

SPIRIT POSSESSION CULTS IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: A MODERN AMHARA VILLAGE AND ANCIENT GREECE⁽¹⁾

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ABSTRACT Spirit possession cults are a universal phenomenon as of old, found primarily in the southern hemisphere. The belief is that a superior being takes possession of a mortal and uses the mortal as his/her mouthpiece. In such a state of possession the mortal utters the message of the superior being in an unintelligible tongue. Then a message is interpreted.

To Classicist scholars and to the majority of Western intellectuals the possession cult oracles of Ancient Greece, in particular the Oracle of Delphi, are well known. Less known is that possession cults are still found today in various parts of the world.

The example given here is a session with a Tānquay, (a possession cult ritual functionary) in an Amhara village in the Ethiopian highlands.

The interview with the Tānquay has been recorded and Amharic text, transliteration and translation are part of the article.

Key Words: Possession cults; Secret language; Ethiopian highlands; Amhara; Ancient Greece; Delphi.

INTRODUCTION

In fall 1971 I stayed for three months of fieldwork in Jehur⁽²⁾, Shāwa. One of my informants turned out to be a Tānquay,⁽³⁾ who lived some two-hours' walking distance from Jehur on the Meda of Agolamba and was highly regarded (though with some awe and suspicion) by the local people.

For the details of the Tānquay's knowledge of local medicine and magic, consult Hecht 1977, Messing, 1958; and Haberland, 1960; Fuller Torrey, 1970; Hinnant, 1970; and Young, 1975, 1976.

I wish to describe here the way the Tānquay presented herself, the image she had of herself and the image she had created among the people. In addition, the methods of her operation within the region where she lived, and into her interactions with the local people will be elucidated.

The circumstances under which I first met the Tānquay were rather unpleasant for myself in the beginning: My assistant was accused of having broken the lock of a chest of drawers in the tiny hotel where we lived, and to have stolen some 130 birr out of the cash box (He had not stolen the money).

When I asked the local people and the hotel-keeper to call the police to search our rooms, the people insisted on going to this particular Tānquay famous for finding lost things, detecting a thief, and having her spirit punish the culprit. Since

my assistant, who had just finished school, was to go with them, I insisted on coming along.

At that point I was confronted with the first significant reaction regarding the type of relationship the local people had with the Tānquay and of the reputation she had: One village official said to me: "Oh no, that is something bad about our culture, you are not supposed to see it."

During the course of my first stay in Jehur in fall 1971 I visited the Tānquay several times. During my second stay in fall 1972 I visited her only once. Always present was an old man, who might have been a close relative of her (father, husband or brother), and who acted as an interpreter once the Tānquay was in a state of being possessed, and the spirit spoke through her in an unintelligible tongue.

In our sessions, I gained the impression that she was a woman of great intelligence who had command of a great amount of knowledge and knew how to keep informed about what was going on in the local region and to make use of that information within the framework of her cultural traditions. I do not know whether she owned a transistor radio. Since she made the impression of being rich, I assume she had at least access to one. Thus she may have also gained information beyond that of what was going on in her locality and among the local people.

At least during our first visit, when the problem of the theft was brought forward to her, she shocked me—and perhaps the others of our party, too—by her sensible question: "Why don't you have fingerprints made?"

I then had to explain that the prints of the culprit were very probably already destroyed after one day, while experts with proper equipment had to be called from Addis Ababa. Then, she consented, her spirit (or rather spirits) had to be consulted.

The incident gave me a unique opportunity to observe her interactions with the local people. These interactions were perhaps deliberately very much on the friendly side, since

- (a) she may have wanted to impress me by her good mediating activities in the area, provided she assumed that my own values were those of a compassionate Christian, and that these were her own values, too;
- (b) and, via myself, to impress government as well as church authorities that she was not so bad after all,
- (c) or, and in addition, she may have wished to extract presents from me (which she did). I myself, however, wanted eventually not only to interview herself, but rather her spirit(s).

THE CEREMONY

In order not to shy her away, I had taken along for the first visit neither photo equipment nor a tape recorder. I depended on my interpreter and my notes alone.

The procedure of calling the spirit will be familiar to those who study the phenomenon of this type of possession cult. Coffee was prepared in the traditional Amhara fashion while incense was burnt. The Tānquay, always hidden behind the curtain, then whistled softly to call her spirit, until he eventually arrived. At

first I believed there were two people behind the curtain and only after some listening, I discovered that it was one and the same voice. Normally, the Tānquay spoke with a rather feeble old woman's voice. In the state of possession, it was rather an energetic and somewhat darker and rougher old man's voice that spoke to us.

Since the spirit spoke in a foreign, or rather unintelligible tongue, it was the old man whom I mentioned above, who had to act as an interpreter.

The first session already gave an insight into her methods: While the ceremony might have been intended not only to follow the prescribed rules of her interactions with the spirit but also to impress her visitors, it was of importance for the Tānquay

(a) to have the facts, or what we interpreted to be the facts presented to her, and
(b) to win time in order to obtain background information for giving the response.

Therefore, we were told to come back after a few days, whereupon the spirit left.

Had she (or rather her spirit) right away come forward with a response or an acceptable solution, or only an indication into the direction where the real culprit might be found, I would have fallen for her spirit(s) and her supernatural powers.

THE GROUNDPLAN OF THE TĀNQUAY'S HOMESTEAD

The first impression I gained of the Tānquay's homestead was that of a rich family. She lived on the Meda of Agolamba, where trees grew sparsely, and where her house could be seen from far away. The compound had a number of high basket-woven grain containers raised on poles (*gotara* type). Domestic animals were running around. The groundplan was unusual for an Amhara homestead, since with all the outer and inner fences and with the hut itself having two walls, concentric circles were created the centre of which was the central pole which supported the roof. The two round walls of the hut created a path sheltered by the roof that lead to the Tānquay's room which was rather dark. This inner room had the equipment common in round Amhara country huts: boards and nails at the walls to hang and place on things, such as clothes, basket plates or porcelain cups. A fireplace for the preparation of coffee was right next to the entrance. About a little less than one third of the room was hidden behind a curtain, where I assumed the Tānquay's bedstead was and she normally was seated.

I sensed that the groundplan of the whole round homestead followed that of an Ethiopian round church with its concentric circles of an increasing seclusion of restricted areas to be entered by certain groups of priests only.

Had I precisely asked the Tānquay about the association, I am sure that she would have denied it. The central pole which supported the roof was covered with one birr bills which the visitors were requested to donate, quite a high amount for an ordinary Amhara peasant, who before the Revolution made in cash perhaps 30 birr a year. In addition, there was a stone hung up at this pole. The visitors were asked to kiss this pole, whenever they came into the hut. And even more: The curtain that hid the Tānquay's bedstead was cotton print of red and white flowers often used in Ethiopian churches to cover religious paintings, which few people are

permitted to see. This cotton print is also used to wrap holy books in. This association with the church heightened the importance of where the Tänquay was, that behind the curtain the very place was hidden where the spirit came down and revealed himself. Thus it appeared that this hidden place should be compared to, and even ranked equal with, the Holiest of Holies in an Ethiopian church. A very dangerous association indeed, and I am sure the Tänquay would never have given me a straightforward answer had I asked.

Another association which offers itself, is that with the *galma* (ritual building) of a *kallu* (ritual expert) of the *Macha-Oromo* as described by Knutsson (1967). It is a round structure; the central pole plays an important part in the ritual connected with the cult of *ayana* (protective spirits) possession. The place where the *kallu* is seated when in the state of possession by *ayanas* is in the back of the house opposite the entrance, and the *kallu* himself, in the state of possession, is hidden behind a curtain. In the *ayana* cult, the *kallu* is always a man, while his wife, the *kalliti*, has certain functions in the ritual. The *ayanas*, invisible spirits, are the highest authorities in all kinds of problems, also in the settlement of disputes of some sort of a legal nature, and the *kallu* himself is their mouthpiece. The rituals and the procedures described by Knutsson (1967) for the *Macha-Oromo* and by Morton (1975) for the *Ada-Oromo* in the Bishoftu region are, however, much more formal than the sessions I was able to observe with the Tänquay in Agolamba.

The Jerru Meda was once inhabited by Oromo (Jerru), the descendants of whom today consider themselves Amhara and speak Amarinya only (Hecht, 1975). The Tänquay, however, did use a few words in Orominya in the state of possession.

