

# Maintaining Continuity in a Dualistic World: Symbolism of the Age Grade Succession Rituals among the Hoor (Arbore) of South-Western Ethiopia

YUKIO MIYAWAKI

*Osaka Prefecture University*

This paper illustrates age grade succession rituals of a society that has a dualistic world view. The Hoor are Cushitic agro-pastoralists who dwell along the Weito River in south-western Ethiopia. The Hoor have a developed age grade system, on which their political activities in local communities are founded. The age set is organized at an interval of 8 to 10 years, and four adjacent age sets are put together and organized into a generation set. The generation set is a unit which takes responsibility for administration of a territorial group. Once every 30 to 40 years, they have two successive rituals, in which a senior generation set transfers political authority to a junior generation set.

The society of the Hoor is saturated with a dualistic world view which consists of binary symbols. This dualistic world view is especially apparent in the arrangement of their settlement, where symbolic orientations permeate every corner of their social life. The age grade system has anomalous effects on the binary symbolism since the former is associated with the concept of continuity. Based on research on the Gandarab, one of the northern regional groups, this paper attempts to show how the rituals transform dualistic symbols and introduce a concept of continuity into the dualistic world of the Hoor.

**Key words:** Hoor, Arbore, age grade system, succession ritual, symbolism.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper illustrates age grade succession rituals in a society that has a dualistic world view. While such a world view classifies and fixes the world with inert symmetric binary opposites, the age grade system represents a dynamic process which cohorts of the members of the society pass through with time. A dualistic world view excludes time, while an age grade system introduces it. The rituals which concern the age grade system, therefore, would bring about cognitive dissonance with the dualistic world view, if they did not neglect or deform its symbols. This paper demonstrates how the rituals of the age grade system transform binary symbols and are reconciled with the dualistic world view by examining the succession rituals of a Cushitic agro-pastoral society in southwestern Ethiopia. It also shows that the kinship principle, which is associated with dualistic symbolism, is replaced by an age grade principle in the course of the rituals.

The Hoor are Cushitic agro-pastoralists who dwell in south-western Ethiopia.<sup>(1)</sup> A general description of the social structure of the Hoor was given by Ayallew Gebre, and I

owe much to his work in my investigation. However, his work does not refer to a relationship between social structure and symbolism, which I consider one of the most significant aspects of their society. In this paper I deal with this aspect by focussing on the succession rituals of their age grade system.

The society of the Hoor is saturated with a dualistic world view which consists of binary symbols such as senior/junior, right/left, head/buttocks, man/woman, south/north, east/west, flood plain/dry plain, settlement/cattle camp and so on. This dualistic world view is especially apparent in the arrangement of their settlement, where symbolic orientations permeate every corner of their social life.

The Hoor have a developed age system, on which their political activities in local communities are founded. The age set is organized at an interval of 8 to 10 years, and four adjacent age sets are put together and organized into a generation set. The generation set is a unit which takes responsibility for the administration of a territorial group. Once every 30 to 40 years, they have two successive rituals, in which a senior generation set transfers political authority to a junior generation set. I will show how the rituals transform dualistic symbols and introduce concepts of continuity as the ritual process proceeds. But before investigating the process, let us first look at the ecological and social environments.

## 2. SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENTS OF THE HOOR

The Hoor live in a stretch of savanna grassland at an altitude of 500 m along the Weito river (*limo*). Their population is estimated to be between 2,000 and 2,300. The Weito river runs from north to south between ranges of mountains over 1,500 m and flows into Lake Chew Bahir (*chelbi*) on the border of Kenya (Figure 1).

The Weito river has changed its course four times this century. The former riverbeds (*leba*) still remain, and form a complicated system in their territory. During rainy seasons, water flooding from the river fills former riverbeds, and overflows onto plains. The Hoor call these flood plains *hoor*, and the dry plains *abaar*.

As is shown in their self-denomination, flood plains have a vital importance for their sub-

