kembatas or "*Gände*"[1] /1987: 62/. In like manner the Kembatas also do not recognize the *Dubämmos* that are living on the Kembata land as one of their internal groups. This implies that no one considers them either as one part of their

[1] *Gände*: As for Tesfaye's explanation it means "malicious,", i.e., a derogatory name given to t he Kembatas

social group or as a self-sufficient particular ethnic group and no one treats them fairly. This is also clearly pointed in this study in the analysis of the research problem.

Those few research works that are discussed above have examined the *Dubämmos* mainly from the external point of view. The researchers highly relied on the research findings of foreign scholars who visited Ethiopia many years ago. It doesn't mean, however, the research findings of the foreign scholars are of no use now. But it has to be considered that the methods that the foreign scholars applied when conducting the research and the degree of their acquaintance with the local culture, tradition and language can exert their own impact on the general outcome of the research. And if they couldn't collect balanced information from a particular social group at each social level, then the research outcome wouldn't be considered as an inclusive one. For example, since the foreigners gathered information largely from the people of ruling Oyeta clan, most of the researches conducted by them on the Kembatas mainly speak about only the positive aspects of the Oyeta-Kembatas. It was on such unbalanced second hand information that the works that are reviewed above are based. Unlike them, this research tries to deliver a well organized, classified and described contextual data collection that might enable other researchers in the interdisciplinary fields of study to explore how the *Dubämmos* themselves perceive their own identity and how they account their own past experience through the study of their ***tärikä*** in a more professional quality study.

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in general by the Hadiyas.

1.4. DEFINITIONS, LIMITATIONS AND JUSTIFICATIONS

In A HANDBOOK TO LITERATURE, edited by Holman and Harmon, the term NARRATIVE is defined as, "An account in PROSE or VERSE of an actual or fictional event or a sequence of such events; anything that is narrated" /1986: 319/.

In his book entitled Folk Groups and Folklore Genres, Oring has pointed out that a narrative is a representative word for story and the best thing in it is the sequence of events. The verbal sequence of statement is needed to match with the sequence of events. He also noted that, "Maintaining the order of events in the verbal recapitulation is basic to our definition of narrative. This distinguishes a narrative from other kinds of event reporting" /1986: 121/.

As it is noted in the book edited by Holman and Harmon, there are two forms of narratives that are distinctively termed as "SIMPLE" and "COMPLEX". Simple narratives are defined as narratives that consist of a series of events to be recited according to their chronological order. On the other hand, complex narratives are defined as narratives that give much emphasis to its plot. Hence the events are less often arranged in their chronological order. Unlike the simple narratives the complex ones are more often arranged artfully and are determined by the nature of the plot. On the contrary the simple narratives are less artistic. Hence they are less applied for entertainment purpose. Rather they are more of instructive and informative. On the other hand, the complex ones are highly artistic and their chief purpose is to entertain rather than instructing and informing. As it is noted in the book edited by Holman and Harmon it is not adviseable, however, to generalize in that way. As for their explanation, simple narratives can also entertain and the complex ones also can instruct or deliver information though the degree of their function differs /1986: 319/.

What the researcher of this paper has tried is to point out the more general definitions of "narrative". There are many scholarly standardized genre

classifications under narrative though there is no common agreement on one. There is also no clear demarcation between each of them that can distinctively isolate one from the other. Especially the genres of prose narratives are not rigid. They are flexible. The same terminology of oral literature might have different meanings in different countries. In some cases different scholars also may define different terminologies in different ways. For Oring myth is highly concerned with ultimate realities [1986: 124]. On the other hand, Schmidt has noted that myth has a fantasy quality which can't be believed as true /1980: 118/. For Gray also the word "MYTH" has almost the same meaning with "UNTRUTH" /1992: 187/. Due to difficulty to sketch a boundary line between myth and legend, it also becomes hardly possible to isolate distinctively the two genres [Leach, 1949: 612].

Entering into deep discussion of the scholarly standardized definitions is not the aim of this research. Rather the researcher has limitted the research focus on the types of narratives that are locally referred to as "*Tärikä*" which means "*HISTORY*". When the narrators are asked what is it about that they are narrating, they say, "*Nibihu Änännom Tärikä*," which means that it is "*Our Own Unique 'History'*. What the narrators often intend to pass when they narrate a piece of narration is explaining ones' own ethnic group's past experience. Hence the researcher has directly applied the meaning of their local terminology in order to clearly distinguish them from other types of narratives and to be more specific. Hence each type of the ***tärikä*** narrative that is considered in this particular research can be defined as follows:

- The ***tärikä*** is a narrative in prose or verse and is mainly about real events connected with real individuals that were members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group and reflect that group's economic and cultural achievements.

- The ***tärikä*** is a common product of the *Dubämmos* about themselves. It means, a narrative about ones' own ethnic group from the insiders point of view.

- The ***tärikä*** is a type of narrative about the *Dubämmos* that is commonly

believed by the *Dubämmos* themselves at least the central core element of its theme to be true.

- The ***tärikä*** is a type of narrative that accounts for some aspects on the *Dubämmos* that is set in a recent historical time on the geographical settings which in most cases is the same as their present situation. Hence there are places that are referred as to pieces of physical evidence in most of the historical narratives.

- The ***tärikä*** is a type of narrative that consists of the normal activities of the *Dubämmos'* as well as the super-human prophetic activities of the possessed members of the group.

Genre classification is a basic task that the researcher intends to deal with in this study. The work of the data classification is based on the general features of each narrative. Since each feature in a particular type of narrative support each other in one way or other. Such a general or a holistic approach is believed to be more coneient in this study. And the researcher uses the local terminologies for each classification. Comparing the local classification with the scholarly devised [theory-based] "standard" classifications or with any other nation's, nationality's, ethnic group's, or that of any other social group's local classifications is by no means the aim of this study. Rather, what the researcher has intended to do is to describe and classify the data particularly based on their own local sense.

The other main objective of this study is to preserve the live performance of each type of ***tärikä*** for further investigation by "*Interpretation Scholars*". Interpreting the data is by no means the aim of this research. Rather, in order to help the interpretors the researcher will try as much as possible to prepare a life-like contextual folklore text. The documentation of such a folklore text plays the role of both the print and film or video recordings. Unlike the sound and film or video mediums, the print medium can still hold its recordings for analysis. Whereas the audio and film or video recordings are fluid and can't hold them still for analysis. Elizabeth C. Fine has discussed the importance of the performance-centered

folklore text as follows, "If only we could make folklore texts which could combine the stability of print with the recording capabilities of film or video, then we could better understand the aesthetic patterning and social impact of verbal art" /1984: 1/.

In the case of the outcome of this research, scholars who are working in the interdisciplinary fields of studies, such as folklore, anthropology, history, etc. will benefit much when the work comes to an end. Fine /1984: 7/ has discussed about the interdisciplinary applicability of a folklore text as follows:

> *In addition to folklorists and interpretation scholars, researchers in such fields as communication, sociolinguistics, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, and literary criticism may find this work on the folklore text relevant. As the social science and humanities have come to share paradigms based on analogies drawn for cultural performances, interest in verbal performance spans several disciplines.*

As for Fine, everything which is more than words can only be recorded in a performance-centered text and she calls it "a performance of verbal art" /1984: 1/. Such a folklore text is believed by Fine to be basic in the study of different fields of studies. It is also a medium through which the folklore performance and the reader can communicate. As it is noted by Fine /1984: 3/, the performance-centered folklore text lively presents folklore performance to its readers.

> *As the medium through which the folklore performance is transmitted from collector to reader, the text plays an important role in the preservation and presentation of the folklore performance. The text not only stores the performance for future studies, it re-presents the performance in another medium. Since the reader's perception of the original performance springs from the presentation contained in the text, the study of the relationship between performance and text is critical.*

Preparing such a performance-centered text is a recent approach which has not yet got enough consideration. It is also a very difficult approach to deal with especially for researchers who do not have enough time and research facilities for collecting such types of data. The researcher who is writing this paper is one of these. But he has no ambition, however, to represent the performance of verbal art

justified. It is referred only based on the oral witnesses of the elders and also based on the notes in some books that are reviewed above].

2. It has been also the headquarter of the traditional king of the group. Because of this the area is believed to be a place where every aspect of the group heritages have been preserved well.

3. The Soro-*Dubämmos* are partially assimilated into the Hadiyas. This time they are raising the question of identity time and again because of the present general political situation. Hence the researcher believes that the contemporary political situation which advocates equal political representation triggers the group as a whole to speak openly about the past experiences of the ethnic group. But in the case of those isolated groups who are living at some other places, since they are very small in number, they do not have strength to raise such serious questions such as the question of ethnic rights.

Concerning the *Kembata* land where the *Wɔssɔn-Dubämmos* are living, the following four points can best justify the reasons for its preference.

1. ***Wɔssɔn*:-** is one of the *Dubämmo* sub-lineage groups. Most of the members of the *Wɔssɔn* sub-lineage group have settled on the Kembata land. The place where they have settled is found very near to the *Soro-Dubämmo* land. Hence the researcher found it less costly. In addition to this the group can also be approached without travelling long distances and without wasting much time.

2. They closely interact with the *Dubämmos* who live on the Soro-*Dubämmo* land. Their general context was also the same as that of the Soro-*Dubämmos*. When the researcher approached them during his field survey, he found them also openly discussing on the matters of their past experiences. That is why he has intended to collect as much ***tärikäs*** from such a motivated social context.

3. The *Wɔssɔn-Dubämmo* land of *Kembata* is the second place where a large

number of the members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group settled next to that of the Soro-*Dubämmo* land. The researcher thought that in most cases, the larger size of a group can well preserve ethnic heritages.

4. The *Wɔssɔn-Dubämmo* people have also been living for a long time closely interacting with the Kembata people. As a result, they are also assimilated into the Kembatas. Hence, there is also the partiall question of identity which has become serious. Such a general context is believed to make them be able speak easily about their past.

1.5 STATEMENT AND ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This thesis has attempted to deal with the following problem.

- What do the *Dubämmos* account about themselves through their ***tärikä***?

In the long history of Ethiopia, some ethnic groups, especially minorities have been known to assimilate into dominant ethnic groups. In some cases some of the ethnic minorities have been forced to be divided into two or more smaller sub-groups. As a result, they are losing the sense of their "original" identity as a particular group. Some of these sub-divisions of the ethnic minorities are at present getting completely separated and divided among different administrative regions and zones. As a result, they are unable to maintain their previous social and cultural strengths. Their identifying elements are also getting overwhelmed and engulfed by others. However, this has not stopped them from raising questions of identity whenever they get a chance to do so.

The *Dubämmos* of Southern Shewa [Central South Ethiopia] are one such victimized ethnic minority in Ethiopia, who claim to have a proud and unique ethnic tradition. The place where *Dubämmos* claim to have settled some 450 years ago has through time become an intermediary region between the Kembata, the Hadiya, the

Tembaro and the Donga districts. Some written evidence that are based on the information gathered from the members of the group through interviews, testify that the *Dubämmos* claim that they are members of a migratory self-contained and coherent ethnic group. For example, Ulrich Bräukämper, in his article published in the Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Volume 11, No. 2 under the title of "The Correlation of Oral Tradition and Historical Records in Southern Ethiopia", has noted that the Kembata speaking *Dubämmos* were referring to a tradition that they came from Gondar about fifteen generations ago /1973:35/. Moreover, the region is clearly sketched on the mappings that are compiled in the above mentioned journal. In his book, Die Kambata, Ulrich Bräukämper has also pointed out that the *Dubämmos* were one of the four former states that were merged through time into one group. "The name Kambata refers here to four former states with peoples who had the same language and culture but different historical origin: the Kambata, in the narrow sense, the Dubammo, the Donga and the Tembaro" /1983: 294/.

Even though the people themselves and pieces of written evidence claim that the *Dubämmos* are of a Semitic-origin. Most of them have been partially assimilated into the Hadiya as well as the Kembata. As a result, they are now administratively divided into two zonal regions, i.e., the Hadiya and the Kembata zonal regions. As for the oral witness of the *Dubämmo* elders, the contemporary situation has highly affected the economic, political, administrative, and other social interactions that the members have with the others. Moreover, such a mass division of one ethnic group's population among other ethnic groups generally believed by the society to have weakened the group's resistance to external influences.

In the case of such assimilated ethnic groups, it might not be easy to find a clear boundary which might distinctively divide them. However, the project, which studies the group's tärikä in the cultural and social context hoped to show the past experiences of the group. Moreover, folklore plays an influential role in creating mutual understanding and a feeling of solidarity with other ethnic groups. Oring explains this as follows: "Folklore may be used to create ties between members of different groups or to define boundaries and errect barriers between them. It may

even serve as a means of reflection upon the process of ethnicity and ethnic identification" /1986:42/.

1.6. OBJECTIVES

The general objective of this study is to describe how the *Dubämmos* perceive their own ethnic image and how they account for their own past experiences as well as facilitate further research that might be conducted on the *Dubämmo* ethnic group with a well-recorded, classified and described contextual data.

Since the *Dubämmos* have been assimilated partially into their neighbouring ethnic groups, now it is becoming difficult to define their identity clearly as a self-contained, concrete and specific ethnic group. Each of the numerous genres of folklore can play a part in identifying and defining such undefined ethnic groups. The study of the narratives also believed to comment in the best way possible upon the social interactions among different ethnic groups. By governing and commenting upon the social interactions among the different ethnic groups, the narratives that are collected in the group's social and cultural contexts would clarify ethnic differences as well as similarities. By doing so, they also provide the identifying elements that are particular to each of the intermingled ethnic groups. The role of folklore in defining identity explained by Oring /1986: 34/ is as follows:

> *It should be obvious that as ethnic groups are recognized on the bases of a particular cultural tradition or style and hence may provide the natural symbols of ethnic definition. Hence the definition of and identification with ethnic groups are often based on folklore.*

As a result of this study an exhaustive ***tärikä*** will be preserved before they completely vanish. The preserved data collections enhance further research works on the area as well as preserving the past accounts and cultural heritages for the coming generation.

When the researcher collects the ***tärikä*** in their natural context, he thinks he is also recording the minds of the people. This research project also tries to explore the *Dubämmos* internal truth, i.e., how they really perceive their own "history" and how they think about their own ethnic image. Such an exploration of their ethnic perception through their own ethnic oral historical narratives is assumed to contribute much to other studies. Specifically speaking, this study aims at the following objectives:

1. To see if some factual information can be garnered about the past and the present situation of the people by describing what they believe about their own ethnic identity and ethnic "history".
2. To describe the relationships that the *Dubämmos* may have with other Ethiopian nationalities, especially with their immediate neighbours.
3. To preserve the historical and cultural heritages for the coming generation.
4. To facilitate further studies on the *Dubämmo* ethnic group with a well organized and classified contextual data.
5. To encourage folklore researchers to conduct researches on other local ethnic issues.

1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is hoped that anthropologists, historians, sociologists, socio-linguists, folklorists, and other scholars will benefit from this study. Policy makers, law enforcers, administrators and the like are also hoped to benefit from the findings of the research. Without understanding the general world outlook of the members of a specific society, it will not be easy to approach them for any purpose /Fekade, 1996: 12/. Moreover, this study is believed to enable the *Dubämmos* to be understood by other ethnic groups so that they might have a feeling of solidarity and mutual relationships.

1.8. FIELD WORK: Duration, Methods Applied and Problems Faced

- **Duration**

The researcher of this thesis has tried to explore the social situations through interviews as well as close observations during his 50 days of stay in the group in his three round field trips. The first field programme which was held for 10 days, i.e., July. 11-20, 1997; had been intended for a general survey of the geographical location and the general social situation. The second field programme that was held for 30 days, i.e., Aug. 15-31, 1997, had been intended for the actual data collection. And the third field programme which was also held for 10 days, i.e., Jan. 26 - Feb. 4, 1997, was intended for gathering some more crucial information and for transcribing the data with the help of the local people.

- **Methods Applied**

Since the duration that was allowed to the researcher to stay in the field while collecting data was only one month, he was forced to follow a survey project type of data collecting method. For such a very short period of field work project what Goldstein proposes to be applied is a survey project. Survey project is believed to enable one to collect as much folkloric data from as many people in as many places as possible to do in the shortest period of time. Goldstein has also explained that a survey project is needed for areas where little or no folklore collecting has been done before. Such projects often treat only one genre. The researchers who follow such a project method are also called *Genre Specialists* by Goldstein. It is also believed to be a preliminary step of devising solutions for more complex problems /1964: 24-25/.

In the case of the *Dubämmos* there is no single folklore genre data that has been collected. The researcher has stuck only to one genre. The only folklore genre that was treated in the project is the oral narrative, specifically that which is locally known as ***tärikä***..

The methodologies that the researcher has applied to the field work especially to the data collection processes on both of the two research areas, is the participant-observation method and the interview method. The data that are collected through

both the participant observation and interview methods could be strengthened by information that the researcher has gathered by interviewing different people who are believed to deliver the intended information. A participant observation method is believed to be very important. The collector can observe and learn much about the process of narratives and can record the contexts while they are naturally occurring.

But most of the time, the participant observation method might be effected in natural context only by chance, i.e., when the actual performance of the narratives, the ***tärikäs*** in this study case, take place by accident. One cannot set up all the time all the means of data collection and be ready until the oral narratives naturally crop up by accident. Much more time, money and energy might be needed in order to collect them when they crop up by themselves, i.e., without being induced. Goldstein explains the problem that he faced when he was trying to collect riddles in their natural contexts as follows:

> *My problem was to find an opportunity to be present at an actual riddle session at which I could make my observations. I had already spent considerable time in visiting groups of my informants whenever I heard they were gathering in the hope one or more such gatherings might turn into riddle session. If I had an indefinite amount of time to spend in the field I might eventually be able to observe a natural context for riddling sessions, but the limitations of finance and leave-time from my job militated against waiting for such an occurrence to take place naturally /1967:3/.*

The researcher's role in the actual narrative sessions, in this study case, was observing the overall contexts and writing down the non-verbal messages that were occurring at the actual sessions. The contexts that were considered to be parts of this study were: performance, the audience reaction, the physical setting, culture, the narrator's state of mind, time and duration. In addition to these, the researcher has also directly participated as part of the audience social context.

- **Problems Faced**

The office of the School of Graduate Studies didn't consider the impracticality of a field work in a least known society without field assistants. Though the office didn't allocate funds, the researcher employed two assistants both from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group on his own expense. One of them is working in the Hadiya Zone Culture and Information Office. And the other is a teacher in Gimbichu Senior Secondary School. Since they know the tradition, language, moral ethics, geographical setting and all the other social aspects of the *Dubämmos* well, they were of great help to him.

The researcher of this thesis could collect the data from the induced natural context. In the case of some types of the *Dubämmos* ***tärikä***, since they often occurred spontaneously in between daily matters, no one knows exactly when they occur. Moreover the researcher's presence at every narrative session was a must. When he approached the *Dubämmos*, they were arranging a programme where some carefully selected elder members of the group narrate "historical" accounts about the group. He had to use this opportunity in order to collect data from that special gathering. The programme adjustment was, however, one major problem that he faced in the field. Since the one month field work programme and the scanty budget allocated to the project by the Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies Office were very insignificant for such a field-oriented project, a slight attempt that the researcher made to shift the programme adjustments highly disturbed the entire field work programme that had been arranged in a compact way.

So as to use the time effectively, until the time that was arranged for the elder's meeting programme approaches, the researcher together with his assistants arranged an induced coffee ceremony natural context on four different days in eight different houses. When the researcher approached the group, he had already studied which social contexts are better for collecting the intended data. Social meeting, coffee ceremony and mourning ceremonies are believed to be the best social occasions.

Concerning the mourning ceremony, he understood that unless he stayed long in the society it wouldn't happen in such a short field work duration. And inducing its natural context was by no means possible. Hence, wishing it to happen naturally, the researcher cancelled the mourning ceremony social occasion.

There are three kinds of languages that are being spoken in the district of the *Dubämmos*. The people can speak either one or two or all of the three languages. These languages are: *Hädiyissä /Hädiyissätä/, Kɔ̀mbättissä /Kɔ̀mbättissätä/*, and *Kizissä/ Kizissätä*. The informants also used these languages in a mixed or pure form when they were reciting their oral "historical" narratives.

In cases of every social context the informants that were selected to lead a story telling were elder members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. They were the ones who were believed to preserve lots of historical accounts in their memory in their long life experiences. And they were all males. The *Dubämmo* females have no time to take part in narrative sessions as leading story-tellers. Since they participate almost in every kind of job, they cannot get time to participate to play the role of the leading story-teller. They also will not get time for memorizing past accounts. Hence, they didn't contribute a single narrative except through their role as audience.

The finding lists that the researcher handed over to his informants were very helpful in the coffee ceremony induced natural social context narrative sessions. The researcher is not as fluent as the native ones at speaking the three languages though he is very good at listening to all of them. That was why he assigned one of his assistants to play the role of an interviewer. The second assistant also involved in the task of taking pictures that can depict the physical setting context. And he was also assigned to stimulate the leading story-teller and the members of the induced natural social context so as to enable them to account the "historical" facts that the researcher intended to focus on.

In order to record the most complete, accurate, and natural data on folklore; scholars advise the researchers to use video camera and photo camera in addition to

tape-recorder. If the visual activities are recorded on video films, the collector would have the chance to revise the performance when he finds it important. Especially in the contextual studies the physical setting and activities, can be interpreted and explored only by relying on photographs and video films. Using such equipment in the field study for such a contextual study purpose also permits the collector to play freely the role of a participant observer. Since most of the visual aspects can be recorded on video, the note-taking collector can concentrate his notes on different subjects rather than on the visual ones.

But since the researcher had no access to video, he had to concentrate on taking notes so as to get more or less as much visual information as that would possibly be recorded on video.

The social meeting that was arranged by the *Dubämmo* ethnic group committee members for the purpose of writing ethnic history, culture and tradition was another social context the researcher dealt with. The aim of the social meeting was very general. It aimed at recording almost every social, cultural, historical, political and the like aspects of the group. Since it is not the researcher who arranged the programme, he couldn't manage it in the way he intended. He couldn't make the work of data collection based on the finding lists that he had prepared according to the objectives of the research.

As a result, he was forced to record almost every social aspect of the group which were discussed for the continuous three days on that special social meeting programme. Though the work was very cumbersome and expensive as well, the formal meeting social context was a very good opportunity for the researcher to achieve maximum rapport. If he couldn't by chance appear there at the time when that formal social context was arranged, it would take him long time to organize it.

There are some kinds of the *Dubämmos*' narratives which are going to stop their functions due to some reasons. *Dränčä* is one of these. It can be described as a kind of narrative which has a series of rhythmically flowing successive words with only few and repetitive notes of musical measure. It is less melodious than song and

repetition of words and phrases is its dominant characteristic feature. Besides, it is recited only in single. Some years ago almost the entire members of the *Dubämmo*, the Hadiya, the Kembata, the Tembaro, etc. practised it in their daily lives. But since most, if not all, of the members of the above listed ethnic groups have now accepted Christianity /Protestant/, they have already stopped practising *Dränčä*. Such a practice is totally assumed as an activity of violating the rule of God which is set against singing a secular song. As a result of this the researcher found collecting *Dränčä* very difficult. He faced this problem more when he tried to collect from the *Dubämmo* people who are living in the Kembata region especially at and around the Doyogena town. Since they believe that their "history" was already written with the sacred blood of Jesus Christ when. He was crucified on the Cross, some of the knowledgeable story tellers have through time have regretted such an earthly and "factional" ethnic "historical" accounts. Since this is moral ethics which they seriously follow, the researcher also has to respect their belief. Hence what he has devised as a solution was collecting as much *Dränčäs* from those who have not yet become Protestant Christians, however, the collections were in most cases repetitions.

And in the case of *Šerimmä*, since also the Protestant Christians consider it as an act of motivating people to violence and war as well as to be inordinately proud, the performance of it is strictly forbidden Hence, in the case of *Šerimmä* also, the researcher found that inducing a natural context to make those well recognized performers recite *Šerimmä* is very difficult due to the reason that most of them have already become Protestant Christians. Hence, in this case also the researcher has tried to collect as much *Šerimmäs* as possible from those who have not yet become Protestant Christians, however, they are also repetitions in most cases.

1.9. TRANSCRIPTION and TRANSLATION

Jakobson, as has been mentioned in The Folklore Text, divided translation into three classes: intralingual translation, interlingual translation and intersemiotic translation. He defines intralingual translation as a method of defining words in the same language. Interlingual translation is a method of translating one language into another language. Whereas intersemiotic translation is 'an interpretation of verbal

signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems" or according to Nida's related definition, it is " the transference of a message from one kind of symbolic system to another" [1984: 96]. Concerning these divisions and definitions there seems to be not any disagreement among critics of translation but it is obvious that they might differ in their choices of priority areas.

According to both Jakobson's and Nida's notions, transcribing any kind of speech from oral medium into print is a type of intersemiotic translation. Because the signs of the first type of medium are acoustic that are accompanied with gestures whereas the signs of the latter one are letters that are meaningfully arranged on paper to be visualized rather than to be heard. Hence, in the case of the translations of the data of this paper, whether liked or not, all the data have inevitably passed the process of the intersemiotic type of translation while they are being transcribed from cassette to paper in their original local languages. Then interlingual translation is followed while translating all the data from their original local languages into English.

Concerning the interlingual translation, the critics of translation are still debating on the notion whether the literal translation or the free translation is to be preferred. In both cases there are advantages and disadvantages. Free translation has more advantage in preserving the contents of the message. But while one is trying to maintain the message; the form, on the other hand, will be distorted and damaged. The literal translation, on the other hand, has more advantage in maintaining the form of the data as much originally as possible. But while one is trying to preserve the original form of the data, he obviously misses a considerable amount of message. The well known critic of translation, Eugene A. Nida, has explained this as follows.

> *It must be said, however, that if the form in which a message is expressed is an essential element of its significance, there is a very distinct limitation in communicating this significance from one language to another. It is usually impossible to reproduce this type of "meaning" /1974: 5/.*

and *Šerimmä*, in most cases, is the performing art. Unlike the conversational narrative which is a communal product, *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä* are mostly presented in Solo. Hence, the name of a particular performer of particular *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä*, is preferred here to be used as a representative code of each narrative.

Concerning the conversational narrative, the title is given for each piece according to the major theme which is mainly treated in each narrative. As it is pointed above, the main thing in conversational narrative is the subject matter. The narrator together with his immediate audience treat the central issue of each narrative which is also preferred to be used as a title. As the name itself implies, conversational narrative is presented communally through the medium of conversation. The performance of individuals is often subordinated to its theme. Hence the researcher believed that there is no need to mention the names of the leading story-teller and his immediate audiences repeatedly in front of each speech. Moreover, it was difficult to correspond each speech to the names of their narrators exactly only based on the information received only by the sense of hearing from audio-recording tape cassette. Hence, the researcher preferred to put codes that represent the narrator and the audience in front of each speech in order to maintain the effects of the leading story-teller and his immediate audience's verbal interactions.

One may also come across different codes while he is reading the "Contextual Text," i.e., chapter three. The following lists of interpretations are highly believed to be of use in understanding the whole chapter.

Key to Abbreviations

- C = Conversational Narrative
- LS-T = Leading Story Teller
- AI = Audience Interference
- DG = Discussion Generator
- LS-TI = Leading Story-Teller's Interference.

- D = Dränčä
- S = Šerimmä
- D = Dindämmo [in the second Šerimmä]
- GR = Group Reaction [in the second Šerimmä]

2. A PRELIMENARY CLASSIFICATION

2.1. Problems of Classification

Concerning the classification of Oral literature, scholars haven't yet still come a common agreement. Thompson, Finnegan, Propp, Leach and other scholars have given more attention to discuss the confusing features of the types of oral narratives. Thompson /1946: 8/, has explained that a single prose narrative that has the same idea can have different terms in different countries and societies. He has also explained that prose narratives are not rigid as some theoreticians might think. As for the notion of Thompson [1946: 10], prose narratives blend into each other, and hence as stories transcend differences of age or place; fairy tales can become myths or animal tales or local legends.

As for the explanation of Oring /1986: 124/, myth is highly concerned with ultimate realities. In contrast Schmidt has noted that though it is not fair to dismiss myths completely as untrue or irrelevant oral tradition, they have a fantasy quality which is not totally believed as true. Hence, as for Schmidt /1980: 28/, myths are non-historical narratives. In her discussion about myth, Gray has noted that, "In its weakest sense the word 'myth' may mean no more than 'untruth' ('it is a myth that.'). With reference to religions the word suggests a certain detachment; a mythology is a religion which is no longer felt to be true" /1992:187/.

Leach has explained that the distinction between myth and legend is vague. Legend is told as true. Myth is also in most cases understood to be true since it is told as having actually occurred in a previous age though its characters are divine. Since there are semi-devine characters in some stories, Leach has pointed out that, sometimes it becomes difficult to classify narratives that consist of such characters under a single category /1949: 612/.

Propp has explained that classification is the basis for and prerequisite of an in-depth study. He has noted that, "To define the object of study means to assign it

2.2. A PRELIMINARY APPLIED-LOCAL CLASSIFICATION

At this stage it is extremely difficult to establish ethnological boundary lines based on the theoretical standard-based categories of different genres of narratives that are invented and standardized analytically by European and American scholars. Foreigners have invented different terminologies and definitions for their different types of narratives according to their own local perceptions. Here in this study it is believed that the method of data collection and classification have to be based on the local perception and the characteristic features of each of the "historical" narrative. Dan Ben-Amos /1982: 48/ calls such a classification method NATIVE TAXONOMY. He writes:

> *Native taxonomy, ... has no external objective. It is a qualitative, subjective system of order. The logical principles which underlie this categorization of oral tradition are those which are meaningful to the members of the group and can guide them in their personal relationships and ritualistic actions.*

According to Propp; classifications are of two types: applied classification and the scholarly recognized classification. The applied one does not need a theoretical background. It can be arrived at through observation and experimentation. The second type is based on a scholarly recognized theory. There are theories and principles in it that promote a logical way of classification /1984:40/.

