

The Logic of a Generation-Set System and Age-Set System: Reconsidering the Structural Problem of the *Gadaa* System of the Borana-Oromo

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This article reconsiders the “structural problem” or “demographic contradiction” of the *gadaa* system of the Borana based on prior research. The Borana are Oromo-speaking pastoralists in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. They have two age systems: one is a generation-set system with grades called *gadaa*, and the other an age-set system called *hariya*. The *gadaa* is well known as one of the most complicated age systems in Ethiopian studies and social anthropology. The generation-set continues to recruit members after initiation so that the age gap between members expands over time. Previous studies claim that the age gap makes the age system malfunction, because of the inefficiency to mobilize members. Therefore, previous studies regard the age gap as a structural problem of the *gadaa* system. In this article, I focus on narratives of the age gap that the Borana express, which prior research has ignored. I conclude that the age gap is indispensable for the *gadaa* system and is not a structural problem.

Key words: *gadaa* system, generation-set, age-set, age gap, Borana-Oromo

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the “structural problem” or “demographic contradiction” of the Borana’s *gadaa* system based on previous studies.⁽¹⁾ The Borana are Oromo-speaking pastoralists in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. They have two age systems: one is a generation-set system with grades called *gadaa*, and the other an age-set system called *hariya*. The *gadaa* is well known as one of the most complicated age systems in Ethiopian studies and social anthropology.⁽²⁾⁽³⁾

The *gadaa* system is based on eight grades through which every generation-set passes. A new generation-set is formed every eight years. All men are recruited into the fifth generation-set after their fathers’ generation-set, and all siblings belong to the same generation-set. Since the generation-set is never closed, it continues to recruit members. Consequently, the age gap among members of the same generation-set inevitably expands over time.

Prior research regards the ever-expanding age gap among members of the same generation-set in the *gadaa* system as a structural problem (Legesse 1973, 2000, Baxter 1978, Baxter and Almagor 1978, Helland 1996). Legesse (1973, 2000) claims that the *gadaa* system operates as a political and military organization with developing subsidiary institutions, while noting that the age gap causes the *gadaa* system to be unstable. Baxter (1978) contradicts Legesse’s opinion by arguing that the *gadaa* system is a ritual one. According to Baxter, the *gadaa* system does not have military and political

functions because of the age gap, which makes mobilizing members of the generation-set inefficient. However, both scholars, arguing from the functionalist point of view, perceive the age gap of the generation-set as a structural problem of the *gadaa* system.

In social anthropology, it has been pointed out that the generation-set system, which is common in East African societies, generally contains this structural obstacle or dysfunction (Dyson-Hudson 1966: 199–205, Hallpike 1976, Stewart 1977, Baxter and Almagor 1978, Spencer 1978, Müller 1989). According to Baxter and Almagor (1978), the structural issue is a result of human efforts to control irregularities in real life. The discrepancy between expressed social rules and real life is thus inevitable.

However, in my work, I argue that the age difference among members of the same generation-set arises from the fundamental rule of how the generation-set recruits. Thus, instead of looking at the age difference as a structural hindrance, it should be viewed as that which defines the Borana's *gadaa* system. In other words, the discrepancy between expressed rules and actual life does not exist.

I demonstrate my argument by describing and analyzing the Borana's narratives and their own perceptions of the age gap, which past anthropologists did not examine in detail. My experience with the Borana indicates that they grasp the concept of the age gap distinctively, which is somewhat different from the observations of previous scholars.⁽⁴⁾

The Borana state that the nature of the generation-set allows it to perpetuate and thus never "close" (i.e., end). The latecomers of a generation-set (the members who join the generation-set when the other members have passed through a number of grades) are essential to the rituals of the *gadaa* system. Here, I maintain that when examining the cycle of a generation, the focus should be on the age-grades that members of the generation-set pass through, and not on the lifecycle of the members themselves. Furthermore, I conclude that the ever-increasing age gap among members of the same generation-set is inherent in the *gadaa* system and should be viewed as that which defines it (not as a structural dilemma).