The groundplan and architecture of the *kallu's galma* suggests in itself an imitation of an Ethiopian church. Knutsson's photos clearly show that the traditional thatched-roof *galma* as well as a more modern octagonal building with corrugated sheet roof had crosses on top of the roofs. In a personal communication P. Lambert Bartels suggested that very probably this lay-out of the *galma* was intended to imitate and compete with the Christian church.⁽⁴⁾

I am intrigued whether the cross also, as some sort of a "magic" symbol was taken over from the Christian church rather recently, with the coming of the Amhara, or, whether the cross had been taken over much earlier, when Christian influence, though not Christian pressure, had reached the area (Knutsson, 1967; and Lewis, 1969). This question has to be left open for further discussion.

THE INFORMATION POOL OF THE TÄNQUAY

The second session revealed more of the Tänquay's methods. Our group was at this time accompanied by an elderly woman from Jehur, whom I called "Mama." Mama was one of the village gossips. When we arrived, I noticed that Mama moved around the homestead and the inner room as if she had been there many times before, giving a helping hand wherever needed. She was certainly one of the Tänquay's informants. Our forthcoming conversation revealed that the Tänquay must have learnt something about my household and the people who were with me, since she described my cook and my interpreter quite correctly.

The procedure of preparing coffee, burning incense and whistling was repeated, until the spirit arrived, and the response by the spirit was given this time.

I assume that the Tānquay was in a very awkward position in my presence. And thus the spirit gave the following, rather Solomonic recommendation: He turned to me and asked me whether I would not agree that—since the money stolen was causing trouble between the hotel-keeper and my interpreter—both parties should share in the loss, each party paying half of the stolen amount back into the cash-box. I hope that my own response will be judged equally Solomonic: I said that this amount could not be considered causing trouble between the hotel-keeper and my interpreter since he had not taken it. We were prepared to help the hotel-keeper with all kinds of things, however, not with money.

I felt that, had I given in and agreed to the spirit's response, it would have appeared to the villagers that my interpreter did in fact take it.

The hotel-keeper was understandably very sad about my response to which the spirits had to agree: He would punish the real culprit. Then the spirit left, and Mama and the Tānquay started to have a little chat during which Mama revealed that we made nice photos. The Tānquay now offered me the very chance I had been waiting for: She wanted to have a photo. I told her that I was without my photo equipment and we would have to come again. And thus we were dismissed.

THE STATE OF POSSESSION

The next two sessions, the fourth one being the last one during my stay in Jehur in 1971, revealed more about the Tānquay's life history in connection with her being possessed by the spirit or the spirits. Apparently she had her first fits during the Italian occupation. She (or rather the spirit) mentioned that it was several spirits (whom she termed "*weqabi*"), who were involved and some of whom had Christian, others Muslim, names.

Since I am not a physician, nor medically trained, I can only guess that her fits may have started as some sort of a nervous disorder. I presume so because of an incident that happened when I took photographs of her (upon her own wish) within her dark hut, where I had to use the flash. Although I had demonstrated the use of the flash before, she all of a sudden started to tremble while I took the photos, perhaps due to a slight fit caused by the very unaccustomed light. She immediately grasped my hand, spat on it and gave me the blessings of her spirit. This may have been a proper and trained reaction of dealing with the fits interpreted as a state of being possessed by the spirit. I myself then stopped taking photographs immediately. However, it is also possible to assume with Parke (Parke & Wormell, 1956), that the phenomenon of possession may be explained by self-induced hypnosis.

Since the first fits the Tānquay had apparently rarely left her place in the dark, hidden corner of her hut. She obviously had difficulties to move around, which I noticed when I took her photograph. These complaints appeared to me genuine, since, when we came unexpected for the third time to take the promised photograph, she was unable to move from her bed in order to dress, the old man trying

to help her, whereupon the spirit spoke that this day was not good for photographs, and we were asked to come back a couple of days later.

For the next and fourth session she was fully dressed and prepared and supported by her relative. I was astonished to see her much younger than I had imagined her to be judging from the feeble old woman's voice I was accustomed from her.

POSSESSION CULTS WITHIN THE CULTURAL TRADITIONS OF THE REGION

The Tānquay's nervous state of "being possessed" appeared to me genuine. The same statement has to be made for her reactions upon such a state; they appeared to me to be those expected within her culture and her society from someone who has symptoms of being possessed by a spirit. They may be part of the prescribed ways of how to deal with her spirits according to the general beliefs of the people as well as according to her own beliefs.

At other times, it may well have been that she referred to her spirit as an excuse for having things done or not done (for instance the postponement of taking photos, which I mentioned above).

That is, not only her visitors but also she were sincerely convinced that she was possessed by a spirit or by several spirits, and that it were spirits who spoke through her. And it were the spirits—and not herself who were considered the ultimate authorities while she herself was just the mouthpiece.

A great part of her success in her dealings with the people may be due to the sincerity of the belief of all the parties involved, including herself. People are too sensitive here, not to notice where a spirit possession is genuine. Nervous disorders become apparent in symptoms that local people ascribe to the possession by a spirit or whether such symptoms are pretended or faked.⁽⁵⁾ A Tānquay who cannot transmit the charisma of—what appears to the people—genuine spirit possession, is ineffective. In order to be capable of transmitting such charisma, however, she herself must be convinced that it is spirits with whom she is in contact and that, whatever she says in the state of being possessed, is the express wish or response given by the spirits. If she were not convinced of being in contact with her spirits, she would be unable to transmit the charisma and would thus be ineffective. That is, her success in her activities depends to a very large extent on the belief and trust of both parties involved.⁽⁶⁾ Another aspect of her success is to be seen in the fact that the people themselves responded to her spirit possession. They felt that in whatever type of troubles they were, they needed the supernatural help and advice she offered.

If the local people had felt and considered that help and advice offered by traditional and modern institutions (in our case, the police; the church; modern medicine and hospital facilities), they would not have consulted her.

Neither would a possessed person invoke responses by the people in the form of rich presents to appease or to bribe spirits, if the people considered the symptoms of spirit possession another kind of insanity of no consequence to individuals nor

to the society as a whole. The phenomenon of spirit possession is a two-way traffic (Hecht, 1977).

The promises the Tānquay's spirits made were quite simple and very much within the interests of members of the traditional society: To find lost things, to help barren women have children, to tell the future, to punish breakers of the unwritten laws of the society, and to cure the sick.

I do not know whether she also prepared "medicine," but I assume that she did. I assume so since the people in this area were accustomed to going to local healers and were able to describe traditional medicine quite well (Hecht, 1977). It would have been astonishing if a Tānquay who was considered to have such influential supernatural contacts would not have been asked for medicine against any type of illness or misfortune. The concept of cures against diseases among Amhara appears to be a belief in that medicines have natural as well as magical properties (Hecht, 1977).

POSSESSION CULTS IN ANCIENT GREECE

Comparisons of Ethiopian possession cults have been made quite often, pointing out similar cults in the rest of Africa as well as in both Americas (Lewis, H. S., 1984). What has to be pointed out here is a comparison with the possession cults in Ancient Greece, the Oracle of Delphi in particular.

The belief in a god, spirit or other supernatural being, who takes possession of a mortal in order to express his/her/its supernatural wishes or gives responses to enquiries presented by mortals, is one of those beliefs (and at the same time, hopes) universal to mankind. That is, if we deduct the components particular to a given society and culture, where possession cults exist, we come to the barest facts they share: the phenomenon in the belief that persons are possessed by an invisible spiritual agent; that in this state of possession such media utter prophesies in an unintelligible tongue which are believed to originate from such an agent, and that these have to be interpreted by other persons, priests, "prophetes" (as in Delphi), relatives (as in Ethiopia), or other ritual functionaries; and that the prophesies thus pronounced are accepted by the enquirers.

The economic effect—which is only one effect yet a most spectacular one—is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of those person(s) or institution(s) controlling the oracle of the possession cult. In Delphi certainly quite substantial fees were due (Parke & Wormell, 1956).

As was outlined above, the phenomenon of spirit possession depends on a two-way traffic: It can function only once both parties believe in it. The Delphic Oracle, which functioned for about a thousand years, is proof for this statement, since neither priests (the "prophetes"), who had to interpret the Pythia's mantic utterances, nor the Pythia herself would have been able to fool individuals and contemporary city states alike for such a long period. They themselves must have sincerely believed in the authority and authenticity of the prophesies thus given.

Among the ancient Greeks, Delphi was not the only oracle of this type: Similar oracles were known (Parke, 1971): those of Apollo (Claros and Branchidae, both

in Asia Minor, and the latter south of Milet; Delos of the Cyclades islands, Didyma in Asia Minor); or of Zeus (Dodona, south of the region of Epirus and dating back to Mycaenean times), while during the early periods, also Olympia, in the Peloponnese, was known as an oracle, its function as a centre of the ancient Olympic Games being of later date.