But as one may understand from the discussion that has been delt with so far, there is no theory of classification that is commonly recognized by all and that can be universally applied disregarding the cultural differences. Propp himself has pointed out that in societies where there is no recognized scientific classification, using the applied classification until principles of scientific classification are worked will be of no choice /1984:40/.

either with a programme or by chance. Social meeting, coffee ceremony and mourning ceremony are the main occasions in which conversational narratives are mostly presented. When the people who have been living apart from each other come together at the occasion of a mourning ceremony, they get chance to discuss their past and their present after they accomplished the burial ceremony and returned to their home. It is the elders who mostly play the major role in introducing the past experiences of the group to the younger generations as well as to the people who have come from different areas, and have not that much know-how about the *Dubämmos'* past.

In the coffee ceremony also the elders tell their children and other young participants as well as strangers the general past experience of the *Dubämmos*. It is mostly at the occasion of the coffee ceremony, especially early in the morning and at night, that the elders teach their children the ethnic genealogical lists in their chronological orders. The social meetings are the main occasions in which the accounts of the past experiences of the group often crop up in between the discussions of other matters. Since it needs much time, usually it helds on a free day when the group take a full day rest, like on Sunday. The mourning ceremony that is arranged for a dead person, who is very well known by the group, is usually held at *Onä Fɔ̂do*, i.e., a large plain field preserved for a large size mourning ceremony; other wise at *Ulumä*, i.e., a front yard or a compound of a house. In the case of coffee ceremony, it is mostly held in a house.

Dränčä, on the other hand, is performed by adult members of the group Though *Dränčä* can be performed by anybody in a less artistic manner, it is, however, mostly performed by outstanding performers who have already been recognized by the society to be gifted and knowledgeable. It is a means of living for most of them, however, they don't earn fixed income for each of their performance. It is often performed in shops where local drink is sold. Mostly it is performed in the night time, that is a leisure time for most of the people, and on market days where comparatively large number of people come and meet at the local drink shop and pass much of the day time by attending and performing

Dränčä and, of course, by consuming local drinks. It is often presented to those people who are gathered in the shop to drink alcohol.

In the case of *Šerimmä*, the narrators are mostly those who are highly specialized in performing it through practice. And there are also trainers who are practising in less serious occasions as in a small size social meetings of members of the same age group. In both cases the performers are mostly adults. The places where *Šerimmä* is mostly performed are large fields where social meetings and ethnic festivals are usually held; and large size weakly market places where a very large number of audience can be found. In the case of the market place, the audiences are intermingled members of different ethnic groups. In the case of social meetings and ethnic festivals, the audience are often from the same ethnic group. At the market place what the *Šerimmä* narrator usually does is announcing the death of a historical figure personality in the group. While the narrator is announcing the bad news, he also utters the historical deeds of the person in a dramatic way by imitating the heroic deeds or other similar activities that the person performed while he was alive. Since the performance needs long period of time, the occasions in which it crops up need even much more time. However, it has to be understood that there is no fixed time in which *Šerimmä* is consistently performed.

- What [The Subject to be Narrated]

In a conversational narrative, the narrator mostly presents the general ethnic past experiences rather than that of the individuals' personal accounts. In the cases of *Dränčä*, the narrator performs it mostly infavour of the pleasure of individuals. Hence its theme might vary from audience to audience. But unlike the conversational narrative, *Dränčä* gives much emphasis to individuals who are less commonly known by the group rather than the general ethnic past experiences. The *Šerimmä* narrator may account more general ethnic experiences than the *Dränčä* narrator according to the content in which he presents his *Šerimmä*. But in *Šerimmä* also, narrating the past experiences of individuals who are less familiar to the broad mass is very common.

- Purpose [Function]

Though it is subordinated to the purpose of information delivering, the artistic beauty in the conversational narrative also has great effect on entertaining the audience. Especially the narrations which are more concerned about the roles of the prophetic spirit, more or less have the fancy feature that has some sort of artistic flavour.

In the case of *Dränčä*, entertaining the audience is the main purpose which is usually aimed at by the narrator. Whereas delivering information is secondary. Since mostly the narrator intends to be awarded money and to be invited liquor by the members of the drunkard group who are gathered in the local drink shop he often performs his *Dränčä* in favour of the audiences' pleasure. And the more the narrator tries to please the audience, the more he destorts the reality.

Concerning *Šerimmä*, though entertaining the audience, in most cases, is the primary aim of the narrator, in some other cases, however, delivering information also is not less important than entertaining. In the case of *Šerimmä*, in some cases, the priority of importance lies on the basis of the context and the issues to be narrated. In some cases also some performances can have equally important double purposes. For example, motivating the members of the group by uttering a dramatized war boast is an act of delivering information as well as entertaining the listener.

- Performance [How]

In the conversational narrative, the past experiences of the members of the group are presented communally through a conversational type narration. The story develops through narrator - audience verbal interactions. In most cases, the issues that are raised in conversational narratives are explained in detail. The audience can interfere into the leading story - teller's narration when necessary in order to correct mistakes, to supply information and to react positively or negatively supporting or protesting the narrator's personal outlook.

Dränčä is always performed in single in a melodious voice. The narrator concentrates his attention more on maintaining the artistic beauty of his voice rather than delivering information. *Dränčä* cannot be interrupted by the interference of the audience while it is being presented. But the audience can remind the narrator without interrupting him by prompting an issues that has to be pointed out in that particular context. The narrators of *Dränčä* never discuss the past accounts they raised in detail. They always seek to be admired and to be rewarded money or to be invited alcoholic drinks by their audiences as an act of response for their "outstanding" performance or for their praising or speaking well of the members of the audience in general or individuals in particular.

The performer of *Šerimmä* more concentrates his attention on maintaining the sequential order of each line and the appropriateness of the rhyming features as well as the dramatized physical activities which are often presented by imitating the past activities of the represented historical figures. Whenever the audience get the issue, that is being narrated, sensitive and touching, they react positively or negatively, depending upon their general interest, and can freely interfere into the narrator's presentation when necessary.

- **Style**

A Conversational narrative has no consistently seen common feature of opening, closing and other kinds of styles. Concerning Dränčä, it has its own style of opening and closing. In the case of Šerimmä also, it has its own consistently seen style of opening and closing. In addition, it has also a consistently seen style of introducing each new subject before dealing with it.

2.3. A Distinctive Study of Classifications

2.3.1. Conversational Narrative

In the *Dubämmos* oral tradition, there is no especial occasion on which conversational narratives to occur formally. Mostly it is while people are attending social get-togethers such as coffee ceremonies, social meetings and mourning ceremonies that the conversational narratives might happen to be narrated. They often crop up by chance in between discussions of everyday matter of general interest where members are together for one of the above listed reasons.

For example, one can start narrating some kinds of "historical" account when the name of historical ethnic hero is raised by chance in between the discussions of related or some other different issues. One can also narrate a story about ethnic conflicts or some other issues when he is asked in between everyday matter talks. Historical locations, objects, names of historical figure personalities, and the like aspects often trigger conversational narratives to crop up spontaneously during discussions. Generally speaking, the *Dubämmos'* conversational narrative usually happen to be started without warning and also stop abruptly or change the subject suddenly. It has no consistently seen common features of opening and closing style.

Since at least the basic components of the conversational *tärikä* narratives are traditionally known by most of the younger members of the group as well as the elder ones, most of the time the narrators do not need to introduce everything and do not discuss each subject in its full content from the beginning to the end. In such case the narrator will be asked time and again for further information and explanation if he comes across members of the audience social context that are new for everything.

It consists of fantasy effecting qualities though highly subordinated to information delivering dominant feature of it. As it is explained elsewhere, most of the experiences that are expressed often describe the common issues that are most familiar to the group. They consist of the group customs, an account of the descent of individuals, stories that are composed of folk histories and local events. Stories about early ethnic migration and settlement, about ethnic heroes, about war situations with other ethnic groups, about the historical names of places, such as: names of locations, names of rivers, names of

mountains are the most popular ones. Generally speaking, genealogical aspects and the famous deeds of ethnic heroes in the past are common issues that are mostly raised in the conversational narratives.

There are many conversational narratives that deal with some spiritually possessed and powered members of the group. Most of the conversational narratives give especial attention to the supernatural deeds of *Häuzulä*, who is believed to be super human power. He is believed by the group to be the cause of most of the past happenings that are accounted by the narrators.

The audience's social context is normally a very essential factor in the *Dubämmos* conversational narrative presentation sessions. It is already explained that almost every elder member of the group has a commonly shared knowledge about the past experiences of themselves. Hence they often directly participate in the conversational interactions based on the ethnic past accounts. The narrator is also receptive to his audience's reactions. Since he confronts his audience, he can't distort the content of the story that is commonly believed by the group to be true. Such a group social context by itself is a controlling mechanism of the common attitude of the group towards the contents that are discussed in the group social context.

In such a familiar group social context of the *Dubämmos'* oral tradition, each member of the audience has the right to ask the leading story-teller for a clarification. Though most of the time there is common understanding in the group, the narrator may sometimes come across a more knowledgeable person among the audience and can be challenged by him. The more the narrator bases his narratives on the past events that are believed by the group to be true, the less he is challenged by the audience. And the reverse is also true. That is why the knowledgeable story-tellers of the *Dubämmos* often tend to rely on the commonly believed accounts when they lead conversation sessions.

On the other hand, unless the narrator establishes an image of himself in the mind of the audience as a loyal and knowledgeable story-teller, he will not be allowed to continue as a leading story-teller in conversation sessions and will not get acceptance even if he becomes by chance a leading story-teller. To be considered as a loyal and knowledgeable story-teller means to get a higher status in the society. It is a kind of prestige that one might deserve when he shows his loyalty to the group beliefs through his long time experience. It

is when the narrator could convince and impress the group repeatedly that he can be allowed to continue as a leading story-teller. Hence they often try to preserve in their mind the commonly believed accounts and to present it in a convincing way when discussing. As it has already been mentioned that the *Dubämmos'* group social contexts of a conversation session on the aspects of the group do not allow narrators to polish the stories in favour of the artistic beauty of their narratives. It is also explained elsewhere that the conversational narratives crop up in between discussions about everyday matter. Hence they can be considered as communal products. The more communal they are the more factual their contents might be.

The stories of the *Dubämmos'* conversational narration cover the accounts of past events that were set in the remote past as well as in the recent past. In most cases there are concrete pieces of evidence around the group that always remembers the past events. When this is the case the characters as well as their stories can often be memorized very well by the audience. As a result, the narrator also takes care not to distort such accounts of past events which are always memorized and believed to be true by their immediate audience. He will not try to polish the stories intending to excite the audience.

The *Dubämmos'* conversational narratives are mainly useful as sources of information. They are less artistic but more realistic. Though they have some artistic features, their artistry is mostly subordinated to information delivering and educational purposes. The narrators do not make effort to make their narratives very artistic. Entertainment is not their primary objective. Their primary intention is delivering information and making their audience aware of their world outlook. Their narratives are also simple. Since they are spontaneous products of memories of the narrators, there is no complexity in them. In the case of conversational narrative, since the accounts of past events are narrated through conversational discussions, what the group often raise and discuss is more general ethnic historical accounts of past events rather than recent past accounts of individuals. In such a communal discussion social context individuals do not mention their names since the accounts of past events in such conversational contexts are communal presentations.

2.3.2. Dränčä

Unlike the *Dubämmos'* communally performed conversational narratives, their *Dränčä* is performed in single. It is a kind of performance in which case the narrator accounts, mostly, the past and the present experiences of the ethnic group in his musically flowing voice. Entertaining and delivering one's own personal attitude towards individuals as well as group of peoples in a more beautiful manner are the main objectives of a *Dränčä* narrator. Most of the time the narrator seeks in turn to be admired or to be rewarded money or to be invited liquor by the audience for his art of performance as well as for his speaking well of each of them in his *Dränčä*. It is mostly performed in houses where people are gathered to drink coffee or in a shop where people gather to have local alcoholic drinks. The size of the audience is mostly small. The smaller the size of the audience is the more the narrator can raise accounts of recent past deeds and honours of individuals rather than the general ethnic honour and accounts of remote past events.

Sometimes the subjects of *Dränčä* that are performed by different narrators might become different because of the age differences of the narrators. Though it is mostly performed by adult members of the group, the elderly ones also perform it sometimes. If the narrator is an elder, his *Dränčä* might become an account of a remote past experience. If the narrator is a younger one, his *Dränčä* might consist more of the recent past accounts of the older generation in the group. In both cases the narrators may trace back to a remote past as well as to the recent past though the medium, i.e., *Dränčä*, does not allow detail explanation. Most of the *Dränčä* narrators, however, often account their own direct cumulative life experience about themselves as well as indirect cumulative life experiences that they have shared with others about other individuals less commonly known and also in some cases about great can historical figure personalities. This implies that the narrator refer to individuals in his own age of time and in the recent past time as well as historical figure personalities from the remote past.

As it is pointed out in previous parts, in some cases *Dränčä* is performed in favour of the pleasure of the audience. Its theme might vary in some degree from context to context. The narrator can polish the content of his *Dränčä* to some extent according to his attitude at that particular moment towards that particular social context.

Though it is also presented in a group social context, while it is being presented *Dränčä* cannot be interrupted by the audiences in between like in the case of conversational narratives. It does not allow, by nature, the interference of external bodies once it is started and until it comes to an end. In order to maintain its artistic beauty and in order to take time to think what is to be said next, the narrator often repeats words, phrases and musical sounds. Unlike in the conversational narratives, in *Dränčä* the artistry of voice plays a very important role in holding the attention of the audience.

Though *Dränčä* cannot be interrupted by external interference, the audience, however, can react to the narrator's serious mistakes whenever they get him violating the folk belief. They can also remind the narrator without directly involving in his performance or without interrupting his presentation only by prompting the forgotten issues. But this is mostly done when the points to be prompted are believed by the audience to be important if they are raised and narrated in that particular context.

Dränčä is mostly performed by well recognised, skilled and gifted members of the group. But apart from the professional ones, it can also be performed by the common people of the group in a lesser degree of artistic quality than that of the recognized performers. As has been pointed above, they can be rewarded money or they can be invited alcoholic drink by their immediate audience if they could perform good. But there is no fixed payment. It varies according to the narrator's performance as well as the nature of the audience in one particular social context.

Unlike the conversational narrative, *Dränčä* has its own opening and closing features. Mostly the narrator repeats important word or phrase on the first line at the beginning. On the other hand, when he wants to stop at the end he says, "For now, let me stop here," or "Let me take rest".

By its nature, the *Dränčä* narration is a non-conversational and a non-communal product. No one can interrupt the performance. The narrator cannot explain the raised past accounts in detail. Most of the time, he concentrates much on making his voice as artistic as possible, he doesn't have time for discussing the subject matter in detail. He cannot think freely so as to invent and apply words that exactly fit to pass the intended message. He cannot also interrupt the flow of his *Dränčä* in between in order to think how to explain the raised issues in a more direct or simplified way.

On the other hand, though not discussed in detail, it raises more or less the same accounts as in conversational narratives. Hence, in Dränčä also one can find accounts like early ethnic migration and settlement, interactions with the neighbouring ethnic groups, geographical descriptions, lists of ethnic heroes, and accounts of their heroic deeds, ethnic traditions, lists of individuals who have got great social value due to their wealth, and similar accounts, etc.

A *Dränčä* narrator often mentions his name time and again while he is narrating in order to introduce himself to his audience. The more he introduces himself the more he will be known by name and memorized by his audience.

2.3.3. *Šerimmä*

Šerimmä is a type of narrative which has a dramatic form of presentation. The narrator not only narrates but also acts mostly by imitating the physical activities and the general characteristics of the historical figure personage. It is the act of uttering a poetic expression mostly about one's own ethnic pride. Mostly it concerns the heroic deeds of a group or individuals. In addition, it also consists of ethnic traditions, customs, account of the descents of individuals, stories that are based on local events, etc. *Šerimmä* is always narrated in verse. Unlike in *Dränčä* in it the narrator concentrates more on the sequences of the lines he has studied in mind rather than giving more attention to the musical quality of his voice as one can see in *Dränčä*.

In between his narration the *Šerimmä* narrator can stop his *Šerimmä* for a moment and introduces the subject matter of what he is going to narrate next. He can also ask for an excuse, or he can comment and criticizes the audience for their misbehaving. He also can ask for the audience's sign of agreement on the correctness of the messages that he passes through his *Šerimmä* narration. The size of the audience is often large. The larger the size of the audience is the more the narrator can raise the general past experience of the members in the ethnic group instead of particular accounts about individuals in the ethnic group. Most of the time, *Šerimmä* is presented on especial occasions and ceremonies where a large size audience can be found, such as mourning ceremony, market, social meeting, social get-together, etc.

The *Šerimmä* narrator always narrates what he has already studied and preserved in his mind before his actual presentation only with a slight modification. Hence it is more or

less reliable as evidence for studying what the group accounts about its past. The narrator of *Šerimmä* has less chance than the narrator of *Dränčä* to mould or polish his narration. The main functions of *Šerimmä* are: information delivering, entertainment, and driving people into emotional actions by making them recall the past heroic deeds of the historical personalities whose "historical" accounts are already recorded in the minds of them. The dramatic presentation of the *Šerimmä* narrator has the power of creating a sense of immediacy. While the narrator narrates, the audience mostly feels that everything is happening at that actual moment.

Šerimmä is always performed in single though the subject matter is a commonly believed one. It cannot be performed by non-professionals. Its dramatic features make it difficult to be performed by those who are not yet specialized in it. It demands a unique acting skill and experience.

The narrator who narrates *Šerimmä* mentions his name time and again in the course of his presentation. The purpose for mentioning his name is that he wants to use the opportunity to introduce himself so that he might be admired by his audience. And the more he is admired by his audience the more he will also be respected in the society. The more he has accumulated a commonly shared knowledge of the accounts of past experiences in his memory the more he will be admired by his audience.

Since *Šerimmä* narrators are professionals, they are often paid for their services in special social occasions and traditional ceremonies mentioned above. In most cases the payment is fixed, i.e., 8 to 12 Birr depending upon the occasion. On the other hand, unless they narrate the commonly believed past experiences of the group, the society may not allow them to continue their task as professional *Šerimmä* narrators. As a result, they may loose their income. That is why the *Šerimmä* narrators always become very careful whenever they study their *Šerimmä* and they often tend to stick to the accounts of past experiences that are commonly believed to be true.

Šerimmä has its own opening and closing features. Before the narrator directly starts to narrate in *Šerimmä*, he first introduces the subject to be narrated. Then he smoothly shifts into his *Šerimmä*. In like manner, when he wants to stop he says, "After saying this, I stop here for now."

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Šerimmä covers the time from the recent past up to the remote past. In like manner it consists of accounts of the narrator's personal life experience as well as historical figure personalities and their duties in the remote past.

2.4. A Comparative Descriptions of the Classifications

In the three narrative types, i.e., conversational narrative, *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä*, though the thematic aspects that are raised in all are in most cases the same, the degree of their treatment is different. The difference is the result of their differences in narrative styles. *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä* have no chance of treating their issues in detail. Unlike the conversational narrative, they do not allow the narrator to discuss each and every account in detail. The pieces of accounts that deal with the general subject matters of the ethnic group as well as that of the individuals in the group are described only in brief though the degree of emphasis differs in each case. For example, in conversational narratives more emphasis is given to the general past experiences of the ethnic group whereas in the case of the *Šerimmä* almost equal emphasis is given to the group as a whole and to the individual members of the group. In the case of the *Dränčä*, one finds more emphasis given to individuals than to the group. In all cases, however, the general context in which the particular narratives of each types are narrated highly affect the general features of each of the particular narrative.

As pointed out earlier, above all the three types of narratives mostly focus on common issues. For example, ethnic heroes are common subjects in both types of narratives. But to what extent they treat their issues differs one from the other. Especially there is seen wide difference between the conversational type narrative and the *Dränčä* and the *Šerimä* types of narratives. In the case of most of the conversational narratives the names of the ethnic heroes are listed and also their heroic deeds are explained in detail. For example, in the narrative C2, not only do they list the names of their ethnic heroes, but also describe their heroic deeds as well. And one of these ethnic heroes is *Ašin Häbässe*. He is discussed there that he was the one who led the *Dubämmo* war that fought with Janjeros on the *Sigedä* mountain. And there spoiled too much blood in the war. It was then the previous name of that mountain, i.e., *Sigedä*, is changed into *Ṫig Afɔ̀re*. As far as there is the *Ṫig Afɔ̀re* mountain as a physical evidence, the society often memorizes the story of that historical war and also the war leader at that time.

As for the explanation of one of my informants, i.e., *Yäqob Mɔlgɔno*, since the people can easily recall their ethnic heroes in their day-to-day life, most of the *Dubämmos* are already accustomed to utter a war boast by calling the names of their ethnic heroes, such as *Ašin Habasse*, when they were alarmed by accidental bad happenings. In like manner, they explained the detail of heroic deeds of ethnic heroes such as *Kɔčče Gɔreno* and *Gär Didɔnä*.

In the narrative C_{10} also one can see the lists of ethnic heroes. In some cases they are listed with a brief contextual descriptions. In some other cases, they are listed with detail descriptions of their heroic deeds. Some of these important historical figure personalities who are described in detail are *Gɔbre Wäriyo, Ašin Häbässe, Gar Didɔnä, Kɔčče Gɔreno* and others. The reason why the heroic deeds of the above listed heroes are explained in detail is, as already pointed above, the presence of physical evidences that are always seen by the society. Since they have direct attachment with the heroic deeds of each of the above listed heroes, they always remind the "historical" events and the heroic deeds as well as the ethnic heroes. In addition, the conversational narrative style also highly promotes detail explanations.

Most of the historical events are believed by the *Dubämmos* to be caused by the spiritual power of *Häuzulä*. Hence in the conversational type of narratives, the historical deeds of the prophetic spiritual power that reveals itself through the spirit medium, i.e., *Häuzu-Mɔnčo*, are discussed in a very detail manner. As it is already pointed, the conversational style of narratives allow such detail descriptions. Hence the narrators not only refer to the well known historical personalities by whom the historical events directly effected but also the background motive of the spiritual power, i.e., *Häuzulä*.

In the case of *Dränčä*, the name of *Häuzulä* is raised very rarely. Though in it also again one can see the list of the names of ethnic heroes, their heroic deeds are not explained in detail. The piece from line number 44 up to 51 in D4 can be cited here as a good example. In like manner, in *Šerimmä* also descriptions about *Häuzulä* are rare cases. There also again one cannot find detail explanations about the heroic deeds of the well known ethnic heroes except brief hints. In the narrative Š1, from line 117 up to line 123, one can also see the same kinds of description as in the above cited piece of *Dränčä*. All the names that are listed in the above cited examples are the names of ethnic heroes. But

there are no any additional explanations and detail description of the historical deeds of the ethnic heroes except introducing their names and giving only hints about their deeds.

As one can see in the pieces of *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä* that are referred above, the narrators have not only aimed at listing the names of the ethnic heroes, but also they have intended to elevate their own personal prestige by referring themselves associating with the well known historical figure personalities. One may not see such a direct personal associations and attachments with the ethnic heroes or some other well recognized historical figure personalities in the conversational narratives. The issues raised in a given social context are mostly about the general ethnic past experiences rather than self-oriented explanations. There one may hardly find that the narrators referring themselves by saying, "I who is speaking this is the son of so-and-so..." But in the case of *Šerimmä* and *Dränčä* it is common. In the pieces that are taken from D2 from line 1 up to 7 and D4 from line 28 up to X [including the left out lines] are descriptions of the narrators personal identifications. In the cases of Š1 from line 25 up to line 34 and from line 117 up to line 123 can also be referred here as best examples of the narrators' personal involvement's in the "historical" accounts.

In the conversational narratives the nature of conversation by itself generates discussions and enable issues to be treated in detail. Since it is free for both the narrator's and the audience's responsive actions and reactions, its natural context by itself promotes ideas, conversations and discussions. There is no as such formal style of introducing issues that have to be discussed unless it is in a formal meeting social context like the second type of social meeting context on the *Dubämmo* land. As one can understand from the opening speech in the above mentioned formal meeting context, the chair person introduces the issues to be focused on and also he explains the discussion procedures. But in the case of the coffee ceremony social context if not inducing a natural context was believed to be the best mechanism of data collecting in the given situation, there wouldn't be a need for employing discussion generator. Conversational narratives often crop up naturally in social contexts that are discussed in the previous chapter. But since waiting until they naturally crop up by chance is a tiresome and expensive task, applying the inducing method has become here inevitable.

In most cases of the *Šerimmä* and the *Dränčä* types of narratives, the narrator introduces the central theme of his narration at the beginning. And he also continues introducing the branches of the major themes as he is proceeding from one sub-topic to the other while he is narrating. For example, each of the first lines of D1 and D3 narratives commonly consist the same introductory speech. In both cases the repetitive words connote the same meaning, i.e., "The *Dɔ̈ntä*, with which the narrator its referring that he is from a famous ethnic group, i.e., Dɔ̈ntä (Dubammo). Such repetitions of one word at the beginning of a *Dränčä* narrative is a deliberate act of giving emphasis to a major focal subject of a particular *Dränčä* narrative. On the other hand it is a common mechanism of checking the quality of one's own voice and arranging it for a lengthy musical performance of *Dränčä*. It is also a means of concentrating for the narrators. While the narrators are repeating the same word, they can also think and concentrate on what they are going to say and how they are going to say.

In like manner one can also see in D4 that the narrator starts his *Dränčä* by saying "*Dänä-he-he, he-he dänä he-he, he-he dänä.*" The word "*Dänä*" has mentioned here repeatedly by the narrator to refer that he is going to speak about the "Justice maker" ethnic group, i.e., *Dubämmo*. "Dänä" means "Judge." By his first two opening lines, the narrator hints that what he is going to mention is how the *Dubämmos* could stabilized war situations, how they controlled their areas of settlement, how they could administer themselves and how they could destroy enemies and wrong makers.

After the *Dränčä* narrators have introduced the main focal subjects of their narration, in like manner, they continue introducing the next coming issues whenever they proceed into new sub-topics under the main one. For example, in D4, after the narrator has informed at the beginning that he is going to narrate about the "Justice makers," i.e. , the *Dubämmos*, then after few lines he proceeds into new sub-topic by an introductory line which says, "*Gätɔ̈nuwäno gonınä misso-ho-o-o.*" which means, "I am a friend of the famous war leaders," and after he has introduced himself in association with the ethnic heroes, then in the continuous 12 lines, i.e., from line 7 up to line 18, he lists the names of the *Dubämmo* land small districts where the ethnic war leaders could perform their heroic deeds. In like manner, in D3 line 19, one can read a line which say, " *Orätm Wɔ̈sɔ̈nossɔ̈ne...ɔ̈m*," which means, "I am from those warriors of *Wɔ̈sɔ̈n* sub-lineage

group." After he has introduced that he is a member of the *Wɔssɔn* sub-lineage group, the narrator lists in the latter coming 10 lines, i.e., from line 20 up to line 29, the names of the ethnic heroes that are from the *Wɔssɔn* sub-lineage group. In some other cases, after the narrator has simply described the ethnic past experiences, such as: traditional value, economic standard, geographical surroundings, etc., then he concludes each of the particular pieces with a brief key sentence which more discloses the descriptions in each of the piece of *Dränčä*.

For example, in D4 from line 44 up to line 51, the narrator simply lists the names of the ethnic heroes without any introductory line. But when he finishes listing their names, he concludes by saying, "*O kɔ̀n hundim gäi̇ɔnuä*," which means, "These all [those whose names are listed] are war leaders."

In the same vein, in the *Šerimmä* narrative type also introducing the issues that are to be described is common. For example, in the beginning few lines of Š1 the narrator introduces that he is the one who coined and narrated first the piece of *Šerimmä* which is about a well known person. Then he continues describing himself time and again associating himself with the well known members of the *Wɔssɔn* sub-lineage group.

As it is noted else where, in *Šerimmä* and *Dränčä*, in most cases, one rarely finds detail descriptions. The narrators mostly lists the names of historical figure personalities and the names of places. In the case of *Dränčä,* the narrator lists the names of places or well known people mostly for the sake of maintaining the artistic beauty of his voice. The more easily that the *Dränčä* lines are remembered the more easy it can be for the narrator maintaining the artistic quality of his voice. Hence mostly the narrators of *Dränčä* stick to more simple and easily memorable "historical" accounts like the names of well known people and well known places. They also list a number of names of such peoples and places for a single "historical" account which is mostly disclosed at the end of each listing only in a single line. Since the names what that they listed are very similar and common, when the first is mentioned, the next one also easily comes to the narrator's mind. Hence, mostly the *Dränčä* narrator doesn't have that much problem of remembering what to say after each line. Rather he concentrates more on the mechanism of elevating the artistic beauty of his voice.

