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Social Structure, Kinship and Death Rituals among the Hadiya (south Ethiopia)

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vorgelegt von

Worku Yacob Kalore

aus Hossana, Ethiopia

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Acronyms

ANDM: Amhara Natation Democratic Movement

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporate

 DAS: Dutch Agricultural Scientists

ECSA: Ethiopian Central Statistics Agency

IOM: International Organization for Migration

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

OPDO: Oromo People Democratic Organization

SA: South Africa

SEPDF: Southern Ethiopia Peoples Democratic Front

SNNP: Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples' Region

TPLF: Tigrean Peoples Libration Front

Preface

  I express my sincere gratitude to Prof. em. Dr. Josephus D.M. Platenkamp, who has been not only my mentor but also a person who has taught me an in-depth world-view. From the very first day of attending his lecture, I was impressed and surprised by his unique approach to deliver knowledge to his students. Through time attending his compelling lectures and seminars I became very interested in a field of study which I did not think of carrying out an academic research.

  Moreover, his fascinating lessons intrigued me to critically rethink my own childhood experiences in a village with my grandmother, Lalage Gudaro. Everything has become evident like the way my own image appears in a mirror. I started to reflect frequently the knowledge my grandmother had shared to me. In such a process Prof. Dr. Josephus D.M. Platenkamp had started to offer me some of the relevant books for further readings and also suggested that I should develop a proposal. From the beginning to the end it is his understanding of my thoughts, challenges and shortcomings and complimenting those with his thoughtful advice, understanding, courageous words and patience I maintained to complete this most difficult task I have ever encountered in my life. Therefore, I wish to dedicate this dissertation to Prof. Platenkamp and my grandmother, Lalage Gudaro.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Research Questions

The study focuses on the social relations of the Hadiya society as manifested in kinship (Bernard and Good 2010), economy (Bloch and Parry 1989; Weber 1978), political relationship (Balandier 1970) and ritual actions (Bell 2009; Hertz 1960; Platenkamp 2010b, 1992, 1988a). These assist us in understanding the "social morphology" (Platenkamp 1992) of the society under study in its entirety. Within this context, the fieldwork was conducted between the year 2015 and 2017 by giving particular attention to the Hadiya society (*Hadiyyi minaadaba*).[1] The Hadiya live in 230 km in south-central Ethiopia. Southern Ethiopia has 13 sub-provinces (*zoona*) and 9 special districts (*annanni worada*); the Hadiya society is governed under one of those 13 sub-provinces with a population of 1, 231, 196 (Ethiopian Central Statistics Agency 2007).

During fieldwork, I traveled to all of the districts the Hadiya are present in: Misrak and Mirab Badewacho, Duna, Anna Lemo, Soro, Shaashego, Misha, Gombora, Lemo, and Gibe to assess the overall features of the society. In line with the current government's administrative system, each district has its own villages (*qaballe*). Some districts have up to 36 villages and sometimes more. In this context, a village on average comprises 600 households.

Before 2000, the Hadiya sub-province comprised four districts. However, in recent years, the number of districts has increased to ten by splitting up the former four. Geographically, eight of these districts are located in the highlands and lie between the Kambata and Gurage societies.[2] The remaining two districts lie to the south of the Kambata society, to the east of Alaba society and to the south and west of the Wolaita society (Cohen 2000).

During the study, I have given attention to six districts: Misrak Badawacho and Mirab Badawacho, Duna, Lemo, Sooro, and Shashogo. The remaining four districts are extensions of

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[1] Unless indicated otherwise all the indigenous words and names refer to Hadiya language.

[2] (cf. chapter 2, map 2, pp.18)

the former six districts. In particular the Sadama Marduncho village of the Lemo district forms the main body of the current analysis. Some informants have argued that there is a close similarity in terms of the socio-cultural practices among all the districts of Hadiya sub-province. This has also helped me limit the scope to the six areas highlighted above. In this sense, the immigration of different societies, which was initiated through religious expansions, to the present Hadiya sub-province plays a minor role.[3] Because of its lack of significant influence over the socio-cultural practices of Hadiya.

The present administrative structures of Ethiopia were established by the consideration of different claims by a good number of political movement leaders. At the same time, some Ethiopian scholars held sharp criticisms, and anticipated its high failure.[4] But the ruling political elite did not pay attention to such concerns because of their fundamental aim to adjust the power balance among the different societies, particularly to avoid the dominance of the northern Ethiopians over the other provinces, including those in the south.

The northern Ethiopians have played dominant roles in the central state power for many centuries. At the same time, the rest of the provinces resisted their dominance from time to time. In spite of this, the rest of the provinces were properly incorporated into the state during the early 19th century by Emperor Menelik II from the central province of Showa. The result of

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[3] For instance, after the 14th century the Christian north expansion to the south was a common phenomenon (Zewude 2005) and in the later years Islam also expanded under the leadership of Ahmed Gragn. Afterwards, the Oromo society expanded following the Ahmed Gragn wars (Levine 1993) towards the current Hadiya sub-province which has resulted in changing the social fabric of the society in some regards (Abbink 1998; Braukämper 1973).

[4] The recent democratization process began in Ethiopia with a high failure potential because the politics was ethnicized (Engedayehu 1993). Thus, it sought to create inter-ethnic conflicts in the region where similar situations have been quite common (Fukui and Markakis 1994; Turton 1994a; Tronvoll 2008, 2001; Abbink 2006a; Fukui and Turton 1979). As a result, it was anticipated that Ethiopia could face political crisis (Engedayehu 1993). On the contrary, some researchers have argued that many societies in Ethiopia have been living with less conflicts than anticipated by the time the new government came in power 1991 (Gabbert and Thubauville 2010).

his incorporation of the peoples of the south, east, and west into his empire resulted in the modern Ethiopian state (Young 1998). However, Menelik II's annexation became the main source of controversial political discourse until the 1990s because of the fierce power he used to annex other provinces. Subsequently, the ruling government that came into power in 1991 decided to re-examine the previous arrangement of the Ethiopian state. The current administrative provinces and sub-provinces have become evident due to this effort. The Hadiya sub-province is also by-product of such a rearrangement.

The primary objective of this research was to close the social anthropological research gap among the Hadiya by employing anthropological concepts, theories, thoughts, and analytical approaches from anthropological theories. My work takes Robert Hertz: *Death and The Right Hand*, Catherine Bell: *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice,* Barnard and Good: *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship* and others (for instance, Platenkamp 2010b, 1992 and 1988a) as a point of departure, adapting concepts from their scholarship which correlate with the present research. As a result, it was possible to examine the social anthropological rituals the Hadiya[5] people perform in day-to-day activities. This approach helps to understand how the society constructs life meaning and perceives their world-view.

Understanding the Hadiya social structure, kinship system, life cycle, agricultural practices, religious rituals, and economic systems will pave the way to learn more about them, as these elements provide a means for understanding the core ideas and world-view of the Hadiya villagers. Such attempts also contribute to closing the academic gap which exists about

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[5] Before 1965 it was understood that the Hadiya society have lived in the northern half of the Kambata sub-province of Showa. During that time the other Hadiya groups who lived in the area called Badewacho and Marako were also recognized as having similar roots because they speak the same Hadiya language and practice similar socio-cultural rituals (Stinson 1965).

the Hadiya, who have been poorly documented.[6] Until recently, social anthropological studies have been lacking for the Hadiya society. This present situation is no different from the argument made four decades ago by a researcher who tried to study the Hadiya; it was argued that social science research for the same society was almost non-existent.[7]

In fact, a similar situation is true for many societies in southern Ethiopia, as some scholars who have studied different societies in the southern province have argued. Because of such a gap, there is no adequate relevant literature that provides better information about the societies in that part of the country. Therefore, it is not known so far what constitutes the relationships which differentiate the Hadiya from the rest of the societies in the southern province and beyond. It was also argued that society should be conceived of in terms of the relationships that define its members, and that such an approach enables us to define the social relationships that take place in a particular place and time.[8] Most importantly, I want to emphasize the importance of additional anthropological studies among different societies in Ethiopia, since various practices have still not been sufficiently examined, as Dutch anthropologist Jon Abbink notes.[9] In this light, this thesis describes and analyzes the society

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[6] It is well understood in recent years that adequate research has not been recorded about the societies in the southern province of Ethiopia, including the Hadiya (Abbink 2000). Therefore, it is very important that adequate research should be conducted to close such a gap. My research aims to play such a role.

[7] Andrzejewski (1978) has argued that for many Cushitic cultures, such as the Hadiya, no published information exists at all except a few articles on their oral literature. Today, this reality prevails: it was also hardly possible for me to find written materials on different aspects of the society while conducting the current research.

[8] For instance, Barraud and Platenkamp (1990) have critically argued: "societies should be studied as wholes, and a comparative analysis of several societies requires that their elements be understood in terms of the particular place they occupy in each of them. Each society is ordered by the values it assigns to all social facts (its social morphology, its representations and actions); this order constitutes its system of ideas and values" (1990:104).

[9] Abbink (2000) has argued that Ethiopia is a country that can be understood in terms of the existence of the multi-society state, where many of its societies share similar cultural traditions and have

under study based on the elements that the Hadiya consider to be crucial. This will assist one in learning the ways the people conceptualize being Hadiya in comparison with the neighboring societies such as Alaba, Gurage, Kambata, Oromo, Wolaita, Silte, and Yem. Having this in mind, this study has focused on the ways the Hadiya describe their sense of identity, and how that identity has been constituted and performed through rituals.

The data gathered during several months of fieldwork from the year 2015 to 2017 includes, but is not limited to: social structure, kinship, village activities, life cycle, religious and agricultural rituals, and economic activities. The data has primarily indicated the core ideas, values and village philosophy of the people. To acquire the data, I employed in-depth interviews, communication with the people in different villages, personal observation, and participation within the day to day activities of the village people. Such efforts have helped me to better understand why they do what they have been doing. For instance, the rituals performed under certain conditions are ways for the villagers to build relationships among themselves.

As a member of the society under study — having participated in its rituals — I do not share the topical distance of most other anthropological studies of societies elsewhere. At the same time, efforts were done to make objective analysis of the data gathered. I also assume that the membership in the society has helped me consider the data from a different perspective than that of other anthropologists.

Though I had a prior knowledge about the society in general, it was not possible to maintain trusting relationships in the early stage of my data collection because of the Ethiopian state's political interference in traditional village institutions. Due to this, members of the society wanted to be sure about the nature of the study. Thus, it was not possible at first to get access to the data I was looking for. After learning this, I decided to employ a different stratagem. I spent a few weeks among the village people without asking them direct questions.

maintained group relations over the years, yet on the other hand are not prominent in the international academic discourse.

At times of engaging in dialogue during this period, I also decided not to ask the villagers' full names and not to carry my field notebook. In this stage, no capturing of pictures or audio taping either. With such a process it was possible to make some friends within the village, who have assisted me in many ways in the end.

When the village people got adequate information about me indirectly, from the individuals who were closest to me —my whereabouts, purpose, and why I was there— it became easy to access the relevant data. At times, some informants wanted to learn certain matters, so I made my own non-affiliation with any political group clear and also explained the main aim of my research (preserving the socio-cultural practices of the Hadiya society for their future generations). It was particularly helpful when I explained this latter point. When some of the people questioned me, asking "in what way?" I explained: "as you are aware, urbanization is growing so fast in Ethiopia, that once your children adopt new cultures, what you are practicing now has a great chance of being forgotten. Therefore, it should be studied and kept for the future generation." The local government officials also did not put any pressure on me in the process of the data collection, though I was not so sure that conducting this research was the right decision at a time when the political situation was not good in the country in general and among the society in particular. A case in point, in April 2015 there were big political campaigns for the election and in the next month of that year the approach was a bit tense and frightening.

It was evident that members of the Hadiya society have a strong desire for the study of their culture, history, local political structures, and the Hadiya society's relationship with the Ethiopian state. Mostly in the later stage of my research, some of the educated members of the society cooperated by introducing me to the village elders, whom they consider to be the main source of local knowledge. Subsequently, it was easy to acquire relevant data required.[10]

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[10] However, they expressed aversion to discussing matters like atrocities committed against one another, and traditional Hadiya religious followers.

Whenever I wanted to get further information, it was possible to interact with the members of the society under all circumstances. Above all, household members in the village were friendly. Quite often I consumed food in their houses and spent time with them; in this context, it was always easy to access reliable data. At times, when neighborhood villagers came to a household where I was staying, it was always possible to ask them any question. Under various circumstances members of the society—educated individuals in particular—shared the feeling that the Hadiya society's socio-cultural practices have not been recorded and it was argued that this research was a good start.[11]

The employees in the Hadiya Culture and Tourism Office also tried to supplement my research through different means, including an hour-and-a-half in-depth interview with its director, Eshetu Tumiso, concerning the overall nature of the Hadiya culture and different matters among the society. They also have assisted me by directing me to different district administrative offices, especially the offices nearby to Hossana town (the capital of the Hadiya). In addition, since I am an academic staff member of social science faculty at Wachemo University, some of the academic staff attempted to contribute to the research in their own capacity. Such collaborations have helped me to get more relevant data as well.

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[11] Societies in the south of Ethiopia, including the Hadiya, have regret that the past social anthropological practices of their ancestors, life cycle rituals, political and traditional institutions, historical contexts of the lands were not properly recorded (Braukämper 1973). Hence, when they learned that my research was aimed at closing such a gap, feeling of happiness encountered. In addition, in the recent years some attempts have been made to write their own history (for instance, in Amharic: Handamo and Keimiso 2002). In observing a similar situation elsewhere, Bell (2009) argued: "peoples deemed to have no history have become quite sophisticated in their manipulation of the media, politics, and sentiments of technologically dominant nations" (2009: 53-54).

1.2 Methodology

Bell (2009: 41) argued: "social dramas are embodied in ritual, where they have paradigmatic functions that make clear the deepest values of the culture." In light of this, while studying any society one should be aware of the different sets of rituals and ways of its practices. I incorporated this notion while studying the Sadama Marduncho village people of the Hadiya. Conducting fieldwork among the members of the society took me a good number of months: I lived with and participated in the society while performing different types of rituals and activities in two phases: from February 2015 until October 2016 and from February 2017 through July 2017. Throughout these times, I integrated in the society, engaged in their daily activities and—at the same time—observed various village rituals. Observing the rituals of the society under study was also crucial because it has given me the opportunity to "think while the ritual participants act" (Bell 2009: 28).

In so doing, I followed these procedures: i) I got to know individuals who could help me among the village; ii) under many contexts, I introduced myself to the village people, and in such a process I communicated and tried to be part of the village households. While the village people were friendly and welcoming, at times it took some time until we established friendly relationships and they thereby shared the required data I was looking for; iii). when I found it relevant, I interviewed better-informed individuals in the village by using a list of questions; and iv) however, in the early stage of the research I did not emphasize audio recording and taking pictures, as I learned that such attempt makes people not speak freely.

After this initial stage, the research process was less complex, because the particular village, Sadama Marduncho, had been selected for in-depth analysis and the relevant intensive participant observation research method had also been chosen. One of the main reasons for selecting this approach was because I am a native speaker of the Hadiya language. Subsequently, with no need for an interpreter, I have maintained to get the relevant data under the scope of the research. Nevertheless, sometimes the aim of the research was not very clear

for some of the participants in the village. For instance, some educated members of the society discarded the relevance of the present study by arguing: "the Ethiopian people should be studied by considering them as one. Because the people in the country had contacts with the rest of the societies starting as early as the 14th century." In fact, recent scholarship highlighted such historical connections of the Ethiopian societies, including the northern people with the Hadiya society.[12] In the entire fieldwork process I conducted in-depth interviews with a good number of male and female elders, clan leaders, religious leaders, young boys and girls, some members of the Fuga community (marginalized people who live among the society), and with the members of the society who have academic knowledge in general.[13]

Consequently, that enabled me to establish good relationships with the people and allowed me to learn important matters as far as this research is concerned. Moreover, observing gift exchanges—particularly during Hadiya marriage ceremonies—allowed me to understand their social relationships and to notice how gift exchange plays a paramount role within this society. As a general rule, being friendly always helped me to get any data I was looking for. Dialogue and in-depth interviews were key in all processes of the data collection. I also attempted to examine historical materials in the form of mail exchanges between the previous Ethiopian emperors and local governors, but I failed to access them because it did not exist in

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[12] Ayenachew (2011) has argued that the Ethiopian royal court expansion towards the south had started as early as 1316, by the time the kingdom of the Hadiya had been incorporated under the leadership of king Amde Tsion (1314-44) of northern Ethiopia (Ullendorf 1977). However, the king Amano of the Hadiya had fought fiercely resisting an attempt to be outside the domain of the king Amde Tsion. Amidst such a struggle, the brother of Amde Tsion (king Zara Yacob 1434-68) made a marital alliance with the lady of the locally notable man of the Hadiya society. After the marriage to Zara Yacob, was initiated she was named Queen Elleni Mohammed. In recent years, a referral hospital in the capital of the Hadiya society was named after her because of her significant contribution, in particular played significant role within her husband's administration likewise other Hadiya personalities (Amharic: Handamo and Keimiso 2002).

[13] Members of the marginalized people among the society (cp. Pankhurst 1999).

the archives I have checked. Written records of the Hadiya people—their clans, village traditional institutions and their material cultures—are lacking. However, a sizable museum in Hossana has a collection of material culture displayed, though it does not include written records. The director of the museum, Melese Gebure, explained at length the usage and purpose of each material. I also spent time with him, discussing matters regarding the Hadiya culture and social practices. He has provided me with copies of unpublished hand-written materials, which capture some aspects of this society.[14]

An analysis of local government records relating to detailed matters of administration, political structures and practices, local government economic plans in different districts, and the historical assessment of the society are beyond the scope of this study. Rather, my aim has been to carry out a social anthropological analysis of the Hadiya in southern Ethiopia; the general focus of the fieldwork was on six districts.[15] However, this general focus did not pave the way for definite information in more of a systematic perspective. Thus, I conducted the detailed ethnographic data collection from a single village, Sadama Marduncho of the Lemo district. Moreover, the analysis of the Hadiya social relations was emphasized. In addition, I tried to incorporate personal experiences, since I have grown up within the socio-cultural practices of the Hadiya society since childhood. This approach stands in contrast to the more traditional perspective that many anthropologists have employed when studying other peoples and cultures.

One of the main reasons for conducting this research was because publications on social anthropological studies of the Hadiya have been lacking. In light of this, academic research was found to be relevant and many academics—in particular those from the newly-established Wachemo University in the Hadiya capital—are keen to undertake research on the people.

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[14] My attempts to access other forms of written documents, was not successful because organized documentation is lacking.

[15] (cf. pp. 1)

However, there are pertinent matters that need to be clear about the Hadiya, namely the understanding of the Hadiya society's social structure, lifecycle rituals, agricultural rituals, and village economic activities. Therefore, attempts like this may close a major research gap.

In general, this research may be of help for understanding the Hadiya, despite the fact that a good number of people argue that it is less relevant to conduct social anthropological studies, particularly some of the opposition political figures. They suggest that a realization of strong self-identity may bring differences within and among the neighboring people. The main source of their argument drives from the bad lessons of the current ethnic-based administrations and political movements in the country.[16] It was argued that ethnicity has been the main source of bad political discourse and source of conflicts. Regardless of their concerns, the need for doing this research is to alleviate the misunderstanding of the multifaceted issues of the Hadiya and to assist contemporary researchers in better assessing the society.

In doing so, the research offers a different approach to religious groups, such as Christians and Muslims, who have attacked the traditional religion of the Hadiya society (*Fandaanano).* Due to misconceptions about the latter's religion, there have been strong negative notions about the Hadiya religion by the former groups. Thus, it is on the verge of disappearing. Therefore, this study highlights that the impact of the traditional religion over the overall cosmological order, as articulated during different Hadiya practices, is something that should be given an important emphasis, as the Hadiya society's traditional religion is equally as important as any other world religion. Recent scholarship, which examines the very early days of religious expansion (Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity towards the south), has also become a problematic source for understanding Ethiopian society. In this light, a better

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[16] Young (1998: 194) has argued that the opposition groups and many of the country's intellectuals held ambivalent views towards the current government's reassurance to the different societies in the country, considering it to be divisive. But the Ethiopian government implemented it assuming that this was the only mechanism to create a just society and to transition to a democratic state.

examination of the *Fandaanano* is equally important to the understanding Hadiya and to shedding light on our previous misconceptions.

1.3 The Sources

In general, well-studied anthropological research has been rare for the Hadiya society, except for the work of German cultural anthropologist Ulrich Braukämper, who conducted ethnographic research during the 1970s entitled *A History of the Hadiyya in Southern Ethiopia* (1980; English in 2012). He has mainly dealt with the history of the society by conducting in-depth interviews with elderly Cushitic-language speakers.[17] However, he did not analyze the conceptual belief of the society about their ancestors, or their lands and the rituals enacted on them. These rituals are crucial to understanding the Hadiya society in the same sense that the understanding of the ritual practices of many societies elsewhere helps us to know them better; rituals have become the "universal category of human experience" (Bell 2009: 14).[18] In this context, assessing that aspect is very important for understanding the society. Subsequently this study uses that framework as a point of departure for analyzing the Hadiya society.[19]

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[17] It is not only social anthropological studies that have been lacking in the scholarship of the Hadiya society, but also other aspects. For instance, the studies on Cushitic languages are not known to the theoretical linguists (Sim 1989). Therefore, scholars who have engaged in the studies of such a field encounter similar problems, as became very evident during the research for this project. In fact, comparing with other social science studies of the Hadiya, there are some literature found on the society's language studies, for instance (Arficio 1972; Bender 1971; Handamo 2009; Hudson 1976; Sim 1988,1989; Lamberti 1991).

[18] "The notion of ritual first emerged as a formal term of analysis in the nineteenth century to identify what was believed to be a universal category of human experience. The term expressed, therefore, the beginnings of a major shift in the way European culture compared itself to other cultures and religions" (Bell 2009: 14).

[19] "Although ritual has been perceived in very different ways since the beginnings of the social sciences, it has consistently been a fundamental focus for invoking major issues" (ibid.: 2009: 54).

Braukämper attempted to cover the pertinent elements of this society, as opposed to other researchers, who dealt only with particular matters such as language use.[20] However, his understanding of the society should be understood as his own interpretation[21], since every writer has his own personal views on different matters, as Lévi-Strauss (1978) argued:

> I [do not] pretend at all that, because I think that way, I am entitled to conclude that mankind thinks that way too. But I believe that, for each scholar and each writer, the particular way he or she thinks and writes opens a new outlook on mankind. And the fact that I personally have this idiosyncrasy perhaps entitles me to point to something which is valid, while the way in which my colleagues think opens different outlooks, all of which are equally valid (1978: 4).

With this context in mind, I do not try to over-assess the research findings of Braukämper, but acknowledge that I should be aware of his understanding of the society, and how precisely it differs from my present analysis and interpretation.

Various theories and approaches can be employed in studying a society particularly in the analysis of rituals, as Bell (2009) argued: "ritual can be conducted in variety of ways: through indigenous forms of emic criticism, etic forms by scholars or foreign critics, and even criticism of one religious tradition by another" (2009: 40). In this light, Braukämper's is "etic" analysis (as an outsider) and mine is "emic" understanding of the society under study (as an insider). Nevertheless, I have taken quite some time to re-read the book and engage with other written sources as well as with the present fieldwork data. Moreover, my attempt is also to fill the gaps which were suggested by Braukämper as well.[22] In addition, I took into consideration

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[20] (cp. Cohen 2000).

[21] " … polarized distinctions … [are] inevitable in the process of analysis or interpretation" (Bell 2009: 48).

[22] Disappearing socio-cultural practices and other aspects of the Hadiya should be recorded more importantly by the members of the society themselves (Braukämper 1973). Such a critical suggestion was of help for conducting the recent research.

the gaps pointed out on the social science studies of Ethiopia in general by Jon Abbink, one of the experts on Ethiopia.[23]

During the past few decades, some academics have critically argued that Ethiopia has become an "ethnic museum" due to the existence of the various societies in the country. For instance, in the late 1970s, George Lipsky (1967) critically argued that the Ethiopian state is home for many societies who possess their own identity which is "manifested in physical appearance, dressing [style], customs and traditions, diverse sources of self-identification and loyalty." Moreover, these societies speak more than 80 languages and also follow different religions. In such a context, if every society's identity prevails and develops in its own way, it is good. To facilitate that, the Ethiopian state should protect each in its own way without giving more power to the groups that have more members. In addition, societies themselves should also respect and accommodate one another.
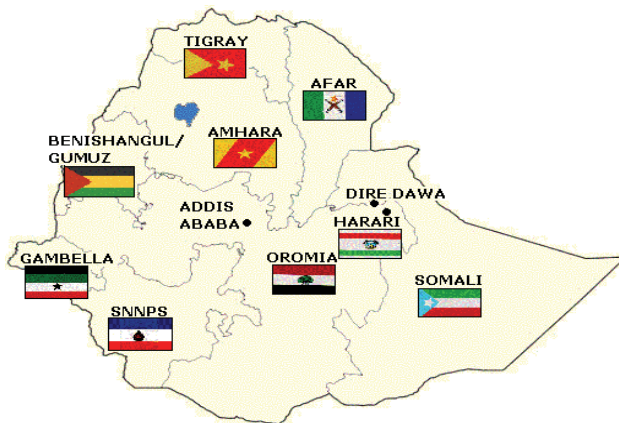
map 1: political map of Ethiopia [24]

In fact, a similar notion has been dominant in the past three decades within the political discourse of the Ethiopian state. To this end, the government has given significant attention to the differences among the societies. However, the state has exploited the traditional institutions

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[23] Socio-cultural studies on Ethiopian societies is not well-known to many academics in the international "discourse," in particular that on the southern province (Abbink 2000).

[24](Source:http://www.mfa.gov.et/Home/TemplateI_Eng?PageName=Profile&TYPE=About%20Ethiopia&SUBTYPE=About%20Ethiopia&Language=English).

of some societies, including the Hadiya, for its own political end with less care for the ''beliefs and rites''[25] of the village people.

More importantly it is an effort to study and document rituals of the Hadiya which is more relevant. Thereby the ritual practices of the society offer a better understanding. As such rituals are very crucial as (Bell 2009) argued:

> Ritual is a type of critical juncture wherein some pair of opposing social or cultural forces comes together. Examples include the ritual integration of belief and behavior, tradition and change, order and chaos, the individual and the group, subjectivity and objectivity, nature and culture, the real and the imaginative ideal. Whether it is defined in terms of features of 'enthusiasm' (fostering groupism) or 'formalism' (fostering the repetition of the traditional), ritual is consistently depicted as a mechanistically discrete and paradigmatic means of socio-cultural integration, appropriation, or transformation. Given the variety of theoretical objectives and methods, such consistency is surprising and interesting (2009: 16).

In fact, it is in light of the above argument that the present study has also given adequate emphasis for the assessment of Hadiya rituals.

Among Ethiopian scholars, social, political, and cultural analysis has been less adequate in their scholarship about the society under study. For instance, Lapisso Dilebo (1979, 2002) has highlighted some of the social aspects of the Hadiya society in his studies from the time of Emperor Menelik II's national unification of Ethiopia. He pointed out that the emperor made territorial expansions towards southern Ethiopia during his reign, and imposed his way of life on the people of that region. However, Dilebo did not give further information about what social transformation occurred as a result of that. He has also did not assess the importance of the different cultural practices that existed among the Hadiya, such as the house, the ancestors and lands, which are the main aspects of the present study. Therefore, I argue that these unstudied

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[25] "In debates about the relationship of myths (or beliefs) and rites, ritual was used to elucidate the social existence and influence of religious ideas" (Bell 2009: 14).

concepts of the society are its vital socio-cultural elements, and analysis is crucial for understanding the human experiences in southern Ethiopia. I also acknowledge the fact that any society's way of life is prone to radical changes due to the dynamic nature of social and cultural practices, as is the case elsewhere. In this regard, the Hadiya society has undergone different phases of change, in different perspectives of its members' lives, which have resulted in different forms of socio-cultural change and forms of discourse[26].

Taking this into consideration, attempts were done to give particular attention to the various socio-cultural changes within the Hadiya. In this process I have also drawn from my own life experiences [27], as anthropologists have argued: "anthropology is not the mindless collection of the exotic but the use of cultural richness for self-reflection and self-growth" (Bell 2009: 5: *quoting Marcus and Fischer, p. xi-x*).

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[26] "Ultimately, the discourse is a function of meaning and meaning a function of the discourse" (Bell 2009: 52).

[27] In particular my grandmother, Lalage Gudaro, who passed away in July 2009 at the age of 116 years was the source of my in-depth understanding of the Hadiya society.

Chapter 2: Social Structure

2.1 Introduction

Radcliffe-Brown (1969) used the term 'social structure' to denote the situation whereby human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. In addition, Firth (1958) defined the term: "the social structure of a particular community includes different types of groups which the people form and the institutions in which they take part." As such understanding the ways in which people form a social structure helps us to learn more about a society in a specific place and time. It is in view of this that the present chapter is aimed at analyzing social structures and relations in the Sadama Marduncho village households of the Hadiya society. These social structures and relations include the Hadiya society's territorial structure, kinship (Barnard and Good 1984; Goody 1973), land ownership, composition of household (Lévi-Strauss 1969), political and religious institutions (Balandier 1970), and marriage and inheritance system, all crucial elements help us to understand culture (Benedict 1968) of the village households as explained below.

2.2 Territorial Structure of the Hadiya Society

2.2.1 The Extent of the Hadiya Lands

The Hadiya sub-province (*zoona*)[28] is located in the south province of Ethiopia with a population above 1.2 million, 4th in the southern province of the country.[29] Hossana town, the capital of the society is 230 km from the nation's capital Addis Ababa. The society is bordered by the Gurage in the North, the Wolaita in the south, the Selti and the Alaba in the east and the

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[28] Unless indicated otherwise all indigenous words are Hadiyisa (the language of Hadiya).

[29] The four populous societies in the south province according to their ascending order are the Sidama, the Wolaita, the Gurage, and the Hadiya (Ethiopian Statics Agency 2007). The south region has the biggest number of ethnic groups in the country and sometimes it is considered as a challenge to form stable and democratic society (Abbink 1998).

Yem and Oromia in the west (cf. map 2). In addition, the Kambata society live in the south center of the Hadiya with its own separate administrative center.
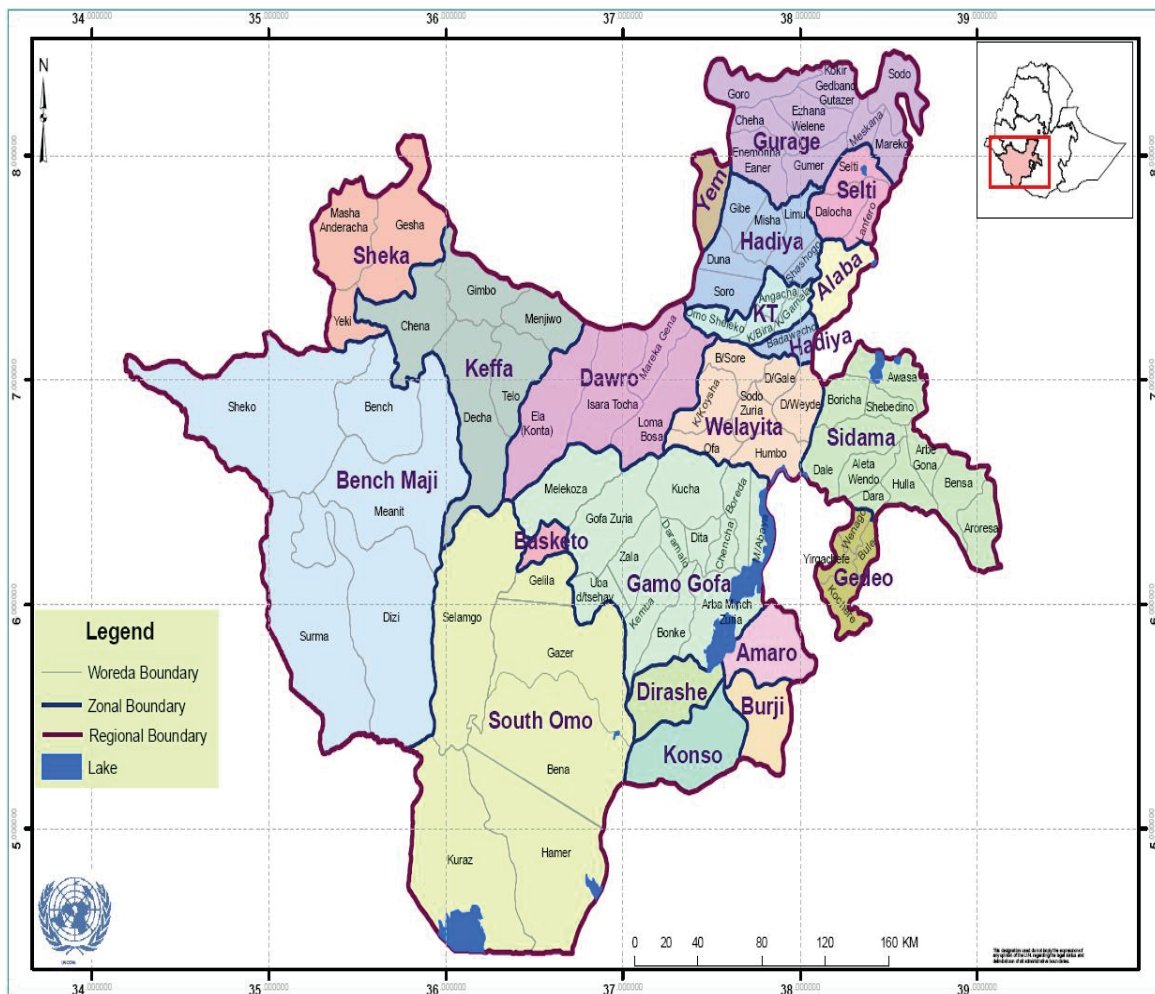
map 2: Political map of south province (on the map KT represents Kambata people)[30]

The absolute areal coverage of the present Hadiya society's land is not known. But the sub-province is divided into ten districts (*worada*) and has one city administration (*beero gasso*). The districts are called: Soro, Lemo, Shashogo, Anna Lemo, Misha, Gombora, Gibe, Duna, Mirab Badawacho and Miserak Badawacho.[31]

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[30] (*source: http://www.ethiodemographyandhealth.org/SNNPR.html*).

[31] The Misrak and Mirab Badewacho districts are separated from the rest of the society's districts because of the existence of the Kambata society in between. However, both districts have maintained similar cultural practices and they also speak the same Hadiya language (Cohen 2000).

2.2.2 The Village Land and Hadiya Sub-Province from an Historical Perspective

During the time of Emperor Haile Selassie I (1929-74), the village land was owned by the land owners (*balabaata*). In this system the individual household lands were controlled by the *balabaata*. More than 6 *balabaata* have divided the entire village land among themselves. However, the village households could still construct their houses and live in the land. Subsequently, every sub village was called after the individual landlord's personal name. However, the *balabaata* did not live among the society's people because they were based in small town centers elsewhere (absentee land ownership). Thus, they monitored the lands through some representatives of the village household heads.

During this time ¾ of Sadama Marduncho village land was uncultivated and communities looked after their animals in addition to conducting smaller agricultural activities. The landlord visited on average once a month. During the landlord's visit every household was expected to be ready to offer butter, cheese or honey. In order to be prepared the sub village representative was required to pass on a message warning households of the landlord's visit. In addition to being required to provide hospitality, any animal which the landlord wanted to take from the household could not be refused. In such instances, the animal was to be transported to the residential place of the landlord for their meat consumption.

It was such an oppressive situation that led the Sadama Marduncho village households to uphold negative views about the imperial regime of the emperor Haile Selassie I. Since different societies shared the same feelings throughout the country, it contributed to the downfall of the imperial regime.[32] Afterwards, Colonel Mengistu's regime (1974-91) used the land issue as the centre of his political creed: "land to the tiller" (*uul abuulaanchinaa*). This

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[32] In the years before emperor Haile Selassie I, the exploitation of the peasants was severe; however, they were not successful in organizing themselves to abolish it (Addise 2007). As a result, the economic exploitation continued until the kingship was abolished in 1974 (Addise 2008; Schack 1999).

strategy contributed significantly to getting nationwide support at an early stage of the political campaign that helped him come to power.

In the 17 years of Colonel Mengistu's political administration village households used their lands more freely than in the previous imperial regime. Therefore, despite the political dictatorship of Colonel Mengistu's regime, the Sadama Marduncho village people had the privilege to use their lands, their animals and their agricultural productions for their own use, without direct state control over their lands. Historically, while the sub-province villages acquired administrative names after 1991,[33] from 1974 to 1991 the current Hadiya sub-province was under one administrative unit called Kambata-Hadiya sub-province. When the two societies acquired their own independent sub-provinces, the villages (*qaballe*) were named after local rivers, mountains, or events which transpired in those places. The names of some villages (*qaballe*) have also been altered, justified by potential association with derogatory words. For instance, a district called '*moor suuto*' was altered to 'misha'. It was argued that the meaning of the previous name was understood in terms of 'bitter place' because of the severe conflicts among the village people a century ago.

Furthermore, the political situation of the government of Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam's regime (1974-1991) is not something that the village society remembers with positivity.[34] Mengistu's government was Marxist, commonly known as the *Derg*. Colonel Mengistu ruled the nation for about seventeen years until he was overthrown by the Tigrean People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in 1991. Colonel Mengistu led the country without re-

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[33] The political structure of the country was changed in many ways after Colonel Mengistu's regime (Allen 1993) to facilitate the democratic process in Ethiopia (Pausewang and Zewde 2006). This was done through formulating a new parliament structure (Rock 1996).

[34] Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam came into power by overthrowing the Emperor Haile Selassie I, in 1974. Subsequently, the kingship of the emperor was abolished and that has brought transformation into the pre-existing structure. Such a similar transformation was also common among other societies who lived geographically in distant lands. For instance (cf. Platenkamp 2010a: 205).

structuring the previous provinces, and only introducing sub-provinces. For instance, the Sidamo province split up into smaller sub-provinces. Subsequently, the Hadiya received a new sub-province, Kambata-Hadiya province (*Kambata-Hadiya gasso*). This sub province was governed by a locally prominent governor named Petros Gebure, who many of the older generation remember today. In fact, they even fear calling out his name aloud due to his brutality towards their people.

