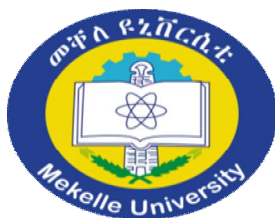


MEKELLE UNIVERSITY



COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES IN IROB

BY

ALEMA GHEBRAY WOLDEMARIAM

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JUNE, 2013

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THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES IN IROB

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Literature in English

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Approved by Board of Examiners

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Examiner	Signature	Date
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Examiner	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Advisor	Signature	Date

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this document presents the thesis entitled “THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES IN IROB”, which I have conducted in the year 2013 under the supervision of Yideg Alemayoh (PhD) and Mekwanent Tilahun (MA), in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts in Literature in English. Hence, this is to certify that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for a reward of degree or diploma in any other university or institution. I hereby confirm that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been dully acknowledged.

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Alema Ghebray	_____	_____
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Co-Advisor:		
Mekwanent Tilahun	_____	_____

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to my late brother, Dory Ghebray who was frequently inquisitive and visionary about the cultural and genealogical background of Irob minority approaching elders and referring antiquities to preserve what is at stake.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My Initial Thanks Go To God Almighty Since All Things Were Made By Him. Next, I express my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Yideg Alemayoh, my adviser and Mekwanent Tilahun, co-advisor whose constructive criticisms and challenging questions often made me rethink many of the problems in my research. I am also thankful to them for their guidance, encouragement and understanding which contributed tremendously to the success of this study.

I would like to express my gratitude to my fiancée for timeless and indispensable help she made throughout this research period. My heartiest gratitude also goes to Tesfay Ghebray who tirelessly contributed to digitalize and render the research data while it was high time. I am very much indebted to Ashenafi Mekonen for the stationary and duplication support he made when urgent need was ahead.

Finally, I am indebted to the contributions of my informants and family members who shared their thoughts and advices all through the research.

ABSTRACT

The research has identified some genres of folklore namely folktales, myths and legends in Irob. After identifying types of folklore, efforts have been made to trace some for the purpose of documentation and analysis focusing on theme. Emphasis has been given to legends and folktales because the availability of myths except the common Christian myths was not encouraging in the area of research. The themes of the identified genres were almost similar in their message. The overall penetration into the overwhelming hybrid of folklore and the themes that are depicted in the study are hoped to attract interested researchers in the field and teach lessons for the generations to come.

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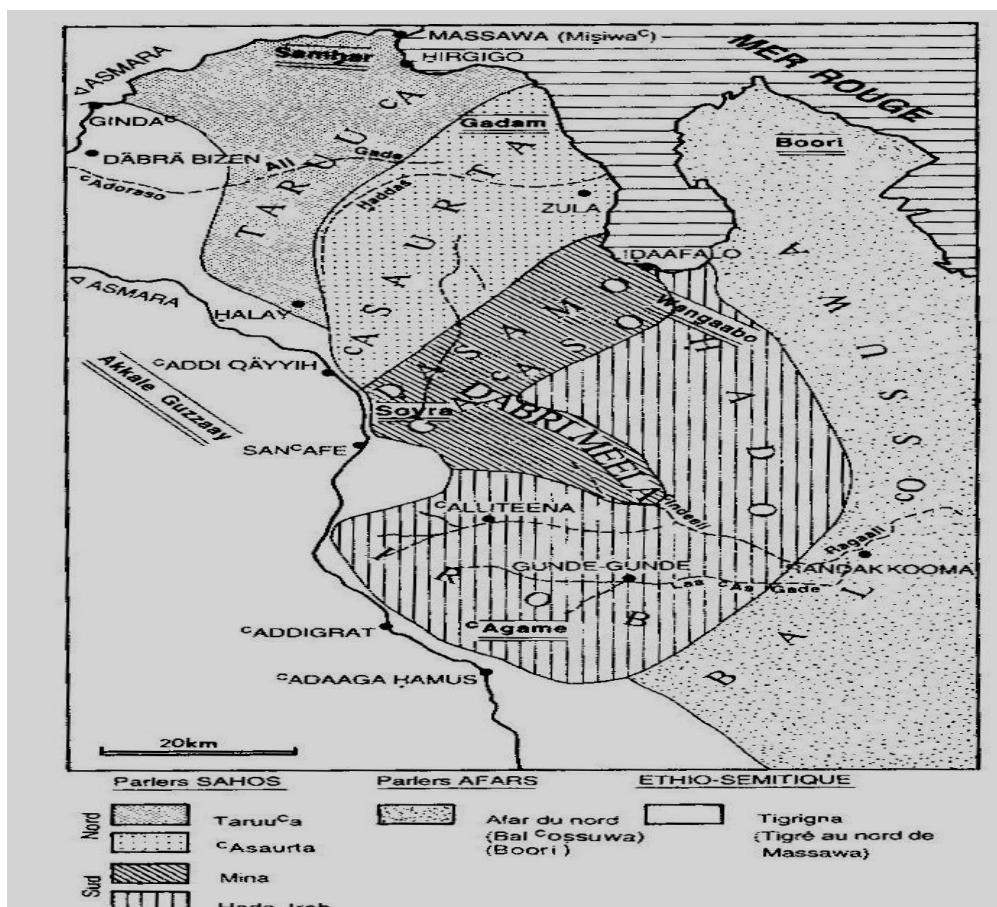
CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

1.1.1 Description of the Study Area

The research area is Irob Wārāda. The name Irob refers to the people living in the North Eastern part of Tigray National Regional State, Ethiopia. This clan is one of the over eighty Nations and Nationalities living in Ethiopia. Irobs Speak the language called Saaho as their mother tongue and Tigrigna as the second language. Amharic is also frequent in the elite group for communication and other purposes.

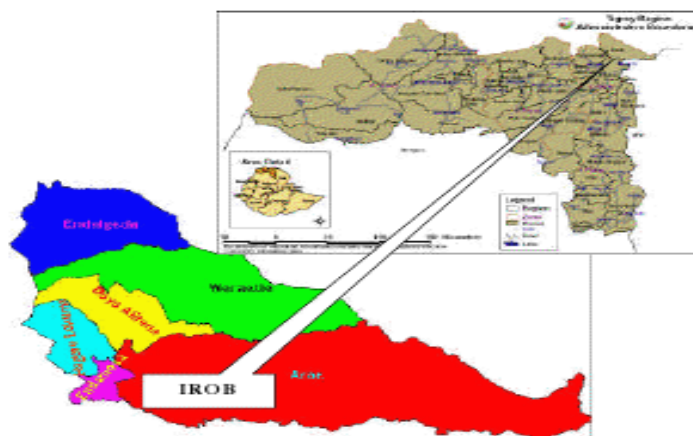


Map1. The traditional Saaho-speaking areas of Ethiopia and Eritrea

(Source: Morin 1995)

Banti and Vergari (2003) explain that ‘Saaho’ is an East Cushitic language closely related to ‘Afar. Other well-known East Cushitic languages are Somali, Oromo, Sidamo, and Hadiyya. ‘Saaho’ speaking communities live traditionally in the Northern Red Sea and Debub (South) regions of Eritrea, and now also in some areas of Gash-Barka. They are reported to be the 5-7% of the population of the country. The ‘Saaho’ speaking Irobs live also in the northeast part of the Ethiopian region of Tigray. Until very recently ‘Saaho’ has only been an oral language and did not develop a common written variety. As a consequence it is divided into several mutually intelligible dialects. Morin (1994, 1995) has shown that there are two main dialect areas, i.e., the Northern and Southern dialects, with an intermediate zone mainly represented by the Minifire. The ‘Saaho’ of Ethiopia is mainly spoken in the special administrative Wäräda called Irob.

This special administrative woreda is bordered by Eritrea in the North and North East, ‘Afar in the East and South East, Sa’äse’äsa’ädaimba in the South and Gulämakäada in the West.



Map2. Digital map of Irob

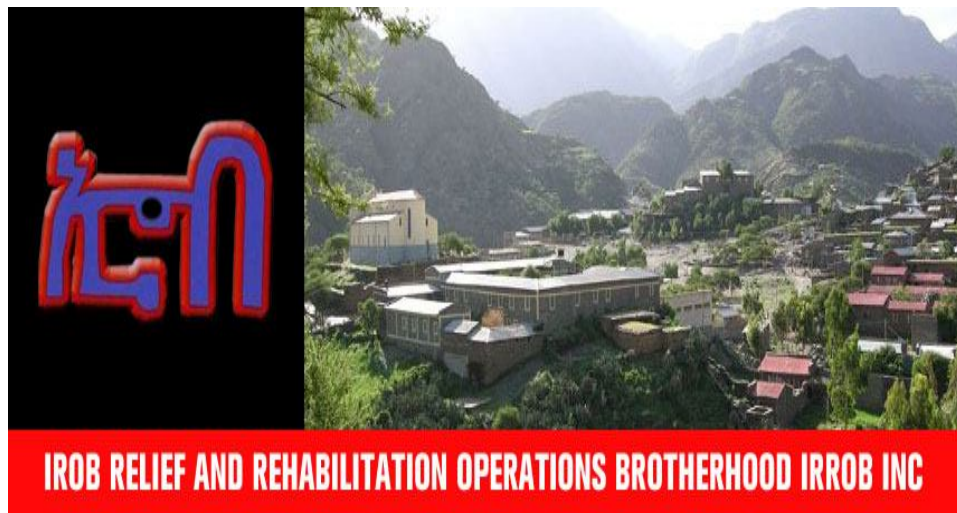
(Contributed by: Täsfay Ghäbray, University of Enchede, the Netherlands, 2004)

Paul B. Henze witnesses that geographically, the locality is characterized by deep gorges and rugged mountains throughout. He asserts in the article posted in www.irrob.org that sometimes the Ariel topography of Irob is compared with little Tibet as concerns to its multidimensional features of ecotourism.



Figure 1. Cloud clusters on Mt. 'Assimba

Some of these features include: Mt. 'Assimba, the second highest pick in Tigray, *Haradä-Ma'əbino* terrain into the south of 'Alitäna, *Saragumbä-'Ayga-Dambakooma* Chains and 'Awda to the north of 'Alitäna, Sangadä and 'Indäli lowlands and pasture to the East of 'Alitäna.



Map 3. Ancient town of 'Alitäna, central Irob

The other well known feature in the locality is the *Zägaarut* and *Gundagundä* drainage which flows toward *Indäli*, joining in *Randakooma* and thereby streams to the Red Sea.



Figure 2. Grand view of Gundagundä from Ma'ebino terrain

Irob is endowed with historical monasteries such as *Gundagundä* which is known for its huge collection of spiritual and few secular literature such as *Kibrä Nägäst*, and unique architecture and St. Mary church of *Allitäna* which embraces School of *Lidäta Mariam* also known for its being center for academic and religious excellence more than a century and half. The Monastery of *Gundagundä* is supposed to be built in 14th C. by some volunteer religious migrant priests. (Irob Development Association, 2003 and Berhe, 2008)

The aim of introducing this background has no an intention of locating and/or defining Irob vicinity but it is to forshow that the association of oral literature and the natural scene (ry) which are considered as 'two faces of a coin' in Irob land.

For instance, the pasture of *Sangadä* and its herding activities are mostly the center of oral literature which is known as '*didä*' in 'Saaho' ('praise for animals and the scenery accompanied by traditional flute called *food'ima*').

Moreover, the yet unanimously known and extended poem which was recorded in the cassette at first and later translated to a written script by Berhe (2009) entitled ‘*Yiina Yi ‘asiina*’ which could be translated as (Mother Land)’s focus is still in Irob panorama and the bravery of its people.

As referred to different evidences and experiences, it is undeniable that Irobs are rich for their folkloric treasure.

Mesqäl celebrations, *Ḥawayra* known as herds’ holiday and *Lattitiya*-traditional game endemic to Irob are few examples of ritual lore and traditional sports frequently seen in this community.

Other instances of these folkloric genres include: ‘*adar*’ (extended or short chants referring to and praising some clan, power, individual, or rarely insult, sorrow, jerk and so forth- dominant), riddles, tales, proverbs, serving as an entertainment and moral building, dance and songs accompanied by drums, among many others.

The study has covered selected areas of Irob woreda, randomly selecting elderly informants on purposive basis who have good knowledge on oral prose narratives from *Ara’ə*, *War’atlä* and *‘Alitäna* localities. The scope of the study topic sticks on the oral prose narratives only. No poetry or other oral prose forms rather than folktales, myth and legend are considered.

Hence the major aim of the study is to examine the nature, themes and societal roles of oral prose narratives in Irob community, it would be relevant to scrutinize widely and deeply into the socio-cultural background and the traditional orientation of the Irob community to come up with a wide range of themes and nature of prose narratives in Irob if it were not for time constraint.

Such an academic feat necessitates anthropological and literary orientations along with long time reading and training to pin down the repertoire of techniques and strategies in such a cultural practice, which can not be entertained in the present study.

That will be an academic pursuit the researcher wants to carry out some time again in another similar study.

1.1.2 History of storytelling in Ethiopia

Being one of the ancient civilized empires among others and having the same trade and power balance at a time, Ethiopia is believed to have ample resource of her own and prevalent stories. Papworth's research found on [www.helenpapworth.com/chapter 4](http://www.helenpapworth.com/chapter_4) is a good example for this evidence. She states stories and folklore cover a number of formats such as the fairy tale, myth, legend, fable, song, riddle and the proverb. Their history goes back in time to days before people developed the ability to read and write. There is certainly evidence of fairy stories being written down in ancient Egypt...It is possible that such tales were told in Ethiopia though whether early examples could be proved to be the source of *Aesop's Fables* cannot be verified.

Papworth further exemplifies and intrigues a question whether Ethiopian and Greece stories have any linkage in some way or the other.

It is thought by some that this most famous among story tellers, Aesop, who lived in the 5th Century BC, was taken to Greece as a slave from Ethiopia - the connection being the similarity of his name and the country, Aethop.

At that time the name 'Ethiopia' would have referred to the whole ancient Nile Civilization including modern day Ethiopia. The similarity of many of his fables to those told today in Ethiopia leads one to question whether such stories emerged in Africa, or further East where similar tales developed and influenced the writings of story tellers"

To shed light on the idea of similarities of tales in Ethiopia and Greece, she brings forward one very good example recurrent in Greece documents and known to Ethiopians today as a Myth.

The link between Ethiopia and Greece does not start with Aesop. The myths which were told in Greece from around 700 BC relating to the creation of the world include stories which specifically refer to Ethiopia, a land known to early Greeks.

One such story Papworth offers us is that of Perseus who, with the aid of winged sandals, passed through Ethiopia on his return from slaying Medusa.

It is said he dropped some of Medusa's blood on Africa which resulted thereafter in the land being full of wild beasts.

As he passed through Ethiopia he found Andromeda, daughter of the king of Ethiopia, Cepheus, and his wife, Cassiopeia, tied to a rock. In order to punish her mother, who said Andromeda was more beautiful than the sea goddesses, Poseidon sent a flood and a terrifying sea monster, the Ethiopian Cetus, to the country. Perseus, aided by his winged sandals, killed the sea monster and married Andromeda. Another myth relating to 'Aithiopia' concerns Benthesisyme, goddess of the waves and a daughter of Poseidon, who was the wife of the first Ethiopian king Enalos (of the sea) who may have also been Triton.

(http://www.tingatingastudio.com/artist_kilaka1.html., Helen papworth's article on Ethiopian story telling-retrieved on 10/3/2013.)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the past, it was frequent practice for parents to educate and enrich children and adults with different types of oral literature. But, nowadays the trend seems to be deteriorated. To some extent, the long history of secular education in the area and the absence of Saho orthography had played insignificant role (had negative impact) in preserving the rich oral tradition of the society. Thus, the living belief is modernization and township spirit has contributed to eroding the indigenous culture in general and oral literature of the society in particular.

It is believed that, the most acute problem lies on the oral narratives (stories) told in Irob society. Nevertheless, the remaining traces of oral treasure should be preserved and disseminated to the future generation unabridged. Sims (2005) asserts traditions can help create and confirm sense of identity. Some folklorists theorize that groups select traditions, choosing events and heroes from their cultural past that shape that past to match their present conception of themselves (Ben-Amos 1984, 114-115, with reference to Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Selecting traditions reinforces the values and beliefs of the current group's make-up.

In the same sense, the traditions of this community with the remaining anticipations of its lore should be sustained.

1.3 General Objective

The general objective of the research is to examine the themes of oral prose narratives practiced by Irob community and the extent to which these oral prose narratives are effective in helping the societies to live peacefully with each other and nature around them.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The research aims at:

- ▶ analyzing themes of the oral prose narratives to find out their significance in the locale
- ▶ making investigation of embedded meanings of oral prose narratives across various contexts
- ▶ exploring the potential of using oral prose narratives as a means of encouraging the development of individual and societal ethics

1.4 Significance of the Study

It is hoped that this study is helpful in promoting the dissemination of knowledge and understanding of story telling experience of Irob community which in turn will encourage other folks to study the oral prose narratives of their respective nations and nationalities. Besides, this study is expected to create awareness in the Irob community to be active and proactive to protect this folkloric treasure from the destructive influence of alien culture; and thereby awaken the young generation to take turn to be acquainted with the noble literature of oral prose narratives and document it for future generation. Moreover, identifying, analyzing and documenting the stories will pave way for curriculum designers to use those oral stories for the purpose of academics as well as for reference material in research endeavors.