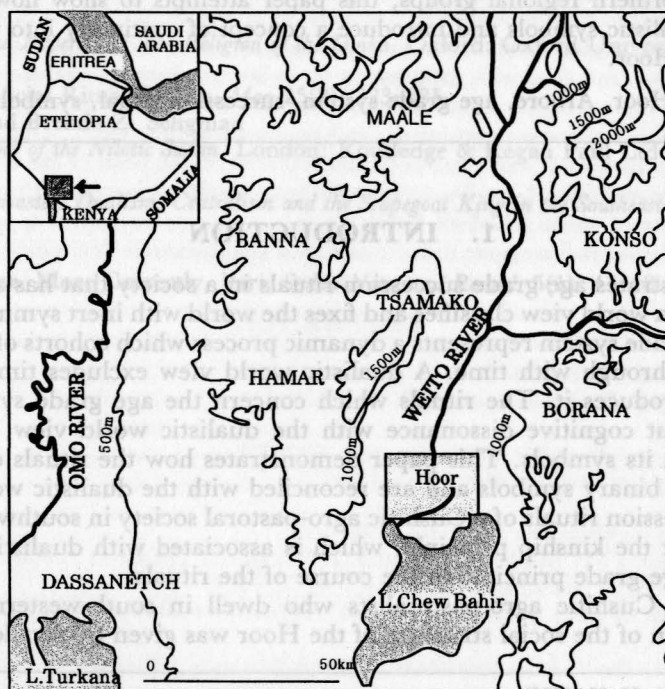
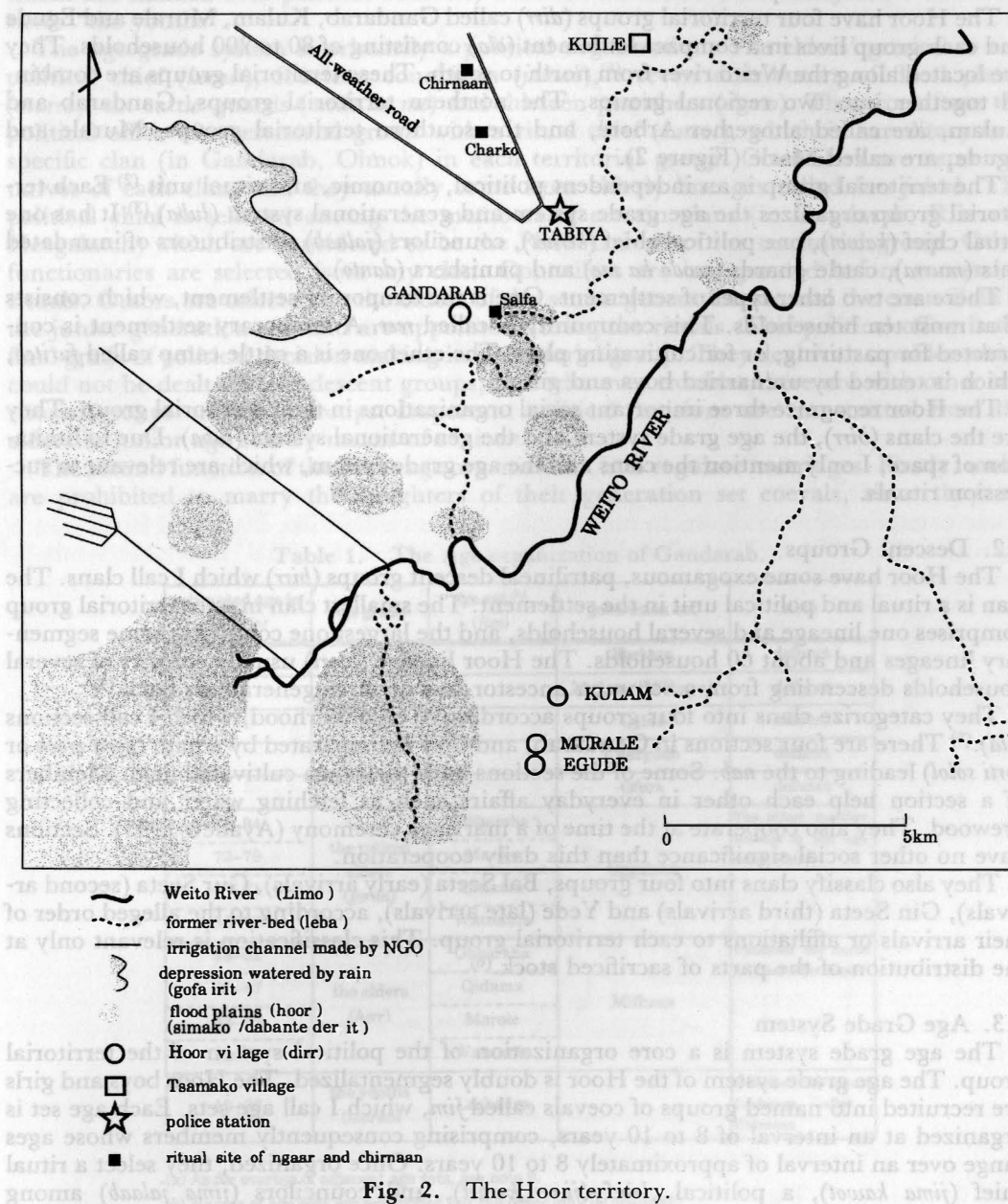


Fig. 1. Map of the Hoor and their neighbours.

sistence economy. Most of the arable plots are located on flood plains. The soil is full of organic matter brought from upstream and there is sufficient moisture to provide them with fertile fields. People grow highly productive sorghum varieties which need fertility and sufficient moisture on the plots. Furthermore, flood plains provide cattle with fresh pasture during dry seasons. Third, waterlogged flood plains provide people with edible wild plants, which is quite important during drought.

The environment of the Hoor shows clear geographical orientation and ecological transition. To the north, one can find a distant range of mountains, from which the Weito river rises and flows toward the Hoor territory. To the east and west, there are chains of mountains covered with forests, stretching from north to south along the savanna river basin. The Weito river has developed a complicated system of former river beds in the territory of





the Hoor, and brings about flooding in rainy seasons. To the south, there is a large swamp covered with tall grasses which nurtures flocks of wild animals. Beyond the swamp there is a large bare land called Chelbi, which extends to the Gabra land in Kenya.

The Hoor nomenclature of bearings and self denomination reflect these circumstances. North is "end (literally buttocks) of river beds (*leba dub*)", south is "lake (*bau*)", east is "dawn (*bari*)", and west is "sunset (*hurru*)". This geographical orientation is associated with the symbolic classifications of society, namely, senior (*angaf*) and junior (*manda*). This will be shown in the following sections.

### 3. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

#### 3.1. Territorial Group

The Hoor have four territorial groups (*dirr*) called Gandarab, Kulam, Murale and Egude and each group lives in a compact settlement (*ola*) consisting of 80 to 200 households. They are located along the Weito river from north to south. These territorial groups are combined together into two regional groups. The northern territorial groups, Gandarab and Kulam, are called altogether Arbore, and the southern territorial groups, Murale and Egude, are called Marle (Figure 2).

The territorial group is an independent political, economic, and ritual unit.<sup>(2)</sup> Each territorial group organizes the age grade system and generational system (*luba*).<sup>(3)</sup> It has one ritual chief (*kawot*), one political chief (*kernel*), councilors (*jalaab*), distributors of inundated flats (*murra*), cattle guards (*modo ha me*) and punishers (*danto*).

There are two other types of settlement. One is the temporary settlement, which consists of at most ten households. This community is called *reer*. A temporary settlement is constructed for pasturing, or for cultivating plots. The other one is a cattle camp called *furitch*, which is tended by unmarried boys and girls.

The Hoor recognize three important social organizations in their territorial group. They are the clans (*birr*), the age grade system and the generational system (*luba*). Due to limitation of space, I only mention the clans and the age grade system, which are relevant to succession rituals.

#### 3.2. Descent Groups

The Hoor have some exogamous, patrilineal descent groups (*birr*) which I call clans. The clan is a ritual and political unit in the settlement. The smallest clan in one territorial group comprises one lineage and several households, and the largest one comprises some segmentary lineages and about 60 households. The Hoor lineage (*wari*) usually consists of several households descending from a common ancestor two or three generations back.<sup>(4)</sup>

They categorize clans into four groups according to neighborhood, which I call sections (*ola*).<sup>(5)</sup> There are four sections in Gandarab, and they are separated by a path (*gorti eroch* or *gorti solol*) leading to the *nab*. Some of the sections have their own cultivated field. Members of a section help each other in everyday affairs such as fetching water and collecting firewood. They also cooperate at the time of a marriage ceremony (Ayallew 1995). Sections have no other social significance than this daily cooperation.