Next, I explain the fundamental elements of the *gadaa* system, namely the grades, generation-set, and generation-set line. I then describe the alternative age system called *hariya*. In the final section, I demonstrate the Borana's perspectives on both the *gadaa* and *hariya* systems by examining several conversations.⁽⁵⁾

2. THE GADAA SYSTEM

2.1. The Borana

As mentioned earlier, the Borana are Oromo-speaking pastoralists in southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya. They raise cattle, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, mules, and camels; cattle have the greatest value. In recent years, the Borana have also cultivated crops.

Their settlements are semi-sedentary, with the number of households varying from a few to hundreds. In the dry season, younger members move to satellite camps to seek pastures and water for their livestock. After the rainy season begins, they return to their settlements.

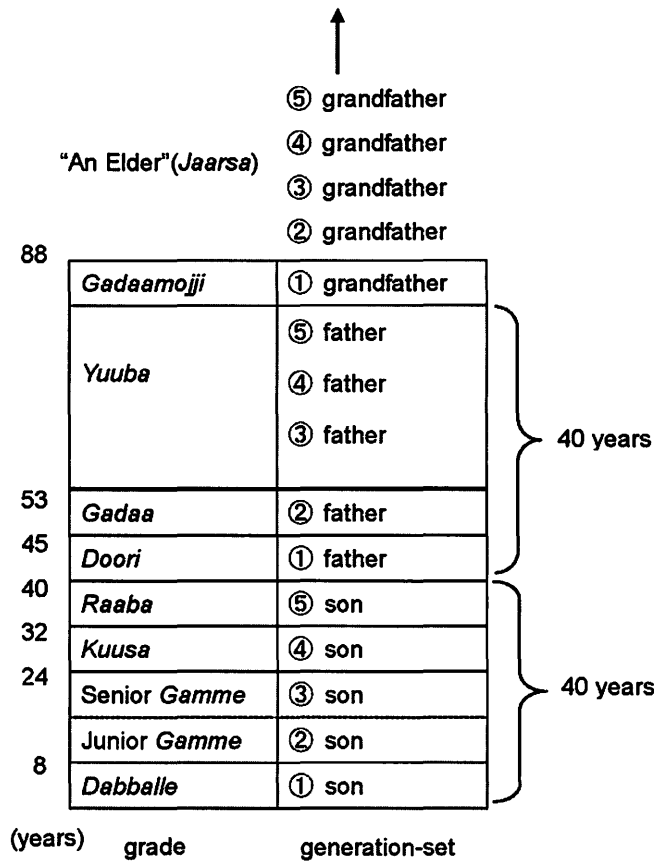
The Borana are composed of exogamous moieties called Sabbo and Goona. A moiety consists of clans (*gosa*), and a clan is divided into several sub-clans (*mana*). Thus, a moiety consists of clans segmented into sub-clans.

There are five ritual leaders called *qallu*, who inherit their positions through patrilineal descent. The *qallu* of the Karayyu and Oditu clans are politically and ritually superior to others. The Karayyu *qallu* has a religious role to perform for Sabbo, and the Oditu one for Goona.

The Borana maintain their traditional religion wherein they pray to the Sky God, whom they call *Waaqaa*. Recently, Christianity and Islam are expanding among the younger generations in towns.

2.2. The structure of the *gadaa* system

The *gadaa* system is based on eight grades: *dabballe*, *gamme*, *kuusa*, *raaba*, *doori*, *gadaa*, *yuuba*, and *gadaamojji* (see Figure 1).⁽⁶⁾ When the members of a generation-set reach these grades, they are



Note: ①, ②, ③, ④, ⑤: a generation-set line

Figure 1. Structure of the Gadaa system

called by the names of the grades (for example, when the members reach the *raaba* grade, they are called *raaba*). The length of each grade varies. The *dabballe* lasts 8 years, the *gamme* 16, the *kuusa* 8, the *raaba* 8, the *doori* 5, the *gadaa* 8, the *yuuba* 27, and the *gadaamojji* 8 years. It used to take 88 years to complete all the grades of a generation-set.

A generation-set called *luba* passes through the eight grades via rites of passage. A generation-set officially forms every eight years in the *kuusa* grade. Six councilors called *adula* are appointed by their fathers' generation-set during the initiation ritual of the *kuusa* grade. A generation-set is named after the supreme councilor. For example, if Liiban Jaldeesa is appointed as the top councilor, the generation-set is called “a generation-set of Liiban Jaldeesa.” The *adula* councilors establish a group called *ya'aa*, whose main task is to perform the rituals of the *gadaa* system. Before a generation-set is formally organized, the *dabballe* and *gamme* children are referred to as “sons of [their fathers'] generation-set” (e.g., “sons of Liiban Jaldeesa's generation-set”).