Most importantly, this research will contribute an insurmountable benefit for students of folklore and researchers in the field of anthropology, cultural studies, theology and Irob tradition by portraying story telling trends in Irob from its grass root level.

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

The study has covered Irob wäräda, randomly selecting elderly informants and some participants from youth group on purposive basis who have good knowledge on oral prose narratives from *Adgaḍa* (*War'atle*), *Tasabalah* (*Ara'ə*) and *Buknayta* (*'Alitāna*) localities. The scope of the study topic sticks on the oral prose narratives only. No poetry or other oral prose forms rather than folktales, myth and legend are considered.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

Though I am privileged as being a native speaker in the research area, it does not mean that I accomplished my research without encountering any problem.

Although the field work was a prerequisite to the study, to go through this phase, time constraint was the main problem. As the demands set by the researcher, time allotted to the study could not enable the researcher to collect the folkloric data pertaining to the academic objective the researcher wants to achieve thoroughly. Had it covered more sites and informants, the data would have been richer and the analysis deeper. Moreover, Very few documents and references are available on Saho literature in Ethiopia now so that it was difficult to find any helpful resource on disposal.

Another constraint was budget deficiency for every activity to be done in the research including data collection, organizing data in different mechanisms such as in audio tapes and scripts, and transportation. Therefore, it is the researcher's advice that these issues should critically be seen and be avoided in the future folkloric researches as they are defying the academic rigor of the researchers at large.

1.7 Methodology of the Study

1.7.1 Design of the Study

This study has relied on descriptive qualitative method of data presentation and interpretation. The study principally focuses on first hand information gathered from elders in the given community. The research tools include those widely used methods of qualitative data such as close private conversation, interview, note taking and audiotape recordings. Qualitative research method has been used because it enabled the study to use different techniques to grasp a social phenomenon in relation to oral prose narratives and socio-cultural nature of Irobs from the viewpoint of narratives. From the data gathered, socio-cultural milieu of Irob community was also been able to be penetrated and identified.

1.7.2 Data Sampling /Situation of the Informants /

The population being saho speaking community in Tigray, selected sites were taken from the *wäräda* and the subjects of the study were renowned personalities to this purpose from localities where the indigenous traces of folklore are reflected in different levels. The data gathered on legends and the folktales were collected from elders. In the case of legends, different elders were contacted among which their age is in the range of fifty and seventy.

Much of the data were recorded from Ato Gebray Tesfay (kokoho) whom many researchers approach for consultation in similar cases.

His contribution was enormous on historical legends those are believed to be helpful for further research by historians and ethnographers in search of tracing the origin and cultural psychological make up of this society.

The rest of the data were contributed by late Ato Bärhä Wäldamayram who laid in rest after rendering the data, Ato Wäldä Gäbru, Fesiha Bärhä, Dästa Hagos and Waaseä sebhat from different areas of the Irob locality.

The following list represents the informants selected from areas of the three major clans found in Irob namely: *Adgada*, *Buknaya* and *Hasabalah*.

Adgada	sex	Hasabala	sex	Buknayta	Sex	Year of collection
Wäldä Gäbru ('Aggab)	M	Waseyā Sebhat	M	Gäbray Täsfa (Kokkoh'o)	M	2013
Mädhēn Täsfa ('Asärtä)	M			Gäbray Täsfa	M-	2013
	-	Dästa Sebhat	M	Feseha Bärhä	F	2013
	-	Gäbray Täsfa (Boggalä)	M	Berhä Wäldamayram	M	2013

Table1. Informants' condensed information

(NB. Names in brackets refer to nicknames of the given informants)

In addition to this, consulting few institutions and exploiting available resources has been made. In this case, the Regional Agency for Tourism and Culture was helpful in rendering its contribution and in availing what have been found in its disposal about Irob oral literature especially on folktales.

1.7.3 Procedures of Data Presentation and Interpretation

The data collected were classified into three genres namely; myth, folktale and legend based on their subject matter and context. Thus, to transcribe, label and categorize it in such a thematic fashion was itself demanding. All the recordings and note takings were carefully documented and transcribed into English in an attempt to maintain the originality and sense of meaning in the emerging themes and roles of prose narratives in Irob.

When it was begun translating and adapting the stories (narratives) within a contemporary setting, the primary concern was to bring out the equivalent and charm of original narrative meaning. The translation of a verbal text is primarily aiming at securing its accuracy, authentic account, maintaining loyalty to the text, as the same time preserving it for generations to come.

The search for authenticity and culturally acceptable equivalent in the vernacular language is believed to be crucial for the study of oral prose narratives and other types of oral literature. This again takes us to the point that the original Saho Text and the English translation should be seen side by side.

To serve the purpose of analysis, different approaches were used. To mention some, contextual analysis was adapted as one approach for analysis. According to Hussen (2005), the homology or articulateness between a piece of art and its social function is contextually determined. It is difficult to accurately determine the functions of an art when it is wrenched from the objective social and cultural contexts. An oral art can, for example, serve various extra-linguistic functions depending on where and by whom it is used. It is, therefore, illusory to look for functional invariance or constancy of a piece of art.

Bauman (1986) shows folk literary tradition needs to be studied contextually and ethnographically, in order to discover the individual, social, and cultural factors that give it shape and meaning in the conduct of social life.

“The stories live in native life and not on paper, and when a scholar jots them down without being able to evoke the atmosphere in which they flourish, she or he has given us but a mutilated bit of reality” (Okpewhu, 1992; 1).

In the absence of context-centered approach, the analytical framework that can effectively serve the empirical investigation of cultural and social events, oral literature remains lifeless. Without understanding the various aspects of peoples’ socio-cultural life and proper historical sense, it would be impossible to be the qualified writer of wisdom literature. So as this approach is used to serve the intended purpose. In addition to this, as the oral prose narratives have multifaceted plot structures, motifs and themes the psychoanalytic and historical-geographical approaches are used through the research analysis.

The historical-geographical (diffusionist) school asks questions about the exact historical and geographical origins of a particular story with the idea of tracing its journeys from one area to another.

Unlike the evolutionists, these scholars take little interest in generalized questions about origin, or in the relative primitiveness of different categories of tales (oral stories).

They aim to reconstruct the 'entire life history [life span] of the tale', working back to the first local forms, hence to the ultimate archetype from which they were all originally derived, in much the same way as literary scholars track back a series of manuscript traditions to their first original.

To supplement the importance of the school of psychoanalytic thought in analyzing oral prose narratives, Okpewhu (1992) states the principal objective of this school is investigating the mental background of any human activity. The forerunners of this school were Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung, the Austrian and Swiss psychiatrists. According to Freud quoted in this work, some unconscious activities of human being are driving motives for search of wish-fulfillment, sexuality and so on. Therefore, this approach helped more and been central to the analysis of the oral narratives as it is shown in the document.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Review of Previous Literary Studies in Irob Oral Literature

From different evidences, it is understood that Irobs are well known for their rich folklore; though there has not been deliberate attempt to collect and record as well as to document this rich tradition until recent times sufficiently (cf. P. 5)

In fact, it had been practically difficult to deal with such issues because the orthography (writing script) for Saho language in Ethiopia was not codified until recent millennium. For this reason, it was forgotten agenda to incorporate this treasure into a written literature.

To elicit few but significant attempts that have been made however, there were two devotees to trace and document Irob language and folklore in remote past.

To the researcher's best knowledge, the first attempt was made by Delibis (1900s?) almost hundred years back who compiled different letters on how forgiveness is practiced in Irob tradition and more in collaboration with missionaries of Holland.

The second scholar was Reinsch (1878b) of Austria who worked on and published a book entitled *The Grammar of Abyssinian Saaho*.

Another recent attempt was made by Abraha (2009) a study focusing on *Mälat Aglä: An Indigenous Institution for Conflict Resolution in Irob*. As the perception of this researcher, however, though this document traces some good values practiced in Irob community, it devalues the role of women in contrary to that society perceives the place of women. It could be enough thus one simple legend would show the evidence of the place of women in Irob. Once, it is said that *Gaadarumma*, the one who is known to top Irob genealogy has divorced his wife for unknown reasons as it happens every where. The husband and the wife equally divided and shared their property as the customary practice of the society. But after a while, *Gaadarumma* recognized that his comb is left unshared or undivided.

Then he called her and split it into halves and rendered half of it to her. Thenafter, a legend has it that his wife said; “*Gaadarumma! Your divorcing me is sweeter than your marrying me*”. An establishment of such equality and gender oriented practices were also believed to begin at about the beginnings of 1800s in Irob community. The five clans, namely: *Buknayti* ‘Arä, *Adgadi* ‘Arä, *Hasabalah* and *Hado* including *Surrukuso* were able to draft customary law in the place known as *Hantakar* after long debates for three months. In this draft law, the right for females to equally share property with males has gained acceptance irrespective of the practices that were everywhere in the country at the time. Coming into the main point, as these contributions are part of folk culture and traditions, it is appreciated as a rare move to promote this minority. But attention has to be paid to carefully recording, documenting and disseminating them from the grass roots.

Saaho, as it is well known is spoken in some parts of Tigray, Ethiopia and also in some parts of the independent state of Eritrea. Esayas declares the speaking population of Saho language in Tigray National Regional State approximates 35-42 thousand as of the estimated population of the Irob Wereda and its adjacent neighbours who speak purely saho such as *Marwa and Daalul* vicinity (A paper presented in *Symposium of Saaho: Dawhan, 2010*). These localities are the active participants of the Saho Media which is broadcasted via Meke’lle under the co-operation of The Voice of Tigray People’s Liberation Front since 2011.

To the researcher’s best knowledge, collecting the Saho literature in well organized manner has been conducted by Berhä (2009) in his third book entitled ‘*Sinä Qal Hezbi Irob*’ its English equivalent being ‘*Oral Literature of Irob*’ composed in both Saaho and Tigrinya languages.

Taking the advantage of the then designed Saho orthography (alphabet) the author has significantly put some of the genres of oral literature in his book which was first of its kind in the area of Saho literature. Thus, the first attempt has been made to trace some of the nearly forgotten and endangered types of oral poetry such as ‘*didä*’ (praise for animals and scenery) and ‘*aysini yohuma*’ (insultation chants about jealousy.)

Their performance is almost same at engaging traditional flute and reciting, both played individually and the audience may or may not be attending the occasion. The book also includes other types of oral literature namely; ‘*adar*’- a chant or poem praising, condoling, supporting or criticizing some body or a clan as well as political authority of a time; selected poems focusing in praise for animals in different situations such as while the animals are reunioning, grazing, giving birth, migrated, milked and buttered (putting the butter on their head or body on special occasions such as *mäsqäl*), and also about patriotism, wisdom, jealousy and love and ‘*warsem*’ (communication).

Here, we can say that the writer has earned great reputation in collecting and putting together in one whole of the endangered and an unarticulated literature significantly. But there seems to be a remaining task for the rest of us to broaden the scope of collecting and documenting the undisclosed genres of oral literature in Irob tradition.

For example, the oral recitations recurred as a game ruling law during ‘*lattitiya*’- traditional game enjoyed by youth and played by a unique ball made from a cattle’s tail hair thus individuals in the two teams snatching the ball from each other and bouncing the small ball-a size of ground tennis on the ground and then holding immediately to get a beating score; ruling ‘*fatanat da*’- a traditional game or type of sport known as lifting heavy stone to test human muscles in the special occasions and seasons; oral literature enjoyed during activities such as harvest, helping couples to build a new house (hut), while collecting wood and fetching water, marriage, bee hiving, hunting and so forth are slightly recognized and need immediate action to be traced before extinction. The other important area lies on genres of folklore such as myth, legend, folktales and so forth.

Hence the intention of the researcher is to bridge the gap by investigating the characteristic features in brief and themes and societal roles of the oral prose narratives (oral stories) in Irob tradition at large, it will be proceed with different categories and features of oral prose narratives in the mentioned community in the next pages.

2.2 Theoretical Framework of the Study

2.2.1 Perspectives /Beliefs and Opinions/ about Oral Literature

Gikandi (1994) holds his view that “despite the ravages of slavery and colonialism on Africa’s political, economic and social systems, the continent’s cultures and aesthetic sensibilities remain independent and vibrant, particularly in the orally based forms of cultural expression. Although African societies have developed writing traditions, Africans are primarily an oral people, and it is that tradition [which] has dominated the cultural forms created on the continent. Artistic expression plays an important role in the lives of African peoples, providing a forum for participation in the community and for exploring the mysteries of humanity” (Encyclopedia of African Literature).

Oral literature refers to oral tradition which is transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation. It has long history of transmitting knowledge and human experience through the medium of oral tradition in every society on the world. Likewise, Africans are primarily endowed with oral literature, and it is that tradition which has dominated the in and out of their lives. The life situation of the African society ranging from sublime religious ideas to everyday practical advice gained symbolic expression in oral arts.

Oral tradition is a medium for transmitting historical knowledge and as an inseparable part of history in the making it has a timeless quality in that it reflects truths of all time of a particular historic moment. In terms of the reconstruction process, the verbal narratives deal with general historic conditions and cultural events, a sense of reality of those events that can validate the continuity of traditions and history, the relationship of the two, and the way they serve as literary tools that help manipulate the images of the past.

From time immemorial, narratives were believed to be instrumental to the society’s socio-cultural and economic make up. Narratives are supposed to appear with the establishment of social groups as well as working groups in ancient times. Chinese Indian, Mesopotamian and Japanese narratives are the foregrounding ones in the development of oral narratives.

Wa Thiong'o (1987: 94-95) explains that oral tradition is:

rich and many-sided...the art did not end yesterday; it is a living tradition...familiarity with oral literature could suggest new structures and techniques; and could foster attitudes of mind characterized by the willingness to experiment with new forms...The study of oral tradition would therefore, supplement (not replace) courses in modern African literature. By discovering and proclaiming loyalty to indigenous values the new literature would on the one hand be set in the stream of history to which it belongs and so be better appreciated; and on the other be better be able to embrace and assimilate other thoughts without losing its roots.

In order to value oral tradition as popular art, one has to assess whether or not it can have contemporary importance, and whether it suits modern thinking and addresses outstanding issues of our time. Unless a literary genre is viewed within the changing attitudes of the society which generated it, giving a proper judgement about it would be impossible. In such a situation, a writer fails to weigh the functions of oral tradition in a balanced form. If the literary scholars are unable to explore the work of art of the great thinkers of the past in depth, they cannot be favorably disposed to its literary taste.

Oral literature normally refers to such genres as narratives, myth, epics, lyrics, prose poetry, laments, and the verbal texts of songs; also sometimes to oratory, drama, riddles, proverbs, or word play (Peek and Yankah, 2004: 621).

It is obvious that these folkloric elements are the kernel of any communities' life philosophy, mind style, and cosmology that plays vital role in daily lives of the target group. It is believed that, oral narratives are value laden wisdom that control and maintain the moral, ethos, etiquettes, and norms of the society in which they are highly influential.

Oral prose narratives have long been used as a means of constructing actions and personalities. Similarly, it accounts a fascinating power of convincing minds in the community; functionally thinking, all narratives provide the society with values and standards that are then used as connectors to fasten together the social order.

Finnegan in her pioneering work cites well about Africa's traditional literary image from different scholars that the popular image of Africa as a land without indigenous literary traditions retains its hold; even now, it is still sometimes expressed in a form as crude as that [has been] criticized by Burton a century ago. She quotes him like the following:

‘The savage custom of going naked’, we are told, ‘has denuded the mind, and destroyed all decorum in the language. Poetry there is none....there is no metre, no rhyme, nothing that interests or soothes the feelings, or arrests the passions...’ (1992: 26 Quoted in original).

The image of early Africa was in the same picture by the times’ great figures of history like Hegel and his generation too. These generalizations in the west lead to the neglecting and undermining of Africa's oral tradition. Ruth in the same work argues, “in fact, there is a strong indigenous tradition of both unwritten and, in some areas, written literature in Africa” (ibid: 26).

Rather than devaluing the African oral tradition, Finnegan (1992: 317) tries to explore theories that characterize the African and world oral narratives in such a way that one of the most influential theories, dating (back) to nineteenth century but casting a shadow even today, is the type of evolutionist interpretation of human history and society put forward, in various forms, by writers like Morgan, Tyler, or Frazer.__these speculative generalizations could also be brought to bear on the nature and history of literature.

As to the emergence of the broad concept of folklore, Finnegan states:

In this field the word 'folklore' became popular as a term to describe the supposed customs, beliefs, and culture of both 'early' man and his presumed equivalents today: contemporary 'primitive' peoples and the modern peasant, i.e. the 'folk' among whom could still, supposedly, be found traces of the earlier stages of unilinear human evolution. (1992:318)

Referring back to the theory of Darwin, Okpewhu (1992) adds to this concept that -

“in their efforts to trace the origins of human civilization and ideas_very much as Darwin researched the origins of biological species (the) cultural historians set about trying to find out what were the earliest forms of various aspects of human achievement in religion, technology, government, etc., for instance, what were the beginnings of the religious life (ritual, worship, and so on) and the manufacture of various implements (fire, houses, etc.)? they found that the best way to answer these questions was to go to various 'primitive' societies existing today in Africa, the Far East, and America as well as rural communities in Europe and to record stories from them about these things” (165).