The punishments he used to inflict upon his victims, and which elder men and women still remember today, was summed-up by one respondent:

> If he wanted to know if a doctor was properly treating patients he would go to a hospital in shabby clothes. He observed how the nurses and doctors reacted. Sometimes he [pretended] to get treatment. If he learned that what they were doing was not okay, he would pull out his gun and beat them to death. He did the same thing in every sector: in food stores, in deep villages where people looked after their cows, while [they're] working on their farms, in schools and the like. Because of this, he was known nation-wide as a brutal local leader.[35]

In addition, during Emperor Haile Selassie I's reign (1929-1974), the country was divided into 13 provinces. Each province was led by a governor who exerted authority over the locals by means of assigning certain individuals to the title landlord (*balabaata*). That decision, however, also resulted in land alienation (dispossession) from the locals (Markakis 1974; Dilebo 2002). It was also during Haile Selassie's leadership that the presence of Italian occupying forces towards the southern part of the country signaled some success regarding European attempts to bring social transformation in governance, modern education and an expansion of European Christianity, particularly Catholicism, to Ethiopian society. Italian occupying forces built a good number of church schools and various parishes within Hadiya society.[36] Until today there

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[35] This was a common experience which a good number of elder men and women uncovered throughout the in-depth interviews.

[36] Because of such social transformation the society has accepted the Italian occupation without discontent (Braukämper 2011).

are several Catholic churches and schools in the region, which are quite well received by the society's people, primarily due to the schools offering a quality education. For instance, during this research, some educated members of the society shared their own personal experiences, shoring up positive perceptions of Catholicism with their own experience in Catholic schools, some even lauding the faith. For instance, one respondent states: "If the mandate of education is handed over to the hands of Catholics in today's Ethiopia, including the higher institutions, it would be very easy to regain the quality of education which has been dwindling so far—for which we are unhappy about."[37]

2.2.3 The Village Land Ownership at Present

Throughout the Sadama Marduncho village there are four types of land: household land, village communal land, state owned land and church owned land.

2.2.3.1 The Household land

This type of land is under the guardianship of the head of the household. The land ownership title is also under the head of the household. This is quite evident in the social relations of the village. For instance, the following is a common expression evoked on daily basis in the village: members of the community will order the boys who keep the household animals to "take the cows from here. Look after them in the communal land next to the land of Mr. Mishamo" (*laleewa Abaach* Mishaamo *uula massita alaare*).

Moreover, at times of boundary conflicts, only male members of the village come together to solve the dispute. In the process of negotiating disputes the responsible elder man passes on the word by saying: "let us meet in the land of Mr. Shaanko and Mr. Mooloro" (*Abaach Shaankoo Abaach Moolor uulane etinonna*) to solve a boundary conflict between the

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[37] This notion was expressed by educated members of the society: some are working in government offices, some in universities and others in different organizations throughout the Hadiya sub-province and beyond.

two households. Female members of the society do not come to the village meetings associated with solving land matters, and land distribution among the household children excludes female members of the society.[38]

Concerning the size of holdings, the head of every household possesses on average two hectares of land. The land is allocated for different purposes. On average seventy five percent of the land is for the purpose of growing crops, twenty five percent for the purpose of constructing houses and to leave some free space for the purpose of council meetings, planting vegetables and *weesa* in the backyard of the houses.

Any products gained from the land and animals belongs to the members of the individual household. It is the man who makes the ultimate decision on matters concerning use of the household property, but in consultation with his wife and children.

When sons and daughters are ready for marriage, a separate house (s) is constructed for the males; however, the females are offered movable properties on the day of their marriage. Since the head of the household is the guardian of the land, he regularly visits the entire land and prays to his ancestors, who are real owners, during the day times. Quite often his words are not heard by others because he does the prayer by whispering the words. In general, he repeats the following expressions:

> The deity of our ancestors be blessed for giving me the land and all the resources (*Niyano Waa uula dachee ewutit bikinna ki sum galaxamona*)
> Our ancestors protect my family and my properties (*Niyanoo abaroosa heecha egalehe*)
> May the evil spirit not visit my family and properties (*abaroosaa heechcha joor moone*)
> My ancestors always bring me good luck and good health (*Niyanoo hund amanem mishiraachchaa fayaooma uwehe*)

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[38] Since the early times the land has been owned by clan leaders and divided among their sons. The size of the land had a direct correlation with who was the strongest, or who had the sons who were able to cultivate and own both animals and bigger size of land.

2.2.3.2 The Village Communal Land

This type of land belongs to the entire village community. It is also named after specific places throughout the Sadama Marduncho village. The village communal land serves for keeping animals, includes pond water, serves as playing grounds for the purpose of cultural sports, and includes ground used for the purpose of a communal graveyard. The river of the village community is also part of the communal land, and the small bushes and hills also serve to look after the goats and sheep of the village households.

In terms of usage there is no restriction imposed on the individual household by the village leaders as to how many animals every household may send to the communal land, and so every household assigns their boys to keep their animals according to their own capacity.[39]

2.2.3.3 Church Owned Land

The different religious groups own lands in the Sadama Marduncho village. These religious groups are the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestants, and the Ethiopian Orthdodox. The primary purpose of their land ownership is for the construction of churches. Subsequently, the Catholics have a church compound which covers above 10 hectares of land (estimation). Within this compound, they have built a church, a living house for priests and nuns, guest houses, a junior secondary school, a kindergarten, a place for the burial of active Catholic members, an agricultural field, a space to access pond water for the neighboring community and a garden to plant vegetables.

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[39] In the recent past they used to look after their individual animals turn by turn. For instance, seven household engage as one group and each household looks after the entire cows once in a week. This was the trend 15 years back when most of their land was covered by a lot of grasses and were not divided among the individuals. However, in the recent years this is no longer the case since most of the land is divided among the children of the households because the population has grown very fast comparing with number before the Millennium.

In addition, the Catholic church has on average a quarter hectare of lands in every sub village of the Sadama Marduncho village, where the sub village members have constructed medium traditional houses to gather in for the purpose of religious activity. The Catholic members in these villages have formed age and gender categorized groupings: heads of the household group, the women's group, the youth group (m. and f.) and the children's group (m. and f.). In this sense these sub village churches serve as branches to the central church.

Moreover, the Protestants have a church in the Sadama Marduncho village. Compared to the Catholics' compound, the compound of the Protestant church is smaller in size. Primarily the Protestants use their church compound for two purposes. Part of the land, where a house is constructed, is used for the purpose of worship, and the remaining is used for the purpose of agricultural activities. The Protestants in Sadama Marduncho village have neither schools, residential villas for their pastors, nor any other facilities. Similarly, the Ethiopian Orthodox church in the Sadama Marduncho village has only a church compound, which serves as a place of worship. Neither the Protestant nor the Ethiopian Orthodox religious groups have branch churches in the sub-villages, or a place to serve as a graveyard for their members.

2.2.3.4 State Owned Land

The state ownership of the land in the Sadama Marduncho is understood in two ways. The first one is as the administrative compound of the government, the village market centre, the land surrounding the market and the health facility centre. All these pieces of land are understood to directly belong to the local government. However, in addition, the entire village lands of the Sadama Marduncho indirectly belongs to the state as well. Ownership is stipulated in the current Ethiopian government land regulation policy, which dictates that all the land belongs to the Ethiopian state. It is the state that imposes annual taxes on the household lands, and during times of need it is the state that gives away some portions of the communal land to

both individuals and organizations. In this manner, the church lands were also given by the state.

Furthermore, the state can easily remove households from their ancestral lands. For instance, since the year 2000 the village administrative office has removed more than four households to build a health center and a new administrative office. It is the state that has registered the sizes of the household lands in the village and granted them the temporary title. In the land ownership registrations, the village political administrative office has adopted the customary law of the society. In other words, every household land is registered in the name of the household head. This means that the rest of the household members do not have direct ownership of the land. In-fact the male head of the household is a guardian on behalf of his family of ancestral land.

The title does not guarantee the head of the households to sell or hand over the land to a third person because the land proclamation prohibits it. Therefore, the land transfer is only possible under two circumstances: either transferring it to one's own children through the traditional means or offering land to someone as a gift. By using the latter option some of the household heads sell portions of their lands to third parties at times of their financial need.[40]

2.2.4 The Hadiya Towns and Villages

Each district among the Hadiya society has an administrative centre (*worada beero*). In this regard, there are ten administrative centres governed by officers who are recruited by the Hadiya sub-province central office based in Hossana town. The leaders of the districts are required to report their work details to the central office. In this manner, the district towns are equipped with basic administrative structures and on average every district has above 350

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[40] It is through this means that some of the households acquired cash money to support their male children who wanted to emigrate to South Africa.

employees. These offices are responsible for the finance, the education, the district police, the environmental protection and the office for land administration.

The district towns are inhabited on average by 5,000 people. The town centres have basic necessities, including access to electricity, elementary banks, shops for clothing and commodities, local restaurants, and a market where the district communities conduct their commodity exchange once a week.

Districts have various villages (*qaballe*). On average there are 40 villages in every district. These villages are governed by individuals nominated by the district office. The village leaders (*qaballe danuwa*) are based in a village office (*qaballe kitaaphph mine*). They are responsible for overseeing the activity of the village households. On average, there are 600 households in each village of the Hadiya districts.[41]

In general, the individual villages have a village market centre, an administrative office, religious institutions, a school and indigenous institutions.
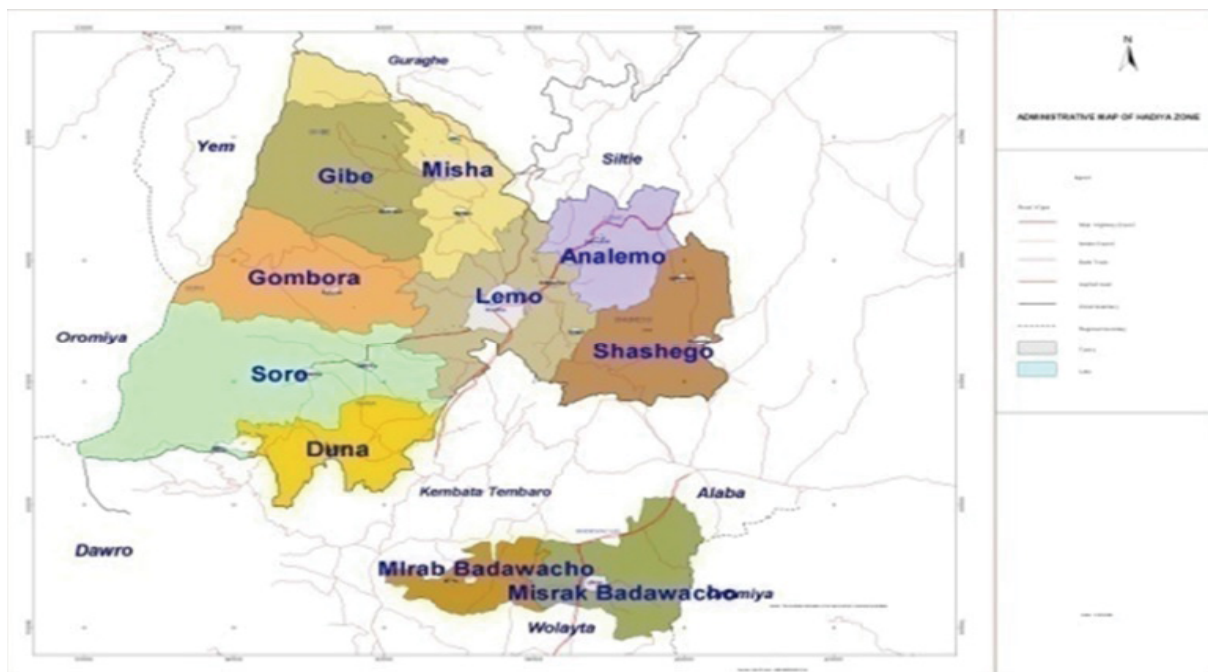
map 3: Hadiya sub-province administrative map[42]

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[41] The figures highlighted above are estimates. The data was based on the population data gathered from the district administrative offices throughout the Hadiya sub-province during this research.

[42] This map is still under construction and it is inadequate to provide proper scales (source: Journal of Medicinal Plants Studies Vol. 2 (2) 2014 ; http://www.plantsjournal.com).

2.2.5 The Hadiya Demographic Figures

As highlighted above, the Hadiya society counts above 1.2 million (Ethiopian Statistics Agency 2007).[43] However, this number does not include the members of the society who live among the neighboring Ethiopian societies and elsewhere. Thus, any elaboration of the society under study is limited to the framework of the people living within the present Hadiya sub-province.[44]

Moreover, the Hadiya is one of the densely populated areas in the south province. This is because the members of the society have a high fertility rate. For instance, during this research an average of 5 children in each household in Sadama Marduncho village were counted. The households depend primarily on *weesa* to sustain the food demands of their children. It is the existence of the *weesa* that initiated the society's people not to pay attention to the campaigns which encouraged them to have a smaller number of children[45] because the *weesa* helped them to get adequate food production for their households.[46]

In addition, the members of the society perceive a large family as a source of happiness and wealth, which is contrary to the conception of modern societies. It is for this reason that the

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[43] Hadiya is one of the 56 societies in the south province of the country (Habtamu 2010).

[44] Some of my informants have argued that limiting the administrative boundary of the Hadiya society in its current form was a mistake but it was the plan of the country's political elite. In support of this argument, Abbink (2000) has also argued that the establishment of recent administrative structures in Ethiopia was to have a selective hold on politics and economics of the societies and thereby the central government easily controls the overall system of the country.

[45] Primarily, the Hadiya sub-province experiences two main seasons: summer (*hagaye*) and winter (*bille*). During the summer the Hadiya land receives rainfall ranging between 469.98 and 156.66 mm particularly from the months of June to August. In winter the maximum annual temperature is 22.54 0c and mean minimum temperature is 10.35 0c. The general climate type in this sub-province is a mild tropical highland (Agisho et al., 2014).

[46] *Weesa* is a drought resistant plant which offers a good amount of production for the Hadiya farmers (Dohrmann 2004; Paveri 2015). The Hadiya women prepare different types of food out of the *weesa* production (Ergogo 2008).

parents feel upset when international NGOs and Christian religious organizations attempt to educate them on how to reduce their fertility rate.

Beliefs about a child's needs among the society and the modern way of thinking differs. It is not the household head's utmost concern to offer modern material necessities to their children. Within this context, some of the household heads interviewed have argued that they let children grow as the children consume what they have at their disposal. The parents also strongly believe that even in the case of extreme poverty their ancestors' deity (*anno Waa*) will take care of their problems. There is therefore less need to think a lot about what to feed and how to care for their children's future. That is why members of the society seem reluctant to listen to education propagated mainly by the Western Christian organizations and NGOs which have been functional throughout the Hadiya sub-province.

Furthermore, there are a significant number of other Ethiopians living among the Hadiya society. For instance, some of the members of the people who were encountered during fieldwork, who related their origin, include: Amhara, Oromo, Gurage, Silte, Kambata, Wolaita and others. Most, however, have already adopted the native language and culture, and sometimes identified themselves as Hadiya. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that these respondents only truly revealed their origin when they were directly asked (as it is otherwise considered "intrusive") for purposes such as this study.

A village comprises on average 600 households (av.5 persons). In every village there is also a small market center where villagers conduct commodity exchange and trading activities once a week. For instance, the marketing centre in Sadama Marduncho village occupies 1000 square meters.[47]

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[47] The marginalized community who live among them are also part of this village setting. This community make a significant contribution by providing household cooking objects made of clay. However, their status has been maintained as low among the societies they live in. For instance, Gebreselassie (2003) has argued: 'Fuga craftsmen have played important roles in the maintenance and

Moreover, the Hadiya capital city administration alone has 10 sub-towns of which each possesses on average 800 households. Until the 1970s the villages in the districts have been occupied by men who trace their genealogy to the same patrilineal ancestor; however, they have also welcomed their distant relatives, the children of their sisters (*land ooso*), and other groups who belong to other societies in the country. Despite this trend, in each village large numbers of the inhabitants still trace their genealogies to the same Hadiya ancestor while only a few will trace them to different villages.

Before the 1880s most of the village land was not cultivated, therefore the population used to depend on cattle herding and pastoralism. At this time there were adequate uncultivated fields, forests and bushes where villagers looked after many household animals—mainly cows, bulls and goats. Moreover, in the recent years mobile traders who engaged in smaller businesses in the villages and district town markets live together with the village communities. They use either donkeys, horses or mules as a means of transportation; however, individuals who could not afford to buy these animals carry their merchandise items on their back (women) and forehead (men). The main items of merchandise are clothing, local food ingredients and basic industrial products for local consumption.

Individuals engaged in wholesale businesses live in district towns and in their capital, Hossana. Most of these are mainly members from Hadiya neighboring communities (Gurage and Silte). They normally operate their businesses only in Hossana and in rare cases in the district towns. Other individuals who are living in the towns and Hossana city are individuals who own restaurants, food stores, clinics, pharmatical stores, nurses and individuals who work in a referral hospital and different clinics located in the Hossana town.

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improvement of traditional technology among those with whom they have lived. The Fuga experienced a very low status in society and suffered from harsh treatment at the hands of the majority groups they were serving'' (2003: 34).

2.2.6 Structure of the Hadiya Villages

There are ten districts and one main city administration in the Hadiya sub-province.[48] Each district has a main administrative town governed by an officer. In the district towns the population is on average 5,000. There are on average 40 villages in each district. The district town also serves as the capital of the 40 villages. It is from this centre that all the village households conduct local market activities, look for labour and other activities. The village households also use the district town as a bank to receive money sent by their relatives.

Within this context, the Hadiya sub-province in general is structured in the following ascending order: a household (av. 5 persons), sub-villages (av. 50 households), villages (av.12 sub-villages), districts (av. 40 villages) and the Hadiya sub-province (approximately 400 villages, 10 district towns and 1 capital city).
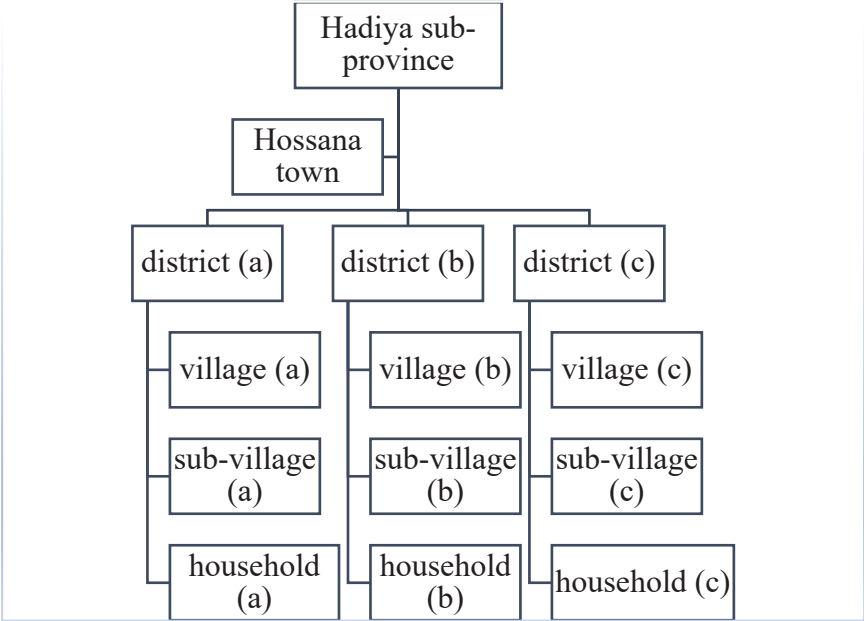
figure 1: the current administrative structure of Hadiya sub-province in descending order. In the above diagram after every 'c' there are more substructures.

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[48] The city administration also serves as the administration centre for one of the districts. The Hossana town is based in one of the districts (Lemo).

The district towns serve as a central place for the village households. The village householders travel a maximum of 6 hours on foot to the market place. They travel on foot because there is hardly any alternative means of modern transportation. Despite the lack of transportation villagers travel without difficulty to the district town to conduct their commodity exchange every week, transporting the exchange items on a donkey's back. In addition, most household members carry items on their own back, shoulder and forehead. There are also daily activities on which every village of the Hadiya sub-province depends, for example cattle keeping (*laro alaarimmma*) by the boys of the village (*laro alaarano*).[49]

In general villages throughout the Hadiya sub-province resemble one another. This resemblance comes from the way the houses are built so that they face the village main roads. The main villages are demarcated by either a river, a road or communal land. Just like other communal properties, the rivers are the communal property of the whole society. Most of these rivers are temporary and cannot survive the dry season. However, a good number of them also run throughout the year. The rivers are surrounded by small bushes, which the society uses communally. It is here that members of the society keep their goats, sheep and cows. The communal lands are also located near the rivers. Individual households may be separated by a main road used for communication and transportation. They then form their own sub-village. Furthermore, the villages are divided into sub villages with minor roads. These smaller roads serve both as a center of communication and a connection route for a village with the other. The following diagram is a sample sub village in Sadama Marduncho village of the Lemo sub-district:

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[49] There are songs dedicated to the boys who keep the cattle. An elder woman recited one of the verses in the following manner: "cattle herders, herders 2x, morning and evening, with less concern for food, you shoulder your duty (*lal alaaranchchoo, alaaranchchoo 2x, dara maaroo, duudam fittaa daaphitohaano.*)"
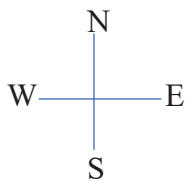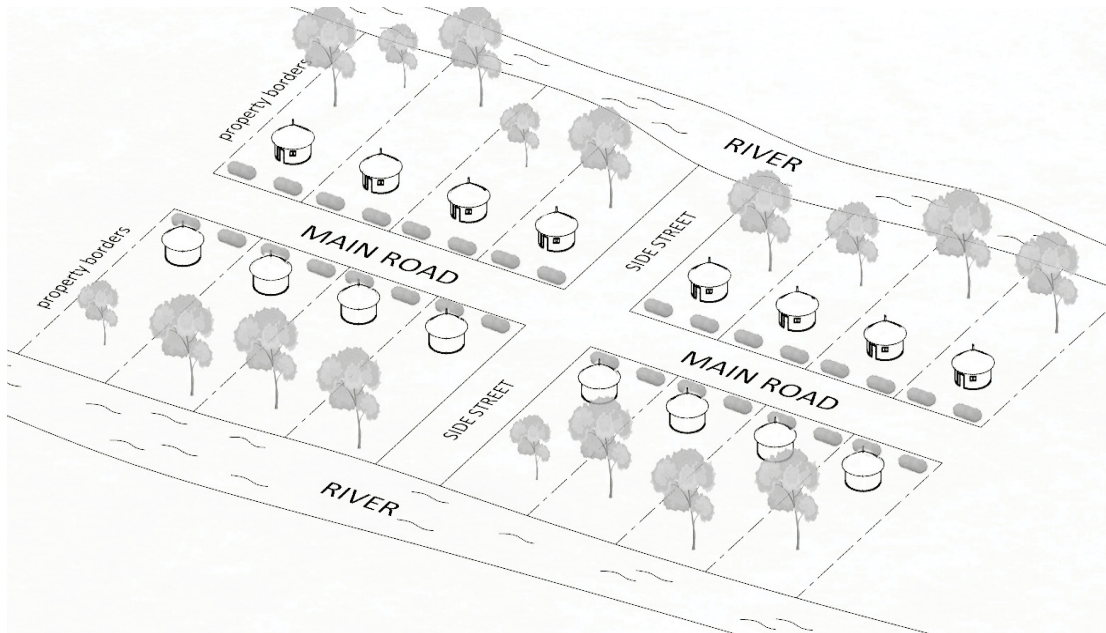
figure 2: a sub-village in Sadama Marduncho village [50]

　　The individual households within the sub villages are demarcated from one another with a separate fence. The fences are made from permanent plants, which are interconnected using *weesa* strings. In this manner a household compound is structured. Three houses are built in an area: two houses side by side and a smaller house behind them. In front of the two houses there is a garden *(nafara)* where shade trees are planted. Behind the houses the *weesa is* planted. On the left and right sides of the houses smaller fences are fixed.

　　There are two types of road inside the sub villages: internal horizontal and side roads and the main roads that are found at every household's ending of the gardern *(nafara)*. The main road serves as a traveling and transportation spot for people who come from distant places. It is by using these roads that the village people access the churches, local administrative centre,

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[50] In the above diagram circled shape objects are houses. The half rectangle shapes in front of the houses to symbolise the gardens of the villagers. The shades at the end of the North and South poles are rivers and the lines between the houses are boundaries.

market centre and school centre. They also use the roads to travel to district towns, adjacent villages and their own capital city. People living in this setting have based their life mainly around agricultural activities and animal keeping.

Agricultural works are conducted by the men of the society using oxen and the hoe. The main type of animals that the households possess are cows, goats and sheep. In this regard, every household has on average 5 cattle.[51] The cattle are kept in a communal land on daily basis.[52] The responsibility for looking after the animals is the task of the young boys as stipulated above. In addition, some of the households take care of their milk cows in their own individual homes. To these milk cows they feed good grass and the roots of the *weesa*.

Moreover, the households in the village engage themselves primarily by doing the following activities on daily basis. For instance, when members of the household wake up in the morning the females prepare the morning meal and coffee, which is then consumed with immediate neighbors. Afterwards the boys take the animals to the communal land, some children go to school, the husband of the household engages in labour activities and the wife and daughters engage in household activities.

The specific way of identifying one sub village from another is by using the term neighborhood (*olla*). Households use this term with the prefix of the ancestor who inhabited

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[51] However, before 30 years, this figure was on average 50 (cp. Bogale and Tamirat 2012). In addition, there were individuals who had over 100 cattle. When the individual has animals of such large number, they conduct a ritual ceremony (*tibima*). In rare cases, some people also used to have over 1,000 cattle— in this case, the individual is given the title of the owner of 1000 cows (*kumamo*). He receives this dignitary title by conducting a ritual, in which he invites all of his close and distant relatives, as well as non-relative acquaintances. This title is honorary for the individual, and it is a sign of respect for his clan members in general. As a sign of prestige, other people will call them clan with over 1,000 cattle (*ebar mool kumamo*).
[52] The reason to have less cattle is due to less communal land to look after domestic animals. Since 1980s large part of the village communal land has been divided among rapidly increasing population for agriculture.

the area.[53] For instance, if one village is inhabited by descendants of '*Soomichcho's*' ancestor, it is called '*Soomichchos*' neighborhood (*Soomichch-oosi olla*).

2.3 Religious Institutions Among the Sadama Marduncho Village

Members of the Hadiya society follow the following religious groups: Islam, Christianity and the traditional religion of the Hadiya society (*Fandaanano*).[54] Christianity and Islam have a major number of followers in the Hadiya sub-province. The Christians are dispersed throughout the society, but the Islamic religious followers are bound to limited areas of the society.[55] For instance, in the village where this research was carried out in detail, there are no Islamic religious followers.

Before the spread of the different Christian denominations and Islam the Hadiya were largely the adherents of their ancestor's religion *Fandanano*. However, after the arrival of Western missionaries in the 1930s sharp attacks against the traditional faith started, and the number of followers started to subsequently decline. Strong adherents and leaders of

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[53] During the time of both Emperor Menelik II and Haile Selassie I: 1889 to 1974, the villages were named after the landlords. For instance, if the name of the landlord is Zeleke, it is called 'land of Zeleke' (Zeleke *gasha)*. However, there was no prohibition for the community to use their own traditional ways of naming villages for the purpose of their own council meetings. In fact, the landlords, did not have a direct control of their daily lives since he/she lives at a distance. He/she visited the land (*gasha*) not more than three times a year; the rest of the time, a local representative coordinated the rest of the matters.

[54] *Fandanano* is a traditional religion of the Hadiya which is not practiced anywhere in Ethiopia. This is contrary to the two dominant religions such as Christianity and Islam (Engedayehu 1993, Epple 2014). The religion of the Hadiya can be understood in the same sense as 'Nuer religion'. which is a seminal thesis of Evans-Pritchard (1974).

[55] Before 1860s Islamic religion was expanded in the south of Ethiopia including the Hadiya; however, in the years that followed it was weakened due to the Christian empire's expansion (Braukämper 1977, 1987, 1992, 2004, 2012, Haberland 1964 and Kaplan 2009). As a result, the Islamic religious followers remained only in few areas among the Hadiya.

Fandaanano were convinced by the European missionaries to give up their former religion.[56] Quite often the missionaries used a systematic approach, offering blankets and clothes to the leaders of *Fandaanano*. Other members of the religion, who noticed such a benefit, also started leaving their faith.[57] Incorporating the *Fandanano* concept of deity (*Waa)* into their preaching was another strategy used by the missionaries. Thus, the followers thought there was no difference between their ancestral deity (*Waa)* and the new Christian God. This stratagem resulted in a greater success for missionaries attracting many new adherents. As a result, among many districts of the Hadiya villages a "higher level of morphology" is envisaged in terms of church memberships (cp. Platenkamp 1992:91).

Today the exact number of *Fandaanano* (see ch.4) followers is unknown; however, during the study it was estimated that around 150 men and women followers of *Fandaanano* live throughout the Hadiya sub-province. In fact, it is only elder men who believe in such a practice because the younger generation have been fully converted to either the Islamic faith or Christianity. The *Fandaanano* adherents themselves are ridiculed by the Christian pastors.[58]

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[56] An informant who was a strong adherent of *Fandaanano* and now a Christian has argued that he abandoned the traditional religious practice because the Christian missionaries convinced him that, what he used to practice was a "superstition". He has added: "by then it was much easier to convince us because our traditional rituals seemed 'magic' when we saw their 'liturgy'. Therefore, we have abandoned our *Fandaanano* easily." Bell (2009) has argued why the modern religious followers had followed such approaches in such contexts likewise *Fandaanano*: "ritual has replaced terms such as 'liturgy' versus 'magic', which were used to distinguish high religion from primitive superstition or *our ritual from theirs"* (Bell 2009: 6).

[57] The information was acquired during an in-depth interview with elder Christians who were one of the first converts among the Hadiya sub province.

[58] (cp. Platenkamp 1992: 92-3).

2.4 Political Institutions among the Sadama Marduncho Village

2.4.1 Traditional Village Council

There are two administrative offices in the Sadama Marduncho village. The first one is the traditional council office. The institutional responsibility of this office is directly to the respective village households. In this regard, there are several offices unlike the government administrative office in the village. In principle these offices are traditional council offices (*dummichcha*) inherited from ancestors. The offices do not have physical houses assigned for this purpose. However, the eldest man's house and his compound (*nafara*) serve as a reference point. Within this context there are more than 7 inherited traditional council offices throughout the Sadama Marduncho village.[59]

A traditional council office encompasses around thirty household heads as members (*dummichch baxxamaano*), of which three are leaders (*dummichch daannuwwa*). The council leaders hold meetings on fixed dates throughout the year. In addition, they also gather without pre-plan when an urgent need arises. An active participation in the village council is obligatory. Within this context on average once a month they hold a meeting. They discuss all sorts of matters which happen among the village community. The matters can be solving disputes among individuals, groups, finding out a solution at times of theft and mischief, incest prohibition and solving boundary disputes among two heads of the village households.

In this sense, there is no limit imposed on the content and scope of the subject matters they deal with. In this light, the members can appeal for all sorts of topics they find relevant to them to be included in meetings. Subsequently, the responsibility of the council leaders is dealing with every issue raised appropriately.

The role of the council leaders remains constant until their death. Therefore, their individual houses serve as a village traditional leadership office. However, sometimes the place

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[59] The main criteria for the village council leadership and as well as for the membership in the village council is the patrilineal ancestral relationship.

of the council meeting can be shifted to the compound of the household where the dispute or problem has emerged. For instance, if the aim of the council meeting is to reconcile two individuals who have engaged in committing serious atrocities towards each other the location of the council meeting is the garden (*nafara*) of each individual inter-changeably.[60]

In principle the village council leaders are assumed to be wise, oratory and patient.[61] At times of participating in bigger council meetings with other clans[62] in the Hadiya sub-province, the council leaders in Sadama Marduncho village must be accompanied by people who are chosen based on their ability. It is these individuals who deal with all the important matters of the Sadama Marduncho village. For instance, in the level of the Hadiya sub-province, if there is a major dispute all the elders from each clan will come together and work towards solving disputes. In these cases everything is taken into account, including the religious differences of both village council leaders and villagers.[63]

Of all the basic principles adhered to within Hadiya society and by village council leaders the belief in their socio-cosmological relationship with their ancestors is the strongest. The people of Hadiya society assume that they receive both blessing (*maaso*) and cursing (*duunchcha*) from their ancestors: the former for their good deeds and the latter because of their bad actions. Without these two key concepts the entire village traditional council becomes

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[60] The ruling government does not interfere with the traditional authority as such because the elder members leadership does not have a clandestine role of holding a political office. In fact whatever they do is utmost relevance to the ruling regime since members of the society listen anything which is told on behalf of the village elder representatives.

[61] Up on death, the office of the village council leadership is handed over to his eldest son.

[62] A clan is understood as a patrilineal lineage comprising more than seven generations (cf. kinship on ch.2). In this regard the Sadama Marduncho village is mainly occupied by *Soomicho* clan. Moreover, this clan has 7 village council offices, i.e, the *Soomicho* has more than 7 sons. Each son has also patrilineal descendants who identify themselves as '*Ooso*'. Therefore the 7 village council offices are the offices of '*Soomicho Ooso*'.

[63] Commonly the disputes are solved under shed of a tree located in front of the Hadiya house (*mine*).

irrelevant. Therefore, belief in such a village philosophy is essential for membership of the Hadiya traditional council. The ancestral authority (power) and sanction supersedes all beliefs and notions in all villages of the Hadiya sub-province. It therefore remains a core ideology enabling maintenance of an orderly and meaningful life within Hadiya society.

2.4.2 The Government Administrative Office

The second government administrative office is the one that has a physical office (a specific place meant for this purpose). The officers are assigned by the district government officials. The governor of the sub-province is responsible for the overall activities of the society. The major offices for which he is responsible are the education, finance, police and security, land and resource management, health and sanitation, construction and urban planning, communication, tourism and culture offices. In consultation with the south province governor, the Hadiya society governor recruits the leaders for the above stated offices. He is also responsible for assigning people for the respective offices in the Hadiya society districts as well. The district governors in their capacity assign individuals who lead the respective village communities throughout the Hadiya society.[64]

Therefore, they are responsible to report all the administrative details to that office. The Sadama Marduncho village government administrative office is run by four representatives nominated by the village household heads and approved by the district office. These four representatives are the leader (*awonsaanchcho*) the secretary (*kitaabaanchcho*), the cashier (*diinat amadaancho*) and the judge (*farajaanchcho*). All of them are paid a monthly salary by the district office.

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[64] Kendie (2003) argued that the current government has failed to understand the real needs of the people though the administrative structure looks better organized than previous regimes.

The office is located close to the village market centre (*Oroph meera*). It is from this office at times of need that the administrative bodies perform duties. Their main duties are collecting annual tax, solving land disputes and keeping peace in the village.

There are six security officers (*egaraanchcho*) in the village administrative office under the direct leadership of the village leader as well. It is also the security officers who guard the administrative office and the village health centre during the night times.

However, just 6 officers trying to keep the peace for 600 households is not practical, especially because the security officers do not move throughout villages during the night. In this regard, any problem during the night is dealt with through the collaboration of the households in the respective sub villages. For instance, in times of danger individual householders shout so that the sub-village households may hear and give them a hand. Therefore, every household will come together and try to ease any problem which arises in their respective households.

A common incident throughout the Sadama Marduncho village is the burning of houses by fire. When such incidents occur it is the responsibility of the village community to extinguish the fire by any means possible. The same is true during theft and violence at night.