All male Borana are recruited into the fifth generation-set after their fathers' generation-set. The sons' generation-set, fathers' generation-set, grandfathers' generation-set, and so forth form a generation-set line called *gogeesa*. There are five generation-set lines (called *gogeesa shan*) in the *gadaa* system, which the Borana often emphasize. The word *gogeesa* is compatible with a generation-set. Therefore, a generation-set is sometimes referred to as a generation-set line. In Figure 1, I illustrate the generation-set lines through the distinguishing signs of ①, ②, ③, ④, and ⑤.

The grades prescribe the rules and regulations of marriage and child bearing. A Borana man

cannot marry until his generation-set enters the *raaba* grade. In the past, *raaba* people could not have children, even if they were married. If a wife gave birth, the newborn either had to be left to die in the bush or be adopted by town dwellers. Only when the generation-set entered the *doori* grade were people allowed to have children. Some informants say that the pan-Borana meeting, the *Gumi Gaayo*, declared that *raaba* people could have children in the early 1970s. As a result, the period for the *dabballe* grade was extended to 16 years. Hence, the total length of time of all grades now lasts 96 years. However, in this paper, I describe the period of the *dabballe* as eight years (as in previous studies) to avoid confusing readers.

When passing through the *gadaa* grade, the top three councilors of the generation-set assume the position of the “father of *gadaa*,” who has the highest authority in the *gadaa* system. The Borana memorize the period when the “father of *gadaa*” takes office as an era, and the name of the highest “father of *gadaa*” becomes a reference when they talk about the past.

The generation-set of the *gadaa* grade performs a naming ceremony for their infants, called *dabballe*, in the third year of the *gadaa* grade. This is also the time immediately after their own fathers’ generation-set completes the *gadaamojji* grade. Therefore, the *dabballe* infants do not become formal members of Borana society until their grandfathers’ generation-set completes the most senior grade (*gadaamojji*). Thus, it is important for the *gadaa* system that a generation-set passes through all the grades. The Borana do not have to be born into the *dabballe*, but they must complete the final *gadaamojji* grade, dead or alive. After they complete the *gadaamojji* grade, if they are still alive, they become “elders” (*jaarsa*).

2.3. Outline of the grades

The *gadaa* system is composed of eight grades. I describe the features of the grades as follows:

- 1) *Dabballe*: Their fathers’ generation-set is between *doori* and the third year of the *gadaa* grade. The eldest *dabballe* are eight years old. Because they are not given their true names, people call them by nicknames. A personal pronoun used for addressing *dabballe* is “she/her.” They grow their hair with resin and root fiber and wear headgear sewn with cowrie shells. The hairstyle is called *guduru*, which is the same as that of their grandfathers.
- 2) *Gamme*: In the rite of passage from *dabballe* to *gamme*, infants are given names by their fathers when their grandfathers’ generation-set completes the most senior grade. The period of *gamme* is 16 years, which is divided into two sub-grades: senior (*guguddo*) and junior (*didiqqo*). The oldest *gamme* is 24. The *gamme* is named after their hairstyle, which is the same as that worn by a virgin (see Photo 1). The hairstyle is such that the crown of the head is shaved. At the end of the grade, *gamme* boys make a ritual preparation for forming their generation-set. The ritual is composed of two steps: *wali argi* (“gathering”) and *nyachisa* (“feeding”).
- 3) *Kuusa*: In the rite of passage from *gamme* to *kuusa*, a new generation-set is formed. Six *adula* councilors of that set are appointed by their fathers’ generation-set during the ceremony. The *kuusa* youngsters are not permitted to marry, even if they are physically mature. The senior members are regarded as single herders who move around seasonally with livestock.
- 4) *Raaba*: At the beginning of the grade, the top councilor and a ritual assistant called *wayyu* get married ahead of the other members of their generation-set. However, in the past, they were not permitted to have any children. Borana oral tradition says that brave *raaba* made war with the enemies and were warriors. The *raaba* grade is also called the junior *raaba* (*raaba didiqqo*); the next grade, *doori*, is referred to as the senior *raaba* (*raaba guguddo*). Legesse (1973) lumps the *raaba* and *doori* together. However, I describe them separately based on the initiation ceremony.
- 5) *Doori*: The *doori* grade lasts five years. At initiation, the councilors form the *dannisa* ritual stick, which represents fatherhood. In the past, a man could not have children until his generation-set reached this grade.
- 6) *Gadaa*: Three of the six *adula* councilors take over the positions of *abba gadaa* (“father of *gadaa*”) from their predecessor in the *gadaa* grade. The top councilor, called *abba gadaa arboora*, has the highest authority and is responsible for maintaining the peace of the Borana in office. The other