Hypotheses, that the belief in the Delphic Oracle, where the Pythia was possessed by a god (Apollo) represents a phenomenon of an earlier state of religious maturity of mankind, have to be contested, since possession cults spring up again and again all over the world, in non-industrialised countries as well as in industrialised societies—though never of such a far reaching impact on the society as a whole and for such a long period as the Delphic Oracle.

I wish to quote here Parke who compared Delphi with modern spiritualism in Europe (Parke & Wormell, 1956). Parke was not familiar with the phenomenon of possession cults in other civilizations.

Parke & Wormell (1956) stated that the ancient written sources⁽⁷⁾ were unfortunately fragmentary on the procedure of the Delphic Oracle and rather late in the history of Delphi.⁽⁸⁾ The sources reflect the views in the Hellenic and Hellenistic world after the change that had taken place in the religious life with the development of Greek philosophy and growing scepticism towards the ancient gods. This change or turning point in the spiritual and religious history of mankind became in Greece apparent in the 5th century (Parke & Wormell, 1956). In addition everyone was familiar with the procedure that took place at Delphi (Herodotus, quoted in Parke & Wormell, 1956).

The Oracle itself, however, is much older than the written sources and may have been well established as early as the 8th and by latest at the end of the 7th century BC (Parke, 1972). It was eventually under Julian the Apostate, who wanted to revive the ancient religion, that the Oracle itself declared the death of its god (Parke, 1971).

Thus, the ancient authors⁽⁹⁾ represent already more rationalising views towards the ancient gods in whom they no longer fully believed, and some authors even expressed highly sceptical if not mocking views about the validity of such prophecies (Lucian, Oenomaus of Gadara). However, most of them, as well as most of the Roman authors and certainly the early Christian writers rarely questioned the validity of the prophecy itself. They did question the source of it. If the source was no longer the god Apollo, another explanation for the phenomenon of the state of the Pythia when uttering prophecies was to be sought. Thus it was during this period that explanations were given ascribing the state of the Pythia to subterranean vapours coming out of a chasm in the ground near the sanctuary (for example Lucan's *Pharsalia* quoted by Parke, 1977) which she had to enter.

This concept persisted until recently when archeological findings proved its invalidity (*Fouilles de Delphes as of 1915*, quoted by Parke, 1972). Another belief was that the chewing of bay leaves (*Laurus nobilis*, a tree sacred to Apollo) put the Pythia into a state of trance, the properties of which plant, however, being much too weak to be seriously taken into consideration as the cause of such an effect (Parke & Wormell, 1956). The Christian authors ascribed the prophecies uttered by the Pythia to the work of devils or demons (Parke, 1972).

In addition, as Parke points out (Parke & Wormell, 1956), the reason why ancient written sources give rather sparse accounts on the Delphic procedure was because the world was so familiar with it that it required no additional explanation.

Apparently, during the normal period of the month, the oracle gave responses by means of a lot oracle with beans of different colours upon the question whether it was preferable to take such and such a course in a certain matter or not (Parke & Wormell, 1956).

The type of personal prophesy took place only once a month, and enquirers had often to book well in advance, while others, the city of Delphi in particular, had the right of precedence (Parke & Wormell, 1956).

The Pythia, the medium of the Oracle, was a woman. This appears to be rather an exception than the rule in the archaic Greek world, since in other oracles, as in early Branchidae, or in Claros, it was a man (Parke & Wormell, 1956; Parke, 1972).

In classical times, the Pythia was chosen among the mature and virtuous women of Delphi past the age of childbearing, who from then on had to renounce marital relations with her husband. She was robed in the attire of a virgin, when on duty in the sanctuary. She was neither a woman of special intellectual capabilities, nor did she require higher or intellectual education apart from being at first an understudy of the Pythia in office (Parke & Wormell, 1956). Parke assumed, that she being rather a simple woman brought up in Delphi "heavily charged with the emotional intensity of Apollo's worship, would believe implicitly that the god himself took possession of her and spoke through her bodily organs" (Parke & Wormell, 1956). Seated on the tripod, she would "fell an easy victim to a self-induced hypnosis," a phenomenon which Parke also detected in modern spiritualism and by which perhaps other phenomena may be explained. (We may then conclude that the phenomena of possession cults in Ethiopia may find a similar explanation.) In the state of possession by the god the Pythia uttered sounds in an unintelligible tongue. It was then up to the priests, the "prophetes," to interpret the response given by the god, which was very often done in classical Greek verses, or in Roman times, also in Latin (Parke & Wormell, 1956).

Unfortunately, many of the available responses, are either late forgeries or contain amendments of a later date to make up for corrections that historical events demanded. Thus Delphic responses became known for their ambiguity and hidden meaning in their formulation. One of the most spectacular cases of this kind is the prophesy to King Croesus of Lydia, who was favoured by Delphi, as he himself favoured the oracle with splendid gifts. When he enquired whether it was opportune to attack Cyrus of Persia, the response that became famous was that he was about to destroy a mighty kingdom—which after the disaster that followed his campaign was interpreted to be his own (Parke, 1972, with an account by Herodotus). The ambiguity as well as later forgeries were made either to correct the original prophesy and enhance the reputation of the oracle itself (Parke, 1972), or to glorify and substantiate the foundation legend of a tyrant's dynasty or of a Greek colonial city state, which claimed to have been founded by settlers who consulted Delphi. Parke (1971) mentioned in particular the foundation myths of Croton, Syracuse and Libya.

Thus, in the oracles of Ancient Greece, we find the same phenomenon we have in Ethiopian possession cults: A man (Claros, Branchidae) or woman (the Pythia in Delphi) shows under certain circumstances and induced by beliefs inherent in their traditional culture symptoms, which are interpreted by their society and by themselves as being possessed by a god. During this state of possession he/she expresses utterances which are interpreted as expressions or prophesies by the god.

The reference to spiritualism in Europe pointed out by Parke (see above) shows that also in a society where knowledge in science, technology as well as a rationalist view of the world are thought to be dominant, persons showing such symptoms were not automatically declared insane; they were rather accepted within certain groups of believers instead.

The Romans, it has to be added, only reluctantly took over from Greece the belief in possession cults and their prophesies. They had their own methods of divination (Parke, 1972). The augurs had to observe chance omens, be it the flight and cries of birds, the observation of the entrails of sacrificed animals performed by the haruspices, the study of the Sibylline books, which were believed to have been bought by Tarquinius Superbus from the Cumaean Sibyl. In addition, astrology became popular, once it had found its way from the Orient with Babylon as a centre, towards the Mediterranean.

This type of divination persists to the present, when no popular newspaper can exist without the daily horoscope.

CONCLUSION

Ethiopian possession cults, including the Tänquay in Agolamba, as well as the possession cult oracles of Ancient Greece are only examples of methods man has developed to try to get a glimpse into his future. Life in the modern Western world shows that people today are as curious about their future and employ similar methods, and thus we have today our astrology, card and coffee-cup reading, crystal reading, and spiritualism. Although Christian religion makes all efforts to prevent consultation of such means of divination (as was mentioned to me by a devout Catholic friend), many—even Christian believers—do consult them.

Divination in Ethiopia is not left to possession cults alone. The oracle book *Awdä nägäst* is another traditional means of divination that I came across. For me, a Westerner, it was interesting to note that the prophesies given were based on the type of life expected by an Ethiopian rural woman, who experiences that women have and lose many children, and go through several divorces and remarriages within their life. Suppression of any such means of divination proved never successful. Since people—all over the world—once they see that the official and socially recognized means of help and comfort, like medicine, traditional religion, police investigation, are—in their own view—ineffective, they turn to other means.

It is my opinion that we have to accept that this is universal to man, and either we develop the most efficient and effective and differentiated means of help and comfort to our fellow-men in whatever type of distress they may be in—which demands superhuman insight, understanding and strength—or, we have to live

with it.

These phenomena also present a scholarly challenge: Possession cults as well as other traditional means of divination furnish a rich amount of information on traditional belief systems, and they form part of the cultural heritage of a given society.

NOTES

- (1) This article is an extended version of a paper presented at the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. Addis Ababa, November 26–30, 1984.
- (2) I am indebted to Dr. D. Donham for directing me to Knutsson and Morton (cit. below), to Dr. J. T. Hinnant for his personal communication on the possession cult among the Guji, to P. Lambert Bartels for his invaluable arguments during our discussions, and to the late Mrs. Innes Marshall for her stimulating comments and for letting me have her copies of classical dictionaries. I am also indebted to Ato Yilma Turuneh, B. A. Linguistics, who helped me with the translation of the tape of the interview with the Tānquay. For my physical welfare in Jehur and that of my interpreter Ato Tereffe Abegaz (now United States) took care the late Wzo. Wällättra Sammayat Idgelign, who also gave comments on the function of Tānquays in her opinion, and who introduced me into the daily life and habits of Amhara people. I owe special gratitude to her. During my fieldwork, the late Dr. Volker Stitz offered me every help, assistance and advice possible and needed.