In terms of direct political affiliation, the Sadama Marduncho village administrative office is affiliated to the South Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (SEPDF).[65] This is a member party of the single national party which governs the present Ethiopia. The current

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[65] From a historical point of view, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) has come to power in 1991 after the down fall of the Marxist regime. It is a coalition of four parties such as Tigrean People's Libration Front (TPLF), Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organization (OPDO) and Southern Nations Democratic Party (SEPDF). Among the four coalition groups, the TPLF has a leading role because of the historical role it has played to overthrow the Colonel Mengestu's regime (1974-91). The TPLF leaders fought the Marxist regime for 17 years as guerilla fighters in the northern part of Ethiopia. This movement primarily was driven by Marxist-Leninist ideology; however, its leadership later declared the group as a democratic movement (Young 1998).

ruling party is a centralized form of political organization.[66] It can be illustrated in the following diagram:

The Fedral Government (**a**)

Provinces (9)
Ex. south Ethiopia (**b**)

Two independent City administrations: Addis ababa and Dire Dawa (**c**)

Sub-provinces
(*Amharic:Zone*)
Ex. Hadiya (**d**)

District
(*Amharic:woreda*)
Ex. Lemo (**e**)

Village (Amharic:Kebele)
Ex. Sadama Marduncho (**f**)
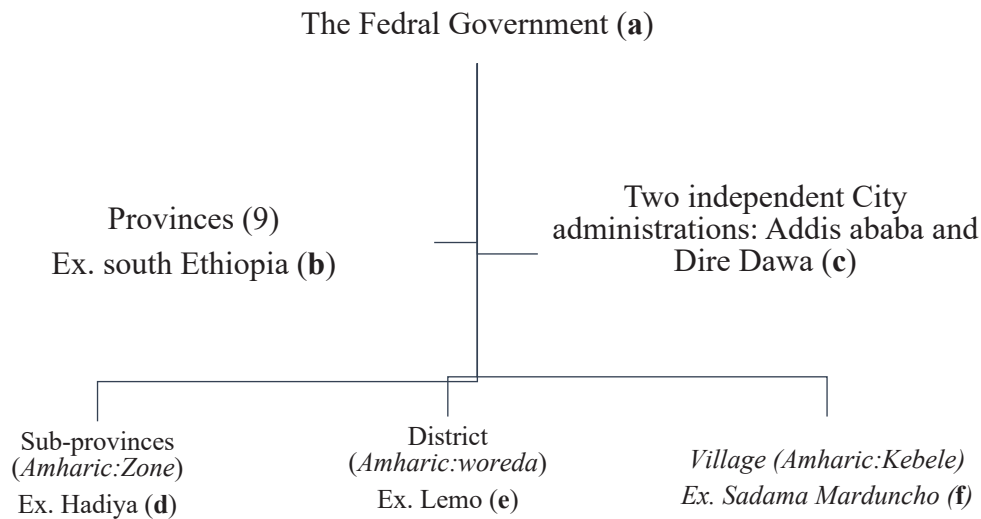
Legend:

a: represents the federal government of Ethiopia based in Addis Ababa

b: represents the nine provinces of Ethiopia among which the south region is one.

c: two independent city administration centers with their governors

d: represents every sub-province within every province

e: every district within every sub-province

f: represents every village within every district

figure 3: the main administrative structure of the current government of Ethiopia

Geopolitically the Hadiya sub-province society has formed an alliance with neighboring groups when holding political office in both regional and federal parliaments. Many in the society

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[66] During the time of its first assembly many people considered the party was in the process of democratization despite its failure in the later years (Berhanu 1995).

support opposition leaders but they have not been successful in winning formal elections since 2005 when they strongly condemned the ruling party for allegedly rigging the election.[67]

2.5 Composition of Household among Sadama Marduncho Village

The elementary family is composed of three core elements: husband (*min anna*), wife (*min ama*), and children (*ooso*) (Lévi-Strauss 1969). A household in the Sadama Marduncho village is a house composed of the above stated elements. These people live under one roof (*mine*). The head of the household is the father and bread winner. In addition, the average number of the house buildings for the individual household is three. A big house for the father and mother, a medium house located next to the bigger house for the children and a smaller house behind the bigger house meant for their animals.[68]

The current research has stipulated that in April 2016 there were 600 households in the Sadama Marduncho village. The households are divided into sub villages. In this regard there are more than 7 sub-villages. In addition, each sub village comprises on average 45 households. Quite often the sub villages are inhabited by the households who trace their descent to the same ancestor. The average number of generations traceable from the first ancestor to the present in an individual household is seven.[69]

Within this context there are different categories of people living in the villages. These are old people (*lommanna*), grandparents (*lobb annoo amoo*), their grandchildren with their

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[67] The situation among the Hadiya society during the 2005 election (cf. Abbink 2006b; Tronvoll 2008).

[68] The concept of "house" can be used in a different contexts: for instance, it can be used for extended family (for the people who are related to them through ancestral lineage). Alternatively, in social interactions some people use the term "*abaroosa*" as an alternative word for neighborhood (*hegeegone*). For example, they say: "*ebar min 'abaroossa (m)'*." The prefix '*ebar*' is a '*Hadiyisa*' word which is used to indirectly infer to people (m). Therefore, '*ebar min abaroosa*' can subsequently is a generic term to denote a family in one's neighborhood (*hegeegonne*).

[69] However, there are also some households who do not belong to the same ancestral generation within the sub villages.

parents (*ooso ossi oosso*), widowed children who have their own children (*idooti firuk landi oosso*), and children who do not have parents (*amoii annoii beei oossi* or *adaraluwwa*). It is the responsibility of the village women to take daily care of the orphans.

Moreover, some heads of the households are married to more than one wife (*waameeta*). In such cases, the wives possess their own separate houses. In addition, some of the houses are constructed to accommodate the children of the wives as well as the animals. The head of the household visits both houses interchangeably from time to time. The relationships among the wives are sometimes peaceful and quite often antagonistic.

To sustain their lives, the members of the households engage in labor activities in the village. The husband is a bread winner and the wife over-sees household responsibilities. However, in rare circumstances women are also engaged in field chores, working on agriculture and village commodity exchange activities. Such a role is played by women when either the husband is deceased (*min annich lehoohaare*)[70] or inadequate to shoulder his responsibilities. Moreover, beyond shouldering the individual household responsibilities, close neighborhood members share a morning meal together (*dara bunaa*). On average three households have a cultural trend of sharing food turn by turn (*jamaa*).[71] In this way, each individual household prepares a morning meal for the next day and the three households share together with their children. The central element of their shared breakfast is a traditional coffee.

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[70] Such instances cause women to suffer due to shouldering agricultural responsibilities despite their physical inadequacy for such a duty. This is the result of not having other options among non-modern societies, such as the Hadiya except a unilateral alternative. The research stipulates that among the Hadiya society in the village, the roles which can be played by the members of the society for their living is very limited.

[71] In smaller scale, on average three households who live next to each other shoulder some of the responsibilities together. For instance, they share breakfast and traditional coffee ceremony together every morning. For this, one of the three households take care of the morning coffee ceremony and the remaining two households skip for that day and prepare for the next days. Therefore, this trend occurs in a form of constant reciprocity.

Sharing afternoon (*ballaichcha)* and evening (*hiimichcha)* meals is not mandatory; however, some households do eat these meals with their neighbors. In a household the food is provided in the following manner. The husband is given a special meal, in most cases his children do not share with him. When he finishes it is a cultural obligation for him to leave some portion of the food. The remaining portion of the food (*enkaashsha*) is given to the son. However, the son will not be offered the food if he is believed to have a bad character.

It is believed that consuming *enkaashsha* is a way for a son to receive his father's blessing *(maasso*), and a child will be happy for consuming that portion of food which is a symbol for blessing. This notion encourages brothers to compete as they make an effort to behave well so that *enkaashsha* will be offered to them next time. Receiving *enkaashsha* is therefore understood as a reward for good behavior, while bad behavior results in the loss of this privilege.

The concept of consuming food left by an elder man is one of the fundamental concepts among the Hadiya society, as it is perceived as a sign of abundance and blessing (*goddaa maasso*). Subsequently, it is offensive for the elder members of the society to eat the entire portion of the food provided because it is perceived that consuming all the food provided is a sign that the elder man does not want to share the good ancestral spirit with younger sons. Subsequently the elder household heads among the Hadiya society villages conform to the above reality. Within this framework they reside as a society by accepting the social rules in their different villages.

The role of the women in the village community is well understood by all the men. Primarily it is believed that women should deal with the household chores and there is no negotiation about it. Girls and mothers should stay at home and prepare food, sometimes process food ingredients such as "*weesa duugimma*"—that is harvesting *weesa* for further processing. The food processing of this indigenous plant normally takes a longer period until it becomes a real food ingredient (cp. Dohrmann 2004).

The husband is responsible for instructing his wife and children. However, if the man is not able to guide his household according to the expectations of the Hadiya society, he will be looked down on by his village's people. Such a failure results in the bad reputation of that individual within the respective village. Therefore, members of the society do not treat him seriously. For the same reason, the head of a household with less power over his children and wife than is expected within Hadiya society will not be given leadership roles among the village community.

2.6 The House as a Model of Social and Cosmological Relationships

2.6.1 The Construction Materials and Proportions

The Sadama Marduncho village households reside in traditionally constructed houses (*mine*).[72] These houses are constructed by the traditional experts who reside in the same village.[73] The housing construction occurs under two circumstances. First, if the head of the household decides to construct an additional house for his grown-up sons and daughters. Second, when a grown-up boy aims to establish his own independent family.

In both cases the location of the construction should be approved by a few elders of the village. It is the elders who give the suggestion as to where exactly the house should be constructed because the villagers believe only the elders properly understand the socio-cosmological connection between their lands, properties and ancestors. In general, the front door of the house should face towards a main road. This is because the Sadama Marduncho

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[72] The conceptual idea for the analysis of the house as model among the Hadiya society draws an ideological correlation from the scientific analysis of Platenkamp (1988a) among the Tobelo society due to relative understanding of a house among both societies.

[73] Historically it is believed that the Hadiya society did not have well known experts who make it; however, through time by sharing experience and adopting better knowledge particularly from Gurage and Kambata they are able to construct architecturally better traditional houses. In addition, to this day, some Hadiya pay for experts from Kambata who can make good traditional houses.

village households use the road as a center for communication.[74] The back door (*duub gooca*) faces the opposite direction from the main door.

In the space behind the back door the head of the household builds a small house (*duub mine*) for domestic animals. The land behind the animals' house is surrounded by *weesa*. It is also from this house that the women transport the animal dung for growing *weesa*.[75] The materials used for the construction of houses in the Sadama Marduncho village are primarily wood, the string of the *weesa* plant (*kunche*), mud, grasses (*guffa*), bamboo (*shomboqo*) and olive tree branches (*caqafa*). Moreover, the type of wood (*calaa*) used for construction is prepared by the household from the white eucalyptus tree.[76] Strings are collected from the *weesa* plant a year ahead and then also used for the purpose of construction. The mud is collected for the preparation of loam a few weeks after the construction.

When the head of the household wants to construct a house, he organizes for more than two years in advance. This is because he needs to provide a lot of materials which may not be at his disposal. He must often seek assistance from persons with whom he has established good relationships. The village community has a tradition of encouraging individuals who construct a new house. Subsequently they offer him all sorts of materials that he needs. The outer shape of the house has two views: the base of the house and the top view. The base of the house is circular, and the top is triangular. In terms of its proportion, the whole radius of the house is 10 meters. Its detailed structure is shown in the diagram below:

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[74] (cp. Platenkamp 1988a: 49)

[75] For the fast growth of the *weesa* plant the households in the Sadama Marduncho village use animal dung frequently.

[76] But before 1950 the elders argued that their ancestors used to construct by using olive trees (*weera)* and an tree known as *habesh hooma*.
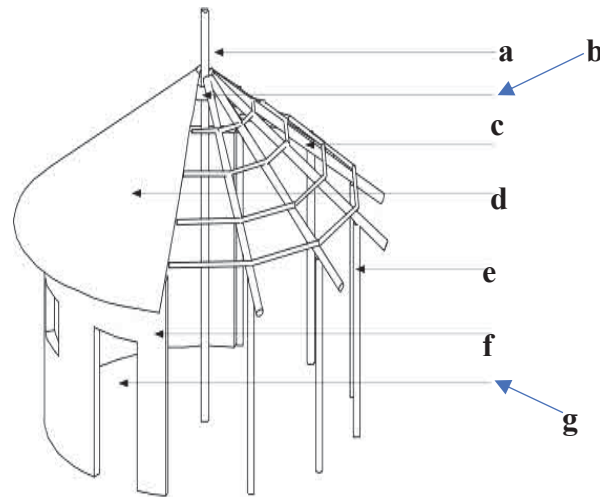
Legend:

a: main pillar
b: fixed bearing
c: roof construction
d: roof surface
e: support columns
f: wall material
g: opening wall

figure 4: Hadiya house structure

In most cases the smallest size is 5 meters and the maximum 12 meters. The height of the wall is 2.5 and 5 metres respectively. The height of the pillar (*utuba*) on average ranges from 7 to 13 meters for smaller houses and bigger ones respectively. Well-established village houses always have open space (*nafara*).[77] But the size of *nafara* varies from one household to another. In general, the minimum observed during the study was 250 square meter and the maximum is 1000 square meter throughout the villages. The shapes of the gardens frequently are rectangular. In these gardens, the villagers plant trees for shade (*haffa*). The shades are used during the occasions when the village members hold their council meeting (*dumichcha*). This is where they discuss various issues in the village. In addition, individual households use the

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[77] The housing structure and the number of houses among Hadiya household do not encompass all the members of the community. Some individuals have smaller houses based on their level of income.

shade annually from early November to March. During these times the climate is relatively hot, sometimes the maximum is 37 degree Celsius.

For the purpose of easily managing waste the households have toilets in a location of 50 to 100 meters. However, because of lack of financial capability to construct them with cement the standards of the toilets are very poor. On average the villagers dig a hole 2 by 5 meters. In-fact such a type of waste management is the result of the Catholic church teachings throughout the village. The proper management of the houses is the role of women. Women who do not handle their houses properly are labelled as unwise (*qaw meentichcho*) and in such a case less respect is given by the member of the society. Due to this, women shoulder their responsibilities properly.

Individuals who construct only one house are households who have a smaller number of children and mostly individuals who have relatively limited resources within the context of the society. However, some well-off individuals have one to three houses, particularly those who have more grown up sons, daughters, and who own more animals. In such cases, the households have three types of houses: a big house (*lobmine*)—for the owner; a medium house (*jagarra*)—for the children and guests; and a small house (*duubmine*)—for girls and cooking food. Moreover, the backyard door of the big house is only accessed by women and any attempt by strangers to approach the women's door is considered very offensive.[78]

2.6.2 Cooperation in Building

The person who constructs a new traditional house in the village organizes all the important materials a week before the beginning of the construction. Afterwards he negotiates the pricing deal with the construction experts two weeks ahead of the beginning date. The deal is confirmed by paying ten percent of the whole money agreed for the construction.[79] At this

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[78] Such a situation is similar among non-modern societies, for instance (cp. Platenkamp 1988a: 50)

[79] The total cost of a house construction expert is on average EUR 150,- in 2016.

stage, the head of the household circulates the information to the elders of the sub-village concerning the exact date of the construction. Consequently, on the specific date the female members of the household wake up early in the morning to prepare food for the entire workforce. In the meantime, they also prepare coffee and a morning meal for the entire workforce of that day.[80]

Around 9 hrs the village elders and the head of the neighboring household gather at the spot where the new house is to be built. In the meantime, the traditional house construction experts arrive. Afterwards, it is in this spot that everybody drinks coffee and has a communal morning meal. As soon as they finish the coffee ceremony (on average 30 minutes), the house construction experts introduce themselves to the people. Then one of the elders blesses the household, the new building spot and the construction experts. During his blessing he pleads for their ancestors' intervention to give courage and capacity to the household to complete the house construction. Immediately the experts begin to measure for the size and proportions of house required and locate important signs that help with the beginning of the construction.

The basic proportions of the house are explained by the owner (a kind of guesswork). The traditional experts embark on constructing the house, but the design of the house remains in their head. They only ask the household head in what way he wants to have the house built. Then they begin the design of the house manually with no use of modern materials (mostly they use rope to measure meters because the experts are non-literate).

Within the above process the gathered village people support in every way required. Such support ranges from splitting up big trees to offering free human labour in the form of digging holes to erect the walls. However, everything the village people do is supervised by the traditional construction experts. The owner of the house will refrain from uttering bad words with the construction experts because the experts may take revenge by leaving some defects in

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[80] The women of the village also bring some food and coffee to give hand.

the house. Consequently, good care is offered so as not to irritate the experts. This good care is evident in a good meal offered to the experts and the non-interference in what they do. In addition, traditional alcoholic drinks (*araqee*) are provided for free constantly.[81]

After the experts complete the construction other tasks remain. The first remaining task is to cover the ceiling of the house with strong grasses (*guffa*). This task is given to a traditional ceiling covering expert (*ambaanchcho*). The expert does the job after an agreement with the head of the household. When this task is completed two tasks remain: covering the walls with loam and installing the doors and a window.

In the Sadama Marduncho village there are paid traditional practitioners who cover the walls of the house with loam. It takes a week to complete the first round. When the first round of loam cover is dry the same traditional experts furnish the second phase for a different price. At this stage the house should be installed with two doors and a window.

Subsequently the doors and a window are fixed by the wood-workers who live in the same village. The traditional wood-work experts ask the head of the household to provide the necessary materials for this purpose (mostly the *Fuga* community).[82] Using an important list of items the traditional wood-work expert makes doors and a window for the new house. Subsequently the house will be ready for living. The head of the household makes the final arrangement of the house in consultation with his wife and children, making sure it will be conducive for their living. Above all, to get recognition from his ancestors', the head of the household organizes a house blessing ceremony (*min maasso*). It is only then that the members of the household can move into the new house.

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[81] The same is true with the person who latter covers the house (*min ambaancho*) with ceiling grass (*guffa*). The individual who constructs the houses is called '*mine baxaanchcho*'.

[82] Despite the socio-economic role of the Fuga people, their status is lower among the society they live such as the Hadiya, Kambata, Gurage and Wolaita (Abbute 2001; Pankhurst 1999).

The house blessing ceremony is organized before the household begins living in the newly constructed house. The household members prepare food and traditional drinks for this ceremony. The week before the ceremony the head of the household goes from door to door calling on co-residents. From 19 hrs all the co-residents attend the ceremony. The oldest person among the attendants opens the ceremony in the following manner while the rest of the people remain silent:

> Let us thank our deity who protected our land and people (*Neese ni heechcha uula xum egaruk Waainna galat afoona*)
>
> Our deity who has given them the courage to construct the house be blessed *(Min annina min ama ka min baxamonna maaja uwwuk Niyanoi maaseamonna*
>
> Let this new house protect the household and your belongings (*Ku haareech min kinuwwa kinuwwi amaaxxa iyyonna*)
>
> Let you [the household] be protected from evil *(Kinuwwa kin ooso jor nakoonne*)
>
> Let you celebrate good occasions [in the future] in this house (*Hund amanen aganoota gooree ka minen mollakamissa ihonna*)
>
> Let our land and our people be blessed by our deity (*Ollaa neese Niyano maaseamonna*)

When the elder person finishes the blessing line, the husband and wife of the household will kiss both hand palms of all the attendants. Afterwards food and drinks will be provided for all the villagers to continue to enjoy. Before 23 hrs everybody will leave to their individual houses and that will be the end of the ceremony.

2.6.3 The Social Significance: Spatial Ordering of Kinship Positions

When the internal arrangement is done the traditional house will have divisions and separate spaces of social significance. The partition of the house is mainly from the inside: a place for cows (*gaadira*), and a place to keep food crops (*muuxbeyyo*).[83] In addition, there are separate sleeping places for both parents and children (*iinsibeyyo*), and a fire place

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[83] This place is partitioned by objects made from bamboo (*duma*).

(*keteetbeyyo)* positioned next to the pillar *(utuba)* where the ancestral spirits reside permanently. In this sense, the pillar and its surroundings serve as a symbolic space which embodies a strong relationship between the householders and their ancestors. Therefore, the space signifies the socio-cosmological relationship between members of the household and their ancestors. It is also believed that the relationship can only be maintained if this space is used by the head of the household on a regular basis.
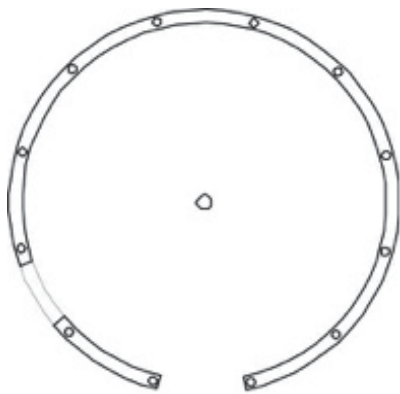
figure 5: Hadiya house plan

Due to this belief it is only the head of the household who is expected to sit next to the pillar. However, at times a guest older than the owner of the house visits the household, and the owner offers this space to show respect to the elder man (*lommanchcho*).[84] However, to be honoured in this way the elder person must be connected through the line of the ancestors to the household.[85] In view of this, strangers will not be allowed to sit in this space. Similar conceptions of social significance and social relations are evident in the division of the houses in the village. As a result, a big house (*lobmine*) is for the head of the household and animals,

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[84] This seat is exclusively for men therefore if the guest is happened to be an old woman, she will not be given a chance to sit there.

[85] Therefore, this notion is accepted by the members of the community with no question, particularly by the elder members of the village households who oversee the customary practices of the Hadiya society.

the medium house (*jagara*) [86] for grown up boys and the smallest house (*duubmine)* is for girls and to cook food.[87]

Until all the boys and girls engage in marriage relationships they live with their parents in this way. In time boys will build their own independent houses and form their own independent family. The girls also marry men in other villages. In such instances both the head of the household and the mother remain alone. It is the responsibility of the ultimo genitor (*illmuchchi beeto*) to take care of them. According to the customary law of the Hadiya society, the ultimo genitor is entitled to take all his father's and mother's properties upon their death. His siblings cannot claim any ownership unless their parents make clear their wishes otherwise during confession. Under most circumstances the parents declare this in front of the village elders, and it is automatically validated based on the Hadiya customary law. As a result of his position in Hadiya society, the ultimo genitor resides in the medium house of his parents. It is also the same medium house which serves him as a residence when he establishes his own independent family.[88]

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[86] The grown-up boys and girls receive their own guest in the medium house and their privacy is maintained.

[87] The common objects they use in their kitchen are a big wood object (*gonga)*, kettle (j*abana*), pot supporters (*meteqqaana*), clay made plates (*shaate*), knife (*bilawwa*), a big traditional knife (*mashsha*)', filtering objects (*illanchcho*) and clay made big cups (*humbuloo*).

[88] Members of the society who do not live in the villages are obliged to attend funeral ceremonies, wedding ceremonies and other life cycle rituals of their relatives in the villages. Above all, one of the rituals every member of the society does not miss is a ceremony celebrated on September eleven every year (*masqallal*). In addition, the village household members who operate businesses, religious leaders, local government officials, hospital practitioners and nurses, high school and college teachers, university lecturers and professional and non-professional members of the society), military staff and people with the such duties do not reside among the village but in Hossana town.
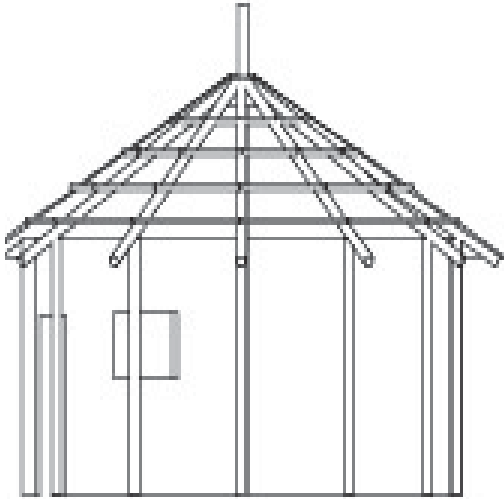
figure 6: Hadiya house view

2.6.4 The Cosmological Significance: Rituals of Construction

This study has stipulated the meanings that the traditional house embodies in Sadama Marduncho village. The traditional house is very important to the community.[89] The importance of the house was argued by an elder man in the following terms:

> The Hadiya traditional house was modelled and begun by the Hadiya ancestor in the early days in its simplest form. I heard this from my grandparents. The concept behind the house is a protector (*egeraanchcho*). The house is conceived in the same terms as a human-being because it is so precious. That is why we bless a person who built a new house in these terms: 'let your house care for you well' (*kaa kees mine iyyonna*). On the other hand, when we curse, we use the expression: let your house abandon you (*kaa kees mine iyyoonne*). For us the traditional house (*mine*) is everything. But now we are in a situation facing challenges not to continue constructing long lasting and beautiful traditional houses. That is bad.

As the elder person has argued the common problem in the recent years for the construction of traditional houses (*mine*) is the lack of strong grasses (*guffa*). The reason there are problems

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[89] During this research, it was evident that there was no literatures on the methods of Hadiya housing construction.

getting the strong grasses in abundance is because the fields, *guffa,* used to grow them have been used for agricultural purposes, and to fulfil the food demands of the rapidly growing population.

In the cosmological perspective the structure of the village house is understood as embodying a key ancestral conception. An elder man has argued that the house was discovered by the Hadiya progenitor who established a household based on the main concept of a husband, wife, and children.[90] The outer ceiling shape of the house was maintained as triangular, and therefore the triangular shape has become the depiction of a nuclear family. Similarly, Platenkamp (1988a) among the Tobelo society has argued:

> The relationship between the person and the house is one of homology. Yet it involves more than just this structural homology. The house is conceived to protect its inhabitants and not vice versa. Not only does the relative discontinuity serve to establish the contrast between the two, it also expresses the superiority of the house-as-concept over its inhabitant (1988a: 54).

The above argument presents a fascinating correlative between conceptions of the house among the Hadiya and Tobelo societies, though one society is African and the other is Asian.

The structure and design of the various houses in the village are manifestations of the customs, traditions, culture and identity of the households. To be part of the community members of the society should have a house built to their individual capacity. Every individual who builds a traditional house is recognized by the people in the village, which gives him a chance to become a full member of the society. It is for this reason that the Sadama Marduncho village households look for a special place for their house. They also perceive it as one of the most important properties they will ever possess. In-fact living without having a house is considered as living without the socio-cosmological relationship with the ancestors.

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[90] Though it is a rare occurrence among the Protestants and Catholics, some household heads have more than one wife. These men are Orthodox, Muslim or traditional religious believers (*Fandaanano*).

Because of this fundamental conception the village households have traditional, well-built and beautiful houses in the Sadama Marduncho village. These houses last on average for 50 years. The front area of the houses is fenced on both the right and left sides. As the main door faces a main road in the village, the family plants trees in an open space (*nafara*) between the main village road and the house. It also under these trees that the village elders hold council meetings (*dummichcha*), as highlighted earlier.

The traditional houses which have social and cosmological significance for the village households are always built by conducting rituals. The core aspect of that ritual is the blessings that appeal to the ancestral deity (*Waa*) by the elder members of the village. The following is one of the blessings recorded during the research:

> Our ancestral deity has allowed us to be here today (*niyanoi Waai kabal keyye wixxinona qoodaakko*)
>
> Let His name be blessed (*ixxi summi galaxxamonna*)
>
> Let your [the owner of the house] efforts be seen by our ancestors' (*ki malaaye niyanoi Waai mooonna*)
>
> You toiled, you worked very hard (*lobakatta badataato, lobakatam baxaatoo*)
>
> Let our ancestors' grant you and your family good health (*niyanoi Waai kiina ki abaroosina fayaooma uwwonna*)
>
> Let the new house be a protector of you and your belonging (*ku haareech baxamoo min keese ki abaroosa egaroohan ihonna*)
>
> Let our ancestors' spirit be bestowed upon your new house (*niyanoi ayaani kaa haarech minen daadohan ihonna*)
>
> Be protected from evil forces (*jori egarame*)
>
> Let the people who will build the house get the courage (*ka min baxoo manni malaay siixxonna*)
>
> Let your food be abundant (*hurbaat wom ihonna*)
>
> Let your animals multiply (*ki diinat fikaanona*)
>
> Let our ancestors protect all of us in the village (*niyanoi neese hundam egaramonna*)
>
> Here you go (by lifting both palms so that the owner kisses them to confirm the receiving of the blessing) (*iiee, lamem angam bidiqaa maas womma aaonna lomanchch uwookko*).

During the blessing everybody should bow as they close their eyes and should remain silent. However, the head of the household repeats the phrase "let it be!" (*eeyya wommonna!*) loudly after every blessing line of the elder man.[91] Moreover, the elder man should be given a glass of milk at his finishing line. Afterwards, from this glass of milk he requests the head of the household and his wife to take a sip to symbolize that the ancestors have granted the blessing. In this regard, the milk signifies an element through which their ancestors communicate with the living members of the households. In other words the milk serves as an agency bridging the village's people and their ancestral spirit.

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[91] Afterwards the owner prepares a ceremony (*min maaso*) on the first day of living in this house. The preparation includes different types of traditional foods and drinks. The villagers particularly the women should bring drinkable coffee (*bunaa*), cooked food (*waasa*) and other types of food items to support the owner during this ceremony. During this event a common phrase all people evoke to bless the owners is: "*may you have a long-lasting house*" (*kaa min iyyonna.*). In addition, the elder members of the community will bless the household: "*let the house lasts longer; let you live longer life* (*kaa kinuwaa min eyonnaa, hinchi hiincho affehe.*)"

2.7 Kinship System among the Village

Hadiya kinship classification is constructed on a patrilineal kinship ideology basis. Hence this ideology determines major aspects of the society's social life. The following research is presented to aid the better understanding of the kinship system of Hadiya society.

2.7.1 Hadiya Society Kinship Terminologies: consanguineal kin

Generation	Glossary	Kin type	Termsof Reference in Hadiyisa[92]
+2	grandfather	FF	*anna anna*
	grandmother	FM	*anna ama*
	grandfather	MF	*ama anna*
	grandmother	MM	*ama ama*
+1	gather	F	*anna*
	mother	M	*ama*
	father's brother	FB	*annabbaayyõ*
	mother's brother	MB	*eeshimma*
	father's sister	FZ	*ada*
	mother's sister	MZ	*amaayya*
	father's brother's wife	FBW	*annaabbaayõ meentichchē*
	mother's brother's wife	MBW	*eeshimma meentichchē*
	father's sister's husband	FZH	*ada manchchõ*
	mother's sister's husband	MZH	*amaayya manchchõ*
0	brother	B	*abbaayyõ*
	sister	Z	*aayya*

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[92] The word 'Hadiyisa' refers to the language of Hadiya. Moreover, terms of refence and terms of address are identical; however, the latter is marked by prefix 'i'. The prefix 'i' denotes first person singular possessive pronoun. This implies to the affinal kin terms as well.

	father's brother's son	FBS	*annabbaayyõ beetõ*
	father's brother's daughter	FBD	*annabbaayyõ landichchē*
	father's sister's son	FZS	*adbeetõ*
	father's sister's daughter	FZD	*adlandichchē*
	mother's brother's son	MBS	*eeshimmabeetõ*
	mother's brother's daughter	MBD	*eeshimmalandichchē*
	mother's sister's son	MZS	*amaaayya beetõ*
	mother's sister's daughter	MZS	*amaayyalandichchē*
-1	son	S	*ibeetõ*
	daughter	D	*landichchē*
	brother's son	BS	*abbaayyõ beetõ*
	brother's daughter	BD	*abbayyõ landichchē*
	sister's son	ZS	*aayyabeetõ*
	sister's daughter	ZD	*aayyalandichchē*
-2	son's son	SS	*beetõbeetõ*
	son's daughter	SD	*beetõlandichchē*
	daughter's son	DS	*landichchēbeetõ*
	daughter's daughter	DD	*landichchēlandichchē*

table 1: Hadiya society consanguineal kin Terms

As is evident in the above table the system is descriptive except for MB and FZ. This is because these two terms are atypical.

2.7.2 Affinal Kin Terms of Hadiya

Female Spouse Family Kin Terminol-ogies	Glossary	Kin type	Correlation with the diagra-m	Terms of Reference in Hadiyisa
	wife's father	WF	*10*	*ballõ*
	wife's mother	WM	*9*	*ballē*
	wife's brother	WB	*25*	*ballichchõ*
	wife's sister	WZ	*23*	*heerechchē*
	wife's brother's son	WBS	*29*	*meentichchē abbaayyõ beetõ*
	wife's brother's daughter	WBD	*30*	*Idaayichchē abbaayyõ landichchē*
	wife's sister's son	WZS	*28*	*idaayichchē aayya beetõ*
	wife's sister's daughter	WZD	*27*	*idaayichchē aayya landichchē*
	wife's father's brother wife	WFBW	*12*	*idaayichchē anna abbaayyõ meentichchē*
	wife's father's sister	WFZ	*14*	*idaayichchē anna aayya*
	wife's mother's brother	WMB	*8*	*idaayichchē ama abbaayyõ*
	wife's mother's sister husband	WMZH	*5*	*idaayichchē ama aayya manchcho*
	wife's father's father	WFF	*4*	*idaayichchē anna anna*
	wife's father's mother	WFM	*3*	*idaayichchē anna ama*
	wife's mother's father	WMF	*2*	*idaayichchē ama anna*
	wife's mother's mother	WMM	*1*	*idaayichchē ama ama*
	wife's mother's brother's wife	WMBW	*7*	*idaayichchē ama abbaayõ meentichchē*
	wife's mother's sister	WMZ	*6*	*idaayichchē ama aayya*
	wife's father's brother	WFB	*11*	*idaayichchē anna abbaayyõ*
	wife's father's sister's husband	WFZH	*13*	*idaayichchē anna aayya manchchõ*
	wife's mother's sister's daughter	WMZD	*15*	*idaayichchē ama aayya landichchē*
	wife's mother's sister's son	WMZS	*16*	*idaayichchē ama aayya beetõ*
	wife's mother's brother's daughter	WMBD	*17*	*idaayichchē ama abaayõ landichchē*
	wife's mother's brother's son	WMBS	*18*	*idaayichchē ama abbaayõ beetõ*
	wife's father's brother's daughter	WFBD	*19*	*idaayichchē anna abbaayõ landichchē*
	wife's father's brother's son	WFBS	*20*	*idaayichchē anna abbaayõ beetõ*
	wife's father's sister's daughter	WFZD	*21*	*idaayichchē anna aayya landichchē*

	wife's father's sister's son	WFZS	22	*idaayichchē anna aayya beetõ*
	wife's sister's husband	WZH	24	*idaayichchē aayya manchchõ*
	wife's brother's wife	WBW	26	*idaayichchē abbaayyõ meentichchõ*

table 2: male ego's wife's family kin terms
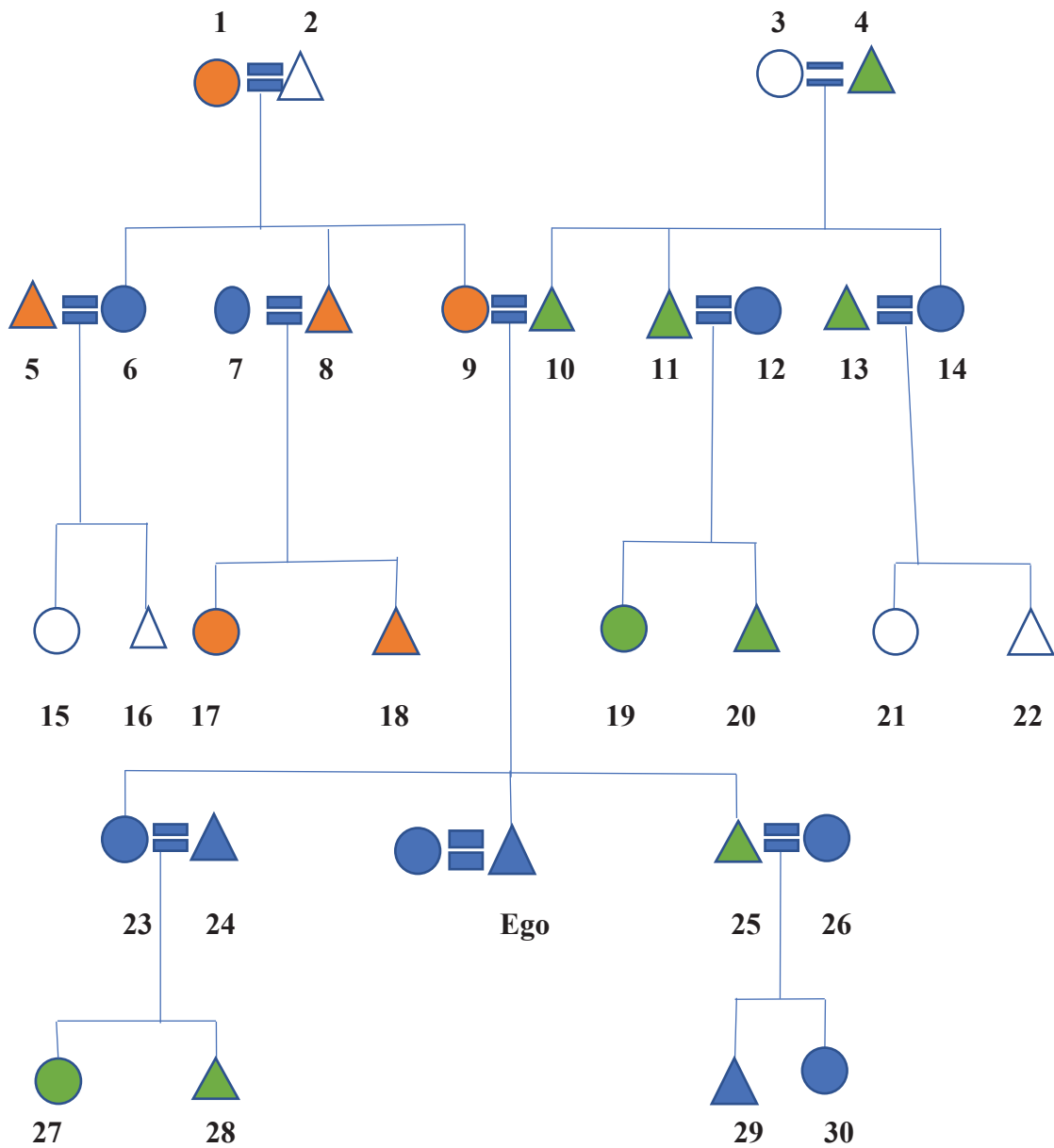
figure 7: male ego's wife's family kin terms

Male Spouse Family Kin Terminologies	Glossary	Kin type	Correlations with the Diagram	Terms of reference in Hadiyisa
	husband's father	HF	10	*ballõ*
	husband's mother	HM	9	*ballē*
	husband's brother	HB	25	*heerechchõ*
	husband's sister	HZ	23	*seeta*
	husband's brother's son	HBS	29	*arõ abaayyõ beetõ*
	husband's brother's daughter	HBD	30	*arõ abaayyõ landichchē*
	husband's sister's son	HZS	28	*arõ aayya beetõ*
	husband's sister's daughter	HZD	27	*arõ aayya landichchē*
	husband's brother's wife	HBW	26	*arõ abaayyõ meentichē*
	husband's sister's husband	HZH	24	*arõ aaya manchchõ*
	husband's father's father	HFF	4	*arõ anna anna*
	husband's father's mother	HFM	3	*arõ anna ama*
	husband's mother's father	HMF	2	*arõ ama anna*
	husband's mother's mother	HMM	1	*arõ ama ama*
	husband's father's brother	HFB	11	*arõ anna abbaayyõ*
	husband's father's sister	HFZ	14	*arõ ama aayya*
	husband's mother's brother	HMB	8	*arõ ama abbaayyõ*
	husband's mother's sister	HMZ	5	*arõ ama aayya*
	husband's father's brother's wife	HFBW	12	*arõ anna abbaayyõ meentichchē*
	husband's father's sister's husband	HFZH	13	*arõ anna aayya manchchõ*
	husband's mother's brother's wife	HMBW	7	*arõ ama abaayya meentichchē*
	husband's mother's sister's husband	HMZH	6	*arõ ama aayya manchchõ*
	husband's mother's sister's daughter	HMZD	15	*arõ ama aayya landichchē*
	husband's mother's sister's son	HMZS	16	*arõ ama aayya beetõ*
	husband's mother's brother's daughter	HMBD	17	*arõ ama abaayyõ landichchē*
	husband's mother's brother's son	HMBS	18	*arõ ama abaayyõ beetõ*
	husband's father's brother's son	HFBS	19	*arõ anna abbaayyõ beetõ*

	husband's father's brother's daughter	HFBD	*20*	*arõ anna abbaayyõ landichchē*
	husband's father's sister's son	HFZS	*21*	*arõ anna aayya beetõ*
	husband's father's sister's daughter	HFZD	*22*	*arõ anna aayya landichchē*

table 3 : female ego's husband's family kin terms
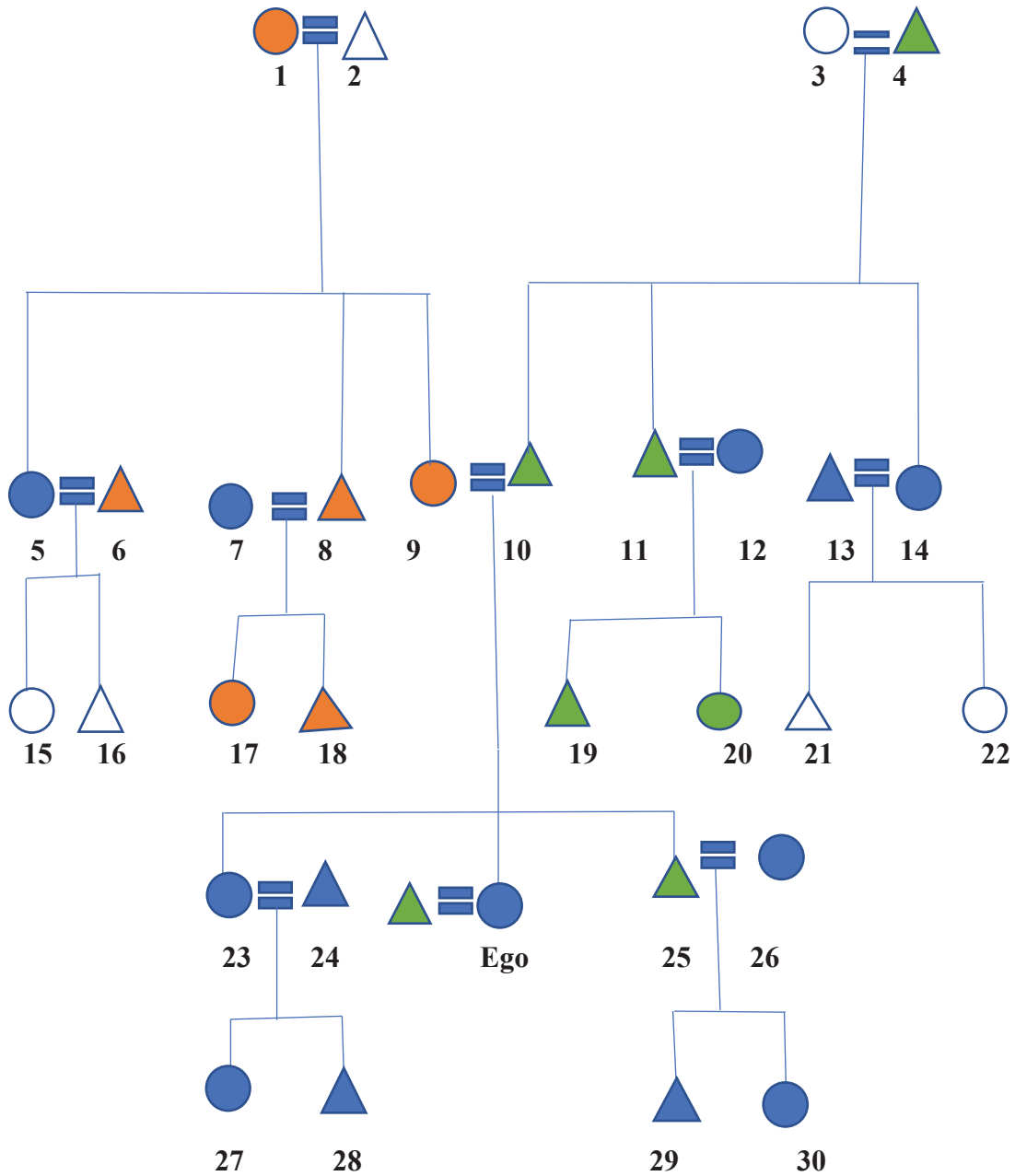
Figure 8: female ego's husband's family kin terms

2.7.3 Village Relationship and Social Classifier Terms

It is important to know the meaning of how the Hadiya concept of kinship is defined and understood throughout the village. To understand the meaning of the kinship terminologies, learning how the members of the village community address one another is key. For example, in the village, the children and young people address their parents and siblings in the following manner: my father (*ianna*), my mother (*iama*), my brother (*ibaayyõ*), and my sister (*iayya*). Both husband and wife address their children as: my son (*ibeetõ*), my daughter (*ilandichchē*) and my child (*iciila*).