Another approach Finnegan (1992:320) mentions is the historical-geographical (diffusionist) school...“This school asks questions about the exact historical and geographical origins of a particular story with the idea of tracing its journeys from one area to another, Unlike the evolutionists, these scholars take little interest in generalized questions about origin, or in the relative primitiveness of different categories of tales (oral stories). They aim to reconstruct the 'entire life history [life span] of the tale', working back to the first local forms, hence to the ultimate archetype from which they were all originally derived, in much the same way as literary scholars track back a series of manuscript traditions to their first original”.

This general emphasis on questions about the history of specific tales has been one of the dominating influences in the recent study of oral prose narratives (most often referred to by this school as 'folktales').

School of psychoanalytic thought was another school which researched on oral narrative. Okpewhu (1992) states the principal objective of this school was investigating the mental background of any human activity. The forerunners of this school were Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung, the Austrian and Swiss psychiatrists.

Freud quoted in this work cites some unconscious activities of human beings are driving motives for search of wish-fulfillment, sexuality and so on.

[He] says, in such an un controlled exercises, images simply run riot and defy all laws of reason as, for instance, when in dreams and folktales, human beings walk on their heads or make love in the most unimaginable circumstances (170-171).

2.2.2 Equivoques in Etymology of Folklore, Oral Literature and Oral Tradition

2.2.2.1 Folklore

Sims and Stephen (2005:12-13) defines thus “folklore is present in many kinds of informal communication, whether verbal (oral and written texts), customary (behaviors, rituals) or material (physical objects)”. This explanation of folklore seems to go beyond the existing beliefs that folklore is only oral tradition. As its broader perspective indicates, it does include customary practices like rituals, identified behaviors and material culture which includes visual arts like sculpture, building architecture and other antiquities.

According to the article appeared on The Journal of American Folklore by Dan Ben Amos (1971:5), it is believed that --- folklorists have constructed their definitions on the basis of sets of relations between the social context, the time depth, and the medium of transmission on the one hand, and the conception of folklore as a body of knowledge, mode of thought, and kind of art on the other as illustrated in the following table

	Social Context	Time Depth	Medium of Transmission
Knowledge	Communal possession	Antiquity	Verbal imitative
Thought	Collective representation	Survival	verbal
Art	Communal creation or re-creation	Antiquity	Verbal or imitative

Table2. *Bases of sets of relations for constructing definition of folklore*

The Journal further points out “the difficulties experienced in defining folklore are genuine and real. They result from the nature of folklore itself and are rooted in the historical development of the concept. Early definitions of folklore were clouded by romantic mist and haunted by the notion of ‘popular antiquities,’ which Thoms sought to replace. Implicit in these definitions are criteria of the antiquity of the material, the anonymity or collectiveness of composition, and the simplicity of the folk_all of which are circumstantial and not essential to folklore” (ibid: 1-2).

To more complicate its conceptual meaning, Bascom (1965) forwards his encyclopedic meaning of folklore as it encompasses:

"Folk learning"; it comprehends all knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and all crafts and other techniques that are learned by imitation or example, as well as the products of these crafts__ Folklore includes folk art, folk crafts, folk tools, folk-costume, folk custom, folk belief, folk medicine, folk recipes, folk music, folk dance, folk games, folk gestures, and folk speech, as well as those verbal forms expression which have been called folk literature but which are better described as verbal art (1973:376).

Here, we are also confronting another terminology for folklore in the name of verbal art. Bascom adds his argument about the use of verbal art as follows:

Verbal art comprises a segment of folklore and a segment of culture. The fact that it constitutes such a very important focus of folklore interest and research makes it important for us to adopt an acceptable

term to distinguish it from the total range of the materials of folklore. An acceptable term for this segment of culture is also necessary if anthropologists are to avoid twisting the meaning Thoms originally gave to folklore. Verbal art, spoken art, or some other acceptable neologism is needed for the so-called literary materials of folklore (ibid: 378).

As referred on www.ethiopianfolklore.com, the word "folklore" was first used by the English antiquarian [from the Latin *antiquarius*, meaning *pertaining to ancient times: student of antiquities or things of the past*] William Thoms in a letter published in the London Journal, *The Athenaeum* in 1846. In usage, there is a continuum between folklore and mythology. Stith Thompson also made a major attempt to index the motifs of both folklore and mythology, providing an outline into which new motifs can be placed, and scholars can keep track of all older motifs.

In the same token, folklore (lore) combines legends, music, oral history, proverbs, jokes, popular beliefs, fairy tales, stories, tall tales, and customs that are the traditions of a culture, subculture, or group. It is also the set of practices through which those expressive genres are shared. The study of folklore is sometimes called folkloristic.

Okpewhu (1992: 5) summarizes "Whatever errors may have been made by scholars in the early history of this subject, however, it is important to note that the folklore of a people consists essentially of two kinds of activity: what these people traditionally say (e.g., songs, proverbs, tales) and what they traditionally do (weaving, dance, rituals)".

In another elaboration "folktale" is a general term for different varieties of traditional narrative. The telling of stories appears to be a cultural universal, common to basic and complex societies alike.

Even the forms folktales take are certainly similar from culture to culture, and comparative studies of themes and narrative ways have been successful in showing these relationships (www.ethiopianfolklore.com).

Describing folktales, Okpehu states, “so long as we disabuse our minds of the sort of prejudice which earlier generations of scholars had about the concept of folk as the “uneducated” and therefore irrational and unimaginative dwellers of small communities, then there may be situations in which we can excuse the use of the term folktale for purposes of convenience. The term oral narrative is, however, preferred not only because it leaves little room for the prejudice but also because perhaps like the term oral literature it gives primary emphasis to the medium of expression of this form of art, which is word of mouth” (1992:163).

Bascom favoring prose narratives to oral narratives defines:

Prose narrative, ---is an appropriate term for the widespread and important category of verbal art which includes myths, legends, and folktales. These three forms are related to each other in that they are narratives in prose, and this fact distinguishes them from proverbs, riddles, ballads, poems, tongue twisters, and other forms of verbal art on the basis of strictly formal characteristics. Prose narrative is clearly less equivocal for this broad category than “folktale” because the latter has so often been used by folklorists to mean *Marchen* (The Journal of American Folklore, 1965:3).

In the same token by this researcher, “folktales are prose narratives which are regarded as fiction while myths are prose narratives which in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past”. The third class of the prose narratives as Bascom indicated are legends which like myths, are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today (ibid:4).

2.2.2.2 Oral Literature

Exploring the meaning of Oral Literature, Finnegan, in her note appeared on the Journal of The School of Oriental and African Studies (1974:52), states, at first sight, there is clear and a common sense way in which to differentiate between oral and written literature by reference to the society (or cultural context) in which it takes place. Literature is inevitably oral where all literary production, performance, and

consumption indeed all communication is fully oral and there is a total absence of literacy.

The article further refutes “an immediate dichotomy springs to mind here, one propagated by “conventional wisdom” and by the writings of classic sociologists, which helps to fill out this context for oral literature” (ibid).

From the above definition the author seems to see with a mirror that oral literature is for illiterate and from illiterate but this concept sounds somehow vague or unclear for that oral literature can be found among the literate groups too.

Sims M. (2005:2)) for example, describes “folklore as part of oral literature avoids the use of terminology such as “true”, ‘primitive’, or “simple” when they talk about folklore. These terms imply that folklore is “fake”, or exists only in [an] old fashioned, nonliterate culture”. Thus this author sees folklore exists in both literate and nonliterate groups and cultures.

Concerning oral tradition, the concept seems broader than oral literature and it includes all that the society owns as its oral traditional custom and culture.

As Finnegan contributed to *Journal of History and Theory* (1974: 195) in favor of some assumptions of historians and other scholars elaborates about this concept that oral tradition is:

Something unitary and self-evident and that it is somehow imper-
vious to many of the factors which historians usually take
account of in critical assessment of sources. These [and other]
assumptions about the nature of oral tradition are generally
unconscious, but perhaps because of that they have often
seriously affected its use as a source in African history.

The author adds to this concept that “the common assumption that oral tradition is something uniform, something that can be treated as an undifferentiated and self-evident entity, leads to the tendency of some historians and others to speak of oral tradition generally as a source, without apparently feeling the need-which would be obvious in the case of documentary sources-to describe and analyze the detailed source material” (ibid: 195).

Under the banner of the subject of oral tradition different scholars include oral literature as which includes (prose and poetry) such as praise poetry, religious poetry, lyrics-songs for weddings, dance, work, love, and so forth; topical and political poetry and epic or historical poetry-and the prose part merely comprising myth, legends (historical and personal accounts), folktales, genealogy and so on.

These in fact are not only the reflections of oral tradition in the society. Furthermore the general term folklore embraces much of the rest elements of oral tradition.

2.3 Types of Oral Prose Narrative and Their Features

Condensed into one, oral prose narrative as delineating its nomenclature include folktales which entail, Tall Tales, Trickster Tales, Fairy Tales (Magic Tales or Marchen), Fables, Personal Experience Narratives, Jokes, and on the other side Myths and Legends altogether. In identifying each of these categories, scholars in the field assign different features to each group in this matrix. Tall Tales forexample, are presented as true accounts; usually told in first person and more and more unusual features are added to the story.They are tend to be popular among all male groups. They also celebrate the magical aspects of nature. Another function of them is that they used to test and initiate newcomers.

Trickster Tales on the other hand usually feature a sly animal or human character. Trickster serves as a hero for the powerless. Hero is sometimes amoral or immoral. The hero does not always win in Trickster Tales.

Märchen / magic tales / fairy tales all in one are also the abundant category of folktales. Their characters are not believed to be true. They are told to entertain. Mostly they set in a world of fantasy. High adventures and magical acts are seen in their plots. Mostly they may open with "Once upon a time. . ." phrase.

As another class of oral prose narratives, Myths are told to explain the beginnings of things. They are often associated with religious beliefs and their characters are believed to be real. They are assumed to have taken place in pre-historic time.

Legend is another category of oral prose narratives. Local heroes and characters are involved. Actual events with fictitious characters are common in legendary narration. History and supernatural may meet as in "*buried treasure*" legends.

For simplicity of grasping its nomenclature, three anchoring categories of the oral prose narrative are presented here under. This will help to persist on seeking the meaning and thematic roles of the categories of oral prose narratives in Irob.

2.3.1 The Nature of Folktales

The ethiopianfolklore.com suggests that the two main distinguishing features of folktale are ...its relative stability as to form and its complete lack of any claim that what is portrayed in the tale actually happened.

The folktale is then divided into two classes based on form. Those with more complex form are called fairy tales, (Marchen), or wonder tales. The simple in form are animal tales, jokes, anecdotes, and formula tales. Tales similar to the above form are the Grimm's and Andersen's Fairy Tales; and Aesop's Fables which falls into the category of simple animal folktales.

2.3.2 The Nature of Myth

Myth according to different scholars is considered as the narrative of the creation of the world and what the world holds within itself. According to Grave (1959) and George (2003), Myth is a narrative that answers questions about origin or creation (where we came from), purpose and meaning (why we are here, what we should do with our lives), morality (what is right or wrong), and destiny (above all what happens at and after death). Campbell (1959) also emphasizes the importance of myth in human life as "No human society has been found in which mythological motifs have not been rehearsed in liturgies; interpreted by seers, poets, theologians, or philosophers; presented in art; magnified in song; and ecstatically experienced in life empowering visions". Myth as part of oral prose narrative is the kernel of any communities' life philosophy, mind style, and cosmology that plays vital role in daily lives of the target group. Myths are value-laden wisdom that control and maintain the moral, ethos, etiquettes, and norms of the society in which they are highly influential.

2.3.3 The Nature of Folk-legends

The folk-legend as defined in <http://www.yale.edu/ynhti/> is a traditional, oral expression which tells of extraordinary events in the lives of everyday people, told as if it were an historical account. Like the folktale, folk-legend is passed down by word of mouth from generation to generation.

The folk-legend tends to be ampler and more circumstantial than the folktale. The setting is very real, giving detail and local specifics to present an aura of validity. Several authorities have compared the folktale to the novel or short story and the folk-legend to a newspaper story. The folk-legend can be conversational in tone with give and take between the teller and the audience. The legend is told with the assumption that the story really happened and the audience's reaction revolves in part around the credibility or incredibility of the story.

CHAPTER THREE

3. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES

3.1 Analysis of Oral Prose Narratives

As already stated on the objective of the research, the main purpose of this study is to analyze theme(s) and societal roles of the oral prose narratives presented in the study. Therefore, in order to analyze and interpret the data, it is important to consult some contemporary theories and approaches.

Fitting to this purpose, the psychoanalytic approach has been selected for the analysis and Interpretation of the folktales. To begin with the analysis part let's mention some features that suit with the Oral Prose Narratives in the study.

In the American Journal of Folklore (1965), forms of Oral Prose Narrative have been categorized in tripartite constituents like myth, legend, and folktales. As summarized in that, the initiations to label features of oral prose narratives which include myth, legend and folktales, seven features have been identified namely: *conventional opening, told after dark, belief, setting, time, place, attitude and principal characters*.

Based on the above features, myth and legend have no conventional opening but folktales. In narrating myth and legend there is no limitation of selected time to tell them but in the case of folktales they are mostly told after darkness falls. While beliefs about myth and legend are factful folktales are fictitious.

The setting of myth and legend may be some time and some place but of the folktale's is timeless and placeless. Concerning the world where they are told myth tends to be in earlier or other world while the legend can be in the world as it is today.

More over, the attitude of myth and legend could be sacred, additionally legend can be secular and the folktales are always secular. The principal characters acting in myth can also be non human while in legend they tend to be human. The case of folktales could be human as well as non human.

3.1.1 Identifying the Contexts Featuring Themes in the Oral Prose Narratives

Taken the forms and features given in the Journal of American Folklore earlier, the collected data falls in different categories. The first category is believed to be folktale. Though there could be no conventional opening assigned to different types of prose narrative, the *Sinkhsarrä* is a type of folktale because its content sounds too fictitious.

Moreover, the setting (time and place) of this story is unknown. It is also different from the legend where the time and place of the story could be identifiable.

The story told in this tale is fully secular rather than sacred. Nevertheless, the researcher has reservations on its time of narration. As mentioned in the Journal of American Folklore, folktales are told after dark but in the cases of this context where the stories are collected from, tales can be entertained in day time while children are on herding activities.

This tale was one of the most frequent and fanciful among the herds and the family before two decades. Nevertheless, today, overall trend of story telling is found to be on downward magnitude in the study area.

A simple evidence for this point can be the challenges the researcher faced while collecting the data in the field. Some elders were requested to recite folktales from the ones they remember in their childhood or so after but refused to cooperate with the researcher. In the eyes of those elders, as they witnessed, relying on folktales is the sign of idleness but entertaining legends was common job to them. Nonetheless there is a tendency to tell and love animal tales in the age circles of children and legends in adults.

It was for these collective reasons that the researcher inclined to search for more legends rather than folktales. But the ones found in this data are the prominent ones among the folktales in the irob tradition.

The other category the researcher looked for was myth. As of the researcher's observation, there seems no such availability of myth in irob tradition except the common Christian myths found at random.

The one, the researcher came across was the story of ghosts which was compiled by the imagination of one individual native so that could not represent the communal characteristic of the oral literary production.

Such a trend of transgression may potentially undermine the endeavor of the researchers who investigate oral literature in Irob and one way or another, this becomes an impediment for the development and enrichment of Irob oral treasure.

Therefore, due focus should be given to the issue at hand making the public aware in advance for cooperating to rendering this treasure while it is in need.

The third category of prose narrative is legend and efforts have been made to trace some of them from elderly people.

The features of legends in this data are historical accounts rather than romantic or mythic. Because it shows that their content is almost factual history.

Coming back to the presented folktale, it is grouped under a fairy tale because many of the actions in the tale are complicated and fanciful.

3.1.1.2 The Folktale(s)

Carthy quoting Adams states, the two main distinguishing features of the folktale are...its relative stability as to form and its complete lack of any claim that what is portrayed in the tale actually happened. The folktale is then divided into two classes based on form.

Those with more complex form are called fairy tales, /Marchen-in German/, or wonder tales. The simpler in form are animal tales, jokes, anecdotes, and formula tales.

The nomenclature of the tale suggested in this paper is similar to the complex one in form because it displays different sub plots with different actions performed by the characters in the story.

The first opening plot is the encounter of the lady and the handsome [boy] whom she met in the market.

After acquaintances with each other, the lady invited the [boy] home and they finally met at home at the dinner and the boy stayed at home for the night.

The next day was turned gloomy with different calamities as the result of the precedent causes. Both the house owner and his wife died of different tricks.