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- (3) The orthography of Amharic terms is based on W. Leslau 1976, *Concise Amharic Dictionary*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. I used a simplified transliteration. For mistakes and shortcomings I myself am responsible.

ch	—	ch	w	—	as in <u>well</u>
ch	—	glottal ch	y	—	as in <u>yes</u>
j	—	as in Italian <u>giardino</u>	z	—	as in <u>horizon</u>
q, k	—	glottal	<u>a e i o u</u>	—	long vowels
s	—	as in <u>say</u>	<u>ä</u>	—	as in German <u>Fässer</u>
sh	—	as in <u>shine</u>	e	—	short vowel
t	—	glottal t			

- (4) I am indebted to P. Bartels for his personal communication on this point.
- (5) I am indebted to J. T. Hinnant for his discussion on this point in a personal communication and in a lecture given at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies Museum for staff members in summer 1983.
- (6) It may be mentioned here that among the Kamba in the Machakos District in Kenya, there is a saying among the medicine men that a European (mzungu) cannot be bewitched, since he does not believe in it. Pers. communication to me during fieldwork in Ukambani in November 1981.
- (7) For a more complete bibliography of the antique authors compare Parke in Parke and Wormell, op. cit., and Parke op. cit. 1972.
- (8) A few outstanding authors are mentioned here, including Roman and early Christian writers:

Aeschylus	Greek tragic poet	BC 525–456
Aesop	writer of fables	fl. BC 570

	(Aesop was sent by Croesus to Delphi)	
Claudian	Latin poet	f1. AD 395
Clement of Alexandria	Christian theologian	AD 150?-220?
Diodorus Siculus	traveller and writer	AD 1st cent.
	(of Agyrium, Sicily)	
Ephorus	Greek historian	f1. BC 340
Euripides	Athenian tragic dramatist	BC 480-406
Eusebius (Pamphili)	Greek church historian	AD 260?-340?
	(with his "Praeparatio Evangelica" and his extracts from Porphyry and from Oenomaus of Gadara, s, below)	
Heraclit	Greek philosopher	f1. BC 500?
Herodotus	Greek historian and geographer	BC 484?-425?
Hesiod	Greek poet	f1. BC 750
Homer	Greek poet	f1. BC 9th cent.?
	(with the Homeric Hymn to Apollo)	
Livy (Titus Livius)	Roman historian	BC 59-AD 17
Lucan	Roman poet (born in Spain)	AD 39-65
Lucian	Greek satirical author	AD 120?-200?
Lucretius	Roman poet	BC 96?-55
	(Titus Lucretius Carus)	
Maximus Tyrius	Greek philosopher and rhetorician	f1. AD 2nd cent.
Oenomaus of Gadara	cynic philosopher	AD 2nd cent.
	(he wrote a treatise to expose oracles)	
Origen	Christian scholar	AD 185-254
	(Origines Adamantus of Alexandria)	
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso)	Roman poet	BC 43-AD 17
Pacuvius	Roman iragedian	BC 220-130
Pausanias	Greek traveller	f1. AD 180
Phylarchus	Greek historical writer	f1. ca. BC 270
Plato	Greek philosopher	BC 427?-347?
Plutarch	Greek philosopher and moralist	AD 46?-120?
	(with his works "de defectu oraculorum" and "de Pythia oraculis")	
Porphyry	Greek philosopher of the Neo-Platonic school	AD 233-305
Socrates	Greek philosopher	BC 469-399
Strabo	Greek geographer	BC 63?-AD 24?
Tertullian	Latin church father	AD 160?-230?
	(Tertullianus Q. Septimius Florens)	
Theognis of Megara	Greek poet	born BC 570?
Virgil	Roman poet	BC 70-19
	(Publius Virgilius Maro)	
Xenophon	Athenian historian and general	BC 434?-355?
(9)	For early written traditions, comp. Theognis; comp also Euripides, "Iphigenia in Tauris," quoted in Parke, op. cit. 1972, p. 42, 43, note 5; in particular with regard to more "scientific" methods of prophesy in Rome, like astrology, ibid. 132-7; for the reduced prestige of Delphi reference is made to Plutarch in Parke, ibid. p. 134-5; with regard to the very sceptical writings of Lucian, as well as the cynic attitude of Oenomaus of Gadara ibid. p. 143; with regard to Christian apologists and their quotations from	

Porphry, *ibid.*, p. 145–146.

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Appendix 1. Interview with the Tänquay.

Key to Numbers

1	Introduction by the <u>Tänquay</u> . The words are meaningless.
2	<u>Tänquay</u> asked Tereffe, whether he reconciled with the hotelkeeper (because of the theft issue, comp. text note 4).
3-13	My questions to the <u>Tänquay</u> , Tereffe interpreting, and her replies, again Tereffe interpreting.
14-17	<u>Tänquay's</u> questions concerning Tereffe.
18	Leaving and farewell.

Key to Symbols

"....."	A few words in Orominya and other words or utterances. Generally meaningless. The <u>Tänquay</u> utters them when she is calling her spirit(s).
T_____	Tereffe's interpretation of what the <u>Tänquay</u> replies to my questions. The English interpretation has not been recorded.
_____	Words underlined this way are Amharic but have no meaning within the context neither with the preceding nor the following utterances.
_____	Underlining in this way indicates repeated phrases or words.

Key to Abbreviations

WCR	<u>Tänquay</u>
T	Tereffe (interpreter-assistant)
H.	Hecht (myself)
WCR Intr.	Interpreter of the <u>Tänquay</u> , a relative who had to interpret the unintelligible tongue of the spirit who had taken possession of the <u>Tänquay</u> .

English Translation

No.	Speaker	Text
1	WCR	Words meaningless.
2	WCR	"You dengulay!" ⁽¹⁾
	T	Yes.
	WCR	Are you not the one who came with the girl? (referring to the hotelkeeper).
	T	Yes.
	WCR	Do you agree?
	T	Yes.
	WCR	Did you reconcile?
	T	With whom?
	WCR	With that girl!
	T	She has still ignored me.
	WCR	Did she ignore you? What did she say?
	T	Who? Do you mean the husband, or the owner?
	WCR	Yes.
	T	The man said that he has already given the matter to God and let God expose the truth.

- 3 WCR Did he say that he gave it to God?
 T Yes.
 WCR It is all right.
 WCR "—————" (Words meaningless).
 WCR Intr. What happened to you?
 WCR What do you say to me?
 T Nothing, but she wants to ask questions ("she" refers to Hecht).
 WCR Intr. What is her problem?
 T She does not have any problems but she wants to know from where does your power (spirit) come from.
 WCR Who? My spirit?
 Tell her it is from Awussa and Mekdele.
 "—————" From Begemder.
 "—————" From Delantta.
 "—————" Tell her it is also from Borana.
 "—————"

 T "—————" Lastly, "—————" it is from Guna.
 WCR Tell her, lastly, it is from Guna.
- 4 T For how many years have you been here?
 WCR Here?
 "—————"

 (Repeated phrases) I became like this one year before independence. Is it not thirty-three years?
 T It is thirty-five years.
 WCR Full thirty-five years?
 T Yes.
- 5 WCR Tell her that from the time I got the power, "……………" I made barren women have children, I made lost things found; I am healing the sick. "……………" "……………" and I am also the supporter of the government. "……………" I am always here and do not see any man.
- 6 T _____
 WCR "……………"

 Tell her (Hecht) that as she stands now, I give her much grace and grace and fulfilment of all her wishes.
 T _____
 WCR Tell her I am at her side!
 T _____
 WCR I am with her and tell the one God about her.
 'Allah'⁽²⁾ means, is it not God?
 T Yes.
 WCR Yes, I will tell God. "……………"

 Tell her (Hecht) I will give her dengulay and beziray.⁽³⁾ Dengulay means a male (boy), and beziray means a female (girl).
 'OK! I am very happy,' she says (referring to Hecht).
 "……………"
- 7 T _____
 WCR There is a lady who gave birth to twins; she is a relative of your mother.
 Do you know her?