They also classify clans into four groups, Bal Seeta (early arrivals), Gur Seeta (second arrivals), Gin Seeta (third arrivals) and Yede (late arrivals), according to the alleged order of their arrivals or affiliations to each territorial group. This classification is relevant only at the distribution of the parts of sacrificed stock.<sup>(6)</sup>

#### 3.3. Age Grade System

The age grade system is a core organization of the political system of the territorial group. The age grade system of the Hoor is doubly segmentalized. The Hoor boys and girls are recruited into named groups of coevals called *jim*, which I call age sets. Each age set is organized at an interval of 8 to 10 years, comprising consequently members whose ages range over an interval of approximately 8 to 10 years. Once organized, they select a ritual chief (*jima kawot*), a political chief (*jima kernel*), and councilors (*jima jalaab*) among

themselves. Four adjacent age sets amalgamate into a group, which I call a generation set. A complete generation set comprising four age sets is organized every 30 to 40 years. Each territorial group has its own age organization, but they correspond to each other since succession rituals are performed by turns, starting with the southern territorial groups, then moving on to the northern territorial groups within a short interval.

A generation set ascends the ladder of the age grade system.<sup>(7)</sup> The Hoor distinguish three age grades by name, that is, *morko*, who have not yet finished succession rituals, and *herr*, who have already finished them, and *gerda*, who have retired from political office after the succession rituals. A territorial group usually has three successive generation sets, and one of them, whose members are mature enough and account for the majority of the settlement, holds political authority. I call this active generation set "the elders", the senior one which has handed over political authority "the retired elders", and the junior one called *morko* "the youths".

The age grade system is primarily a political organization. The elders' grade has one political chief (*kernel*), fourteen councilors (*jalaab*),<sup>(8)</sup> seven distributors of flood plains (*murra*), six cattle guards (*modo ha me*) and thirteen punishers (*danto*). They constitute the political office of a territorial group with a ritual chief (*kawot*), which is hereditary in a specific clan (in Gandarab, Olmok) in each territorial group. Councilors are representatives of each clan, and they usually come from elderly lineages called *kare jalaab*. The political chief is selected among the members of certain clans (in Gandarab, Riis and Hezgalatch) which are considered to be the First Arrivals of the territorial group. Other functionaries are selected from any clan. Councilors are inaugurated before succession rituals. Others are selected by the elders of the senior generation set and the councilors of the junior generation set, and are appointed during the rituals. This political office is the final grade of political decision making in a territorial group. They deal with troubles which could not be dealt with in descent groups, and whatever troubles there are with other territorial groups or ethnic groups. Important political decisions are transmitted from the elders to junior age sets by means of seniority.

The second function of the Hoor age organization is to regulate marriages. Firstly, males are prohibited to marry the daughters of their generation set coevals, since they are

Table 1. The Age organization of Gandarab.

estimated age in 1993 <sup>(a)</sup>	age grade	age set <sup>(b)</sup> ( <i>jim</i> )	generation set	note
			Kerkera	defunct
			Melhere (Milbasa)	defunct
			Osida	defunct
			Chargudo	defunct
			Ofura	defunct
80-94	the retired elders ( <i>gerda</i> )	Obbarsha	Oggalsha	The eldest member belongs to the age set of Marole.
72-79		Marole		
64-71		Gidama		
56-63		Wataania		
48-62	the elders ( <i>herr</i> )	Obbarsha	Milbasa	Obtained the name Milbasa after Ngaar
40-47		Gidama		
32-39		Marole		
24-31		Wataania		
15-30	the youths ( <i>morko</i> )	Lachanga		Obtained the name Lachanga after Chirnaan

(a) As for overlap of adjacent age sets, see note 9.

(b) Names of age sets are prescribed but the order may be changed.

categorically considered to be fathers and daughters.<sup>(9)</sup>

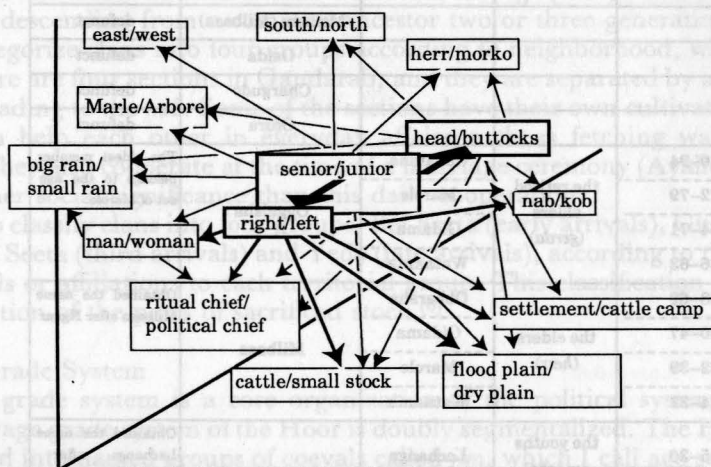
Secondly, children whose precedent generation set has not finished the succession rituals are prohibited to marry till their parents have completed the rituals.

Every thirty to forty years, authority is transferred from the dominant generation set to the adjacent junior generation set through succession rituals. At this time, each age set of the youths dissolves its political organization and selects new leaders for their territorial group from their generation set. They also obtain a name, and become the elders. After the transfer of authority has been completed, young boys and girls begin to form a new age set. Every eight to ten years, boys and girls at the age of around 12 to 20 organize their age peers, and become the youths.<sup>(10)</sup>

Table 1 shows the age organizations of Gandarab. The ages of the members of each age set on the figure are all approximately estimated. There were two generation sets in Gandarab before the succession rituals: one was Oggalsha and the other *morko*, which had not yet obtained a name. All the generation sets over Oggalsha were defunct. The most senior jim of *morko* was Obbarsha. The next jim was Gidama, the third one was Marole, and the last one was Wataania. After having implemented the rituals, the former *morko* obtained the name Milbasa, and the juniors of Milbasa started organizing a new age set called Lachanga.