Moreover, the community members use different terminologies to address persons who live within their community including their blood relatives. For instance, the following can be mentioned among the main terms: for an elder woman in the village (*ayyichchē)*, for an elder man in the village (*abbã*), to an older man (*abbaayyõ*), to a sister of one's mother (*amaayyē*), older person to a senior elder (*abbaachchõ*), to one's uncle (*ianna abbaayyõ*), to an aunt (*iam abbaayyõ*), a generic term for older person (s) (*lomanna*) and village representative (*mool daanna)* are used.

There are two other important terms that are frequently used by the younger people to address elder men and women. Those words are a man (*abba)* and a woman (*aayya*). These two words are used without paying attention to patrilineal or matrilineal relativeness rather they are used in a general context for the overall village elderly people. Terms such as *eeshimma* and *amaayya* are used to address ones' mother's brother and mother sister respectively.

The term aunt (*ada*) is used to address ones' father's sister. The term uncle (*annabbaayyo*) is used to patrilineal relatives. Grandmother (*ianna ama*) and grandmother (*iama ama*) are used to address one's father's mother and mother's mother respectively. The term for brother is (*iabbayyo*) and for that of a sister (*iaayya*). In addition, some of the social classifier terms used in the village are below:

Glossary	Terms of Address
a soothsayer	*hiraagaanchcho*
a witch	*kiiraanchcho*
a thief	*gamaanchcho*
someone with bad eye	*gojaanchcho*
adulterer	*saanchcho*
someone who backbites	*hamaanchcho*
a stubborn person particularly young boy	*kaafiiraanchcho*
someone who has bad characteristics	*hantaraanchcho*
a talkative young boy or girl	*kontolla*
someone who does not have limits over things	*hirimbeanne*
someone who does not care for their culture	*hiraagbeane*
someone who is not polite	*mayak beane*
someone who misbehaves in a sexual way	*shayid beanne*
someone who does not do things properly	*tiir beeanne*
someone who has lower values for himself	*wolaban beeanne*
an alternative term for the Hadiya society	*wolabichcho*
members with better expertise among the society	*wokkaccichcho*
a warrior	*gaadaancho*
he who does not have enough to sustain his life	*sibaaraanchcho*
someone who is thirsty	*xeebeaanchcho*
a wealthy person in the village	*gooddaanchcho*
a poor person in the village	*buxxichcho*

table 4: social classifier terms

2.7.4 The Patrilineal Descent System in the Village

The patrilineal descent system exists throughout the village. This reality is evident in the overall social order of the society. Hence, kinship plays major roles among the society. Every activity of the society from marriage to property ownership, as well as struggles for power, are determined by kinship ideology. For this reason it is very important to look at how the households in the village are structured. The households contain the main social units, and their kinship systems are organized in order to maintain the social order.

In fact, various aspects of the village community's social life are governed by the basic principle of patrilineal descent (*lobb annoo*) ideology. This ideology is implemented through

different genealogically linked ties, which is evident in residential relationships[93] as well. For instance, in their day to day relationships, members of the village households always evoke the fact that they have descended from their common Hadiya ancestor throughout all villages.

Moreover, the mechanism by which they trace their common ancestor is through patrilineal descent. As a common trend throughout the village people who trace similar decent inhabit in the same area. In such a situation it is forbidden to marry from the same agnatic descent. Violating such a social rule has negative consequences for those who attempt it.

In this sense, the social order is organized according to the descent relationships of individuals. The individual households are expected to oversee problems in the village and engage in the village council; it is a social obligation that every descent group and household comply with the social order of the Hadiya society. Violations of such a social order will result in excommunication from the social engagements of the descent group.

The patrilineal descent principle of kinship recognition among the Hadiya society binds the village community together through a genealogical process of ascending merging and descending segmentation system. This genealogical process of ascending merging and descending segmentation is self-evident in the hierarchical kinship ideology of the society, which begins with a single household.

Afterwards, seven or more households who are connected through patrilineal descent make up a *Moolo*. More than two groupings of *Moolo* form a *Sullo.* Several *Sullo* groups form *Giichcho*. In the end, when multiple *Giichcho* groups trace their descent to the same ancestor Hadiya, they form the final hierarchy of the Hadiya society. This last hierarchy of the Hadiya society is called *Giira*. Therefore, the ancestor Hadiya is alternatively called *Giira*.

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[93] Such a relationship has some sort of similarity with what Platenkamp (1998a) argued among the Tobelo: "among Tobelo three categories of relationships [exist]: people sharing common origin—of a founding ancestor, of a house—the people of one house, of the land and water granted in custody to their living descendants, and of the image/ reputation embodied in them" (1998a: 291).
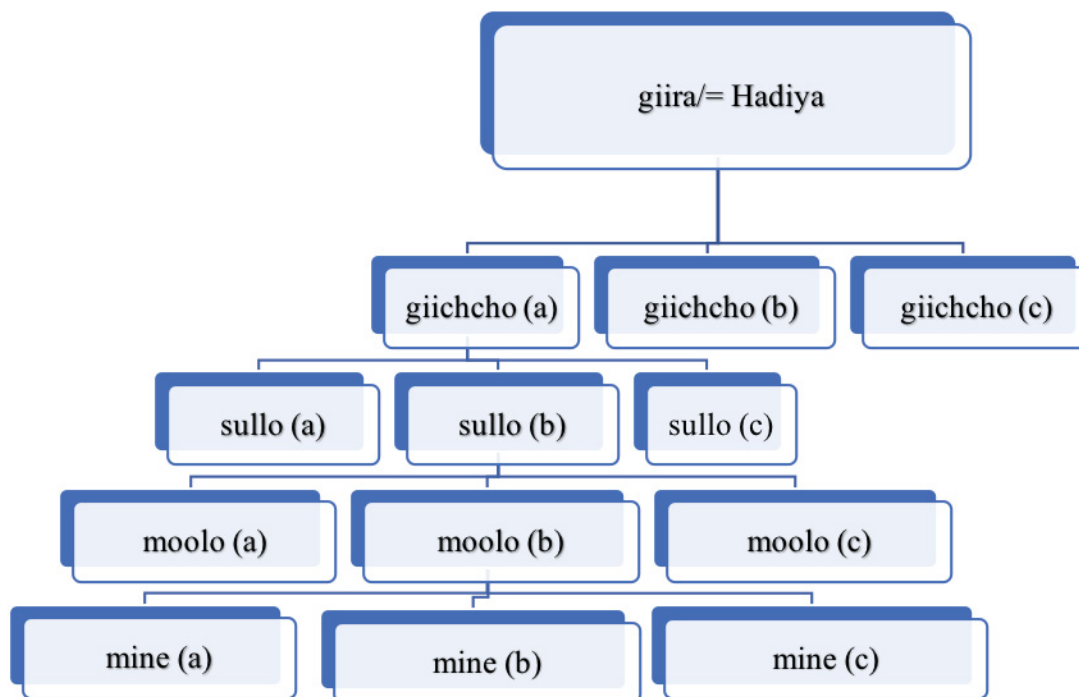
figure 9: Hadiya patrilineal descent hierarchy. In the above diagram after every 'c' there are more substructures.

Kinship ideology plays a major role in determining the overall ways of living in the village. However, it is possible for non-Hadiya to live in the Sadama Marduncho village in order that they may engage in social relations. To accommodate both the Hadiya and non-Hadiya members the villagers bring together a minimum of twenty-five households to form one unit (*nafara*). The *nafara* includes households of the same descent as well as non-descent households. The main concept of the membership is shouldering social responsibilities. These is active participation during death rituals, marriage ceremonies, engaging in conflict resolution, giving a helping hand in the event of natural catastrophes and man-made calamities (in case a house or property is burnt by arsonists) and an active engagement in important activities of the society.

Members who are connected through patrilineal descent form separate units to form their own exclusive social organizations. Within this context they deal with issues which only matter to them. For instance, if another member attacks one of their members by aiming at their group identity they resolve the issue by holding a private council meeting. This council meeting represented by the male members of each household (*abaroosa*). Among the society *abaroossa* denotes a group of people who share common agnatic descent and a common patronym, which includes father, mother, children, sons' wives and their children, non-married father's sisters and brothers.

In addition, close family members are expected to support each other. The grand-parents are protected and cared for by their sons and daughters as well as by their grand-children. Quarrels are non-avoidable within households (*abaroosa),* and quite often solved by the elder members of the society who implement traditional negotiation mechanisms.

In general, the patrilineal lineage is the primary basis for the social relations of Sadama Marduncho village households. It is also only in the patrilineal lineage line that members of the society claim for power and influence within the village. In view of this it is evident that the leadership roles are merely based upon the principle of membership to the patrilineal descent.

2.7.5 Kinship Composition of Nuclear Families and Extended Families

The definition of nuclear family among the village society is composed of husband (*min anna*), wife (*min amma*) and children (*ooso*). It was observed that there are good relationships between husband and wife; however, more intimate relationships are observable between the children and parents. An elder informant has argued the reason for such a close relationship:

> In our culture, the primary reason for marriage is to have children. We consider children in equivalent terms with wealth. In this sense, if you do not have children, you are nothing.

Therefore, after marriage if you do not have children it is considered that your marriage is not full.[94]

In several instances a close relationship was observed between the Sadama Marduncho village household children and their mothers. It was concluded from this observation that the children tend to love their mothers more than their fathers. The main reason for this is associated with the adequate care they get from their mothers as opposed to their fathers. Some of the younger boys and girls who were interviewed in the village have shared their views. One of them summarized their arguments in the following terms:

> I love my mother more than my father. Because, my mother provides me with food and protection. I do not get proper care from my father in the same way I get from my mother. In addition, as I was very young most of the time I spent with my mother and not with my father. My mother is the closest person for all my siblings. Therefore, we love our mother more than our father. However, we respect both in equal terms, because if we do not respect our mother and father then they do not like us.[95]

One of the important culturally imposed responsibilities of the children among the Sadama Marduncho village of the Hadiya society is taking care of their parents at later times. For instance, when the parents become very old the children are responsible to care for them, particularly the male children but more specifically the youngest son (*ilmuchch beeto*). Failing to provide such care can result in a curse (*duunchcha*) from the parents. Therefore, no member of the society forsakes this culturally imposed responsibility.

At an early stage the father teaches his sons how to handle agricultural activities as well as how to handle other responsibilities, such as what it means to be respecting elder men in the village. The mother teaches her daughters all the socially and culturally required responsibilities

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[94] An interview with elder persons in Sadama Marduncho village of the Lemo district of the Hadiya society in Aug. 2016.

[95] An interview with boys and girls under 16 in the village in Jul. 2016.

of women among the Hadiya society, such as how to properly cook, to keep their hygiene, and some of the social conducts on how to interact with men at later times.

The parents carefully orient their children because the children will get social acceptance by the members of the society when they grow up. For instance, throughout the villages of the Hadiya society bad characteristics of the children are considered as the result of bad parenting. In view of this, parents who help mold their children's character according to the culture of the society gain respect in the eyes of the villagers, which encourages the parents to give more attention in guiding their children's behavior.

In return the children should respect their parents. Failing to do so will result in cursing by the parents. A curse (*duunchcha*) is considered one of the worst things to befall a person, and so no member of the society would willingly put himself or herself in that position. The subsequent notion has led the members of the society to behave according to culturally approved rules. It is also based on this notion that individuals do not steal, lie and do not engage in bad social behavior. In addition, a curse is believed to be transferred from parents to their children. Therefore, parents give due respect for their elder members of the society to receive blessing (*maaso)*, which is perceived as very good for the future of their children.

In this light there is opposition between the concept of *duuncha* and *maaso*. Every bad deed by a villager is a means to receive *duuncha,* and the opposite is true for the *maaso.* The power to manipulate the two concepts is believed to be bestowed on both male and female elder members of the village community. Primarily, it is for this reason that the rest of the villagers give good care, respect and interact politely with the elders.

In each village, members of the society also take a collective responsibility by overseeing such a practice. If there is a very old woman or man in a household and it is noticed that there is less care being taken of them than expected, elder members of the village community will urge the individual household members to become more attentive in how they take care of their parents. In fact, every household knows that it is the social responsibility of

everyone to take care of their aged parents. Members of the village community learn from their childhood of their family and social responsibilities.

In this regard, an individual household's children will learn responsibilities in the following manner. The first son will learn the responsibility of overseeing his younger brothers and sisters. When he notices misbehavior, he can give corporal punishment (*mugi ganimma*) and guide them according to the good manners of the members of the society. The parents do not interfere in such issues and allow him complete freedom to exercise his power.

The main reason for such handing over of authority to the elder sons was argued by one of the informants in this manner:

> I think of my own death all the time. If my son is capable to handle my children and he is strong enough to take responsibilities, my wife and children will not face problems even if I die. Therefore, making ready my elder son for such a future responsibility is very important.

It was also observed that the subsequent handing over of power to the elder son has helped maintain respect among family members in the village households. The respect was evident in certain practices in the house. For instance, the younger ones wash the legs of the elder brothers and sisters. In addition, they also do not address the elder brothers and sisters directly with their first names, instead they use an extended suffix to their names. For instance, if the name of a brother and sister is Dilamo and Mishaame, the younger brothers and sisters address them Dilaamo *abaayyo* and Mishaame *aayichche* respectively. Such a situation has also helped them to have intimate relationships among themselves and that leads the siblings to live in harmony and peace.

The close friendship among the siblings has not become a means for the siblings to discuss everything they want. For instance, discussing certain matters openly is considered as vulgar and ill-mannered behavior in the children. One of those issues is the issue of sexuality. Therefore, nobody dares to talk about sex organs among the family. However, girls may share

some of the issues to their mothers particularly during the time of their puberty. But this is not the case for the boys during the adolescent years.

However, it was observed that boys and girls after the age of 16 will learn about other aspects of life in general from their parents. That includes what it means to be a husband and wife and what the subsequent roles are as well. At this stage, fathers do not care that much about girls assuming it is the role of their mother to coach them in this aspect of life.

Within the above context parents split up their responsibilities. Fathers assume good care and guidance to their sons because it is the son who contributes to the continuation of the patrilineal ancestry. Above all the sons are the ones who are responsible for taking care of their parents until death. At death the son must make sure to organize a good funeral ceremony. There is a common saying in Hadiyisa 'a male child will bury you' (*goonchchi beet waamookko*). Due to this situation anticipating a death without a male progeny is scary for the members of the society.[96] It is for this reasons that when an elder Hadiya blesses a member of the society he quite often repeats this statement: 'may our ancestor's deity provide you a son who will bury you' (*kaa niyano Waai waamoo beeto uwwonna*).

2.8 Marriage System

Marriage is ruled by the customary law of the people. In the countryside there is no legal registration of married couples in the government's administrative office of the village.[97] Subsequently everything in villages regarding the marriage practice as well as disputes are ruled by the customary law of the Hadiya society.

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[96] Deng (1998) argued: "the Dinka fear the most is not death itself, but dying without male progeny, in whom the survival of their individual identities, their source of immortality, is vested" (Deng 1998:105). Likewise, Hadiya holds similar notion concerning their male members of the society.

[97] In Ethiopia marriage certificates are only granted to married couples in city municipalities (Ezra 2003; Augustyniak 2009).

In view of this the practice is conducted through rituals. In addition, members of the society are guided by certain marriage rules. The main rules are incest prohibitions, preferential marriage rules, post-marital residence rules, divorce regulations and marriage alliance relationships initiated between families. These aspects are explained in more detail in the following sections.

2.8.1 Incest Prohibitions

A sexual relationship between close family members is prohibited by the customary law. It is a general rule that any member of the society who is connected to another member through patrilineal descent until the seventh ancestor cannot engage in any form of sexual relationship. The boys and girls of the households are taught such a relationship is taboo. Therefore, the children will be careful about it when they grow up.

A.   B.   C.
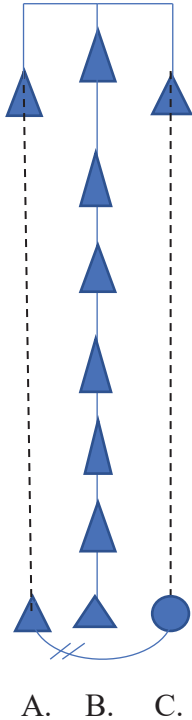
figure 10: patrilineal descent sexual prohibition

In the above diagram A and C are related to each other through patrilineal descent B. Therefore, they cannot engage in a sexual relationship. However, sometimes some adults violate such a

rule. When the village community becomes aware of such a violation, the village traditional authorities who are responsible to rule the customary law of the households call for a council meeting (*dummichcha*).

In the council meeting, first the parents of the children will be questioned by the village traditional authorities if they are aware of the situation. If the parents deny that their children did commit such a transgression, the council request them to swear to it (*duumimma*).[98] If the parents hesitate the council will question the households for further investigations.

If the further investigation proves that the adult boy and girl have engaged in the sexual relationship they will be required to show up in person before the council and explain the situation in detail. Then the council leaders will listen to them turn by turn. Afterwards, they will impose a penalty based on their customary law. The penalty is due to all the household members of the boy and girl. Consequently, in the light of such strict rules, the prohibition is respected generally.

Moreover, it was evident that there was no case reported to the village traditional council of the occurrence of a sexual relationship between a father and his own children so far. If such a case were to be reported the customary law of the society stipulates for the permanent excommunication (*yaayimma*) of individuals from the village membership.

2.8.2 Preferential Marriage Rules

The village custom in rules about marriage are dependent on patrilateral exogamy.[99] In this manner the minimum limit for couples to engage in a marriage relationship is if the blood

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[98] Practically there is no individual who can confidently swear if he is aware what his children have committed.

[99] Abduction is a prohibited form of marriage among the village people because it does not offer a chance for them to organize a ceremony based on their cultural practices. However, in rare occurrences some men abduct marriageable women. This is also the case in other districts of the Hadiya sub-province (Tesfaye 2008).

tie of their ancestors from a patrilineal side exceeds seventh ancestor. Hence, the kinship ties which bond potential couples play a role in determining the potential marriage for male and female counterparts. In addition, from the maternal side, the couple's marriage as it involves two clans, can take place only after the third generation.
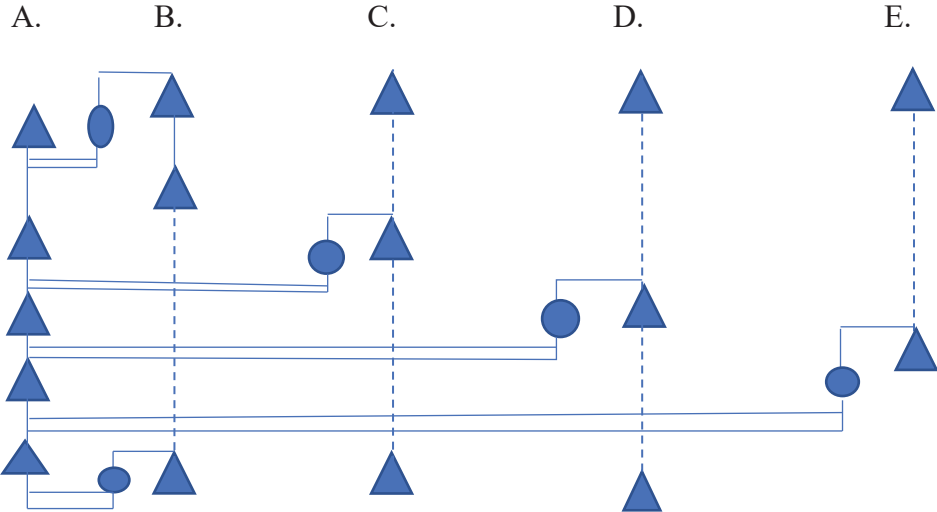
figure 11: Hadiya matrilateral marriage preference

In the above diagram possibilities of matrilineal marriage among the Hadiya clans is as follows:

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Generation          Marriage preference
 0                  A ← B
- 1                 A ← C
- 2                 A ← D
- 3                 A ←  E
- 4                 A ← B
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 There are also two common types of marriages among the Sadama Marduncho village: 1). Monogamous marriage—this type of marriage happens between a man and a woman of two different clans of the Hadiya society. In addition, between a man or a woman of the Hadiya society and other Ethiopian societies.

2). Polygynous marriage—marriage between a man and two or more different wives either both wives from one clan or from different Hadiya clans as well as other neighboring Ethiopian societies.

In the Sadama Marduncho village, the two types of marriages exhibit one common characteristic. That is, endogamy is less common than exogamy. This is because the village community prefers to establish marriage relationships with people outside of their immediate membership, particularly with members of the Kambata society.[100] Both counterparts aim to project their own values over one another. For instance, the Hadiya men marry Kambata women because of their ability to cook good food and physical beauty and the vice versa because of their cattle wealth and bigger land-size. On the other hand, Hadiya women want to marry Kambata men because of their wisdom and vice versa because of their strength.[101]

a)   H ▲   ● K

b)   H ●   ▲ K   ; H represents Hadiya and K represents Kambata
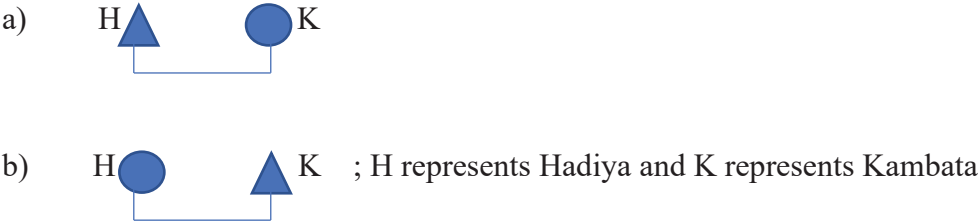
figure 12: intermarriage between Hadiya and Kambata societies

marriage preference	Reason
H ♂: K♀	physical beauty and good food preparation
K♀: H ♂	cattle wealth and land size
H♀: K ♂	Wisdom
K ♂: H♀	Strength

table 5: reasons for marriage preference between Hadiya and Kambata

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[100] In this, marriage plays dual roles. First engaging in marriage relationship and second engaging in the establishment of new social relationship.

[101] Since Hadiya and Kambata have similar marriage rules they do not face any contradictions in that regard.

The statistics gathered during this research in the Sadama Marduncho village of the Lemo district are as follows. Among the 600 households 2% of the households are polygamous and 98% monogamous marriages. Of both cases combined 53 % of marriage relationships are established through exogamous relationships with non-Hadiya society and 47% through endogamous relationships with different Hadiya clans who reside within the Hadiya sub-province.

The primary reason for the Hadiya in different villages to establish marriage relationships with non-Hadiya is due to the society's general preference for the exogamous marriage relationships. This preference is because it was argued that a strong child will be born out of such marriage relationships. As such the villagers in Sadama Marduncho establish their own independent family "primarily to keep the generation continuity" argued an informant. He has added: "the family is one of the things which makes someone a full member of the Hadiya society, and it is a means through which every Hadiya proves whether he has the capacity to hold responsibility or not."

Due to certain requirements it is not easy to establish marriage relationships in the village. Hadiya men require the women to be younger than them, beautiful and of a good character. Her families' decency and the respect that the family has among the villagers, the potential of the family to offer dowry and the girl being virgin (*duuda*) are the basic ones. All this information is accessed through a marriage messenger (*xeeisaanchche*). This woman helps as a messenger between the two counterparts. Quite often it is this messenger in the village who facilitates the introduction of a marriageable woman from elsewhere and a man. For instance, if the woman learns of a man in her village with a good potential for marriage, she approaches him and informs him that she knows a woman elsewhere with good qualities. At this point, if the man is interested in what the marriage messenger recommends him, an introduction process will be facilitated by the same woman.

However, if a prospective husband wants to marry a girl with no concern for the qualities highlighted his family members force him to change his choice. This is because a bride who does not fulfil the minimum expectations of his family members is thought not deserving of a marriage ritual.[102] Moreover, Hadiya girls require a groom to be wise and his family to be strong, and she puts his clan nobility under consideration when deciding whether to accept a marriage proposal.

It was argued premarital "sexual intercourse is strongly prohibited. It is inappropriate to sleep with a man before marriage since not having virginity destroys the reputation of her family and sometimes her closer community members.'' Upon marriage everybody expects the girl to be 'virgin' (*duuda*). [103] In view of this the Hadiya men are strongly keen to marry virgin ladies (*duud landichche*). That is the number one criterion for their achievement in their lives.[104] Not being a virgin can cause what was shared as a testimony in the following terms: "ten years ago my close relative's daughter was forced to divorce because of not being a virgin." Such a notion reinforces the Hadiya women to be subservient to the social order of the society.

2.8.3 Marriage Rituals and Alliance Relationship Between Families

Marriage alliance relationships between families is established through the processes of pre-marital and post-marital relationships.[105] Such a process initiates a new form of relationship between the husband's and wife's families. The relationship begins from the time of the engagement (*xeeaqancha*) of the couple. Engagement has its own forms. First, the engagement follows the norms and culture of Hadiya. A year ahead three elder men are sent to the bride's

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[102] "It is through a socially acquired sense of ritual that members of a society know how to improvise a birthday celebration or stage an elaborate wedding […] Disagreements over ritual can be as fierce or as casual as those over honor or artistic beauty" (Bell 2009: 80).

[103] This word has double meaning in the Hadiya language: it can also be used for "muteness" (*duuda*).

[104] As far as a good marriage is concerned, this notion is widely common among the Hadiya society.

[105] (Marriage and affinal relationships, cp. Platenkamp 1988a: 190-200).

father's and mother's house to appeal to their will. On this day the elders take honey in a clay pot and few pieces of wet grass. As soon as they enter the house, they place the honey and grass next to the house pillar (*utubba*) to symbolize the ancestors of the household are sweet as honey and kind as the wet grass.

The father and mother of the groom, together with a few elders of the neighborhood, welcome the new guests. In such a process they hold an hour of discussion. During the dialogue the guests will be confronted with a lot of questions. Quite often in the end the bride's father and mother will respond that they have accepted the proposal. In the meantime, they will provide good food and traditional drinks for the guests. In the end, the messengers of the groom will come back to the village with good news.

After half a year the groom and six village elders will take the bride price (*qoota*). On average 200-EUR to the bride's father and 100-EUR to the mother. It was argued that a groom's family sometimes refuses to accept the bride price by claiming that the money is not enough. In this case two things can happen: either adding more money or explaining financial inability and requesting understanding.

Once the bride price is handed over the groom's father assigns a piece of land for the construction of a new house (*mine*). In this land, in collaboration with the members of the household, a new house will be constructed.

Between six months to a year from the day of the bride price ceremony the actual marriage ceremony day will be scheduled. Once this date is allotted both groom's and bride's families engage in preparation for the marriage ceremony. They prepare plenty of traditional food and drink in collaboration with their neighborhood. During the preparations for the marriage ceremony a free hand is expected of co-residents as well close patrilineal descent members who reside further away.

A month prior to the marriage ceremony day both families visit house to house of their co-residents and their close patrilineal and matrilineal distant relatives to make a formal

invitation. On the actual marriage ceremony day the invited guests of the groom's family come to groom's family house from lunch time (14 hrs). The same is true for the invited guests of the bride's family. The guests in both households spend their time until the evening as they consume the traditional food and drink. In addition, in the groom's house grown up men will dance and sing traditional songs and likewise grown up females at the bride's house.

In the meantime, by 16 hrs on average 100 persons travel on foot (*sifilla*) accompanied by horse men (*faradaano*), and together with the groom march to the wife's family as they chant Hadiya traditional songs.[106] On this day, both families reciprocate cultural materials. Thus, the husband takes a list of traditional gifts to the bride's close family members such as father, mother, father's brother, father's sister, mother's brother and mother's sister.[107]

On the other hand, the bride's family will be ready to host the guest. As soon as they are welcomed the marriage gifts should be handed over to the bride family members. While all the people are quiet and attentive the groom, assisted by his close friends (*beshichcho*), will offer the gifts one by one to the bride's family members.

Afterwards the household offers the Hadiya traditional meals and drinks to the groom's accompanying men as a sign of welcome. Once the guests finish consuming the food, the bride's household will bring the lady in front of the attendees. At this stage the bride wears all the necessary costumes for the marriage ceremony. The marriage contract will occur in front of the witnesses from both sides. However, so long as there are witnesses and their consent has been considered, the presence of a legal personnel is not relevant because the customary law of Hadiya is adequate for the village people.

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[106] It is through the invitation (minaagisha) of the bride by the wife parents and through bride price (*qoota*) by the husband parents, the marriage alliance relationships between the two families is more strengthened.

[107] These gifts are a blanket (*gaabe*), a thin scarf (*naxalla*) and a long dress (*qamissa*). For similar situation (cp. Platenkamp 1992: 87).

After signing the marriage contract the bride family offers the dowry. The dowry includes a calf, an ox, a donkey, a horse, traditional plates, cups and cooking pots. These items are offered merely for the later use of bride and groom. In addition, more gifts will be sent for the close family members of the husband. Traditional blanket (*gaabe*), hut (*qoobe*), and belt (*qabato*) for the groom's father. Traditional scarf (*natalla*), long dress (*qamissa*) and an umbrella (*jantilla*) for the groom's mother. Traditional blankets (*gaabe*) for the uncles of the groom and traditional scarf (*natalla*) for the aunts of the groom. All these gifts will be brought together with the groom and bride and will be handed over to the husband's family members. By the evening (19 hrs) the husband and wife together with the crowd will come back to the family of the husband. By the time the bride arrives in the husband's house the sisters of the husband will wait eagerly to perform a traditional ritual. This ritual is waiting at the main door (*gooci amadima*) where the bride enters. During this time the husband's sisters detach a circled piece of cloth from the bride's waist (*lemed tirima*) and search for hidden money inside this cloth. This ritual symbolize that the bride is no longer a stranger to the house and declares her full membership in the husband's family from that day onwards.
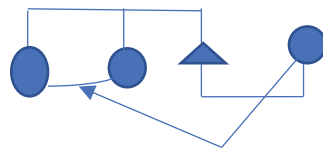
figure 13: groom's sisters welcoming a bride

At the same time, a good number of men and women sing traditional songs in the bride's household compound. It is also this crowd who welcome when the bride and groom arrive. After the welcoming, all the gifts and items brought with the wife and husband are handed over to the respective individuals.[108] However, the bride is not expected to offer these gifts as was

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[108] Some elders argue that the gifts offered to the groom's father are representative of certain qualities. For instance, a hut (*qoobe)* represents honour and a belt (*qabeto)* is a symbol for strength. This is to say it

the case for the groom to her close family members. This is in accordance with the Hadiya tradition of a newly married woman not being exposed to the public for at least a month from the actual marriage ceremony day. In the meantime, the rest of the crowd remains seated and enjoys the moment. At this stage the formal marriage procedure ends.

Moreover, the next day the husband's aunts (father's sisters) will announce whether the bride is virgin or not. According to the Hadiya culture the husband's aunts should bring well prepared traditional food (*woccitta*). It was argued that while the groom penetrating his wife's virginity loses a lot of energy. Therefore, to substitute the sperm he should be well fed. On the contrary if she is not virgin it will be very bad for her reputation and it also leads to a potential divorce.

Once the bride has settled into the groom's family household she invents her own new relationships vocabularies to address the close family members and her husband's siblings. For instance, she will commonly address groom's father and mother as sir (*abbaachcho*) and madam (*aadee*) respectively. While addressing her husband's siblings she uses suffix '-*ehhe*' at the end of every verb she uses to address them. For instance, if the names of male and female siblings are 'Mishaamo' and 'Chuufo', instead of addressing them directly come (*waare*), she uses Mishaamo *waalehhe* and Chuufo *waalehhe*. The suffix, '-*ehhe*' signifies tone of respect. To ease the new environment for the bride, the groom's family members give her special attention. They wash her legs and clothes, cook food and fulfil their responsibilities. This will continue at least for several weeks. Subsequently she may not feel a stranger any longer.

2.8.4 Post-marital Residence Rules

After the marriage the couple is required to stay with the family of the husband (virilocal). At the day of the marriage the wife is brought to her husband's parent's house.

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is because you are strong man that we have given you our daughter and you deserve to receive these gifts to confirm that we honor and respect you.

Afterwards she will stay in a separate house (*jagera*), located in the vicinity of her father-in-law and mother-in-law. It is in this house that she will stay on average for half a year.

From the first day onwards the husband's family will take care of her. The new wife has privileges to be considered as a unique person in terms of the way the household and the immediate village community considers. She is not allowed to cook and shoulder any other responsibilities.

However, she will engage in traditional hand-work activities (*muut gobbimma*). This is done by an upper section of strong grass (*wiixxa*). By using *wiixxa* she makes the following traditional items for household use: plate (sorô), filter (*illanchcho*), food placing traditional table (*leemata*) and a big traditional plate to keep crops (*qunna*). She will make on average 10 traditional handmade items for her use as well for the use of the family of her husband. This is also a way for her to prove that she is a good wife.

In addition, the village boys and girls come to visit her from time to time. During this period the new wife practices affinal name avoidance and is expected to give a new name for every member of her husband's siblings and her father-in-law and mother-in-law. Otherwise it is considered as unpolite (*ill iggaalla*).