The second development starts in the aftermath while the trick maker visits the palace and requests the king to admit his sister as a working servant in his palace at a pretext.

After persuading the king with the pretexts of loss of their parents, [he changed the masculine style to female], and finally came back in himself to be a servant in the place of his assumed sister. The king finally received [her] as a female servant and introduced her with his own daughter and [her] workshare.

The third development followed while the new servant and the daughter of the king discussed on “if one of them could turn into masculine”. After frequent prayers and beggings to God, the new servant claimed [she] has got the chance of becoming masculine. At the end it was discovered that the princess has got pregnant.

The fourth development continues when the new bridegroom came upon the marriage arrangement he made with the king’s daughter earlier. As she has already become pregnant from the [other], the king was in dilemma what to do and finally decided to marry the servant one who was hired under the claims of orphanage.

Without knowing the tricks that were going behind, because the assumed sister’s brother has agitated the king that his sister is an orphan for losing her parents from unknown plague, the king became sympathetic for the servant and married [her] for the new bridegroom in the place of the pregnant daughter. At the new groom’s house things turned into strange occurrences.

The couple both being physically masculine, a honeymoon fight between them continued until the [bride] disappears on cheating the groom’s company.

Being confused with the event, the groom started to consult the issue with the bridesmaid and they turn by turn visited the bride to talk to [her] in private.

Because the assumed [bride] has not changed [her] nature to feminine, and could not either, committed sex with the bridesmaids who visited him to consult and the issue became hotter and hotter. At last, the mother-in-law visited [her] being surprised what is going on and interrogated [her] what their honemoon custom looks like. [She] responded as what is stated in the original story and succeeded escaping the situation.

After this action is completed the other complicating story emerges in the field. The assumed bride escapes, found a working nun on the field and kills her; begs different houses for a night stay as if [his?] mother was sick; after refusing him a stay anywhere, on the fourth trial, one house owner allowed [her] to get in for God's sake and the nun turned to be dead while discovered as it had already been when it was undisclosed.

On the pre-scheduled plans and the pretext of killing [her] mother in [her] stay at that house [she] cried out for help.

To avoid the discrepancies that occurred, the acused ones [the so called sinners] compensated [her] a good deal of money and buried the dead, lastly paid farewell to [her] for good.

The sixth action follows as the so called bride sells [her] horse which was loaded with the dead nun, changes the so called feminine style such as dressing like male and combing *afro*, and visits the king to claim his sister's wellbeng as he in his first acquaintance has warned him that until he comes back, she has to stay at the palace and she is the true copy of him in gesture (facial appearance).

Rightly, the king was confused with their close resemblance and told him that his sister was married as he had informed him that she is orphan.

He argued very much of what the king did and louded for retaliation at an instant. The king was very much troubled and took a breath for solution.

The king finally announced that he will marry him his own daughter with every privilege that he claims and will share his kingship as compensation. Fulfilling his long-awaited desires, he happily accepted the the proposal and lived there as a member of the royal family for his life. And his name was Sinkhsarre.

3.1.1.3 The Folk Legends

The data other than the folktale are supposed to revolve around the sub category of folklore known as legend. The area of folk-legend is what ethiopianfolklore.com puts as...a traditional, oral expression which tells of extraordinary events in the lives of everyday people, told as if it were an historical account. Like the folktale, folk-legend is passed on by word of mouth from generation to generation. The folk-legend tends to be ampler and more circumstantial than the folktale. The setting is very real, giving detail and local specifics to present an aura of validity.

Several authorities have compared the folktale to the novel or short story and the folk-legend to a newspaper story. The specific data of legend found in this paper are as follows: The first one is about *Gaysoola*, the legendary ancestor of Irob as being a nephew boy of Summe the forefather of Irob.

He was assumed to grow wild feeding on the milk of wild goats and *koe'to* /local underground tiny nuts common for traditional food in the area/. As he was grown wild, it took the mother long time and unprecedented efforts to adapt him.

For growing wild, it's believed that he had fur on his back and horns on his head. Finally, he grew up, organized his people and retaliated his opponents of the childhood who judged him to death for fear of Summe's and his sons' expansion as the new comers.

The other legend is about the two tribes who came into battle for search of justice known to the people as *kayayta* and *Aydola*. In the legend, it is said that the oppressing tribe known as *Kayayta* was exterminated and the oppressed tribe known as *Aydola* has got the upper hand. The third legend is about the Oath and deception which brought about insurmountable crisis.

The fourth is about the ever rich lady legend in Irob. She is quoted in different adages as a model example of rich women but lastly things turned upside down. She became a beggar irrespective of her prestigious name. Her name is known to people as *Guahar Gabalat Gae'wa*. The last one is about a rich and sinful father known as *Hassab Subagadis*.

He is known for his thoughtfulness because he demanded the priests to relieve him off his sins but they disobeyed him because of the seriousness of his sins. But finally he gave his word to punish himself from his own consciousness. So that he was called the thoughtful *Subadaadis*.

3.2 Thematic Interpretation and the Findings of Oral Prose Narrative(s) in the Study

3.2.1 The folktales /Fairy Tales

It is explicitly stated in www.ethiopianfolklore.com that the characters of magic tales are not believed to be true, told to entertain, set in the world of fantasy, and depicts high adventures and magical acts. It might start also with the opening phrase "*Once upon a time...*" but not necessarily always. The tale presented in this paper from view point of this expressions then is Märchen /magic tale/ or fairy tale [all of which are the same in meaning].

The features elaborated above can be traced in the tale in focus here. In order to analyze and interpret the data, it is important to base some contemporary theories.

Fitting this purpose, the psychoanalytic approach has been selected for the analysis and Interpretation of the folktales.

Payne and Barbera (2010) from an encyclopedia article written in 1922, Freud (1922, p. 235) supplies a lucid description of the discipline he founded as follows: "Psychoanalysis is, [Freud] writes, the name given to a procedure for the investigation of mental processes which are almost inaccessible in any other way." It is a therapeutic method for the treatment of neurotic disorders. Finally, it is a body of psychological data which is gradually being accumulated into a new scientific discipline.

Although it was developed primarily as a clinical method for the treatment of individuals, Freud's new scientific discipline has always had a variety of other applications.

Freud (1913) described it as having claims to scientific interest which made the psychoanalytic method extensible to nonclinical disciplines as diverse as philology, biology, sociology, and education, as well as to the science of Aesthetics. (581)

Backing the psychoanalytic approach masterminded by Freud, Bettelheim (1977) applies the psychoanalytic model of the human personality to the fairytale. He says that...fairy tales carry important messages to the conscious, the pre conscious and the unconscious mind, which on whatever level are functioning at a time. The form and structure of fairy tales, he continues, suggest images to the child by which he can structure his daydreams and with them give better direction to his/her life.

While fairytales are excellent for young children because they present positive solutions to difficult problems, they also give form to what Bettelheim calls his formless, nameless anxieties, and his chaotic, angry, and sometimes violent fantasies. It is specifically this underside of fairytales that is believed to appeal to adolescents. (Elicited in www.yale.edu/.../4).

As Bettelheim suggested above, this fairy tale in its complex form can serve the same purpose to adults and young children. The character representing a tricky figure known as *Sinkhsarre* has a lot of challenges coping him along and fights to solve them systematically.

The implication of these recurring motifs to others is that it can help replicate how the way out of such complicated challenges could be.

Furthermore, Bethelheim elaborates fairytales show that struggles in life are unavoidable but if one perseveres against unexpected and unjust hardships, he can be a winner. Fairytale characters are unusually very clearly drawn and are typical rather than unique. They are not ambivalent as we are in reality, but either all good or all bad, all beautiful or all ugly, all stupid or all smart. It is this polarization which makes identifying with the good or bad, smart or stupid qualities clearer for the child.

The fairytale hero is also often in isolation or forced out like Hansel and Gretel. It is not solely on the happy ending which Bethelheim advises us to concentrate, but also on the process of finding her/his way, step by step, through unknown, terrifying circumstances which will lead to a successful end.

Relating back to the fairy tale at hand, the leading character in the story is all in all polarized to the wrong and inhumanly unimaginable activities. Therefore, it would not be wonder if such people in real human lives are unavoidable because the tales are imaginations of the human creatures. *Sinkhsarrä*, the main figure in the story fights for achieving his daydreams by different mechanisms including conceiving to change [his] [feminine] nature at sometimes, as it's portrayed in the folktale, and harassing the princess at another time.

This is probably the intriguing nature of humans in the real world wishing to fulfill abnormal necessities and desires to come up to the top hierarchy by hook or by crook.

If it was for good deeds, that he struggled, it was the accepted and motivated norm of life in society but the reverse was true with him. Even this underside of humanity is becoming common in the contemporary society. Rape and riots are common daily occurrences.

Capitalists' collective wish (all-riches-first-syndrome) is one of the results of human masked interests at large. When *Sinksarrä* dreams for sexual desires with his nominal partner, as supposed to happen in the story, it was his unconscious ego of life which forced him to do so not part of his social personality side at the ground.

The Journal of American Folklore Society in the article entitled 'Folkloristics in the Twenty-First Century' clarifies, "true grand theories allow us to understand data that would otherwise remain enigmatic, if not indecipherable. Here, we may observe that some of the older grand theories continue to yield insight".

As Dundus (2004) puts forward, the psychoanalytic theory qualifies as grand theory, allowing us to fathom otherwise inexplicable folkloristic data. For example, there is a Japanese superstition that 'pregnant women should never open an oven door.' Informants could say only that it was bad luck.

But with the knowledge gained from the symbolic equivalence of oven and womb (as attested in the phrase even in American folklore that a pregnant woman “has a bun in the oven”), we can understand that this is once again an application of Frazer’s homeopathic magic.

Opening an oven door would be an invitation for a miscarriage to occur.

In this case, we have to use both Freud and Frazer to fully explain this superstition. ...Whether one agrees with these interpretations or not, one can certainly see that the interpretations would not have been possible without recourse to grand theory (389).

From the above clarifications of the link between folklore and psycho analytics it is observed that every action that is reflected in the society has its driving motives back in the minds of the society’s member. Sinkhsarre, for example, with such an ego of sexual desire can not emerge from the outer world than the planet earth with all his demon characteristics.

So, reflections in the culture are true reflections of the developmental stage of the people in that society.

Bronner (2007) claiming Dundus attests one of essential tasks of anthropologists and folklorists is to make people aware, consciously aware, of their cultures. However if people become conscious of what was formerly unconscious, will the cultural patterning change? In the present context, the question would be [as we are dealing with folklore]: if unstated folk ideas become stated folk ideas, will this have any effect upon the influence of these ideas? It is a moot point...a final point should be made with respect to the relationship between folk ideas and folk values. In discussions of worldview, there is commonly a distinction made between worldview and ethos. Worldview refers to the cognitive, existential aspects of the way the world [knowledge] is structured. Ethos refers to the normative and evaluative (including aesthetic and moral judgements) aspects of culture. (179).

In this case, most of the activities *Sinkhsarre* performs are in the sphere of world view but not in ethos. In the assumably wider worldview, a person has a right and free will to think of what spontaneity brings into his mind---wish to practice it. But the cultural ethos is constraint to his/her wishes.

In the tale, wishing to commit sex with and finally going ahead with the dreams that bear in mind is the observed practice of Sinkhssarre. First, he was an agent to bring the husband and the wife into a clash and succeeded with his evil plans. Second, he cheated the king and became a [lady] servant as he wished in the palace for his treacherous plans.

Thirdly, he committed sex with the king's daughter who was a fiancée of another guy, and she finally become pregnant. So he was at odds with the king's wishes. Fourthly, he cheated the bridegroom's company, and escaped on the basis of treachery. Fifth, He killed the innocent nun and claimed for body murder compensation at urge of his own wrong doings.

Finally, he came back to the palace and claimed a sister of himself whom he did not bring to the palace earlier. Thus he created chaos in the palace and was endowed with the privileges he daydreamed. Collectively, these all deeds can not happen under the normal cultural set of ethos but in world view they can happen.

3.2.2 The Folk Legends

Bronner (2007) states "folklore is collective fantasy and as fantasy, it depends upon the symbolic system of a given culture. ...Folklore is one way for both adults and children to deal with the crucial problems in their lives. If our folklore sometimes deals with sexuality and the interrelationships between members of a family, then this is obviously something of a problem area in our daily lives. We know that folklore in all cultures tends to cluster around the critical points in the life cycle of the individual (e.g., birth, initiation, marriage, death) and the calendrical cycle of the community (e.g., sowing, harvesting, etc.). In fact, if one collects the folklore of a people and then does a content analysis of that folklore, one is very likely to be able to delineate the principal topics of crisis and anxiety among that people (64).

According to Dundus' ideas elaborated by Bronner, every minor or wider culture has its own symbolic variants. For example a symbol of mother may be for representing kindness in some culture and different in the other though most of the symbols are universal in meaning they represent. Folklore speaks through symbols.

The already stated rather derived symbols of Oedipus and Electra complexes have their own conventional meanings since their inception. The same is true in the stories at hand in the research paper.

The Legendary *Gaysoola* is semi-beast figure who is thought to be very powerful while visiting the traditional game and waging war. He has not only beast power but also features of wild beasts like fur and horns as stated in the story. So does the name also refers to these peculiarities of him as different from normal human features- *Gaysoola* approximately means who possesses horns.

The heroes of the personal legends are very powerful folk symbols in themselves. They personify the qualities that we would most like to have or that we most admire in ourselves. The great Greek and Roman heroes received their powers from the gods. Every walk of life and every occupation has its typical folk heroes from loggers, sailors, cowboys, miners and railroaders to jet pilots, journalists and even academics (consider the gentle, absentminded professor).

The three main themes or motifs which run through the personal legends feature the poor boy that makes good, the good boy gone wrong and the kind that is too good or bad to be true. In the local legends, themes and symbols are present but not as obvious as in the fairytales and personal legends (Julie carthy, ?).

Sims (2005) defines folklore according to Evolutionist School as, regardless of its drawbacks, it is considered as 'survivals', remnants of the cruder, barbaric stages of the past. [And] in fact, the question of originality in oral literature is by no means a closed one (318).

Tracing back to the origins of oral prose narratives, though it is time consuming is possible through the utilization of this theory. From view of Evolutionists, most of the legends presented here trace the "primitive" way of holding the society on the righteous way and the earlier values given to truth in this society. Generations are taught cultural ethos of the society through the narrations downloaded from elders to the young generation.

Moreover pointing back to the origins of the narratives, Diffussionists ask questions about the exact historical-geographical origins of a particular story with the idea of tracing its journeys from one area to another. This folktale, therefore, shows the evidence that it might have been difussed from adjacent neighbors i.e Tigrigna speaking communities. Or the code switchings like ‘*kädät, tämäläsät*’ which are shown in the narration as Tigrigna variants may come from the influences of neighbouring Tigrigna. The meaning represents ‘the horse has gone, the horse has come back’.

The legends were found as having origins in their own society and reflected the psycho- social set up of their own society.

Back to the theme of the folk legends in the paper, collectively they teach very good lessons to adults. In the case of *Gaysoola*, forexample, in his childhood he was judged to die but luckily he grew and retaliated his very enemies. So, the moralistic theme could be don’t do what you would not like to happen to yourself to others otherwise you will be paid back. Similar is the theme with Guhar Gabalat Gae’wa.

She was legendarily rich but she turned down to be as poor as the lady she ignored in her dates of poverty. In the case of the Oath and Deception, it is also very similar theme to the others because when the funeral is finalized, the mysterious question of the eighth son arises and the situation changed to bloody fight that the seven of the son’s of the late father were sentenced to death by the clan of the eighth tricherously killed son. This shows that truth never been buried forever but shines, and the long been hidden agenda of the female calf arose again and found the solution at the end. Thus the cheated upon calf was suuredered back to its real owner and the mischivious company were killed. The Kayayta and Aydola case is not an exception. The misleading and ill ruling Laws of kayayta brought about the rebelling of Aydola to clear them out of their territory and almost this clan is believed to be exterminated. According to the story, this happened because the kayayta did not consider the inborn rights of human beings are equally shared.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CONCLUSION

Former evidences prove that little is done on folklore studies in Irob tradition. Very few of oral literature in this field is collected and documented.

In order to bridge the gap the study has tried to sort some genres of folklore in Irob. The main lore groups surveyed were Myth, Legend and Folktales. Among this lore, the availability of folktales and legends in the culture were amenable. But the case of myth except the common Christian myths was not as such moving. Therefore, it seems that there is a deteriorating trend of all forms of story telling in folklore, especially, myths that the society once was believed to be endowed with. In the case of performance, verbal artistry was observed in folktales while the legend was loose in this aspect. The motif and theme of this group of lore was surprisingly similar. Most of them advise or indirectly teach that “what you harvest is what you saw”! So that it underlines no one should be an enemy to any body, people normally should not involve any wrong doings like cheating and deception, hate, suppression of others and covering truth at large. Thus it is hoped the trend of studying this lore will be continuing in the future and the documented ones will teach a lesson to generations to come.