#### 4. BINARY SYMBOLS AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SETTLEMENT

The Hoor are quite conscious of the symbolic classification of their society and ecological environment. This classification is based on a network of binary opposites. These pairs of opposites include senior/junior, man/woman, right/left, head/buttocks, south/north, east/west, settlement/cattle camp, flood plain/dry plain, cattle/small stock, big rain/small rain, ritual chief/political chief, *herr/morko*, *nab* (central open space)/*kob* (cattle kraal in the settlement), father/son and so on. These pairs are not classified into two comprehensive categories, but are associated with each other by specific reasons. Some of the combinations of the pairs are taken for granted among the people, and constitute shared core knowledge. These combinations are shown in sayings (Big rain is reliable like man, and small rain is capricious like woman. The political chief is like the wife of the ritual chief.), the symbolic arrangement of the settlement (the senior lineage occupies the right side, junior one the left) and habitual activities (Don't orient your head towards the west when you take a nap



The arrows indicate that the pointed pair is metaphorically considered to be the pointing pair. For example, cattle and smallstock are considered to be senior and junior. See also note (10).

Fig. 3. Pairs of binary opposites and their relations.

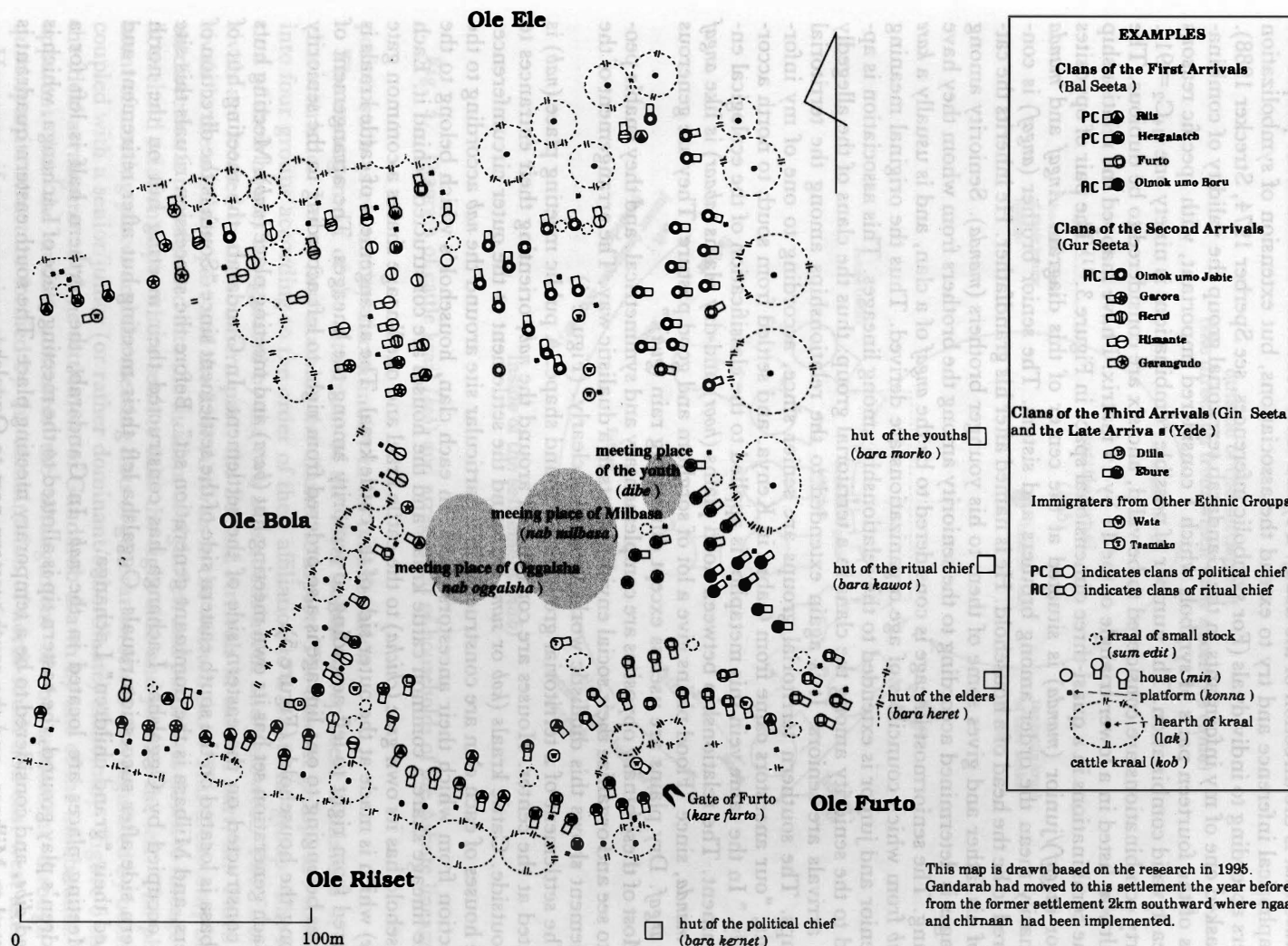


Fig. 4. The settlement of Gandarab.

This map is drawn based on the research in 1995. Gandarab had moved to this settlement the year before from the former settlement 2km southward where ngaar and chirnaan had been implemented.



because that is the direction of the dead). Beyond these consistent combinations people use metaphorical inference and try to extend the associations, but extension of symbolization differs according to individuals (For symbolic inferences, see Sperber 1974, Strecker 1988).