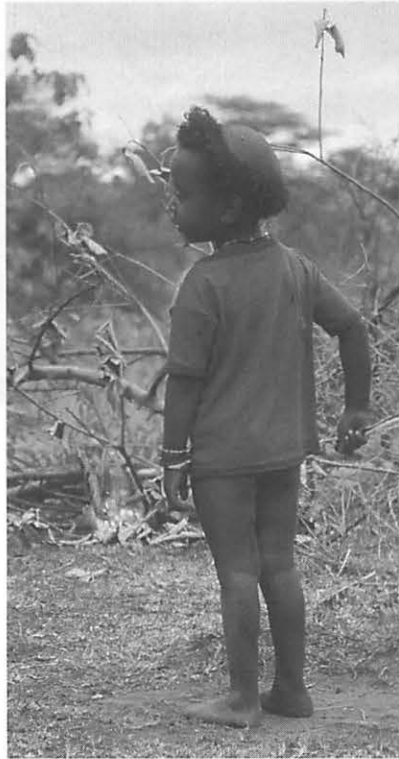


Photo 1. A *Gamme* boy

two are chosen from the Hawaxxu and Konnitu clans. Each *abba gadaa* forms their ritual camps (*ya'aa*) with other councilors (*hayyu*) and followers (*makkala*). They perform rituals at ceremonial sites scattered throughout Boranaland. Councilors are also responsible for settling disputes.

- 7) *Yuuba*: When *abba gadaa* give up their positions to their successors, the retired generation-set enters the *yuuba* grade. *Yuuba* means “retirement.” The retired councilors retain some authority to advise their successors. *Yuuba* perform the rituals of their sons. The length of this grade is 27 years.
- 8) *Gadaamojji*: *Gadaamojji* is the most senior grade. *Gadaamojji* elders give resin to the next generation-set, which enters the grade via the completion ritual of the *gadaamojji*. There is no collective initiation ceremony for the *gadaamojji* grade. Individually, a Borana man performs the ceremony in which he takes the resin from the others and begins to weave *ergamusa* root fibers into their hair. This hairstyle is called *guduru*, which is the same name as that of their grandsons (see Photo 2). Most elders enter the grade within the year before the completion ritual. They must abide by certain taboos such as not to dig holes, use spears, shave, run, go to war, or kill. All Borana males have a ritual duty to complete this grade.⁽⁷⁾

3. THE AGE-SET SYSTEM

The Borana maintain an age-set system called *hariya*, which is independent of the *gadaa* system (see Figure 2). *Hariya* is also translated as “age-mates.” A man belongs to an age-set as well as a generation-set. The age-set is based on the homogeneity of the actual age. Therefore, the members of an age-set consist of approximate coevals. An age-set is formed every eight years when the completion ritual of the most senior grade, *gadaamojji*, is performed. The participants in the initiation of the age-set are