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ታክክላ-1 /APPENDIX-I/

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TRANSLATION OF ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES

1. Senkhsarrä

Once upon a time, there lived a man whose name was 'Senkhsarrä'.

A woman planning to sell her cock /rooster/ got along with a handsome guy in the market. She dared to talk to him and asked him how she could meet him at her own house. He responded her that he has no idea on how to meet her at house. She panicked, 'I know how to trick'. He asked her, how? She responded, I will tell my family that there lives a sister of mine in the city and she will come tonight. For that reason, I will give you my dress and you will give me a *sarṣṣana* (toga) in the return of my dress. They agreed. She added, I have brought this rooster to sell but, now, I will refrain from selling it and will drop every single feather of it until the door of my house in order to help you come straight and unconfused.

Furthermore, it is common to see ladies in the city with 'afro' style so that the family will not be surprised with your hair style any more she added. Hoping to meet at home she departed taking his '*sarṣṣana*'/toga/ and he did what she instructed him and reached at home as planned. As she had promised, she went home dropping the feathers every single step and reached at home on time. She had a husband and got two children.

Upon her arrival, she informed the family that her sister who lives in the city will be coming for the night and prepared *engära*-traditional food in Ethiopia mostly made up of *ḍaafi* /täff/ and "*dorho*" /soup of chicken / for dinner.

Now, finally the expected guest has arrived and they kissed each other longingly.

After serving the dinner, the innocent husband told the guest to accompany him to the guest house for the night stay. For the hideous plans the lady said no pretexting that urban people abhor fleas and the likes. She complained, "[My sister] and I will sleep here but you and your children shall go to your usual bed".

Her husband agreed and went to bed. Some minutes later, he came back to fetch his traditional pillow made up of wood known as *dukka* and went back to his bed.

In the morning, he slayed a sheep and prepared a breakfast. He ordered the children to call their [aunt] and their mother to join in the breakfast.

One of children became greedy and designed a trick so that consulted his sister on how to serve the meat two of them alone. She responded she has no idea. “I know how to serve it alone”, he murmured. He came to the two [sisters]- his mother and [aunt] and told them that his father has found out what they did yesterday night though they were called to the breakfast at the moment. Upon hearing this, the wife committed suicide for fear of her husband had already discovered the case. Her [so called sister] hesitating the same, run away off home.

The husband with full innocence, raised the knife (sword) with which he was slaying and demanded the guest to get served the meat in the name of God the Almighty who was running away for fear of [she] had already been discovered.

Heightening the trick, the guys also informed the man that his wife has committed suicide because she heard that he had open sex with an animal (donkey). At the instant the man kicked off his neck with the sword he was holding and both the husband and the wife died of unknown trick to them.

By then, they ate the meat as they wished alone. The guy, after being served the meat went to the king’s palace by designing another trick.

He announced the king that his father and mother have died of unknown plague and begged him to accept him a [sister] who looks like himself to His Excellency’s service as a servant. He added to that, if he observes him very well, he will never miss her upon her arrival. The king asserted him that he will receive her as his own servant.

Thenafter he came back home; and stylized his hair in traditional hair style known as ‘*gaysaakä gammä*’ in the locality. Upon finishing the stylization of female, he went to the palace again and availed himself as a female servant. As the king was aware of the girl to come, he received [her] with sympathy as [she] has already been introduced for losing [her] parents by [her] brother’s words.

The king introduced [her] with his own daughter and announced [her] with the workshare [she] will be accomplishing in the palace.

The duty [she] has been given was to help the daughter of the king with grinding and other house chorus. They lived together helping each other for certain time.

One day, [she] shared [her] wish to [her] co-worker who was the princess. [She] said “‘had it been one of us could become male it would be very good idea’. She answered [her], but this could not happen and will neither. [She] repeated, “But if we pray and beg to God, it is possible that one of us can possess masculine characters including the male sex organs”. Then they agreed to pray and beg to God to give one of them what they demanded.

After awhile [she] asked her if anything strange had appeared on her side. She responded nothing yet.

But to my side, “some sign of masculine possession is emerging”! [she] declared. Finally, [she] deceived her and they made love and the king’s daughter become pregnant. Thenafter, for the predetermined arrangement, a new bridegroom came to the king’s house to marry the princess.

Because the the king and the newcoming groom had already talks to marry him his daughter.

While beautifying the bride and dressing [her] to send [her] to the new groom’s house, the bridesmaids found that [she] is pregnant. And troubles circled the king’s palace. They asked eagerly what happened to them but the new servant said that [she] has no idea about it. [She] briefed, [she] was finishing her workshare in advance and she was always going to bed early.

Later, they declined to investigate the issue seriously and requested the orphan servant (the one who is tricking) to get marry to the new groom in the place of their daughter. Finally [she] agreed and become a bride to match the new bridegroom for honeymoon. Arriving in the bridegroom’s house it happened that both couple became powerful and struggled hard to defeat one another. Unable to know and solve the strange situation he encountered, the groom dared to consult the bridesmaids what to do with such a dilemma.

The bridesmaids visited the bride turn by turn and discovered that the so called bride was male.

That was discovered because when every maid visited [her], [she] was serving the male purpose and each maid visited [her] came back surprised. But each of them was not uttering a word about what they faced except mumbling the exclamatory sign **‘eeehh.’! ‘iihh.’!**

At the end, the mother-in-law entered for consultation and [she] received her with full respect and patience. Finally, she asked [her] what the honeymoon culture in their area is with surprise. After listening to her patiently, [She] responded the following politely:

“Our habit of honeymoon is, first, they give the bride with a large amount of money full of the traditional ornament called *Makkatäysa*. Then we ride the horse three times to and fro and turn back at the third round. The gathering of a wedding announces ‘the horse has gone, the horse has come back’ (*kädät tämäläsät*) with the to and fro movements of the bride on the back of the horse”.

Then they gave [her] the demanded amount of money and send her on the horse’s back. After going to and coming back twice, [she] got disappeared at the third round forever. Collecting the given money from the wedding, [she] kept on going and deceiving and met a nun digging on the ground. [She] requested the nun whether she needs any help or not. The nun responded, ‘it’s my pleasure” and [she] approached her to ambiguate her in the name of help.

While helping the nun, [she] once digs on the ground and the other time knocks at the head of the nun.

The nun finally died of knocking at her head. After killing her, [she] continued goining in search of hiding place for the dead body.

Everywhere [she] passes by [she] requested a shelter as if [her] mother was seriously sick. After number of neglections, one house owner allowed [her] to take breath and [she] entered there with the dead body [she] was carrying on horse’s back.

Seating [the sick mother] on the one side of the floor, [she] warned them that they should not even touch it neither pass by in order to keep her safe. Afterwhile, [she] went out and sat in front of the [sick].

Immediately after, a little child passed by and touched the woman to check what happened to her, she rolled down to the ground and found dead.

[She] who was knowingly watching at the [sick body] burst into tears and cried declaring that they intentionally killed [her] mother. They begged [her] to cool down, and if [she] refrains from announcing it, thus they will compensate [her] with the amount of money she demands because this family was known for respect and nobility in that locality and wanted to remain unspoiled as usual.

Finally, they paid the demanded amount and buried the woman on their obligation.

Soon after receiving the money, [she] changed the style as masculine, dressed the trousers and combed the hair as mail and went to the palace.

Since he has warned them to keep his sister with them until he comes back at first, now the time has come to visit the king and ask him about the wellbeing of his sister. Upon his arrival, he demanded her and could not get her any more.

The king become troubled and soothed him that she has got married. He pleaded, “you have informed me that she was orphan and I have get married her for a husband on her own free will”. The brother of her became very anxious and demanded her at the instant. The king become shocked and brought up a solution.

He sighed and declared, “Now, I cannot bring your sister who has got married but I am planning to marry you my daughter and I will give you half of my wealth and finally will inherit you my kingship”. Then he agreed and married the girl whom he loved and had an affair with earlier while [he] was a servant of the palace and finally inherited the kingship all with its benefits. His name was Sinkhsarre.

2. Gaysoola

Long ago, there in Irob land lived clans known as *Dooba’a*, *’Ədokulus* and *Ankaara /Islam/*. Later on, before *Summä* who is supposed to be the father of Irob comes to the area, they say, there lived *Sarrakä*, *Kayaytae* and *Aydola*. A legend has it that *Summä* is the son of *Wärädämährät*. While *Summä* began to reside in the locality, *Sarrakä* descendency was living in the periphery of *War’atle* and *Kayyayta* to the southern opposite known as *Habbäyta* and *Maga’uma*.

For the reasons unknown, the predominating clans were not in good terms with *Summä*.

Therefore, they ordered their company not to have any terms with *summe*, neither to marry their daughters to his sons nor taking his daughters to themselves. Though the orders were pending, the son of *Summä* called *Subalsa* involved in having affairs with *Sarrakä*'s daughter and finally she gave birth to *Gaysoola*. For fear of the instructions posed, the daughter of *Sarrakä* hid that she gave birth to male but female.

Later, while she was travelling to far apart possibly to *Semäzzana* in the sphere of Eritrea with her company, she was carrying her baby and sat down to take a breath.

After while, the child urinated and the *Sarrakä* discovered that she gave birth to male. Cursing to and snatching him off his mother, they threw him down *La 'anidaa* towards *Murrä* vicinity to the *War'atle* side. They say, he grew up there feeding on the milk of wild goats /*gabtul*/ and *ko'ato* /traditional underground nut which upon it, people rely for feeding/. His mother irritated by the event was crying all time residing in *Semäzzana* wandering there sometimes to *Geyasehä* and the other time to *Zägfat*.

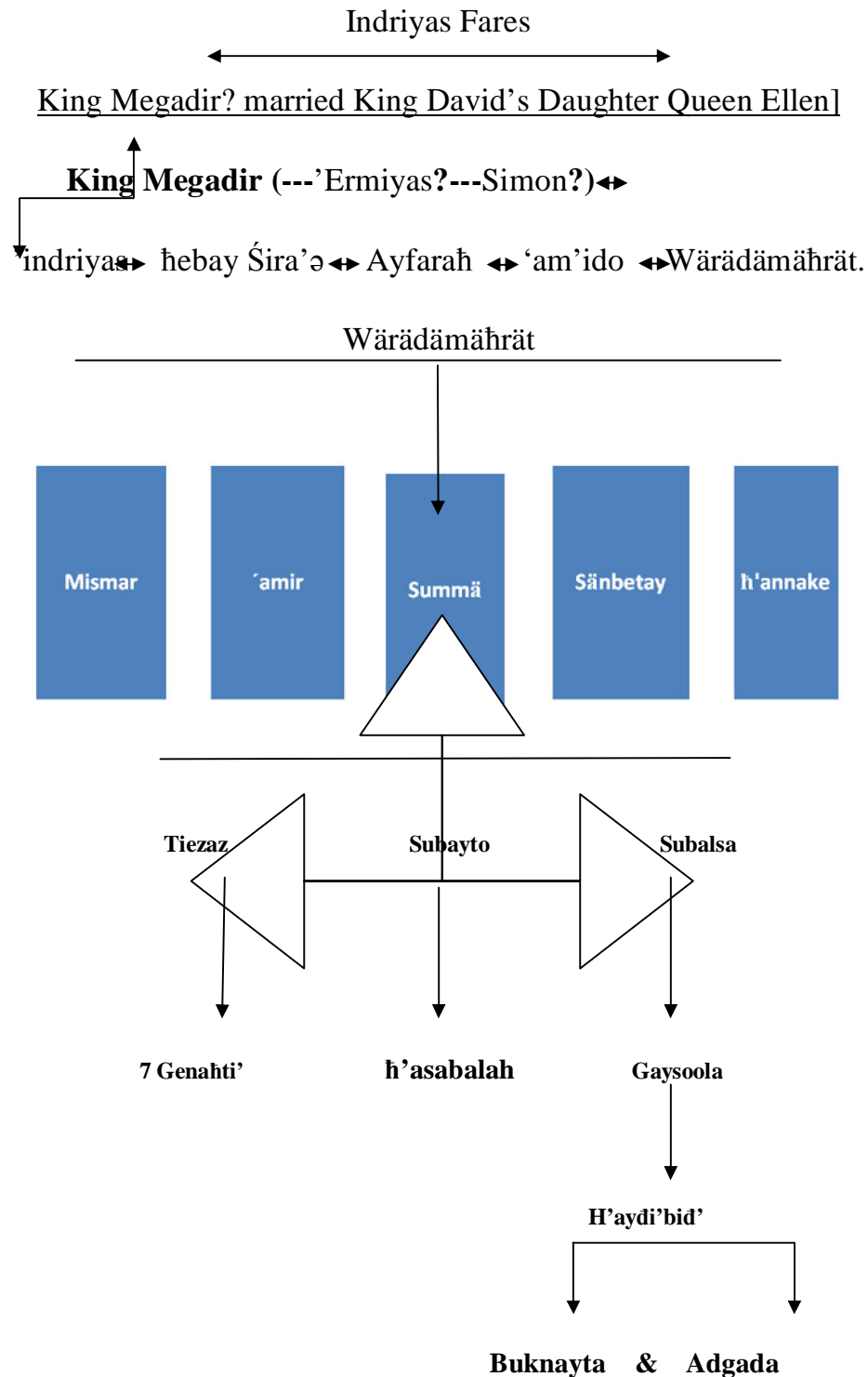
The boy grown up on wild milk and *ko'ato* used to visit down *War'atle* where there was a frequent game of *laatitiya* /traditional game played by a group with the ball a size of ground tennis/. As the legend has it, for growing on wild milk and *ko'ato*, *Gaysoola* has got hair on his back and horns on his head. The people knowing his background and the rumors that sprung out dared to inform the mother that her son is alive and he frequently visits the place known as *Gulgulsum* which is found in *War'atle* for fun of the traditional game known as *lattitiya*. While playing the game and snatching the ball he was pronouncing like:

'*Dambatkoomay yabba, Murräy yiina: yiina yii 'assiina!*' which can be translated as '*dambatkooma* is my father, *Murrä* is my mother: my sweet mother!' which is pronounced same during this traditional game till today. This area was the vicinity where he was thrown away during his childhood. So, upon hearing these rumors the mother came down to *War'atle* area and tried to investigate his to and fro movements thus where he comes from and to where he departs.

At the end, she observed that he was heading towards *Sababaalo-murrä-Dambatkooma* through *Datgade*. Observing his feeding behavior and the directions he used to, she thought of how to take and adapt him with herself. She had already observed that he likes *ko'əto* and he collects it along his way to his wild shelter back from the game. Finally after begging him for long and offering him *ko'əto* which he relies on for food, he accompanied her home to *Semäzzana* i.e. her immediate residency. After growing old enough, he went down towards Irob to retaliate his enemy and accompanied a large number of warriors to clear off the land from those proenemies. He finally did what he planned and the *Sarrake* were destroyed.

His name was *Gaysoola*. He married an Endertan? Lady and gave birth to *Hayd'ebed*. *Hayd'ebed* married 'Sabbya' of *Ə'asamo'*; she was the daughter of *Bukna't* from Eritrea and gave birth to *Aada*, *Adgada* and *Buknayta* the ancestors of today's Irob clan. *Aada* had no children but the other two descended as generation down till today.

Chart 1: Gaysoola's Place in Irob Genealogy



Source: Arch Bishop Tesfaselassie Medhin, 2000 and Berhe Zigta, 2008 A.Ds.

3. The *Aydola* and *Kayayta*

Long ago, it is said that the *Kayayta* nobility ordered its colleagues to exterminate the elders of the *Aydola*. That was believed to happen because the *Aydola* were defiant of orders from *Kayayta*. When all elders of the *Aydola* were exterminated, they intentionally hid one old man. After killing the elders, the *Kayayta* ordered the *Aydola* what they wanted to order them seriously and at ease with intentions to twist them as they wished. Then they ordered them three things:

- To bring a stick of *ruktaalo*/a small type of plant whose stick is used to hold a piece of *ʔ'ihlo*-traditional food which looks like a dough and made from a barley flour / which can hold the sword's handle,
- To bring a skin of a goat which is double face /same color/ and of the same size and
- To bring a calf which runs milk?

Receiving the orders, the *Aydola* become confused and agreed to consult the only old man remaining. The old man advised them first to make an appointment with the nobility and then to collect all the demanded items. After arranging the time to meet, now you have to do the following:

For getting *ruktaalo* to the strength of the sword's handler, protect 'Gara'ə and *Mooro* for a year or more out of any grazing. You will get the one you demanded!

In order to get the skin of a goat with same size and color (double face), look for the two goats with similar skin and slaughter them, get attach the two skins together immediately, and you will be able to satisfy the demand! For getting a calf which gives a rush of milk, keep the calf in a very green and grazeable land for long and then keep it from getting into the graze land for days. By the extended days you keep it from grazing, provide it with milk to serve him with its thirst. You should keep the milk on all sides of it. Surely it will give a rush of milk.

The *Aydola* preparing all that have been ordered submitted to the nobility. The *kayayta* becoming surprised on how the *Aydola* could find what they have ordered them thus they continued to become hesitant of any remaining old man.

The *kayayta* asked the *Aydola* if there remains any old man that co-operates them on how to find out the way for what they ordered them.