I asked one of my informants in the Gandarab territorial group the validity of combinations of the fourteen pairs of symbols which I considered important, with specific reasons for each valid combination. The number of possible combinations is ninety one ( ${}_{14}C_2 = 91$ ). Thirty combinations are considered to be valid, and six are considered to be dubious. The result was listed in a lower triangle of the 14 by 14 matrix. I have mapped the relationship of the combinations in a quasi-three dimensional space in Figure 3.<sup>(11)</sup> The pair of opposites senior (*angaf*)/junior (*manda*) is situated at the center of this diagram. *Angaf* and *manda* primarily mean the order among brothers and sisters. The senior brother (*angaf*) is considered to be the head of a household. He is named after his grandfather. He inherits the cattle of his father and gives some of them to his younger brothers (*manda*). Seniority among lineages is determined according to the seniority among the brothers from whom they have sprung. The seniormost lineage is considered to be the *angaf* of a clan, and is usually a *kare jalaab* from which councilors of age organizations are derived. Thus the original meaning of senior and junior is extended to the relationship among lineages. This association is applied to the seniority among the clans in a territorial group: thus the clans of the allegedly first arrivals are seniors. It is again extended to the relationships among the territorial groups. The southern territorial groups are senior since, according to one of my informants, "our ancestors came from Gabra in Kenya, and settled from south to north accordingly." In the same vein this metaphor is applied to the classification of the ecological environment. The relationship between flood plains (*hoor*) and dry plains (*abaar*) is like *angaf* and *manda*, since "Flood plains give a lot of sorghum and good pasture. They are generous like *angaf*. Dry plains are useless except during big rain (*guh*)."

Most of these binary opposites are complementary and symmetrical, and they enable people to see and organize their social environments in a dualistic way. The arrangement of the settlement shows this dualistic world view very clearly. (Figure 4)

The settlement of a territorial group has a round shape. A public meeting place (*nab*) is located at the center. Houses are constructed around the *nab*, orienting their entrances to the outside. Cattle kraals (*kob* or *sum*) surround the settlement at the outer circumference. The houses of each clan are constructed in a particular site around the *nab* according to the direction from which their ancestors came. In each clan, households which belong to the same lineage share a common cattle kraal, and the houses are constructed behind it. Each household has its own gate (*chicha*) to the cattle kraal and one lineage shares a common gate (*kare*) which is made at the outer side of the cattle kraal. The arrangement of cattle kraals is ordered from right to left according to seniority among the lineages. The arrangement of houses belonging to one lineage is also ordered from right to left according to the seniority among the households (Figure 5).

Each generation set has its own meeting hut (*bara*) and meeting place (*nab*). Meeting huts are constructed on the eastern side of the settlement. In Gandarab, the meeting hut of Milbasa is located on the south eastern side of the settlement since "South is the direction of elders, and Milbasa is the dominant generation set". Before the succession rituals this site was occupied by Oggalsha. Lachanga has constructed their meeting hut on the north eastern side after succession rituals. Oggalsha left their meeting hut after retirement and joined their "grand children" Lachanga.

Meeting places are located in the *nab*. In Gandarab, the northern half is left for a children's play ground, the eastern tip is allotted to the meeting place of Lachanga, which is called *dibe*, and considered to be a temporary meeting place. The south eastern quadrant is allotted to Milbasa, and the south western part to Oggalsha.

In his well-known article "Do dual organizations exist?" (Lévi-Strauss 1956), Lévi-Strauss presented two types of dual organizations, namely, concentric structure and diametric structure. He suggested that concentric structure postulates "outside" against "inside" whereas diametric structure stands as a closed system, and that concentric structure implies a triplet symbolization which may be represented as asymmetrical binary op-



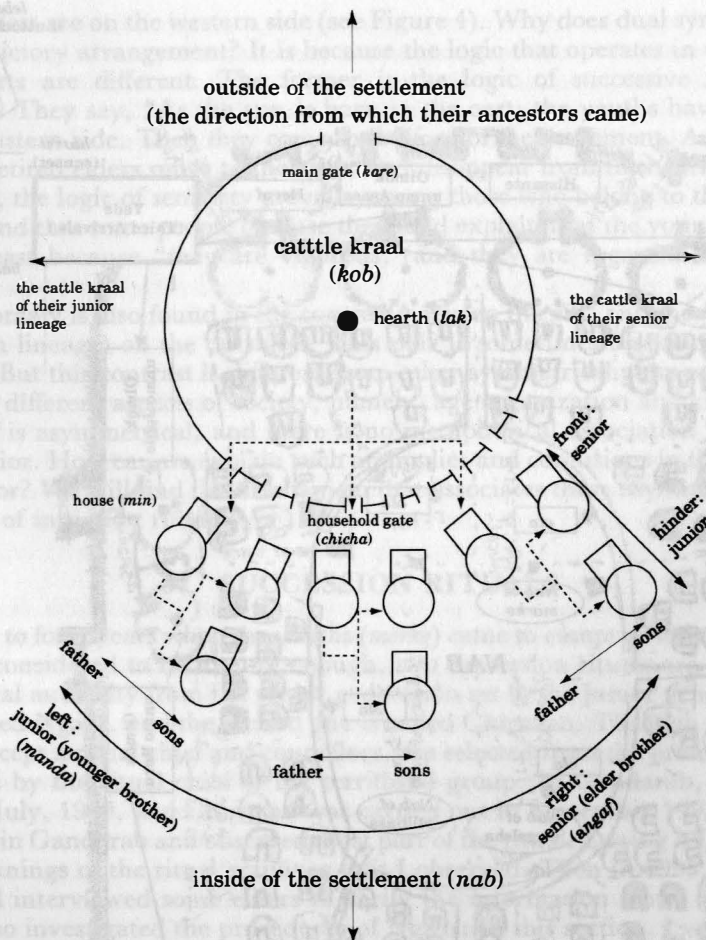
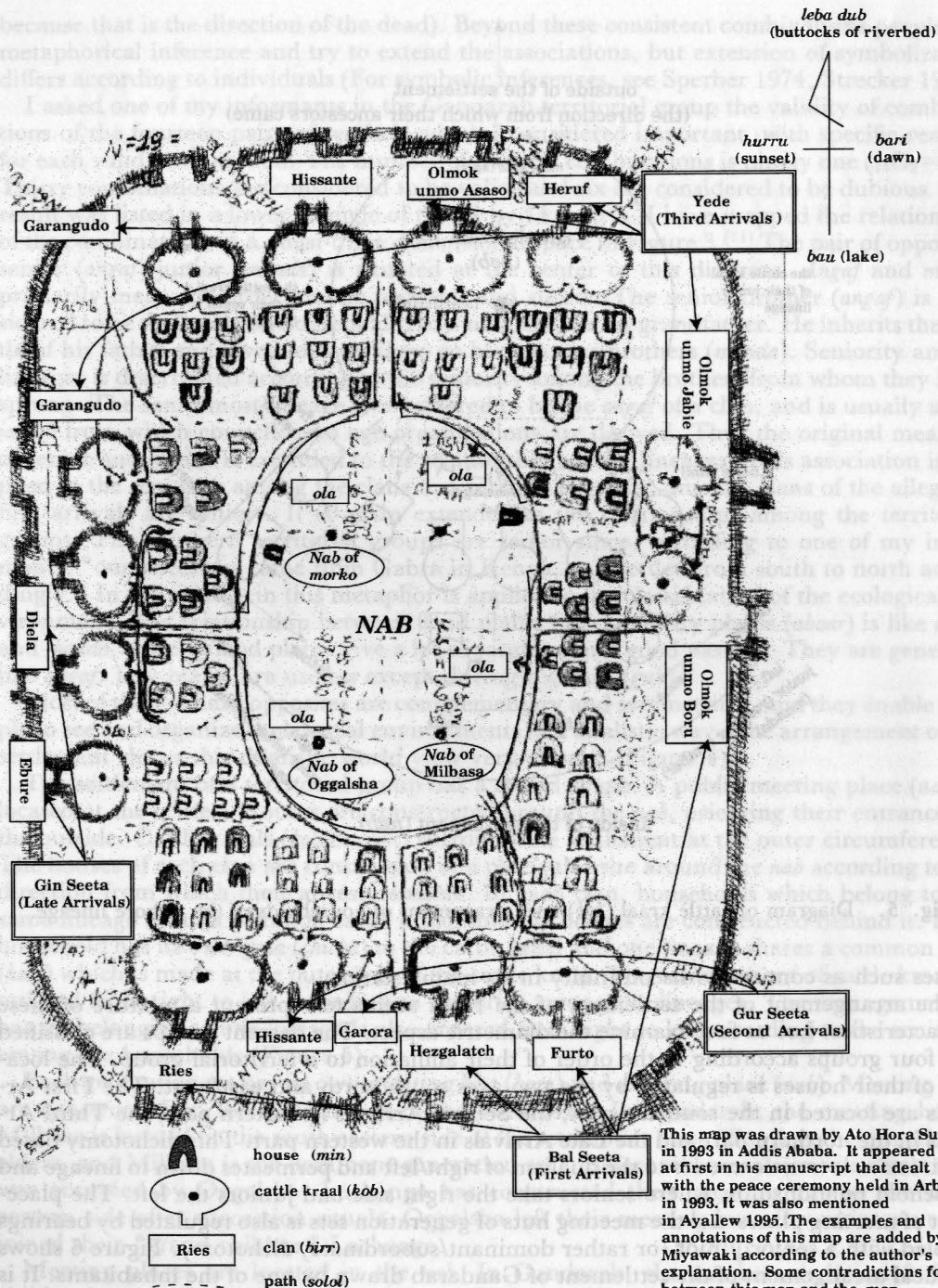