Photo 2. A Gadaamojji elder

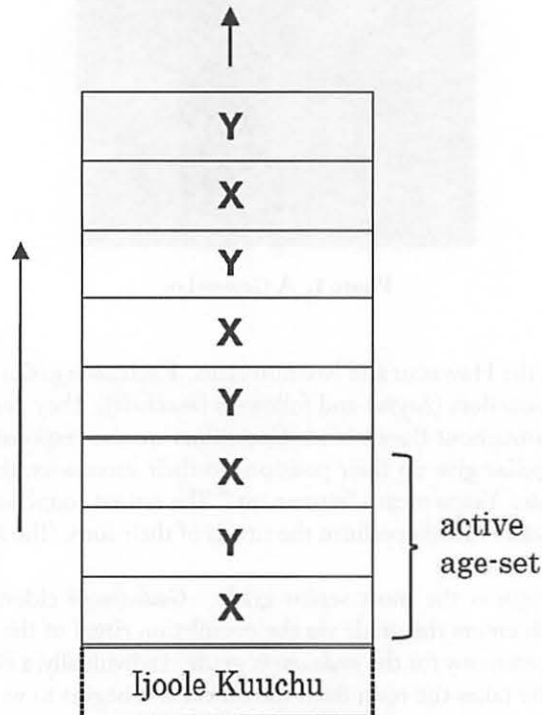


Figure 2. Structure of the Age-Set system

called “children of *kuuchu*” (*ijoole kuuchu*). They are aged approximately 19 to 27 years.

The age-set system consists of alternate age-sets called *dambala* and *wakoora*. After the initiation of *dambala*, the next age-set is *wakoora* (and so forth). The age-set is named after the highest officer as well. Therefore, if the officer’s name is Duuba, the age-set he belongs to is called the “*dambala* of Duuba.”

Legesse (1973, 2000) describes the age-set system as a military organization (cf. Helland 1996). Baxter (1979) claims that the age-set system is not intended for a military purpose. However, both regard the *hariya* system as a subsidiary institution (which consists of members with similar ages) that offsets the dysfunctional nature of the *gadaa* system, which in turn is the result of age disparities

between members of a generation-set.

In this paper, although my focus is not on the age-system, to elucidate “the structural problem” of the *gadaa* system, I juxtapose the Borana’s perception of the generation-set and age-set systems. Interestingly, the Borana clearly state that the age-set system does not have a military role; in fact, they say that it does not have any role.

4. WHO IS AN ANOMALY? DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN “SONS OF A BULL” AND “SONS OF AN ELDER”

There are two categories of the *gadaa* system: *ilmaan korma*, which literally means “sons of a bull” and *ilmaan jaarsa*, which is translated as “sons of an elder.” Previous studies did not agree on the interpretations of these categories, though they hold the common opinion that the people belonging to “sons of an elder” are anomalies of the *gadaa* system. Since the “sons of an elder” are born when members of the same generation-set have already passed through a number of grades, they cannot participate in all the activities of their own generation-set (e.g., Haberland 1963: 184–6, Stewart 1977: 168–74, Helland 1996: 138–9, 146).⁽⁸⁾

The Borana themselves distinguish the members of generation-sets as follows: “If a person reaches his own generation-set, he is ‘sons of a bull,’ but if not, he is ‘sons of an elder.’” That is, the former is a man born before his generation-set enters the *gadaa* grade, while the latter is a man born after his generation-set passes through the *gadaa* grade.

The Borana also connect such categories with both the *gadaa* and *hariya* systems. Below, please see a conversation:

G.R.: “Sons of a bull” do not take part in the initiation of the age-set. People of the category are called *kuusa*.

J.W.: The *nyacchisa* ritual [which is an initiation of a generation-set] of “sons of a bull” corresponds to the *kuusoma* ritual of the “sons of an elder” [that is, an initiation of an age-set].

G.R.: The *nyacchisa* ritual [which “sons of a bull” perform] is like the *kuusoma* ritual for “sons of a bull.” “Sons of an elder” only perform the initiation of their age-set.

A man who belongs to the category “sons of a bull” cannot participate in the initiation of his own age-set, whereas a man of “sons of an elder” does not have a chance to participate in *kuusa* or *raaba* rituals. While “sons of a bull” prepare to form the generation-set, their coevals, “sons of an elder,” arrange the initiation of the age-set (Helland 1996: 146). In other words, the age-set excludes “sons of a bull” in the “actual sphere” (Helland 1996: 147).

This conversation demonstrates that the age-set system is not a second/subsidiary system, which offsets the military function loss of the *gadaa* system. This is why the age-set cannot cause its coevals of “sons of a bull” to mobilize and vice versa. Here, although Helland (1996: 147) focuses on the ritual sphere, he still regards the *hariya* as “a simplified alternative to supplement” the *gadaa* system, which “excluded progressively larger parts of the population from ritual fulfillment” (1996: 147). After all, his view of the *hariya* is not much different from previous functionalist perceptions of the *gadaa* system.