They demanded them to check it again and again and if any one remains, they ordered them to eliminate.

The *Aydola* again informed the old man about what the *kayayta* said and how they can tackle their hesitations. The old man told them that killing me will not save you from being punished neither leaving me. So, your choice will be fighting. But, he said, I advise you something important: Take time to arrange an appointment and then you have to prepare swords to fight with.

The place of meeting the old man suggested is today known as *Biili'akalsem* which is translated as Blood wash. Dig the sand to the side of your seats and burry the swords the day before the meeting begins.

On the actual meeting day approach the nobility respectfully and with care. Then after, when the nobility go gathers and approving that all the *kayayta* enters the meeting place, dig out your swords and slay all of them. They did what the old man ordered them. Thus the dying place of the *kayayta* nobility is still called *Biili'akalsem* and '*kayaytat rabän*'. The legend has it one among this nobility was believed to survive in '*Uwalbol*' and became the father of today's *Kayayta*.

4. The Oath and Deception

A Long time ago, there lived a man who does not care about oath and other deceptions.

He wished to prosper by smuggling and cheating. What he did was the reflection of his hideous desires. One day, dreaming to own the neighbour's wealth, he woke up with some evil tricks. He simply went to the neighbor and cut one nipple off the female calf that his neighbor owns. After long time, he started to claim the ownership of this formerly young and today's cow which has given many calves. He demanded the owner of the cow to surrender it to him.

The owner surprisingly offended him not knowing his tricks. When the arguments continued, the case was taken to the local court known as the *H'antakar* /Elder's Meeting/.

The Elderly judges interrogated each of them and recorded the point they made.

A question was forwarded to a man who was arguing about the new ownership.

He answered that the calf had not had one nipple since birth and that had been lost at a time of its young age. The present owner was requested to make clear how many

nipples his calf has had. He answered she has four nipples on his innocence and appealed that the new claimer can take it by swearing. The judges decided on him to surrender the calf to the newly claiming authority.

The judges favored the claimer the calf and he took it as his own property by swearing and through the support of the decision given by the judges. This calf was descended up to seven herds after surrender.

After a long time, the deceiver became sick and called his children. He wanted them to listen to his advice and gathered them altogether. He said to them, “you see I am a wealthy man but you don’t know how I became rich.

All these herds are descended from one calf I deceived from my neighbor. I deceived him in front of a gathering that it is mine and lastly swore to confirm it. What I did was to cut one of her breasts off it before long time in order to persuade the gathering upon the request on how it could be mine. The judges were defeated by the clues and evidences I gave and they decided it for me. That is all. So don’t be afraid to cheat, deceive or swear.

Nothing bad is there behind swearing and snatching other’s property because I have proved it like the naked truth”. They listened to him silently and accepted his advice. The old man had seven children from his married wife and one son from another woman. At the end the old man died. Eight of his children mourned and prepared funeral for him.

On the day of the funeral, they loaded a camel with the coffin/dead body/ and set towards the burial. At the mid of the journey the camel disappeared with the coffin loaded upon it. It was a puzzle and they all felt a dilemma on how to solve the problem. Seven of his children gathered and discussed on the issue. After several arguments, they came to terms to kill the eighth son who does not share the same mother with them and to burry him in the place of the disappeared body. They did so and ended up with the funeral.

At an instant, the camel appeared with the coffin loaded. Everybody on the funeral was surprised and raised a question about whose burial was conducted. Especially, the clan of the eighth son raised serious question on who was buried and demanded them to avail him in immediacy. Because he was absent from the funeral. The representatives from this son’s clan demanded the cemetery to be open.

Upon opening the cemetery, it was found that the buried one was their son. Discovering this evil deed, they killed all the seven sons and buried them in the same place.

The claim of this calf re-emerged and finally all her descending herds returned to the real possessor of it. The effect of deception and swearing was seen there.

5. Guahar gabalat Ga'owa

Once upon a time there lived a woman called *Guahar gabalat Ga'owa*. She was famous for her wealth. Honey was as available as mud and animals as flocks of ants. Once, a woman who is known to be a beggar visited *Ga'owa* and requested her water to satisfy her thirst. *Ga'owa* asked her where she came from but she did not offer any water.

The guest woman answered she has been travelling for long and came from the place called *'Aalla*. *Ga'owa* reflected that she is rich enough and never tend to visit *'Aalla* ever so that she has no interest to help the woman and to know where she is from. Thus the guest woman was not of interest to her.

Immediately after the woman left the house, in the late afternoon, they say, there came a heavy rain and it cleared off all the possessions of animals she had.

Cattle, Sheep, goats and so forth were among other possessions she had.

At the instant she was processing butter which was in the big pot on the fire. She had remained almost naked for fear of spoiling her cloth during processing the butter. She had put on only a small piece of cloth on her wrist.

While she got out of the house to check the safety of her animals that already had taken by the heavy rain water, the fire caught with the house and it was burned to ashes.

After the rain stopped and everything ruined she found herself almost naked and became ashamed to join people around her as she was very prestigious woman in the locality. Escaping from people she stayed there for some time.

Finally, no longer after this situation happened, *Ga'owa* went to *'Aalla*, a place that she heard its name from her guest woman earlier.

Upon her arrival, the woman treated her guest carefully and served her with everything she demanded because she has become very rich in her turn.

After treating her with sympathy and care, she asked her where she is from recognizing her face as familiar. She responded, “I came from *Guahar Gabala*”.

The lady become surprised with the adversities occurred to this woman and said “Alas! *Ga’awa* the one who declared not to go ever to *Aalla* has come!” remembering her words upon her visit earlier in *Guahar Gabala*.

This Adage has remained since that time in the locality and is used to teach some unconscious and narrow minded people.

6. *Hassab Subagaadis*

Long time ago, there lived a man called *Hassab Subagaadis*. *Subagaadis* belived to be from *Hassabalah* locality requested the priests to relieve him off his sins. He himself admitted that he has committed a numberless wrong doings. But the priests approved him that they can not relieve him off such weighty sins. He demanded them that he himself will judge the punishment parallel to his sins. They responded, “If you propose on your own, we accept you”. Then he listed his proposed punishments parallel to his sins as follows:

“First, I will give one third of the land I own to the church; Second, I will offer one third of the property I own; Third, I will offer one of my three sons to the church. Additionally, my slave will beat me fifty counts per day and I will feed on the slice of *engära /injära/* baked from sorghum the size of a palm which has no salt at all. Thus there is a legend that he offered *Kaswa* as one third of his land proper and remains as the gift of *Gundagundä* monastery till today.

One third of the cattle herd queued from *Ara’ə Su’udaalä* to *Gundagundä* and there in the chapel, it depicts a stone which has been broken by the leading ox of that herd.

This shows that the number of the cattle was very large and best selected for the church.

The third son offered to the church was named *Addadäy* but later on when the number of the children remained few, *Subagaadis* returned him back giving money in his place. Thus, *Subagadis* has been called *H’ASSAB Subagadis* for being thoughtful and exemplary in his own time of ignorance and greed.

ታክካባ-2 /APPENDIX-II/

ዋ~ኒትታብሶ'

TRANSCRIPTION OF ORAL PROSE NARRATIVES

1. ሲንኪሳርረ'

ኢንኪ~ዶ ኑማ ዓዳ~ጋ ኢፋርታህ ዊንና ያ ጎምቦ ቱብለ
ያን።አካህ ተደ~ ማዓል ዶርሆይታ' ታትታ~ባሐ ኪ~ይ
ዪነ። አማይ ጎምቦ' አካህ ኢሰ~ሊህታ አራሕ ታሕሲበ ጉል
ታህ አክ ታ። አይናህ ኢስነህ ቱትታ ገያክ ኒነ አክ ታጽሐ
ያን። አኑ ማ~ጸገ ማ አካህ ቱትታ ገይና~ካህ አክ ያጽሐ
ያን።ቱትታ አካህ ገይና ሓ~ል አኑ ኮክ ኢይየ ሊዮ'ክ አኑ
ኮክካም አብ አክ ታጽሐ። አዪም አቦ~ ያ ጉል፡ ካታማ'ል ለ~
ዪ ሳዕላ ታነ አማይ ዪ ሳዕላ አሚ~ቲይ ታነ~ ለ ኦውዋ ኪዮክ
ኩ~፡ ዪ ታሚሰ ለ~ አቱ ሂ~ን ኩ ሳረ~ና ለ~ ዮይያህ
ኡሑይ፤ ታማሚህ ላካል ለ~ ዪሳዕላ አሚቲይ ታነ አክ ኢይየ
ሊዮ ዲኪክ፡ ታይ ዶርሆይታ' አ~ባሐ ባህህ ኢነይያ ሊክኪዕ
ዲክቲ ዱርኩኪት ፋን ዳጋርቶ አክ ዒዳ'ክ በዎ' ኪዮ አቱ ዲክ
ታጸጎ ዒሎህ አክተ ያን። አፍሮ ለ~ ካታማትቲም አቢትታህ
ኪንኒጉል አማይ አፍሮ ኢንኪም ኢይየ ማሎን ካታማትቲም
አክካለ ሎን አክታህ ሳረ~ና በይሲትታህ አማይ ዶርሆይታ'
ሙጉሳክ ዲክ ፋናህ ታዲያ ያን።አማይቲያ ለ~ ኢርሪ ላምማይ
ሊ~ይ ቲነ ያን። ኢርሪ ላምማይክ አብባክ ዪ ሳዕላ ኦሮባይ ታነ

ታህ አማይ ዶርሆይታ' አድ ሃይታህ ፃሕፋ አብታህ ጣ~ቢት ከ
ዲራር ታስቂርሪቦ ያን።

ሳርራህ ካምቦህ አይድጸለ ሓይሳ~ካ ከ ታክከህ ያድዲሪሪ~ኒህ
ካታ' ሃይ ኖሃማ ሰፈሪህ አክ ያጽሐ' የን አይ ሱገ ሒያውቲ፥
ካታማ ለ~ ባ~ሊዕ ማኪሒና'፣ አማም ሳርራህ ለ~ ዮ~ከ ዪ
ሳዕላ ታውላ ማሕኖ ኪኖ'ክ ኮ~ከ ኩ ጸይሎ አዱዋ አክ ተጽሐ
ያን። አማይቲ' ዱክካ ቢያይሲተ ያ~ምከ~ ጋሐ የን። ሳርራህ
አማይ ዱክካ በይሲታህ ያዲያህ ጸሒ~ነ ማሩይ ያርሐደ የን።
አይየዪህ ሒያውቲ ማሩይ ያርሐደ ጉል አዱይ ሃይ ኩ አንና
ከ ኩይና ደ~ዒም አክ የጽሐ ያን አይ አብባ ኢሰ~ከ ናጋይ
ኪን ኢይያ። ታይ ማሩይ አይናህ ኢስሳ ኢስና~ዶ አብቡሐተ
ጸጽነ አክ ያጽሐ ያን [ሳዕላክ] ። አኑ ማ~ጺገ ሃይ አክ ታጽሐ
የን አይ [ሳዕላ] ። ሳርራህ አማህ አክ ታሃኒህ አካህ
ያብቡሐቲን ሓ~ል አኑ አ~ጺገክ ያህ አማይ ሒያውቶ'ክ
አሙይያ ያህ አባ'ክ ማሕተም ኡብለህ አነኪ~ ሒያውቶ ጋባ
ላዓይ ባ~ሃይ አሞ~ ኮክ የጽሒን አክ የጽሐ ያን።

ያ ዪ ባዕሊ ዪ የ~ጸገ ታህ ሶሮ ታካሪትታ' ኢሲትታህ አማይ
ሶሮድ ራብተ ያን አማይ ኑማ።አይ ኦ~ቲ' ኡምቢህ
ኒሚጽጺገ' ያህ ቃሚስ አጋና'ል ኢሳህ ኩደ ያን።አካህ
አርሐዲክ ሱገህ ያነ ሶ~ታል ናው ኢሳህ ማሪያም ዒሎ~
መ~ካይሊ ዒሎ~ ሓዶ በትተ~ኒህ ታዳዎ~ናየ ያህ ጸ~ዒማ።
ያይ ያይ ያእ ያህ ጋሕሐ አድያህ ያይ ያእ ያእ ያብባ ሐራሊህ
ማ~ሐ ተህ ዪ~ና ሶሮድ ራብተ አክ ያጽሐ የን። አማይ

ሶ~ታል ሱጉሰህ ያነይያህ ፊልላ ኢሰክ ዒዳ የን አማይ
ሒያውቲ። አማም ኢንኮህ አጋ~ጊትታ። ሓዶ ሩምማህ
ዩብቡሐቲ~ኒህ በ~ተን ያን አማይ ማሪ።

አማም ሳርራህ ካምቦህ ታማይ ሓዶ ባኪትታ~፣ ያዲያ የን
ሳዕላ ሐባህ፣ ኑጉስ ዲኪል ያሚ~ተ የን። አማይ ኑጉስ ዲኪል
ያሚ~ተጉሉ~፣ አ~ ዩ~ና ከ ያብባ ለ~ ታህ ተህ ሐሰ' ዋ~ን
ዱርረህ ኖክ ባኪትተ ፣ ካ~ዶ ለ~ ዩ ቢሶ ለ ሊክኪዕ ዩ ቂርፀ'
ለ ዩ ሳዕላ ፋሮ ኪዮ'ክ አኑ ሲናል አሚ~ተ ለልለዕ ፋናህ
ሲንነሊህ የህ ሱጉሳ አክ የጽሐ ያን። ያ~ መፀ' ሃይ አክ
ያጽሐ' የን ኑጉስ። ሳርራህ አማይቲ ጋሕሐ ያህ ጋይሳ ከ
ጋምመ አስሰዕፍ' ኢሲታህ ሊክኪዕ ዩ ቢሶ ለ ቲያ ኪንኒ አክ
የህ ያነይያ - ኢሰህ አል ጋሐ ያን። ኩ ሳዓልሊ'ህ ና~ጸገም
ኪንኒክ ያ~ናህ ጉድዳይ አካህ አቦ~ና ኪን ሲንኒ ባጸሊህ [ተ]
ሃ~ናህ ካት ሃይ ታህ አያ'ይ ታህ አባይ ታሃም ተ~ ሓታ'ይ
አክ ያ~ናህ ማጽሐን ኢንኮህ አባይ ዩኒን ያን። ካምቦ
አይያሚሰ~ኒምኮ ሳካል ዮ~ከ ኮ~ኮ ጋሮ'ክ ጎምቦ' ነክከህ
ናክከምኮ አክ ያጽሐ የን አማይቲ። ዮ~ሃይ ማክኪንና አክታህ
ኢሲ ማጽሐኒህ ዳን አቢትታ የን አማይቲያ። ኢግዚዮ~ ያን
ጉል ሒያዋህ ያፍጢረህ ኪንኒክ ናምማህላሎይ አክ ያጽሐ የን
አማይቲ። ሳርራህ አማይ ቲያ ኢግዚዮ ነሚህ አኑ ሳና ባሊህ
ኪዮ አክ ተጽሐ ያን።

ሱፀትታም ማለይ ሳርራህ ዲንጊል ሶ~ኒያ ታክከ የን። ካምቦ
ዋራድዲ አሮባ የን። ዒብና ታዳዎ ሳራ ሃይሲ~ሶ~ና

ያብሊንጉል ሶ~ኒያ ታክክ የን። ኮ አዪም ሲንገይተ ያንጉል
ኡብለ ቲያ ማኪዮ ሃይ ኣኑ ተ~ ባሶድ ባካህ ጺ~ናክ ኢነክካህ
፣ ኡብለም ማሊዮ [ታ]። ታማም ለ~ ላካል ናብሎ ኪኖ፣ ካ~ዶ
ለ~ ሐ~ዎይታ ኪቶጉል ኒንኒ ባጻህ ኩ ናይማግጋዶ ኪኖክ
ሓዳር ቲክ ሃይ ኣክ የጽሒን ያን ኣይዪህ ሶ~ኒያ ሓባ~ናህ።
መዐ ኣክ ተጽሐ ያን። አማይቲ~ አምፀበ~በጠክ ሳራ'ድ ሳ~
የን። ካት ሃይ ያ~ናህ ካምቦ በያን የን ኣይዪህ ዒብና።
[ኡሱክ] ላብሃይቶ'~ ኦ~ቲ~' ላብሃይቶ ያክኪን። ዱፍላህ
ቲትታ'ል ሓጺታን የን።

ካምቦህ አለይየክ አንዱፋሊ~ይ ዩኒ~ኒምኮ ኮ ሒያው ኣኑ
ጉድ ገ~ ያጽሐ የን ኣይዪህ ባጻ ኣካህ ዮሐዪንቲ።ኡሊ
ባዓልተት ፋዪስሶ ሳይታ ጉል ኢሰህ ጉረ'ም አብባ' ኣክ ኢሰ'
ኢሰህ ጺጺያ ። ኢኢእኢህ! ኣዪክ ጋሕታ የን ኣይዪህ ዒብና
ኪንኒ ኣክ የን ቲያድ ጉድ ገይዪናንቲያ። ጎንቶ ገ~ን ኢይያ
ጊን ዋርረ~ሳይ ሚያኒ~ኒይ ኢንኪ~ለ ኢኢእኢህ! ኣዪክ
ጋሓይ ታነ የን ባዓልተ~ታ። ካምቦህ ባልሎ አሚ~ቲህ ያብባ'
የን።