For example, in the narrative D1, from line 32 up to line 39, the narrator lists the names of commonly known small districts on the *Dubämmo* land since they easily come to his mind. But it doesn't mean that each of the line is not aimed at passing important messages. After listing the commonly known places, immediately in line 40 the narrator points that the places that are listed above it are historical areas where the *Dubämmos* settled first. Then he also continues describing in brief what they did after they settled. In like manner, in D2 from line 8 up to 27 the narrator lists the names of commonly known small districts on the *Dubämmo* land. And here also after listing the areas, the narrator briefly describes how the *Dubämmos* could settle on the listed areas and what they did while they were living in the early period of their settlement. In narrative D3 from line 25 up to line 28, and in narrative D4 from line 7 up to line 18 the narrators, in like manner, has listed the names of some of the commonly known small districts of the *Dubämmo* land.

In the same way, in *Šerimmä* also narrators do not describe issues in detail. In their cases also the more they have raised easily memorable issues the easier they can maintain the rhyming features of their *Šerimmäs*. The same as in *Dränčä,* in *Šerimmä* also one can see there listed large number of the names of places and historical figure personalities. In order to maintain the rhyming quality of each of their *Šerimmä*, the narrators mostly repeat the last word of a line two or more than two times at the end of each of the consecutive lines. Such repetitions of the end words subordinate the nature of content and also create monotony. But it is more easy, however, to the narrators to maintain the rhyming feature of their *Šerimmä*. For example, in Š1 from line 37 up to 41 and from line 128 up to line 131, one can easily observe such repetitions. Again in Š2 from line 8 up to line 10 one can see that the word "*beðne*" is repeated three times, and the word "*mðqir*" is also repeated 8 times from line 13 up to line 20 consecutively. In the like manner, one can cite a number of examples from each the *Šerimmä*. Not only the end words of the lines but also, sometimes, phrases and the line as a whole can be repeated in *Šerimmä*. While the narrators are repeating, they will have time to think what to say in the next line or what to be mentioned next. For example, in Š1, line 35 is repeated only with a slight change Line 48 is also repeated.

Repetitions of words, phrases, rhyming musical sounds and lines are also some of the characteristic features of *Dränčä*. At the end of each line, the narrator repeats the sound of

the end letter in a musical tone so as to enable his voice to rhyme melodiously. The three dotes at the end of each *Dränčä* are representatives of the musical flow of the last sounds. Most of the time the introductory repetitive words that come at the beginning of most of the *Dränčäs* can also appear repeatedly in the middle. In like manner, in narrative D1 the first line that is also repeated at the beginning again in line 2, appears in the middle in line 19, and here also it is repeated in line 20. In narrative D3 also the first line again appears in the middle in line number 30. Such repetitions of the introductory lines are the narrators' deliberate actions of reminding the audience what the main issue of a particular narrative and also it is the narrators' system of breaking monotony. In D3 again one can see phrases and words being repeated in the middle. Line 17 and 18, line 36 and 37, line 43 and 44, line 51 and 52 can be best examples to be cited here.

There is also another unique feature of *Dränčäs*. In most of them the first letters of the consecutive two or more lines are rhyming. This can be clearly seen in D3 and D4. In the narratives D1 and D2 also such a unique rhyming features are partially seen. The first word is a key word that enables the narrator to recall the line as a whole. That is why they mostly begin a number of consecutive lines with similar alphabets or sounds. The first letter of the first word in a line can easily remind the first word of the next coming lines due to the similarities of the sounds they start in.

In addition, if the beginning alphabets of the consecutive lines are the same, the narrator will not face hardship in managing his voice while he is shifting from line to line. The shift will be smooth. Hence the narrator will get chance to concentrate more on maintaining the artistic beauty of his performance. In *Šerimmä* also one can see the same rhyming feature at the beginning of two or more lines. Here also the similarities of the beginning letters of two or more consecutive lines enable the narrator to remember easily the beginning words of each line, and the beginning words of each line can also enable the narrator to recall the whole of each line one after the other. If once the beginning word is remembered, here also, the narrator can recall immediately the whole line. Hence the narrator will get chance to concentrate more on delivering information as well as maintaining the artistic beauty of his *Šerimmä*.

In the cases of both *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä*, as it is already discussed, it is common to introduce the main subject matter to be described in each of the particular narrative. They

have consistently seen feature of conclusion. But in the case of the two types of narratives, there is no end in them for narrating the past accounts. But the closing in both of them connote the unfinished sense of the accounts. Whenever the narrators finish their performance, mostly they feel that they haven't yet finished narrating all the past accounts that are preserved in their memories. Hence they don't feel that they could describe everything that is in their mind. They mostly conclude hinting the possibility of accounting more ethnic past experiences. And they often conclude by saying, "So I am tiered let me stop here" or "For now I want to stop here" or "Let me take a rest here." See also the same features of conclusion at the end lines of D1, D2, D3, D4, Š1 and Š2 of the contextual texts.

The medium of performance for conversational narrative is conversation, for *Dränčä* it is melodiously flowing voice of the narrator, whereas for *Šerimmä* it is dramatized poetry. Conversational narrative is , in this study, a kind of discussion between two or more people on the past experiences. There should always be common issues to be discussed in group social context. The past as well as the present issues on particular ethnic group are mostly believed to be common discussion issues for the members of that particular ethnic group. Since there is always familiarity among the group concerning the discussion issues, while one is speaking the other can interfere emotionally to support ideas or to disagree with individuals' opinions and explanations or one can deliberately interfere the narrator's performance in between his narration to generate or to guide the discussion to come to the intended subject or to come to the point. Such a conversational type of narrative is more of a verbal performance in which case delivering information subordinates all the other function of it.

As has already been pointed out above, *Dränčä* is more of a musical performance in which case the narrator becomes highly considerate for the artistic beauty of his voice than for delivering information. The tempo of *Dränčä* performance is very slow and it is not accompanied with dance. It is a one man performance. Its performance mostly takes a long period of time, i.e., as much as twenty minutes. Since it is performed by a single person for such relatively long period of time, it mostly tend to be monotonous. Hence the narrator mostly must be a well recognised person who can raise varieties of issues and who can manage his voice artfully as much as possible.

Šerimmä , as it is stated in the preceding discussions, is a dramatized poetry. In most aspects it looks like a kind of war boast. Its verbal presentation is always accompanied with physical activities. While the narrator is narrating accounts of somebody's past experience, he tries as much as possible to visualize the physical activities of the represented historical personage. Though *Šerimmä* is also a one man performance, depending on the general context, audience and narrator can interact in a limited degree. Unlike the musically flowing voice medium of *Dränčä*, the medium of *Šerimmä* can be interrupted by emotional reactions of the audience or by the deliberate action of the narrator himself. But the interfering period is mostly a very short moment. What is normally expected to happen in such a very short period of time is the narrator's verbal action to be followed by the audiences' response or the narrator's action with the audiences' response and the narrator's reaction. For example, in Š2 line 121 and 122 are the first kind of the above discussed types of interactions. Line 69, 70 and 71 are the second type of interaction.

The Š2 the festival social context was very large. Since each members of the group in the social context gathered there purposefully with common objective and stand, their reactions, from the beginning up to the end, are the same. But in the case of Š1 the coffee ceremony social context was very small. The main purpose of the group to be there together was participating in the usual coffee ceremony occasion. They had no any special and unique issue to be shared with the narrator. Hence their role was mostly attending the performance only with slight reaction. The narrator also had no any special issue to be presented purposefully in the given coffee ceremony social context. He has simply described the usual "historical" accounts on diversified subject matters of individuals and, in some cases, the ethnic group as a whole. The issues that are raised in Š1 are not so sensitive as in Š2. The less sensitive the issue is the less it is reacted by the audience, and the reverse is also true. There is no way in *Šerimmä* for detail explanation as in the above discussed conversational type of narration. The interactions are, however, in prose in *Šerimmä* too.

Contextual differences create difference in some aspects of narratives. The conversational narratives that are collected from the coffee ceremony social context differ in some cases from the same types of narratives on the same issue but which are collected from formal-meeting social context. In like manner the *Dränčäs* that are collected from the *Dubämmos* formal meeting social context at the *Dubämmo* land differ from the Dränčäs

that are collected from the *Dubämmos* that are living on the Kembata land. The *Šerimmä* that is recorded from small social context at the Kembata land also differs from the *Šerimmä* which is collected from a very large social context in *Soro Wɔ̀rɔ̀dä*.

In the conversational narratives that are collected from the coffee ceremony social contexts the past experiences of the ethnic group are discussed in detail. The heroic deeds of ethnic heroes are described in depth. The roles of the prophetic spiritual powers are discussed very well. The names of individuals that are known for some reasons, like: for their breeding hundred or more cows, for their heroic deeds, for their prophetic authority, etc. are listed. But in the case of the formal social context, such detailed descriptions in each of the particular aspects is impossible. Especially the recent past time experiences of individuals have never been considered in the formal social context. Only the more general ethnic accounts, such as: the story of ethnic origin, the story of migration, the story of settlement, the story of ethnic traditions, the story of ethnic religion and the like general aspects are the ones that are prominently discussed in detail.

In the coffee ceremony social contexts, the narrators were free to discuss everything according to what they feel. But in the case of the formal social context all the narrators are, obviously, conscious of the past accounts that are discussed by each of them. They are basically intended to be reported to the authorities of the state so as to help them in evaluating the *Dubämmos* request and in passing their judgement. Hence, in some cases, they have been discussing some issues in favour of the immediate general ethnic interest. For example, in C11 the first leading story teller has officially claimed that he is still *Amhara*. But the outlook that he has about his identity is made to be corrected in favour of their intention of being considered as a self-contained and self-sufficient ethnic group. As for their general stand, they don't want to be considered as a sub-group under some other ethnic group.

It is discussed in the contextual text, i.e., chapter 3, that the contextual difference has exerted its influence on the general features of *Dränčä*. It was observed that the religious context the *Dränčä* that is tried to be performed in the process of data collection from the Kembata land Dubämmos. In the case of *Šerimmä*, the effect of the contextual change is clearly seen in the contents of the two *Šerimmäs* as well as in their forms. In the case of Š1, as it is already pointed before, the size of the audience is very small and the background

motive for them to come together at that social context is only to attend the usual coffee ceremony. Hence, there is no, as such, clearly seen communal or personal reaction. In the case of Š2 the size of the audience is very large which is estimated in thousands. In this case almost all of the participants are gathered for a common purpose with a common stand. Hence they all react together at the same time in the same way. The purpose of that special gathering in which Š2 is narrated is, as for the general oral witness by the group, to make the influential authoritative powers to whom the case is concerned know the "wrong that is believed by the Dubämmos to be made on their ethnic rights by the Hadiya zone authoritative powers. It is in such general atmosphere that Š2 is performed. And the narrator seems playing the role of reconciler. As for him, the *Soro Wɔrɔdä* people, i.e., Hadiyas and *Dubämmos,* are one and the same in every social aspect of life except their origin. Hence, both have to be administered together as usual, but with equal political and administrative representations. In the case of Š1 the narrator has concentrated more on the past experiences of one sub-lineage group of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group, i.e., *Wɔssɔn*. He has exposed more to the historical accounts of the Kembata land *Dubämmos*, i.e., *Wɔssɔns.* Hence the accounts of past experiences that he has described are more of personal and particular though they also have their own significance in identifying the general ethnic image.

3. The Contextual Texts of Tärikä

3.1. Pre-Actual Data Collection Field Process on The Dubämmo *Land*

The second field trip programme that was arranged for collecting data was held from Aug. 15-Sept. 13, 1997, for one month. On his way to the *Dubämmo* land the researcher stayed at Hossana, i.e., the administrative head quarter town of the Hadiya Zone, for twelve hours to meet one of his assistants who is working in the Culture and Information Office of the zone. The researcher had already explained to the person what was intended to be done in the research when he first reached the society for a general survey. The person is from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. He knows well the social, the traditional and the geographical contexts of the *Dubämmos*. The researcher employed him to be one of the two assistants with whom he had already decided to work up to the end of the field work.

On the next day, Aug. 16, 1997, morning, the researcher together with his assistant went to Gimbechu, i.e., the administrative head quarter of the *Soro Wɔrɔdä*. There he met his second assistant with whom he had already agreed to work together when he had approached the research area first for his general survey. His second assistant is a teacher in Gimbichu High School. He is also from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group.

Before they moved to the *Dubämmo* land, the researcher had to explain to them what they were going to do. He had also divided roles among them. The researcher can listen to *Kɔmbätissätä, Hädiyissätä* and *Kizissätä,* but cannot perfectly speak them. Hence he assigned one of his assistants to interview the chosen informants based on the finding lists that he had already prepared. Since his assistants share the same tradition and knowledge with the society, they might not need detailed information or they may not care if the narrators skip what ever important accounts as far as they commonly understand them. In order to avoid such a problem of ignoring important "historical" aspects, the finding lists are believed by the researcher to be important solutions.

The second assistant was also assigned to arrange induced social contexts and to take photographs. The researcher's role was taking notes, checking whether everything was going as he intended, and attending the narratives and participating in it whenever he got it necessary. After the researcher and his assistants finished planning the field process, they went to the *Dubämmo* land.

After his arrival, the researcher had studied for three days Aug. 18-20, 1997, the general social situation of the group by directly participating in their day-to-day activities and by interviewing the members whenever necessary. The *Dubämmo* people were found to be highly considerate about their orally descended ethnic "history" and identity more than the researcher expected. They accused the zonal political administrative body as well as the Soro *Wərədä* political administrative body to the central and the regional governments. As for the oral witness of the members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group, this time the administrators in the Hadiya zone have denied a self-sufficient coherent ethnic identity of the *Dubämmos* and violated their ethnic rights. Hence the group as a whole had already agreed not to pay the inland revenue of the state under the Hadiya administrative zone where, as what most of the people whom the researcher met explained to him, they were not considered as equal as the Hadiyas.

By the time the researcher joined the *Dubämmos* for his research purpose, they had already been asked by the Southern Ethiopia Regional Government officials to present their evidences that might justify their self sufficiency as a particular ethnic group. Hence they had formed a committee that would organize a meeting in which the knowledgeable story-tellers chosen from the older members of the group to narrate the orally transmitted ethnic past experiences. The session was scheduled to be held at *Bonnä qəbəle* on Aug. 29, 1997, and the committee was preparing invitation card for those elders who were chosen for that especial session. The researcher has also arranged the second data collecting programme to be on the same programme.

The monthly ethnic assembly programme that was going to be held at *Gäneta qəbəle* after two days, on Aug. 23, 1997, was also the researcher's target social context from which he intended to collect as many ethnic historical accounts as possible. On that day, except females and children every member of the group was attending the meeting.

When the day approached, the researcher together with his assistants went to *Gänetä*. It was very far from the *qəbəle* where the researcher together with his assistants tentatively settled. Until they reach to the place where the meeting was arranged to be held, they had to cross on foot long distance chain mountains. Since the researcher thought it to be a very good opportunity to collect the intended data, he well prepared himself materially and morally.

They were delayed almost by half an hour when they reached at the meeting field [*fɔ̈do*][1]. The two assistants had already informed to the researcher many things which have great traditional values for the society. Hence he knew that it was impossible to join any social group of the *Dubämmos* unless the group allowed the new comer to join the group.

First the new comer has to say repeatedly by bowing three-four times, "*qɔ̈rɨčo Oho! angätä! Oho gädo angätä*!" which means "you, the respected ones, please allow me to join your gathering". Then the group replies by saying, "Abɔ̈, abɔ̈. *Gän, gän*" which means, "Be an honoured great man, please." Then the new comer joins the group. In like manner, before the researcher and his assistants joined the group, they fulfilled the traditional prerequisites.

After the actual meeting process started, although the researcher and his assistants waited long until the intended subject cropped up, no a single related issue came to happen in the social context. The agendas on which the group were discussing were completely different from what the researcher intended to record. They were mainly discussing how they could collect the monthly contribution of money for the purpose of social co-operation from each member of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group that are living in different qɔ̈bɔ̈les on the *Dubämmo* land. They were also looking into the individuals dispute cases based on their traditional legal system. In addition to this, they were seriously discussing to devise mechanisms of keeping strong their decision not to pay the yearly in-land revenue under the administrative rule of the Hadiya Zone.

While the meeting was coming to its end, the researcher and his assistants decided to select the more intelligent story-tellers from that social meeting context before everybody went back to his home. When they select story-tellers, they take care not to add those knowledgeable story-tellers who had already been nominated to be informants in the programme that was arranged for elders. Since they could record from that particular social

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[1] Fɔ̈do- Every *Dubämmo* has an open field covered with grass in front of his house. The *Dubämmos* prepare such fields to perform different social ceremonies. They call such individually possessed front house fields "*ulumä*" (*urutä*) On the other hand, they have one large field for each small village. Such commonly owned large fields are also locally called "*fɔ̈do*." They are used for celebrating traditional ceremonies that might hold a very large number of people.

Fɔ̈do - is also more commonly used by the *Dubämmos* to refer to the place in the dense forest where *Häuzulä* concentrates and spiritually transcend into another world. No one can reach there except him. As for the *Dubämmos* oral witness, most of the time he was accompanied by lions and tigers

meeting context, interviewing them on the first social context was believed by the researcher to be wastage of time.

After they selected story-tellers, the researcher and his assistants planned to arrange eight coffee ceremony programmes in eight different houses for inducing naturally occurring "historical" narratives. The programmes were scheduled to be held on the consecutive four days Aug. 24-27, 1997, early in the mourning and at night when the selected informants and other peoples could be free. In one coffee ceremony social context, two story-tellers were assigned and the remaining members of the social context expected to be any body that is a member of the ethnic group from the neighbouring people or from some other place who reached there by accident. The researcher thought that if the well known story-tellers are two at each social context, when one becomes a leading story-teller, the other corrects him and the remaining members of the group can create a kind of natural social context by reacting to what is being presented and by asking questions if not clear. He also expected them to raise issues which will be neglected by the well known story-tellers but which might be very important for the purpose of the study.

Finally the researcher and his two assistants discussed the programme with the sixteen. And then they came to an agreement to start the programme on the coming day Aug. 24, 1997, morning in the house where they temporarily settled. They also agreed with two informants that are living in the neighbouring villages to be present there on time.

3.2. Coffee Ceremony General Context

Until the major social meeting programme approached, the researcher had tried to explore in depth the eight induced coffee ceremony general social contexts. The *Dubämmos'* traditional houses, where the narration sessions were arranged to be held, are the same. People and animals usually share the same house. Since there is no electricity, they use fire in order to light and warm the house. They always drink coffee by sitting in a circle around fire. In both of the coffee ceremony social context the researcher recorded many ethnic past accounts while his assistants were discussing ethnic experiences with the chosen informants. One of his assistants who was assigned to interview the informants could generate well both so as to make them discuss the intended subject matter thoroughly. He could manipulate effectively the finding lists that the researcher had given

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when he enters into the forest.

him while asking questions and directing the focus of the discussions towards the intended subject matter.

Since the researcher wanted to make the presentations in every coffee ceremony social contexts as much natural as possible, he motivated the discussions to be held while everybody was eating Qolo[1] and drinking coffee. But unfortunately, the researcher couldn't collect *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä*. Since the Protestant Christianity widely involved in the society, most of the members of the group had already believed that singing seculars songs, performing *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä* and drinking alcoholic drinks both to be parts of the major acts of violating God's rules. Though the researcher was ready to invite liquor to the well known *Dränčä* and *Šerimmä* performers in order to involve them into a usual motivating atmosphere of performance, he couldn't succeed since they hardly become volunteers. This is because they were Protestant Christians. Hence he could collect only conversational narratives. The following narratives are some of the recorded ones that are chosen to be documented.

3.2.1. Conversational Narratives

C1: The Kembata Land* Dubämmos *and "History" of Their Settlement

DG: How did the *Dubämmos* settle on the Kembata land? Do you know the history?

LS-T: Some generations ago there were conflicts and wars between different ethnic groups because of different reasons. The Kembatas and the *Dubämmos* had common *Semitic* origin and also they had almost similar languages at that time. During the period when *Womä Dilbɔ̂o* was ruling the Kembatas, they were being attacked by the Hadiyas and by other ethnic groups. When they were bitterly attacked by the Hadiyas, the Kembata's *Womä* requested the *Dubämmos' Womä* i.e., *Womä Diqässo* for help. Since both the Kembatas and the *Dubämmos* had common origin and since they had similar languages, *Womä Diqässo* sent *Womä Dilbɔ̂o* the members of one of the sub-lineage groups of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. It was in such a way that the Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns could settle on the Kembata land. They stayed for some time on the Kembata land near the boundary line of Soro-Hadiya and Kembata protecting the Kembatas from the Hadiyas' attack.

But after some time, those Kambatas who were not happy about the *Wɔ̂sɔ̂ns* being there on

[1] Qolo = is a roasted grain[barley, wheat, peas, beans, etc.] which is mostly served to people at coffee and mourning ceremonies.

the Kembata land with them started conspiring to sweep away all of the *Wɔssɔns*. Once there was a wedding ceremony in the neighbouring village in the house of one of the Kembata members. At that time girls used to participate in every wedding ceremony around their living areas. The *Wɔssɔn* girls also participated in the above mentioned wedding ceremony. While the *Wɔssɔn* and the Kembata girls were dancing together a dispute arose between one of the Kembata girls and one of the *Wɔssɔn Dubämmo* girls. The Kembata girl gave the *Wɔssɔn* girl a veiled insult saying, "you recent arrivals: In the near future, you will get your consequences. We will destroy you all!" The *Wɔssɔn* girl also gave her a veiled insult and made her know that she is a member of undefeatable warrior ethnic group.

Finally while the girls were turning back to their village, the elder members of the *Wɔssɔn* sub-lineage group asked the girls what they and the Kembata girls did say at the wedding ceremony while they were dancing. Then the *Wɔssɔn* girls told the elders everything in detail. From what the girls told them, the elders could understand that the Kembatas are conspiring to attack the *Wɔssɔns*. Then they themselves started conspiring to destroy the Kembatas.

DG: And what happened then?

LS-T: At that time both the *Wɔssɔn* and the Kembata people used to hunt together in mass. *Wɔssɔns*, after deciding to attack the Kembatas, proposed to the Kembata people the idea of going to a forest to hunt lion. Then they together went to the nearby forest and started searching for a lion. Though they tried much to find a lion, they couldn't get it. Finally the *Wɔssɔns* proposed again the idea of Kneeling down to pray addressing the Kembatas' "*Abä*" and the *Dubämmos' Häuzulä*. Then they agreed to turn their faces on the direction of the Kembata's Christian religious leader, i.e., *Abä* in order to address their prayer to him and to put their spears, swords and shields on the direction of the seat of the *Dubämmos* prophetic spirit, i.e., *Häuzulä*.

DG: OK! And what happened then?

LS-T: Then, in between their prayer the *Wɔssɔns* slowly raised up from the position where they knelt down for a prayer and picked up at once all of their spears, swords and shields and destroyed all the Kembatas piercing their bodies with spears and cutting their necks with swords as they were on a prayer.

DG: Who did propose the idea of addressing a prayer to *Abä* and the idea of putting the spears, the swords and the shields on the direction of *Häuzulä*?

AI: It was proposed by the *Wɔssɔns*.

LS-T: You see, those all spears, swords and shields were collected on the side of *Wɔssɔns*. /He Laughs/

AI: Yes! You see!? /He Laughs/

LS-T: Since the *Wɔssɔns* were on the side of the spears and the swords, they picked all of them and destroyed almost all of them at once! /He Laughs/.

AI: After they destroyed all of them, they started singing their victory song.

LS-T: *Wɔssɔns* could eradicate most of them. The remaining few were disappeared away. It was in such a way that the *Wɔssɔns'* heroes destroyed the Kembatas. After they eradicated them, they left the Kembata land and turned back to the *Dubämmo* land.

DG: It is said that *Wɔssɔns* settled on the Kembata land two times. And it is also said that it was on the second time that they could settle permanently on the Kembata land. How could they come back to the Kembata land?

LS-T: I know the history. As the *Wɔssɔns* turned from Kembata back to the *Dubämmo* land, those few Kembatas who could save their lives went to *Womä Dilbɔto* and reported the bad incident that was caused by the violent action of the *Wɔssɔns*. But the Kembata king said, "Why did you conspire first to destroy them. You didn't have to mistreat them first. They have been our defenders on that side. They have been defending us from the Hadiyas attack. It is since they came here that we could live peacefully." After saying this, he got more angry and said, "Why no they destroy again you all! I don't care!".

DG: Was *Womä Dilbɔto* a traditional king of the Kembatas?

AI: Yes

LS-T: Then the traditional king of the Kembata people sent to the *Dubämmo* king an old and highly respected man, whose name is *Alo*, to mediate them with the *Dubämmos*. *Alo* was the *Dubämmos* relative on one side. His mother was from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. It was also because of this that the Kembata *Womä* chose him to be a mediator between him and the *Dubämmo Womä*. After *Alo* went to and from *Womä Dilbɔto* and *Womä Diqässo* repeatedly, on the third year, after he started mediating, *Womä Diqässo* agreed to send back *Wɔssɔn -Dubämmos* to Kembata. When the *Wɔssɔns* went back to Kembata, the Kembata *Womä* gave them again the opportunity of choosing a more favourable land for settlement as much as they wanted. But the *Wɔssɔns* didn't want to settle far from the *Dumbämmo* land.

At that time they used to love each other very much and they didn't want to live being isolated from their relatives. Hence they chose the nearest areas, such as: *Arärä*, *Dede*, *Doyogɔ̂nä and Sännä Qɔ̂bɔ̂les* for living.

DG: Why did the Kembata *Womä* want *Dubämmos* as such seriously?

LS-T: *Dubämmos* were very warriors. It was done so that the *Dubämmos* could defend the Kembatas from the attacks of the Soro-Hadiya people. The Kembata *Womä* wanted them to settle on the Kembata land. During that period *Dubämmos* also were not in good terms with the Hadiyas. Hence they also preferred to support the Kembatas. The Kembata traditional king also knew this when he asked the *Dubämmo* king to support him.

After one year since they settled at the Kembata land, they heard a lion roaring. Then the *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns* called each other and gathered to hunt the lion together. The Kembatas remained in their home locking their doors from inside fearing the revenge action that could be taken by the lion.

When the *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns* reached the lion, they agreed to use only sticks to kill the lion with so as not to damage the skin. They also devised system for killing the lion. Hence they intended to surround the lion. And while it was jumping to bite those who are in front of it, those who are behind it also agreed to catch its legs so as to pull it down. It was only intending not to damage the lion's skin that the *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns* wanted to manage the risky task of hunting /he Laughs/. Then the *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns* started attacking the lion. There was our family's slave whose name was *Lenjämo*. It was only he who slightly pierced the lion's forehead skin with spear. Otherwise the others dropped the lion pulling its legs. Then they struck it with sticks and pestles to death.

AI: [Exaggeratedly] it was by pulling its legs that they could throw it down.

LS-T: While the lion was trying to jump to the ones who were in front of it, those who were attacking it from behind could catch its legs and threw it down. While these all were happening, those Kembatas were saying, "Those malingerer *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns* are provoking the lion to cause problem on us," and they stayed in their houses locking the door from inside. But only one courageous servant from the Kembata ethnic group was looking everything climbing up on a tree. After the lion was killed he went to the Kembata *Womä* and said, "Your excellency our *Womä*, let honour and power be with you forever. These violent and malinger people [the *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂ns*] seem to be dangerous. I saw them killing a lion pulling its legs with their bare hands. After they threw it down, they struck it only with sticks. They didn't use spears or swords. I think your power is in risk. These people are very dangerous."

AI: This happened after the *Wɔssɔns* settled on the Kembata land for the second time, was it not?

2ndAI: Yes, it happened after they settled on the Kembata land for the second time.

LS-T: As for the Kembatas traditional administrative system, that was working throughout the Kembata land at that time. If a lion had been killed, it had been a must that its skin be taken to the *Womä*. But when the *Wɔssɔns* killed the lion, they carefully removed its skin and took it for themselves. On the third day, they went to *Womä Dilbɔto* with their bare hands narrating their adventure in their victory song. The one who was leading the victory song that was accompanied with dance was *Sidäm Kešämmo*. He was saying in his victory song, "*Womä Dilbo*, *Womä Dilbo*, we have our own tradition of wearing mantle on our mourning ceremony; we have our own tradition of holding flag hanging it on the tip of bamboo when we are performing our traditional ceremonies; we have our own tradition of using drums to make our mourning ceremony very interesting; we have our own tradition of sharing cows according to our personal prestige; we have our own tradition of giving war titles for our war leaders; we have our own tradition of making a house with two doors; we have our own tradition of fencing our own compounds, we can plant our own trees, we can possess the skin of our own trophy. .... If you try to hinder our rights, you and we also will not be in good terms for ever. We will not even defend you."

As they reached to *Womä Dilbɔto* singing their victory songs in like manner, they forwarded the same opinion directly to *Womä Dilbɔto*. Then *Womä Dilbɔto*, after hearing what *Wɔssɔns* were saying, he allowed them to follow their own tradition.

AI: These traditions were not allowed for other Kembatas except for the members of the ruling clan, i.e., *Oyeta*.

LS-T: They were allowed only for the *Oyetas* and the *Wɔssɔns*.

AI: So as to keep the *Wɔssɔns* back on the Kembata land forever, *Womä Dilbɔto* conspired marriage plan with the *Wɔssɔns*. Then he arranged *Wɔssɔns* to abduct the Tembaro king's wife who is from the *Oyeta* - Kembata clan. She was also an aunt for *Womä Dilbeto*. As she was turning back to Tembaro after visiting her relatives, the *Wɔssɔns* abducted her from the road and engaged her with one of the members of the *Wɔssɔns*.