- T Yes, there is (for Hecht).
WCR "....."
- A black man is against your (referring to Hecht) fortune. He will steal money from you.
- T
WCR However, tell her that the lady who is working for her (Hecht) now is honest, a good friend to her, and free from any kind of intrigue. (Sentence refers to housekeeper. Wzo. Wällätta Sammayat Idgelign).
"....."
- 8 WCR In the past, a white lady, "....." who is fat "....." and has two children, "....." was trying to poison you (Hecht)
- T Where?
WCR In her country (refers to Hecht).
T She does not know.
WCR "....." Tell her! In your future, do not be afraid of anything since I will be with you. When you go I will go, when you sit, I will sit with you and will tell to the one God. I will give you the wealth! And tell her I will give her a child, too.
- T
WCR Tell her! Although you (ref. to H.) do not know me now, you will come to know me when I will be with you in time of your need.
- T Can your spirit appear to us?
WCR "....."
- T All right.
WCR "....."
- T All right.
WCR "....." They are forty-four. Forty-four! Where? Thus, I am many. I am not only one but many.
- T
WCR "....."
- St. Michael and the owner of this horse are in you or with you.
(‘owner’ = spirit; ‘horse’ = Tānquay)
- 10 T When the spirit came down first from the air, how could it (the spirit) especially choose you?
WCR When it comes down from the air at night "....." robed in a curtain, covered with gold, standing at both ends of your (Hecht) bed and the spirit will tell her (Hecht) everything.
- T
WCR Wearing a hat, it will come to her (Hecht).
T How can we distinguish your spirit when it comes in our dream?
WCR (In the following some phrases are repeated)
In your dream, the spirit will come and appear being as white as you are. "....." Wearing its cloak, it appears in your dream and tells you (Hecht) everything.

- T What she (Hecht) wants to know or to ask, is, how could the spirit choose you especially when it came down from the air at first?
- WCR Oh! When it came? Let me tell you!
- WCR (now speaking as the spirit): Tell her that twelve men had died. After these twelve people died, my horse (tänquay) with my saddle took off into the air.
(Now speaking as the Tänquay) In the air he (it) appointed me to tell the people that they will be free from the Italian occupation, and our government will be reinstated; to heal the sick; to help the pregnant women in childbed; to make barren women pregnant. It (spirit) brought me here having made me to do all the above. Tell her (Hecht) all the above. Tell her (Hecht) that I have graduated in the air.
- 12 T It is so that no man alive is without death; when you die, is your spirit transmitted through you to the next generation (children?).
- WCR Is it transmitted to my children?
- T Yes.
- WCR You mean, the spirit?
- If they treat him carefully, it will be transmitted. If not, tell her (Hecht) it will not be transmitted.
- T
- WCR My spirit is eager to help men like you when you call for him in times of need or problems ('men' refers to Hecht and Tereffe).
- T
- WCR When we⁽⁴⁾ die, it (the spirit) can also be transmitted to any man or any woman (That is outside one's own family).
- WCR The spirit likes very much to take possession of white people like you (Hecht); the only thing you should do, is, to bring very beautiful clothes along for me when you come back.
- T
- 13 T I (Hecht through Tereffe) am leaving for my country within a few days. However, I will come back after some time. Would you tell me what my return will be like?
- WCR She (Hecht) will come back with a husband.
"....."
- Now you may go to your country. However, when reaching your country, you should not be worried about anything, whether something happened within your family or outside your family.
- T
- WCR Tell her (Hecht), she shouldn't be worried.
You (Hecht) will return in June.
- T
- WCR You (Hecht) will be appointed.
- T She (Hecht) promised to bring the clothes when she returns.
- WCR All right.
- T

- WCR What about you? (Tereffe)
 WCR Tell her (Hecht), she may go, I will be with her.
 14 WCR "....."
 WCR Don't (to Tereffe) leave this lady! Be with her whenever possible. Both of you should depend on the agreement (work agreement) already made.
 WCR "....."
 WCR Load of a donkey, and a black woman are against your luck!
 WCR "....." You are a Christian.
 Thus, don't go to Dessie, since it is against your good luck.
 "....."
- WCR Did you have a student friend?
 T Yes.
 WCR Eh?⁽⁵⁾
 T Yes.
 WCR Is he alive or dead?
 T He is alive.
 WCR Do you meet him now?
 T I have many friends, whom do you mean?
 WCR Their names! "....."
 Do they have Amhara names?
 T Yes.
 WCR All right. Where is the one whose name is Zewde?
 "....."
- T I have no friend of such a name.
 WCR Is your mother alive or dead?
 T She is alive.
 WCR She is alive, isn't she?
 T Yes.
 WCR Is she abroad?
 T She is in Debre Berhan.
 WCR I know.
 WCR "....."
- Do you know Seyoum?
 T Pardon?
 WCR Do you have a friend whose name is Seyoum?
 T Yes. He went abroad.
 WCR I know.
- 15 WCR These coming months of February, March, and April are not good months for you. Don't be with any friend during these months. Otherwise they will entangle you in a chain of gossip and lead you to quarrel with this white lady (Hecht). It is therefore preferable to go to your village and stay there up to April. Eh!
- T All right.
 WCR Now, we will be with you and in your heart. "....." I will help you with whatever you want to accomplish.
 "....."
- 16 WCR Are you a student or a daily worker?
 T No.

- WCR Eh? (Then, what?)
- T I am attending night school and at the same time looking for a job.
- WCR There is a man who is the relative of your mother and has a job, isn't he there?
- T Yes, there is.
- WCR Why don't you look for a job through him? Did you ask him, and he refused to do so?
- T I did not ask him.
- WCR Eh? (What?)
- T I never approached him.
- WCR Write an application through a man who is a relative to your mother.
- T Eh? (pardon?)
- WCR You may send the application through your mother to her relative; then, try to get a job through him.
It is like (this), do you understand? Eh? Don't you know how to write?
- T He himself will write on behalf of myself.
- WCR He will help you. He will make it.
"....."
- WCR Michael, Gabriel, "....." Are your mother's relatives priests?
- T Yes.
- WCR Was she a priest's daughter?
- T Yes, her father is a priest.
- WCR Yes, St. Michael will help you to find a job.
- WCR The one who does not follow the faith of his father, will not succeed in life.
- WCR ".....". Didn't you give incense and candles to the church, the way your father used to do?
- T Yes.
- WCR The spirit doesn't discourage from going to church.
- T All right, we will do that.
- WCR "—— ——" Then, do it.
- WCR Have you nose bleeding?
- T Yes, I had.
- WCR Are you cured?
- T I am already cured.
- WCR Good.
Repeated phrases.
"....."
- You give the candle to St. Michael and tell him to cure you for good.
- T All right.
- WCR However, the spirit says that your nose bleeding may relapse in the future.
- WCR "....." The spirit tells me that the bleeding will relapse, or you may feel it in your neck, especially between the shoulders.

T All right.
 WCR You should be careful of this, and also give something to St. Michael.
 T All right.
 WCR "....." Don't offend your mother.
 T All right.
 WCR Eh! Respect her, don't offend her.
 T All right.
 WCR Ask for her forgiveness.
 WCR As far as a job is concerned, we (the spirit) prepare it for you through a brown person.
 "....."
 When you come back with her (Hecht) you should visit us (the spirit).
 T All right.
 WCR Yes.
 18 T _____
 WCR Tell her (Hecht) that we will meet again in peace.
 We will meet again in kindness, knowledge, and in religion.
 I am wishing happiness and peace for you (Hecht) as well as for me.
 T _____
 WCR You will not leave soon but you will stay for a few days.
 T We do not know it.
 WCR Eh! I know you will not leave soon, but will stay up to half of this month.
 WCR I hope you will come once again before you leave.
 WCR Intr. If you stay for some days, won't you come again?
 T Yes.

Notes for Appendix 1

English interpretation of the interview

The English interpretation was carried out by my assistant Tereffe Abegaz. When the text was copied from the tape, Tereffe's English version was kept disregarding any roughness and inaccuracy.

- ⁽¹⁾*dengulay* an Amharic word, the literal meaning of which is "young horse" or "colt." The Tānquay uses it for "young," "young boy" or "son."
- ⁽²⁾Allah Arabic word for "God."
- ⁽³⁾*beziray* Amharic word, the literal meaning of which is "young female horse" or "filly." The Tānquay uses it for "daughter" or "girl."
- ⁽⁴⁾"We" This refers to the Tānquay herself.
- ⁽⁵⁾eh! Amharic. It can be used as a question, as "yes" or "of course," or as an interjection.
- key* In Amharic, it refers to a "brown man." Here it is used in the meaning of "white."
- merhaba* Arabic word meaning "good" or "all right;" also used by Amhara of Muslim faith.
- muchayo* an Oromo word meaning "girl" or "daughter." In this context it refers to the hotelkeeper.
- weqabi* protective spirit, guardian spirit.

Amharic and Orominya terms used in the text.