ባልሎ ታሚ~ተጉል ዩ ባጻ ሲን ባ~ጸህ ዒብባይ አዪምቶ
ኪንኒ~? ኣክ ታጽሐ የን፣ ተይያክ ቲብባ' ኣክ [ታህ] ፋዎ'
[ታብባ] የን። ኢሂ~' ኒባ~ጸህ ዒብባያ~፣ ማክካተይሳ
ማ~'ልኮ አመግጋ' ኖህ ኢሳ~ናሃ~፣ ታገ~ለባ' ፋራሳክ ኒ
ሃ~ናህ ሒያው ጉድዳይ ባሊህ ታክ~ሀለህ ጸጽ ባ~ጸ ፋራሳክ
ጋሕናህ አማይ ማ~'ል በይሲንናህ ናዲየህ አገ~ለቢክ ኒንምኮ

ጋሕና ጋሕናህ ተደ~ ጋሕተ~ (ከደት ተመለሰት) አዲስ ኖህ
ሱጋ~ናህ ታማህ ኪንኒ ኒ ዲብባይ አክ [ታጽሐ] የን'።

አማይጉል ማክካተይሳ ማ~'ልኮ አመግጋ ኢሳ~ናህ፤ አማይ
ፋራሳክ ሃይያ ኢሳ~ናህ ቶርከ~ኮ ተደ~ ጋሕተ~ አዲስ
ላምማ ጉል አል ጋሐህ ማድዳሒት ጉል ሱትታ አክ የጽሐ'
ያን። ሒያውቶ' ዋ~ን። አማይ ማ~'ል በይሲተይያ~ከ ኢሰህ
ያዲየጉል (ፈላ~ሲት) አካህ ሱግታ የን። አማይ (ፈላ~ሲት)
ቆ~ቢዕ ከ~ ኢሰህ ጸገል አፀ~ሀዪክ አካህ ሱግታ የን። ("እነይ
ኢታይ ክሕግዘክን'ጾ ሐራይ ወጺ ጎይታይ") አክ ተጽሐ ያን።
አማይቲ~ ባ~ጸክ ካሕ ጸግሓክ ካሕሓ አክ ኢሳይ ዪነምኮ
ያግዲፈ የን አማይ (ፈላ ~ሲት)። ኢግዲፍፋ ኢሳህ አማይ
ባድና ፋራሳክ ሃ~ህ በያ የን አማይቲ'።

አማይ ራይሳ በይያ' ኢሳህ ፉጊ ዲሎ ሲናህ ያክኮኩ~፣ ዪ~ና
ዮክ ላሑ~ተ~ኒህ ኪንኒክ የይሰፈ~ራ፣ ሰፈር ዮህ ኡሑዋ
ያጽሐ የን ቲልላ~ ቲልላህ። አዶ~ሐ ዲክ ኮ ካ ቲልላ~ሰን
ያን። ሳርሮ~ሪማል አይናህ አብኖክ ታሃዪህ ቲብ ያ~ናሆ~ኪ
ያ~ናህ ኦርቢሳን የን። አማይቲ' ዳንዳሳ'ል [ታህሃ'...?ኢሳህ]
ኢይዲግጊዕዓ' ኢሳህ አክ ያውዐህ ዋላ~' ባሮ~ኮ አክ
ቲልላየ~ከ ሳረ~ና ኪ~ህ ተ ዳግተምኮ ሲና'ክ ራድዶ ኪንኒ
ያህ ኢሮህ ያውዐህ ዋ~ዲናል ያክከህ ያይደለ~ለዐ ያን።
አማይቲያድ (እስኪ አታ) ኢስኪ~ ታህ አውካይቶ ጸግጋ' አድ
ኢስሳጉል ሚዲርበቲል ራዳ' የን አይ አማይ ራይሲ'።

አማይቲ' አይ ኢሮ'ል አይደለ~ለዒክ ሱገህ ያነይያ ደ~ሮህ ኡ ኡ ኡ ...! ያጽሐ የን ዩ~ና የክ ዩግዲፊነ~ ያህ። ፉጊ ዒሎ ኒ ማስሐዩናይ ናብሲ ጋር ለ~ ኮህ ናሐዎይ፣ ኑማ ለ ና~ዓጎይ፣ ኢሰህ ለ~ ፉጊ ዒሎ ሃይ ኒ ማስሐዩን ያ~ናህ ቶይ ሓ~ላህ ያ~ፀጊን የን። አማይቲያህ ናብሲ ጋር አካህ ያሐዩን የን። ቶይ ናብሲ ጋር ከ ማክካ~ተይሳ የመጊን ኢይያ አቢትታ' ኢሲታህ ሱርረድ ሳይያ' ያህ አይዩህ ለ~ ዩ ቂርፀ' ለ ዩ ሳዕላ ሲና'ል ፋሮ ኪዮ'ክ አኑ ጋሓ ለልለዕ ፋን ሱጉስሶ~ና ኪቲን አክ የህ ያነይያ አማይ ኑጉስ ዲኪል ጋሓ የን። አይ ሳዕላ ዋጊዮ ፋራስ ያትተ~በሐህ ጋምመ~ ከ ጋይሳ ዒዳህ አል ጋሓ የን። ሃይየ! ዩ ሳዕላ አል ታነ ያድሐ የን። ኩ ሳዕላ ሐ~ዎይታ ኪንኒ ለ~ ኖክተ ሓዳር ለ~ አካህ አብነ አክ ያን የን። [ሒያውቶ ዋይቲምታ]። ሓዳራህ የህ ኡሐዋ አኑ ሲና'ክ ሚንኒዮ'ክ ዓክኪያ'ይ ቱፍፊያ' አክ የድሐ ያን አይ አማል። አይ ሲንኪሳርረ' ኪንኒ ካ ሚጋዕ። ሳርራህ አይ ዮሐዩን ዒብና አክ ደሀ~ያንርክ ዋይቲምታ።

አይ ረ~ዳንቲ' (ኑጉስ) ኮ~ከ ፉጎ ኢንኒ ረ~ዳኮ ለ~ አብጻ፣ ኢንኒ ባጸ ለ ኮህ ኦሐየህ ኢንኒ ዲክ ኩ ኢይዊሪሰህ ኩ ዲፈ~ሶ ኪዮ'ክ አኑ ሓዳር ተክክ ባጸ አክ ባ~ሃርክ ማሊዮክ ፉጊ ዒሎ አክ ያጽሐ የን።ካምቦህ አማል ያስፀሩፊን የን።አማይቲ' ቶይ ኑጉስ ዲክክ' ባጸ አክ ሶ~ኒ~ሰይያ ኢሰህ አቢታህ ኑጉስ ረ~ዳ በይሲታ ያን።

ፊስሲሓ በርህ ዎልደማይራ'ም 2005: አ.ግ.

2. ጋይሶ~ላ

ባሶህ ኢሮብ ዲኪል ዶ~ባዓ፣ ዒዶ ኩሉስ፣ አንካ~ራ አልማራይ ቲነ ያን። ሱምመ አክ ያማቶ' ለ ፋኖኑ'ድ ለ አይዶላ፣ ካይያይታ ከ ሳርራከ' አል ቲነ ያን። ሱምመ አሚ~ቲህ ጋደ~ኮ ኦዕዓጸ ለ ካይያይታ ዋርዓትለት ዓጸ~ለ ሳርራከ ቲነ ያን። ሱግተም አካህ አካን ሓዋይሊህ ሱምመ ማክሓንኖ። አማይጉል ለ~ ኒ ያይላይዮ ኪንኒክ ባጸ አካህ ማሓደና ካብ ካ ሚ~ሲና የጽሒን ያን። ሳርራ~ኮ አይ ሱምመት ባጸ' ኪን ሱባልሲ' ሳርራኪ' ባጸ ሓቡያህ አድ ጸላ። ባጸ' ባህታ። አይደህ ማይሲትተህ ታነ ባጸ ባጸ' ባህተሃኒህ ባጸ ኪንኒ ታህ ሱዑሳይ ቲነ ያን። ኡሊ ለልለዕኮ ቲያህ አሲ ባዕላሊህ ጋሪ ያ ባዕሊ ሳዓልሊህ ጋሪ ያ ካላሕታሃኒህ አል ቱዕሩፈል አይ አማይ አውካይቲ' ሓይሱ ፊኒኒኒ'ግ አሳህ ጸጸያህ ሓባ'። ላብቲያ' ኪና'ም ታሚጽጸገ።

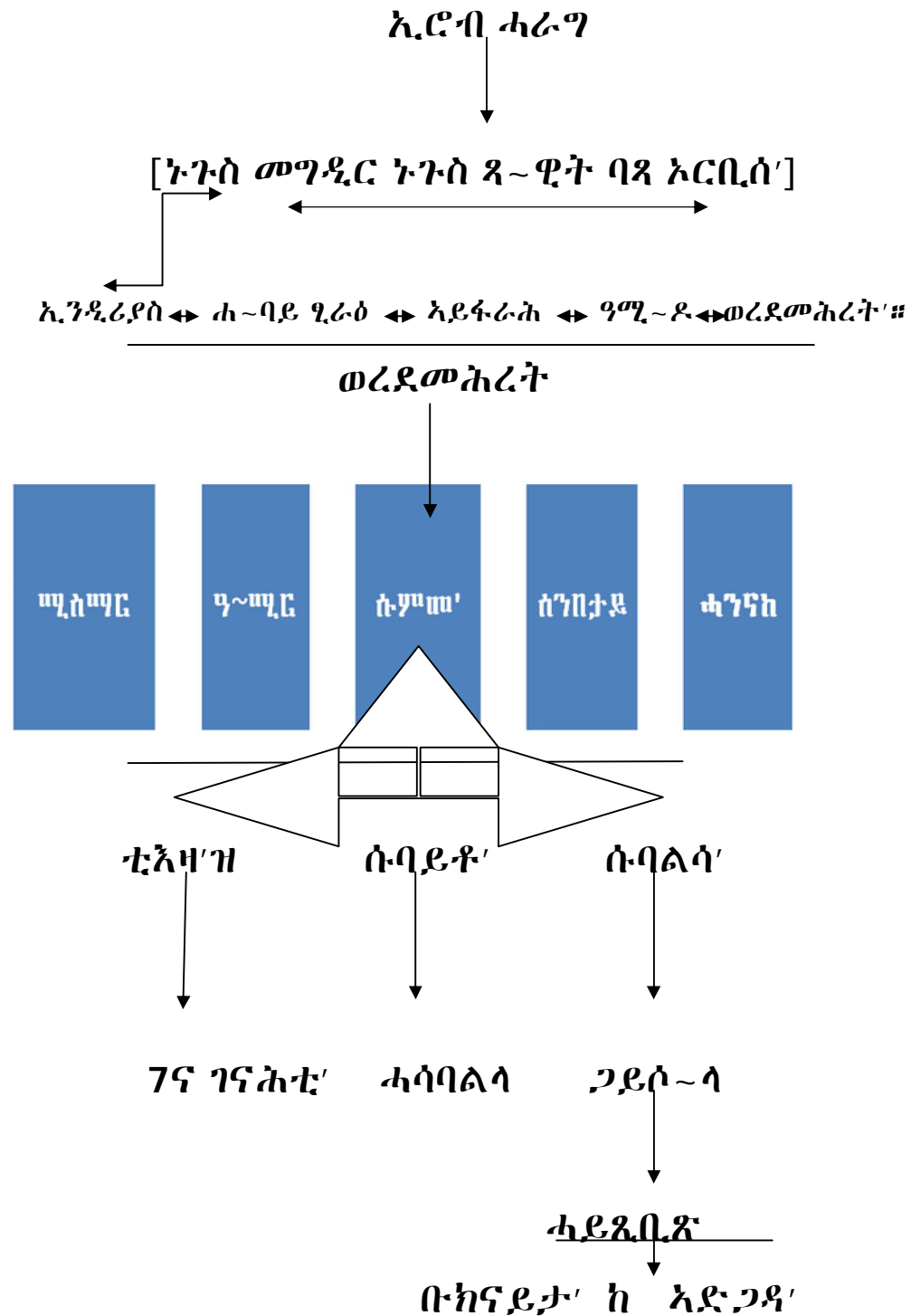
ሓራ~ሚ በጸ' የህ ያነ ሳርራከይቲ' ታማይ አድ አውዒይ ዩኒን ላዓኒ ጸዪ ጸባንኮ ሳባባሊ ጋዳ'ል (ሙርረት ጋዳ'ል) ዒድ' ያን። ኢና አጋና'ል ሲመዛ~ና ታውዐህ ዘግፋታህ ጋሕታጉል ጊያሲሐህ ጋሕታጉል አክኪክ አማል ወዓክ ማራይ ቲነ ያን። አውኪ የከምኮ' ባራካ'ድ ጋብቱት ሓንከ ኮዕቶህ ዓረ ያን ። አይደህ ጋብቱት ሓን ከ ኮዕቶህ ዓረህ ያነ ቲ' ዓ~ዳክ ለ ዳጋር ደግሓክ ለ ጋይሳ ሊይ ዩነ ያን። ። ዓረሚህ ላካል አማይ አውኪ ቡርጉ~ዱታህ ጉልጉልሱሙል ላ~ቲቲያ ዲጊሮ አሚ~ቲይ ዩነ ያን። ኮዕሶ ዲጊራህ ዳንባኮ~ማይ ያብባ'፣ ሙርረይ

ዪ~ና! ዪ~ና ዪ ዓስሲና! ያህ ኮዕሶ ኦርቢሳይ ዪን ያንቶህ
 አባ'ክ አሳህ ካሶ' ካሶ ጋደ' ጋደ ዳት ጋደ~ኮ ኢሲ ሳባባ~ሎከ
 ሙርረ ባሊታይ ዪን ያንቶህም ኢናክ ጋሪ' አክያህ አ ዒልለህ
 ካ ገይታ'ም አሐ~ሶቢይ ቲነም'ኮ ዋርዓትለ ኦብታህ አርክ~ኮ
 ያሚ~ተምክ አርክ ያዲያ'ም አይደኒዒይ /ዱሃይ/ ቲነ ያንቶ
 አማይቲ' አሮባህ ኮዕቶ ዋግጊይሲታ'ህ ታብለጉል ኮዕቶ
 ታስክ~ሀለህ ሱግታህ አካህ ታሐየህ ኢሰሊህ ካ በይቶ ካ
 ጸ~ዒምታ የንቶይ ኡሱክ በ~ታይ ዪን ተ~ሎክ ለ [ሐውሲ
 ዱምሙ] አክያ~ናህ ካድዲ'ህ ሚጋዕ አክ ያነቶ

ማንጎ ጸ~ዒምቶ ኮ ላካል ሒናይ ዪነምኮ አልሊህ ያዲያ የንቶ
 የደ~ህ መዓንናህ ዓረምኮ ላካ'ል አል ማራይ ዪን ሲመዛ~ናኮ
 ማሐ~ጸ ያብጺየህ ሓነ ያፍዳዮ አ~ባ የንቶ ቶል ቲነም ለ
 አምቢህ ያዕሪገህ አክ ያዕሩፈ ያንቶአርባህ ኢንደርታይቶ?
 ኦርቢሳህ ሙጸ ያንቶሐይጺቢጽ ያን ባጸ' ጸላቶ

አማይ ሐይጺቢጽ ጸሳሞት ቡክናቲህ ባጸ ሳብቢያ ኦርቢሳህ
 አ~ዳ፣ ቡክናይታ' ከ አድጋዳ ጸላቶ አ~ዲ
 ማምፋዒንናቶቡክናይታ' ከ አድጋዳ አማል አል ታነቶ

ያብባ ወልደ ገብሩ (ዓጋብ) 2005: አ.ግ.



ቡ~ሉማ፡ አቡና ተስፋሲልላ~ሰ 1993 ኢግ፡ በርሀ ዚግታ' 2000 ኢግ.