LS-T: Her name is *Godite*.

C2: Ethnic Heroes and Accounts of their Heroic Deeds

DG: You have indicated that the *Dubämmos* have a tradition of giving war titles for war leaders. Were there very well known war leaders? What are their heroic deeds, if there were any?

LS-T: *Ašin Häbässe*, the eighth generation of the *Wɔssɔns* sub-lineage group, is one of the main ones whose heroic deeds are to be discussed here. He fought with the Janjeros at the present *Sigedä Qɔbele* on *Ṫig Affɔre,* Mountain, the mountain that you saw last time on your way while you were coming here. At that time there was a tradition of arranging exact day and time for war. Before the actual time that the *Dubämmos* and the Janjeros arranged was approaching, *Häuzulä* attacked the Janjeros with heavy rain and made them inactive. Then the *Dubämmos* fought the Janjeros' highly organized war and harshly exterminated them all. Moreover, they cut off all of their genitals as a proof for one's heroic deed. When the *Dubämmos* turned to their village, they carried all the genitals stuffing them in many sacks. The place where the *Dubämmos* exterminated Janjeros was said before *Sigedä.* But after that historical war it started called *Ṫig Affɔre*, which means " a mountain that is covered with blood", The mountain was totally covered with blood. That is why it has been called so far *Ṫig Affɔre*. Since then, the field has grown nothing. It remained dry.

Kɔčče Gɔreno was also a well know war leader of *Dubämmos*. His mare was also known by the name *Wäšo*. She had great war experience. She participated in many wars with *Kɔče Gɔreno*. Since she was addicted to drinking the enemy people's blood, she was highly sensitive to war situations. When she sensed that there is a war, she ran to *Kɔče Gɔ̌eno* immediately so that he sit on her back as soon as possible to involve in the war. It was due to the active role of *Wäšo* that *Kɔče*-led war could repeatedly defeat the enemies of the *Dubämmos*. Those of the *Màsmàs* people were one of those who were repeatedly defeated by the *Kɔče-led Dubämmo* war. After some time the *Màsmàs* people became conscious of that it was due to the role of *Wäšo* that *Kàče* always defeated them. Hence they started plotting to kill *Wäšo* at night, while she was in her stall.

One night, while everybody was sleeping, five people came from the *Màsmàs* land. Unlike their present situation, they had a very large size of land at that time and they were our neighbours. When they came to kill *Wäšo*, they had already studied before the stall where she used to stay throughout the night. Hence they successfully drugged their spears across the wall towards the stall and pierced *Wäšo* to death. *Kàče Gɔreno*, listening strange sound that came from the stall, woke up and looked that his favourite hero mare was dying.

The five *Mɔ̂smɔ̂* people, after they run away escaping from the *Dubämmos* revenge, when they became sure that they were approaching the *Mɔ̂smɔ̂* land they relaxed and ridiculed the *Dubämmos* by saying at their top voice, "*Dubämmo*! *Dubämmo*! *Dubämmo*! Search for your *Wäšo*! Search for your *Wäšo*! Find where she is now!" As he listened while the *Mɔ̂smɔ̂* were ridiculing, *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* understood that the killers of *Wäšo* were the *Masmas* people. Then he followed them holding two spears, one sword and one shield. Since he knew well the topography of the *Dubämmo* land, he took the shortest path and waited the five *Mɔ̂smɔ̂* people hiding himself at the side of their path being in ambush. The *Mɔ̂smɔ̂* were totally relaxed when they reached at the place where *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* lurked and they were discussing adventurously how they killed *Wäšo*. Suddenly, *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* dragged his two spears in the bodies of the two of them and cut of the necks off the remaining there with his sword. Then on his return he ridiculed the *Mɔ̂smɔ̂* people by saying, projecting his sound towards them, at his top voice, *Mɔ̂smɔ̂*! *Masmas*! *Mɔ̂smɔ̂*! Search for your five messengers! Search for your five messengers! Find where your messengers are now!"

AI: It was a revenge action that *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* performed on the five *Masmas* people.

LS-T: For that matter, the death of *Wäšo* was a great loss at that time on the side of *Dubämmos*. Even the death of hundred *Masmas* people wouldn't have been an equivalent revenge for *Wäšo*. What she together with *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* performed in wars at that time had brought great historical value, prestige and fame for the *Dubämmos*.

DG: I think there is another oral history in which the value of *Wäšo* is also discussed well. Somebody told me that when invaders came to destroy *Dubämmos*, some people advised *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* to escape away so that he might not fail in the hands of the enemy war. But he said, "Leave them only for me and *Wäšo*. I can sweep them away once and for all if I sit on the back of *Wäšo*." Can you tell us this story in detail?

LS-T: Yes, I know. You have also remembered well most of the main parts of the story. [pause] First of all, I would like to mention directly who the invaders were. They were the Hadiyas.

AI: They were Badogos.

LS-T: No! They were Soro-Hadiyas. When *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* heard that the Soro-Hadiyas were invading the *Dubämmo* land, he went to *Womä Diläbä*, the *Dubämmos'* traditional king at that time, for consultation. Then *Womä Diläbä* and *Kɔ̌̂e Gɔ̂reno* together went to *Häuzulä* seeking a better advice. There they also explained him every thing. After listening for what they explained to him, *Häuzulä* also said, "These strange people will bring serious problems

to you. They will breed largely and will become large in number. Then they will dominate you. Hence you should not look at them passively. You have to fight and turn them away. They should never settle near you." Then *Womä Diläbä* said, "I have no enough people to live with on this vast area of land. If I removed them with whom could I live again? We are alone. We need them. Let them be near us." Then *Kɔ̌ɔ̌ɔ Gɔ̌reno*, as he was really great warrior and hero, interfered in their discussion and said with confidence, "Let us remove them, please. If you allow me, I together with *Wäšo* can turn them back . If I sit on the back of *Wäšo*, I can sweep all of them away. No one can stand in front of me."

But *Womä Diläbä* didn't agree. After *Womä Diläbä* and *Kɔ̌ɔ̌e Gɔ̌reno* turned back to their village, *Kɔ̌ɔ̌e Gɔ̌reno* repeatedly tried to convince *Womä Diläbä* by saying, "Don't be foolish and hesitant. I am with you. Please let us fight and turn them back. Believe me! I can destroy them alone. Leave every responsibility to me. I together with *Wäšo* can sweep them all away."

Häuzulä also, being forced by his spirit restricted *Womä Diläbä* three or four times. He repeatedly said, "I tell you, these people are not good for you. Please turn them back. I am also with you."

But *Womä Diläbä*, however so much *Häuzulä* and *Kɔ̌ɔ̌e Gɔ̌reno* advised him, couldn't accept their advice. Then, the Hadiyas invaded some of the *Dubämmo* land and could settle near the *Dubämmos*. It was because of *Womä Diläbä's* fault that the Hadiyas could now dominate us. In general--- let me turn back to my initial point of discussion. Generally speaking, it was while the Soro-Hadiyas were going to invade the *Dubämmos* that *Kɔ̌ɔ̌e Gɔ̌reno* said, "I alone together with *Wäšo* can sweep away all of the Hadiyas." It was also then that *Wäšo* was killed.

And after that another war leader raised. His name was *Gär Didɔ̌nä*. At that time the *Dubämmos* and the *Mɔ̀smɔ̀s* were not in good terms. *Gär Didɔ̌na* couldn't tolerate the enmity of the *Mɔ̀smɔ̀s*. Hence, he drove them away. He killed their ethnic king. That war was held at the place which was previously called *Lɔ̌jä*. There *Gär Didɔ̌nä* cut off the genitals of the *Mɔ̀smɔ̀s* king and that of his soldiers. In the native explanation, the act of cutting genitals from one's body is known in its local term; "*Missä Issimä*". The genital, after it is cut off is called known as "*Missä*". It was after that historical event the place which was previously known as *Lɔ̌jä* was changed into *Missä*.

DG: What is the language?

LS-T: It is in *Kiz*. *Kiz* is our original language though it is now being dominated by *Hädiyissätä*.

C3: The Role of the Prophetic Spirit In the "History" of Dubämmos

DG: The role of *Häuzulä* has been repeatedly mentioned before. What is "*Häuzulä*"?

LS-T: *Häuzulä* is a prophetic spiritual leader of the *Dubämmos*. Those members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group who are spiritually possessed by *Häuzulä* are called *Häuzul* -M∂ňčo and have title, i.e., "q∂*rib*." It is a *Kiz* word which means almost "LORD."

Häuzulä used to be worshipped by the people that were living in Kembata, Hadiya, Wolayta, Dawro, Endegang, Enariya, Janjero, Boshana, Jimma and other places. He had power to do whatever he liked. He used to administer people that were living on vast area of land on and around the *Dubämmo* land. He was able to destroy or kill whenever he liked. He was also able to take away a piece of land with all its properties and put at some other place if he was made angry.

He was highly respected. The houses where he used to live and their compounds are still respected. He has two houses at two different places on the *Dubämmo* land.

AI: Three houses of his seats at three places, not two.

LS-T: Oh! Sorry. They are three. *M∂ss∂rä, Z∂mbäwič∂o* and *Gänetä*. These compounds are still full of huge natural trees. One can find there juniper trees, podocarpos trees, ... and the like trees. Most of the trees are now becoming old. There also live different wild animals. Apes, monkeys and *colobus* monkeys are exceptionally large in number.

When *Häuzulä* punishes a man by killing, he never stops there. He also takes away all the possessions of the man. He takes his spear, cows and his properties. He leaves nothing there in his house. He orders his close assistants to bring him every possessions of the person killed. Then the *Morotäs* and *M∂gas*[1] do what they are ordered by *Häuzulä*.

DG: Well, you said that *Häuzulä* used to kill people. How did he kill people? Was it with spear? Or with sword?... And what kinds of people did he use tokill?

LS-T: In most cases the people were those who were trying to enter into rivalry of the *Dubämmos* rights.

AI: And those people who were rivals of the *Dubämmos'* prophetic spiritual activities.

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[1] *M∂gä* and *Morotä* are close assistants of *Häuzulä*. Those precious materials of *Häuzulä* are usually carried from place to place by them. No other person can carry them.

LS-T: Those people who were trying to perform an action which is out of the will of *Häuzulä* used to be punished by him. Those who violate other's rights were also his main targets of punishment. If one's right is violated by another, the one who is wronged comes to *Häuzulä* and reports the wrong that the other did to him. Then *Häuzulä* sends message to the one who is accused to come on the day that is decided by him. If the accused person is not willing to be obedient or if he denied what he actually did, *Häuzulä* kills him immediately. The punishment will not stop on him after he is killed. It also continues to be applied on his family. Hence, before *Häuzulä* is sweeps away all of them, all the family members come to him holding different kinds of gifts and ask for his excuse by saying, "We believe in your power. It was our mistake. Let your punishment stop here. We have already learned enough. We will not repeat our mistake again. Please our lord excuse us." If they don't ask for his excuse, *Häuzulä* sweeps away all members of the family including the domestic animals.

DG: Can you mention any one such bitter punishment.

LS-T: Yes, even this time, other peoples are murmuring assuming that the present unexpected situation of drought is caused by *Häuzulä* because of that the Hadiyas have mistreated the *Dubämmos*.

AI: On the other hand, *Häuzulä* enabled barren women to bear children when they asked him to do so. All those who are favoured by *Häuzulä*, in their return bring him honey, horses, oxen, heavy cotton-product blanket, etc. In addition to these, they bring him the one -tenth of their yearly income of every type.

DG: OK. You have also said that when *Häuzulä* was disappointed with people, he disperses them away. Can you mention some of such happenings?

LS-T: Yes, I can. For example, those members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group who were grabbing the gifts that other peoples bring to *Häuzulä* from different places were never stayed on the *Dubämmo* land. He dispersed them to some other places. Most of the members of the *Gojinä* lineage group are still living in Wolayta.

DG: How about *Dɔbonä*? Some people say that *Dɔbonäs* are also dispersed by *Häuzulä*.

LS-T: Yes! Whoever he it is, if he is not willing to obey *Häuzulä*, and if he is not willing to bring him the one-tenth yearly income, or if he does not show his respect to *Häuzulä* by giving him an ox, honey, thick cotton-product blanket, and the like gifts, undoubtedly *Häuzulä* punishes him.

DG: Oh! He seems very harsh. What is his role in the nomination of the *Dubämmos* traditional kings?

LS-T: It is *Häuzulä* who first recommends the person who is going to reign. After the Häuzul-M∂nčo spiritually possessed, his spirit, i.e., Häuzulä enables him to view the one who may fit to the *Womä* position. He knows well who would highly favour the *Dubämmos* for the future. Understanding the future potential that one may have, he recommends even a young person. The person whom *Häuzulä* recommends may not be clearly identified. *Häuzulä* explains only the signs that are found on the body of the one who is spiritually viewed and recommended by him. Then the older members of the group who serve as his consultants try to identify the recommended person by the signs that are viewed spiritually. After the recommended person is identified, the members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group express their agreement by singing and dancing.

DG: How did that the previous traditional king transfer the *Läčkä* to the new *Womä*? Would the previous one volunteer to pass his power to the other peacefully?

LS-T: No! unless the previous *Womä* dies *Häuzulä* never recommend a new candidate to take the position of *Womä*. So long as the traditional king is alive the *Läčkä* can never be transferred to another person's hand. I can tell you a history that actually happened in the past in relation to the *Läčkä* possession. The Hadiyas' war leader, whose name is *Fitäwräri*[1] *Gär∂d∂w*, while he was visiting the *Dubämmos* traditional king, i.e., *Womä Geribo*, accidentally saw the place where *Womä Geribo* put the *Läčkä*. He returned to Soro, and sent one of his warriors to bring the *Läčkä* that he saw in *Womä Geribo's* house. The messenger successfully stole the *Läčkä* and gave it to *Fitäwräri Gär∂d∂w*. But immediately, *Häuzulä* became angry and turned *Fitäwräri Gär∂d∂w's* house, together with its full properties, up side down. He blinded his eyes.

AI: Only one eye.

DG: *Fitäwräri Gär∂d∂w's*?

LS-T: Yes.

DG: Who was he?

LS-T: *Fitäwräri Gär∂d∂w*?

DG: Yes.

LS-T: He was one of the Hadiyas' war leaders. He was also a feudal. He was a land lord.

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[1] "*Fitäwräri*" is a title that is given to warriors as a promotion to be front side war leaders.

DG: OK. And what happened then?

LS-T: After all these had happened, understanding that *Häuzulä* is highly irritated by his wrong action, *Fitäwräri Gärɔ̈dɔ̈w* took him two pots of honey, two slaves, ... two -two from every type of gift.

DG: Were these all taken to *Häuzulä*?

LS-T: No-no! They were given to *Womä Geribo*. In like manner, he also took the same amount and quality of gift to *Häuzulä*.

AI: No one can take our *Läɔ̈ka*.

DG: It is said that while *Dubämmos* were migrating from North to South, they had two Arks. How about the *Häuzulä*? Did he also come from North?

LS-T: I am coming to it.

DG: It is to mean that did *Häuzulä* come together with the people?

LS-T: He was with the people from the very beginning. While *Dubämmos* were migrating, they brought with them the *Silässie* Ark and the Michael Ark as well as the prophetic spirit of *Häuzulä*.

DG: Where did they take rest while they were migrating? Do you know?

AI: The places where they took rest?

DG: Yes.

LS-T: Yes, I know the history. There is history. But before it I would like to explain some more points about the power of *Häuzulä*. A man who is taking a tribute to *Häuzulä*, no matter how heavy the load is, he can never put the down tribute in order to take a rest. Also even if he is badly bitten by ants or if pierced with spear, he can never try to protect himself until he handed over his load to *Häuzulä's* assistants. One can never even try to scratch his body while carrying a tribute to *Häuzulä*. This is a prophetic spiritual rule. Everybody used to believe that. If his orders are violated, *Häuzulä* punishes them bitterly. Even when his own close assistants, *Mɔ̈gä* and *Morotä*, carry his precious secreat materials, can never put down until they reach the actual place. If they violate the rule, they also die soon.

Except those members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group, it is not allowed for others to enter to *Häuzulä's* compound to hand over tributes. The messages of other groups reach *Häuzulä* only through the *Dubämmos*. The *Dubämmos* can enter *Häuzulä's* house and sit there with him. But they cannot go very near to him except his close assistants. He never like when

people's shadow is cast on him.

AI: Unlike the other people, *Dubämmos* have the right to talk to Häuzulä.

LS-T: The other thing which is to be mentioned here is that *Häuzulä* never involves in different social activities like: mourning and burial ceremony, marketing, wedding ceremony, and the like. He never enters other people's houses.

AI: Even if it is raining, he never enters other people's house to shelter in.

2ndAI: He never enters a house where there is donkey.

3rdAI: He never enters a house where there is Goat.

4thAI: He never eats broken bread.

5thAI: Yes, he never eats bread if it is broken.

C4: Origin-Migration-Settlement

DG: How did The *Dubämmos* come here? Do you know the history of their migration and settlement?

LS-T: Yes. Our first traditional king was *Womä Dämte*. He was exiled from Gondar, *Chilgä Awräjä*.[1]

DG: Gondar?

LS-T: Yes. He was exiled from Gondar *Chilgä Awräjä*. Then he first took rest at *Girärämo*. Then he proceeded ahead. It was because of war that he was migrating from place to place leading his people. From the very beginning, he was exiled because of war and he proceeded with his people fighting with different groups of peoples and again settled at *Azɔbo*.

DG: *Azɔbo*? Where is it?

LS-T: It is located down towards here, South to Gondar. He was exiled again from *Azɔbo* and settled at *Räyä*. Again he raised from *Räyä* and then settled on the field that is found next to Addis Ababa. I am sure you know *Gejä*. That is the field where *Womä Dämte* and the people that were being led by him settled. And you should not forget that they brought the *Silässie* Ark with them.

DG: Was the Ark with them starting from the very beginning?

LS-T: Definitely. They brought the Ark of *Silässie* with them when they came. When they brought

[1] Awräjä - is administrative division of a province. It can also be divided in to Wɔrɔdäs

it, they faced lots of hardship. The period was during *Ase Zärä Yäɔqob's* regime. In those war situations, they had to protect the Ark from damage. There were wars here and there at that time. *Womä Dämɨe* again raised from *Gejä* because of war and settled at *Wɔisso*. And again he raised from *Wɔisso* and settled at the place which is called *Yɔmererä*.

AI: When you say *Wɔisso* there is also a specific place where *Dubämmos* settled. It is *Qɔbenä*.

LS-T: It brings no change. They are almost the same. From *Qɔbenä* they settled at *Yɔmererä*. *Yɔmererä* is found in *Yɔm*. Still the KɔtɔmosFootnote1 are living there. Throughout their migration, the *Dubämmos* were fighting with different groups of people. They proceeded ahead although they were fighting time and again. Fighting now and again, and defeating and being defeated, killing and being killed; *Womä Dämɨe* and his people proceeded ahead and settled at the present *Dɔnɨä* land.

DG: You mean it is from *Yɔmererä* at last *Womä Dämɨe* came and settled here in Soro.

LS-T: There was no at that time what you call now Soro. At that time, this area was known as *Dɔnɨä*. On that direction [Pointing] there were Kembatas. On this direction there were Dongas. And on this direction again, there were Tembaros. But this vast area of land was used to be called *Dɔnɨä*. *Zägolo* is the place where *Womä Dämɨe* was buried after he died. Large number of people live there now. It has become one of the Soro *Awräjä Qɔbɔles*. There is also one *Qɔbɔle* that has got its name from the first *Womä* of *Dubämmo* and it is called *Dɔnɨä Qɔble*. The first son of *Womä Dämete* is *Womä Dubälɔ* After *Womä Dämte* died, *Womä Dubälɔ* made Womä on his father's position.

The people that were living here together with the *Dubämmos* at that early settlement period had no skill. It was from the *Dubämmos* that the other peoples learned how to make houses, how to produce grains such as: barley, oats, wheat, beans and the like. These are the favourite food of the *Dubämmos'*. They had been widely using them for many years. It was the *Dubämmos* who taught other peoples how to eat good food, how to sit on a horse back, how to wear good cloths, how to prepare front yards, how to fence, how to make a compound, how to breed domestic animals such as horses, cows, sheep, goats and the like.

C5: Genealogy

DG: Were there many people with *Womä Dämɨe* while he was migrating to the South?

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[1] *KɔtɔmosFootnote* - are members of *KɔtɔmoFootnote*, one of the sub-lineage groups of *Dubämmo*.

LS-T: Yes. There were many people who were exiled from Gondar together with *Womä Dämṭe*. There were also his two sons with him. They were *Dubälɔ* and *Kinde*. I can list the lineage and sub-lineage group of *Dubämmos*, if you like.

DG: Go on please.

LS-T: *Womä Dämṭe* bore *Dubälɔ* and *Kinde*. It was *Dubälɔ*, the elder son of *Dämṭe*, who was crowned *Womä* after *Womä Dämte* died.

DG: Yes

LS-T: *Womä Dubälɔ* bore: *Gojnä*, *Gujiyä*, *Goläṇjo*, *Zuwhärä*, *Dolä*, *Zɔmboč̣ä* and *Gulä* In general *Dubälɔ* bore seven children.

Hereafter, I will list members of the *Dubämmo* sub lineage group under the *Zɔmboč̣ä* lineage group. *Zɔmboč̣ä's* bore *Wɔssɔn*, *Jigrä*, *Mäffe*, *Dɔbonä* and *Etämo*. There are five sub-lineage groups under the *Zɔmboč̣a* lineage group.

Under the *Wɔssɔn* sub-lineage group, again there are five family groups. These are *Hoguffo*, *Yäye*, *Häbässie*, *Tumämmo* and *Gɔlgɔlo*.

And then *Qɔ̀rib*[1] *Etämo*, who is also found under the *Zɔmboč̣ä* lineage group, bore *Bonosso*. *Mäffe* bore *Tumämmo* and *Kirkindo*.

On the other hand, *Dubälɔ's* brother, *Kinde* bore *Kɔssie; Kɔssie* bore *Kɔssuän; Kɔssuän* bore *Därgot;* Därgot bore *Gärässo*. It is in this pattern that our ethnic lineage groups can be put. *Gärasso* bore *Wotä; Wotä* bore *Käleb; Käleb* bore *Bɔlätä, Bɔlätä;* bore *Gemero; Gemero;* bore *Mägäno*, *Mägäno* bore *Mɔssɔlč̣o; Mɔssɔlč̣o* bore *Sibäto; Sibäto* bore *Diläbä; Diläbä* bore *Sɔläto; Sɔläto* bore *Waç̣ällo; Waç̣ällo* bore *Binç̣ämmo; Binç̣ämmo* bore *Joffe;* and then *Joffe* bore *Bämbore*. It is in this pattern that our ethnic lineage groups can be put.

DG: Who were living here before the *Dubämmos* settled here?

LS-T: The *Wošešä* people had been living here before *Womä Dämṭe* settled. They had their own traditional king and their own prophetic spirit whose name was *Engaläl*. But when *Dubämmos* came here, they attacked them and killed their traditional king. There were also many other small clans such as *Däwä, Digälä, Ererä, Mässawä, Gudä, Mɔgadä, Hädɔ̀rɔmä, Gondoromä, Häṇṭälä* and *Sigäjä*. The *Dubämmos* swept of them. And then they brought

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[1] *Qɔ̀rib* a prophetic title given to those members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group that are possessed by the prophetic spiritual power. They are mediums of the spirit, i.e., *Häuzulä*.

with them the skills of making houses, fencing a compound, planting different types of trees, breeding domestic animals such as horses, sheep, goats, cows, as well as the skill of administrating oneself. They have also maintained all these traditions. We *Dubämmos* have had our own traditional king starting from the early migration period.

DG: How many traditional kings have *Dubämmos* had so far?

LS-T: They are twenty-four.

DG: Can you list them all?

LS-T: Yes, I can. *Womä Kässä Gɔbre*

DG: One

LS-T: *Womä Geribo*

DG: Two

LS-T: *Womä Dojämo*

DG: Three

LS-T: *Womä Dɔnfämo*

DG: Four

LS-T: *Womä Gemero*

DG: Five

LS-T: *Womä Wäriyo*

DG: Six

LS-T: *Womä Sulïäno*

DG: Seven

LS-T: *Womä Fenïizo*

DG: Eight

LS-T: *Womä Mɔlsɔbo*

DG: Nine

LS-T: *Womä Jiqisso*

DG: Ten

LS-T: *Womä Sibäto*

DG: Eleven

LS-T: *Womä Diläbä*

DG: Twelve

LS-T: *Womä Hänfuč̣o*

DG: Thirteen

LS-T: *Womä Kɔ̈tɔ̈mo*

DG: Fourteen

LS-T: *Womä Zɔ̈mbočä*
DG: Fifteen
LS-T: Womä-Di̯ä̯sso

DG: Fifteen

AI: Sixteen

LS-T: *Womä Dubälɔ̈*

DG: Seventeen

LS-T: *Womä Dämi̇̀te*

DG: Eighteen

LS-T: *Womä Fäje*

DG: Nineteen

LS-T: *Womä Doisso*

DG: Twenty

LS-T: *Womä Bidiqo*

DG: Twenty-one

AI: You didn't call *Womä Kileto*

LS-T: *Womä Kileto*

DG: Twenty-two

LS-T: *Womä Č̣indo*

DG: Twenty-three

LS-T: *Womä Mäffe*

DG: Twenty-four

LS-T: Our *Womäs* are these.

C6: The Role of the Prophetic Spirit in the "History" of the Dubämmos

DG: There is almost no historical account where the role of *Häuzulä* is not mentioned. The history of *Häuzulä* seems to be the history of the *Dubämmos*.

LS-T: Yes. *Häuzulä* was our prophetic spiritual leader. We used to do everything only when *Häuzulä* allowed us to do so. But it was not only the *Dubämmos* who used to obey *Häuzulä*. Other ethnic groups also used to stick highly to him in their daily life. They used to believe and respect him more than the *Dubämmos* used to do. The Hadiyas, the Janjeros, the Welaytas, the Kembatas, and others used to obey him even more politely than the *Dubämmos*. They used to bring him honey, oxen, horses, cows, sheep....

AI: Butter

LS-T: Yes, they also used to bring him butter. But when they bring these, they cannot enter *Häuzulä's* compound. They were only the *Dubämmos,* who can enter *Häuzulä's* compound to present him their gifts. For other peoples there are always communicators who used to receive the gifts on behalf of *Häuzulä* from the external people and bring them his responses and commands.

Whenever there is war between the *Dubämmos* and other peoples, he tells the *Dubämmo* warriors before the actual war started what the enemy war is going to do and advises them so as to make them successfully defeat the enemies. Before the *Dubämmos* go to war they present to *Häuzulä* different types of gifts and they ask him to be on the it side. Then he makes their enemies inactive and on the contrary he highly motivates the *Dubämmos*. *Häuzulä* was such a powerful prophetic spiritual leader. It was in this way that he used to favour the *Dubämmos*.

When the other ethnic groups come to *Häuzulä* seeking solution for their problems, until they reach near the they bow and kiss the land calling for *Häuzuäl's* name and worshipping him time and again compound of *Häuzulä*. They fear him highly. For example, when the Janjeros come to intercede *Häuzulä*, they start to bow towards *Häuzulä's* living area and to kiss the land as soon as they cross the Gibe River. The Alabas were also coming to intercede *Häuzulä*, they start to bow and kiss the land as soon as they cross *Wärrɔ̂n* River. They say, "Oh our lord! We beg you so that you willingly allow and enable us to reach to your

compound." They reach to *Gänetä*, *Mɔ̂sɔ̂rä* and *Zɔ̂mbäwič̆o* bowing, kissing the land and worshipping *Häuzulä* time and again. The Wolaytas also used to come to *Häuzulä* bowing, kissing the land and worshipping *Häuzula* time and again as soon as they cross the *Ajorä* River. They say, "Oh our lord! We beg you so that you willingly allow and enable us reach your compound safely." It was in this way that all those people were coming from different directions. In like manner, they reach *Gänetä*, *Mɔ̂sɔ̂rä* and *Zɔ̂mbäwič̆o*. They reach to these three compounds. *Kontɔ̂b, Azɔ̂rnɔ̂t*, and *Mɔ̂smɔ̂s* also used to bring honey, butter...

AI: Thick cotton - product blanket.

LS-T: Blanket, oxen, clothes, cows, grains, and other gifts. Whenever they come crossing Hossana, they bow and kiss the land time and again. Until they hand over their tributes to the consultants of *Häuzulä*, they never feel free. They are always afraid of the power of *Häuzulä* though they know that they have never did wrong or they have never violated his rules.

C7: The Prophets [Qɔ̂ribäs]

DG: Who was the first prophet who was possessed by the prophetic spirit?

LS-T: It was *Qɔ̂rib Etaɔ̂mo* who was possessed by the prophetic spirit first.

AI: It was not *Qɔ̂rib Etämo* who was possessed by the prophetic spirit first. It was rather *Qɔ̂rib Zɔ̂mboč̆ä* who was possessed first.

LS-T: Yes -Yes, It was *Qɔ̂rib Zɔ̂mboč̆ä.*

DG: What about the second?

LS-T: It was *Qɔ̂rib Etämo*

DG: The third?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Bonosso*

DG: The fourth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Woziro*

DG: The fifth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Sɔ̂diqo*

DG: The sixth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Siqo*

DG: The seventh?

DLS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Qälo*

DG: The eighth

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Tofiq*

DG: The ninth

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Diläbä*

DG: The tenth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Adilo*

DG: The eleventh?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Ogäto*

DG: The twelfth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Dɔ̂yäs*

DG: The thirteenth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Gonisso*

DG: The fourteenth?