- ayana* guardian spirits among Oromo.
- galma* place for rituals performed by the *kallu*.
- kallu* ritual expert, particularly among Oromo.
- kalliti* female companion of the *kallu*.

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
1	ጠንቋ	<p>፡፡ ኑ / ኑ / ኑ/ በባር ሰረዳ ራቦቲ ለርቦር ግሎድ ስሌ በባሕ ስጤት // ኑ ባይ በዘቦር / ኑ ሄ ነቦር ስር በጥር በራሄ / በራሄ / ለናጤ ባቦሲ ባሰራጃ ስቦ ስርባ ስርቦቫ ገፍታኔ ያ ዲቺ / ሸቩ // ግላ ጉዳሃ ስቦ / ፈረገጃ ሲንተሉት ገፍታኔ ያ ዲሜ በተ ግጥን ስባ ያ ስፋ / ሸቩ/ ገብረሌፍ ጋዲባ ፡፡ ስፍታኔ ሀያ ዲሜ በተ ፡፡ ግጥን ስባ ያ ስፋ / ዛረባ ገፍታኔ ያ ዲሜ በተ ፡፡</p> <p>ግላ ጉዳባ ስረና ኔ ነገሌ ሲንተሉ ያ ግሌ የተ / ፡፡</p>
2	ጠንቋ	<p>ያ / ስንተ ድንገላይ / ድንገላይ ግለተ ወገድ ግለተ ነው/ ተረፈ ስያ</p>
	ጠንቋ	<p>፡፡ ግላ ጉዳባ ፡፡ ጉጅ / ሸሀ / ፡፡ ከመጣ ያ ጋር የመጣህ ስይደለህም ?</p>
	ተረፈ	ስያ
	ጠንቋ	ሸከ/ ተከግግህ ?
	ተረፈ	ስያ
	ጠንቋ	ሸቩ / ታረቅህ ?
	ተረፈ	ከግ ጋር ?
	ጠንቋ	ከዚያቸ ከመጣ ያዋ /
	ተረፈ	ስኮር ፋናሰቸ
	ጠንቋ	ለኮረፈቸ ? ግን ስለ ስቡ ?
	ተረፈ	ግ? ባለ የው ወይስ ባሰቡት ?
	ጠንቋ	ሸቩ/
	ተረፈ	ሰው የው ስንድ ጊዛ ለስገዛስብጤ ሰጥቻለሁ ስቡ ይፍረድ በለ የለ
	ጠንቋ	ለስገዛስብጤ ሰጥቻለሁ ስለ ?
	ተረፈ	ስያ /
	ጠንቋ	መራሀባ
3	ጠንቋ	<p>፡፡ ፈረገዳና ስባ ፡፡ ያዲሃ ስረና ስቦ ገዳቦ ፈረገዳና ስባ ያዲባ ያ ስቦ ገዳቦ / ሰጭድ ስሕመድ ያከ /</p>
	የጠንቋ	ስለ ተር ጊሜ ምን ሀናቸሁ ?
	ጠንቋ	ምን ተለናለህ ?
	ተረፈ	ምንም / ነገር ገን ስባቸው ጥያቄ መጠየቅ ይፈለጋሉ: :
	የጠንቋ	ስለ ተር ጊሜ ምን ይነው ጥገሯ ?
	ተረፈ	ምንም ቸገር የለባትም ፤ ነገር ገን የርቦ,ዋ ውቃሲ

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		ከ የተ እንደመጣ ለግወቅ ይፈሰጋሉ።
	ጠንቋይ	አ ? ግ ? የእኔ ወያኔ ? ከወባ ነው በላት / ከመቅደሌ ። ። ግል አባሲ ኩን መገን ግል ጉዳህ በረና በሰ / ። ። ከበግምድ፤፣ ። ። ጸሀ / እኔ ግል ጉዳህ በረና ፊደ / ጸሀ / ። ። ከደላገታ ። ። ጸሀ / በተ ጸብር ተ ላ ግገን በላሳ አባ በረና/ በበረና ነው በላት ። ።
	ተረፈ	። ። ። ።
	ጠንቋይ	። ። ተሌ / እናባት ባሳ ጉታኔ ጁና ባር ላይ ጁ / ። ። መደምደሚያው ። ። ያላ ባይና ሲን ገፍ / ። ። ገፍ ነው በላት ት መደምደሚያው / ገፍ ነው በላይት። ። ገፍ ። ።
4	ተረፈ	እዚህ ከመጡ በጎት ጊዜ ይሆንዎታል
	ጠንቋይ	እዚህ ? ። ። ቻር ያሲ ጁና ግር ጉግ / ። ። ንጉሣቸን በ በእጎትን ለሰጋቸን በ በተዘወረ ጊዜ በ ያገን ጊዜ ና? ። ። ወለ ግጁን በሀን በላ / ። ። ንጉሣቸን በመቱ ፣ እኔ እንደዚህ ተሆንኩ ባወታቸው መጡ በላት / ሰላሣ አምስት አመት አይሆንም ?
	ተረፈ	በላሣ አምስት አመት ነው።
	ጠንቋይ	በላሣ አምስት አመት ጡሉ
	ተረፈ	አያ /
5	ጠንቋይ	መሰኝ ለቦ ለጁ ጸሀ / የጠፋ ለበገገጅ / ። ። የራግሲ ለባ ያ ግገን ግል ጋላሣ በረና / የታመ ለድጅ / ። ። ቻር ግና ግና ያ ። ። የመገገሥት እረጋ ተኖ ሆኜ

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		<p>ነው የተመጥኩት በላት።።</p> <p>“ያለግዳ / ”</p> <p>በው ባላይ ነው የተመጥኩት</p>
6		<p>“ ሀሴ ግጥም ይፍ ሁ / ”</p> <p>አሁን አንዲት አንድ ጭጥጥ / በዙ ጭጥጥ</p> <p>በዙጭን በሰበሰበ ላይ ያለውን ቀለጥና ፣ በዙ</p> <p>አበጭጥላሁ በላት።።</p>
	ተረፈ	— . . .
	ጠንቋ	አለሁ በላት /
	ተረፈ
	ጠንቋ	አለሁ / ለአንድ አላህ አገራሉ በላት /
		አላህ ግለት እገዢ አይደለ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ
	ጠንቋ	አያ ለእገዢ አገራሉ
		“ያላ ያደራራ / ”
		ድንገጣይና ባዘራይ አበጭጥላሁ በላት /
		ድንገጣይ ግለት ያገድ ነው ባዘራይ ግለት ሲት ነው።።
	ተረፈ	አሁ / በጣም ደስ ይላኛል በላት /
7	ጠንቋ	“ ተላ አግኝቶ / ተላ ላገራ ገራ ግላ አገገሎ / ”
	ጠንቋ	ወንታ የወለደች ስና ተሸ ዘር ያለች አይደለም ወይ ?
		ታዲያት የለም ወይ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ አለች ይላሉ።።
	ጠንቋ	“ ባራዎባሲ ጌና ግጥም ባላ / ”
		ጥጥር በው ወንድ ፣ ጥጥር በው አይሆንም /
		ገንዘብ ይሰር ቀበላ /
	ተረፈ	...
	ጠንቋ	አሁን ያለቸው ገጥም ነቸ ።። ይህና ነቸ ገጥም
		ነቸ ።። ወንጥ ነገር ፣ ወሽቅ የላትም በላት /
8		ኩኔ ኩኔ ግጥም / ኩኔን አባሲ ስረና ግጥም ሲገጥሙ
		ግጥም አባር ስረና ስረና ፋ ግጥም ግጥም ግጥም /