3. አይደላ' ከ ካይያይታ

ባሶህ ካይያይታት ረ~ዳንቲ' ዳ~ዓይና~ ከ ዳ~ዓይና'ባክኖይ
ያጽሐ የን። ቶህ ተክከም ለ አይደሊ' ዲክ ናባ' ማሪህ ፋዎ
ቶ~ብበህ ኢዝዘ ሒንተጉል ኪ~ይ ዩኒ ያን። የ~ኒም ባሊህ
ዳ~ዓይና~ ከ ዳ~ዓይና' ባክካ ኢሳንጉል አይደሊ ዲክ
ኢንኪ' ዳ~ዓይና' ሱዑስሳህ ራ~ዒሰሳ የን። ዳ~ዓይና~ ከ
ዳ~ዓይና' ባክ~ኒሚህ ላካ'ል ኢዝዘ' አል ያብጸን ያን።ቶይ
ኢዝዘ ለ ማ~ሐጺ ዳብ ያብቢጸ ሩክታ~ሎይቲ' ዳብ ኢኒክ፣
ላምማ ጋዲ' ዳጋር አክ ኪን ኢንኪ ቢሶ ለ ፋለ ላምማይ፣ ሓን
ያድሉዐ ማድዳሓይቶ ካብ ኢሳ ያ~ናም ኪ~ይ ዩኒ።
ማድዳሓይቲ ያሕሩሲ~ኒም ማ~ደ ሳዓይቶ' ኪንኒ። አማይ
ኢዝዘህ ዳዓባል አይዩህ ሱዑስን ዳ~ዓይናል ጋሓ~ናህ ፋዎ
አስሰሪታን የን።ታይ ገይቶ ገይነክ አይናህ አብና~ አክ
የጽሒን ያን። አማይ ዳ~ዓይኒ፣ ለልለዕ ኖህ አባ አክከያይ፣
ሩክታ~ሎይቲ ሶ~ታል ያብቢጸይያ አድ ዓሮክ ላምማ
ኢግጊዳ ጋራዕ ከ ሞ~ሮ ደ~ሳ አክ የ ያን። ላምማ ጋዲ' ኢንኪ
ቢሶ' አክ ለ ፋለ ጉርተ~ኒም ኮ ኢንኪ ቢሶ' ለህ ኢንኪ ታቶ'
ኪን ላምማ ላሕ ኡርሐዳይ ላዒኒህ አስመ~ዓይ ቲትታክ
ኢይጸብቢሳ አክ ያ ። ሓን ያድሉዐ ማድዳሓይቶ'
ጉርተ~ኒምኮ መዐ ካሎል ደስሰን ሳዓይቶ' ፈሎ~ ከ ላየ~ ኮ
ደ~ሳይ ጋዳህ ባካ~ረ ዋዕደ' ሓን (ዒትታ) አዶ~ሓ ጋዳክ አክ
ሃ~ይ ካብ ኢሳ አክ ያ የን። አማም ባሃን የን። ቶሆም ጋራይያ
አክ ኢሳ~ናህ ዳዓይና ታ~ልሊን አክ ያጽሒን የን

ካይያይታት ረ-ዶን ታሃም ዳ-የን ኮ በ-ሐም ማ ፋዪስሳ
ያ-ናህ። ዳ-ዓይና ማሊኖ ያን።

አምበ-ሀላ አምደሀ-ሀላ ቡሳ አክ ያጽሒን የን። ቲትታ
ገያ-ናህ ለል ማብሎህ አማይ ዳ-ዓይናል ጋሐን የን።
ካምቦ-ኒህ ራቢ' ማ ራ-ዒንናካ ዮይያ ቲግዲፊ-ኒህ ማ
ራ-ዒንና ዮይያ ሐብተ-ኒህ ማራ-ዒንናክ አንገ-ዓ አክ ያ
የን፤ መዐም ማርሐባ ያ-ናህ ቢ-ሊ ዓካልሲሚል ያንቆ-ዖሪን
ያን።ቢ-ሊ ዓካልሲም ሳ-ሙድ ከ ካ-ሶ ማለት ፋናድ ያነ
ጋደ' ኪንኒ። ቢ-ሊ ዓካልሲሚል ቆዖራ አብባ ኢሳ-ናህ
አይዪህ ረ-ዶን አል ዲፊይታ ዓጽክ መዐ ሲላል ከ ዒንደ
ሐብባ ኢሳ-ናህ ኡሊ ዓጽክ ሲንኒህ አልዲፊያናል ሶ-ታ-ላ
አብኩኒክ ማሐን የን። ሳርራት ጸሐ-ነ ረ-ዶን ጋራ-ይ
ዪኒ-ኒምኮ ኡምቢህ የዐርሪን ያን ዋክካት ሲንኒ ሶ-ታ-ላህ
አሞክ ዲፊያን የን። አማይ ማሪ ሶ-ለህ ሐይሱ-ታቲ
ራ-ዐክካህ ናካትቶይ ቲትታክ የህ ሱገህ ያነይያ የከትቲ-ኒም
ቲትታክ ዩብሊ-ኒም ሳርራህ ሲንኒ አምሐ አቢቶ-ና
ያምቂርሪቢን።

አማም ከ ፋናል ረ-ዶንቲ ዓጽ-ኮ ኢንከትቲ' ሶ-ታል ዒንደት
አድዳ- ኮ ቢልላ አዪህ ያብለ ያን። አማይቲ' ካታ ሃይ
ባኪትነክ ሮ-ሐ አስሰ-ዓ አክ ያ ያን። ካልሊህ ጸጽ ኢርክ ፋን
አልሊህ ያርዲ-ኒህ ካይያይታት ራብን አክ ያኒል ዒዳን
(ያግዲፊን)።ኦ-ሆም አማይ ጋደ'ል (ቢ-ሊ ዓካልሲሚል)

ባካን። ኢንክትቲ ዑዋል ቦሉ'ድ አክ ራ~0 ያን። ቶይቲ~ለ
ካ~ዶ ታነም ሐበ' ያን።

ገብራ'ይ ተስፋ'ይ (ኮክኮሐ) ከ ወልደ ገብሩ (ዓጋ'ብ) 2005
ኢ.ግ.

4. ጸ~ዋ ከ ባጊ' ኡምነ

ባሶህ ኢንኪ ሐያውቲ' ዩነ ያን። ማሪናሚ'ህ ጉርታይዮህ ለ
ጸ~ናይ ማና~ ያን። ቶሆምኮ ኡጉትታማህ ኢሲ ሐግጋይቲህ
ላ~' ያትቲሚንኒየጉል ኡሊ ቢልሓት አባ'። አማም ለ~
ታማይ ሳዒህ አድዳድ ታነ ሩጋክ ኢንኪ አንጉ አክ
ያግሪዒ~ኒም ኪ~ይ ቲነ። ታሃም አካህ አበ'ም ለ~
ማ~ሒዪታህ ታምመንገጉል ዩቲያ ኪንኒ የህ ኢሰህ አቢቶ'
ጉረ ጉል ኪ~ይነ። ሱጋ~ይ ዩነምኮ አማይ ሩጋ ዩ ቲያ
ኪንኒክ የህ ባሂታ ያ~ናም አጸጸሳ'። ሳዒ ዋንና ሊህ አይናህ
ተህ ያ~ናም ታክከ። አማህ አዪክ ቲትታ ዋ~ንጉል
ሓጸትሎብቲት/ረ~ዶን/ ታብሎይ ያ~ናም ታክከ። መዐ
ያ~ናህ ሲንኒ~ሲንኒ ማብሎሊህ ረ~ዶኑል ያዲዪን። ኢሂ~
ታይ ሳዓይቶ ኢይዪ ቲያ ኪንኒ ያ~ናም ታክከ። ዋንና ዩቲያ
ያ። አይ ኡ~ቲ ለ ማ~ለ ሃይ ዩቲያ ኪንኒ ያ። አ ዒልለህ
ኩቲያ ኪንኒ አክያን። ታይ ሳጋ አቡኪህኮ ኢንኪ አንጉ አክ
ያ~ጸሚምተህ ቶ~ቦክክካህ ኢንኪ አንጉ ሊ~ይ ማና~ ያ።

ዮክ ተለይየህ ማራይ ቲነምኮ ለ~ ካ~ዶ ተ~ ገ~ ዩቲያ ኪንኒ
ቡሳ ያ። ኢቦ'ል አባ~ናም ዋይቲምታህ ካይያህ

ታምፊርሪደ።ሳርሮሪማል ማንጎ ላ ታፍሪየ።ኢሰ~ ለ አፍሪ~ክ ተ ማድዳሪ~ ለ አምዐልሊክ ያዲዱን።አማይ ሳዲህ ዋንና ኢንኪ~ለ ታ~ናክ ታ~ናጉል ካ~ ጸይሎ አ~ ዒልለህ ጋድዲዶይቶ ጸዕታምከ አካህ ማሮ~ና አ~ዳ ዒልለ ተን ፋይሳ። አማይጉል ኢንኒ ጸይሎ~ አክ ያ፣ አኑ ታህድጸለ ጋድዳ ኢራ~ረም ዱብቡ~ን ጸ~ዊተህ ማሪናም መግገሪተህ ኪዮክ ጸ~ዋ ኢንኪም ማታ~ክ ማ ማይሲ~ቲና፣ ታማህ አባይ ለ~ ዮይያ ባሊህ ጋድዳሊት ቲካ' አክ ያህ ተን ፋይሳ ያን። አማይ ሒያውቲ' ሓዳር ባዕላ ኮ ለ ማልሒን ዋሳን ኮ ለ ኢንኪ ባጸ' ሊ~ይ ዪነ ያን። ማራ~ይ ዪነምኮ ሒያውቲ' ራባ የን።

ራባ ጉል ጸይሎ ታክ~ሀለህ ማዓጋ አብቶ ኡጉ~ጉትታ የን። ማዓጋህ ኢፋ~ራህ ባድና' ጋ~ላክ ሃ~ናህ ኡጉታን። አማይ ጋ~ሊ ኢሰ~ ከ ባድናህ ፋንኮ ያለይየ።

አዪም አብኖ~ ያ~ናህ ማልሒና ሳዓል ፋዎህ ዲፈያን።ፋዪታይ ዪኒ~ኒምኮ ታይ ጋድማ~ኮ ዋሳንኮ ያ~ቡከ ማባሕሓሪት ኒ ሳዓል ናግዲፈህ ማዓጋ አብናም መዐ ያ~ናህ ባካን። የ~ኒም ለ አባን።አባይሲማል ማዓጊ ባኪትታ' ያ ጉል አማይ ጋሊ ኢሰ ከ ዩይኩዐ ራይሳህ ደበክካ ያ። ተክከም አዪም ታክከ። ራብተም አቲያ ኪንኒ? ታክከ። አይ ማባሕሓሪት ሳዓሊህ መ~ላ ኒ ባጸ' ሲን ማባሕሓሪት ሳዓል አል ያነ ታህ አስሰርታ። ቶጉል ዱ~ኮ ፎትቲምቶይ ሃይ ታክከ።ዱ~ኮ ፎትቲምታጉል ቱሙዕዑገም ዪግዲፊን ማባሕሓሪት ሳዓል ታክከ። አይዪህ ዩሙዕዑገ ባጸ'ህ መላ አማይ ማልሒና ሳዓል

ኢ-ምቢህ ፊይታህ አማይ ዱ~ኮድ ታሰከ~ሀለ። አማይ ሩጋህ
ዋ~ኒ ለ ዑሱቢህ ቡሕታህ ተ~ ፊርሪያት ዋንናህ ጋሐ
።ሲንኒምኮ በ~ሐሚህ ጉርታይዮክ ጺ~ዋ ባህታ ሳባብ ቶል
ያምቡልሉወ ያን።

ገብራ'ይ ተስፋ'ይ (ኮክኮሐ) 2005 አ.ግ.

5. ጉሃር ጋባላት ጋዕዋ

ኢንኪ~ዶ ጉሃር ጋባላት ጋዕዋ አክያን ኑማ ቲነ ያን። ጉሃር
ጋባላት ጋዕዋ ዋርረይሲትተ ጋድዳ~ለ ኪ~ይ ቲነ
አክያን።ሳዒ' ጽ~ጸ ባሊህ ባሰካ ጋዕዳ ባሊህ ሊ~ይ ቲነ
ያን።ጋድዳ~ለ ኪን ጋዕዋል ኢንኪ ኑማ አል ተመ~ተ ያን።
አክ ተመ~ተም ዓ~ላ' አክ ያን ባ~ጸ ኮ ኪ~ይ ቲነ። ላየ
ዮሕሐይ አክ ተ ያን። ላየ አካህ ማ~ሐዪናይ አክ ተመ~ተርከ
ተ አሰርታ የን። ዓ~ላ' ኮ አመ~ተ አክታጉል ገጽጻ~ዶ
ገጽጻክካህ ጉሃር ጋባላት ጋዕዋ ዓ~ላ' ማገጽጻ ተጽሐ ያን።
ገጸንታ ተደ~ምኮ ላካል ለልለዕቲ' አብጻት ቱማህ ሮብ ባ~ጸ
ዪዲብቢብ' ያን። አል ማራይ ቲነ ኢንጋል ኦዕዓጸ አዕዓጸል ቲነ
ዱይየ ወ~ዒ ሓጋናህ በያ። ሱባሕ ጋ~ናድ ጊራክ ሓብተይያ
ቦሎላህ አማይ ዓረ'ክ ጎምቦድ አክ ያይየዐ ያን።ኢሲ ለ አማይ
ሱባሕ ዳላሊስሶ ተህ ማዕጢቆይታድ ሳይተህ ራዕተህ አማይ
ጊናህ ዓሲኒክ ራዕታ።ሐላይሲትታህ ሱዑትታ የን።ጸየም ፋን
ጉሃር ጋባላት ጋዕዋህ ሚላ ያ~ናህ ባ~ቂል ከ ማሓ~ዚሊክ
ቱ~ማር አክ ዪነ። ቶይ ጋዕዋ ማራይ ቲነምኮ ባሒትታህ
ዓ~ላ' ገጽጻ የን። ዓ~ላ'ል ባሶህ ላየ አል ካሊትተ ኑማል

ታሚ~ተ የን። ኡምማኒም አካህ ቆሐየሚህ ላካል አክ ተመ~ተርከ ዳረምታህ ተ አስሰርተ ያን። አክ ተመ~ተም ጉሃር ጋባላ ኪናም አክ ተጽሐ ያን። አማይ ቲያ " ዓ~ላ' ማ ገጸ ዓ~ላ' ገጽጸ' ሂንናይ" አክ ተጽሐ ያን ሚስሲሊ ያነ ኒ ባ~ጸል።

ገብራ'ይ ተስፋ'ይ (ኮክኮሐ) 2005 አ.ግ.

6. ሓሳብ ሰብጋ~ዲስ

ሓሳባት ሰብጋ~ዲስ ባሶህ አኑ ማንኅ ዓጋብ ለ ሒያወቶ ኪዮ ያ~ናህ ቃይሲቲክ ኒስሲሐ ዮህሑዋ ያጽሒን የን። ዪ ዓጋብ ለ~ ታሃም ከ ታሃም ኪንኒ አክ የን ያን። አማይ ቃይሲት ናኑ ኩ ኒስሲሐ ማጺዕና አክታ የን። ኢንነህ ሲናህ አሓዎክ ዮህ ጋራ~' አክ ያን የን። ኢሰህ ቆሐየም ኮህ ጋራይና አክያን።አማይዶ~ አክየ፣ ባ~ጸ ኮ ለ ማድዳሕና፣ ጸለም ኮ ለ ማዳሕና ኢራ~ረም ኮ ለ ማድዳሕና አሓየ አክየን ያን። ኦድዶሳህ ዪ ባ~ሪያይቲ ለልለዒል ኮንቶም ዪያግራፎይ፣ ፊሎህ ጊንና~ዓት ኢጽጸንቶ ሙልሑ ማለህ ተ~ሊታ አክ የጽሒን ያን።አማይ ጉል አራዕ ሰብዳ~ለ ኮ ታሮ~ረ ላ~' ጉንዳ~ጉንደት ዳብራ ፋን ሳ~ ያን። ታማይ ላ~ቲህ ሞይኖይ ጋ~ፊሰ' ጸዪ' ካድዲህ አማል አል ያነ ያን።

ባ~ጸ ኮ ካስዋ ዮሐዪን ያን። ካስዋ ካድዲህ ሞሶ~ዓሪ ጊደክ አል ታነ ያን።ጸላይ ኮ አድዳደይ አክ ያን ማድዳሒት ባጸ' ዮሐዪን ያን። ሳርራህ ጸላ'ይ አክ ዳግሳየ' ጉል አማይ

አድዳደይ ማ~'ል አል ዮሐዲኒ~ህ ደሀ~ን ያን። ጋርፎ'ድ
ባ~ሪያይቲ' አድ ራብ ጋሪ ያ ማ~ለ ጋሪ ያ። አማምሂጽጻህ ለ
ሓስሳብ ሱባጋ~ዲስ አክ የን ያን።

በርሀ ዎልደማይራ'ም፣ ለምለም ዎልደማይራ'ም ከ ገብራ'ይ
ተስፋ'ይ (ኮክኮሐ) 2005፣ 2002 ኢግ.

APPENDIX III: Snapshots from Irob land



Figure 1: Ancient town of 'Alitāna (source: [http:// www. irrob.org](http://www.irrob.org))



Figure 2: Grand view of Gundagundä (photo by A.G.)



Figure 3. Preferable Season for story telling (Ethiopian Summer) photo by A.G



Figure 4. ‘Martahet Enda’arto’, a meeting place for youth beginning from Spring Season



Figure 5. 'Asabol, the upper course of Zägaarut River (photo by A.G)



Figure 6. Narration by Ato Gäbray Täsfay (Kokoho)



Figure 7. Narration by Ato Gäbray Täsfu



Figure 8. Age groups who enjoy narratives (photo by A.G)



Figure 9. '*Lattitiya*' a traditional game frequented by youth group

(Illustrated by: Ameha Yohanes, 2011)