LS-T: *Qɔ̂rib Songäye*

DG: The fifteenth?

LS-T: After *Qarib Songäye* no one has been possessed so far.

C8: The Role of the Prophetic Spirit in the "History" of the Dubämmos

DG: The prophets are fourteen. But their quarters that are cited by you are only three, i.e., *Gäneta, Mɔ̂sserä* and *Zɔ̂mbäwič̆o*. Had they all been using the same Quarters for their seats?

LS-T: Yes. The three seats had served turn by turn the fourteen prophets. Each of them used to work going from one seat to another on a mule back. They travel from place to place being escorted by 20 or 30 entourages.

DG: How could the seat that the prophet is going to work at on different days be known by the people that were coming from different distant areas?

LS-T: *Häuzulä* was always working with his own programmes. He used to announce through his

assistants the place where he was going to work for the next programme. He was working weekly, monthly or else once per three or four days according to his mood. The people also knew the programme and they used to come with their cases as well as with their gifts.

AI: Whenever *Häuzulä* changes his seat quarter, his two close entourages carry the precious golden materials from place to place. The carriers cannot bring down the respected materials unless they reached *Häuzulä's* compound. Even if they are bitten hard by ants or even if they are pierced with spear, they cannot bring down the respected precious materials.

LS-T: They cannot withdraw.

AI: Once a troop of ants killed one of *Häuzulä's* close assistants by biting hard his testicle. It happened while he was walking with *Häuzulä* carrying the precious materials. A troop of ants bit his testicle bitterly. Then, as soon as he brought down the load, he failed down and lost his life once and forever.

LS-T: Yes, he died. I also heard that.

AI: You see? He couldn't protect himself since the commandment of the prophetic spirit does not allow him to do like that.

DG: Why does the precious golden materials move from place to place together with *Häuzulä*?

LS-T: It is a sign of a prophetic power. Hence, whenever *Häuzulä* is moving from one of his seats to the other, the materials also move together with him. And they have to be carried all the way by the two or one of the two close assistants , i.e., *Mǫ̂gä* and *Morotä*.

DG: While *Häuzulä* is travelling from place to place, it is said, women are not allowed to be seen by him. Can you please discuss this in detail.

LS-T: Yes, it is not allowed for women to be seen by him. Even if they come across him by accident, they have to run far away or they have to turn their faces away from him and bow down on the ground and stay long there until he goes away.

AI: They do this not to see *Häuzulä*.

LS-T: When the women do this, the close assistants of *Häuzulä* bless them by saying, "Let God bless you."

DG: What about *Häuzulä*? Doesn't he bless them?

LS-T: No, he doesn't speak except to his close assistants. What they speak, however, is on behalf of him.

DG: What is the reason? What will happen if women are looked face-to-face by *Häuzulä*?

LS-T: They might become sterile. Their eyes might be blinded. They even might die due to fright and shock.

AI: Yes they might die immediately.

LS-T: If women come across *Häuzulä,* they can never stay alive. On the other hand, if men come across *Häuzulä* they say, "I wish you peace, our lord," and bow down to kiss the ground.

AI: But other people cannot stand in front of him at whatever distance except the *Dubämmos*.

LS-T: It is obvious. No question.

C9: The Role of the Prophetic Spirit in the "History" of the Dubämmos

DG: From the discussions that have been held so far one can understand that *Häuzulä* has widely been worshipped by the *Dubämmos* as well as other peoples. Why did they worship him? How is his power working?

LS-T: If one calls his name and asks him to do him a favour, then *Häuzulä* will give him a practical answer. In the complete absence of rain, if people ask him to give them rain, he gives them enough rain. Where there is excess of rain, if people ask him to take the rain away, he orders the rain to stop raining there and to go to other places. When an epidemic devastates wide areas of living, people ask *Häuzulä* to eradicate it by saying, "Oh! our lord, please protect us. Please save us.' Then he completely eradicates the epidemic. For example, at the time when there was no medical treatment as now, whenever the smallpox disease was devastating wide area of living, the people used to ask *Häuzulä* to save them by saying, "Oh! Our lord *Häuzulä*, please sweep away the disease and save us." Those who begged him for protection will not be attacked by the smallpox. And whenever *Dubämmos* were fighting with their enemies, *Häuzulä* used to hit the enemy side with heavy rain so that they freeze and become inactive. On the other hand, he used to make the *Dubämmos*' side warm. Then the *Dubämmos* easily defeat their enemies.

DG: What you have told us so fat is somewhat a general history ethnic experience. Can you give us a more detail information about the role of *Häuzulä*? And it might be more important if specific events are accounted with their definite time.

AI: There was war between *Dubämmos* and the Jimma people in Jimma. After they attacked the Jimmas bitterly, the *Dubämmos* rushed back to their land. But before they could cross the Gibe River, the Jimma people caught up with them. Then the *Dubämmos'* leader struck the Gibe river with his mace in the name of *Häuzulä*. Then the river divided into two leaving

the middle part open and dry. Then the *Dubämmos* who could cross the river. After they crossed, the Jimma warriors also followed them. But before they crossed the river the *Dubämmo* war leader struck again the river with his mace saying, "I speak in the name of *Häuzulä*, the divided river please join together again." Then, when the two sides joined together, the Jimma warriors who were trying to cross the river were also taken away by the water. It was *Häuzulä* who did this miracle.

LS-T: I know well the detail story. There was a war on the *Dubämmo* land between the *Dubämmos* and the Jimma people whom the neighbouring peoples commonly call "the *Mạ̈e*. In that war they could take *Qạ̈rib Woziro* as a captive and put him on the hill of Limu. While he was there, his prophetic spirit was serving here the *Dubämmos*. After some time the prophetic spirit possessed one of the *Dubämmo* people. He promised the *Dubämmos* to bring *Qạ̈rib Woziro* in July when the Gibe River becomes full of water. In July large number of the *Dubämmo* peoples went to the side of the Gibe river and stayed there until *Häuzulä* could bring *Qạ̈rib Woziro*. After sometime two or three thousand *Mạ̈e* [Jimma] people came from the opposite side of the Gibe River escorting *Qạ̈rib Woziro*. As they reached to the Gibe River, *Qạ̈rib Woziro* ordered his servant to bring him honey from the hole of a huge stone. His servant brought what *Qạ̈rib Woziro* ordered him and mixed it with water in *Häuzulä's* golden material, which serves for the purpose of mixing things. Then he took the mixture to *Qạ̈rib Woziro*. *Qạ̈rib Woziro* poured it on his hand and sprinkled it to the Gibe River. After that he hit the river with his golden mace and the river was divided into two. Then *Qạ̈rib Woziro,* taking one of the *Mạ̈e* girls captive, crossed the river together with her. While the M*ạ̈*e people were following him chasing from behind, Qarib Wozi*r*o hit again the river in the name of Häuzula and the divided river suddenly joined and the water took all of them away.

DG: Do you have any other historical account which can explain more the prophetic power of *Häuzulä*?

LS-T: There is also another historical account about *Häuzulä* that I have heard from my parents. It was when our king agrees to give his daughter to one person from another ethnic group in marriage. On the wedding ceremony day the *Mạ̈e* people took the bride by force from the road while her bridegroom was taking her to his home. Then the bridegroom and other escorts came back to the *Dubämmo* land and informed the *Dubämmos* the bad accident that happened to them on their way to the bridegroom's house. Then through their reverberating

information exchange system, i.e., locally termed by "*lätä läčə affice*,"[1] the message could reach soon to most of the *Dubämmo* people, and then to the ethnic heroes such as *Yäy Gäro, Yäy Gənbəz.*

AI: *Kəče Gəreno*

LS-T: *Kəče Gəreno*, and the like ethnic heroes immediately make their horses ready to go for war. And then all together marched chasing the *Məče̱s*. They soon reached the *Məče̱s* while they were eating their provisions at the place which was previously called *Lənge*. There the *Dubämmos* slaughtered all of the *Məče̱s* and brought back the bride. The place where large number of the *Məče̱* people slaughtered at once was then started to be called "*Bobe*". It is a *Kiz* word which mean "to be fetid." It is called like that because the carcasses of the *Məče̱s* putrefied the area for a long time.

AI: There is also another historical account of the *Dubämmos.* It is about the role of *Häuzulä.* At another time also the *Dubämmos* and the *Məče̱s* were fighting on the *Dubämmo* land. Unfortunately, the *Dubämmos'* war leader, *Kəče Gəreno* was killed in the war by the *Məče̱s.* After the *Məče̱* killed him, they also cut off his genital and went to their land holding the removed genital as a sign of heroic deed. *Kəče Gəreno's,* brother, *Boqe Offoč̣o* become highly irritated by the bad fate that happened to his mother's son and decided not to go back to the village when the others were returning to their home.

As *Boqe Offoč̣o* was following the killers of son his mother's, he reached the Gibe River. When he struck the river with a stick in the name of *Häuzulä* the river was divided into two. Then he crossed it as he sat on the back of his horse. Soon he looked that the *Məče̱s* were celebrating their victory. They were totally involved in the delightful atmosphere. Since they reached their own land, they had never thought that any bad thing will happen to them. But *Boqe Offoč̣o* could reach them from behind and suddenly pierced their war leader with his spear. Their war leader, since he was highly excited, he had been dancing as he was holding captive *Kəče Gəreno's* genital, sword, spear and shield. After *Boqe Offoč̣o* killed him, the remaining ones suddenly got shocked and alarmed with the accidental attack and unexpected death of their war leader and they soon dispersed and disappeared. Then *Boqe Offoč̣o* could cut-off the necks of many *Məče* taking the advantage of that good opportunity.

[1] It is the *Dubämmos* traditional information exchanging system. Though the system doesn't keep secret the information, the intended message can reach to a wide range of people in a very short period of time. First the information source passes his message standing at a hilly area and projecting his sound at his top voice. Then those all who received the message, in the like manner, reverberate it to the people who are far from

Then he cut off the *Mȃče* war leader's genital and galloped away towards the *Dubämmo* land holding his brother's and the *Mȃče* war leader's genitals together.

But before he could escape, the remaining *Mȃčes* were able to realize that it was only one person who dispersed and defeated them and they started chasing him. As *Boqe* was running, he came across a big house being led by the *Dubämmos* prophetic spirit and entered there together with his horse. Fortunately it was a house of the *Mȃčes*' war leader. There also as he was trying to hide himself he entered in the bride's room. There was also the bride who was given in marriage to the *Mȃčes*' war leader.

The *Mȃče* people assuming that *Boqe Offoč̣o* was still rushing in front of them, they continued running ahead. After they, as a whole, passed; *Boqe Offoč̣o* came out of the house taking the new bride captive. As he was galloping his horse towards Gibe putting the bride on the same horse in front of him, the *Mȃčes* could see him and started to chase him again. As soon as he reached to the Gibe River, he struck the water with a stick calling the name of *Häuzulä* and the river divided into two. Then *Boqe Offoč̣o* and his captive bride could cross the river as they sat on the horse back. The *Mȃčes* also, as soon as they reached the river, they followed *Boqe Offoč̣o's* horse to cross the river. But before they could cross the river, *Boqe Offoč̣o* struck the again river saying, "In the name of my father and lord *Häuzulä* please the water come and join together just now." Then, when the two sides join together, the river took all of the *Mȃče* people away before they could cross the river.

DG: It has been said that the *Dubämmos* are the first to settle here. They also used to be ruled by their own king for a long time. In addition, you explained that the *Dubämmos* had a prophetic spiritual leader who always favoured them in every war situation. But to the contrary, one can see that they are highly dominated especially by the *Hädiyäs*. They couldn't become large in size. They couldn't maintain their language. What is the reason?

LS-T: *Dubämmos* were inordinately proud. While other ethnic groups were bringing *Häuzulä* very valuable gifts, the *Dubämmos*, on the other hand, used to take by force the gifts that other people were bringing. Instead of giving their prophet valuable gift, they used to give him stones. They take stone and throw it to him by saying, "*Häuzulä*, you eat this stone!" There are still large number of stones that are found piled up in the compounds of *Häuzulä*. When other ethnic groups bring him big and best quality woods for fencing his compound, the *Dubämmos* used to bring only barks. Unlike others, the *Dubämmos* used to ignore him. They used to think that since *Häuzulä* is theirs, that he wouldn't affect them. Even they

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them. The reverberating process continues in the like manner throughout the *Dubämmo* land.

never hand over the gifts that were brought by others to *Häuzulä* properly. They used to cheat. It was due to such bad manners of the *Dubämmos* that *Häuzulä* finally became angry and dispersed them to different places. As a result, we couldn't become that much large in number here and we couldn't expand widely.

AI: For that matter we are not small in number. If we are gathered together here, we will not be less in number than the Kembatas and the Hadiyas.

C10: Ethnic Heroes and Accounts of Heroic Deeds

DG: In relation to war accounts that you have been discussing before, I would like to ask you if there were ethnic heroes in all those war accounts.

LS-T: The war leaders are...

DG: Those who are locally called *Gäzi-Anä*

LS-T: Those who were *Gäzi-Anäs* ... *Gɔ̈isso Bibiso* was one of them who killed lions and other peoples.

AI: He was our ethnic hero.

DG: He was from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group.

LS-T: Of course! He was ours. He was ours. He was a *Dubämmo*. He was *Dɔ̈ɨtä*.

DG: OK. Go on.

LS-T: Em...*Gär Didɔ̈nä* was a war leader who could defeat all the best known warriors. *Yäy Gäro* was a war leader too. *Yäy Gɔ̈mbɔ̈zo* was also a war leader. He was a very good war leader and warrior. Whenever he fought with enemies, he used to sweep them away. And then... *Šiɔ̈ukulo*, the Son of *Dɔ̈mbɔ̈lo*, was also a war leader who could repeatedly defeat and eradicate enemy soldiers. Em... *Ašɔ̈rä*, the son of *Dɔ̈goye,* was also a brave war leader. He was also a rich person. He was a hero. He was one of the best war leaders who eradicated enemies. *Iqisso* was also a war leader. He defeated and eradicated enemies. He killed lions and people of other ethnic groups. He was really a hero. He killed many peoples in wars. And...and....and....

AI: Let him think and I have also some historical accounts that have to be raised here.

DG: Go on please.

AI: While *Womä Wäriyo* was ruling the *Dubämmos*, em.. when the Janjeros came and fought with the *Dubämmos*, our fighters attacked them bitterly and swept them away completely. It

was after that the name of that historical place which had been known previously by *Lɔ̀nge* was then changed into *Bobe. Bobe* refers to a stinkyness of something. At that time because of too many human corpses, that historical war field became highly stinky for years.

2ndAI: That continued to smell bad for continuous twenty years.

3rdAI: The enemy corpses continued smelling for a long time. The surrounding areas were also polluted by the stinky smell.

4thAI: *Lɔ̀nge* had been the name of that war field before it was changed by the *Dubämmos* into *Bobe* during *Womä Wäriyo's* leadership.

DG: Do you know the war leaders of that period?

LS-T: The war leaders were generally: *Siffo Mäläday*e was a hero war leader. The son of *Šurämo, Ašuro*, was a war leader. He was a hero too. He used to fight courageously. He used to involve in war uttering war boast by saying, "The son of *Gojinä*! Descendant of *Dentä*. who has great experience of war!.." He was a great hero. He was huge. He did lots of war miracles. He lived mostly in war situations. The other former war leader was *Ašin Häbäse*. I explained his war history earlier. Em.... the place that is now called *Ťig-Afɔ̀re* was called before *Sigedä* Mountain. It was by *Ašin Häbäse* war leadership that a large number of the *Mɔ̀smɔ̀s* people were killed on that mountain. It was their blood that covered the whole part of the *Sigedä* mountain and then peoples started to call that mountain "a mountain which is covered with blood" or "*Ťig Afɔ̀re*" in its local term. On the other hand, *Gärdidɔ̀nä*, a well known hero and war leader, led the *Dubämmo* war when *Dubämmos* and *Mɔ̀smɔ̀ses* fought at *Lɔ̀jä*. It was because of the effect of that historical war that the previous name of the place was changed from *Lɔ̀jä* to *Missä*. Em... *Gun-Dunä* [*Gunä* mountain] has got its name when war was held the between *Dubämmos* and the Janjeros. It was *Kɔ̆̀če Gɔ̀reno* who led the war on the *Dubämmo* side. At that time the *Dubämmo Womä* was.. *Womä*...

AI: *Womä Kileto*

2ndAI: Yes, it was *Womä Kileto* who was leading the *Dubämmos* at that time. At that time, *Womä Kileto* was preparing a wedding ceremony to give his daughter to somebody in marriage. On the wedding day the Janjeros kidnapped the bride. Then it was he who destroyed all of the Janjeros who kidnapped the bride and brought back the bride.

DG: Who was he?

AI: *Kɔ̆̀če Gɔ̀reno*. He was the *Dubämmos* war leader. And again.. that very well known mare of his couldn't become stable unless she drank the enemy peoples' blood in war. Hence, she

always used to get eager to go to war fields. Whenever she sensed war like situations, she used to ran to *Kɔ̈e Gɔ̈reno* so that he could sit on her back to involve in war immediately.

2ndAI: Her name was *Wäšo*.

3rdAI: Yes. She was a miraculous mare. There was also another historical account that I heard from the elders. Previously there were the *Wɔ̈šešas,* who had been living here before the *Dubämmos* came from North. When the *Dubämmos* and the *Wašešas* met here for the first time they fought each other. The *Dubämmos* were wise. At that time they were involved in war holding raw meet in their pockets. Understanding that the *Wɔ̈šešäs* might not be defeated easily, they brought raw meet to the war field to play with it a war trick.

4thAI: Yes! While *Dubämmos* were eating the raw meat acting as if they were eating the killed *Wɔ̈šeša* people's flesh, the Wasesäs got terrorized and rushed away from those "human flesh eating strange people". It was in such a way that the *Dubämmos* could control this land at first.

LS-T: I would like to take you back to what my father told me about one of our ethnic war leaders, that is *Gɔ̈bre Wäriyo*. He was also a *Womä;* you should not forget. During his leadership, the Janjeros came and settled at *Sigedä* pitching their tent. As soon as *Womä Gɔ̈bre* heard about the appearance of these strange people, he went to *Häuzulä* and told him what was happening around his people. *Häuzulä* asked *Womä Gɔ̈bre Wäriyo* what the people looked like. *Womä Gɔ̈bre* said, "I couldn't understand them. Though I tried to know who they are, where they come from, what they want we couldn't communicate because of language difference. And since I couldn't understand them I have come to consult you." Then *Häuzulä* advised *Womä Gɔ̈bre* by saying, "These people are dangerous for you. They will destroy you. Don't worry, however, I am with you as usual. I will order the sky to shower its heavy rain on those strange people throughout the night. I will also order it to shower its ice on them and to attack them with a stormy wind. Then you together with your war leaders such as *Ašin Häbäsie* and *Gärdidɔ̈na* go and fight them early in the morning. There I would enable you to defeat them. The next morning, *Womä Gɔ̈bre Wäriyo,* together with his other two war leaders, went to the *Lɔ̈nge* hillock leading the *Dubämmo's* war troops and there they got the Janjeros being crippled because of the icy rain and the stormy wind which dismantled their tents and attacked them throughout the night. Then the *Dubämmos* could freely enter among those Janjero troops who had already become very inactive and they completely exterminated them all with swords and spears. Finally after they had finished all and while they were trying to put their swords and spears, their fingers became unable to

stretch and to be fixable. Hence they went to their village as their swords and spears remained stuck to their hand. It was after the *Dubämmo* women massaged their hands that their fingers could stretch and they could drop their swords and spears. It was in such a way that the *Dubämmos* could eradicate the Janjeros. It was also then that the name of the place that was known first by *Lɔ̀nge* changed into *Bobe*. After the Janjeros' spears were collected from that war field, the *Dubämmos* could fence the *Häuzulä's* entire compound with them.

DG: How was the *Dubämmos* life system at that time?

LS-T: At that time they used to eat oats, pea, beans, *Duyä* barley, *Gäntä* barley, *Gägä* barley, all these were what *Dubämmos* were eating at that time. On the other hand, we could see in our age that before the American wheat was brought here, before the present *Däšɔ̀n* wheat has been brought, we had our own unique wheat which was called *Gutɔ̀mä*. We had our own unique wheat which was called *Zilä*. We had our own unique wheat which was called *Wäjo*. All these have been being produced since long ago on the *Dubämmo* land.

In the ancient time, when there was no medical treatment as now, people used to highly suffer from constipation during winter season. Hence, merchants used to come from Wolayta, from Hadiya, from Janjero, from Kembata, from Gurage and from other distant areas to buy the medicines that cure constipation from the Otoro, *Anšo* and Gimbichu markets. These medicines were produced on the *Dubämmo* land. They were unique types of cabbage that are called *Assussä* and *Simɔ̀ro*.

The *Dubämmo* land is mountainous. During drought seasons, while other people were migrating to other places searching food, the *Dubämmos* couldn't be attacked with famine. Since they were producing different types of crops, they could stay unattacked. This could be due to the fact that they consume their unique types of draught resistant crops. Those who were attacked with goitre disease also used to come to the *Dubämmo* land seeking for a traditional medicine. Those unique types of cabbages that were growing here were medicines for many types of diseases. The *Dubämmo* people used to produce every kind of crop. They never used to eat buying from the markets. They have never left this area because of drought. They are the ones who taught the neighbouring people how to make a house, how to fence a compound, how to ride a horse, how to preserve wealth, how to plough land and produce crops, *Ensɔ̀t*, bamboo, and other plants. The *Dubämmos* are the ones who familiarized other people with many skills.

3.3. The Formal Meeting General Context

On the formal meeting day, i.e., Aug. 29/1997, that was arranged to the chosen elder members of the group, the researcher together with his assistants could reach at the place on time. The number of the older members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group who were going to present ethnic historical accounts was about 35. Since they were selected with great care from the diversified areas of the *Dubämmo* land and from areas other than the *Dubämmo* land where some sub-lineage groups of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group are settled, the social context was believed to give more or less better cultural and "historical" evidences.

The chair-person opened the formal meeting by reminding the group to follow the meeting procedure. As for his explanation, emotional interference while one person is discussing is impossible and everybody can agree and disagree only in a formal way. He also explained the main areas on which more emphasis is to be given by the group. Hence cultural, traditional, economic "historical", linguistic and other aspects of the *Dubämmos* were suggested by the chair-person to be the basic issues in that social meeting discussion session.

In like manner, a number of traditional and "historical" issues were discussed in the meeting. The cultural, economic, religious, linguistic, social and similar ethnic issues that are believed by the group to make them different from other related ethnic groups were discussed in detail. Since the committee was recording each detail, it took both the researcher and the committee three days i.e. from Aug. 29 up to Aug. 31/1997, to accomplish the task of registering the needed information. The group discussed how the *Dubämmos* perform their mourning ceremony, how they perform their circumcision ceremony, how they celebrate their *Mäsqäl* ceremony, how they perform their wedding ceremony, etc. They also discussed what their general food culture is. Since it is difficult to record everything in this paper, the researcher mainly focused on the "historical" narratives and their general contexts. The following narratives are some of such ones.

3.3.1. Conversational Narratives and Dräncä

C11: Origin-Migration-Settlement

DG: Where did *Dubämmos* come from?

LS-T: I have one point to remind you. What I can easily speak is Amharic. Now I explain my idea in Amharic. I am an Amhara and a Christian. My ancestors came here with the *Silässie* Ark. I have also lived so far maintaining my predecessors original Christian religion well. Orthodox Christianity is our ethnic religion from the very beginning. If there is one who might say what I have said is false, let him raise his hand and let him officially disagree and disprove my point. I am a Christian. I am an Amhara. My clan, my father, my grand father, all my predecessors are Amharas. I am also originally Amhara. I am originally a Gondar-Amhara. *Dubämmos* were exiled from Gondar because of war. They reached here fighting on their way with other peoples time and again. They had their own soldiers and servants while they were migrating to South. There was also *Silässie* Ark together with them from the very beginning. In like manner, the *Dubämmos* proceeded down to the South fighting time and again with other peoples. Then they took rest at *Wəlisso*. And then they came here across *Wəlqite*.

LS-T[I]: It might be better if we decide here one thing. I have received a piece of information from one person who is also from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. He speaks referring to oral evidence that the origin of the present people of *Dubämmo* is Israel. He explained that when Queen Saba went to and returned from king Solomon three times, some people also came with her from Israel. As for his explanation, *Dubämmos* are the ones who came with Queen Saba at her third trip. He has also noted that it is after they came from Isreal that they could settle at Gondar and migrate to South after sometime. This is a general hint that I have received from that person. Of course, that we came from Gondar is undeniable. But when we say that we came from Gondar, we have to be very careful that it should not connote a sense of claiming that we are Amharas. We are one of those people who came from Israel. But now we are *Dubämmos*. We have our own unique culture, history, language and tradition. We are a self-contained particular ethnic group.

DG: How did the *Dubämmos* come from Gondar?

LS-T: They proceeded to South fighting with different peoples.

DG: Who were they that first raised from Gondar. Were they members of a particular ethnic group at that time?

LS-T: A war leader, who was called *Dämïe*, raised first from Gondar together with his two sons, *Dubälə* and *Kinde*, and with his entourages. But I cannot accurately point out when the time was.

LS-T[I]: I have some points to add to what he has said. *Womä Dämïe* raised from Gondar because

of war. There was no peace in Gondar at that time. Hence *Womä Dämṭe* migrated from Gondar together with his two sons and leading his entourages. After he came to South, he settled around *Wɔlqite* at *Qɔbenä*. Then he started searching for another place which might be favourable for living. There was also a prophetic spirit with them that is called *Häuzulä*. It was *Häuzulä* who implicated the present *Dubämmo* land to the early *Dubämmo* people. On their way to South, *Dubämmos* settled at *Wɔlisso*. Then they raised from *Wɔlisso* and settled around *Wɔlqite* at *Qɔbena*. From *Qɔbena* again they moved searching for a favourable place and finally *Häuzulä* showed them this place where we have been living so far. The first place where they first settled after they reached here is [pointing to the mountain] this *Qɔnqiču* mountain. Then searching again a favourable land for agriculture, they expanded from *Qɔnqiču* to those of the present *Qɔbɔles* such as *Mɔsɔrä, Sindo, Zɔmbɔwiču, Gumbo, Wɔnjɔlä, Hänqo* and other small districts of the *Dubämmo* land. There had been no one living before when the *Dubämmos* reached here first.

After they settled here, the Jimma people, who were at that time called *Mɔčes*, used to come time and again to attack the *Dubämmos*. The *Mɔsmɔs* people also used to come in [pointing to the Northern direction] this direction to attack the *Dubämmos*. And again [pointing to South of the *Dubämmo* land] on that direction there used to come the *Homɔtä* people to attack them. The *Dubämmos* also used to fight time and again with all these peoples. They used to fight again and again and defeat their enemies most of the time.

LS-T1: I would like to forward to you what I heard from my elders and what I know about the *Dubämmos* origin and early migration.

DG: Please continue.

LS-T: From the very beginning, the *Dubämmos* were exiled from the present Gondar province *Čilgä Awrä Jä*, specifically from *Girärämo*. The migratory group was led by *Womä Dɔntä*. There were also his two sons, *Dubälɔ* and *Kinde*. The period was during *Zärayäqob's* regime. There was war all over the country. They proceeded to South fighting again and again with different groups of peoples. After they raised form *Girärämo* due to war, they again settled at *Azɔbo*. After they stayed there for some time fighting with different groups of people, they moved towards *Räyä*. Again they stayed at *Räyä* for some time fighting with different groups of people. After they stayed there in war defeating the enemies and also being defeated by the enemies, they moved towards to South. When they reached around the present Addis Ababa, they settled at a very vast field which is now called *Gejä*. They also stayed there for some time, defeating and being defeated while they were fighting with

different groups of people. Then they were exiled from Gejä and proceeded to *Wɔ̂isso*. In all these ups and downs, the *Silassie* Ark was still with them. They cared much for their Ark so that it wouldn't fall at the hands of the enemy of war. After they settled there for some time fighting with other peoples, defeating, defeated by them, then they proceeded down to the South and settled at *Yɔ̂mererä*. And there also they stayed in war situation. At that time there were wars every where. The peoples themselves were aggressive and warring at that time. Hence the *Dubämmos* also couldn't settle at one place peacefully and permanently for a long time. *Womä Dämïe* and his entourages again raised from *Yɔ̂merera* and then settled here being distributed *Šɔ̂nqolä*, *Qɔ̂nqič̆o*, *Dunmerä*, *Dolä*, *Gänetä*, *Zɔ̂mbäwič̆o*, *Qɔ̂širä*, *Felä*, *Qoryto*, *Otoro*, *Mundä*. They settled being distributed everywhere around the mountains. There are also some other places here where they settled during their migration such as: *Mɔ̂ssarä, Bonä, Wontɔ̂nä, Šɔ̂rä, Gogo, Aqämä* and other places. They settled at all these areas making the areas more comfortable for living. At that time there were many lions, tigers, apes, monkeys and other wild animals. They were *Dubämmos* who swept them away and prepared the areas where no human beings reached before for living. It was *Dɔ̂nïä* who enabled the present generation to exist in such a beautiful manner. There is also a small *Qɔ̂bɔ̂le,* which is still called by the name of *Womä Dämïe*, i.e., *Dɔ̂nïä* in local accent.