Fig. 5. Diagram of cattle kraal (*kob*) and arrangement of households of the Arbore lineage.

posites such as continuity/discontinuity in its manifestation.

The arrangement of the settlement of the Hoor seems to represent a mixture of these characteristics. Let us first examine the diametric aspect. The descent groups are classified into four groups according to the order of their affiliation to a territorial group. The location of their houses is regulated by the two axes south/north and east/west. The First Arrivals are located in the southern part, the Second Arrivals in eastern part, the Third Arrivals in the northern part and the Late Arrivals in the western part. This dichotomy based on direction is transformed into the dualism of right/left and permeates down to lineage and household relationships, where seniors take the right side and juniors the left. The placement of meeting places and the meeting huts of generation sets is also regulated by bearings coupled with a senior/junior (or rather dominant/subordinate) dichotomy. Figure 6 shows the ideal arrangement of the settlement of Gandarab drawn by one of the inhabitants. It is apparent that the author conceives the arrangement of the settlement through the quadripartite structure formed by the combination of north-south and east-west axes.

However, if we examine the whole arrangement of the settlement, we can find some anomalies that bring about the disruption of the symmetric structure. One is shown in the very placement of the meeting places of generation sets. According to the dualistic view of the Hoor, east is senior to west. Therefore the Second Arrivals are situated on the eastern side, whereas the Late Arrivals are on the western side on the outskirts of the settlement. However in the *nab*, the youngest generation set has its meeting place on the eastern side,



This map was drawn by Ato Hora Sura in 1993 in Addis Ababa. It appeared at first in his manuscript that dealt with the peace ceremony held in Arbore in 1993. It was also mentioned in Ayalew 1995. The examples and annotations of this map are added by Miyawaki according to the author's explanation. Some contradictions found between this map and the map in Figure 4 are due to the difference of information sources.

Fig. 6. Diagram of settlement of Gandarab.

whereas the eldest are on the western side (see Figure 4). Why does dual symbolism present such a contradictory arrangement? It is because the logic that operates in the *nab* and that on the outskirts are different. The former is the logic of successive relationships of generations.<sup>(12)</sup> They say, "As the sun is born in the east, the youths have their meeting place on the eastern side. Then they come to the fore of the settlement. As the sun dies in the west, the retired elders move to the west, and disappear from this world." On the outskirts, however, the logic of seniority prevails among those who belong to the same generation. But I found that some people confuse them and explain that the young generation set occupies the east because "they are vigorous, (and they are regarded as superior and senior?)"

Another anomaly is also found in the contrast between the *nab*, and the *kob* (cattle kraals shared by each lineage) on the outskirts. This pair is sometimes associated with the pair senior/junior. But this contrast is different from other symmetrical pairs we have observed in that it pairs different aspects of society, namely, age organization and kin organization. The pair itself is asymmetrical, and there is no metaphorical association between *nab/kob* and senior/junior. How can we explain such anomalies and confusions in the dualistic symbols of the Hoor? We will find the mechanism that associates these asymmetrical opposites in the process of initiation rituals.