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		<p>አይ / ለና ለባላ ጌታ / ..</p> <p>ከ ባህ ቀዳሞ ፣ ቁይ ባት ፣</p> <p>..ፈሪባ ገጻ ..</p> <p>ወናራዎ</p> <p>..ሊን ጋሪባ / ..</p> <p>ሁለት ለጾቻ ምሉዎት ፤</p> <p>..ዋጃኝ ባቴ ገፍታ / ..</p> <p>አገደ ለጻፈ ወደህኒት ለደርገ በላ ተጠጥራ ነበር በላት /</p>
	ተረፈ	የት ?
	ጠንቋይ	አገሩ ዋ
	ተረፈ	...
	ጠንቋይ	<p>.. ባራ ያባ / ..</p> <p>አሁን ያደፈተሽ ገገራት / ለይዘሽ እኔ ለላሁሰሽ /</p> <p>በተጠጂ እ ሄጻለሁ ፣ በተጠጢ እ ጠጠጣለሁ ፣ ለአገደ</p> <p>አላህ እ ነገራለሁ ፣ ቢሳ ዩን እ ቁርባለሁ ፣ መጣ ያሻገ</p> <p>እበጠላሁ በላት /</p>
	ተረፈ
	ጠንቋይ	አሁን ለታውደኛዎ ፣ በለርበለጥ ነው እያታውደኝ በላት /
9	ተረፈ	የርቦ ውምቤ ለና መገለጥ ይቻላል ?
	ጠንቋይ	አባ በለው ያሰገ / ጸሸ / ሚኒያለ / .. ተሌ / ጽህ / ..
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	<p>.....አባ በለው ሚኒያለ / አባ *በለው ወሰን/ ባሌ ጻጻን ለበቦ</p> <p>ከባን ፋገን ባራ ፈረሽ እጉ / *በላት /</p>
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	<p>ጽህ //</p> <p>አርባ ለራ ተቸ ና ቸው:: አርባ ለራ ተቸ / የት/ ወ ቸክ በተ ነኝ</p> <p>አገደ ለይደለሁዎ:: በተ ነኝ::</p>
	ተረፈ	...
	ጠንቋይ	<p>..ቦተ ጂ ጻለ ጉሳ / ለገተ ታውያለህ አባ በለው ያሰገ</p> <p>ትላክ ሚኒያለ / ሚኒያለ በበረተ / በዚያቸ በመሰለህ ላይ</p>

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No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		ያለው በላት / ጽሀ / ..
10	ተረፈ	ወይመሪያ ውቃሪያ ከዩ ሲመጣ እንዲት እርብቻ ለመርጠት ቻለ ?
	ጠንቋይ	ባዩ ሲመጣ በሰ በሌተት ..ባርባ ገጠሪላ / ..
	ተረፈ	ወጥ ተራባቢ ለገር ገሽ ሆኖ ይገርባል በላት / ...
	ጠንቋይ	ወለቶ አርጌ ይመጣል ::
	ተረፈ	ዩርብቻ ውቃሪ በሕልግቸን ሲመጣ እሱ ወሆኑን እንዲት እንገለጻለን?
	ጠንቋይ	ሕሉም ያየው ሁሉ እንገዳህ ..በረሲ ያገጠና / ..
		በእንዲህ ያለቸ በመሰኪ ፣ በእንዲህ ያለ መሰኪ ተሰራጭ ወጥ ተ እንደዚህ ይላል::
	ጠንቋይ	..በረሲና ቢገመሩ ጢግር ወታ / ቢግር ዎተን / ..ለባባ ባባ ለባባ ፣ ወጥ ተ እንደዚህ ያለ ነገር ብሉ ይተረጎሙለባል በላት /
11	ተረፈ	አባቸው የጠየቀት እንደዚህ ነው ውቃሪያ ባዩ ሲመጣ ወይመሪያ እንዲት እርብቻ ለመርጥ ቻለ ?
	ጠንቋይ	ጽሀ / ሲመጣ ? ጽሀ / ለገርሀ / ለብራ ሁለት በው ስለቀ በላት / ለብራ ሁለት በው ስለቀ ፈረሲ ገላባ ወጥ ታ ተነሣቸ //ባዩ ፣ ጢግ / ለባ / ለቤት ባይ / ወገንታቸን ይመለባል ፣ጽፎይባ ይጻጻል ፣የታወቀ ፍቺ እርገዝ ለባላጂ ፣ መሰን ለባላጂ ብሉ እንዲህ እርጌ ለመጣኛ በላት መጣሁ በላት / መጣሁ በላት / ተረፈ ...
	ጠንቋይ	ባዩ ነው የተረፈቀሁት በላት /
12	ተረፈ	በው ሆኖ ወጥቶ ከጾተ የሚቀር የለም ፣ እርብቻ ከጾተ በሂላ ውቃሪያ ለሰጅ ለጅ ይተላለፋሉ ?
	ጠንቋይ	ለሰጅ ለጅ ይተላለፋሉ ወይ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ

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No	Speaker	Amharic Original
	ጠንቋይ	ውያብው ? በስጥ ባደረጉትና ይተላለፋል በስጥ ባላደረጉት ስይተላለፍም በላት/
	ተረፈ	...
	ጠንቋይ	ተሌ ግል / እና ጉዋቢ ባሰ ገፍታኔ ያ / ' 'እኛ በገዳት ለወገድም ላይ ይወጣል ፣ አሴትም ላይ ይወጣል :: ስተመደ ደባ ያለውን ለበባን ብቻ ይዘሽ ነይ በላት / ለገደናገተ ያለ ላይ ዋይ ላይ ነው የጫገገገረው በላት /
	ተረፈ	...
13	ተረፈ	አሁን በጥቂት ጭቆ ወስጥ ወገን ለሃላላሁኔታ፡ ነገር ገን በተገሸ ገዛ በሂላ ለመለሳላሁ :: ለመላላሴ ለገጓት ለገጓት ለገደሀኔ ይነገረኛል ወይ ? ይላሉ፡፡
	ጠንቋይ	ለበበተላ ደቆ ተመጣለቸ ገና ጉዋደኛ :: ' 'ያርሊ ግጃን / ' ' አሁን ለገርሽ ኪሺ / በተሂሂ / ለገርሽ በተደርገዎ ብቻ በሰጥተ በሰጥተ ሆነ በወጧም ሆነ በሰጥተ ለይገባሽ በላት /
	ተረፈ	...
	ጠንቋይ	ለተበሳጩ በላት / ለበ ሄኛ ለስ ለ ለገተን ተመላሽላሽ በላት /
	ተረፈ	...
	ጠንቋይ	ሾመተ ታሸና /
	ተረፈ	በመለብ ለበሱን ለመጣላሁ በለዋለ፡፡
	ጠንቋይ	መርጠባ /
	ተረፈ
	ጠንቋይ	አገተ ?
	ጠንቋይ	ሂሂ / ለይዘሽ / እኔ ለሁ በላት /
14	ጠንቋይ	' 'ግርባባ ያገባሴ ግጃና ግል ገገገሃ ቦረና ፋዳ ግርግራ ደርባ/ ' ' ይኼን / ዘራም በተመጣ በየተም ሲሆን በየተም ሲሆን ተገናኛት/ ወላቸሁን ለተርሱ / ሸሽ/ ወላቸሁን ለተርሱ / ' 'ግራባሴ ገፍታኔ ያጓጫ ቦተ ግጃን ለባ ጎባ / ' '

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		ያህ ያ ጥነት ኛ
		የጥጭ ሲት ኛ ስህ /
		የነበር መገና/
		''ፀለጻይራሲ ስረና ፋ ያ ሲባሩ ጋላጻ / ''መጥም ለናገተ
		ለገድ ጊዜ ይሁንና ከርስ ተያኖቹ ናቸሁ:: ደቢ ለይሆንም
		ደቢ ለይሆንም ለተሄድ / ''ያለጻይራሲ ገፍ ታሪ የገባሪ ጻለ
		ገይባ ስረና ፋ ያ ለተራሲ ሊገተባ ት ገፍ ታሪ ያ / ለይ /
		ገላሣ ስረና ተያ / ሸሸ/ሸሸ / ሸሸ / ''
		የተጻሪ ባለገደራ ነበርህ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ
	ጠገቷ	ሸሸ /
	ተረፈ	አያ /
	ጠገቷ	ለለ? ዋተ ?
	ተረፈ	ለለ
	ጠገቷ	አሁን ታገኛለህ ?
	ተረፈ	በዙ ገደኖቹ ለለኛ ኛ የተናውገ ነው ?
	ጠገቷ	ታላያ / በጻቸው /
		''ያለጻይናጻ / ''
		ባጻራ ስም ይጠራሉ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ /
	ጠገቷ	አሺ / ዘውዳ ለጻገለው የተ ነው ?
	ተረፈ	የለም በዚህ ስም
	ጠገቷ	''አረሲ ያገባተ ጻጻን / ''
	ጠገቷ	እና ተሀ ለለቸ ተገታለቸ ?
	ተረፈ	ለለቸ
	ጠገቷ	ያሸቸ ለይደለቸ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ
	ጠገቷ	እውጢ ለገር ነቸ ?
	ተረፈ	ደብይብር ስገ ነቸ::
	ጠገቷ	አሰ /
		''ያሰረና ፋ ያ / ወይ / ወይ/ወይ/ወይ / ''