LS-T1: There is also a historical account that I know much about. Though I am not as such an old person, I have preserved, in my mind some accounts that I have received from my father. I agree that the *Dubämmos* came from Gondar. The *Mɔ̂smɔ̂s* people, the Janjero people, the Kembata people also migrated in the same historical time from the same direction. My father told me this. It is also true that while they were migrating from Gondar they took rest at many places. From these three migratory ethnic groups, the Janjeros went to a place which was known as Janjero. The *Mɔ̂smɔ̂s* people also went to the area which was by then called *Mɔ̂smɔ̂s*. *Dämïe* also came here with his entourages. Of course it is also true that *Dämte* came here together with his two sons, i.e., *Dubälɔ̂* and *Kinde*. But when they reached here, there was no any power that could fight with them. So there was no war when they held this area. There was no problem to control this area. I don't agree on what was said that *Dubämmos* could hold and control this area "defeating the people that had been living here before."

And again when they migrated, they brought with them only the *Silässie* Ark. The prophetic spirit didn't come together with them from Gondar. Rather it was while they were migrating that it possessed one of the group members. On their way to the South, while they were hunting in the forest, the spirit could possess one of the *Dubämmo* peoples. It was then that

they could identify this area being guided by the prophetic spirit leadership. But after some time, the *Dubämmos* stopped obeying *Häuzulä*, the prophetic spirit. Since he was a member of their own ethnic group, unlike the other peoples, the *Dubämmos* started neglecting and disappointing him. Then *Häuzulä* also started punishing them and scattered some of them away at different places.

LS-T1: I have also related information to be added in what was explained before about the *Dubämmos'* original identity. It is true that the *Dubämmos* are originally Israelites. When they had come from Israel, the place where they first settled was Gondar. There *Ayzob* bore *Bänti*. Again *Bänti* bore *Dämie*. Then *Dubälə* and *Kinde* were born from *Dämie*. Then we can list each of the descending lineage groups starting from *Dubälə*.

During *Zəmbočä's* leadership, the *Dubämmos* had *Silassie* and Michael Arks. But at that time Ahmed Gragn was destroying Christian churches and church properties. In order to protect the two Arks from the Gragn's destruction, our people threw the Michael Ark down to the *Kərerä* cliff that is found in the Gibe Valley. It is still found there being guarded by different spirits. On the other hand, with a great care and courage, the *Dubämmo* people could save the *Silassie* Ark and it is that Ark that the *Dubämmos* are worshipping till now in *Gänetä Qəbəde* in the *Sibu Silassie* church. It is the Semitic origin Orthodox Christian religion that we are following till now.

C12: Religion and Tradition

DG: Is there any one who wants to say something in relation to what we have been discussing so far?

LS-T: As far as our religion is concerned, I would like to forward some points. In the *Dubämmo* society, there are two religious traditions. One is the prophetic religion and the other is the Orthodox Christian religion. Though Orthodox Christian is the *Dubämmos* original religion, there has also come a prophetic religion after *Dubälə* and *Kinde*. On the other side of *Dubälə*, under his lineage group, *Häuzulä* used to play the major role, whereas under his brother's, i.e., *Kinde's* lineage group, there was *Häuzulä's* assistant, *Nəgəšo*, under *Häuzulä's* control. *Häuzulä* has never been violated Christianity. He has never been eating alone on great Christian holidays such as *Mäsqäl*. He has never been appointing people on Christian holidays. He used to work side by side with Christian tradition and that is why the people were also worshipping him side by side with their Christian religion. When *Häuzulä* was ruling the top highland areas of the *Dubämmo* land, *Nəgəšo* was also rulling under

Häuzulä's control the areas which are lower than the top most ones. So far *Häuzulä* has possessed about fourteen prophets in which case all are from the *Dubämmo* ethnic group.

LS-T$_I$: Our *Mäsqäl* tradition is different from all of the others if you like. Others are celebrating it on *Mɔ̀skɔ̀rɔ̀m* [*Mossorom*][1] seventeen. whereas we are celebrating *Mossorom* fifteen.

We are ordered by *Häuzulä* to celebrate our *Mäsqäl* on *Mossorom* fifteen. [Addressing to the whole group] Is it not right?

AI: Yes it is right!!!

LS-T$_I$: *Mossorom* fifteen is our M*äsqäl* holy day. Though the official *Mäsqäl* holiday of Ethiopia is *Mossorom* seventeen, unlike the other Ethiopians, we *Dubämmos* celebrate it on *Mossorom* fifteen. We are ordered by *Häuzulä* from the very beginning to celebrate M*äsqäl* on *Mossorom* fifteen. Our way of celebrating the *Mäsqäl* holy day is also different from others. Our traditional dance is unique. The way we present *Mäsqäl* flower gift is different from that of others traditions.

DG: How about marriage?

LS-T: When a father wants to arrange marriage to his son, he consults *Häuzulä*. It is *Häuzulä* who recommends a girl from other ethnic groups to be married by members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group. When *Häuzulä* says, "Go and marry a girl from that family group," then we used to do what he ordered us. If we married a girl without his agreement only on our own will, then he says, "she doesn't fit you. She cannot give birth to a child. I don't accept." And then we turn the girl back to her home. If *Häzulä* ordered us to go to Kembata to engage a girl, we would never hesitate. We would go. If he ordered us to go to Jimma, we would go there and bring the girl whom *Häuzulä* viewed spiritually and recommended to be engaged. We would go wherever we were sent by *Häuzulä*. On the other hand, if there was a negative response on the side of the recommended girl's family, then we would report it to *Häuzulä*. And if *Häuzulä* sent us, we would go to her parents house and impale a very thin plaiting reed on the wall at the get of their house. Then, she would never be married for another person. She would remain unmarried until she became an old maid. But before this happens, her parents come on their own time to *Häuzulä* and ask him for an excuse. On their turn, they beg the one who wanted to engage the girl before so that he becomes a volunteer to marry her. They beg by saying, "Please take our daughter. Please engage with our daughter." Then we marry the girl if we like. But if the parents of the girl do not want to

[1] *Mɔ̀skɔ̀rɔ̀m* is an Amharic word. It refers the first month of Ethiopian new year, i.e., September. "Mossorom" also refers the same month for the *Dubämmo* people.

change their mind, *Häuzulä* destroys all of them. He grews the girl numb.

LS-T$_I$: He can make her mad if he likes.

LS-T$_I$: Yes! He can make her mad. Even if we violated his order and marry a girl without his approval, he grews both of the bride groom and the groom numb. Therefore, for fearing his bitter punishment, we don't violate his rules and orders. It is he who used to lead us. We cannot be out of his order for what ever things we are doing.

LS-T$_I$: Our prophets used to us what we have to do.

LS-T$_I$: We do all the things as we are told to do by *Häuzulä*. *Häuzulä* is our leader. When he says, "Go there, clear the forest and live there" we obey him and settle in the area where he specifies. It is because of his command that we went to Jimma, Wolayta, Gurage, Tembaro etc., where *Dubämmos* settled and have been living so far.

D1: By Eromo Digado

Dəntičo ...o, Dəntičo...o [The *Dəntä* ... the *Dəntä*]
Dəntičo...o, Dəntičo...o [The *Dəntä* ... the *Dəntä*]
Dəntič Dubəmə ləhd ebo bəlä [When the *Dəntä* boys go to marry the girls]
Teənəm məro ayämo..o....o [And when they go to bring one's fiancee]
- Məro ayämo. [When they go]
Məssukuəym mə məso'däe-e...e [And again when they are engaged]
Gässä kuromo qoto ayämo-o...o [I would tell you first what they present as a dowry.]
Qinto weyəkä məssoko-o.....o [They present large size blanket that is made of cotton]
Bəqul bitessä qoto hinčäoko-o....o [After selling their mule, they present a dowry.]
- Hädiy lədisso bəlä [(That is) when they marry a girl from the *Hädiyä* Ethnic group]
Oss qəro ləndä-ä.... ä [Fertile woman]
Add ago ləro-o.....o [A cow that is full of milk.]
Ulə bəto sängä-a.....a [A hardworking ox.]
Iyo hälič-o....o [Donkeys that can carry heavy load]
Ambäo Seməm dəqo hirfənim [Large blanket and carpet]
Edä uwoko-o ....o [They give all these.]
Qərəm oss an mən bähilä egerimənə qotä heoko-o....o [The new generation of the group also preserves its predecessors culture]
Dəntičo...o, Dəntičo-o....o [The *Dəntä* ... the *Dəntä*]

Dəntičo....o, Dəntičo-o....o [The *Dəntä* … the *Dəntä*]

Häq ito dänne-e...e [An elephant that eats tree]

Härä gəro lobä-ä... ä [A hippopotamus that sleeps in mud]

Hämäš gossässəmä-ä ... ä [A snake that crawls along the ground]

Häqä gəro dägerä-ä ... ä [An ape that passes the whole night on a tree]

Härmät ayamo-o ... o [In such a general atmosphere]

Amän qotone-e ... e [Before the time is getting worse]

Adil tätoine [Before the king is getting ready]

Elinč firoine-e ... e [Before daybreak]

An mən hundim oli [When all relatives gathered]

agukuyim ago [At the native land]

ayämo-o...o [When they gathered]

Dunä šəngola [The *Šangola* hillock]

Dənäm qənqičo *[Panqico* (hillock) is graceful]

Wägəbət čebä-ä ... ä *[Wägəbətä* is a plain land]

Omoloq dunä-ä …ä *[Omoloq* is a hillock]

Imän Gännetä-ä ... ä [The hilly *Gännetä]*

Anə gəromo Bonä [My living area is *Bonnä]*

Afələ Dišo-o..o [There is *Dišo* at the back side of me]

Imän Wonjəllä Dənsä-ä... ä [The hilly *Wonjalä Dənssä]*

Agä kiä ulə mässissä [Controlling and blessing (all these areas)]

Aï'də bəčate-e...e [Clearing all the forest]

Erro kässä err min bətäte-e...e [Planting *Ensət* seedling, making good house]

Anšo läkinə edämäkäte-e ...e [Together with their *lädkä* which is always being washed (with blood so as to preserve its glory and power)]

Bələnčä čəmo lossissäkäte [Teaching (the others) the circumcision etiquette]

Bubo Fərədə gəbəräkäte-e...e [Taming violent horses]

Bətəkom ulə amədäkäte-e...e [Holding fertile land]

Gəru Dubənčo Dəntičo-o...o [I am *Dubämmo-Dəntä* (the one who could live in such a manner)]

Dəgoy Ašər lelew kumamo-o..o [The son of *Dəgoye*, *Ašərä* could breed thousands of cows]

Wolor jobir lelew kumämo-o...o... [The son of *Woloro, Jobiro*, could breed thousands of cows]

[In like manner the narrator continues listing about thirty individuals from the *Dubämmos,* who could breed thousand and hundred cows]

O ken hundimi kum ṫigu bəlä-ä... ä [On the day when they all counted thousand (cows)]
O ken hundimi tib tigu bəlä-ä... ä [On the days when they all counted hundred (cows)]
Mul məninä lossissiminä-ä... ä [So as to give lesson for other peoples]
Issəkəm bähil mə yä kuromo-o..o [Explaining how they perform the traditional ceremony is beyond my capacity]
Sori məqir däyämäkäte [Sharing the sampling distribution dining table with the *Hädiyä* people]
Am Kəmbätinssəm ludäm wešäte-e...e [Inviting the head ones from *Kəmbätä]*
O kol Dongise mən wešäkäte-e...e [And calling the best ones of *Dongä* people]
Ajor qəmbari edä kiäte-e...e [And also including the *Ajorä Təmbaro* people]
Imən Məssməss wešä kiäte-e...e [From that (upper area) direction also calling the *Məsməs* people]
Lelewä märä lossissu bəlä-ä... ä [Teaching how to breed cows and how to eat meat]
Mənin doyəmä ito mən beto-o...o [I am the son of the ones who like to eat sharing their food with others]
Gugo Fərədom säəlo mən beto-o..o [I am the son of those who are well known in galloping horses]
Kəčе Gəreni gädo gəniči fərəši-i...i *[Kəčе Gəreno's* fighter mare]
Gadi dəbəlo bəla gərdämeəki qun-qun itəmo-o...o [When she comes back from war field, she eats a lot of oats]
Goənik tigəm agəmo-o ..o [She also drinks (enemy) peoples' blood]
Kəčе Gəreni gäd məro bəlä-ä... ä [When *Kəčе Gəreno* goes for a campaign]
Gur dər kiäti-i...i [He marches (leading his troops) early in the morning.]
ləlewi dəličom qitä kiäti-i..i [He eats the hump of a bull for his breakfast]
An amənomin keyi diromo-ušetomo. [For now, I would like to stop here. Let me take rest.]

D2: By Häiləmäriäm Gudisso

Ilgirä zuärčo-o...o [At *Ilgirä* I am *Zuwärčo]*
Agočä Dəbončo-o...o [At *Agočä* I am *Dabonä]*
Alutä Gojinčo-o...o [At *Alutä* I am *Gojinä]*

Arärä W∂ss∂nčo-o...o [At *Arärä* I am *W∂ss∂n]*

Q∂ṫen yo Dolčo-o...o [At *Q∂ṫä* I am *Dollä]*

Ann Hail∂märiäme [I am *Häyl∂märiyäm]*

D∂ntičo Gudis beto-o..o [the *D∂ntä,* son of *Gudisso]*

E giräräm Š∂čo-o ..o [The place which is covered by acacia, *Šarä]*

G∂de M∂ss∂nä-ä... ä [The place which is covered with *M∂ss∂nä* (a type of tree)]

G∂ndel Wäč∂mo-o...o [The place which is covered with *Gandelö* (a type of tree) *Wäčämmo]*

Gä∂n Kub∂ egä-ä... ä *[Gä∂n* and *Kub∂ega]*

Gorṫ∂ W∂šebä-ä... ä *[Gorṫä* and *W∂šeba]*

Gäsm∂n bure-e...e [The place of the earlier settlers *Bure]*

G∂d∂in B∂inärä [The area which is closely located, *Banärä]*

Gej dun Š∂nqolä-ä... ä [The huge hillock, *Š∂nqolä]*

G∂nd b∂k Murassä-ä... ä [The neighboring *Murässä]*

Arar qišämo-o...o [The frosty *Arärä]*

E∂l affo qišä-ä... ä [The *Qisä,* which is found at the direction of *Erä]*

Anno kuf∂nä-ä... ä *[Kuff∂nä,* the land of our ancestors]

Em∂n g∂dämä-ä... ä [The upper side *G∂dämä]*

Anšo me∂l dunä-ä... ä [The hillock where the *Anšo* market is underway]

Anno qorṫo-o...o *[Qorṫo,* the land of our ancestors]

Otoro D∂nsä-ä... ä *[Otoro* and *D∂nssä]*

Oromä Bišätä-ä... ä *[Oromä* and *BiŠätä]*

Umbe l∂nge-e...e *[Umbe* and *L∂nge]*

Alutä Hänqotä-ä... ä *[Alutä* and *Hanqotä]*

Odä Šäno-o...o *[Odä* and *Šäno]*

Uli be∂ m∂nčinä-ä... ä [For those people who had no land]

Udm∂äm bečäte-e...e [Clearing the forest]

Hob∂mo guläte-e..e [Eradicating the lions]

Däne∂m guläte-e...e [Killing the elephants]

Uli b∂ṫ∂nsäte-e....e [(It was in such a way) that they could distribute land (for those who didn't have)]

Ilu m∂nin∂ ∂wu Dub∂nčo [They were the *Dubämmos*, who could give land at that time for those all who came latter]

- Lä∂k beto-o..o [I am the son of the owner of *Lä∂kä]*

Qubä lä∂k∂yo-o...o…

Dəntičo qər läəkäm beto-o...o [The *Dantä* are the owner of *Läəkä* from the very beginning]

Häreč läəkəyo-o..o [Ours is not new *Läəkä]*

Hit läəkäm beto-o...o [I am originally the son of the owner of *Läəkä]*

Iyo gəndeyo iyisso gəndе-e...e [(*Dubämmos*) are not carriers, but they make others carry]

Bəto gəndeyo bətisso gəndе-e...e [They are not servants, but they make others serve them]

Iqo gəndeyo iqisso gəndе-e...e [They never fetch firewood, but they make others bring them firewood.]

Dəröm Dəntčo-o...o [I am originally *Dəntä]*

Wäjäm Dəntičo-o..o [I am *Dəntä* with large product of sorghum.]

Soäm Dəntičo-o...o [I am *Dəntä* with large product of barley]

Fərədäm Dəntičo-o...o [I am *Dəntä* with large number of horses]

Gənuäm Dəntičo-o...o [I am *Dəntä* with large number of mares]

Sutäm Dəntičo-o....o [I am *Dəntä,* who could grow *Sut* (a type of tree)]

Säyäm Dəntičo-o...o [I am *Dəntä* with large number of cows]

Aqäm ləməčo-o...o [I am a member of *Aqäm* – seven family groups]

Ogg Gojiničo-o...o [I am the son of the *Ogo Gojinä]*

Aräräm Säwo-o...o [I am the friend of the *Arärä* people]

Urämo Kəbədə. [I stop here for now]

D3: By Yäqob Məgəno

Dəntičo.... əm, Dəntičo... əm [The *Dəntä* … the *Dəntä]*

Dəntčo, Dəntičo... əm [The *Dəntä* … the *Dəntä]*

- Dəntičo. [The *Dəntä]*

Atərä Qubu jirine... əm [Like a young boy who has seen ripe peas]

Urägä qubo Dəntəne... əm [I am one of the *Dəntäs,* who always miss trophy]

Atərä qubu jirine... əm [As a hungry boy who has seen a ripe peas]

Orä qubo Dəntəne... əm [I am one of the *Dəntäs*, who are addicted to war]

Agä dinbu mənine.... əm [I am a *Dəntä,* who has a horse which

Ililäč topo fərəd yo Dəntəne... əm [courageously jumps face-to-face in war]

Ginbi firu dišɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [As a troop of bees that left its hive]

- Gugo Dɔ̀nt̀ɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am also from those *Dɔ̀nt̀äs,* who march to wherever there is war]

Hagɔ̀a firu dišɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [As the bees which get scattered from their hive, I am an angry *Dɔ̀nt̀ä]*

- Hundim qɔ̀sso Dɔ̀nt̀ɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [I am from those all attacking angry *Dɔ̀nt̀äs]*

- Wɔ̀ssɔ̀nossɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [I am a member of the *Wɔ̀ssɔ̀n* sub-lineage group]

Hefič̀ gurupukuɔ̀n hečo - yäkɔ̀m Dɔ̀nt̀ɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am from those *Dɔ̀nt̀äs,* whom all the other peoples are praising]

- Wɔ̀ssɔ̀nossɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am a member of the *Wɔ̀ssɔ̀n* sub-lineage group]

- Wɔ̀ssɔ̀nossɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am a member of the *Wɔ̀ssɔ̀n* sub-lineage group]

Oräm̀ɔ̀ Wɔ̀ssɔ̀nossɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [I am from the warrior *Wɔ̀ssɔ̀n* sub-lineage group]

Ogo Gojinɔ̀e... ɔ̀m [I am the son of *Ogo, Gojinä]*

Lɔ̀njäm Tɔ̀wɔ̀lɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am the son of *Lenjämo, Tɔ̀wulä]*

Liyoɔ̀ Egzeɔ̀lɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am the son of *Liyo, Egzero]*

Liräm Gojinɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [I am the son of *Lirämo, Gojina]*

Orä sushä yo Ogo Gojinɔ̀ne [I am a beginner of war and a member of the *Gojinä* sub-lineage group]

Boɔ̀n Gɔ̀buɔ̀lɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [At *Bonä*, the son of *Gɔ̀bre]*

Bidiqɔ̀ Gɔ̀reɔ̀nɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [At *Bidiqä*, I am the son of *Gɔ̀reno]*

Bossoč̀ Kɔ̀tɔ̀mɔ̀ne.... ɔ̀m [At *Bossoč̀o*, I am the son of *Kɔ̀tɔ̀mä]*

Bit̀ɔ̀n Adɔ̀m ossoɔ̀ne ... ɔ̀m [At *Bit̀ɔ̀nä*, I am the son of *Adɔ̀mo]*

Bɔ̀nq Wɔ̀ssɔ̀nossɔ̀ne [I am from the lightning *Wɔ̀ssɔ̀n* sub-lineage group]

Dɔ̀nt̀ič̀o.. ɔ̀m. Dɔ̀nt̀ič̀o.... ɔ̀m [(I) The *Dɔ̀nt̀ä* ...the *Dɔ̀nt̀ä]*

Kɔ̀ leɔ̀m alämäa....ha [I am known with shooting the bamboo target]

Lehɔ̀bɔ̀l gɔ̀moɔ̀....ɔ̀m [In between serious fight]

Lɔ̀le hägɔ̀rä... ɔ̀m [(I am from) those who can take captive large numbers of cows]

Lehɔ̀ ag däneč̀o.. ɔ̀m [(I am also from) those who can drive huge elephants]

Lehɔ̀ agdäneč̀o [(I am from the ones) who drive huge elephants]

- Leru Dɔ̀nt̀ɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [(I am from) *Dɔ̀nt̀äs,* who are complete in everything]

- Leru dɔ̀nt̀ɔ̀ne... ɔ̀m [(I am from) *Dɔ̀nt̀äs,* who are complete in everything]

Ku läɔ̀k ililäme ... ɔ̀m [The owners of a reflecting *Läɔ̀kä]*

Lɔ̀č̀i häyoi ... ɔ̀m [The wise ones who are also knowledgeable]

Leɔm alämɔi [Who are known with shooting the bamboo target]

Lehɔ bɔl gɔmoɔ... ɔm [I am from those who can take captive large numbers of cows in between serious fight]

Läɔle hägɔ̈i leru Dɔnɨɔne... ɔm [I am a member of the *Dɔnɨäs* - those who have plenty of cows]

- Dubɔmɔne [I am a *Dubämmo]*

- Dubɔmɔne [I am a *Dubämmo]*

- Dɔntɔne-Dɔnɨɔne [I am a *Dɔnɨä,* I am a *Dɔnɨä]*

Sɔm elincine... ɔm [As a midday sun]

Šäf agɔnɔne... ɔm [As a bright moon]

Sodärärɔne.. ɔm [As a morning dawn]

Šɔnqola dunɔne.. ɔm [As *Šɔnqolä* hillock]

Sɔkɔtitɔne [As the warming month of February]

Šiqo Dɔnɨɔne.. ɔm [(I am from) the *Dɔnɨäs* - those who are always great]

Šiqo Dɔnɨɔne. [(I am from) the great *Dɔnɨäs]*

- Dubɔmɔne [I am a *Dubämmo]*

Amɔnominɔ́kɔbeyo ušɛ̈tomo. [For now let me stop here.]

3.4. General Data Collection Field Process on the Kembata Land

As it was explained before some of the family branches of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group partially live in some other administrative zones. One of such lineage groups is *Wɔ̈ssɔn*. The great majority of the *Wɔ̈ssɔn* lineage group settled on the Kembata land. The researcher had a pre-hand information about the schedule of their monthly social meeting before he approached them together with his assistants. The social meeting programme was basically planned to have discussions on the contemporary issues concerning their lineage group.

On the social meeting programme was arranged, i.e.,Sept.6,1997,when the researcher and his assistants reached at the fɔ̈do, where the social meeting was arranged to be held, there were only few people waiting for the others. The researcher's assistants introduced him first to the elders he didn't meet when he had approached them earlier for a general survey. They had been discussing their own personal issues until the formal meeting session got started. The researcher and his assistants also spent some time discussing

different personal matters.

When the actual meeting programme was started, the researcher could learn from the introductory speech of the chair-person that the agendas for that particular meeting programme had no any relation with the issues that were intended to be collec[ted by him. He stayed until the end, however, anticipating to record 'historical' accounts if they might crop up by chance amidst the discussions of other businesses. But unfortunately he had never succeeded. When the meeting programme came to its end, the researcher listed the names of three known story-tellers as they were nominated by the people who participated in the meeting. Unfortunately there was no one from the members of that social meeting context. Since the three nominated story-tellers were from different areas far from the Doyogena town, where the researcher together with his assistants tentatively settled, they couldn't start collecting data immediately as they intended. Considering the general problems, such as the distance of their living area and their business, the researcher arranged a tentative programme for collecting data from the three nominated informants after three days, i.e., on Sept.10,1997.

But fortunately, on the next day, i.e., Sept. 7,1997, a young high school teacher, who heard and could understand what the researcher intended to collect, brought his old father whom he believed to be a knowledgeable story teller to the house where the researcher settled so as to make him narrate 'historical' accounts. The high school teacher introduced his father to the researcher and also explained him the potential that his father had as a story-teller. Then the researcher became eager to record as soon as possible what the old man going to narrate.

The owner of the house where the researcher settled is a religious leader in one of the Protestant religion factions of the Kembata zone. He is a very close relative to the researcher. At the time the researcher met the old person whom his son believed to be knowledgeable story-teller, there was almost no one member of the family group of the religious leader around his house except a house servant. In order to use that free time for the purpose of the actual field work effectively, the researcher soon devised a mechanism of exploiting the old man's memory. Hence, he made the house servant prepare them coffee.

While the researcher and his two assistants together with the old man and his son

were drinking coffee, one of the researcher's assistants who had been generating dialogues and discussion on the *Dubämmo* land field work process continued to play his role again. He could slowly drive the new informant into the intended subject matter. And finally the new informant started to present what he had in his mind through the medium of *Dränčä*.

Unfortunately the *Dränčä*, which the old man tried to present first was not performed properly. Even then, though the researcher tried to record the old man's *Dränčä* as much repeatedly and patiently as possible, the old man couldn't control his nervousness so as to be able to perform in a better way. The researcher couldn't understand the old man's problem at first. It was the old man himself who finally discovered the cause for his failing to produce properly recited *Dränčäs*. The voice that the narrator tried to produce while performing his *Dränčä* was very weak and poor. The cause of his failure as per his explanation was the local context. There, in the big compound of the religious leader's possession, was a Protestant church. The voice of the church choir was being heard up to the religious leader's house while the choir was rehearsing religious songs. As a rule of the Protestant churches of that area, *Dränčä* is also considered as a secular type song. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, do not allow Christians to perform secular song performances. It is considered as a sinful act of violating God's commandments.

The old man's psychological problem that hindered him from performing much better *Dränčäs* was also caused by the regulations of the above discussed local religious context. In order to perform his *Dränčä* as much artfully as possible, the narrator had to project his voice at its top.

To the contrary, in order not to violate the moral ethics of the majority of the society, the narrator had to be careful enough not to be heard at least by the members of the church choir that were rehearsing in the nearby church. Hence his mind couldn't be free, and as a result he couldn't perform his *Dränčä* freely and naturally.

After the researcher together with his assistants discussed the problem, they took the narrator to a house where local alcoholic drink was being sold. There, after the narrator had enough liquor, he could perform the following much better *Dränčä*.

D4: By Tuɔ̈mebo

Dänä-he-he, he-he-dänä [The judge … the judge]

He-he, he-he-dänä [… the judge]

Gäẗɔnuwäno goninä miso-ho-o-o [I am the friend of those known warriors *(Dubämmos)]*

Gɔbɔ̈re dänä getni kessämo-ho-o-o [I am a peasant judge who is respected at his young age]

Dubämmo äqänčo-ho-o-o [I am a member of *Dubämmos' king]*

Dɔl ossinä kobičo-ho-o-o [Wherever I go, other people respect me]

Dunn wɔsse heto-ho-o-o [I am a member of the people who are living on a hillock]

Sondo Wogäjä-hä-ä-ä *[Sondä* and *Wɔgäjä]*

Šugo lɔm'id ä-hä-ä-ä [The two side *Šugo]*

Šuṫ yo qɔširä-hä-ä-ä *[Qɔširä*, where *Suṫ* (a kind of tree) grows]

Dunn Zɔmbäwičo-ho-o-o [The dignified *Zɔmbäwičo]*

Dɔrärä qɔč̣ä-hä-ä-ä *[Dɔrärä* and *Qɔč̣ä]*

Dunäm Bɔrkunčo-ho-o-o [The high altitude *Bɔrkunčo]*

Dɔbiyäg godä-hä-ä-ä [Of the valley of *Däbiyägo]*

Gɔb wagɔbɔ̈tä-hä-ä-ä [The mountain side *Wägɔbɔ̈tä]*

Gäng Herɔnäčo-ho-o-o [The cliff edge *Hernäčo]*

Gog Tɔfälɔ̈ṫä-hä-ä-ä [Our road is *Tɔfälɔ̈ṫä]*

Gɔro lob dunä – hä-ä-ä [*Gɔro* is our huge mountain]

GɔnU Mɔngɔšäm gunzi holäte-he-e-e

Gɔssu Ṫɔbeno goncu beto-ho-o-o [I am the son of *Ṫɔbeno*, who could remove away even the dictator *Mɔngɔ̈šä* only with a rod]

Šɔninä aginä-hä-ä-ä [To kill and to take captive]

Šikikä doyinä-hä-ä-ä [To manage successfully difficult wars]

Šur gurubinä-hä-ä-ä [To enjoy and to dance]

Šiqo Wɔssɔnčo-ho-o-o [I am *Wɔ̈ssɔn*, the head of all other people]

Mɔto gɔndine min wor dɔnamo-ho-o-o [My house is very attractive]

Säde buline Sumäm Wɔssɔnčo-ho-o-o [I am the member of the famous *Wɔ̈ssɔn]*

Soro Kɔmbatine sidu Dɔṅ̈täne-he-e-e [I am from *Dɔṅ̈tä* ethnic group, which is well-known in *Soro* and *Kɔmbätä]*

Wombɔ̈rä Halis beto-ho-o-o [At *Wɔ̈mbrä* I am the son of *Hälisso]*

Wodebokänä mäno-ho-o-o [I am the son of *Wɔ̈debo Känämo]*

[Continues listing the known people of the Dɔ̈nẗä in like manner.]