On average after half a year of marriage the new husband and wife will relocate to an independent house, located in closer proximity to the husband's family. This house is built by the husband with the support of his family. It is in this house that the husband and wife will lead an independent life. As a result, the villagers consider them legitimate members of the community and offer them the privilege of engaging in the overall social relations of the village people.

2.8.5 Divorce Regulations

Divorce can occur either on the initiative of the husband or the wife. There are various factors which can initiate divorce. One of the fundamental reasons is the inability of the women

to give birth (*qarim hoonge.*) In addition, if the wife engages in a sexual relationship with another man in the village (*mul goonchinne iinseimma*).

From the perspective of the women the main factors which force them to appeal for the divorce is the man's abuse of alcohol and the subsequent physical attack on her. As a result, in the first instance she tries to solve the issue through the village traditional council. However, if the husband still is not able to correct himself the wife will request that the village traditional council invite her father and mother to participate in the council meeting.

Consequently, her parents will be invited to attend the hearing of the village traditional council meeting. If still the husband will not improve himself, at this stage the council will give the permission to make the divorce. At the time of a divorce a husband's and wife's property is split up among them.

Dealing with a divorce case is not an easy task for the village council. However, it is less difficult when the husband and wife do not have children and the marriage is only a few years old. The traditional village council deals with divorce cases as follows:

First, one of the spouses reports to an individual who has authority in the village council meeting. Second, that person passes on this information to certain individuals who oversee the council meeting in the village. Third, all the village members decide on how to deal with the issue and call for a meeting whereby there will be a hearing of the case from both parties one by one. During this time, while one of the elders interrogates, the rest of the elders cross check various contradictions of the speech. They decide by favouring the party they feel has been most honest with them. [109]

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[109] If they find it easy to solve the dispute, the elders will demand to reconcile the husband and wife. If both parties agree on the reconciliation process, that will be effectuated. Otherwise, they will postpone for the next time meeting for further discussion with their close relatives. At last, a mature decision may be the outcome of such a process.

During the second meeting, either the elders attempt to reconcile the husband and wife or, if both parties refuse, they may decide to make a divorce by allocating and splitting up certain resources among the two parties. The fate of the children will be discussed clearly. If the wife decides to re-marry either she will be accompanied by the children if the new husband agrees to this, or, if not, she will give the care of her children to her parents. Sometimes, if they agree, she could give the care of her children to her close relatives.

At times of divorce the village council divides the materials in the following order. First list out all the materials in front of the council meeting—the husband and wife and close friends will be present to provide testimony in case one of them lies about the materials. Second, the elders identify independent belongings to either of them. Third, the elders split up all the materials one by one for the husband and wife, except land. Fourth, the village traditional council always decides that the children should go with the wife.[110] Moreover, at times of divorce issues related to bride price and dowry are not part of the process. It was argued that it is not culturally relevant to have further discussion about those matters. In addition, no relationship is going to continue between the family of the husband and wife after divorce, in a such a way funeral rights or other social obligations are not expected. In this regard, it is only the children who maintain the tie with their mother's family.

The negative consequences of divorce mean that stable marriages are very important for the families in the village to live in peace and harmony. In-fact to avoid the occurrence of potential divorce, the Sadama Marduncho village council leaders work very hard to solve disputes as they deal with reconciliation processes from time to time.

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[110] The religious authorities also do not interfere with the decision of the council meeting if not what they have decided is going to harm both the children and wife, of course this is also only possible in the case the wife demands the religious authority interference.

2.9 Village Relationships

2.9.1 Joint Labour

In the Sadama Marduncho village of the Hadiya society the household members engage in different labour activities. It is through the joint labour activity that they easily tackle the agricultural activities. In this sense, the joint labour is based on gender and age groups. For example, a married men group, a married women group, an adult boys' group and an adult girls' group.

The married men work in joint farming and harvesting activities. The women work in harvesting *weesa* plant processing (*duugimma*). The boys work in joint labour by cultivating corn and sorghum plants at the early stage as well as harvesting them later. The girls for harvesting *weesa* plant together with women and for harvesting agricultural products during threshing. In this manner, the joint labour activity of the society is reciprocal. Therefore, members of the village society shoulder their responsibilities accordingly.

2.9.2 Collective Solidarities

The households in the village engage in different reciprocal activities. It is through the engagement in such reciprocal tasks in relation to other households that the households have maintained their daily life. Households bound together by engagement in reciprocal tasks come in two groups: groups of three households and groups of thirty households. The three households support one another when important relatives visit one of their houses. During such occasions the other two household women bring a meal and prepared traditional coffee. In addition, if the household hosting the guests does not have enough sleeping space the two other two households shoulder joint hospitality. Moreover, collective responsibility is very common

among these three households at times of their members' illness. Taking care of the minor children is also part of their collective responsibility.

In addition, every morning they reciprocate fire by using embers from inside the ashes of other households. This is instead of using matches every morning in every household. The woman visits the next house to request if the other house has a fire that she may use for this purpose. Such a practice is common among the households of Sadama Marduncho village.

A group of thirty households and more in the Sadama Marduncho village community engage in collective activities together. These households are close to each other (a maximum of 1.5 km distance apart). The main basis of their relationship is co-residence. They are separated from the respective similar small-scale households by a main road. Their shared responsibility includes giving an obligatory hand at times of death as well as marriage rituals.[111] They invite one another during the rituals of male and female circumcision. In this sense they are a ritual community.

In terms of leadership these households are ruled by few elders. A leader of the group must primarily be an aged member of the society. It is also required to have qualities of patience, calmness, wisdom and the abilities of an orator. The rest of the members listen and obey any imposed social order by these elderly members of the society. On the one hand, decency, impartiality and truthfulness are mainly expected of the elderly representatives. On the other, any contrary personal quality to these can cause a bad reputation for the elder representatives. The elder leaders deal with every matter brought before them carefully.

2.9.3 Reconciliation Roles Through Collective Solidarities

Different matters force the members of the household to call upon the elders at times of need. For instance, if a husband abuses his wife or a child's rights are violated by their father,

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[111] In Sadama Marduncho village giving a support at times of death is an obligation of every individual.

the affected individuals report to the elderly members of the society. The elders listen to every case with a good care and patience. Afterwards they call for a meeting of household heads while the accuser and accused are present.[112]

While all the people are gathered under a tree, the first chance for speaking is given to the accuser. He or she is asked to clarify what has happened to him or her. During this time, interruption is forbidden; however, if there is lack of clarity one of the elders may ask an investigative question in the form of: "can you repeat it again or what do mean by what you have explained to us now?" After listening to the victim, the accused is given the chance either to defend themselves or to provide an explanation of their action.[113]

Afterwards, both individuals are asked to leave the council meeting so that the elders hold a talk exclusively on the procedures of dealing with the case. Subsequently every elder suggests the way forward. If they reach a census to take any action immediately followed by a reconciliation they implement right away. Otherwise, they assign a future date to deal with the issue in further detail.

2.10 Inheritance System

2.10.1 Movable and Immovable Properties

Inheritance in the Sadama Marduuncho village is one of the important aspects of social life. The primary form of inheriting movable and non-movable property is having a patrilineal relationship to the inheritor. Within this context the inheritance ritual is conducted under two conditions: marriage and death (cf. chapt.2). For example, if the sons or daughters establish

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[112] Such strategy is used within the customary system throughout the Hadiya society (Amanuel 2009; Handamo 2006).

[113] All the village community believes that blessing and cursing by the elder members of the society will affect their own and their children's fate. Therefore, anything asked by the elders should be accepted and implemented without any discontent.

their own new independent family through marriage. In such a case the male members of society receive a piece of land as well as movable inheritances. The female members of the society can only inherit movable properties from their parents while male members have the privilege of inheriting property with no exception.

In the case of the sons and daughters leaving their parents' home through marriage, the remaining movable and non-movable properties that remain under the ownership of the parents is entirely given to the ultimo genitor (*ilmuchbeeto*). The rest of his siblings do not say anything because they are aware that such a practice is part and parcel of the Hadiya customary practices. In this sense, there is no legal claim, even in front of the contemporary court ruling in the district office of the society.[114]

However, parents can impose restrictions on their sons and daughters who do not obey their order. In such a case the children cannot claim anything from their parents, but they can appeal to their village elders to explain the situation. Then the village elders deal with this issue in detail in consultation with the parent. If they consider that the father is very bitter and does not want to change his decision, they do not push him to change his mind. Such a decision is bad for the children to whom the inheritance is forbidden.

The sons and daughters for whom their parents forbid inheritance face further problems due to a consequent bad image and reputation. Members of the society in the Sadama Marduncho village dislike them and do not consider them as serious members of the society. In addition, since the marriage engagements are done through individual recommendations, the same children face a lot of problem with regards to engaging in possible marriage relationships.

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[114] The current research stipulates that in recent years the Ethiopian government has tried to handle customary legal issues of the society with no interference. For instance, a wife was suing her ex-husband over property conflict in 2016. However, her ex-marriage does not have a legal consent except the recognition through the Hadiya customary marriage. Despite this, the Hadiya sub-province court ruling has considered her as a legal wife to the man she was suing.

In the case of individuals who do not have children, their properties are inherited by the sons and daughters they adopt during their lifetime. These children can be patrilineal relatives or non-relatives. However, the blood-line relationship does play a minor role. That is why no bloodline related children who grow up within the individual household will have a full right to inherit the movable and non-movable properties.

2.10.2 Collective and Individual Property Inheritance

Members of the household may stipulate certain conditions for collective inheritance. One of these conditions is when male siblings inherit trees on the land from their father. These trees are planted at the periphery of their father's land and at the time of their father's death the trees are inherited by the male siblings collectively. In other words, the sons will use the trees communally without dividing them between themselves.

The individual inheritance is known in the village community when all the male siblings split up all other properties of their father between themselves. They do this commonly in the following form: the animals will be divided equal shares among all except horse or mule, the land will also be divided between them, under certain circumstances *weesa* is also divided between them. If the father has owned a horse or mule it ultimately belongs to the eldest son.

In the case of a father who has a village council leadership role, such power can only be transferred to the same son. The power of blessing and cursing is also believed to be transmitted from the father to the eldest son. Therefore, after the death of his father the eldest son can play all these roles.

The village community also assume that their ancestor's deity (*anno Waa*) listens to this person's blessing and cursing.

horse /mule

consisting blessing
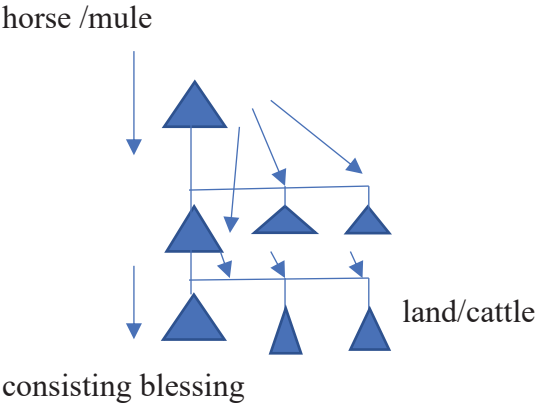
figure 14: property inheritance in the village

2.10.3 Rights of Divorced Women

According to the customary law of the village community in the Sadama Marduncho there are two categories of property rights for divorced women. The first one applies when the divorce is initiated by the woman.[115] The second applies when the divorce is initiated by the man. In the first case there is no property right assumed for the divorced woman. It is only in the latter case that the divorced woman has an inheritance right. In this case the entire movable properties of the husband and wife will be divided into two. As a result, the household items and the animals are divided between the man and the woman. The woman should not re-marry someone a close distance to the ex-husband. This is because the Hadiya customary law stipulates that the divorced woman should not engage in a re-marriage at a distance where her ex-husband can easily see her. If she does so it is considered as interfering with her ex-

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[115] However, whatever the case being, the wife is not expected to return any gift she has received at the time of marriage. For contrary obligation among other societies such as the Asian (cp. Platenkamp 1992: 88).

husband's personal authority. In-fact this is agreed between the ex-husband and wife during the process of the divorce ruling by the village elders.

2.10.4 Rights of Widows

So long as she has given birth to children, at the death of her husband, a widow has all the rights and privileges to own the properties of her husband. In this manner, she can use all the land properties and animals of her husband and utilize them with her children. However, if she wants to re-marry, she will not be allowed to marry from the same sub-village. In such a situation she must move out from her deceased husband's village to make a second marriage. This can be a difficult situation for her children. Due to this problem a widow re-marrying is a rare occurrence throughout the Sadama Marduncho village. However, a brother of her deceased husband may re-marry her as a levirate (*lago-aagima)* and take care of her and his brother's children.

Chapter 3: Life Cycle Rituals among Sadama Marduncho Village

3.1 Introduction

Life cycle rituals are important societal elements in both modern and non-modern societies. It is through such rituals that people express their feelings, their actual daily life actions and their own world-view. In this regard, "ritual symbols" (Bell 2009) are important in helping us to learn the essence of life cycle rituals and in illuminating the social order of a society.

The recent research indicates that the Sadama Marduncho village society partake in life cycle rituals. Such as in birth, initiation (Platenkamp 1988a, 2010b) and death rituals (Hertz 1960, Huntington and Metcalf 1979; Platenkamp 1992, 1988a, 2006a). It is through these rituals that villagers feel they maintain their own socio-cultural order and in turn lead meaningful lives. Within this context, this research attempts to assess those social relations in the proceeding sections.

3.2 Birth Rituals in Sadama Marduncho Village

Platenkamp (1988a) argued that the Tobelo society's socially enacted obligations over pregnant women:

> Pregnancy sets the women apart from the major ritual activities such as marriage and death rituals, since she may not take part in the food exchanges taking place at these occasions. She may not receive food from or offer food to the participants in these rituals, nor is she allowed to consume the left-overs when these exchanges were made in her house. Similar prohibitions apply to her husband during this period (1988a: 134).

Despite the different geographic locations between the Tobelo society and the society under present study, there is a close correlation in the context of the obligation enacted over pregnant women. In this light, the Sadama Marduncho village people impose similar social rules.

However, among the Hadiya no prohibitions are imposed over the husband during this period, he is free to partake in the rituals conducted in the village.

Moreover, birth rituals are conducted in the Sadama Marduncho village. This ritual is celebrated in two phases: on the first day for both and in thirtieth day (f) or fortieth (m) from the day of the delivery of babies. This research stipulates that the Hadiya men prefer to give birth to male children as men are assumed to be strong enough to defend their parents in case of conflicts. In addition, men are also assumed to be strong enough to plough land using a hoe (*heedi korchimma*) during the cultivation of their farmlands and this perception persists strongly among the village people.

1). During the first phase of birth ritual celebration, all the neighbourhood (*nafara)* households come together to congratulate as soon as the woman has delivered the baby.[116] Delivery becomes evident for the particular neighbourhood when the female members of the village who are present during the delivery ululate repetitively. They ululate three times for a female and four times for a male. Subsequently, the households may easily notice the occurrence of such good news in the village.[117] Hence without any formal invitation they go in celebrate and congratulate the woman who has delivered the new baby. The delivery is assisted by elder women who have given birth and have a good reputation in the village. In addition, a traditional mid-wife (*qassisaanchcho*) (either man or woman) should collaborate in the process of delivery. The mother of the child-delivering woman is likewise always present. Except for these people nobody is allowed to be present at the moment of birth.

After the delivery the placenta of the male or female child is handled differently. For the former, the placenta is buried in close proximity to the household pillar while for the latter, the placenta is buried in the backyard of the house next to a growing plant. It was argued that

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[116] Such actions provide a new born-child in the village with the social and cosmological relations in the Sadama Marduncho village (cp. Platenkamp 2010b: 180).

[117] (cp. Platenkamp 1988a: 135).

the placenta buried in the house symbolizes that the male will guarantee the society's ancestral continuation. The placenta buried in the backyard is meant to symbolize how female members of the society maintain social relationships through marriage with non-members elsewhere. Some societies in other regions uphold different notions regarding this. For instance, among the Tobelo society Platenkamp (1988a) argued: "if placenta would be thrown away immediately after delivery, the child would die prematurely. But once a person has died, placenta and body are re-united symbolically in order to undergo a simultaneous process of decay" (1988a: 135). It is evident that both societies are different; however, both societies share a certain level of conceptual similarity over the significance and role of the placenta. In the markedly different treatment between male and female placentas, the former is barren and the latter alive.

Every individual who makes an immediate visit, utters congratulations (*hashshu!*) loudly upon entrance and immediately kisses the woman as he/she repeats a common expression among the village community. This expression is: "may the name of our ancestors be blessed, for you have delivered peacefully (*hashshu habay xumminem qatakoho, Niyanoi Waainna galat afona*). The woman replies: "let our ancestors be blessed amen" (e*yyaa ihonaa, niyyanno Waaina lonb ihonna*).

In the meantime, the elder women of the village sit beside the woman and pay attention to her feelings. On their first visit, fresh butter (*buur qollimma*) should be applied to the forehead of every individual who visits the household. This butter has been prepared by the pregnant woman in advance for this particular purpose. The notion behind applying butter on everybody's forehead is an expression of welcoming a good spirit that has been bestowed upon them in the form of the new born baby's innocent soul (*qaccaal foore*). The village households also believe that it is through using milk products (such as butter) that it is possible to maintain the connection between the households and their ancestral cosmological spirit (*usha*). In this light, the fundamental reason for celebrations of birth rituals for new born children among the

Sadama Marduncho village is to establish social and cosmological relationships between the household, its ancestors and the village people (cp. Platenkamp 2010b: 180-182, 195).

On the first date, some women take the responsibility of welcoming every visitor. They prepare coffee and traditional food (*waasa)*. They provide these food items to the village people who are gathered in the house. Shouldering such a duty on behalf of the baby mother is the social obligations of her female friends. Such a relation serves as proof for the childbearing woman that she is part of the cosmological order of the village community.[118]

2). The second phase, on the thirtieth (f) and fortieth (m) day, selected neighbourhood women (*nafara meento*) prepare a special porridge made of sorghum flour and butter (*wobaxxa*) on the one hand, while the husband in collaboration with his close friends prepares a special bed (*jijiira*) on the other.[119] In the evening of the same date, all the neighbourhood men and women are invited to consume the special porridge. During this time, the neighbourhood women dance and sing Hadiya cultural songs as the men remain seated.

When the women finish singing and dancing the elder men and women bless (*maaso*) the household. In particular they bless the new-born baby, both father and mother, their additional children (if any) as well as the families' entire belongings. Furthermore, in their verbatim, they provide a humble request to their ancestors to guarantee peace, abundant blessings and harmony throughout their village.[120] One such verbatim is:

> Let the innocent baby's soul be blessed (*Qaccaal foore maaseamonna*)
> Let the deity bless the husband, wife, children and your belongings *(Min annaa amaa, ooso kinnuwwi amaxxa niyyannoi Waai maaseamonna)*

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[118] The second day activity in the house is similar to the first day. Furthermore, until the second phase of birth ritual ceremony (for either thirty or forty days) the childbearing mother remains in a temporary sleeping space with her child under the constant care and supervision of mostly her own mother, who comes over for such a purpose.

[119] The traditional bed (*jijira*) is made out of simple woods and connected using ropes.

[120] During this ritual, everybody is expected to keep quiet and remain seated.

> Let our deity bring us peace *(Niyannoi Waai niina ni uulinnaa xumma uwwonna)*
>
> Let our deity bless our land and belongings *(Niyanno Waai neese nidachche maasamonna)*
>
> Let our deity protect our people, land and our belongings year to year from evil *(Hiinchi hinchcho jor nakonne niyyannoi Waai egaronna)*

It is during this silent moment the father declares in public the name of the new born baby.[121] Afterwards, the mother is relocated to the traditional bed (*jijiira*). It is on this bed she sleeps until the end of her maternity period (*iraanano*).[122]

The above highlighted ritual procedure is similar for both male and female babies. The only difference is the number of days required to conduct such a ritual: forty days for the males and thirty for the females. Above all, from the day following the special porridge ritual, the husband sleeps alone, for a period of almost a year while sexual intercourse is prohibited. Because the village community believes that any incidence of sexual intercourse during this period may result in a physically weak baby, both parents are expected to abstain from sexual activity on average for a year.

Within this context, it is the responsibility of the elder male members of the society to instruct the younger men on the importance of having strong babies for the benefit of their community in general. Bearing this in mind, the Hadiya men submit to this social rule with little complaint when they are married.

Furthermore, during the maternity the woman is expected to consume good meals. As a result, the husband is obliged to slaughter goats or sheep at least two times. The average duration of maternity leave (*iraanano*) is 3 months throughout the Sadama Marduncho village.

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[121] The common trend associated with naming children in Sadama Marduncho village is that the father names the child according to the particular condition at the time the child was born. For instance, if the father thinks that he has become economically better off, he names the child "wealth bringer" (*Godisso*). Most of the Hadiya name their children according to the events take place at the time of childbirth (Lanbebo 1987; cp. Platenkamp 1988a: 137).

[122] The maternity bed is not usable for any other purpose. Therefore, it is demolished after this date.

Within this period of time, culturally she is prohibited from working and being seen by the village community. When in need of fresh air, she uses a back-door of a house (*duub goochcha*).[123]

3.3 Initiation Ritual in the Village

One of the initiation rituals that has been practiced in the Sadama Marduncho village is circumcision. The primary reason for the circumcision ritual within the village community is to grant adulthood to their younger members. Such an initiation ritual is common (if not exactly the same ritual) among other societies as Platenkamp has shown (1988a). He argued: "this ritual [initiation ritual] is not only marked the transition to adulthood, it also provided the boys with the new capacity required" (1988a: 146). In a similar manner it is only through this ritual that the youth of Sadama Marduncho are transformed into full members of the society. Without undergoing such a ritual, the boys and girls remain less considered members of the village community. It is through partaking in such a ritual that allows young boys and girls to assume greater responsibility within the village community by permitting full incorporation into the social relations of the village household.

Prior to the circumcision ritual, the young boys and girls of the village community are noted for their shyness (*ill baddimma*). When they are circumcised, both boys and girls are observed to become more confident to mingle with others. This helps the rest of the village community to easily figure out to whom responsibility should be handed over. Moreover, it helps them the villagers to understand with whom to discuss ethical and moral issues faced by the community.

In addition, it is through the preparation for the circumcision ritual that the Sadama Marduncho village community establishes strong social relationships. This relationship begins

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[123] Within the Sadama Marduncho village, the back-door (*duub goochcha*) is only accessed by the members of the household. There is typically no access to this door by the rest of the village community.

when parents of two different households attempt to establish close friendships for both of their male and female children (*saawooma*). This occurs at least two years ahead of the planned circumcision. Establishing this friendship is proposed and implemented by both sets of parents. If both sets of parents agree, the boys and girls cannot decline their decision. In this manner, a relationship is sought between male-to-male and female-to-female friendships. They should also be the same agemates.

Within this context some relationship vocabularies evolve. For instance, both male and female intimate friends are called "boyfriends and girlfriends" (*saawuwwa*), both male parents are called "boyfriends and girlfriends fathers" (*saawuwi annoo*), and female parents are called "boyfriends and girlfriends mothers" (*saawuw amoo*). Thus, these relationship terms have formed as members of the society interact with one another to establish a new form of sociality.[124] This social interaction and the subsequent evolution of associated terminologies has created an opportunity for the villagers to establish strong relationships with their non-consanguineal co-residents. In fact, such relationships are only established among the non-consanguineal village members. In this sense, the relationship vocabularies are by-product of sociality rather than pure blood-line relations.

In addition, such a sociality encourages the society to live a cohesive life. But to maintain the cohesive life, the villagers are expected to fulfill socially obliging roles during various circumstances. Subsequently, while preparing for the circumcision ritual

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[124] In such a social context throughout the Hadiya villages, the following fictive kinship terminologies are stipulated. The father of the circumcised girl or boy(*saawi anna*); the mother (*saawi ama*). The sister (*sawwi aayya*); the brother (*sawwi abaayyo*); a boyfriend in one's life (*beshichcho*); girlfriend (*beshichche*), a boy who is going to be circumcised (*balachamancho*), a girl who is going to be circumcised (*balachamaanch*e)**,** a boy or girlfriend to the circumcised (*saawo*), a traditional expert (m) who circumcises (*falmanchcho*), an expert (f) who circumcises (*falmanchche*). A man during circumcision ceremony who covers the eyes of the boy or girl (*ill anna*).

(*ballachchimma*) of both boys and girls, other village people are expected to give their hands and engage in reciprocal gift exchanges.[125]

Moreover, the parents of the circumcised boy and girl consider this ritual as an achievement. This achievement is perceived as success for the family (*aganoottaa gooree*). Because of this, parents are very much pleased to organize such a ceremony. It is also for this reason that the parents invite fellow villagers and the mother's siblings living elsewhere.[126] The traditional invitation is sent out to the relatives in advance. For this purpose, one of the neighbours will be assigned to handle this responsibility. Relatives are generally expected to attend the ceremony. During this ceremony, the relatives are also required to offer gifts either in a form of cash money or granting a promise to offer domestic animals. Such gifts (*irifoo*) help to motivate the boys and girls undergoing circumcision to be calm and feel confident as they anticipate the painful experience of circumcision (*balachanchcha*) early in the morning of the next day.[127]

Furthermore, the circumcision ceremony requires advance and adequate preparation by both husband and wife. The most important aspect of their plan includes preparing all the important ingredients for cooking food. This food will be provided to guests invited both from the neighbourhood and from distant places. The guests are not expected to offer any money to the hosting house. However, as the guests finish eating their dinner, by the leadership of an elder person, a blessing (*irifoo*) of the boy and girl is expected.

As a rule, the offering begins with the father and mother. During this time everybody awaits quietly. The father offers an animal or piece of land to the boy or an animal to the girl. The mother may offer anything of her preference. The boys and girls importantly value their

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[125] The circumcision ritual is conducted primarily twice a year such as in December and July.

[126] Mainly the uncles and aunts (brothers and sisters of the children's mother).

[127] The traditional circumciser uses a sharp blade to conduct the circumcision. As a result the pain is very strong both for boys and girls.

blessing (*maaso*) because they believe that it is through the blessing that they will have a success in life in the future. Next, the seated audience approves both the presents and the blessing of the parents with applause. At this stage, the next persons to offer blessings will be the children's, paternal uncles, paternal aunts, maternal uncles, maternal aunts, and any first cousins. They are followed by blessings from the village households. In the end, this moment is concluded with a blessing (*maaso*) of the elder men where the girls and boys kiss the palm of the elder men one by one to confirm they have received all their blessings and wishes.

Eventually most of villagers will go back to their homes but a few will stay as to drink traditional beverages (*tallaa bordee*). The village teenagers and grown up boys and girls will remain until mid-night as they dance and sing traditional songs by hitting drums. They do this hoping that the boy or girl to be circumcised will not be fearful during the circumcision in the next day early morning.

This is an opportunity for the village boys and girls to have intimate relationship. They dance and sing while some of them will be sitting at the corners of the garden (*nafara*) and some of them engage in kissing each other (*balalechcha*). After midnight, they briefly resume the dancing and singing before a few hours' sleep. Afterwards, they wake up at the early morning the next day.

The circumcision is conducted at around 5.30 a.m outside the parents' house. The villagers who went to their homes the previous night will come-back early in the morning as well. At this point, the circumciser is ready and an organized space made of convenient grasses is prepared. This space will be covered by a traditional cover (*jibba*). The villagers and the teenagers will circle this little tent and with a loud voice will sing, "you are going to be afraid today" (*kabal baalooto; kabal baabooto*) repetitively.

Inside the tent there are only three people: the circumcised girl or boy (*balachamaanchcho* or *balachamaanchche*), the circumciser (*falmanchcho*) and the person who covers the face of circumcised (*ili amajaancho* (m) *ill amajaanchche* (f). When the

participants notice, the circumciser has finished the duty, they echo: "congratulations" (*hashu*) more than five times accompanied with applause and women ululating.

During circumcision, the clitoris (*arguchcho*) is removed from a girl and outer skin (*sheel omachcho*) from a boy. The removed body parts are buried in the backyard of a household because it considered indecent to leave in a public space. It was argued that the reason for the removal of clitoris is to regulate girls' sexual behavior and that of boys for the hygienic purposes.

At the end of this ritual, the mother of the children will be ready to apply fresh butter on the forehead of the circumciser, on her circumcised boy or girl and some of the elder men and women who are present there. After this time, the children will sleep in an organized space. A few hours later, their scars will be washed while the circumciser is present. At this time, the boy or girl cries a lot because of severe pain.

Through such processes, the boys and girls will receive a traditional entitlement "circumcised" (*balachchamano*). Right from that day the ritual of kissing (*sunqqimma*) will begin. Hence, the villagers will visit the household of the circumcised boys and girls to offer kissing in their cheeks (*xaban sunqqimma*). As they enjoy such a moment the circumcised boys and girls will remain in bed as they consume good traditional food until their scars are completely healed (*madi googeebee*). During this time the parents are aided by the boyfriend and girlfriend of the circumcised boy or girl (*saawuwwaa*). Finally after two months, the circumcised boys and girls will mingle with the village community having gained more confidence and hoping that they will be taken seriously in daily conversation within the society.

3.4 Death Rituals in Sadama Marduncho Village: First Mortuary Ritual

"The death of a person is conceived of as resulting from a disjunction between his body and his image

... [and] that must be accomplished by ritual" (Platenkamp 1992:79).

3.4.1 General Overview

Death ritual is a fundamental notion and constantly expressed with great fear among the people under study. Therefore, they express this concern with intense emotion. They also deal with funerals with great care. In particular the elder members of the Sadama Marduncho village freely express their views about death, but their younger members do not have that chance as it is considered that young people are not capable of such a subject. For instance, in cases where young people mention one of their dead associates' name, they are obliged to bite all their own ten fingers by pointing to the graveyard where the deceased village member is buried.

The concept of biting the fingers is depicted in equal terms with immediate self-punishment perhaps before any punishment by their ancestors. Within the village, the young people are forbidden to talk about the dead members of society. It is for this reason that the children who fail to respect the social order are required to punish themselves in their own. As a result, the villagers believe that their ancestors would take this self-punishment into consideration and so no possible harm is anticipated on their children.

In addition, in that manner respect is also sought from their ancestors.[128] The society treats the issue of death in such a careful manner that includes evoking a common expression: "death is stranger; the exact day of its arrival is not well anticipated; therefore, let us be prepared" (*leh koyiinchcho, waaro bal laisoo beeanne; eebikinna egalim hasissa*). This expression is very common and widely shared knowledge within the Sadama Marduncho

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[128] The only source of blessing and success in their lives for the Hadiya young people are their ancestors.

village community. As a result, death remains a constant intriguing notion throughout their lives.[129]

Within this context, one of the elder members of the Sadama Marduncho village has argued: ''everybody in this village believes and knows what death is, at least in simple terms, because it is so familiar and common event which arouse intense and deep emotion whenever it occurs. However, the deep meaning of death is beyond our imagination." The informant stressed: "I do not feel competent to express fully what it means and what it embodies in simple terms because it is only through our heart we tend to capture what it is after all" (cp. Hertz 1960: 27). Within this framework, the research evidence suggests that the village society believe that the phenomenon of death as sacred as it is mysterious and therefore it should be addressed with the highest fear.

Moreover, this research also sheds light on why the village community holds so much fear about death. This is because death is a common incident that may happen to anybody at any time. Expressions such as "death is like a thief" (*leh gamaanchcho*) are widely known among the villagers. At the same time, conducting a proper ritual is very important when deaths do occur to maintain the unity between the living and dead members of the society. However, the level of performance differs significantly as the roles of ritual activities differ in scales depending on the age and reputation of the dead person. An elder informant argued about an abolished form of funeral ceremony common in the village before the 1980s: "different types of dance accompanied by drummers and praise the dead person's works (*arajaa sorimma*). Some individuals dress in skins of big wild animals such as tiger and lion. Because the dead person while alive kills these animals and it is to symbolize his heroism."

The Sadama Marduncho village community appeals to ritual activities but not to the same degree as their immediate neighborhood societies (cp. Bell 2009: 176). One of the

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[129] (cf. Hertz 1960: 27).

differences is their appeal to their ancestors to happily accept the newly departed member. They make their humble request to their ancestors while silently sitting and mimicking the words of the departed. During this research the elder members of the Sadama Marduncho village shared what he was mimicking: "our ancestors please accept your son and comfort him" (*Niyanoo ka manchi foore xumminem aheeraanne aalakka, abooyehe*). It was also argued that such expression is a widely known concept throughout all villages.[130]

It is also through this mimicry that villagers believe that they maintain the spiritual connection between the living and the dead person. Therefore, regardless of the bad or good work of the dead person painting a negative image and initiating bad intentions is strictly forbidden. An informant argued that saying unkind words to our dead persons is not good because the village people believe that the dead persons cannot lead a peaceful life with their ancestors.

In addition they believe that if they hold negative emotion towards the dead person, the soul of the deceased would not be pardoned by their own ancestors for any misdeeds while alive (*aheerai usheexooyyo*).[131] In light of this notion, any dead person should be forgiven no matter what atrocity the person may have committed while alive. Therefore the social acts and their retributions are cosmologically annulled. In other words, the relative good/evil of the deceased is transformed into absolute good.

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[130] The elder members of the society believe that this the type of communication with their ancestors performed "by invoking a highly restricted code that purports to be the way their former ancestors spoke" many years ago (cp. Bell 2009: 120).

[131] The place where their dead members of the society live is heaven (*aheeraa*). The heaven; however, is not understood in the same way Christians imagine. For the Sadama Marduncho village society, it is the spiritual land of their ancestors where every dead member of the society comes into union with their ancestors to live happily and peacefully.

3.4.2 The Dead Body and the Funeral Home

The current studies assessed the relevant procedures the members of the society follow and take part in. These procedures were stipulated during particular death ceremonial events. Hence, these are the order of events. First, a selected group of villagers collect the corpse and lay down the corpse on a tradition mattress. The body is covered by a piece of cloth and in this manner the body is kept in a temporary shelter until the time of the final burial ceremony (cp. Hertz 1960:29).

In the meantime, the village community members come one by one as they cry making noise. It is a social obligation to make a noise as if grieving, though quite often tears do not come down. However, for people who knew the person closely, such as in close friendship, may genuinely cry while tears falling. For men and women, death is the typical type of celebration in which various types of socially obliging roles are expected and full performance of the death ritual is evident. Moreover, the society members handle a noble persons death in a different way. A great place is given for such individuals. They do not make the ordinary ritual that they do for other members of the community. What differs the noble person's death ritual and that of the ordinary ones, is the number of funeral attendants who come from different nearby and distant places and of course large quantity of prepared food they provide. In addition, at the end of the funeral they may read a long eulogy of the individual by detailing his or her deeds and achievements. In fact this a rare occurrence limited to very few individuals throughout the Hadiya villages.

After a few minutes the people who are seated at the funeral home are kindly requested to stop mourning by evoking: "calm down; it is true we are grieving but it is the will of our deity" (*utaare, hundim muginaamo, ihukaarem niyanoi Waa yukissa ihaakko*). When the mourners resumes crying one of the assigned persons' (who received the mourners) offers a cup of water—so that the mourners may wash their faces. In the end, before leaving funeral home the mourner says: "may our ancestors deity strengthen you" (*niyano Waa qoxisonna*).

The close family member of the deceased person replies: "may our ancestor's deity protect you from evil" (*kees jor nakonne, niyanoi Waa egaronna*).

Furthermore, from day one the entire village community begins coming to the funeral home. During this time the close relatives sit down together in the funeral home and hold discussion on how to celebrate the ritual. For instance if the person dies in the mid-afternoon, close villagers come to mourn without a formal message having been sent out to them. For far place relatives, messengers will be sent out to inform them. The village social organization leader (*seera daana*) is in charge of facilitating this task. In addition he orders all the neighborhood (*nafara*) members to bring food and coffee for the first night, for the morning of the second day, and until the day of burial accordingly.

In addition to the food, which is the primary task of women, men should bring a piece of wood for the purpose of cooking food. The funeral home uses these donated goods to cook the food for the burial day (on this day on average of between 2500 to 5000 people attended).[132] The number of attendants depends mainly the dead person's social status among the society and the amount of cattle wealth and farmland he has owned. For instance, if the person is less known and did not possess a good social status, a smaller number of funeral participants are expected.

The funeral home is responsible for receiving the people who have come to attend the funeral ceremony. It is so difficult if the funeral home is not part of the ritual community (*seera*) by participating and giving the necessary contributions to the group in time. In this regard, the funeral home should be an active participant by shouldering obliged responsibilities as this

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[132] It was argued that the main reason the village society conducts the death ritual is relatively similar to the reason which Hertz (1960) argued regarding the final death rites. He argued: "so long as the final rite has not been celebrated the corpse is exposed to grave perils" (1960: 33). Once the first burial is conducted they believe that they have completed their responsibility and there is no "awaiting of the second burial" (ibid:. 31).

support will not be offered by the villagers on the day of the funeral. Thus, the funeral home, in addition to the support given by household members, has the responsibility to make preparations of the funeral ceremony.

According to the social order of the society, the subsequent, list of contributions which the funeral home is responsible in accordance to this rite are the following: buying a box for the corpse, purchasing a traditional blanket to cover the corpse, providing *xaafe* grain for the preparation of *injeera*, buying the necessary ingredients for the preparation of the necessary cuisine (*woxxa*) and procuring other important ingredients.

If the funeral home is unable to provide what is highlighted above, either the relatives who live in a closer proximity may contribute; otherwise if the funeral home has relatives abroad, then they must contribute towards that cost. The contribution by relatives abroad is a more recent development that has become very common within the society from the year 2000.[133]

Moreover, these days, a good number of the families have been depending on the assistance from their relatives who live abroad towards death ritual costs. The very close relative of the deceased persons mourns in the hosting country where he lives (*wil fissima)* by employing the major procedures of the Hadiya traditional death ritual. In such a ritual, the people who come to comfort are close friends who are closely acquainted to the dead person. All the contributions (*sabiraata*) given to the individual abroad is sent to the dead person's family back in the Sadama Marduncho village. In light of this transnational ritual, community is established in which distance is superseded by ancestry.