Contrary to what has been argued, the Borana explain that people belonging to the category “sons of a bull” can change to “sons of an elder” after their fathers’ generation-set completes the *gadaamojji* grade. The Borana say, “If a generation-set completes the final *gadaamojji* grade, the set reaches ‘an elder’ [*jaarsa*]. Therefore, all members in the son’s generation-set will change from the category “sons of a bull” to the category “sons of an elder.” A father’s generation-set performs the completion ritual of the *gadaamojji* grade in the third year after the son’s generation-set passes into the *gadaa* grade. That is, all the members of generation-sets between the *dabballe* and third year of *gadaa* grades are “sons of a bull,” and those whose generation-sets are after the third year of the *gadaa* grade are “sons

of an elder.”

However, previous studies assert that as long as a person is born into the category of “sons of a bull,” he stays in that category. It is argued that the increase in the number of the members who belong to “sons of an elder” would cause the *gadaa* system to collapse. However, all Borana males become “sons of an elder,” even if some are born as “sons of a bull.”⁽⁹⁾

5. THE LOGIC OF A GENERATION-SET AND AGE-SET

Previous studies misunderstood the distinction between these two categories, because their arguments presumed the *gadaa* system has a structural problem. They did not question whether the Borana themselves perceive a structural problem inherent in the *gadaa* system. I clarify the logic of the *gadaa* system with the following conversation. G.R. was about 90 years old and J.W. about 40 years old at the time. K.N. was the research assistant, who was about 30. They came to talk with K.N. and I (G.T.) when we sat under the eaves in the daytime.

K.N.: ...What is your generation-set?

G.R.: My generation-set is Liiban Kusee's.

K.N.: Can you tell us whether new members are born into the generation-set and whether there are members who are more senior than you?

G.R.: A generation-set does not disappear, and a generation-set line of the Borana does not disappear, except that the generation-set circulates...

K.N.: Are there any infant members of your generation-set?

G.R.: There are infants in my generation-set. A generation-set is born. An age-set is not born. Do you not hear that? The generation-set of Sokore Anna remains. If you ask a married woman what her generation-set is, she answers “Sokore Anna,” does she not? *1

K.N.: The generation-set of Sokore Anna was active in the distant past.

G.R.: Yes, the generation-set was not active in the recent past. Look! It is too old to exist now. However, their sons' generation-set exists. There is their generation-set line.

J.W.: Yes, a generation-set is born. However, the reason why we say that an age-set is not born is because the age-set is formed by separating (*kutu*) and then is not open...

G.R.: An age-set separates, so that younger members cannot join it. This is the rule of the age-set. As the years pass, age-mates are gone and then the age-set ends. This is the age-set. Do I have age-mates now? The age-set ends. It exists until the age-mates pass away. I can only find S.S. and D.J. when I look for my age-mates. I am the only surviving one in this area.

J.W.: Now he is tired. Do you understand? It is said that old age-mates saw each other to make sure the age-mates were still alive.

G.R.: Do you know that I shared time with S.S.? We spent a day playing a board game together. Now I have no age-mates. I am lonely.

J.W.: He sits in silence under the eaves. He just sits.

G.R.: I do not talk with anyone, except when I sit with you.

J.W.: This is the end of the age-set. Age-mates grow old together and then an old man survives, only him. Only him. He does not have any other age-mates. There are no more age-mates.

G.R.: I have no age-mates. I do not hear them. B.G. survives like me.

J.W.: He is younger than you.

G.T.: Does the age-set not circulate?

J.W.: No, it does not circulate. There is no generation-set line. How can it circulate?

K.N.: A generation-set line circulates. A generation-set is born. An age-set is not born.

J.W.: A generation-set line and *gadaa* circulate. The generation-set, which was formed long ago, like... *wakoora* of Diida and *wakoora* of Mallu disappeared.

G.R.: The members are not alive. They disappeared.

(*1 A man asks a married woman about her generation-set to check whether it is possible to have intercourse with her. If she answers "Sokore Anna," she teases him about his intention of finding out whether she is a suitable sexual partner.)

I now highlight some phrases from the narrative expressed by the Borana.⁽¹⁰⁾

A generation-set does not disappear. (*luba hinbadhu*)

An age-set disappears. (*hariya hinbadha*)

A generation-set is born. (*luba hindhalatti*)

An age-set is not born. (*hariya hindhalattu*)

A generation-set circulates. (*luba hinmarani*)

An age-set separates. (*hariya hinkutani*)

The above demonstrates that the Borana express logic in their age systems, contrasting the *gadaa* and age-set systems.