Dun Kɔ̈läläm̈o-ho-o-o [The *Kɔ̈läläm̈o* hillock]

Dɔ̈qɔ̈yi awossa-ha-a-a [The plain of *Awossa]*

Didɔ̈qolä dilo Bädogo-ho-o-o [The *Bädogos*, who came disturbing (the above mentioned places)]

Dɔ̈bɔ̈y birine -he-e-e [At the *Dɔ̈bɔ̈yä* field]

Dun Fuläsine-he-e-e [At the *Fulässä* hillock]

Dut amɔ̈dä diden mäɔ̈rɔ̈ge-he-e-e [While (the *Bädogos*) troops were disturbing]

Doyogɔ̈nä dɔ̈mbɔ̈qubɔ̈lä-ha-a-a [While they were disturbing *Doyogɔ̈nä]*

Agɔ̈räm dhäte-he-e-e [Protecting with shield]

Aṭ̈ ṭɔ̈qäate-he-e-e [Fighting courageously]

Egedu Dɔ̈nṭ̈i ontem [Those who could turn back the enemy are the five family branches ...]

Wɔ̈ssɔ̈ne-he-e-e [...of the *Wɔ̈ssɔ̈n* sub-lineage group]]

Šänä agɔ̈ne-he-e-e [Where there is a serious and strong fight]

Šikika doyɔ̈ne-he-e-e [where there is war]

Šiqu Wɔ̈ssɔ̈ne-he-e-e [There are always *Wɔ̈ssɔ̈n* and they never retreat back]

Wɔ̈ssɔ̈nosson kɔ̈c̈̆e Gɔ̈ren [In the *Wɔ̈ssɔ̈n* sub-lineage group, I am the son of *Kɔ̈c̈̆e Gɔ̈reno]*

beto-ho-o-o [I am his son!]

Wijä mɔ̈ro gorojɔ̈ne-he-e-e [I am the descendant of those who involve in war without hesitation]

Wogäjä offoc̈̆ɔ̈ne-he-e-e [At *Wogäjä* I am the son of *Offoc̈̆o]*

Wɔ̈ssɔ̈nossone Hoqe Boqeäne-he-e-e [In the *Wɔ̈ssɔ̈n* Sub-lineage group, I am the son of *Hoqe Boqe]*

Hirig Dobämäne-he-e-e [I am the son of *Hirigo Dobämmo]*

Handiṣ̈Edɔ̈mɔ̈ne-he-e-e [I am the son of *Händisso Edɔ̈mmo]*

Hädäm Bäc̈̆orɔ̈ne-he-e-e [I am the son of *Häydämo Bäc̈̆ore]*

Oken hundim gäṭ̈ɔ̈nuä [Those all are war leaders]

Ule Bolɔ̈lä gaṭ̈ɔ̈nä-hä-ä-ä *[Ule Bolɔ̈le* is a war leader.]

Ergɔ̈n Hänbor gaṭ̈ɔ̈nä-hä-ä-ä *[Ergɔ̈no Hänbore* is a war leader]

[In like manner, the narrator continues listing large numbers of ethnic war leaders and finally concludes by saying, "Am∂nin k∂beyo ulissomo," which means "Let me take rest for now."]

According to the previously arranged programme, on the fourth day, i.e., on Sept.10,1997, early in the morning the three informants reached at the house where the programme was arranged. It was a non-Christian family house. A young girl was preparing coffee while the narrators came. Since fire was set in the house, everything could be seen clearly. Otherwise, the darkness in the house won't permit them to communicate without difficulties and also would not allow the researcher to read clearly the facial expressions of the narrators while he was recording their non-verbal messages.

When the coffee that was being prepared became ready to be drunk, people from the neighbouring houses were invited to participate in the coffee ceremony. As discussions, jokes and gossips were naturally going on among the members of the coffee ceremony social context, the researcher and his assistants could generate the discussion issues to focus step by step at the orally transmitted ethnic 'historical' accounts. The three informants, who had been believed to be knowledgeable story tellers, didn't know how the actual work was started while they were narrating the ethnic 'historical' accounts. But since the researcher found the conversational 'historical' narratives redundant and less important their qualities as well as their contents than the same types of narratives that

were collected from the *Dubämmo* land, he preferred to document the carefully selected sample of *Šerimmä*.

On the other hand, since most of the nominated informants had already stopped drinking liquor because of the regulations of their religion, here also the researcher got it difficult motivating them to perform *Dränčä* out of the liquor house social context. Hence, after a lengthy negotiation the narrators in principle volunteered to perform *Dränčä* particularly only for the intended research purpose. But since the normal family house context was different from the houses where liquor was being sold and where they used to perform their *Dränčäs* previously, they couldn't perform properly. Such contextual differences made difficult the intended objectives of collecting large number of good *Dränčä* performances. As it is said before, since most of the issues that are raised in the

Dränčäs of the family house social context are redundant and poor in their qualities, the researcher preferred to document here only one *Šerimmä* from the above described general context so as to serve here as a sample for narratives of its type. The lengthiness of it also has made its documentation difficult. Since the page limit of this paper is fixed, it will be more problematic than to be beneficial documenting more than one *Šerimmä* from one social context. Since almost all of the issues are discussed in detail in the conversational narratives, the purpose of documenting it here relies more on its general features rather than its contents. The general features of it, on the other hand, also can be studied from the sample representative *Šerimmäs* of each social context The following *Šerimmä* is the one which is recorded from the above described context.

Š1: By Tɔkɑtɔ Qɔbämmo

Dileb Ergičik *[Dilebo Ergičo]*
Koy egeren gereb yohäne [(He) has particular sheep for receiving guests]
Koy egeren mintäf yohäne [[(He) has carpet to be spread for guests]]
Soro Kemoɔn sɔd kɔmbätän [At *Soro*, at *Limu* and at *Kembata]*
Sɔläleɔne sɔn kul bɔqulɔn [He is well known for his traveling on a unique *Sɔläle* horseback]
Šɔw uɔl dämɔn [He has also a unique reddish-brown horse]
Lohem worɔdän [In the six *Wɔrɔdäs]*
Ni awräjän [Including our *Awräjä]*
Sɔläleɔn Säɔlu ossonɔ [In using a *Sɔläle* mule for traveling]
Šiqu gimɔr Ergčin [No one can compete *Ergičo]*
Gudo oss beɔ [There is no one so good as him]
– Yämohäne [It was me who said it]
Ok mɔhinäte? Dileb Ergiči [What is the reason? *Dilebo Ergičo]*
Häworä hänän add [While he was coming from downtown of *Häworä]*
Seläleɔn sälu ayämo [Galloping his *Sɔläle* mule]
Mɔnčɔ wärolä yä [People who could see his coming from far distance]
Ai lɔoko mɔkin wäroɔn yä [Imagining that it could be a car which is coming]
Mɔni ç̣iɔi giboko [People and birds rash away fearing a car accident]
Midideo täko [Gentle walking style]
Mitеč alɔbo [Wise speech]

Urko horer [He has bushy hair]

Hons qə̇t Ergič̆o [He equally weighs with five people]

Ṫibäm Lirənsso [(*Lirənsso*) A man who had more than hundred cows]

An kə woč̣ wəč̣omok ayete? [Who is the one who is speaking this]

Häworän Dileb Ergič̆ə̈ne [At *Häworä,* I am the son of *Dilebo Ergič̆o]*

Jibison dän Šämələ̈ne Werämon Abəb Somənə̈ne *[At Werämmo*, I am the son of *Abəbə Somənə̈o]*

Muräsän gon käo Wänorə̈ne [At *Muräsä*, I am the son of *Wänore*, who could fright even against other heroes]

Dedeə̈e woə̈me Lirənsə̈ne [At *Dede*, I am the son of *Woə̈me Lirənso]*

Arärä Dəngor Mənorə̈ne [At *Arärä,* I am the son of *Dəngore Mənore]*

Məlän Gintämə̈ne [I am the son of *Məlän Gintämo]*

Häb afu lənd härde wərädi [*Wəssən* has large]

Heo Wəssənoə̈ne [Numbers of young generation]

Yumoək anete [I am the one who has said like that]

Dubənč̆ bet yəkəmok [Those who are called *Dubämmos]*

Dubənč̆o - Dubənč̆o, Dubənč̆ betik *[Dubämmo – Dubämmo ... Dubämmos']*

Sälimim anənä [Their sitting style on a horseback is unique]

Mən mutomim anənä [The way they are brought up is unique]

Sälə̈kisəm anənä [They are unique in galloping (horses and mules)]

Qərəmuksəm anənä [Their origin is also unique]

Heuksəm anənä [Their living style is also unique]

Dənṫič̆ fərəš yäkəmə̈ne [There is also the famous "*Dənṫič̆ fərəš*"–the *Dənṫäs'* horse]

Fərədonem odim [That is special]

Dənṫič̆ fərəšo yumo [I said "the *Dənṫäs'* horse"]

Anən Fərəšo anən mənč̆o yimä [It means a unique horse and a unique people (of *Dənṫä*)]

Säləmən agä Šənən ihu tənm [In serious fighting as well as when galloping (the *Dənṫä's* horse is unique)]

E-Adəg Jänjeṛi Jimmi eqidins [Those *Adəg Jänjərə* people, while they were coming from Jimma*]*

- Soro ilu ayämmo [While they were coming to *Soro]*

- Soro ilu ayämmo [While they were coming to *Soro]*

Agər dəhä dəbərə Dənṫ oss [Who could turn them back defending with courage are the

Dəṅäs]

- Dərəm nine yohäne [They have had a heroic tradition since before]
- Kəbəlim yohäne odim [They have got it till now]

Ed inkämä Dəṅt Dubəmi wänlamo kəne [Those of us who have come here (Kembata) from the *Dəṅä* with such a unique history]

Nes key gənlumo Wəssənosso [Here also]

Nes key gənlumo beyonem [Here where we are living now also]

Oyəti Dilbət ossənem [While we are living here together with the *Oyeta Dilbəto's* men]

Kəmbätən məqir heənumuy [While we are living together with the Kembatas]

Agä Šənənə oəl beyiču̇on [In the difficult wars]

Adil Dilbət ness itəko gonä [King *Dilbəto* liked us much]

Itəkoani mərəj məha yitəkotən: [If there is one who may ask me for evidence]

Gäl qäč̣ä birin [At the *Qäč̣ä-birä* direction]

Gedo məssənəne [At the directions of *Gəde* and *Məssənä]*

Gog funəmurrəne [On the *funämurä* road]

Giräräm Šəču̇əne [At the directions of *Šəču̇ä* ,which grows acacia]

Gəndel Wäču̇əmənə [At the directions of *Gəndele* and *Wäču̇ämmo]*

Am an Sor [The whole *Soro* people]

Am Gəro on dinə wärä [Coming at the direction of the *Gəro* hillock]

Ambä Doyogənan [while they were devastating the whole *Doyogənä* field]

dunəmu bəlä [while they were devastating]

Šuy bəgədən [With a spear of huge handling]

Qəssä dəbəru wəssənossəne [Who could pierce and turn them back were the *Wəssən* people]

- yäkotən qŏ̯p̆ən beəe. [This is not false]

Ok q̇ədäl wəca [It is a fact]

Ok qŏ̯p̆əno yo mən, Hadiy heutən... [If there is a person from the Hadiya, who may say this is false …]

Mət waš yoko odəm: [… There is also another thing]

Sodo läču̇änč̣, Silṫe qetäm [The *Sodo* men, who are screaming at dawn and the *Silṫe* men who are always wearing apron]

Mənz Hulbärəg, Meṫeə Libid [The *Mənz*, the *Hulbäraq*, the *Meṫo* and the *Libido* peoples]

Dije Məsqäni, Dede Məsməs [The *Dijo* and the *Masqän* peoples]

Sɔnkul ɔsläm [The *Sankurä* Muslims]

- Uɔl qɔssu bɔla [When they attacked (the *Kembata* people)]

Qeṫ lɔb godɔbo [Of the ones, of those whose stomachs look like a hide]

Qɔbɔr affɔr [Who have plain back]

Qɔnṫo gurubo [Who have bending knee]

Qɔr gäsɔko qɔräl [Whose large wedge-shaped]

Foɔl bey due [Penis]

Qɔčal maroɔn [When the day becomes dusk]

Quṫäko qoṫɔr Wɔssɔnosso [The one who could cut off (the penis) is one of the brave *Wɔssɔns]*

Ni moɔlɔnɔ kɔbɔl yohäne [Such a bravery is existing till now in us too]

Dɔrɔnem yohäne [We have also owned it from the very beginning]

Oɔk ayet quṫukoɔk yɔkotɔn: [If one asks who are those, the ones who could cut off penis]

Kɔšäm Wänorämɔn yo osso [One is *Kešämmo Wänore]*

Häilämɔn yo oss quṫäkohäne *[Häile* and others, too]

Oak odim mɔhine? [What is the reason for this?]

Wänor Häile e qoṫɔrämdu *[Häile*, the son of *Wänore* is brave]

Dileb Ergiči ann lɔom dolinem qotɔrämdu *[Dilebo Ergičo*, I also know him personally, he was brave]

Am an Sor Wɔssɔnosso whorem Sɔboyo [The whole *Soro* people do not hate *Wɔssɔns]*

Ihutɔnimi [However]

"Dubɔm- Dubɔm" yɔkɔmok [What peoples say time and again is "the *Dubämmos"]*

Dubɔmek: [The *Dubämmos]*

Qɔrɔnčim anɔnä [(Their) origin is unique]

Beṫomim anɔnä [What they do is unique]

Adɔg Jänjɔrr Gibei ušea [When the *Adɔg Jänjɔro* people took away our cows,]

abuɔl fɔkäkä [When they plundered our crops,]

Adɔg Jäniɔrr Gibei ušea [When they took our possessions far away opposite *Gibe*,]

Jimmɔn eqid fissu ayämmo [When they took away to *Jimmä]*

O Hädiyɔn Dɔnṫič Wɔssɔnossic [The *Dɔnṫä Wɔssɔns* together with the *Hädiyäs]*

Dan Šaɔmɔl Lɔnge doyä kɔakä [Judge *Šäɔmɔlo* campaigning to *Lɔnge]*

E Adɔg Jänjɔrr elessu bɔlä [On the day when the *Adɔg Jänjɔros* plundered our possessions]

Lɔlewä elessu bɔlä [When they took our cows]

Mɔn uɔl hossu bɔlä [When they plundered our crops]

Mɔn itto načä [(Without fearing) the crocodile which eats people]

Mormor Gibeɔe [(Without fearing) the flooded *Gibe*,]

Mɔlo be tiro [Without fearing]

Angä miqissäko [The one who could bring immediately]

Dän Šäɔmɔl Wɔssɔnossič [Judge *Šimɔlä* is from the *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂n* lineage group]

- Dɔnṫičo [He is *Dɔnṫiä]*

Oɔk an kɔk wɔ̌ɔ̌omok ayete? [Who am I speaking this?]

An Wɔ̂ssɔnossič̌o Dɔngor qɔrib betto [I am *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂n*, the son of *Dɔ̂ngore Qɔ̂ribä]*

Diq Handiss betto [I am the son of *Diqässo*, who is also the son of *Händisso]*

Däjor lotämano [I am the son of *Däjore*, who deserved ear pendant (as a sign of heroic deed)]

Diqäs Händissäno [I am the son of *Diqasso Händisso]*

Dɔrem Wɔssɔnč̌e [I am a *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂n* from the very beginning]

Ded Bäbossič̌e [I am the son of *Dede Bäbo]*

Oɔk mɔhɔnä? [You know why this is?]

Muɔl zɔr ihoɔn Wɔssɔnoss.. [It is *Wɔ̂ssɔ̂n* (*Dɔ̂nṫä*), not other ethnic groups …]

Wɔdä Dɔnṫä Dubɔmɔmdue *[Dɔ̂nṫä – Dubämmo* is originally *Dɔ̂ntä – Dubämmo]*

Dɔnṫä Dubɔm dɔrem gɔräkohäne [It is self-sufficient]

Ehänɔnä "dɔnätoɔl soɔo" yummo [For this (for its unique features) I mentioned the best barley of *Dɔ̂nätorä]*

"Dɔbäroɔ sɔdä" yummo [I said that they have sufficient grazing land for their cows]

"Dɔnṫ uli gɔrdäm" yummo [I mentioned that they have unique type of oats]

"Menti bɔṫan" yummo [I said that the *Dɔ̂ntä* women are brave]

"Muräko hiṫe mɔlɔjo däm yo Dɔnṫico fɔrɔšo" yɔnommo. [I said *Dɔ̂nṫäs* have horses that abhor even mowed grass]

Säyɔm anɔnä [Their cows are unique]

Fɔrɔdɔm anɔnä [Their horses are unique]

Oɔk Dubämɔne [These all (unique features) are that of *Dubämmos*]

E Dubɔmi murɔnmä Kɔmbätä gɔnlum [Those of us who settled in *Kembata* isolated from our relatives]

Wɔssɔnoss gɔnlumo häno?... [We the *Wɔssɔn Dubämmos* who are living here]

[The narrator describes the districts where the Wɔssɔn-*Dubämmos* permanently live on the Kembata land]

Wäɔ Kɔmbät betto [We who live at *Kembata]*

Wä gɔbɔ̣täno [At *Wägɔbɔtä]*

Wässɔl bɔk betto [We the local people of the neighbouring *Wässɔrä]*

Wäri Gudɔri *[Wärä* and *Gudɔr]*

Wägɔbɔt sanni [The *Sännä* at *Wägɔbɔtä]*

Wɔ̌ɔ̣̌ntɔm bɔlä [When they raise disputes]

Wɔš biɔsonan Wešɔkɔm Wɔssɔnossic [I am a member of the *Wɔssɔns*, who are called to settle disputes.]

Dɔn̤tɔn hink bɔlim hoffo beɔne *[Dɔn̤äs* have never ever lacked anything.]

Oɔk odim Wɔssɔnossɔk ṯibämua kurommo [And again I list hereafter the names of the *Wɔssɔns*, who could breed hundred cows]

[The narrator lists the names of the people who have hundreds of cows.]

Oɔk ni moɔl Wɔssɔnossik [These all are ours, the *Wɔssɔn's]*

Huš be qärä [They are not lazy, but strong.]

Hogo be angä [They have strong arms.]

Häjo be bulä [They have strong horses.]

Mɔt mɔt mɔn šɔro šɔro [The *Šerimmä*, which is performed by some lazy people]

Häyo be Wɔssɔnossɔne [Does not interest the *Wɔssɔns*.]

Hägɔräm lɔrɔne [I am from the ethnic group that has many cows.]

Hädɔräm Oɔ̌ɔ̣̌ne [(That) has large number of milk containers]

Hänɔ̣̌äɔ̌ Kessämmo [Our walking style is well fashioned]

Dɔn̤tiɔ̌ Dubɔm Wɔssɔnoss [I am from *Wɔssɔn*, one of the *Dɔntä Dubämmo* sub-lineage group]

Ku ulɔn kɔmbätɔn gɔnlumuyim [While we are living here in *Kɔmbätä*,]

Dilbɔt gɔbɔläm egɔnlämo gonä [We are heroes who could defend well the *Womä Dilbɔto's* territory]

Misɔkɔr mɔha? [What is the evidence to this?]

Koj umbulɔnɔy [In a dense foggy atmosphere]

Kəfəf ṭenəndy [While it was raining]

Kido märoəo ulän orr gurubəlä [Just at such a dusk time]

O məndu məndn gir hogu bəlä [When the neighbouring people lacked fire (to cook food with)]

Dätäm erän [When the women who were in childbed]

Dəmbəqu bəlä [Get highly terrorized]

Duəm idäyuwä didenu bəlä [When the bride and bridegroom get disturbed in their nuptial house]

Dənekotən Doyogənən [At *Dənəkotä* and *Doyogənä*]

Däj Sätämen [In the fight at the side of *Sətäme* river]

Dəden marəg [In the year which was full of disturbance]

Dəgoy hundən Oyətənä [For the children of *Dəgoye*, for those *Oyetas*]

Dut Kəmbätəna [For all *Kembatas*]

Uəl dä əhu bəlä [While everything is getting bad]

Olə beyoən [In the serious war situations]

Dəku Wəssənossəčo yəkotəne [If I said I am a member of the *Wəssəns*, who were courageously involved (in the above described serious wars)]

Qoṗən beän [It will not be false]

Odəm o qədäl wəcä [This is a pure fact.]

Oək məhinä?... [Why is it so?]

Omoän Sor [The entire *Soro* people]

Ilu ayämmo [When they reached here to attack (the *Kembatas*)]

Läči ləm lär bəlä [While people were crying for the whole two days]

Ləde u wəme Lirenss Wəssənossiči̇o [*Lirənsso* the son of *Wəme*, who campaigned armed well, is from the *Wəssən* sub-lineage group]

"Woəme Lirənsso-Woəme Lirənsso" [The son of *Wəme Lirənsso*, whom we call time and again]

Yənomok Wəssənosson [In *Wəssən*]

Woəme Lirənssok Wəmər [The son of *Wəme, Lirənsso* has a horse

Hočəbo fərəd yohanə [That jumps as a powerful flood]

Arär Wəssənossines, [We, the *Arärä Wəssəns*]

Mul kəbmbätəm quqoəne [The other *Kembatas* please don't feel bad]

Muləwin ihoən.... [What I am saying is not serious]

Iblissən inšašurən [We don't like to involve in nonsense matters]

Angə issənom be gonä

Dərəm Wəssənoss [We are orignally *Wəssəns*]

Dərəm Dubəm-dənt [We are the *Dubämmos* from the very beginning]

Kəbələm dəntəmdue [Now also we are *Dəntäs*]

195 Wəssənossik Dəntä Dubəmek qotələn ay ləo? [Who knows the *Wəssəns'*, the *Dəntä-Dubämmos'* bravery?]

Ənəri Čəhi [*Enner* and *Čəhä*]

Eqid Məǯ ossi [The *Jimma* people]

Eken Bordi [Those *Bordäs*]

Uəte Debəni [The *Arsi* Oromos]

200 Adəg Jänjəri [The *Adəg Jänjəros*]

Am an Sori [The entire *Soro* people]

Onde Lemossi [The *Limu Hadiyas*]

Aləm ŠäŠogi [The *Aləm Šišogos*]

Sədəm Kəmbäti [The whole *Kembatas*]

205 Məsəkərtəmo [All can witness]

Agä Šənən [In the serious struggle]

Oəl beyičon [Where there is fighting]

Arär Wəssənoss Dəntä Dubəmmo [The *Arärä Wəssəns, Dəntä– Dubämmos*]

Dərəm sidəka šine horäkohäne [They are well known warriors]

210 - yumär qo ̑ pən ləboyo. [It is I who has said this]

[In like manner, the narrator continues describing the 'historical' accounts of the *Wəssən-Dubämmo* people. And finally, he concludes his narration by saying, "Oəd kə qət ihoko Səwumär ləŋki kodä 'šerommo'," which means that "Let it be enough. If I have something to add, I will perform again."]

The *Šerimmä*, which comes next is recorded at a big ethnic festival. The festival programme was arranged to celebrate the fifth year ethnic political organization foundation day. The central issue that was focused at the programme was request for a practical approval of the *Dubämmos* ethnic rights. The narrator is a professional one who has specialized in *Šerimmä* through his long time experience. He was half Hadiya and half *Dubämmo*.

The place where the festival was held is Ginbichu, the main town of the Soro

Wərədä. There were a very large number of people at the vast field of public meeting. It was in such a general social context that the narrator recited his *Šerimmä* as follows.

Š2: By Dindämmo

Mənädəbä! [The broad masses]
Dubəmmobikən kurom ləuwə yoko [I would like to tell you something about *Dubämmo*]
Dubəm tärik kəis kurommo [I will tell you the *Dubämmos* history like this]
Dubəmmek ləčči, wəgi, täriki, bähili [Their knowledge, tradition, history, culture,]
gəttissi, woč̣ summi ...anənä [Living style, language, ... all these are unique.]
Gojoə yokok Dubəməne [The *Dubämmos* have a lot of *Ensat* seedlings]
Gərim yokok dubəməne [They know how to administer themselves.]
Dubəmek häq buy gəgiro beəne [The leaves of their trees never drop.]
Hinč̌ woə ṫoəo beəne [Their spring is never dry.]
Hiṫ təb šoko beəne[The roots of their grass never dry.]
Adilənim heo märəm yohäne [They have their own ruling power and they are wealthy]

GR: [All the members of the fifth annual ethnic organization ceremony social context clapped and uttered joyous cry as a sign of agreement and happiness.]

D: Sä - Sä!.... [Keep quiet!]

Erärem dänoməm məqir [They (the *Dubämmos* and the Hädiyäs) have common judgement]
Err məqir [They use the same river.]
Hoš məqir [They pass time together.]
Doyim məqi [They campaign together.]
Alärim məqir [They guard their cows together.]
Wäreəm məqir [Their herdsmanship is together.]
Ebimis məqir [Their betrothing tradition is the same.]
Ewəkəmis məqir... [Thier tradition of giving some one to somebody in marriage is the same.]
Kəbeyč̌o məqir məninə [While we are living together in like manner.]
Dänom bərč̣um gətäko yäko [They are saying that they couldn't get the right justice and ethnic representation.]
Dänom bərč̣umənе Dubəm itek məbtik siṫonä! [Let them get!]

GR: Sitona!!![Let them get!!!(clapping and utterances of joyous cry.)]

25 Mɔbtä! Mɔbtä! Idilä! Idilä!... [Our right! Our right! Let us get the chance! Chance!]

D: Ka sa-yi! [You keep quiet!(each members of the group has continued speaking and shouting to express his feeling.] *Dubem [Dubammos]*[voice of the group] dubɔm.[*Dubammos*][voice] Dubɔmɔn kid yo lɔuwɔ yohäne.... [The *Dubämmos* have such things.]

Dubɔm yo lɔuwɔ kurommo.. [I will tell you what the *Dubämmos* possess.]

[He lists elements of the Dubämmos culture. And finally, the entire participant group expresses its agreement in the same way like before].

Gɔro fɔrɔdu gero fɔrɔdi Dubɔmɔne [The *Dubämmos* have long living and fast riding horses.]

Gɔrimi hanq wocimi Dubɔmɔne [Truth and self-administration are their (customs).]

30 Hänq Wɔc̆ɔkoar bio lɔuwɔ beɔe [There is nothing to lose by speaking the truth.]

Hodä gɔro wäo mɔnc̆o [*Häuzulä*'s subordinate that lives at *Hodä* is the *Dubämmos'*]

Hossen firä borodänc̆o [*Häuzulä's* subordinate that lives at *Hosse* is the *Dubämmos'*]

Häuzul mɔnc̆i gergis mɔnc̆i [The mediums of *Häuzulä* and Gergissä's spirits are that of the *Dubämmos*]

Hundim Dubɔmɔne [All are that of the *Dubämmos*]

35 Dubɔm erärem adɔlam [*Dubämmos* are highly honoured starting from the very beginning.]

Lɔäkäm [They are possessers of *Läakä*]

Lombäm [They are highly respected people]

Mɔhäräm [They are superior]

Odim beyom adɔl mɔhärɔko bɔlä [On the days of their coronation]

40 Adɔl Hänfuc̆ mɔhärɔko bɔlä [When they made *Hänfuco Womä*]

Adɔl Wäriy mɔhärɔko bɔlä [When they made *Wäriyo Womä*]

Dubɔm anɔnɔ dumäkohänon [At the place where *Dubämmos* gathered to celebrate their corronation ceremony,]

Dindɔm hinc̆ä afämä moämo. [I, Dindämmo, could approach them and see everything]

Adɔl kässäm hebo yä wɔrämo [I also could escort [When they made *Womä Kässä,* when

he was made *Womä*]

45 Uluman biš duɔssissumo anete. [It was me who slaughtered the bull in front of this house.]

[The whole participant members clapped to show their agreement to what the narrator said.]

D: Mɔnädɔba! [The broad mass!]

Dubɔmmeki Hädɔyiki lobɔkɔt lɔuwɔ [The *Dubammos* and the Hadiyas are …]

mɔqirr ehukɔssɔm [In most cases similar.]

Edo mɔqɔrene elɔg [Concerning their similarities,]

50 Häṫe Tedrosen [During the reign of Aṡe Theodros]

Häṫe Zeräqen [During the reign of Aṡe Zärä Yäqob]

Häṫe Yohänisen [During the reign of Ase Yohännes]

Häṫe Minileɔn [During the reign of Aṡe Menilik]

Hailɔsilässen [During the reign of Häylassalasse]

55 Ṫäliän Mɔngisten [During the Italian colonial period]

Dɔrg Mɔngisten [During the Derg regime]

Lɔme Ehädigän [And again now also in the EPRDF regime]

Dänom hoffok bɔrc̣um [Justice and representation]

Gudom goto bɔrc̣um [Equal (with that of Hadiyas) representation …]

60 Gudukoyo yɔmi bɔgän [Except saying that "yet we are not given (equal rights)"]

Gudukoyo yɔmi bɔgän [Except saying that "yet we are not given (equal rights)"]

Eri koti [What their cows are grazing is the same field.]

Alǎči doyi [Their herdsmanship is the same.]