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[133] A good number of adult men members of the Sadama Marduncho village immigrated to the Republic of South Africa in search of better economic opportunities. Therefore, they have acquired a financial means to support the close family members during the important events such as death rituals. The contribution is collected in South Africa from the individuals who come together to comfort the very close relative of the deceased persons.

A rare occurrence; however, at times when the funeral home does not have enough resources to conduct the death ritual, the celebrations of death is postponed until the funeral home economically organizes itself. [134]

3.4.3 The Soul of the Dead Person

Though the current generation largely upholds Islamic and Christian concepts of the fate of the an individual soul, many elder people believe that the deceased person has departed to be united with their own ancestors. In fact it was argued that the dead members of the society appear to the living members of the village in dreams. One of the interviewee has argued the following concerning such a notion:

> I had communication during my dreams with my dead friends and loved ones. Sometimes, they come and tell me, all the stories what he or she is facing there. For instance, 'I am hungry and I do not have enough to live there.' In other times, our deceased brother or sister or father appears to me and gives me a message in the event when I am not on good terms with my neighbor and close blood relatives. He/she may say, 'do not be like that please. If you do so, you will be like so and so.' Hence, I do not neglect such a message as a dream; in fact, I share with my relatives particularly when the message I have received relates to something which is happening among our village for which the elders face problems while dealing with it. [135]

It is also evident in villagers' day-to-day conversations how they strongly uphold that their ancestors in fact live among them at least conceptually. For instance, when one of the village members tells a bad message to another, he responds using this expression: "our ancestors deity is with us" (*niayanno Waa niini yookko*). When they were asked as to why they say: "*niyano*

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[134] "In fact such form of an abnormal postponement of a death ritual which is important to the peace and the well-being of the survivors and also to the salvation of the deceased, is explained by the magnitude of the feast which is performed during the planned funeral rite" (Hertz 1960: 31).

[135] Another elder has argued that those people who speak in dreams to our living village members are the ones who are forced to return to earth in search of food which they are denied in the heaven (*iimanne*) (cp. Hertz 1960: 35). And also, they serve as messengers to be pardoned by our ancestors.

Waa"? Yet they can simply say: "deity is with us" (*Waai yookko*). It was argued that a strong belief in ancestors by the elders members of the society underlies this idea. Indeed, they believe that their ancestors are only temporarily excluded from the physical conditions of their society and thereby living in the spiritual world.[136] And the dead person's soul (*lehuk manchi foore*) is united with the ancestors where they rest in peace.

However, contrary to the Christian belief, the village elders do not hold the notion of punishment of the deceased person's soul by a supernatural power. Regardless of the individuals bad deeds while alive, nobody expects that his/her soul would be in a hell. In fact there is no word to express "hell" in the Hadiya language. In this regard, their indigenous religious philosophy stipulates that every dead member will be forgiven and peacefully united with their ancestors. This how the village people anticipate the fate of the soul.[137] It was also argued that it is the deceased members of the society who protect the living members of the society from any harm.

In addition, the village people also expect to communicate in dreams with their dead members with the intention of receiving important messages on how the living members should conduct themselves. In other words, this is ancestral authorization of the ethics and norms of the living. The living Hadiya also wish the blessing from their ancestors deity. For instance, that is why when the elders bless someone repeatedly utter this expression: "may our ancestors deity bless you abundantly (*niyano Waa keese lonssaa maaseonnaa*). However, the notion of blessing and curse are only assumed to affect one's life while alive. These notions persist even

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[136] A similar understanding was also stipulated by Hertz (1960) in defining what death is. He argued: "death is in normal circumstances a *temporary exclusion* of the individual from human society. This exclusion effects his passage from the *visible society of the living into the invisible society* of the dead" (1960: 86); italics is mine.

[137] However, Hertz (1960) argued: "the ideas relating to the fate of the soul are in their very nature vague and indefinite; we should not try to make them too clear-cut" (1960: 34).

though the young generation of the society who are members of the dominant world religious factions hold the universal view of Islamic faith and Christianity up on the fate of a dead person.

3.4.4 Mourning and Burial

3.4.4.1 The First Day

Robert Hertz (1960) has argued: "in our account we shall follow the sequence of the events themselves, dealing first with the period between the death (in the usual sense of the word) and the final obsequies, and then with the concluding ceremony" (1960: 29). The death ritual throughout the Sadama Marduncho village is closely connected with the Robert Hertz's theoretical context.[138]

On the first day of an individuals' death, people come to mourn, particularly the people from the neighborhood. From a distance of ~500m from the funeral home, the mourners make noise by evoking common weeping norms among the society. The common expressions evoked while crying is proclamation of reputation of the individual's virtue, status and wealth. For instance, the following weeping style is summarized after observing 9 death rituals throughout the Hadiya society from the 2015-2017 out of which two were in the Sadama Marduncho village:[139]

> *Ihii, ihiii, ihiii,* my brother (*abaayyo)… ihiii, ihiii, ihiii,* my brother *(abaayyo)… haaa, haaa* (if the dead person is a man).
> *Ihiii, ihiii, ihiii,* my sister *(ayichche)… ihiii, ihiii, ihiii,* my sister *(ayichche)… haaa, haaa* (if the dead person is a woman).

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[138] (cf. Hertz 1960:86)

[139] Infants from the age of 1 month to 1 year there is no death celebrations and no socially binding obligations imposed on the villagers. It is only the neighborhood (*nafara*) members legitimize the burial of the corpse. Children from 1 to 15 years receive proper celebrations where socially obliging responsibilities are shouldered by the members of the society. On the other hand, for children from 1 to 5 years' distant relatives' presence is not expected during the burial ceremony.

Ihiii, ihiii, ihiii, my son *(ebeetoo)… haaa, haaa, ihiii, ihiii, ihiii,* my son *(ebeetoo)… haaa, haaa* (if the one who lost the life is a boy).

Ihiii, ihiii, ihiii, my girl *(ilandichee)… ihiii, ihiii, ihiii,* my girl *(ilandichee)… haaa, haaa* (for the death of a girl).[140]

All people who come by mourning in such a manner should go inside the house where the corpse is located. The corpse is covered and it is not visible to anyone but only the well-dressed cover is noticeable for the mourners. Inside the house, close relatives and friends of the dead person's family are seated. In this manner, they have the opportunity to observe everybody coming to show sympathy to the dead person.

It is very common that some people do not cry for real; however, only evoke with a louder voice to fulfill the social obligation. But in cases where person who attends cries genuinely and the relatives of the dead person realizes this, that also initiates the dead person's family members to cry together. Such a situation quite often happens when the mourners are close relatives and intimate friends of the deceased person. In addition, many people may cry for real in the case of a generous and renowned individual of the village community.[141]

In the above circumstances, the funeral home is filled with loud voices. The content of their mourning is the praising of the deceased person's great deeds *(diraancha)*. For instance, one of the recorded weeping style looks the following:

Our brother, who is the owner of a lot of cattle and land you have left us alone *(Eyan abaayyoo, kaa nesee aye uunjitaa matito laraam, uulamim dooyitoo).*

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[140] (cf. Hertz 1960: 28).

[141] Members of the society die in different stages of their lives and that has its own impact on determining on how a celebration of death rituals should be performed. Thus, celebrations of death rituals are always implemented considering the cultural obligation of the society and there are important factors associated in shouldering such a responsibility. The most decisive factors for the different forms of death celebrations, two issues play main roles. These are, the age level of the deceased person and the reputation of the deceased individuals among the society.

You who can defeat thunderstorm have been deceased *(Banqqi mutoo goonchchim dooyitoo.*

Please come back, do not leave us alone *(Kaa uree waaree, neese mainkoomoo).*

In the above manner, they lament for the dead person. In between, ritual community members (*seera*) bring the food items (*itakam luwwa*). Frequently the food items are coffee and traditional bread. The food is distributed for the people who are constantly sitting in the funeral home (mostly elder men and women). In addition, on this day, offering food and coffee for people who come to attend (*will aagoo manna*) is not mandatory except the ones who are constantly sitting in the funeral home.[142]

Apart from the individuals who are seated inside the house, the rest of the village community is engaged in the labour responsibility. They prepare the necessary things for the anticipated guests who will come in large numbers particularly in the day of the burial ceremony. For shouldering these respective duties, individuals are assigned and monitored by the ritual community leader (*seera daana*).[143] In such a situation, the women are always assigned food cooking activities while men are tasked with fetching water and providing fire-wood. Men also erect a big tent (*dunkanna*) in front of the house of the dead person.

Most of the time the big tent is a common property of the ritual community members. In addition to this item, there are other common belongings for the group. Some of these items

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[142] Members of the society treat all the rest of the type of deaths in the same manner with the minor difference in the way they handle the death of the elder men and women, boys and girls, children and infants. There is no difference in the procedures of death rituals of the elder men and women; however, most of the time people may mourn deeply in the case of young man or lady's death since he or she did not see any fortunes in life and do not even have a child. In addition, on other hand, the children's death is considered as not that serious if it is under the age of 1 year. There are no ceremonies as such. Thus, only the neighborhood (*nafara)* may come together and bury it.

[143] *Seera* is a ritual community and its membership is bound to co-residence. In this sense, there is no restriction over how many households' should form a *seera* community; however, the minimum number of households' in a *seera* estimated during the research was 65 households.

are big cooking potts (*qurre*), cups (*kubayaa*), chairs (*barccumma*), ladles (*cilfaa*) and plates (*sahina*). Thus, all these items will be brought to the funeral home for the preparation of the food.

3.4.4.2 The Second Day

The second day does not have unique features in comparison with the first day except the fact that more distant relatives come in a group to attend the ceremony.[144] In this day, the village household members start bringing designated amount of grains and submit to the ritual community secretary. He records every household name together with money amounts raised. The neighborhood (*nafara*) also brings cooked food items without imposed obligation. In fact, the entire process is overseen by the social organization leader (*seera daanna*).

Thus, the village community members come to assist in preparation of food and to shoulder the necessary duties. The girls cook in a temporary kitchen (inside the wood made tents), and the boys fetch water from ponds and rivers. The water is transported in filled jars on men's shoulders and on donkeys back. This water is used for washing, cooking and drinking.[145] The leader closely monitors these activities. For instance, if some of the members of the social organization do not shoulder the expected duty, this will be recorded and kept for the immediate request for justification. After the day of this ceremony the non-participating individuals will face immediate penalty with less concern for any sort of justification. If the penalized

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[144] Mourning participants come both from the closer and distant proximities due to similar notion which is argued by Robert Hertz. He argued: "it is no longer a question of the survivors marking their participation in the present condition of the deceased, but of expressing a sorrow that is considered obligatory" (1960: 76).

[145] However, since 2013 some better off individuals have started providing bottled water for the purpose of drinking. In such a case, the bottled water is only provided in the day of burial ceremony. Because of this, it was easy to count the number of the attendants during the particular death burial ceremonies where bottled water was served.

individuals hesitate to do what they are ordered, the leader may effectively ban those individuals (*yaayimma*) in front of the *seera* members. Such a decision is counterproductive in the sense that banned members face serious difficulties re-entering the membership again. Thus, when family members of these non-members die, nobody will show up to provide support except only to go to the funeral home and leave immediately. Because of such a serious consequences individuals do not dare to unsubscribe from the *seera* membership in the Hadiya villages.

In this way, such practices reveal importance of the *seera* particularly during the celebrations of death rituals. Consequently, it is also for this reason that major issues must be decided through the social organization leadership within the village.

Nevertheless, the decision over the burial place of the dead person is not determined by the social organization. For instance, the place of the burial of the dead body should be discussed among close family members and confirmed by the eldest son one day before the actual burial. Therefore, from 17 hrs the elders hold a separate meeting to decide where the grave should be.[146] In fact, this situation occurs in the case of burials conducted in the deceased individuals' own land. In addition, if the individual (the dead person) did not say anything prior to his death about the place where he should be buried the elders may simply decide to bury in the cemetery where others village members are buried.

It is also for this reason that the Hadiya deceased person confesses the preferred place for his burial before his death. This is mostly common among aged people than younger people as among the society, it is the elder people who reflect so much about death and share their feelings with their friends than the younger ones. In that case, if the place was notified already,

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[146] It is also during this time sisters and brothers of the dead person wash the dead body and cut fingernails. Afterwards, they cover the body with a newly bought traditional lightweight blanket (by family members) and put the dead body inside a coffin (a rectangular narrow wooden box, av. weighs 5 kg). The coffin is made by the Fuga experts. The same coffin is also covered by a newly bought colourful dress (*mada*). And then the coffin is placed inside a temporary rectangular tent located in a corner of funeral house until the burial on the next day.

the family members of the dead person and the elders do respect the choice of the deceased person.

3.4.4.3 The Third Day

This day is different from other two days since it is the last day to say goodbye to the deceased person. All close relatives from distant places and from closer proximities sleep in the funeral home despite often-cramped conditions. In the early morning, upon waking, the funeral home provides breakfast and coffee (*dal woi agishsha*) for these close relatives.[147]

At the same time most of the family members will be mourning in an emotionally intense manner because they are aware that the deceased is going to be no longer living among them. Meanwhile the funeral home in collaboration with the village and close relative elders prepare themselves to conduct the blessing of the burial place.[148]

The elder men together with grave diggers go to a cemetery at around 9 a.m.[149] Thereafter, a group consisting of only male elders and sons of the dead person travel to the graveyard. Afterwards they start conducting the ritual. During this time, the eldest son declares the types of properties that will constitute his inheritance. For this, one of the elder men orders the son to stand turning to the north to symbolize death does not happen to him quickly. It was argued the north-pole is associated with the back door of the house, which is not easily accessible. The correlation here is to draw similarity: "let death does not find you easily". In this context the son is required to hold a digging stick. All other men will stand in his right hand side to also symbolize that the dead person's soul is united with his ancestors, i.e, before the corpse has been buried (in the village left is associated with bad fate and right with good fate).

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[147] In fact this may put the funeral home economically in a difficult condition that may often reduce the family of the deceased to extreme poverty (cp. Hertz 1960: 53).

[148] (cf. Hertz 1960: 60).

[149] Digging a grave (*barkashsha*) ritual is women exclusive ritual.

The elder man orders the son to pierce a particular spot of the soil while the rest of the people remain silent.

Afterwards, he tells him to move once from left to right and then says: "now declare things you want to take." At this point the son performs what he was told. Again, the elder man orders the son to move the object from north to south (from where the son stood), and says: "now you can declare the remaining things you want to take" In both cases the son declares: "I dig in the name of the following things: land and lists names of animals he will take later" (*eebeyyi ulinnee mirgoinne qasaamo*). In the above contexts, it was argued that moving the digging stick from left to right symbolizes all the properties declared by the son which brings him a good luck. In addition, north to south symbolizes that all he receives will be used frequently in his own house, which the men access from the south pole.

In the end, the actual digging of the graveyard will be completed by 6 to 8 men who are assigned by the social organization leader (*seera daana*). Therefore, the elder men and son will return to the funeral home until they go back later for the actual burial ceremony. The men who are waiting in the funeral home will inquire on the list of the properties that were declared by the son just for their information. Declaring part of the properties during the *barkasha* ritual is one of the important elements among the Hadiya society. However, its implementation is restricted for certain contexts. In this light, there is no *barkashsha* ritual in the case of mother's death while her husband is alive. Therefore, this ritual takes place under only of the primary condition of a father's death.

People assigned by the social organization leader (*seera daana)* will dig the hole for the burial while the elders are back to the funeral home. Relatives arriving since morning do not go back home until the time of final burial. During this time, there is an occasion called offering food (*woi agishsha*) where everybody who comes from afar will be called upon to eat lunch. They do this immediately before the burial. Individuals assigned to take care of this responsibility, will call the guests who are gathered in front of the funeral home garden. Their

names will be called out by the names of neighborhoods the seated guests come from. Thus, the people who are called upon enter to a bigger tent where food is provided. In this organized manner, all people are fed.

It is also during this time, bringing a grain (*iyyishsha*) program occurs, where distant relatives (such as the wife's brother of the deceased person) will bring 100 kg grain to the funeral home as he is accompanied by his village men and women.[150] A donkey will carry this and the people who accompany this will be crying in a group by uttering the following reputation song: "*iiiiii, iiiiii, iiiiiii,* you are a hero, you are hero… *(anim kiyabichcho, anim kiyabichcho ...)*

All the funeral attendees except the close neighborhood associates of the dead person, offer some cash money (*sabiraatta*)[151] to the family members of the deceased. They will only give the money after the burial of the deceased person. Finally, the entire congregation of people accompanies the dead person to the cemetery where the deceased is finally buried. During this moment, many people will cry very much while tears falling.

At the conclusion of the burial, everybody is seated for a moment quietly until one of the elder persons and the eldest son of the dead person stands in front of the assembled people. The elder man calls up on the name of a random individual from the crowd and then says: "Mr. x, you just buried [the dead] may [someone] do this for you [in other time]" (*Ebar abaayyo wamitakkoko waam hoogkotte.*) The funeral attendants in one voice respond: "let our ancestors' deity receive his soul in heaven or may his soul rest in peace" (*Eeyya foore Waaa aheeraan*

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[150] Likewise among the Tobelo society Platenkamp (1992) argued: "among the Tobelo, on the death of a man his wife's relatives bring a gift of rice, plaited mats, and other items required for a proper burial" (Platenkamp 1992: 81). The intention of such a gift is to reciprocate what was given during the husband and wife marriage ritual.

[151] (cp. Platenkamp 1992: 81).

aaona.)"[152] They will also bless the son by saying: "be protected from any evils and multiply in big numbers"(*kaa ooso jor nakonne, fikaanehe*). This brings us to the declaration of the ending of the burial ceremony. At this point, the elder man invites the people to have a cup of coffee at the funeral home. Thus, the folks except few who may depart to their homes will join the funeral home to drink cup of coffee and to consume some food.

After the burial, all the close relatives, village members and people who come from distant places all will come to the funeral home. They sit together in a garden (*nafara*), in front of the house. Here, they will be provided a typical food that is offered in all funeral homes: a boiled wheat (*shiimoo*), slice of bread (a hard bread from the *weesa* product) and coffee. It is during this time, the wife or husband of the dead and grown up children will sit in a corner to receive offerings of money (*sabiraatta*). Mostly the amount of the money offered during this time is minimum (EUR 0,10,-); however, there is no maximum limit. The individual sits and the giver says this phrase while offering the money: "may our ancestors deity strengthen you (*Waaai qoxxisonna.*)"[153] The receiver says: "amen, let your words bring us strength" (*eeyya ki suummissa ihonna*).

The close relatives of the deceased person also may receive money in the garden (*nafara*), such as the dead person's brothers and sisters. Primarily the people who offer the money are the ones who accompanied the dead person's brother or sister from his or her respective villages. In other words, if 'A'(deceased person) was married to 'B' and has a brother, 'C' and sister 'D'. During offering of the money: people who give money to 'B' are the ones who come from both closer and distant proximities. "C" will mainly receive from the

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[152] The Sadama Marduncho village society perform the final burial ceremony having the three objectives in mind in similar manner argued by Robert Hertz: "to give burial to the remains of the deceased, to ensure the soul peace and access to the land of the dead, and finally to free the living from the obligations of mourning" (Hertz 1960: 54).

[153] This is also how the funeral home cross-checks who has attended the funeral or not.

relatives of his father and anybody who opt to offer him. "D" receives from her husband's relatives and her co-residents.
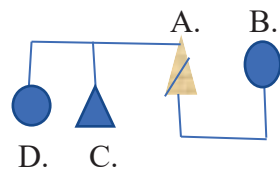
Legend:

A: A deceased person

B: Receives money from both closer and distant proximity funeral attendants

C: Receives from his patrilineal and matrilineal relatives and also from anybody who opt to offer

D: Receives from her husband's patrilineal relatives and her co-residents

figure 15: Offering of money (*sabiraata*)

Around 17 hrs except the close family relatives and members of the *seera* elders, the rest of the people depart to their respective villages. For this there is no formal announcement; however, the people in their own go at any time they want.

3.4.4.4 Post Burial (*Bakkaara)*

After the day of the burial, for the next 7 days the close relatives and some members of the neighborhood (*nafara*) spend days and nights at the funeral home to comfort the family members of the deceased person. This tradition of post burial is called "comforting" (*bakkaara*). During comforting, male and female relatives sit inside the tent (*dunkaana*). Within the tent the villagers and the close relatives of the deceased person spend most of their time during the day. Primarily the gathering is meant for comforting the family members of the deceased. In addition, gathered people use the opportunity to discuss various issues. For instance, it is during this time that they reconcile individuals who are on bad terms for so long a time. Sharing

information on important matters and talking about the good deeds of the deceased person is also common practice. In addition, this creates a platform where they strengthen their family relationships. Throughout the Sadama Marduncho village there are numerous exceptions in performing death rituals. For instance, people who commit suicide will not get funeral rites; it is assumed that fulfilling the funeral responsibility will encourage others to do similar acts (cf. Hertz 1960: 85).

The social organization (*seera)* members may bring coffee and food at any time they want during this period; however, they are not obliged to do so and the social organization leader (*seera daana*) does not have any objection if some members of the social organization choose to bring. As a result, the funeral home is the primary source of providing food, a place to sleep and providing blankets and so on during this time. The similar situation will continue for a week.

However, on the 8th day, the comforting (*bakaara*) will come to an end. On this day, there is special food prepared and shared among the people who have spent the whole week and the village members who come just to attend this day ceremony. Lastly the elders declare that the comforting (*bakkaara*) is over and bless the family members and funeral home to be strong and remain steadfast. The family members cry so much on this day. This ritual ends with removing the tent and with a conclusion of blessing (*maaso*) by the village elders. It is only then the peace of the family's peace is recovered as Hertz (1960) argued: "death as a social phenomenon consists in a dual and painful process of mental disintegration and synthesis. It is only when this process is completed that society, its peace recovered, can triumph over death"(1960: 86).

Chapter 4: Agricultural and Religious Rituals among Sadama Marduncho Village

4.1 Introduction

Ritual is a fundamental aspect of human life. Complex societies in Europe partake in different forms of complex rituals including that of the Christian religion (Bell 2009); however, less-complex and non-modern societies such as the various African societies engage in ritual activities with which they make sense of their life through the things they see in their surroundings (Durkheim 1995; Evans-Pritchard 1974, 1965). In light of the latter, agricultural rituals are a very important part of life for the Hadiya society. This society considers its harvesting not only as an act of crop harvesting, but also as a way to maintain social relations via the crops they produce and consume. The main aspect of social relations is also reconstituted through performing agricultural rituals. It is such a social practice which is the manifestation of the social order of the Sadama Marduncho village people.

There are two divergent rationalities in the village: biological and cosmological. The former argues that agricultural productivity is the byproduct of fertility. However, the latter upholds the notion that ancestors bless the productivity of the crops. In other words, the Ethiopian state advocates the biological rationality and the village people believe the cosmological efficacy of blessing.

Moreover, it is also through the assessing and understanding of their agricultural rituals that one can learn how the village peoples' life is recreated and reconstituted, and how their identity is shaped. Conducting the rituals, they feel their individual household members have acquired blessing from their ancestral deity (*anno Waa*) over what they cultivate, harvest, and thereby are ready to consume. Moreover, understanding such ritual practices of the society help us to know as scholars what their "ontological values" (Platenkamp 1992) constitute in general, as their understanding of being is based upon their village's philosophical stipulations of their land, crops, and their ancestral spirits. Subsequently the rituals conducted by the people to assume their ancestral blessing in the processes of their cultivation and harvesting of the crops

have been analysed in the proceeding sub-sections. In addition, the Hadiya religion (*Fandaanano*) is also part of the analysis under this chapter.

4.2 The Nature of the Village Cultivation

The village households cultivate their lands from early March to the end of June annually. The cultivation is carried out with pair of oxen. For this purpose, every household in the village has pairs of oxen. In particular, the household heads give the necessary care and protection to these domestic animals. The oxen are considered very special because of the paramount importance they offer to the village community. Thus, from September to the end of February the households feed them with silage.[154] As a result, the oxen become very fit for the farming activities. In fact, the farmers prepare only plowable lands using oxen; however, the non-plowable farmlands of the village community are cultivated by using hoes.

The cultivation is mainly conducted by male members of the society. For this task, the man wakes up in the early morning on a daily basis. The household head dresses and heads to the farmland without consuming breakfast. He travels by leading the oxen as he carries the farming materials.[155] The moment he reaches the farmland, he harnesses the oxen and begins cultivating the land immediately. The farmer also pleads through a very brief prayer in the form of whispering to his ancestral support to get courage and energy during the farming.

At 9 hrs. the wife takes coffee and some food for the man to consume. The man will take an opportunity to take a minimum half-hour break while consuming the morning meal.

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[154] In particular the silage of *xaafe* is preferred as an energy provider for the oxen; other types of silage are not given to them because the farmers consider it as not as good a means of giving energy for their oxen.

[155] The is the traditional object which is circled around the neck of the two oxen (*gaanjaqqa*), the cultivation longer object which has a sharp metal on a tip of it (*kadao*.) Both *ganjaqqa* and *kadoo* are actually connected to each other. A long rope used to move from left to right so that the oxen remain agile (*giraafa*) is used during ploughing.

The average working hours in the field is six non-stop hours. By 13 hrs the man stops ploughing the land and brings the oxen to the house. At his home, the wife prepares him a lunch and also readies the food ingredients for the oxen.

The above similar trend continues until the beginning of July. It is also in this month that the households in the village start sowing the crops. The common crops are: wheat, sorghum, chickpea, *xaafe*, and different other crop products. To plant such crop products, they use fertilizers either by buying from the market in their capital city or from the village government administrative office. In the latter case, the fertilizer is provided by the regional government in a form of loan. Since most of the households do not have enough money to buy fertilizers with cash, they frequently use such opportunities.

Moreover, it was argued that there are two types of farmers in the village: the farmers who reside in the proper village and the ones who reside in semi-town centers. The latter ones are also engaged in crop trading activities by storing crops in the town centers to distribute to various places beyond the Hadiya sub-province. Therefore, these farmers feel they are economically better-off than the ones who exclusively cultivate for their own household consumption. The social relationship between the two groups is less strong because of this village wealth difference.

4.3 The Rites of Cultivation in the Village

Before they start the sowing of the crops the elders of the neighbouring households conduct a ritual during mid-June every year by coming together under a tree shade (*haffa*). For this ritual, every household should bring a selection of different crops to the ritual place. On average, men of a ten-household come together in the garden (*nafara*) and the senior elder man blesses the crops by evoking the following expressions:

May this year be a blessed year (*ku maragi maseamona*)

Let the soil be blessed by our ancestors (*niyano ka uula maseamonna*)

Let our ancestors also be happy by our cultivation (*niyano ni abulina liramamonna*)

Let our ancestor's soul have an abundant and peaceful life (*niyano foori xumine godd heecha heamonna*)

May the cultivated land and these crops be blessed by our ancestors (*abuula zereta niyano maseamonna*)

Let the fruits of these crops be blessed by our ancestors (*ka zereti misha niyano maseamonna*)

During such a ritual all the participants confirm the blessing of the ritual by repeating a common expression "let it be" (*eeyya womonna*). When the elder man resumes the blessing, they respond to him: "may you live longer life and may our ancestors' deity protect you from evil" (*hinchi hincho heele, niyano Waaa jori egarona*). The elder man reciprocates to the participants: "let all of you be protected by our ancestors' deity (*niyanoi Waai hundam jori egaronna*) and let your crops multiply in big numbers." At this point, the household head who owns the shade tree kisses the elder man's hands.

The villagers believe that the blessing of the elder man can only be heard by their ancestral deity if all of them keep quiet until the elder man blesses the crops they have brought to the ritual place. Thereafter, all the crops are mixed together and put on a traditional plate. The elder man puts his hands on them and pleads to his ancestors to grant them abundant production. He concludes the process by pouring fresh milk over the crops. Finally, he smears his saliva on the crops as he repeats this expression: "may our ancestors hear my plea and bless these crops" (*niyanoi imaasso maccesamaa ka zeretta maaseammonna*). Every participant will take a small portion from the blessed crops. Later they mix these with the larger numbers of crops they sow in their farmlands. In this sense, it is not relevant to bless the whole crops to be sown.

All the crops blessed in the above manner are sown in the cultivated land from early July through the end of August. In the subsequent months the village agricultural lands are

completely covered by crops. Receiving adequate rain guarantees the growth of the crops. Thus, every household must appeal to their ancestors through prayers (*uunxatoo*) during every moment of their social gatherings (*wossa hoolimmaa*) to receive adequate rain. The prayer does not follow any procedure, but it is a frequently expressed wish during conversation. For instance, when the household woman where the villagers gathered offers them food to consume, before they begin eating the food, one of them evokes an expression in this manner: "let this food satisfy us, let our ancestors bless us and our belongings, let our ancestors' deity gives us adequate rain this year." ("*kaa ku maad goddisonna, niyanoi neese ni amaxxa maseamonna, niyano'i Waai niina ka maarage ihook xeena uwwonna.*") In the end, the rest of the men repeat this expression simultaneously: "let what you have said be fulfilled" (*eeyya ki suumeki wommonna*).

4.4 The Rites of Protection of the Crops

The crops show some form of growth starting in late August. During this time some weeds also conflict with the proper growth of the crops. Subsequently, the individual households must engage in weeding these unwanted grass-species. For this task three to four co-resident household members engage in reciprocal labour activity (*geja aagimma*). In this manner they easily remove the weeds from among their crops. Additionally, some individuals in the village who have the financial means use pesticides to remove the unwanted herbs.

Employing both of the above mechanisms helps the crops to grow properly. As a result, from the middle of September the entire village of the Sadamana Marduncho is very green and attractive. It is even more beautiful when some of the crops hold attractive flowers in their tips. In addition, it was argued that the village community sows the crops not merely for the purpose of productivity and consumption, but also for the purpose of acquiring satisfaction as they experience the entire processes (as an aesthetic value). It is also for this reason that households pay less attention to the amount of crops they collect at the time of harvesting.

More importantly, the village households commonly subscribe to this notion: "any amount which is blessed by our ancestors is enough" (*niyano Waa maaseaa uwuk qaxxi ihookko*). Hence, the quantity of the harvest for them is secondary. It is for this reason that there is a serious controversy between the village household heads and the contemporary agricultural experts who are assigned by the Ethiopian government to check the nature of the village cultivation and the agricultural productivity capacity of the farmers. These experts try to impose new cultivation strategies that could guarantee them a good amount of crop harvest. Thus, one can argue that there is a contradiction between ancestral values versus economic profit.

The experts emphasize that the households should plant the type of crops which can properly flourish in their lands. However, members of the individual households resist such an approach. Unless a particular plant completely cannot grow in their own land, the households maintain their decision to sow every type of crops, with less concern for the advice given by the agricultural experts.[156] Therefore, in the Sadama Marduncho village every household produces all crops without paying attention to the amount of productivity they produce.

In the village, annually the crops are ready for harvesting from the beginning of November. For this activity on average five co-resident household members engage in reciprocal labour activity to harvest the crops (*geja*);[157] on the other hand, some households hire a workforce by paying some amount of money. The labour force for the latter is bargained on an individual basis. The money is paid by the end of the harvest. In such cases, it is the responsibility of the individual household to take care of the workforce, providing them a place to stay and food to eat. In this way the workers focus only on their duty of harvesting.

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[156] If still the particular plant can offer them an average amount of productivity, the households still plant it.

[157] While working in a group the households sing and chant. The chanting is conducted in two ways: either it is a group singing or individual (*diraancha*) by everyone turn by turn. The latter way of chanting is considered a better way to articulate one's beauty, fame, or strength, as well as to praise their village, clans, and their ancestors.

During this harvesting season (early November until the end of January) both men and women are very busy. They prepare a circled space where they thresh the crops. This circled space (*oodo*) is prepared by levelling it flat and painting it with cow dung. The men level the circled space and the women paint it using the dung and water. Afterwards they wait one to two days until the circled space (*oodo*) is dry and ready for the threshing.

It is in the *oodo* that the harvest is gathered and then smashed by the oxen. For this purpose, five households combine pair of their oxen. In two separate rows they entice the oxen with rope. Afterwards, two younger boys walk them in a circle. Additionally, the boys carry sticks to hit the oxen; when they hit the oxen, the oxen remain agile. In addition, turn by turn both boys chant cultural songs while moving the oxen in a circle. Such a situation helps the boys to remain courageous until they complete their daily duty. On the other hand, the household heads mix their harvest while the oxen are smashing it.

4.5 The Rites of Harvesting in the Village

Once the circled space (*oodo*) is dry, the men of the five households bring the necessary materials for the threshing.[158] These materials are mainly a wooden mixer (*maansha)* and lifter (*laaida*), permanent items kept in every household. It is with these objects that the men mix the crops in the *oodo*. In this way, the older men and boys conduct the threshing activity in the circled space (*oodo*.)

The girls put all their effort into handling the transportation of the crops as well, carrying the crops on their backs and bringing them to the *oodo*. The crops are normally scattered in the harvesting field. They split up this duty itself into two categories: some of them collect the scattered crops and tie them together; the rest of the girls transport the tied crops. Moreover,

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[158] The two dominant crops in mind while describing are wheat (*arassa*) and *xaafe*.

the mothers engage in food preparation for the entire working force at home. Through their efforts, the entire workforce consumes their meal by 14hrs.

The men and girls consume their lunch under a temporarily constructed tent. The boys, however, continue moving the oxen in a circle until the older men finish consuming their meal. Afterwards the boys also consume their food. The above-stated labour division is a common trend throughout the Sadama Marduncho village. In light of this, the four work groups begin the task of threshing at 9 hrs and interrupt the work every day at 17 hrs.

In the first day, the men manage to separate the hay (*buraa*) in the *oodo*. In such a way, they separate the tightly mixed main ingredients of the crops from the hay (*buraa*). At times of heavy winds, the older men also work overnight, as the wind makes the entire process of separating the main ingredients from the hay possible. In such a way, a crop from a hectare-land can be harvested between two to three days. The pure production then is collected in sacks.[159]

The filtered production is collected in sacks that are transported to an individual household that owns it. The village people employ three mechanisms to transport the final production: donkeys' backs; men's shoulders; and women's backs. Therefore, what they have collectively toiled for is transported through their collective efforts to a household.

4.6 The Rites of Blessing the Agricultural Production

During every stage of harvesting (*atoota*), a particular ritual is conducted to bless the final harvest (*atoota maaso*). For this, the elder man who blessed the crops during pre-cultivation is requested to come by. While the man continues bestowing his blessing the rest of the people in the *oodo* bow down and repeat this phrase: "let it be" (*eeya womonna*). The following expressions are common ones during such a ritual:

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[159] During the harvest praising songs are common among the farmers throughout the villages (cp. Braukämper and Mishago 1999).

> May our ancestors' deity receive a lot of thanks for this abundance harvest (*niyano Waai ka misha uwukki bikkina maaseamona*)
>
> May the crops be everlasting as you consume at home (*hurbaat min beedonne*)
>
> May our ancestors be happy for the fruitful production of our harvest (*niyano aheranne ka godina liramamonna*)
>
> Let our lands, the people, and our animals be watched by our ancestors (*ni uuli, hundem mannii dinaati niyano illi moonna*)

After the blessing, all of the production is inserted into different sacks. While the people are busy transporting the production, the younger boys of the neighborhood (*nafara)* come by to the *oodo* because it is the village social order that the last portion of everything is shared to their boys. In this particular case, what each one of them receive is less than 5 kg of crops (*foocoo).*

Subsequently during the harvesting season, the *foocoo* serves to awaken the younger members of the society to anticipate the coming of the harvesting season. This offering is given to all younger children of the neighbourhood (between 7 and 14). The children can use the given crops to plant in a very tiny portion of land given by their parents the next year. In this way they grow up thinking about how one day they will be adults.

The household heads on the one hand, assume giving the same agricultural responsibility to their sons is a means for ensuring that their patrilineal ancestry continues through the male members of their society.

4.7 The Rites of Consumption and Sharing of the Agricultural Production

Once the annual threshing activities are completed, the individual households take time to have a rest (*usheexato*) from late January through May and to consume their harvested crops. The collected crop production is set in a wide container made of bamboo (*sechcho*). It is through the number of *sechcho* that the village community compares their level of wealth (*godda*) with one another.

When somebody has a good number of *sechcho*, he is nicknamed as "owner of a lot *sechcho*" (*ebar min sechchamo*). As a result, the entire household members acquire respect from the village community. In this regard, not only is proof of wealth demonstrated for the household, but also the showering of the ancestral spiritual blessing is also believed to be over the household which has collected a good number of crops.

Additionally, it is the responsibility of every household to share some of what they have with their poor co-residents (*sibaaranchcho*). A refusal to give away to a *sibaaranchcho* can cause an ancestral curse (*anno duunchcha*). Therefore, every better-off household will not refuse to support his poor relative or anybody who does not have enough, whether in his neighbourhood or in distant places.

In this way such a social order has allowed the poorer members of the society to increase their food consumption. Any time they want, less-prosperous households can visit the houses of the better-off of the village community. Subsequently, they are given any amount the giver thinks is adequate. The receiver takes it without showing negative emotion, regardless of the amount of crop that has been offered.

Furthermore, there is also another possibility for poor villagers to access prepared meals in the houses of the better-off individuals. For instance, if the person in need of food arrives while the household is consuming their own lunch or supper, it is a socio-cultural obligation to provide food. Because of this, the less privileged co-residents of the Sadama Marduncho village strategize their time to arrive at the households at times of family food consumption. Such an incident also necessitates the better-off households to cook more than they consume during every time of their food preparation.

Therefore, the prepared food in the individual household belongs to a stranger (*koyyiinchcho*) or hungry villagers (*funaanachcho*) as well as to the household itself. While being a *funaanachcho* is not considered good behaviour among the village community, it is a common mechanism of daily survival for the less-fortunate households throughout the village.

Hence from the village households' point of view, the members who do not have enough to live are perceived as absolutely poor and should be supported in their capacity when possible.[160] In this light, the villagers' belief of the sanction by their ancestors mobilizes the intergenerational generosity among the village people.