## 5. SUCCESSION RITUALS

Every thirty to forty years when the youths (*morko*) came to comprise four age sets, and its members are considered to be mature enough, two succession rituals are implemented to transfer political authority from the senior generation set to the junior generation set. The first one is called Ngaar, and the second one is called Chirnaan. Through these rituals, all the leaders, except a ritual chief and councilors, are selected from the junior generation set and appointed by the ritual chief of the territorial group. In Gandarab, Ngaar was implemented in July, 1990, and Chirnaan was carried out in September 1993. During Chirnaan, I stayed in Gandarab and observed most part of the ritual. During it I asked my informants the meanings of the ritual activities that I observed. Then in 1995, I came back to Gandarab and interviewed some elders to verify the information I had collected the last time, and I also investigated the procedures of Ngaar. In this section, I will show the process of Ngaar and Chirnaan, but due to limited space I only present the main ritual activities, and drop ethnographic details.

### 5.1. Ngaar

Ngaar is divided into three parts. The first part is carried out in the settlement for five days. The second part is done in the place called Salfa near the flood plain where they usually cultivate sorghum. They stay in Salfa for four days. The third part is done in the place called Chalka on a dry plain where cattle camps are located, and spend the four days there.

#### 5.1.1. In the Settlement (1st day to 5th day)

For the first three days, the members of the junior generation set dance in the settlement at night. They start to dance at first around a fire place (*lak*) in the cattle kraals (*kob*) of each lineage, and then gather and dance together by each section (*ola*), but never enter the *nab* (public meeting place). They stay in a meeting hut during the day.

On the fourth day, they go to the Weito river in the morning and bathe themselves. This is done to wash away whatever concerns "morko". Then they proceed in a line and enter the *nab* through the gate called *kare Furto* (the gate of the Furto clan). In the *nab*, they dance around the center of their own meeting place. The old women whose ex-husbands belong to Ofra (the senior generation set of Oggalsha) swing leaves of phoenix palm and follow them.

The sacrificial bull and fire wood called *sou* are brought to the center of the *nab*. The ritual chief of the territorial group slaughters the bull by cutting its throat with a spear. The blood is spilt on the ground. The initiands stop dancing and anoint their own forehead with the blood in turn. This part of slaughter and anointment is called *soryo*.<sup>(13)</sup>



The elders of Oggalsha (the senior generation set) ask the initiands which name they prefer for their generation set, and present the names one by one. When they present the fourth name, the initiands show their approval to accept that name by raising spears in their hands. The name they approved this time was Milbasa.<sup>(14)</sup>

Seven distributors of flood plains (*murra*) are appointed by the ritual chief, and are given necklaces made of the greater omentum (*moor*) of the slaughtered bull.

The bull is flayed and its skin is cut into straps (*mendicha*). The straps are given to the ritual chief and the political chief. Then they are distributed to the initiands according to the order of their ancestors' arrivals, that is, firstly, to the members of Bal Seeta, then to those of Gur Seeta, thirdly to those of Gin Seeta, and finally to those of Yede. If one happens to take a strap in the turn attributed to a group different from what he originally belonged to, he will thereafter be counted as a member of that group. The body of the bull is cut into pieces (*hak*) and also distributed to the elders of each group. The liver (*tira*) and heart (*zaza*) are roasted in the *nab* and eaten by the initiands. The head is burnt in the fire.

On the fifth day, the initiands enter the *nab* and dance. The ritual chief of the Obbarsha age set (*jima kawot*) spreads a cow hide on the ground. He takes the burnt skull out of the fire and crushes it on the hide with a black stone called *mulmuli*. Then he adds water to it and smears the foreheads of the initiands with it in turn. This smearing is called *hij*.

#### 5.1.2. In Salfa (6th day to 9th day)

On the sixth day, the initiands go to the place called Salfa. Salfa is one kilometer eastward from Gandarab, and is near the flood plain called Bulbulte. They slaughter four oxen each day and eat them. Seven punishers (*danto*) are selected and given necklaces of greater omentum (*moor*) of the slaughtered oxen during this period. Then cattle guards are selected. They are the man of leopard skin (*mo ha chaar*), the man of calf skin (*mo ha reete*), the man of small ribs (*mo ha charate*), the man of ribs (*mo ha tomonte*), the man of soup (*mo ha dibiyo*) and the man of meat (*mo ha gumaar*). The man of leopard skin and the man of calf skin are given their coats, which have been prepared for this occasion. The rest are given each part of the boiled meat which has been prepared by the punishers. They stay in Salfa during the day and return to the settlement at night during this period.

#### 5.1.3. In Charko (10th day to 13th day)

On the tenth day, the initiands move to the place called Charko, some three kilometers north of Gandarab, which they consider to be the place for cattle camps. They bring cattle from each section, and slaughter four oxen each day. Some meat, thong bracelets made of ox skin (*saabit*) and necklaces (*moor*) are brought to the settlement. They stay there for four days.

On the fourteenth day, the initiands go back to the settlement, and choke one billy goat to death in the *nab*. Then they burn it.

\* \* \*

At Ngaar in 1991, the junior generation set obtained the name Milbasa. Councilors of Milbasa, who are selected according to the seniority in each clan, have succeeded to the authority of the Oggalsha elders. Distributors of inundated flats, cattle guards and punishers were appointed during Ngaar. Only the position of a new political chief was not filled with a member of the junior generation set. Thus the political chief of Oggalsha remained in the position till Chirnaan.

Between Ngaar and Chirnaan, the Hoor had a fierce fight with the Borana, a neighboring ethnic group, in 1992, which delayed Chirnaan. After the truce in 1993, Egude and Murale, the territorial groups of the southern regional section, started Chirnaan together. Then, Kulam followed. The elders of Gandarab held meetings to discuss when to start the ritual, considering the political situation with the Borana. They finally decided to start it a few days after Kulam had completed it.

## 5.2. Chirnaan

Chirnaan consists of two parts. The first part is performed in the settlement. The second is done in the place called Chirnaan. Before they start Chirnaan, the elders solicit a bull for sacrifice of its owner, and the members of the junior age sets of Milbasa build a new meeting hut to the south of the Oggalsha meeting hut. The councilors select seven men called "bull men (*modo arr*)" and eight called "wood men (*modo ha kor*)" to bring the bull from the cattle camp and collect firewood to burn from a riverine forest. Then, two men, called "rod men (*modo simirte*)", are dispatched to cut and bring rods (*simirte*) for a new political chief. They spent two days in preparation. Then, the first part continues for a day and half. The second part continues for four days.