Abuli bɔṫi [Cultivating and working]

65 Uɔl gɔrimi hehimi [Their living style and life]

Ebimi Qɔrɔnči [Marriage and breeding,]

Heakɔm heč [Way of living,]

Hundim mɔqiri [Everything is the same.]

69 E gembelu qɔṫ ṫɔboy? [So what if that slight defect is corrected?]

GR: Ṫɔbyonä!!! [Let it be corrected!!!] [clapping as a sign of agreement]

D: Sä - Sä! [Silent!]

Eyum kɔjel turdɔy [Let it be as what my mother wished]

Eyɔn häntut mäsdɔy [Let it be as what my father wished]

[The narrator continues to swear in like manner so as to make the gathering accept what he is speaking.]

D: Erärem Dubɔm: [So far the *Dubämmos*]

Sor qɔssɔkɔm bɔl gɔtu beane [They didn't lag behind whenever the *Soro* people were fighting with others]

Sor qɔssɔmmo bɔl mɔqir qɔssɔmohäne [Whenever *Soros* are attacked, the *Dubämmos* stand at the side of them.]

Gädɔkɔm bɔl mɔqir gädohäne [Whenever the *Soro* people are campaigning to fight, the *Dubämmos* also used to accompany them]

Wočɔkɔm bɔl mɔqir wɔ̌cohäne [Whenever they speak for their rights, the *Dubämmos* also speak on behalf of them.]

Bɔ̌tɔkɔm bɔl mɔqir bɔ̌tohäne [They are always together.]

Alärɔkɔm bɔl mɔqir alärohäne [They always herd their domestic animals together.]

Doyɔkɔm bɔl mɔqir Doyohäne [Whenever there is war, they campaign together.]

Heɔkɔm bɔl mɔqir heohäne [They also manage their lives together.]

Mɔtehe e dengel yo betičo [We still couldn't find leaders who are concerned with us.]

Kɔbeyinsem wɔrɔdins [From here (from our *wɔ·ɔdä*)]

Hänän Kolinsem kɔlilins [From the above region]

E Kolinsem Dɔbubins [From there too (Southern Ethiopia Administrative Region]

Eqidom firä [And from abroad]

Wuč̣ɔ mɔngistinsem [From external states]

Adilɔno [Rulers]

Kɔ affice sindumoyo [Till now we couldn't find (that are concerned about the *Dubämmos*)]

Adilɔn mutukoɔk läɔkɔnɔte [We ever used to make our Womä in our own traditional system of *Läɔkä*]

Ni wɔroɔnem mutukänon monä kɔlonä! [Let us choose the best one among us and make him Womä according to our tradition!]

GR: Kɔlonä!!! [Let us do!!!] [clapping and uttering joyous cry as a sign of agreement]

D: Kä-Sä! [You keep silent!]

Siffo ṫəbəlä toč egərä [Making the Siffo holy water the boundary of their region]
Šure Janjeəl molənä [The leader of Šure Jänjəro]
Səgəṫ Digoə gəndissäw [A friend of Digo people]
Šawo Gibe ṫimäg [The Šäwo people, who can cross the Gibe River]
Uəl doyəko bəlä [When they came here to fight …]
Heuu Dubəmmek Kurommo [Let me tell you the role of the *Dubämmos* at that time.]
Uəl yo bəl kurommo: [Let me tell you their role in the fight]
Ereri mässəwi [Ererä and Mässäwä]
Däwi Digəli [Däwä and Digəlä]
Gunzi Məgäzi [Gunz and Məgäz]
Uəl fətəkissä [Forcing them to retreat back]
Ele onə issa [And to go away]
hoəlä ləssəge [Leaving this area.]
Dubəm ayäm ayäm dun qäpäkä [The *Dubämmos,* preferring hillock areas and making them their natural protection,]
- Dənṫ qäpäkä [Dənṫäs holding the hillocks,]
Dulä dulä duffu wəngərrən [In the horizontally laid-trough,]
Dul litəmin [On the laid grinding stone]
Dunəmo wərqəne [With melting gold]
Ayämo ayämo dunnä firä [Daily expanding on the hillocks,]
Dəgəmäko gungus leh məqir [Resisting the difficult life situations, (they could manage their lives successfully)]
Gutoäm käbən [With their well decorated mantle]
Geju mirgoən [With their huge bull]
Getu hämbulin [With their fattened sheep]
Gošəkəm adəne [With their condensed milk]
Čuäkəmänəne [With their butter]
Gässim sinṫičine Gibe iqä [Who could divide *Gibe* with his mace and cross on foot]
Səmine Awäš iqä [Who could cross the Awash River by swimming]
Sidəmäko Dubəm ṫumäne yomo [I would like to present my greetings to the *Dubämmos,* who are well known in all these 'historical' aspects.]

GR: Ṫumä!!! [We also greet you!!!] [clapping]

[The narrator again describes how the *Dubämmos* reached here when they migrated and

how they could occupy the *Dubämmo* land]

D: Ši misikɔ̈r Sidoɔ̈n kuro bɔ̈l [While thousand witnesses were testifying what they didn't see,]

Fitɔ̈nso dän firdä fɔ̈rɔ̈do bɔ̈l [While the judge is listening complainsts,]

Biqɔ̈gä fitɔ̈mä bɔ̈dim sɔ̈bä [(The *Dubämmos*) used to argue face-to-face against others without fear.]

Hänq wɔ̈ç̈ä [(For such direct-speaking, *Dubämmos,*) who speak the fact]

Käo Dubɔ̈mmo [And defeat their enemies!]

Bälen yo šifti Dubɔ̈m bälägärä [Except the rebels - who live at the cliff side]

Dubɔ̈min od bälägär beɔ̈e! [They have no other enemies!]

GR: Beɔ̈e!!! [No one!!!] [clapping as a sign of agreement]

D: Sä-Sä! [Silent!]

Hedänčom bässä [They have even more history.]

Morämɔ̈m emiteɔ̈e [The *Emite* district, where there are large number of oxen,]

Monäl eräm däje [The river which devastates the vast area of field,]

Mɔ̈kɔ̈r Gojɔ̈be [The highly problematic river of Gojɔ̈b,]

Mɔ̈ç̈ɔ̈t hemɔ̈č woɔ̈ [The Black River, which is opposite Gibe,]

Mɔ̈läyäm Gɔ̈munä [The violent river of Gɔ̈munä,]

Märdunč Sɔ̈še däje [The Märdunco and the Šäše Rivers]

Midido Gonboro [The Gonboro River that flows gently]

Mässɔ̈ämo Lintäl [The praised Lintälä River]

Gɔ̈ɲ̌čo Jäjur [Ginbichu and Jajura]

Mini hundi agä [Being distributed at every house]

Mɔ̈n hundi betɔ̈mä [Being shared by everyone]

Mɔ̈rä etu qɔ̈tä [Until they join somewhere]

Mistir iyä [They keep (the *Dubämmos*) secret hidden]

[The narrator continues describing the 'historical' deeds of the *Dubämmos* in like manner]

Sɔ̈kɔ̈l mɔ̈ni Säɔ̈lo buɔ̈l ebä [(the *Dubämmos*) ordering the Šɔ̈nkɔ̈lä people to bring them horses,]

Qoqɔ̈le mɔ̈n qoqissä wärä [Blinding the Qoqɔ̈le people]

Emɔ̈te mɔ̈n insissä wärä [Making the Emɔ̈te people sleep]

Abɔlte mɔn orɔs ijäjä [Ordering the Abɔlte people as if they were their wives]

Butuje mɔn butän insissä [forcing the Butuje people to sleep on leaves.]

Wärukoɔk Dubɔmoyonhe? [The people who have come in such a way are *Dubämmos*. Aren't they?]

GR: Dubɔmmo!!! [Yes, they are the *Dubämmos*!!!] [clapping as a sign of agreement]

D: Dubɔmin'duɔ mɔ bɔ̌ç̣ako? [What will be there which is impossible to the *Dubämmos*?]

Mɔ bɔ̌ç̣äko?? [What do they lack?]

Mɔn woɔli anɔnɔm ṭibi [They have hundred calves in each house.]

Muqu woɔli anɔnɔm ṭibi [They have hundred bulls in each house.]

Mɔrgoi anɔnɔm ṭibi [They have hundred steers in each house.]

[The narrator continues listing in like manner the amount and the type of wealth the well -to-do members of the *Dubämmo* ethnic group have]

D: Ku Dubɔm [Hence, this group (Dubämmo)]

- Lɔmɔr abäy Dubɔm [The members of the seven lineage groups of *Dubämmo]*

Soɔl mɔnädɔbɔne mɔqɔrem heoukusɔm [Have been living together with the *Hadiya* people]

Sɔlṭän itek. [Hence the right of its ethnic representation …]

Kɔbɔṭä yäkɔmissɔm [What the people are seeking for]

Muɔlis mɔqire [Though in all the other (social) aspects they are the same (with the *Hadiyas*),]

Qɔrɔn̆c̆ beyom anɔnä [Their origins are different]

E anɔnoɔmek diršä idilä [Hence, according to their differences, let them get their rights.]

Ẹṭek idilä diršä Siṭonä! [Let them get their own (ethnic) rights!]

GR: Siṭonä!!! [Let them get!!!]

[clapping, shouting, and uttering jubilations and joyous cries as a sign of agreement.]

D: Amɔnin kɔ qɔṭ yumär ihoko. [For now, what I have said so far can be enough]

CONCLUSION

It has already been pointed out in the previous sections of this paper that out of the three divisions of **tärikä** the major function of the conversational narrative is, by and large, delivering information. Unlike Dränčä and Šerimmä, the conversational narrative consists of detailed discussions on past accounts. The issues that are indicated in Dränčä and Šerimmä in a very brief way can also be found in conversational narrative with more detailed explanation. Sometimes, while the narrators are narrating Dränčä and Šerimmä, they might include lines, words or phrases that give no sense. As has already been described, in Dränčä and Šerimmä, in most cases, their messages are subordinate to their artistic beauty. While the narrators of Dränčä and Šerimmä are trying to maintain the artistic beauty of their performances, they, on the other hand, subordinate the quality and quantity of the messages to be transmitted through them. As a result, the Dränčä and Šerimmä types of narratives will not be considered because of the reasons discussed above. And the final outcome of this study is believed to be reached through a descriptive treatment of the contents of the more reliable types of narrative. Hence the conversational narrative is believed here to be more useful in determining the general attitude of the group towards their past. As it is discussed in chapter one, folklore in general and oral literature in particular, undoubtedly, play a big role in exploring the beliefs of the Dubammo peoples. Wilson, in Harold, has noted that, "Perhaps the most important value in folklore study is its use in determining what the people believe about their past [1979: 460]. As has been tried to be explained in the first chapter one of the objectives of this study is describing how the Dubämmos perceive and account for their past experiences. It is at the centre of these questions that the research problem focused.

The **tärikä** narratives through which the group tell about their past as well as their present and which they believe to be true are very important in this study. It is their internal belief that has direct impact on the lives of the members of the group as well as the lives of other groups that have some relationship with it in one way or the other. Hence concerning the narratives that are documented in this study. Trying to prove whether they are facts or fiction is of no use here and also it is beyond the scope of this study.

As for the general perception of the people whom the researcher approached during the field work, they are members of a migratory ethnic group named Dubämmo which is also sometimes referred to as D∂ntä. It is discussed in C4 and C11 that the origin or the present Dubämmo people is the Northern part of Ethiopia, specifically Gondar. Though it has not yet passed the system of oral transmission, Israel is officially referred to, for the first time in C11 as the Dubämmos' ancient origin. But since it is not yet processed in the folklore system, it will not be considered here as a folk common belief.

The specific period in which the early Dubämmo people migrated from the Northern part of Ethiopia to the Central South is not known exactly. Hence, no one could mention the period while he is narrating his **tärikä**. But the general situation of that time appears to be full of war and instability. The narrators who narrated C4 and C11 have discussed these situations. And they have considered the wars as the basic causes of the early migration of the present Dubämmos' ancestors. These general war situations can also be used as basic evidence at least to guess the approximate period of time in which the Dubammos were exiled. It is pointed out in C11 that there was the Ahmad Gragn's Jihad War being held while the present Dubämmos ancestors were exiled from North to Central South Ethiopia. Hence the period of migration can be considered as the same as the period of the Gragn's invasion, i.e., 1529-43.

The place where the first leader of the Dubämmo ethnic group, i.e., Womä Dämte together with his followers settled while they were proceeding to the Central South Ethiopia are mentioned, in C4 and C11. The indirect study of the history of these places, i.e., Gondar, Raya, Azebo, Welisso, Q∂bena, Geja, Girarrmmo, and others can also be used as a historical and geographical context in the interpretative study of the narratives. The Silassie Ark which is still being worshipped by the Dubämmos to be with the migratory group starting from the beginning. The researcher observed the worshipping ceremony at the Sibu Silassie church in Sibu Q∂b∂e. The language in which that the church people were worshipping is pure Amharic. As for the researcher's general understanding, the reason why the original language of the group and its religious culture could be preserved well is the isolation of the church people from the non-religious external social activities. Because of this, the early religious culture appears to have had no chance of being

intermingled or being dominated by the surrounding general social atmosphere. In addition, the material art, i.e., the Silassie Ark can also be studied in depth to justify more the period of migration and the contents of the narratives, however, they are believed to be beyond the scope of this study.

After the Dubämmos settled at the present Dubämmo land, some of them were scattered to different areas. Most of the members of the W∂ss∂n sub-lineage group and the Gojnä and D∂bonä lineage groups are the obviously know ones. As for the explanations in C1 and C3, there are two reasons which are discussed as being the basic causes for their isolation from the major ethnic group on the Dubämmo land. The Wassans settled on the Kembata land due to war, i.e., to defend the Kembatas. As it is discussed in C1, after the Dubämmos' Womä, i.e., Womä Diqässo and the Kembatas Womä, i.e., Womä Dilb∂to reached an agreement the Dubämmos to defend the Kembata, the W∂ss∂n-Dubämmos were preferred to settle on the Kembata land in order to defend the region. Hence the approximate period of time when the W∂ss∂n-Dubämmos could settle on the Kembata land can be calculated in relation to the period of Womä Dilb∂to's regime which is officially recorded in Die Kambata, i.e., 1845-92 E.C. (1983: 297]. Hence, the period in which the Kembatas' traditional king, Womä Dilb∂to, ruled the Kembatas' can be referred here also as the approximate period of time in which the W∂ss∂n-Dubämmos settled on the Kembata land.

Gojnä and D∂bonäs are also scattered to Wolayta, Jimma and to some other places and were being punished by Häuzulä due to their violation of his orders and due to their being negligent of Häuzulä's power. As for the contents in most of the narratives, the past activities of the Dubämmos, can be considered as the effects of Hauzulä. Starting from the early migration of the present Dubämmos' ancestors, Häuzula had been playing major roles in the history of the Dubämmos. For example, it is explained in C11 that it is Häzulä who preferred the present Dubämmo land for living and implicated to them to settle there. Behind each victory of the Dubämmo heroes, it was Häuzulä who played the leading role. It is well discussed in C3 that it was Häuzulä who scattered the Gojnäs and the D∂bonäs so that they violated his rules. It was Häuzulä who enabled Asin Häbässe to exterminate the Janjeros at Sigedä which is then called Tig Aff∂re. It was Häuzulä who enabled Gärdid∂nä

to defeat the Mɔsmɔs soldiers at Lɔjä which is called Missä. It was Häuzulä who used to nominate the Dubämmos' traditional kings that are listed in C5. In C9 also it is discussed that it was Häuzulä who used to irradiate diseases from the Dubämmo land and also from other places whenever he was asked to do so. In like manner he used to bring rain and stop it if he liked or whenever he was asked to do so. In C9 also again is discussed the miraculous power of his name. It is explained that it is due to the power of his name that Qɔrib Woziro could order the Gibe River to be divided into two parts so that he can cross. It is also discussed how Boqe Offoc̆o could order the Gibe River in the name of Häuzulä to be divided into two and also to be closed again. It is also discussed again in C9 that it was Häuzulä who enabled Kɔc̆e Gɔreno to exterminate the Jimma [Mɔc̆e] people at Lɔnge which is called Bobe.

They were not only the Dubämmos who were being ruled under Häuzulä's spiritual power's leadership. As it is pointed out in C3 and C6, there were also other neighbouring ethnic groups who were worshipping Häuzulä. The Jimma [Mɔc̆e] people, the Janjero people, the Hadiya people, the Kembata people the Wolayta people, the Dawro people, the Enaria people are listed in C3. In like manner, the Mɔsmɔs people, the Wolayta people, the Janjero people, the Alabä people, etc. are also listed in C6. Almost in every account of Häuzulä's role, the narrators list the gifts that the peoples of the above listed groups used to bring him as a yearly tribute, i.e., the one-tenth of their yearly income, or as a thank giving for his solving man-made and natural problems that were infliction the broad mass or individuals.

In C11 the narrator has discussed that the Mɔsmɔs people, the Janjero people and the Oyeta - Kembata people migrated from the Northern part of Ethiopia to the Central South together with the Dubämmo people at the same time. As for the narrative in C11, there were no people around when the Dubämmos reached the present day Dubämmo land. But in the case of most of the other narratives, when the Dubämmos reached the present Dubämmo land there were few groups of people around. In C5 the names of the groups of peoples who had been living around the present Dubämmo land are listed. They are the Wɔšešä people, the Däwä people, the Digälä people, the Erärä people, the Mässäwä people, the Gudä people, the Mägädä people, the Hädɔrɔmä people, the Gondoromä people, the

Hänţälä people and the Sigäjä people. As it is pointed out in these narratives, the Dubämmos chased not only the peoples but also the wild animals such as: lions, elephants, tigers, apes, monkeys, and other wild animals. And also they were referred in the narratives to be the first to clear the forest and to settle in the area where people had never reached except the above listed groups of people who had been living around the present Dubämmo land.

As mentioned above, the narrator in C11 has pointed that the Dubämmos, the Kembatas [the Oyeta-Kembatas] the M∂sm∂ses and the Janjeros were exiled from North to South in the same period of time. But this time, they are the Dubämmo and the Kembata peoples who are found to have settled closely. As has been pointed out earlier, the Dubämmos Kiz language is almost the same as that of the K∂mbätissätä except their difference in their dialect and in their using different words for the same meaning, i.e., in the case of a very few words. Identifying the conditions that caused this language similarity will also be very helpful in identifying the origin of the Dubämmos by comparing with the origin of the Oyeta - Kembatas whose origin is officially referred in Die Kambata to be the Northern part of Ethiopia, specifically from Gondar (1983: 296). But dealing with such a comparative study is beyond the scope of such an in-depth literary descriptive study of a single ethnic group's single genre, i.e., **tärikä**.

On the other hand, as has been discussed above, the researcher could observe that the language which is being spoken by the church people, who are serving in the Sibu Silassie and other orthodox churches on the Dubämmo land, is pure Amharic. The Dubämmos believe that the origin of their Orthodox Christianity is Gondar. The reason why the church peoples language could persist in its "original" pure Amharic form can be speculated as to be their complete isolation from the world which is external to their church compound. This can be considered as basic reason for their preserving their original language. If their original language is found to be Amharic, the present "common" language of the Kembatas and the Dubämmos, i.e., K∂mbätissätä [Kizissätä] can be considered as the language of those people who had been living around the present Dubämmo and Kembata lands. But if this is the case, since they could dominate and defeat the indigenous peoples of the surrounding areas, there should be another reason behind the

domination of their original language by that of the language of the indigenous groups who had been dominated in power by those new comers, i.e., the Kembatas and the Dubämmos. These raised issues are basic research problems by themselves. Since they are also beyond the scope of this study, they will not be treated here. But the implication of research directions believed to be of great help in finding concrete outcomes of the same research problems through further studies.

As has already been discussed in C2 the neighbouring Hadiya people are late-settlers. It was during Womä Diläbä's the Dubämmos' Womä, leadership that the Hadiyas could settle on the area closer to the Dubämmo land. At that time, since the people that were living around the present Dubämmo land were very small in number, Womä Diläbä didn't want to turn back the new comers. Even if Häuzulä advised him not to allow the strange people, i.e., the present Soro-Hadiyas, to settle there, he persisted. This time, the Dubämmos blame Womä Diläbä whenever they feel that the Soro-Hadiyas are dominating them and violating their ethnic rights.

Genealogical narratives are common in the Dubämmo ethnic group. The elders teach their children the genealogical lists in each of the lineage, the sub-lineage and the family groups of the Dubämmo ethnic group. At their leisure time elders often try to motivate their children to enable them to list as many of their ancestors along with their own family line either in ascending or descending order. In like manner, in C5, the narrator has tried to list the members of each lineage group though the list is not as such hundred percent correct.

The Dubämmos also have an oral tradition of listing the names of the historically well known peoples and places with brief explanations or only the names with no additional information like the lists of the names of the traditional ethnic leaders, i.e., Womäs as in C4, like the lists of the names of ethnic heroes and the war leaders with only brief descriptions as in C10, like the lists of the names of the small districts that are inhabited by the Dubämmos only with brief descriptions as in C11.

In C12, there are discussed some unique traditions of the Dubämmos. According to the narration, the Dubämmos' Mäsqäl differs from that of the other social groups? Their marriage and circumcision traditions are also different. In C10 again it is explained about their unique traditional medicines. There are also listed the names of their unique types of crops that the Dubämmos used to produce.

To sum up, from the messages that are transmitted through the above described narratives one can understand that the Dubämmos believe that they were exiled from the Northern part of Ethiopia to the Central South during the great historical period of the Jihad War which was led by Ahmad Gragn. Though they are assimilated into both the Kembatas and the Hadiyas, they are still claiming through their **tärikä** narratives that they are the members of a self - contained particular ethnic group. They also claimed to have their own particular social system, tradition, culture, living style and language. Their language is locally known as Kiz or Kizissätä /Kizissä/. Though it is the same as K∂mbätissätä, it also differs slightly in its dialect and, in very few cases, in using different vocabularies to express the same meaning.

In the case of their relation with the Hadiyas, though this time they are partially assimilated into the Hadiyas, the Dubämmos are still claiming through their narratives that they have no basic relationship with the Hadiyas'. Their origin, as for the notions in their narratives, is different to that of the Hadiyas'. Their original language is also different to the Hadiyas. There is no single conversational narrative which accounts the Dubämmos and the Hadiyas positive common experiences. Generally speaking, though it is difficult to propose scientifically well-proved research finding based on the given research problem at the scope of such a preliminary research level, in the process of the study, this research has tried to reveal some preliminary findings. Hence, as it can be clearly understood from the so far descriptive study, the distinction between the Dubämmos and the Kembatas is vague and is not as such basic. On the other hand, though they are partially assimilated into the Hadiyas, basically the Dubämmos are different with different origin, language and historically derived experiences as well as some aspects of living styles, culture and traditions.

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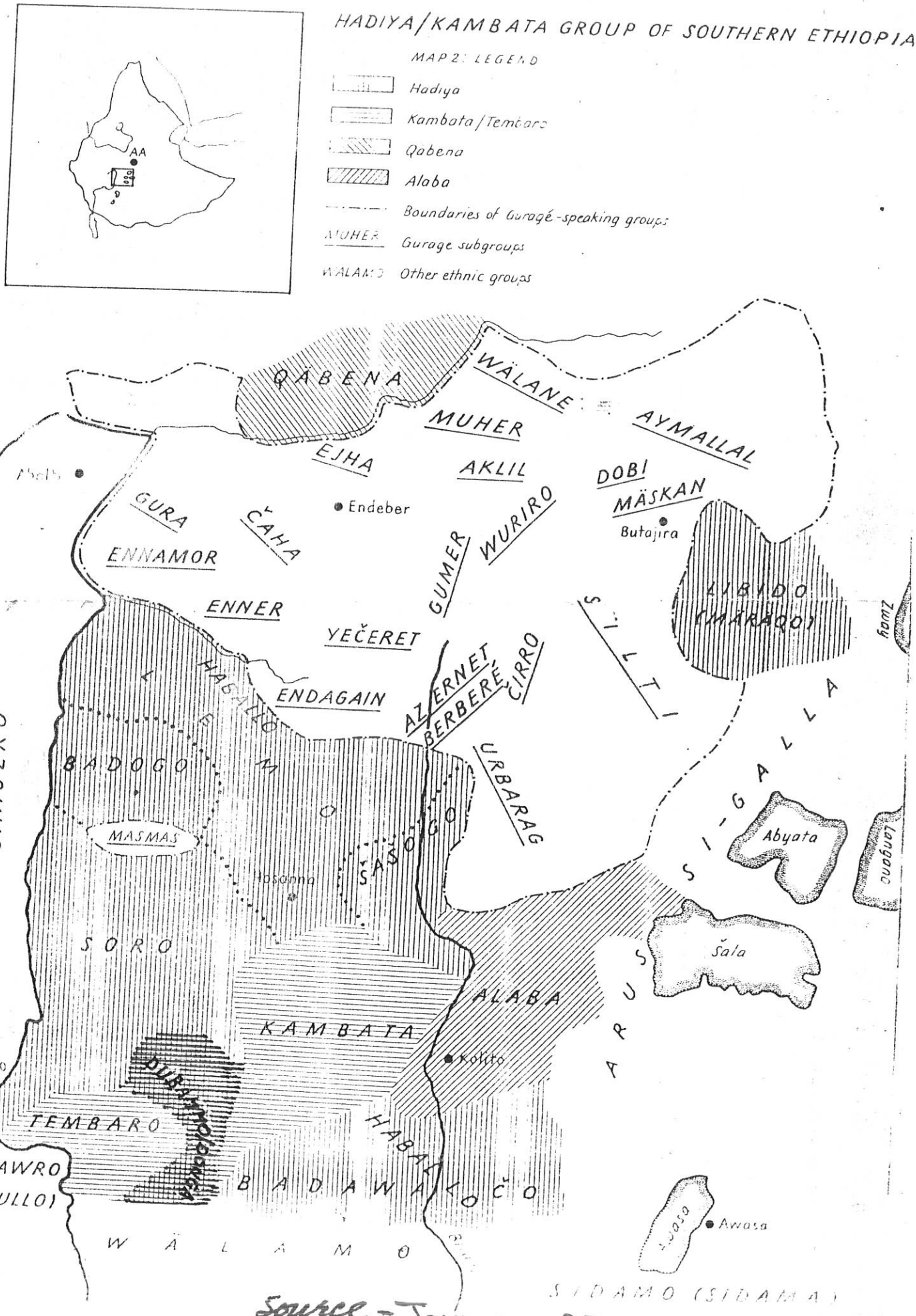
LIST OF INFORMANTS

From the Dubämmo Land

No.	Name	Age	Qəbəle
1.	Ləmmä Tube	86	Häge Dəge
2.	Getäcəw Kassa	30	Gəgänä
3.	Lombasso Yaffä	78	Dunmerä
4.	Šomore Lacebo	58	Sibiya Arärä
5.	Ləffepo Sodore	68	Gəgänä
6.	Fiqre Nunamo	70	Dunmerä
7.	Tadəssə Lombe	40	Häge Dəge
8.	Heməca Holisso	47	Otoro
9.	Girma Gobəno	45	Dənssä
10.	Hailamäriäm Gudisso	88	Sibiyä Arärä
11.	Ašebo Säwore	83	Sibiyä Arärä
12.	Filate Lambebo	52	Sibiyä Arärä
13.	Milkias Anuio	45	Sibiyä Arärä
14.	Sələmon Jəfole	45	Sibiyä Arärä
15.	Makebo Bidigo	74	Sibiyä Arärä
16.	Yaəqob AŠamo	56	Dəntä Bidiqä
17.	Ayələ Ergico	74	Sibiyä Arärä
18.	Bušaša Aləmu	50	Gəgänä
19.	Dənəqə Dəgisso	70	Sibiyä Arärä
20.	Ersido Fosirro	55	Sibiyä Arärä
21.	Eromo Digädo	35	Bonä Dibäro
22.	Fiqre Dumägo	50	Sibiyä Arärä
23.	Tämire Badilu	47	Addis Ababa
24.	Tägəssə Däemo	76	Gimbichu
25.	Təsfaye Dəikəsso	45	Gimbichu
26.	Wənjəlo Ane	45	Gimbichu
27.	Tämirät Täkore	46	Gimbichu
28.	Kəbədə Uəloro	44	Gimbichu
29.	Yaiqob Məlgəno	56	Sibiyä Arärä
30.	Getahun Nurämo	40	Hossänä
31.	Tadələ Məkebo	36	Sibiyä Arärä
32.	Dindämmo	34	Gimbichu

From the Kembata Land

No.	Name	Age	Qəbəle
1.	Abəbə Lämbore	50	Häworä
2.	Gədəbo Haile	55	Häworä
3.	Taməndə Ergəno	55	Häworä
4.	Šähebo Käbäto	70	Häworä
5.	Dubägo Täbeno	55	Häworä
6.	Zələdqə Luəke	86	Häworä
7.	Abəbə Mädebo	60	Häworä
8.	Bus ure Bässore	60	Häworä
9.	Tämire Šomore	40	Häworä
10.	Läəgebo Aborä	40	Häworä
11.	Təkətəl Qəlbämmo	35	Häworä
12.	Tuəmebo	33	Häworä
13.	Mulugeta Eyoel	36	Häworä
14.	Sisay Tämənə	29	Häworä
15.	Eyoel Fuge	66	Häworä
16.	Jäwore Dofsso	68	Häworä



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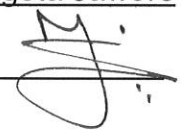
DECLARATION

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

Name: Mulugeta Jawore

Signature: 

Place: _____

Date of Submission: _____