Moreover, under rare circumstances some of the village members who do not have food problems in the Sadama Marduncho village also engage in the same kind of strategy to get prepared food from their neighbourhood. The main aim of such individuals is not the issue of scarcity; rather, it is to save what they own as they consume from their neighbours. The village community nicknames these individuals as monstrous (*qolleanchcho*); such a people are indirectly despised by the entire village community.
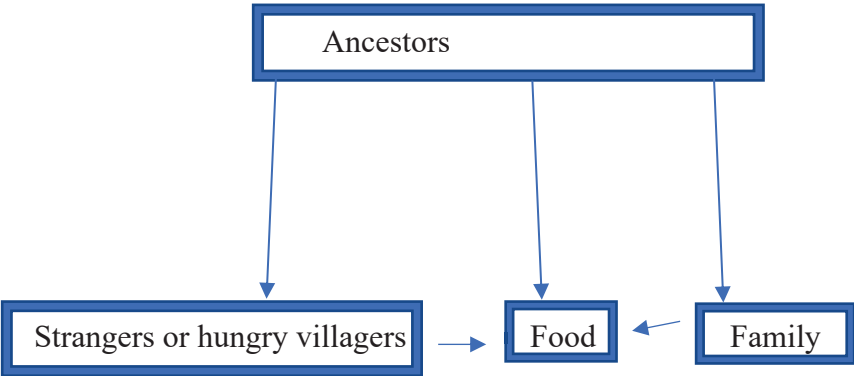

figure 16: household food consumption

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[160] The concept of poverty here is understood from the perspective of the village society. However, it was argued from an NGO's perspective, which operates throughout different villages of the society, that the term "poverty" itself applies to many members of the village households.

4.8 Religious Ritual: *Fandaanano* Religion a Case in Point

From its earliest days *Fandaanano* religion has not believed in a place of worship, unlike many world religions.[161] That makes it difficult to count its adherents. It is (and was) a kind of practice in individual homes, and among the community members who live in close proximity to one another. In addition, in the recent years individuals who believe in this religion do not want to go public because of public disdain from new radical Christian followers and pastors, who strongly force practitioners to give up such beliefs.[162]

Furthermore, the notion of *Fandanano* is not forgotten among the elder people who also follow Christianity or Islamic religion. In fact, elements of the traditional religious rituals have remained part and parcel of their daily lives. It is also evident in what they do and say. For instance, if a Hadiya man is leaving his house to attend a church ceremony, or is traveling to a distant land, it is customary that he declares: "my ancestors deity follow me in my journey (*niyanno Waa eese kaballa awonsee).*

Moreover, before talking about highly ethical matters, one must say: "I pray in front of my ancestors and they watch me (*kin illaginna taloot yooko*)." Any elder Hadiya member cannot skip such a declaration before saying anything with which good decorum and ethical standards are to be expected.

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[161] In the African context many indigenous religious groups have a place of worship (Lienhardt 1961), which is contrary with the Hadiya religion (*Fandaanano*). Christians use the word God; however, *Fandaanano* uses the Hadiya highest deity (*Waa*).

[162] One of the elder adherents argued: "I do not want to be in a constant trouble and harassment. My own children also condemn me. Sometimes, they tell me: 'sir (*abaachcho*), if our friends realize that you are *Fandaanchcho* (noun), we cannot find marriage partners. Therefore, please stop practicing this religion'. Because of that, I pretend that I gave up but constantly I pray to my ancestors' deity (niyyannoo *Waaa*) not to the Christian God. For me, that is hard to understand and accept it as true."

The *Fandanano* religion as form of religion does not have a place of worship (as opposed to the Islamic religion and Christianity).[163] The adherents of the *Fandanano* religious followers primarily conceive that the relationship between the living and dead is maintained through their ancestors' cosmological order.

This cosmological order can only be maintained through conducting constant ritual. It is only through the ritual they firmly believe that a close relationship can be maintained between the living, the dead, and the ancestral highest deity (*anno Waa*). In this regard, the deity (*Waa*) should be worshiped constantly.

The order of worship is conducted in principle, in the morning and in the evening (*daraa maaroo*). Therefore, every *Fandaanano* follower, the moment he wakes up from his bed, he sits down next to the house pillar (*utuba*). This is the indigenous principle of ancestral reference in the house. Afterwards, without washing his face, he makes his prayer in the following manner:

> Our ancestors' deity You protected me and my property last night *(niyanno Waaa eesee i abaroosa himoo egataato)*
> You deserve thanks for giving me good sleep *(danaam iinsi uwit bikinna kiin galat afonna)*
> You protected my children, my wife (wives) from evil *(i ooso, i meentichche (meento) jorii egataato)*
> I always believe that I am under your protection *(hund amanem ati egato isa laoomo)*
> Help me to fight the evil *(jorinne qasamoomissa haramee)*
> Help me to take care of what you have given me *(iina uwitti dachchee egaromissa malaaye uwwe)*
> The river is your gift *(daaji, ki uwwanchcha)*
> The land is your gift *(uuli ki uwwanchcha)*

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[163] That may be the reason why some researchers who conducted on the history of the society and on the protestant religious practice have assumed that the traditional Hadiya religion was a vanished form of religious practice (cp. Grenstedt 2000; Braukämper 1980: English 2012) while there remained a good number of elderly people among the society practicing in their respective homes throughout the Hadiya (Arficio 1971).

The house is your gift *(mini ki uwwanchcha)*

The cows are your gift *(lari ki uwanchcha)*

My sisters and brothers are your gift *(eyabaayuwwi eyaayuwwi ki uwanchcha)*

My society is your gift[164] *(i mool ki uwwanchcha)*

In the end, I thank you for everything and guide me to do good today *(xaaxishshannee hundeem luwinam keese galatoomo; kaballa danaamoo baxoomisina awonse)*

The head of a *Fandanano* follower household conducts his prayer in the above way. During this time, the participation of his children and his wife is not expected. He conducts the prayer alone, as he does not think that his children and wife are capable of communicating with his ancestral deity. First of all, his wife does not belong to that order. Secondly, his children are not yet ready to understand the nature of his ancestors and their deity (*Waa*). Therefore, they are only allowed to participate when they form their own independent household. In fact, it is only the male members of the society who have that chance; the female household members are not because they are expected to marry off outside that particular village. Thus, such a situation reinforces the male (father) to be a representative of the household.

When a girl marries someone in another village, her new husband does not expect her to pray with him because he believes that his new wife does not belong to his house's order. Because of this nature, *Fandaanano* remains the religion of male members of the society. In this sense, the house is the ancestral unit.

In the order of daily prayers, saying a prayer before a meal is not expected in the *Fandaanano* practice. It is for this reason that the *Fandaanano* followers do not pray before any meal. Prayer is only assumed to make spiritual communication with their deity. It more importantly emphasizes on his family, his belonging both in the household, and the nature surrounding him.

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[164] Within the above prayer the gift concept for divine relationship.

During the day whenever he moves, a *Fandaanano* follower must be whispering a prayer to his ancestral deity (*anno Waa*). The content of his prayer can be thanking an ancestral deity, or saying some words to appeal for protection and also for the eternal peace of the soul of his deceased family members. In this sense, one *Fandanaano* follower argued that because of the frequency of saying prayers in this manner, he believes that he constantly meets his deceased patrilineal brothers and sisters. He has explained such a phenomenon in the following manner:

> My deceased parents, brothers, and sisters[165] they come in my dream and tell me what I supposed to do in my life and any message I should deliver to my close family members. For instance, if one of my living family members does something bad to others, my deceased family members warn me so that I pass on the message. Therefore, I pass on this message. If he refuses to abstain from his actions, my deceased family members come again and order me to deliver him a final warning. At this point none of my family members who has been doing bad things will not have the courage to carry on their bad deeds. Therefore, they immediately stop doing the bad action.

Above all, if somebody fall ill, he prays to his ancestors. In addition, he gets the traditional medicine and prays over it so that it can endow a healing power. However, if the ill family member cannot be healed, normally he easily knows whether he is going to die or not. That is why when somebody is at their deathbed, he makes confession before his elder family members. He will say to one of them: "my ancestors have communicated that I am going to die. Hence now I know that I will die soon." Afterwards, he will order the elder members of his society to do the things they are expected to do upon his death.

In general, persons at the verge of death emphasize three things: the procedure of his burial (including where and how his death celebration should be conducted); who should inherit what; and finally, the delivery of advice to his household members. After a few hours or days

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[165] As a wife (W) is not involved in this communication but as a patrilineal sister (Z) she is.

his death will be realized. The second daily prayer time for a *Fandanano* follower is the evening prayer (*maaroo Waa galaxximma*). For this the head of the household sits in the same location as for the morning prayer. Afterwards, he repeats the prayer in the following terms:

> My ancestors' deity I thank you (*niayannoo Waa keese gaxoommo*)
>
> The day was good (*kabal horem danaamo*)
>
> My cows are satisfied with a lot of grasses (*i diinat lobakat hixxi goddaakko*)
>
> The environment is peaceful (*heegegim xumam hosaakko*)
>
> My children and wife (wives) are safe (*i oossii, meentichcho (meenti) xummam hosamaakko*)
>
> The evil is away from my area (*jori i hegeegi qeelaakko*)
>
> My people are at peace (*i mool xumma*)
>
> My properties and myself are blessed (*anni ii dachcheii maseamaammo*)
>
> I also plead you to protect my children, wife (wives) and property from any harm as we continue to sleep in the night (*ka tuunsi himonnee i ooso, i meentichche/meento, eessee, i dachchee xumammi gasse*).

Apart from these regular prayers, there is a regular fasting that the *Fandaanano* religious followers conduct. This fasting is aimed at having deep connections with their ancestral deity. The common practice during this time is food avoidance. Hence, all the followers do not consume food, especially animal meat and milk products. In addition, they constantly wash their bodies at the riverside in the hope of purifying oneself from bad deeds.

The head of the household who is fasting is also known to others easily because he places a sharpened piece of wood in his earlobe to symbolize his fasting. Therefore, every member of the society who has this object is identified as a fasting member of the society.

In doing so the fundamental aim of the *Fandaanano* followers is to stipulate the socio-cosmological relationship with their ancestors and the living.[166] However, since 1950s their

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[166] This research did not go in to further details to assess different sets of rituals conducted by the *Fandaanano* followers under different circumstances, as this aspect was beyond the scope of the current research.

number has been dropping rapidly because of the fast expansion of Christian denominations throughout the Hadiya sub-province.[167]

In this regard, the followers of Christianity have been dispersed throughout the society with no limit to all areas except the spread into the Shaashogo district. In this area, it has been slow due to the existence of large number of Muslims. The pastors interviewed during the data collection have explained: ''before some years it was very difficult to preach gospel in this area; however, thank God these days, we are beseeching the word of God with no limit to His children. We are happy to be part of the evangelizing mission. We will continue until we make all of them the followers of Christ.'' They declined a detailed response to my question: "why should they not leave the traditional and Islamic faith followers to continue in the current situation?" One of the pastors has said: "we only believe our way is the only right way. There is no other saver than Christ". Contrary to the Islam and Christianity, the socio-cosmology of *Fandaanano* is perceived in terms of house as ancestral unit /political head.

Highest ancestral deity

House—as an agency for ancestral spirit

The household head—prays

The household receives the ancestral protection and blessing/

the land and belonging get peace and protection

figure 17: the socio-cosmology of *Fandaanano*
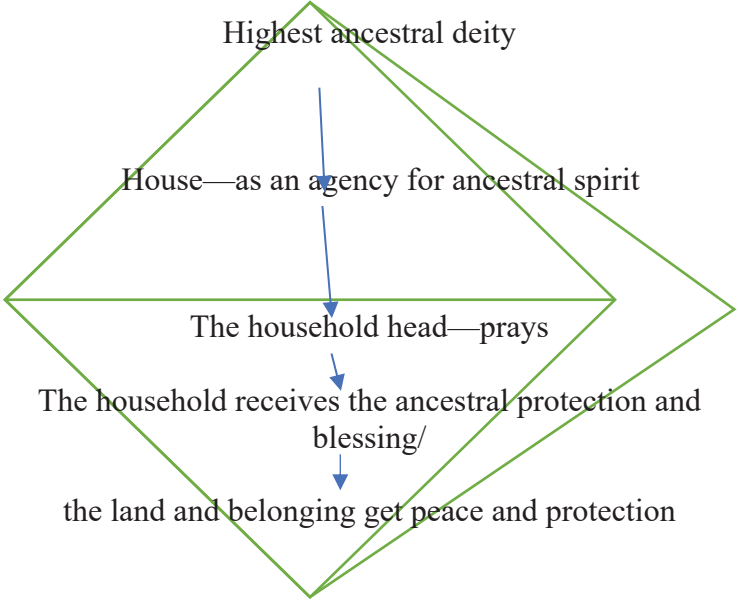
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[167] Religious leaders from different religious groups including European—and sometimes American— missionaries (but their number is very few) are present among the society. In terms of the place they reside, Catholic priests and nuns live in their church compounds; Orthodox priests, protestant pastors and Islamic sheiks, meanwhile, live in their own individual houses.

Chapter 5: Economic Activities in Sadama Marduncho Village

5.1 Introduction

Traditional economic activities are one of the important aspects of non-modern societies (Bloch and Parry 1989), an example of which may be found in the Sadama Marduncho village people's engagement in the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services (Weber 1978). Village economic activity is a process whereby the village community engages in social relations which are maintained by a division of labour between the women and men of a household and the income they generate.

The village households produce agricultural and animal products, both for their own consumption and for the purpose of distribution. The aggregates of these products are consumed domestically as well as sold in the village market (Carsten 1989). They also sell in the district markets and transport beyond the Hadiya sub province. The agricultural products are transported by local traders who are engaged in those activities. The same traders also bring consumer industrial products to the village markets from the district based whole sellers.

Subsequently the farmers purchase some of the industrial commodities and consumer goods from the village market centre using the money acquired through selling domestic products.[168] They use this money for different purposes in accordance with their needs. Such important needs are buying fertilizers for crop cultivation, basic industrial products, clothes, the cost of medicine, school fees for their children and contribution fees in their traditional money saving institutions (*iddirra, iqquba and wollado)*.[169]

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[168] Their main market centers are located in the village, in the district towns, and a larger market center in the capital of the Hadiya sub province.

[169] Pankhurst (2007, 2008) argued: "traditional economic associations such as (Amharic: *idir*, *ikub* and *weld* have started in many parts of Ethiopia during emperor Haileselassie I (1929-1974)". However, the Hadiya society in the Sadama Marduncho village feels that such economic associations are their own traditional means of dealing with financial matters. An informant argued: "we have our own

Orooph market (*Orooph meera*) serves as the primary centre for regular trading activities. This market centre is located at the centre of the village community. The farmers gather in this market every Wednesday from 14- 20 hrs (European Time). While these farmers do not conduct the buying and selling of their domestic animals in this village market, the women of the village community bring animal products to sell. These products are butter (*buuro*), cheese (*salalo*) and milk (*ado*). The buying and selling of domestic animals is only conducted in districts' market centres and the sub province central market place. Some of the Hadiya neighbouring communities come to engage with each other throughout the district market centres of the Hadiya sub province. More importantly, the Sadama Marduncho village household members use the village market place not only for the purpose of buying and selling, but also the market serves them as a domain for communication.

5.2 Sources of the Village Households Economic Activity

Primarily the Sadama Marduncho village community depends on traditional farming, domestic animal rearing, and animal herding, such as cows, bulls, sheep, goats, mules and donkeys. Some of these animals and their products are used for consumption in their households (except the latter two animals) and for distribution both in their village and district market centres.

On the other hand, since their farming is dependent on seasonal rain, it is only possible to make production once in a year for most of the crops, and for a few crops sometimes twice in a year (barely, potato and corn). They also grow cash crops like coffee, *khat* (a stimulant that some people chew), sugarcane and tobacco. In addition, some farmers plant a significant amount of vegetables in their backyard, which they cultivate once a year. Fruits, such as avocado, mango, papaya, banana, and apple (since recently) are cultivated by some farmers.

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vocabularies such *iddirra*, *iqquba* and *wollado* and we use our own concepts to conduct activities within the three units." These three units are assessed under a sub-topic under this chapter.

The farming activity in the village is conducted on a household level. In that manner there is a division of labour among men and women. The main principle of this division of labour stems from what are believed to be the physical limitations of the household members. Subsequently men exclusively engage in farming labour and women in household labour.

The farmers begin farming annually from late March to June. During these months, the household male members work on their own farmlands. On average every household has a pair of oxen for this purpose (cf. chap. 4). Using these oxen one of the males ploughs the land from morning till after mid-day. The farmers use oxen to farm their land. Subsequently, they give a special care to these oxen (*mirgouwwa*), because without the oxen cultivating their land would be a difficult task.

Moreover, sometimes above three household units engage on communal farming through reciprocating. They do this based on the principle of co-residence. Due to conflict of interest consanguineal household units do not engage in such communal farming. In addition, some children attend school, others assist in farming and look after animals in the communal fields.

Most of the time the farming land of the village community is located in close vicinity to their houses. In addition, each farmer has a different number of animals depending on his capacity. On average, each farmer has two farming oxen (*baaluwwa*), one or two milk cows (*axxi laro*), and a donkey (*hallichcho*). Sometimes they also own a mule or horse which the owner rides during particular occasions, such as a wedding (*bolochcho*), attending funeral ceremonies (*willo*), attending council meetings (*dummichcha*) and visiting relatives who live afar. Transporting agricultural products from the farmlands to the market centres throughout the Hadiya villages, districts and the sub province is also carried out using these domestic animals.[170]

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[170] Except the main roads which connect with the adjacent roads to the capital of Ethiopia and sometimes to the regional roads, the rest of the roads among the Hadiya society either non-asphalt roads

Women on other hand engage in household chores and prepare food for the work force. The division of the household tasks is based on the principle of who can perform which duty. For instance, younger girls are sent out to fetch water, the older girls process *weesa* ingredients and the mother prepares accompanying meals.

5.3 Types of Crops, Animals and Modes of Production in the Village

The households in the village produce different types of crops. Some of the common types of crops are: wheat (*arassa*), *xaafe*, chick pea (*shumbura*), corn (*bokolla*), barely (gilaalo), sorghum (*saratta*), peas (*atarra*) and beans (*baaqeella*). *Xaafe* (*Eragrostis tef*), which is a familiar and widely known crop in hot (*qaalla*), sorghum in cool (*hansawwa*) and wheat in temperate (*hansawwi qaalla*) zones respectively of the Hadiya sub province[171], is also cultivated by the villagers.

The land cultivation is conducted by using oxen and a hoe. At the same time, the farmers have a good understanding of how to maintain the fertility of their lands. For this the households employ terracing method as well as traditional fertilizers in their farming lands.

In addition, the heads of the households decide which type of crops to cultivate in which type of their soils. For the identification of the different types of soils they use indigenous knowledge. Such a knowledge has been adopted through their lived experiences. In this manner the agricultural lands of the Sadama Marduncho village are well identified in the eyes of the male members of the community. For instance, there are soil types which are exclusively

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or completely muddy with slippery nature. It is for this reason mules and horses are so important. Transportation is carried out on donkeys and horses. Sometimes farmers travel more than eight hours on foot to get access to the main market centers.

[171] In particular, in the recent years the *xaafe* crop, which is common among many Ethiopian societies, including the Hadiya, has been introduced to the world market by the Dutch Agricultural Scientists (DAS).

conducive for the *xaafe* production. This kind of soil is not fertile. Because it is natural it contains a swampy soil nature. In such a soil the village community cultivates *xaafe* constantly. Another type of soil is only retained for *weesa* (*Ensete ventricosum*) cultivation. Such land is always located in the backyard of traditional houses. This type of soil is also known for its fertility (*sham uula*). The fertility of the soil is maintained by means of adding decomposed leaves of trees and the leftovers of the household food consumption. The fire ashes of the household are used for similar purposes. Soil which is treated in this manner is only used to plant the *weesa.* There are two main reasons for this: firstly, the *weesa* only grows in fertile lands, and secondly, in a fertile land other types of crops grow more quickly.

The male members know the appropriate use of village lands. Within this context, there are three categories of land owners. Those who own all uniform fertile lands (*sham uula*), households who own non-fertile lands (*gogaal uulla*) and the households who own mixed lands: both fertile and non-fertile (*sham uulaa gogaal uulla*).[172]

Moreover, the village land is classified under agricultural and communal lands. The agricultural land is cultivated using a pair of oxen. The farmers sow different types of crops mainly wheat, barely, sorghum, beans, chick peas and *xaafe*.[173] These crops primarily are used for household consumption. In addition, the village people sell in the village, district and the Hadiya capital markets from December until April annually. Donkeys are the main source of transportation to the marketing centres.

The type of fruits some of the households produce in the village are banana (*muuzaa*), avocado (*abokaato*), orange (*burtukaana*) and lemon (l*oome*). In addition, the cash crops which

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[172] This research is less adequate to give further information concerning the detailed scientific analysis of the soil types in Sadama Marduncho village. In fact the farmers distinguish different types of soils for their crop cultivation.

[173] Some farmers also cultivate vegetables, fruits, cash crops. The common vegetables they cultivate are cabbage (*shaana*), beetroot (*qaysiraa*), potato (*dinnichcho*), carrot (*kaaroota*) and tomato (*timaatimaa*).

are common among the Sadama Marduncho village are sugarcane (*shonkoora*), coffee (*buna*), stimulant plant (*khat*) and tobacco (*koshoo*). The *weesa* is the only drought resistant plant which every household grows in their backyards (*duubonne*). Of all agricultural productions it is only the *weesa* plant that all the village households mainly rely on. Hence, the *weesa* plant serves both for human food consumption and for feeding milk cows and oxen.

The second category of the Sadama Marduncho village community's sources of economic activity is animals[174] and their products. The households use these animals for various purposes. The main purposes are: for milk production, meat production for household consumption and for the purpose of transportation.[175]

The animals of the village community are regularly kept in their communal lands during the day times and brought to the individual homes every evening. The young boys of the individual household look after the animals.[176] Thus, every household gives the responsibility for animals to their young boys. For this duty, the young boys wake up every morning, wash their faces and consume their breakfast (*dal ichcha*). Afterwards, they take all the individual household animals to the communal lands within the village. In addition, they carry food and water to consume while looking after the domestic animals (*bal ichcha*). As a result, with no need to come home, they keep the animals until every evening. Subsequently from 6 p.m. they bring the animals to the individual households.

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[174] These animals are goat (*fellakichcho*), sheep (*geerechcho*), chicken (*antabaakichcho*), cows (*saaya*), bulls (*moora*), oxen (*mirgo'o*), donkey (*hallichcho*), mules (*baquchcho*), horses (*farashsho*) and mare (*gannichcho*).

[175] The individual households get milk from cows and sometimes from the goats. They also acquire meat products from sheep, goats and bulls. For the purpose of agricultural products, transportation they use donkeys and mules. In addition, for the purpose of traveling distant places the village community members ride horse and mule.

[176] Before 2000 they used look after their cows through means called "communal cattle keeping" (*tar allaarimma*). It is means in which one household boy keeps the cattle of more than 10 households and the rest of the household also do the same turn by turn.

The mothers give a particular care for the boys who are cattle keepers. When these boys bring the animals to their houses the mothers cook some good food. It is this unique care that motivates the boys every day to look forward to keeping the animals. In addition, the father of the son also gives on average one animal to the cattle keeper. This is the unique privilege that the cattle keeping boys have. Consequently, in comparison with the other village community boys, the position of the cattle keeping boys is well respected. In addition, the title "cattle keeper" (*diinat alaarancho*) is associated with strength, modest character and responsibility. Due to this, the boys of the Sadama Marduncho village households compete to receive the cattle keeping (*diinat alaarancho*) duty.

The domestic animals of the Sadama Marduncho village community which are looked after in such a manner fulfill the economic demands of the individual households. For instance, apart from using the animal products for their own household consumptions, the villagers also sell both in the village and district markets.

The particular animal products sold in the village market are cow milk products. These products are butter, cheese, and buttermilk. On the other hand, at times of need the village community provide all the rest of their animals to sell in the district markets of the Hadiya sub-province. Hence, the individual households of the Sadama Marduncho village sell any animal at times of their financial needs. The needs are generated due to fertilizer debts and buying clothes for the household members.

The household heads both in the village and district markets buy the animals for two main purposes: for the purpose of meat consumption and milk production. On the other hand, the Sadama Marduncho village households also buy and sell these two categories of animals. If they want to sell a particular animal for the purpose of meat consumption, they fatten this animal in a house for at least a year by feeding good grasses (*hixxe*), the roots of *weesa* plant (*hammichcho*), corn and sorghum. As a result, the animal becomes ready for slaughtering.

Consequently, when they are sure that the animal has become fattened, they provide it to the district market.

The second category of animals they sell is without fattening (*xiikimma*). These animals are sold in the district markets at any time throughout the year. However, the prices of the animals which are sold in this manner are very low except oxen and milk cows.[177] As a result, it is only the households that have severe financial needs who sell their domestic animals in such a context.

5.4 Modes of Transportation

The main means of distributing the agricultural products in the Sadama Marduncho village is packing in the back of a donkey. For this purpose every household has at least one donkey. They put all the aggregates of the agricultural products on the donkey pack and transport them from one household to another distant household. This is the same mechanism that they employ to transport the agricultural products from the individual houses in the village market centre, and in addition to the district marketing centres and the capital trade centre of the Hadiya society.

The object which they use to hitch the sacks on the donkey's back is more than 2 meters of well twisted rope. The ropes are made of the *weesa* plant strings. First, the women sell these strings in the village market. And the younger boys who have the knowledge to make the twisted ropes out of these buy them. Afterwards the boys use their time to make 10 to 20 bigger

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[177] These two domestic animals are in high need always in the district markets of the Hadiya society. The average price of an ox which is sold in this manner is EUR 130,- however, the price of a fattened ox is EUR 320,- in 2016.

ropes in a week. To make some profit, they resell the twisted ropes both in the village as well as in the district market centres. These boys are called "rope traders" (*usi dederaano*).[178]

There is another mechanism that the Sadama Marduncho village community uses to transport the village production. They carry the produce either on their own back (women) or forehead (men). Such a mechanism is used during the transportation of the products from the harvest field, at the end of the harvested products to their individual houses and to the marketing centres. In such a way women and men carry, on average 50 kg during harvest and 10 kg in the case of transporting to the market centres.

5.5 The Main Centre of the Market Activity

The size of the village marketplace is 1 square kilometer of open field.[179] At the periphery of the open field there are poorly constructed traditional Hadiya houses. In these houses the owners sell bread, their traditional foods, tea, soft drinks, and traditional alcoholic beverages.[180] As a result the village community who go for the purposes of transaction also consume the foods and drinks.

After late afternoon the village market is packed with the village people. The average number of individuals who come to this place is 350, the majority of them women. This is because it is primarily the women who conduct the market exchange. These women buy and sell all the crops, fruits, vegetables, cash crops and *weesa* plant products (*waasaa buo*).

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[178] It is the same thinner ropes which are also used in the finishing sections of the traditional housing construction throughout the Sadama Marduncho village.

[179] The villagers travel on every Wednesday from 14-20 hrs they conduct buying and selling by travelling on foot maximum 45 minutes.

[180] Since some individuals consume traditional alcoholic drinks there are times when they attempt to disrupt the market and also fight with individuals around them. These drunk members of the village community at the same time disrupt the peace of the individual household at night. The village community called them: "drunkard" (*dinbaanchcho*).

The male villagers are engaged in selling the industrial consumer goods. First they buy the goods from the Hadiya capital city. These industrial products are soaps, utensils, bladders, needles, a few types of cosmetics, biscuits, candies, soft drinks and new and second-hand clothes. For the purpose of transporting these items they use either their forehead or a donkey's back.

In addition, the elder men and women do not engage in any of the transaction activities. They also do not come to the market place itself. In the case of those households who do not have grandchildren, they request that their immediate neighbours make the transaction for the household consumption products on their behalf. These neighbours comply willingly with such a request. This is because obeying the elder members of the village community is a very important virtue throughout the Sadama Marduncho village. As a result, the individual who has received the responsibility buys all the products on behalf of the households of village elders. In the process of buying and selling the village community employs the method of bargaining. In such a way industrial, agricultural and animal products are bought and sold. The individuals who sell the products have a better advantage in determining the price of the individual commodity within a specific market day. What matters to make the price of an item higher or lower is the availability of the item in the market. For instance, if the individual trader sees above ten soap sellers he will take these competitors into consideration and adjust his prices in order to bargain with his customers competitively.

However, if he sees less competitors for the items he has he can easily make the bargaining price higher. The result is to cause the buyers to incur more cost. Sometimes there is a strategy that some members of the society use to find out the real prices of the items. To learn the original price of the item they inquire the seller to swear. If the seller says: "I swear to you in the name of our ancestors' deity" (*hanqinna niyano Waa lae*), the buyers assume that the pricing is honest. In fact, such a stratagem is only employed by older men and women

members of the village people. Because the young people of the village community do not submit to ancestral beliefs they do not engage in this form of price negotiation.

In general, the major factor which forces the sellers to fix their own minimum bargaining price is the original price of the item for which they have paid. In that way it is up to the individual to fix the minimum price of a commodity. For instance, if he buys a soup for EUR 1,-, from a whole seller in the district town, he fixes the price of this soup on average EUR 1,50,-. The buyers can bargain any amount of the price they want to buy. However, the seller without disclosing the original price of the item, he offers the item for the minimum price he wants to sell. This will be the bottom line for the buyer if he wants to buy. On the other hand, there are individuals who give a reasonable amount for an item in one go. In such a situation the seller immediately accepts the deal without further bargaining.

For the type of productions which are produced in the village, the price determinants are merely the individuals who sell it. For instance, if 20 women are selling cheese, and a buyer wants 1kg of it, the price limit is wholly based on the will of the seller of the cheese. In that way 1kg of cheese may have a variety of price limits from one seller to the other. Therefore, every 1kg cheese which is brought to the Sadama Marduncho village market costs different prices. In addition, the same methods of price determination are employed for all agricultural products which are produced in the Sadama Marduncho village.

In conclusion, the size of the markets and the varieties of items found in the district markets and in the main market in the capital of the Hadiya society are similar. Their similarity lies in the nature of the markets, price determinants and all the other variables assessed within the Sadama Marduncho village.

5.6 Price Determinants of the Industrial Commodities and Agricultural Products

Different factors affect the price of industrial commodities and agricultural products in the village market. For example, for the industrial commodities the trader sets a new price.

However, while setting the new price he must take into consideration the number of his competitors. This is because every industrial commodity trader in the village market incurs similar costs from the capital of Hadiya. The village farmers ignore the trader whose pricing is higher than the rest of the traders and so it is important to make the pricing decision very carefully.

In fact, the industrial commodity trader employs a means to learn the pricing of his competitors. For instance, he assigns a young boy who keeps an eye on the competitors. In this manner, the trader comes to know the pricing exactly. In that way he sets a reasonable pricing on the commodities.

Concerning the price of the agricultural products, the determinant factor is the behaviour of the market on a specific day. Subsequently, the farmers take the agricultural products without pre-determining the price. They go with a simple anticipation in their minds. The only choice they have is how they react to the way the market behaves towards the individual product. In-fact the price of similar products varies all the time. This is because the buyers base their decision on their own quality measuring mechanism. For example, 5kg potato is sold for EUR 0.25 by a village farmer, and at the same time it is sold for EUR 0.20 by another farmer. In this way the major pricing determinants are the quality of the product in the eyes of the buyer and the convincing strategy employed by the farmer.[181]

5.7 Modes of Consumption of the Goods and Services

The Sadama Marduncho village community consumes few industrial, consumer goods, agricultural and animal products. Every household produces the food for their own

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[181] In addition, the bad and good spirit stipulation also determines the price of an item in the village markets. For instance, farmers purchase an agricultural product with a good price if a good spirit (*gadaa*) rest on the individual. On the other hand, the village people know who has bad spirit (*jor gadaa*). Similar practice is common among the societies of the south (cf. Lydall and Strecker 2006).

consumption. The female members of the village community are in charge of the preparation of food for the household. Therefore, from early processing to cooking on the fire is totally their task. However, the male members of the village community are expected to collect fire wood. In particular, the boys of the individual households collect the wood.[182] In some cases, they split up bigger fallen dry trees for this purpose.[183]

The women of the household prepare food inside the house with the firewood. A particular space, which is located next to the pillar of the house, is allocated for the household food cooking. This particular space is called the "firework space" (*keteeta*). The *keteeta* is a circular space and has on average a diameter of 45 c.m. in all directions. It is well built by using a special clay which is made by the Fuga society who live among the village.[184] In addition the *keteeta* is also surrounded by three erected clay objects (*metekana*) produced by the Fuga members as well. Finally, the circled space becomes convenient for the fireplace and cooking food. It is also a vital spot where the household members sit on traditional wood seats in a circle every evening and hold their private conversation.

In the evening either the mother or the girl cooks supper for the household. But before the supper it is a must to prepare coffee. The coffee is prepared from 19 hrs (European time). The coffee ceremony also serves as a time for the individual households to invite their immediate neighbours to their home. In this manner the fathers and mothers of the immediate households come to join the coffee ceremony.

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[182] Before 2000 it was the girls who used to collect firewood. Because there were an adequate number of forests and bushes and the female members of the society were good at collecting and transporting them to the individual households. However, in the recent years all the forests have been disappeared.

[183] There are bigger known trees throughout their village. The eucalyptus tree is the main type of tree they use for various purposes. An elder member of the village community has argued that the eucalyptus tree was distributed in the area during the time emperor Menelik II (1889-1913).

[184] The Fuga members bring plates and other household objects made of clay to every household in the exchange for food items. Sometimes, either they sell it or do the same form of exchange for food in the village market.

During this time the villagers hold discussions on different topics. This time is also one of the important moments to circulate information about village matters. My research has stipulated that the common trend of the discussion and conversation during an evening coffee ceremony is the learning of good and bad deeds done by individuals within their village as well as in distant lands. Primarily the focus of their conversation lies on the people to whom either they are connected through kinship or about the people they are well acquainted with.

The coffee ceremony ends by 21hrs . Afterwards, the immediate neighbours leave the house by wishing them "have a goodnight" (*xum gare*). By 22hrs the supper is ready and members of the household consume the food. Before they begin eating their food a younger member of the household should assist by providing hand-washing water. In the end, the food will be offered in three categories. The father of the household is given his food alone. The boys eat from one traditional plate (l*eemata*) and the mother and the girls eat together. Consuming the food normally takes about an hour and afterwards everybody goes to sleep in anticipation of the early rise next morning for their work responsibilities.

5.8 Money Saving Associations, Lenders and Borrowers in the Village

The village community employs three methods of money saving. Those strategies are the contribution of a fixed amount of money through group membership only to get it back at times of hardship (*iddirra*). A fixed number of individuals contribute a fixed amount of money on either a monthly or a weekly basis and only one member takes the full amount through means of a draw. The rest of the members will have similar chances during the following meetings (*iqqubba*), borrowing money to pay it back with interest within a fixed period of time (*wollado*).[185]

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[185] The membership principle to engage in the case of *iddirra* is co-residence and in the case of *iqquba* and *wollado* is based on the individual choice.

Both *iddirra* and *iqqubba* have their own leaders and a fixed number of members. These leaders are recruited during the members' meetings. Every decision concerning the financial issues are discussed openly among them. The amount of the contribution from every member is also assigned through a meeting that is held from time to time.

However, in the case of *wollado* the entire process is negotiated between members of the village community who want to borrow the money and the individual lender. Therefore, the lender has the freedom to decide any amount of interest he wants to receive back. This emanates from the lack of options the borrowers have in the village. For instance, there are only 13 individuals who offer *wollado* throughout the Sadama Marduncho village. It is not also automatic to borrow the money because the lender can easily discard the individuals' appeal to borrow. In such a way, if the lender does not want, he can simply justify that he does not have confidence in the individual borrower that he may not pay him back with the required amount of interest.

In principle the borrower should take at least three witnesses with him to meet the lender on the day when he borrows the money. However, he must make sure beforehand whether the lender has agreed to give him the loan in the first place. It is only after the confirmation of the lender that the borrower brings three or more witnesses on the day of receiving the loan. At later times if the borrower is unable to pay him back the money with the interest rate agreed, the lender appeals to the witnesses so that they force the borrower to pay him. In other words, the witnesses strongly advise the borrower to sell any personal belonging (animals and land) he may have and to pay back the lender.

5.9 Households Heads' *Iddirra* for Material Contribution

Iddirra is a household heads' material contribution, which is functional in the Sadama Marduncho village. These material contributions are mainly for death rituals, marriage ceremonies, circumcision rituals, council meetings and at times of severe problems. For such

occasions the village community has grouped itself into several sub-villages. In this manner every group has its own limited number of members, for example a minimum of 50 household heads.

The membership is based on the village community who live in close proximity, for example there are 13 separate *iddirra* based sub-villages in Sadama Marduncho village. The membership is based on the principle of locality.

Every *iddirra* has its own leader (*wixaa'anchcho*), secretary (*kitaabanchcho*) and cashier (*diinat amadaancho*). They are called *iddirra* leaders (*awonsaano*). During the time of an *iddirra's* establishment the leader, the secretary and the cashier call upon their members for a meeting. In this meeting they discuss the materials they are supposed to purchase for their future needs. The specific nature and purpose of the materials to be purchased are based on the use of the items during various ceremonies.[186]

Once the members have suggested the whole of the list of important materials and have agreed on their relevance, the three leaders (*awonsaano)* calculate the price of the entire materials. Afterwards, the total amount is divided among its members. The *iddirra* members should contribute the allocated amount of money. In addition, the *awonsaano* also fix a deadline for the collection of the individual contributions.

Afterwards, every member should go to the house of the cashier and pay the required amount of the contribution. Once the members have finalized and given their contribution, the cashier will notify the *iddirra* leader and the secretary so that they fix a date for the purchasing of the required materials. When a date for purchasing is fixed, the three of them handpick some of the *idirra* members to accompany them to the Hadiya sub-province market centre. It is from

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[186] For instance the main items they purchase are chairs, cups, pots, ladles, jars, traditional tents and other list of local items.

here that the purchasing of the *iddirra* materials is effected. In the end they transport the required items to the respective Sadama Marduncho sub-village using a donkey's back.[187] The purchased properties will be kept in the hands of the *iddirra* leaders (*iddirra awonsaano)*. In other words, part of the materials is left with the leader, some with the secretary and the rest with the cashier. This is one of the guidelines that the *iddirra* members use to effect transparency and accountability and, in times of need, necessitates an individual to talk to three of them. It is only after the three individuals' communal consultation that the *iddirra* member who is in need can withdraw the materials.