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		በ ጭ አጫሳ ሂደ ታውቀ ነበር ?
	ተረፈ	አሁ ?
	ጠንቋይ	በ ጭ አጫሳ ባላገደራ አለሁ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ አጭሌ አገር ሂደለ።።
	ጠንቋይ	አቦ/
15		አሁህ/ አሁን ያሁን እንደሆነ የበጩ ነገር ፣በበጩ ነገር፣ በበጩ ነገር ፣ በገሰለተ እንዳይገጥሙ የጊደኖቹ በጊዋለኛ - ነገር በገሰለተ እንዳይሰከ ፣ በነገር ተገባ ለራሱ ፣በራሱ አገር በ ሂደ ይቸን ጫዎዝ ያን ፣ጫጋቢተን ፣ የካ ተተን ፣ አሁ ! እጫዎዝ ያ ድረስ ፣ አከ ፣ አያ / ከበጩ ጋራ የጊደኛ ገጭት በኔ ነው።። ጭተ ይይዘና በገሰለተ እንዳይጫወርህ ከባቸው ጋር ጫለተ ነው/ አሁ/
	ተረፈ	አቤ/
	ጠንቋይ	አሁን ደዋ እኛዎ በሰበሀአንደርሰለሰለን/ •• ያሌ ጫንን አጫን / •• ጉዳ ያቸሁን አፈጸጫሉ / •• ጭቀን በዋ / ••
16	ጠንቋይ	ተጫሪ ነት ነው/ በአንደገደጌህ ያለው የቀን ሥራ ነው የጭተበራው አሁን ?
	ተረፈ	አይደለም ።።
	ጠንቋይ	አክ ?
	ተረፈ	የጫ ታ ተጭህርተ እ የተጫርቡ ስራዎ እ የረለቡ ነኝ
	ጠንቋይ	ኛ ትህ ወገን የሆነ ወገድ በው የይ ጫ ጫ በው የለም አይደለ? ስራ የያዘ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ አለ
	ጠንቋይ	ለምን ስራ እቡ አይፈለገሰህም ? አምቤ አለሁ ?
	ተረፈ	አለጠ የቀሁትዎ
	ጠንቋይ	አክ ?
	ተረፈ	ጭ በው አላውቅም።
	ጠንቋይ	ጽፈተ ገፍና ደረጃ የያዘ ዘመድ ያላት እና ትህ /
	ተረፈ	አክ ?

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
	ጠንቋይ	ጸፈተ ለጸፍና ፣ ጸፈተ በጣተና ሲያጠጋ ፣ጠባቢያ ፈለገላኝ ፣ ጣቢያ ፈለገላኝ በሰና ለባታውቅ / ሸክ? ጸፈተ ለታውቅም ሀንላ ?
	ተረፈ	ሐራሱ ያጸፈ ዋለ /
	ጠንቋይ	ያዘለሀለ
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	ያዘለሀለ ለሱን ለደርገ፡፡ **ግለጫ ዋን ባ ገጣ ሲኝና ገጣይ ባላ / ** ጣቢያ ፣ገብረሰ ፣ከገታቸን ለና ትሀ የቆነ ወገን ነቸ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ
	ጠንቋይ	ነበረቸ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ ፣ለባተዋ ቆነ ናቸው፡፡
	ጠንቋይ	አያ / ለሁንም ለሱ ጣቢያ ለያዘላቸሁ ፣ ጣቢያ ለረገገላኝ / ያባተን ያጠሰ ወይም ለይ ነሃ አሸ/ ዋረሲ ያገፍታህ በሳተ / ** ያባታቸውን ታላይ ጣቢያው ፣ ጡፍፍ ለጣን ለጠጠም ?
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	በተከሊያን ለተባሙ ለይለ / ሸክ/
	ተረፈ	አሺ / ለገሰጣሉን ፡፡
	ጠንቋይ	** የደብሲ ያ ገጠርሱን / ** ለደርገና በታጠቃ
17	ጠንቋይ	ለፍገጣህ ደም ነበር ለላባህ ?
	ተረፈ	አያ ነበረብኝ
	ጠንቋይ	ለሁን ለሰተወቸህም ?
	ተረፈ	ደኛለሁ ፡፡
	ጠንቋይ	ሀንላይ / ለሁን ደም ወደፊትህ ለገላያታቸህ ፣ ** ያረሲ ያገጣላ ደኒ ጣሰ ገጣና ሲያ ለባዩ ፈሪ ፈ ፈሪኚ ለባዩ ለገላተ / ** ለጣቢያ ጡፍፍ በተና ያው ለገደጠብ የኝ ገታዩ በሰና ጠጠው

Appendix 2

No	Speaker	Amharic Original
		ሰጫኪያሰ /
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	ነሰር በሂሳ የሂሳ ሁዋላ ነሰርሀ አሰበት / አሁንም የሂሳ ሂሳ / •• ያሌ ጫን ሲባጊ ባጋባ / •• ባንገት ፣ በጫኔ ይሰጫል ይሰፍላል /
	ተረፈ	አሺ /
	ጠንቋይ	አሺ / ተቀምጠሰላቸ / እንዳተቀምጠህ / አሺ /
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	ጫኔ ጫኔ ነው / አሁ ?
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	አያ / ጫኔ በሳት / ወደፊትህ ጫኔ ያህን ፣ እና ከቀይ በው ፣ በቀይ በው ላይ ጫኔ ያ እናዘለሰለን/
	ጠንቋይ	•• ቀሊጫ ናጫ ሲገባ / •• ወደፊትህ ከሳቸው ጋራ ስትመጣ መጠየቅ አሰብህ
	ተረፈ	አሺ
	ጠንቋይ	አያ /
18	ተረፈ
	ጠንቋይ	አጫን ያገናኘን በሳት / በደገ ነት ፣ በውቀት ፣ በሰይጣኖች አጫን ያገናኘን በሳት / አንኞ ተደሰተሽ ፣ እኔም ተደሰኜ ባጫን አንገናኝ በሳት /
	ተረፈ
	ጠንቋይ	አሁን ዛሬ አትሂጻም ተሰነባታላችሁ /
	ተረፈ	አሳወቅ ነውም
	ጠንቋይ	አሺ / የለም ተሰነባታላችሁ / ይቸን ወረቀን ይጋመሳል ፣ ገና ነው / አሺ / ገና ናቸሁ / ከያም ወላህ ደም ተመጣላችሁ / ገዳለም /
	የጠንቋይ	
	እስተር ጊጫ	ከከረጫችሁ / አትመጡ ?
	ተረፈ	አዎ /

Photo 1. Outer fence of Euphorbia.



Photo 2. First gate of the Euphorbia fence leading out of the compound.

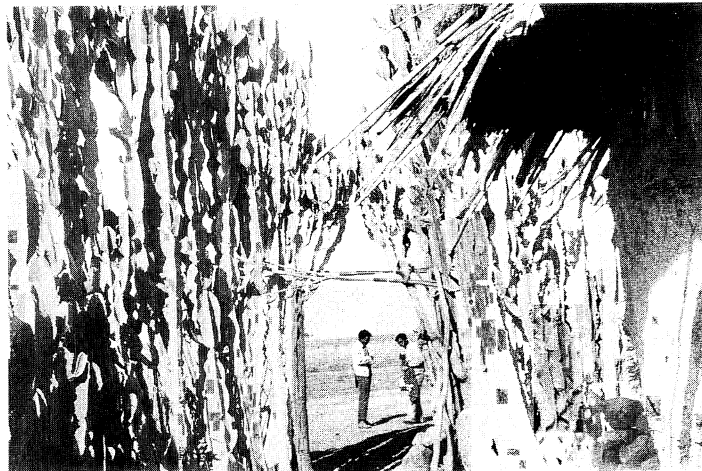


Photo 3. Second gate of the inner mud fence of the compound.

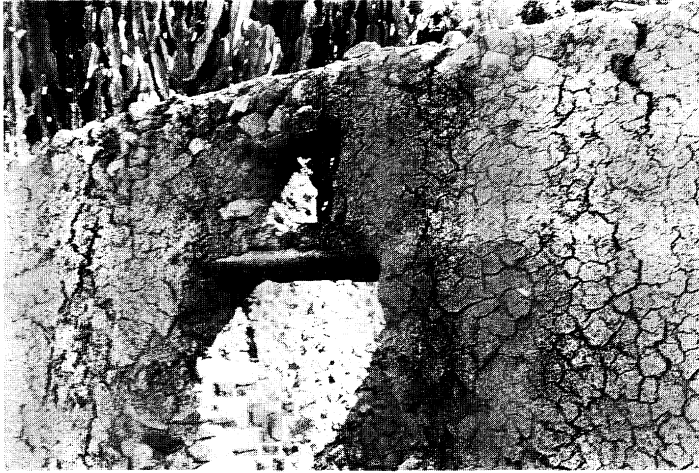


Photo 4. Thatched roof of the Tānquay's house. Pottery roof top.