The age-set recruits members for eight years. After an initiation, the age-set is closed and new members cannot join. The Borana express the completion of the initiation as "separating an age-set." As time passes, the number of age-mates decrease, and in the end, all age-mates pass away. For example, a Borana elder aged 90 years said to me, "An age-set disappears. Now I do not find any age-mates. I am sitting here alone." This is the end of the age-set. According to the Borana, "The age-set is not born; it only disappears." In short, the phrases "an age-set disappears," "an age-set is not born," and "an age-set separates" represent the fundamental logic of the age-set system.

In contrast with age-sets, a generation-set is never closed and a son continues to be recruited into the fifth generation-set after his father's. Hence, a son's generation-set reaches the grade that his father's generation-set entered 40 years ago; that is, the same generation-set line occupies a grade for an interval of 40 years. This is what is meant by "a generation-set circulates."

As a generation-set passes through grades, the age discrepancy among members of the generation-set expands. When the generation-set is formed in the beginning of the *kuusa* grade, it consists of initiates from infants to youths. In the *yuuba* grade, members range from infants to elders, because the generation-set is never closed and newcomers continue to join. In other words, the number of members of the generation-set increase over time. This is meant by "a generation-set does not disappear, but is born."

These phrases are the fundamental principles of the *gadaa* system. Previous studies regard the age gap as an anomaly, but these phrases show that the gap is essential to the *gadaa* system. In conclusion, the *gadaa* system does not contain a discrepancy between actual life and expressed rules as previous scholars thought.

6. CONCLUSION

Prior studies (Legesse 1973, 2000, Baxter 1978, Baxter and Almagor 1978, Helland 1996) have viewed the age gap of a generation-set as a structural problem, which has the inefficiency to mobilize members or dysfunction to achieve ritual fulfillment. The reason for this misunderstanding is that they regard the sequence of grades as the lifecycle through which every Borana man should pass. Inevitably, previous studies found a discrepancy between actual life and an ideal rule, because very few people can experience all the grades.

In my work, I focus on narratives of the age gap that the Borana express. According to the perception of the Borana, it is possible for a generation-set to reach the final grade upon performing the necessary rituals as the generation-set continues to recruit new members. This means that the sequence of grades should be regarded as a generation-set cycle, not the lifecycle.

Baxter and Almagor (1978) claim that the structural issue of the generation-set system is caused by the discrepancy between the system's regularity and the irregularity of reality, which the system cannot control. However, the Borana say the ever-expanding age gap among members of the same generation-set perpetuates the *gadaa* system. In short, the age gap of the generation-set is essential to the *gadaa* system. After all, the structural problem previous studies have pointed out is caused by the discrepancy between the Borana's perceptions and anthropologists' models, and is not inherent in the *gadaa* system.

NOTES

- (1) This paper was based on an earlier version, "Relationships between Two Age-systems" (Tagawa 2001).
- (2) The Borana who settled in Isiolo District, Kenya, no longer maintain the *gadaa* system (Dahl 1979). They are not included in this study.
- (3) Generally, the age system maintained by Oromo-speaking societies is called the *gadaa* system. Some neighboring societies (such as the Konso or Sidama) have similar age systems to the *gadaa*.
- (4) Legesse is now well known as an author of the ethnography of the *gadaa* system among educated Oromo people. Most regard the *gadaa* system as a traditional Oromo democratic system. However, they seem not to be interested in the argument on the structural problem.
- (5) This article is based on data I obtained in my field research, which I conducted in Borana Zone, Oromia Region, Ethiopia since 1994.
- (6) Legesse (1973) states that there are 11 grades. I list eight based on the rites of passage.
- (7) An elder who is too young to participate in the completion ritual of his generation-set can perform it with other generation-sets (Tagawa 1997).
- (8) Leus (1995: 455) describes *ilmaan korma* as those who are the *raaba* and *ilmaan jaarsa* as all other Borana males.
- (9) The six councilors of a generation-set and the members born into the first grade are referred to as *ilmaan korma* even after their fathers' generation-set completes all the grades. They represent the active term of the generation-set.
- (10) Leus (2006: 316) describes the same phrases.

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