After using the materials the *iddirra* member will return them. In principle the materials should be in a good condition. To make sure of this the *iddirra awonsaano* crosscheck to identify any possible defect. If all the materials are undamaged they take them back. They also write this in the *iddirra's* note book. However, if defects are noticed the member who has caused them should pay a fixed amount of penalty.

5. 10 Women's Association for the Reciprocity of Fresh Milk Products

It is a women's material association that caters for the reciprocity of milk products (*axxi luwwa*). This association has two categories, "milk association" (*axxi wijoo*) and "butter association" (*buul wijoo*). The minimum members of the milk association are two. Within this association two or more sub-village members from the same men's *iddirra* come together in a constant reciprocal exchange of fresh milk. For instance, if the milk association composes of three members, the other two women dedicate themselves every morning to taking a fixed amount of milk.[188] The contribution of the milk of the other two women will continue for a

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[187] The merchants also sell fertilizers every year starting from April.

[188] The object which they carry the milk is called "a jar made of clay and can accommodate 1 litre milk" (*humbulo*). This object is made by the Fuga as well. Moreover, all the household cooking and food serving objects are produced by the Fuga society who live among the Sadama Marduncho village.

week. Afterwards it will be the turn of one of the other members. The members reciprocate in that order throughout the year.

The collected milk is filtered through a traditional processing mechanism called "milk processing" (*axxi gimmishsha*). This is facilitated in a big jar made of clay (*axxi harachcho*). This clay jar can accommodate at least 12 liters of milk. Three days' worth of collected milk will be put within this jar. The jar is placed on bare ground, where a piece of cloth is put under it to protect it from any potential damage. Afterwards a boy or a girl (*axxi gimmishaanchcho*) will slowly churn the whole jar. After about three hours the milk and butter will become separated inside the jar. At this stage, the woman will skim off the butter and milk using a piece of stick (*ado axuruusaanchcho*).

The skimmed milk, which is separated from the butter, is partially consumed by the members of the household. In addition, using a similar jar (*quree*), half of the buttermilk will be used for the processing of cheese. For this process the woman will place above 6 litres of milk by the fire and wait for about 2 hours. In the end, the milk turns into cheese (*salalo*) and "milk water" (*ugaata*).[189] The cheese will be partly consumed, and the rest of the portion is sold in the village market to generate money for the household.[190] It is with this money that the mother of the household purchases the necessary items from the village market.

The women's "butter association" (*buul wijoo*) is an association encompassing above 25 women from the same *iddirra* unit. They elect a leader (*buul wijoo awonsaanche*) who takes charge of the association. They also agree on the frequency of their meetings to reciprocate a

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[189] The members of the household also drink the "milk water" (*ugaata*).

[190] In the Sadama Marduncho village, women prefer to sale the milk products not merely the products embody the real market value rather it is transacted for the purpose of ritual. In other words, despite the higher price of the milk products sold in the village market than the ones in the district markets women prefer to buy from the former because the seller of article itself is very important whether she has good spirit (*gadaa*) or not. It is also for the same reason milk products which are sold from the Catholic church collection in the village market is sold with a good price as well (cp. Platenkamp 1992: 75).

fixed amount of butter.[191] In principle they meet twice in a month. Every next meeting is identified through a draw. Hence, the woman who receives the next turn will prepare to host all the 25 women in her house by preparing good food for their consumption.[192]

Meanwhile, two assigned women measure the butter using a circled plate made of clay (*shaatee*) in front of the rest one by one. Afterwards they handover the entire butter collected in a "bigger circled plate" (*geej shaatee*). Then they organize a draw to allocate the next woman who will receive the associations' butter after 15 days. This is the end of their meeting for the day.

The individual woman who received the entire butter through her membership uses it both for household consumption and for selling in the market. In particular, she uses it to take care of her children during circumcision and marriage ceremonies.[193]

Butter collected through such a means is consumed during a cultural celebration called the "finding of the true cross" (*masqqalla)*, which is one of the big celebrations among the society (every year it is celebrated on Sept. 25).[194] In addition, the woman uses it partially for the household consumption and also to sell in the village as well as in the markets throughout the Hadiya sub-province. The amount of money it sells for should be disclosed to all the household members. In the end everybody should engage in the decision-making process concerning the allocation of the money. The husband, the wife and the children agree to buy

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[191] The minimum amount of butter the individual woman supposed to bring for such an association is 1kg.

[192] The Hadiya women engage in economic activities through different means: among which "harvesting of medicinal plants" (Agisho et al., 2014: 102) and through the establishment of the "system of social capital (Habtamu 2010: 1) whereby more than three women engage in the reciprocity of cow milk products. Consequently, such a mechanism supports their daily living in various ways.

[193] Women who follow Catholicism offer some portion of the butter to the village church during Sunday mass church mass.

[194] Meskel is commemorated in memory of the founding of the true cross (Kaplan 2008). Thus all the smaller markets become bigger during this time.

clothes for everyone if there is enough money for all. If not some members of the family divide the money among themselves to buy things of their own preference. [195]

5.11 Trends of Modern Economic Activities among Sadama Marduncho Village and their Role within the Sub-Province

In recent years some of the village households have started using a modern banking system. These banks are in the capital of the Hadiya sub province.[196] In fact saving money in banks is a new phenomenon for the village community. The idea of using banking began when the young men started sending some cash to their families. The flow of cash is driven by the contribution of the Sadama Marduncho village young men who fled to south Africa since 2000. The young men made their way to South Africa by crossing borders. The border crossings are quite often facilitated by the illegal human traffickers in the borders of Kenya, Tanzania, and Malawi and in the destination country itself.[197]

According to the Sadama Marduncho village society all who used such networks are men. They head to South Africa in search of a better life because in recent years the number of households have increased rapidly. This has resulted in difficulties for the village society to provide adequate land portions to the young men. On the other hand, it is only acquiring a

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[195] In that way the Hadiya women play a significant role among the society (Arficio 1973).

[196] The first Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE) began operations in the capital of the Hadiya, Hossana before 2000. Today, there are more than 11 branches of the major banks of Ethiopia in Hossana. The town has attracted all these banks because of the cash flow, particularly from the South Africa.

[197] In the illegal human smuggling the network begins in the Sadama Marduncho village itself. The village broker who knows other human traffickers in the Hossana town connects the village young men to them. The Hosanna town human traffickers in return connect with the ones who operate in the capital city of Ethiopia. From there the rest of the border routes are facilitated by a more complex network of smugglers. In this manner the households of the young men must pay some cash for the entire process. In 2000 the amount of the cash was EUR 500,- and these days it is EUR 4000,- for each young man who wants to migrate to the republic of south Africa through illegal means.

portion of land which guarantees the young men to establish their independent household. Hence, from 2000 some members of the village community began to look for other means of their survival.

It is the quest for their survival that has afforded these young men a new way of living their lives in the republic of South Africa. The first group of migrants who made their way began to send good news from South Africa. This good news was that they were generating a good income. In the year 2006 many households in the village started holding meetings in their own sub villages. These meeting were organized for the purpose of holding discussions on the possible ways of raising money to their youth who opt for migrating to South Africa.

As a result of this situation in every sub village the households have decided to contribute a limited amount of money. For instance, 15 households as a group collected EUR 1000,- for one of their young men, and then organized a goodbye ceremony (*xum gooqqi maaso*). In this ceremony the elders of the sub village come together to bless the individual who departs from them. Afterwards he says goodbye to all the sub village households and his close relatives who live in distant districts. In the end the young man carries the entire money and continues the journey.[198]

The village youths who made their way to South Africa through such a means have continued to accumulate a good amount of money. The main source of their income is vendor business. Some of the returnees have argued that such a business activity in the big cities of South Africa such as Cape Town, Pretoria and Johannesburg is an easy way to make money.[199] Subsequently, it seems that they have achieved what they opted for thus resulting in a significant amount of financial flow (through informal money sending channels) to their

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[198] The entire journey from Sadama Marduncho village to south Africa takes from 3 months to a year.

[199] Two of the returnees in the village have shared that they made a good profit from the year 2006 to 2014 respectively.

families. In addition, the families began to save money in the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia in the Hossana town.

However, since the bank was in a position of accommodating a limited number of customers it failed to serve the growing number of customers which started emerging from the villages such as Sadama Marduncho.[200] Other competitors who have learned such a reality began to open new branches. These ultimately have attracted the banking sector to the town from the country's capital, Addis Ababa, since 2008. Today there are more than 20 branches of banks.

For instance, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, the first bank in the town, currently has more than five branches in a town where only 150,000 inhabitants live. On the other hand, many of the youths had lost their lives while trying to reach South Africa, as well as in the country itself.[201] This is mostly because of the xenophobic mobs and thieves who force them to surrender what they own under threat of shooting.[202] Any act of resistance resulted in murder, which, over time, rapidly built up. One of the elder members of the society has argued: "the number of deaths has reached more than 27 since migration has begun from Sadama Marduncho village to South Africa."

Some members of the Sadama Marduncho village have engaged in the economic activities within the sub province, for example they work in flour production within the few small-scale companies (there are two in Hossana). Some individuals also own different types of shops for selling clothes, pharmaceuticals, cafes, restaurants and in rare cases local hotels.

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[200] The customers come from all the districts of the Hadiya sub province. Most of the family who save money are also the households who received the money through similar means with that of the Sadama Marduncho village community.

[201] For instance, around 97 persons died while heading to Malawi through Tanzania by using a container and died because of suffocation in 2013 and 2014 (IOM).

[202] (cf. Aljazeera and BBC reports: 2014).

Others own utensil and construction material shops and stationaries. Educational colleges and private schools are part of the societies' economic activities.

Moreover, the economic participation of Sadama Marduncho village members in the central market of the sub province is also significant. This market centre is where most of the Hadiya society as well as people from neighbouring areas come together to do transaction activities every Saturday. Above 80,000 people gather in an area of 3 square kilometres. This is a good opportunity for farmers to make commodity exchanges. The village women also bring all their dairy products to the market.

The Sadama Marduncho village household members also participate in the buying and selling of animals in the market centre of the sub province. This animals' market is located 1 km distance from the other big marketing centre. The market starts from 8hrs and ends at 20hrs. About 10,000-15,000 animals are brought to the market from the areas including the neighbouring societies of the Gurage, Silte, Kambata and Wolaita societies. The village merchants use this opportunity to make profits out of this market. For instance, the minimum price I have observed was EUR 15 for a goat (sheep) and EUR 1000, - for a big bull.[203]

Since there are other district markets within the sub province the village members travel to those markets on foot. These markets are under operation from Sundays to Fridays. As a result, if members of the village fail to travel to one market there is the possibility of traveling to another during any of the week days.

Some of the Hadiya village community members own food stores in the area surrounding their village market centre and as well as in the Hossana town.[204] They collect different types of crops from farmers, particularly in the winter season, and re-sell the crops at

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[203] This was observed in the years between 2015 to 2017 from time to time.

[204] There were more than 103 smaller and bigger stores in Hossana in the year 2015, alone. The small store has on average the size of 3 by 3 meters and the bigger ones is 8 by 8.

later times. They also sell for township customers immediately. Furthermore, they distribute it to the markets throughout the country, where they can make more profit.

5.12 The Overall Household Income, Budgeting and Saving

The main source of income for the households in the village is their agricultural production, animals and the animal products. In such processes there is the principle of division of income between men and women. In other words, men generate income through different means than the women. However, in whichever way the money is generated, in the end it is de-individualized and becomes a joint property.

The main way of generating money for men falls under two categories. One is selling domestic animals and the other is selling crop products. In-fact such income generating activities by men are conducted no more than three times a year. They sell some of their crops immediately after harvesting to pay the debt they owe for fertilizers as well as the debt they owe due to *Masqal* festival in the previous year. In addition, the household heads sell some of their domestic animals either to buy more fit oxen (sometimes milk cows) or instead of selling crops they sell some of their domestic animals. The money earned in such a manner is directly allocated by the men for the purposes they wanted; however, every member of the household is involved in getting reliable information on how much money was gained. Subsequently, the head of the household is expected to share such information when he is back from the market. If there is any surplus money the man is expected to hand it over to his wife so that she can save it.[205]

Women, on the other hand, generate income from selling milk products, *weesa* products and from small portions (less than 5kg) of agricultural products that they sell on a regular basis. It is argued that men do not interfere on what their women are doing in terms of handling the

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[205] Boys who engage in tiny business activities are also expected to give the profit of what they do to their mother so that she saves it (cp. Carsten 1989: 131).

finances of the household. However, every time she travels to the village market, district market or the capital of the Hadiya market, the woman is expected to share information on the same evening about how she has spent the money. As a result of this sharing of information members of the household know how much money was gained and how much money was spent on any particular date. If there is money to spare it will be allocated to buying clothes and shoes for members of the household based on the order of need. In the overall processes concerning the disposal of household income the women are the main decision makers.[206]

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[206] (cp. Carsten.: 1989: 130).

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendation

So far, well-documented materials on social anthropological research have been lacking for the Hadiya society. Consequently, there is an academic quest to describe the contemporary social situation of this people. In light of this, academic research was found to be relevant and many academics—in particular those from the newly-established Wachemo University in the Hadiya capital—are keen to undertake research on the people. However, there are pertinent matters that need to be clear about the Hadiya, namely the understanding of the Hadiya society's social structure, lifecycle rituals, agricultural rituals, and village economic activities. It is evident that such attempts will pave the way to learn more about the people. This will also facilitate the understanding of their core ideas, their world-view, and their socio-cosmological understanding of Hadiya in general.

Moreover, conducting research to document the social anthropological practices of the society was necessary to offer better understanding about the people under study. The main focus of the fieldwork was on six districts of the people: Duna, Mirab Badawacho and Misrak Badawacho, Lemo, Shashogo and Sooro. The Sadama Marduncho village in the Lemo district was taken as a point of departure for an in-depth analysis. Focusing on this area paved the way for obtaining definite information in a systematic manner.

The research was conducted using intensive participant observation facilitated by this researcher's status as a native speaker of the Hadiya language, and as someone who has had first-hand experiences with the socio-cultural practices of the people since childhood. In-depth interviews and constant communication with informants also gave a chance to better understand why the Hadiya do what they have been doing. Observing the rituals performed in different contexts was also a means for learning how their social relationships are created, reconstituted, and rebuilt.

Various elements about the Hadiya were described and analyzed within this thesis, with a focus on the village people's perception and understanding of their ancestors, their land, and

the people they interact with. It has also focused on the ways they conceptualize being Hadiya in comparison with the neighboring societies such as Alaba, Gurage, Kambata, Oromo, Wolaita, Yem, and Silte. In this sense the study has focused on how Hadiya people describe their identity and on how that identity has been shaped and maintained through different social relations and performing rituals. Through this research it was possible to examine how the Hadiya express their unique identity and define their norms, values and sociocultural order in southern Ethiopia.

Nevertheless, challenges were eminent during the data collection because it was not easy to develop trusting relationships with the people in the early stages of the research. Some villagers were skeptical because they assumed my approaching them was politically-motivated, as the politics of the Ethiopian state play a major role in their daily lives; thus, they preferred not to reveal any information the researcher was looking for. More challenges arrived when some informants chose to participate less in discussions, such as when the topic of the discussion was on how their life was affected by the ruling party's politics. Matters of land ownership are also quite sensitive. But topics related to their own notions about different religious groups were of lesser concern. They immediately expressed aversion to discussing incidents of past violence and traditional Hadiya religious followers, or witch customers in the village.

One of the major challenges in this research were the lack of written records of the Hadiya people. Likewise, written information on their clans and their material cultures are lacking; though a sizable museum in their capital has a collection of material culture displayed, it does not include written records. The director of the museum explained at length the usage and purpose of each material, and we discussed various matters regarding the Hadiya socio-cultural practices. He provided me with copies of unpublished handwritten materials that capture some aspects of this society; these unpublished texts do not elaborate on the material culture, but rather are an attempt to document lifecycle rituals. By the same token, an analysis

of the local government records relating to matters of administration, political structures and economic plans in different districts is beyond the scope of this study. My attempts to access other forms of documents written on various topics were not successful, since organized documentation has been lacking.

In all these processes, one of the key findings was learning the society's fundamental conception of territory. The concept of territory for the Hadiya society is not only the land, water, and bushes: it is the extent of where all of their patrilineal ancestral kin groups inhabit in that part of the country. In other words, their territory is all of the lands where their patrilineal relatives live. Despite the Ethiopian state's different understanding of the territorial limits of different societies in present Ethiopia, the Hadiya believe that all the lands occupied by their descendants is their territory.

Among the Hadiya society in particular, in recent times the major religious groups such as Islam and Christianity have expanded. At the same time, followers of both those religions continued strong submission to and belief in their ancestral religious philosophical stipulations is key in understanding how the Hadiya live. In a similar manner, the modern political government structure throughout the villages of the society is quite nominal, as many social issues assumed to be solved and operated by the Ethiopian state are in fact wholly managed by the village traditional institutions. In this sense the state is nominal rather than functional, though it makes a lot of attempts to hold political influence over the traditional village council. Within the above structures, individuals who play key roles are the heads of the households, who represent every member of the household. As a result, the household head participates actively in the overall traditional council and in the rituals conducted under different circumstances. The institutions use a tree shade in front of a house as a center for their council meeting. The house—which unites the children, wife (or wives), the husband, and the ancestors—symbolizes the socio-cosmological relationship of the people. In light of this, a house is not merely an object; however, it is believed to be endowed with the quality of a living

being through which the household maintains the relationship between the ancestors, the village people, and their land.

The land is conceived as the communal property of their ancestors and the village people. This conception is contrary to the Ethiopian state's understanding of what land is. Subsequently, the former conceives the land as an object of the relationship between the households, the village people, and their ancestors; however, the latter considers the land as the state's property which should be used for any purpose, whenever it requires so. Due to this misunderstanding there is a clear contradiction between the state and the Hadiya people.

The village people have also occupied their lands to a greater extent based on their concept of patrilineal ancestral descendance. In other words, kinship is the way in which different family relationships are established. It is also through this means that the elders transfer power, ancestral spirits, blessing, ancestral knowledge, and socio-cosmological relationships to their male children. These allow the members who are united through patrilineal ancestry to collaborate as a single group at times when they want to hold exclusive discussions, including solving disputes among themselves, conducting exclusive celebrations of their achievements, stipulating marriage rules for their members, and occasionally organizing property inheritance. The property inheritance is granted to the male members of the society to stipulate the ancestral continuity (particularly of land). In this manner, inheritable land as well as movable and non-movable properties are dealt with carefully so as not to handover the good ancestral spirits (*anno ayyaanna*) to the wrong place held by the individuals who do not deserve such a privilege, such as the divorced wives of their male members.

Throughout the Hadiya province and in particular in the Sadama Marduncho village, the people engage in different lifecycle rituals because such rituals are considered symbolic of life. It is through these rituals they welcome new spirits into the households through their new-born children. Child-bearing women are also integrated into the cosmological relationships by conducting birth rituals and through the care offered to women during such events.

Furthermore, initiation rituals are conducted to grant the younger generation to receive blessing and uphold responsibility of their ancestors. Full membership within the society is only assumed in that way. Rituals of death, on the other hand, maintain the continuity of the physically dead members of the society with the living members of the society; it is through this means the living members assume spiritual communication with their ancestors.

Cultivation of crops is also vital for the Sadama Marduncho village people to conduct rituals for various circumstances and to sustain their daily living. Therefore, the village people engage in cultivation not merely for the purpose of harvesting; the main purpose of the cultivation is to establish relationships with their animals, lands, and crops. In addition, they believe that the crops should be blessed (*maaso)* by conducting a ritual at the beginning of sowing with neighborhood household heads led by an elder person. Later on, the harvested crops should also be blessed to grant health and spiritual prosperity to the people. The consumption of the crops should also encompass the impoverished villagers. This belief is assumed not only to help with the poor, but also it is believed that failing to offer food for the poor results in acquiring a curse (*duunchcha*) from their ancestors. Therefore, in the hope not to be denied the access to ancestral blessing privileges, every village household thinks it is their obligation to provide some portion of their food or crops to their poor villagers (*sibaaraanno*). Therefore, providing support for the poor has dual purposes: receiving a blessing from their ancestors in the long run; and gaining momentary satisfaction.

The village people have a limited source of economic activities. Their economic base is what they acquire from their cultivation and their domestic animals' milk and meat products. Both products are bought and sold in the village and district markets. They produce these products using their manual labor and by ploughing their land with their oxen. The agricultural products are transported to the village market, the Hadiya sub-province district markets, and the Hadiya capital using domestic animals such as mules, horses, and donkeys. In addition,

many villagers carry goods on their heads, shoulders, and on their backs. The domestic animals that will be sold are also taken to the market centers.

The engagement of the village people in buying and selling domestic products, domestic animals, and industrial consumer goods is for two purposes. Firstly, to get what they do not have for their domestic consumption; and secondly, to establish relationships with the people they interact with. The market relationship they maintain through buying and selling is also a means to welcome good spirits through the products and animals they buy from the individuals whom they think good spirits (*gadaa)* reside in. Products gained through such processes are consumed at the same time as new relationships are established.

In light of this, the price determinants in the markets are not purely the size, weight, or the quality of the object itself. Different factors determine the price, of which a good spirit assumed to be rested on (*gadaa*) the individual selling is key (the village people are aware of the nature and the potential of good and bad spirits over individuals. They have learned this through their social relationships with the people). The different colors of the items in the market also determine their value in the market. For instance, some household heads consider objects or animals with certain colors as an abomination to own or consume because of their ancestral taboo stipulations.

The Sadama Marduncho villagers have also established money lending and borrowing associations to avoid the problems they face under different circumstances. To curb anticipated problems, they sought collaborative efforts through such associations. In a similar manner, communal property ownership exists to fulfill material demands at times of marriage and lifecycle rituals.

On the top of those village associations, the female members of the society take part in in cow milk products associations. They do so for the purpose of their household dairy consumption, and in doing so they also regulate the domestic animal ownership imbalance between the household heads. Because of this strategy, women married to men with larger

numbers of dairy cows and those with lesser numbers enjoy similar social relationship statuses in the village. Subsequently, the wealth inequality created between their husbands is systematically abolished by their wives (cf. chapt 4; cp. Carsten 1989.)

The above research demonstrates that the Hadiya society of the southern province of Ethiopia has their own way of conceiving this world. Primarily they conceive of the world around them through the parameters of their lands in the village, the spiritual connections with their ancestors, and the rituals enacted in both circumstances. Hence, these aspects have become the foundation of why the Hadiya society occupies a particular geographic location in space and time. Nevertheless, contemporary institutions are disrupting the society's social structure. For instance, the more radical evangelical Christian denominations have been attacking the Hadiya traditional belief system, as well as the village philosophical stipulations that the people rely on. The Ethiopian state has been also uprooting the village people from their lands for its own projects, without taking into consideration the cosmological and social relationships each household has with its lands and other property. Some NGOs reject traditional practices and the society's economic philosophies, finding their life cycle rituals to be harmful and obsolete. As a result, the misunderstanding of the socio-cosmological understanding of the Hadiya society by the Ethiopian state, international NGOs, and modern religious institutions fails to embrace the overall realities of this society and are thereby a threat to the maintenance of its true identity. Therefore, the solution is that the society should be conceived of in terms of the relationships that define its members.

Other options include either instituting a proper structure which does not disrupt the existing social structure, or stopping all the attempts at diminishing the social fabric of the society. Societies cannot survive without either a traditional or modern structure. For instance, in modern societies the existence of a strong state structure and the values its members communally share (cf. Platenkamp 2014) provide a proper system for the citizens to rely on to maintain their lives. However, in developing countries like Ethiopia, non-modern societies such

as the Hadiya depend on their own traditional institutions and have less need for the state bureaucracy.

Prior to the current research, the existing social science literature about the Hadiya society succinctly stated that it is the policies and regulations of the Ethiopian state that have maintained the living conditions of the people. Now, contrary to that argument, this study has proven two major points: that the fundamental life of the society is in fact based on their socio-cosmological understanding of this world; and that their own traditional institutions guaranteed life in entirety.

Subsequently, it is hoped that this research may serve as a relevant source of literature for further studies on the Hadiya, disproving those who argue that it is irrelevant to conduct ethnographic studies of this people. This is in particular the argument of some opposition political figures in southern Ethiopia, who strongly uphold the idea that the realization of self-identity may bring differences with the neighboring societies. The source of their claim is the recently ethnicized political practice of the current government, which has resulted in tensions among different societies. However, the research presented here is contrary to their argument, as it is clear in its assessment of the socio-cultural practices and socio-cosmological understanding of the society. Every member of the Hadiya society should be informed of this information to preserve it for future generations. In addition, this also may broaden opportunities for understanding the lived experiences of the people, thereby making them part of the wider scholarship. It also may assist different actors in collaborating with the Hadiya society to implement their ideologies, policies, and projects on a basis of mutual understanding. All of the above can benefit the society.

In conclusion, based on the data analysis I argue that the modern religious institutions, practitioners, policy makers, and government bodies must consider the indigenous understanding of the social, economic, and traditional institutions of the Hadiya society. Thus, before implementing anything among the society, adequate consideration of the social fabric of

the Hadiya people, their social structure, and their socio-cosmological understanding of their world-view is very important. These key concepts have maintained the identity of the society for several centuries and should therefore be protected with no threat.

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Glossary

Unless mentioned otherwise all indigenous words and phrases listed under this glossary are Hadiya language.

aayichche (noun): madam

aayya (noun): sister

abaachcho (noun)*:* sir

abaayyo (noun): brother

abaroosa (noun)*:* family

a*buula* (noun): farm

a*daraluwwa* (noun): orphans

ada: aunt (father sister)

ado axuruusaanchcho (noun): milk filter

ado (noun): milk

aheera (noun): a place where ancestors' live

allaarima (noun): looking after

ama (noun): mother

amaayya (noun)*:* aunt (mother sister)

ambaanchcho (noun): a person who covers the ceiling of a house with a strong grass (*guffa*)

anim kiyabichcho: a statement evoked to express I am with you

anna (noun): father

annaabaayyo (noun): uncle (father's brother)

annoi duunchcha (noun): ancestors' curse

annoo Waa (noun): ancestors' deity

antabaakichcho (noun): hen

arajaa sorimma (adverb): praise song for a deceased person

araqee (noun)*:* traditional alcoholic drink

arassa (noun): wheat

aroo moolo (noun): all kin related family members of a wife's husband

atarra (noun): pea

atoota (noun)*:* the final product of crops

atooxi maaso (noun): the blessing of the crops after the harvest

awonsaanchcho (noun)*:* a leader

awonsaano (pl. noun): leaders

awonse (noun): guide me

awuraaja : sub-province

axxi gimmishaanchcho: someone who shakes milk to skim off the butter

axxi harachcho (noun): milk pot

axxi laro (noun): milk cows

axxi luwwa (noun): milk products

axxi wijoo (noun): women who engage in milk reciprocity

ayichche (noun): a sister

bal ichcha (noun): lunch

baaluwwa (noun): kin related family members of wife's family

baaqeella (noun): beans

bakaara (noun)*:* the process of mourning for a week at time of one's death

balabaata: landlord

balachamaanche (noun): a girl who is going to be circumcised

b*alachamancho* (noun): a boy who is going to be circumcised

ballee (noun): mother-in-law

baloo (noun)*:* father-in-law

banqqa (noun): thunderstorm

baquchcho (noun)*:* mule

barccumma (noun): a seat

barkashsha (noun): a death ritual conducted to handover properties of a deceased father to his elder son.

baxoo (noun): work

beeto (noun): a boy

beshichche (noun): a friend (female)

beshichcho (noun): a friend (male)

bilawwa (noun): knife

bille (noun): winter

bolochchoo (noun): wedding ceremony

boqqolla (noun): corn

buna (noun): coffee

burtukaana (noun): orange

buul wijoo awonsaanche (noun): a woman who leads the women group united for the reciprocity of butter

buul wijoo (noun): a women group for reciprocity of butter

buuro (noun)*:* butter

calaa (noun): a wood used for the construction of a house

caqafa (noun)*:* branches of olive tree used during a construction of a house

dal bunaa (noun): morning coffee

dal ichcha (noun): morning meal

daaphphimma (noun): watching over something

 dachchee (noun): all properties of a farmer

dara maaroo (noun): morning and evening

digiba (noun): a tree plant to use for shade

diinat alaarancho (noun): a boy who keeps cows

dinat amadaancho (noun): a cashier in the village

dinbaanchcho (noun): someone who drinks a lot of traditional alcohol

dinnichcho (noun): potato

diraancha (noun): praise song

dooyitoo (verb): deceased

duma (noun): a place where women keep food items

dumichch baxxamaano (adverb): council meeting participants

dumichch dannuwwa (noun): council leaders

dummichcha (noun): council meeting

dunkanna (noun): a traditional tent used for gathering during major events in the village, such as wedding, death rituals and big reconciliation council meetings

duub gooca (noun): backside door of a house

duubmine (noun): a small house constructed behind a big to use it for food cooking purpose and for daughters living

duubonne (noun): backyard of a house

duud landichche (noun): a girl who cannot speak

duuda (noun): a boy who cannot speak

duugimma (noun): harvesting the *weesa*

duumimma (noun): cursing

eeshimma (noun): uncle (mother's brother)

egarima: waiting something

egeraanchcho (noun): a protector

enkaashsha (noun): food given by an elder man to a young boy

weesa (noun)*:* drought resistant edible plant

eyaayuwwa (noun): sisters

eyabaayuwwa (noun): brothers

eyabaayyo (noun): brother

eyan abaayyo (noun): uncle (father's brother)

eyan ama (noun): grand-mother (father's mother)

eyanna (noun): father

eyyaayya (noun): sister

eyyan anni abbayyo (noun): grand-father's brother (father-father's-brother)

eyyum amma (noun): grand-mother (mother's mother)

eyyumma (noun): mother

falmanchche (noun): a circumciser (female)

falmanchcho (noun): a circumciser (male)

fandaanano (noun): Hadiya religion

faradaano (noun): horsemen

fayaooma uwwonna (a phrase): a blessing said when someone gets ill in the village

fellakichcho (noun): a goat

fikaanehe (verb): let you multiply, blessing by older men in the village for younger people or newly married couples

foocoo (noun): portion of crop given to young boys during the harvest

foore Waa aheeraan aaona (a phrase): wishful statement evoked by death ritual participants, literal meaning, let the soul of the dead person be united with our ancestors.

fuga (noun): marginalized people who live among the village

funaanachcho (noun): people who do not have enough in the village

gaabee (noun): older men traditional dress

gaadaancho (noun): a warrior

gaadira (noun): a place where cows are kept during nights

gaanjaqqa (noun): an object to tie oxen together during harvest

gaashaa: a landlord of a land lord (in the past)

gadaa (noun): a good spirit

galat afonna (noun): thank you

gamaanchcho (noun): a thief

gannichcho (noun): a mare

gasso (noun) : a traditional leadership territory

geej shaatee (adjective): a big clay pot

geerechcho (noun): sheep

geja (noun): collective solidarity group

giira (noun): the last step in the Hadiya kinship ancestry

gilaaloo (noun): barely

giraafa (noun): a piece of rope farmers hold to hit the oxen during farming

godda (noun): wealth

goddaa maasso (noun): abundant wealth and blessing

gogaal uulla (noun): dry land

gojaancho (noun): someone with bad eyes

gollaanchcho (noun): greedy

gonga (noun): a big stem of wood used for the processing of the *weesa* food before cooking

gooci amadima (noun): a tradition of unveiling brother's wife waist on the first day of her arrival to welcome into the new family

goonchcho (noun): male in general

guffa (noun): a strong grass used to cover the ceiling of Hadiya house

habesh hooma (noun): trees used to construct strong house

haffa (noun): a tree shade where the village people sit during hot season

hagaye (noun): a rainy season

hallichcho (noun): donkey

hamaanchchoo (noun): a person who bike bite others

hammichcho (noun): a root of *weesa* which farmers feed their oxen

hanqinna niyanoi Waa lae (a phrase): let our ancestors' deity knows, it is an expression said by the villagers when another person wants to confirm about if something is true.

hantaraanchcho (noun): a person who creates problems among people

haramima (verb): giving a support

heechcha (noun): belongings of someone

hinchi hiincho affehe (a phrase): an expression said during village annual ceremonies, meaning, get this opportunity every year

hinchi hincho heele (a phrase): an expression said at the end of an old man and woman's blessing

hiraag beane (a phrase): someone who does things with no care for his future

hiragaaancho (a phrase): a soothsayer

hirim beanne (phrase): a person who does not care about doing things according to his ancestral order

humbulo (noun): a clay cup used to drink milk

hurbaat min beedonne (a phrase): blessing by persons' who gets crop donations from household heads.

idooti firuk landi ooso: children of a widow

ill iggaalla (noun): a person who is not shy

iyyishsha (noun): a crop gift from sister's husband family given to deceased family

jijira (noun): a temporary bed for birth giving woman

jor gadaa (noun): bad spirit

jori egarame (a phrase): be safe (a wish to say not bad things attack you)

kaa min eyyonna (a phrase): let your house protect you (a blessing line for someone who has constructed a new house)

kaa ooso jor nakonne (a phrase): let your children will not be attacked by bad spirits (a blessing by elder villagers)

kaafiraanchcho (adjective): a bad person in the village

qaballe: a village

qaballe danuwa: a village administrative leaders

kebele kitaab mine: the office of the village administrators

*keese galatoomo (*a phrase): I thank you

keteeta (noun): a fireplace where village women cook food

beero: a city administration

khat (noun): a leaf of an stimulant, some people chew to be active

ki diinat fikaanona (a phrase): let your properties multiply (a blessing by the elder villagers to junior household heads).

*ki uwwanchcha (*a phrase): it is your gift (an expression *Fandaanano* to their ancestral deity)

*kin illaginna taloot yooko (*a phrase): I plead before our ancestors

kiirancho (noun): a witch in the village

kitaabaanchcho (noun): someone who keeps written record of things in the village

kontolla (noun): an object with a bad luck

koshoo (noun): tobacco

ku maragi maseamona (a phrase): let this year be blessed

kubayaa (noun): a cup

kumamo (noun): a household head who has over thousand cows (in particular before 20 years)

kunchee (noun): a string used to tie during house construction and at times of fixing fence

lal alaaranchchoo (noun): a boy who looks after cows

laleewa (noun): cows

land ooso (noun): descendants of female members of the society in the village

*leho (*verb): death

ananni worada: a sub district within a sub-province which has its own separate administration offices.

lobakatta (adjective): in abundance

lobb annoo (noun): forefathers

*lomanchcho (*noun): an elder person in the village

lommanna (noun): traditional council members in the village

maaroo Waa galaxximma (a phrase): a situation where a Fandaanano follower thank his ancestors' deity

maasso (noun): a blessing

malaaye (noun): energy

masqqalla (noun: a traditional feast celebrated in September annually

*mat min abaroosa (*a phrase): the family members of a household

mayak beane (noun): unethical person

meent gassaakko jora (a phrase): a household head who is dominated by his wife

meentiche: female

*meera (*noun): market

min ama (noun): household wife

min ambaancho (noun): a traditional expert who covers the ceiling of a house

min anna (noun): a household head

min baxoo manni (noun): traditional experts who construct a house

min maaso (noun): a blessing of a new house

minaadaba (noun)*: people

 mine (noun): traditional Hadiya house

uwwanchcha (noun): properties of a family

misha niyano maseamonna (a phrase): let our ancestors' bless our belonging

mool daanna (noun): a leader of kin family members in the village

moora (noun): a big bull

nafara *(noun):* used under two contexts, first, for an individual's garden. Second, all the neighbourhood households collectively called 'nafera'

niayannoo Waa (a phrase): our ancestors' deity

niyano aheranne ka godina liramamonna (a phrase): let our ancestors be happy in our ancestral land.

foore (noun): soul of a person

niyano ka uula maseamonna (a phrase): let our ancestors bless our land

niyanoi Waai hundam jori egaronna (a phrase): let our ancestors' deity protect us

ollaa (noun)*: neighborhood*

oodo (noun): a circled piece of space where farmers harvest their crops

ooso (noun): children

ooso ossi oosso (noun): grand children

qarim hoonge (noun): inability to give birth

qolleanchcho (adjective): a restless person

qoota (noun): bride wealth

saanchcho (adjective): adulterous person

saawwe: a female friend during initiation ceremony

saawwo: a male friend during initiation ceremony

sabiraatta (noun): money offered by the death ritual participants during a funeral ceremony

sechchamo (noun): a household head who has abundant of crops

seer daana (noun): a leader of a traditional institution

seera (noun): a traditional institution

sham uula (noun): a fertile land

shayid beanne (noun): a person who does not have respect for himself

sibaaraanchcho (noun): a villager who does not have what the rest of the villagers have

suummissa ihonna (a phrase): let what you said be

taxaaqee: government security officers

tibima (noun): a culture of owning more than hundred cows in the hope of acquiring a traditional title.

tiir beanne (noun): a person who does things without care

usheexato (noun): either dying or taking a good rest.

utuba (noun): a pillar of a Hadiya house, where their ancestral spirit live

uula (noun): land

uunxatoo (noun): bagging

Waa (noun): Hadiya ancestral deity

waameeta (noun): a second wife

waamima (verb): burying a dead person

willoo (noun): funeral

woi agishsha (noun): a process of feeding funeral attendants

woccitta (noun): a traditional food brought by the uncles of the newly married man

*wolabano (*noun): doing things according to the values of the Hadiya people

wolabichcho (noun): a person who does things according to the Hadiya values

worada: district

worada beero: a district town

wossa hoolimmaa (a phrase): spending a leisure time

xeebeanchcho (noun): a person who does not have enough to eat and drink in the village

xiikimma (noun): fattening an animal

xumaato (noun): greeting

yaayimma (verb): excommunicating

firdi mini daana: court ruling in the village administrative office

zeretta (noun): all type of crops

zoona: sub-province

x