### 5.2.1 In the Settlement (1st to 2nd day)

The initiands bathe themselves and start to dance before dawn as a man called "horn man (*mo a ga*)" blows an oryx horn. Members of a dancing unit increase as they are combined according to the segmentary structure of descent groups. They dance in the cattle kraal of their lineage at first, then gather into the cattle kraal of the most senior member (*angaf*) of their clan. Finally, they form dancing groups on each side of the settlement according to their sections (*ola*).

As the political chief of Oggalsha blows an elephant horn, the four section groups enter the *nab*.

The dancing troops which enter from different directions cross at the center of the settlement and merge. They form two groups in double file and proceed around the center of the *nab*. The place where they merged is the *nab* of the Milbasa generation set, which is located at the center of the southern half of the *nab* of the settlement. The two processions are formed in order of seniority of age sets. The old women, like in Ngaar, follow the procession, trilling and fanning palm leaves (*kiilatt*, *Hyphaene compressa* H. Wendl.). They sing, "Block the eyes that watch you. (*il take dooto kaniko*)" to protect the initiands from evil eyes (*ile balsha*). All the other women are prohibited to participate in the ritual and watch it from outside the *nab*.

The sacrificial bull and firewood are brought to the center of the *nab*. The initiands stop dancing, and stand in a line, surrounding the bull. Several men who belong to the Ebure clan make fire with a piece of wood and a small stick, and light firewood.<sup>(15)</sup> The bull is laid on the ground with its right side uppermost and its head to the east. The ritual chief approaches the bull, and receives a spear from a man who has brought it. He cuts the throat of the bull. He immediately spits on the spear as well as on the hand of an elderly man (*angaf* of the Garora clan, which is the clan of the ritual chief of Kulam) standing near him, which "makes his hand the hand of the chief", and passes it to the man. The man starts to cut the throat. Blood flows from the throat and makes a small pool on the ground. The political chief blows a horn, and the people again start to dance. Two large groups each with five files are formed, and proceed around the sacrificed animal in opposite directions. While dancing, the initiands come to the sacrificed animal by turns in order of age, and anoint their forehead with the blood. This process from slaughtering to anointment is called, as in Ngaar, *soryo*.

During the dance, a new political chief of Milbasa is selected. The eight men called "the men who hold a political chief (*modo ha kern hanburto*)" snatch a candidate suddenly and bring him to his house (He belongs to Hezgalatch). They give him an elephant horn which is a sign of a political chief. The councilors follow them and they gather in front of the house of the new political chief. One of the councilors anoints the long rods (*simirte*) with butter. They have been brought by the rod men the day before. He also anoints the head of the new political chief with butter. A nulliparous sheep (*sube*) is slaughtered and the necklace made of its greater omentum is put on his neck. He has to stay in his house till the ritual is completed. People bring mead, coffee and butter to his house. Four distributors of inundated flat and seven punishers are also inaugurated.

In the *nab*, some are dancing and others are standing still. Sixteen men are chosen and they cut the sacrificed animal into pieces. The ritual chief and the political chief of Og-

galsha put a thong of the sacrificed bull on their right hands. The dismembered parts are divided and distributed, as in Ngaar, to the elders of the First Arrivals (Bal Seeta), Second Arrivals (Gur Seeta), Third Arrivals (Gin Seeta), and Late Arrivals (Yede). The parts distributed are as follows.

Bal Seeta	right foreleg ( <i>laba midat</i> ), right rib ( <i>tomonte midat</i> ), the part under the lump ( <i>lefte karite</i> ), neck ( <i>luku</i> )
Gur Seeta	left foreleg ( <i>laba katot</i> ), left rib ( <i>tomonte katot</i> ), the hinder part of the backbone ( <i>reeka parchino</i> )
Gin Seeta	right hindleg ( <i>luta midat</i> ), right buttock ( <i>sakarta midat</i> ), backbone ( <i>reeka</i> ), tail ( <i>nyakosin</i> )
Yede	left hindleg ( <i>luta katot</i> ), left buttock ( <i>sakarta katot</i> )

The head of the bull is left. The junior age sets of the initiands continue to dance. Four men among them are ordered by the councilors to keep watching the head of the bull. The dance continues through the night.

On the second day the head of the bull is burnt on the fire at the center of the *nab* and eaten by the member of Obbarsha. The skull is again put on the fire. The initiands gather in the *nab* again, and start dancing. The old women follow the procession, fanning palm leaves as the day before. The ritual chief takes the burnt skull out of the fire, and puts it on the cow hide which has been spread on the ground. He starts crushing it with the black stone (*mulmuli*) which has been transferred from the former ritual chief. The initiands stop dancing, and surround him. Then they come to the chief by turns in order of age. The chief smear their forehead with the powder of the crushed skull with the stone (*hi*).

#### 5.2.2. In Chirnaan (2nd to 4th day)

At noon, the political chief of Oggalsha blows a horn. The initiands start to go to the place called Chirnaan some four kilo-meters away to the north of the settlement. This part of the ritual is called Chirnaan Gurme. The elders of Oggalsha return to the settlement and stay there.

In Chirnaan, cattle are kept in kraals. The councilors and punishers have moved to Chirnaan in advance, and have constructed a hut for each age set, the punishers, councilors, cattle guards, Oggalsha elders and visitors from neighboring ethnic groups. They slaughter four oxen by stabbing the back of the head or cutting the throat with a knife. Members of junior age sets cut them into pieces and they are roasted. Omentum necklaces (*moor*), thong bracelets (*mendicha*), straps (*saabit*) and the right side of the lower part of rib (*charate midat*) are given to the ritual chief and political chief of Gandarab, the ritual chief of Kulam and the chief of the Tsamako. The initiands take necklaces which they use to arrange marriages for their sons.

They stay in Chirnaan for four days and slaughter four oxen each day. On the fourth day, they leave the place and go back to the settlement. They bring roasted meat (*wade*) to their families and lovers. The cattle are tended by the members of *morko*. Then the whole process of the ceremony is complete.

## 6. RITUAL SYMBOLS AND THEIR INTERPRETATIONS

The Hoor are eloquent on interpretation of their symbolic representations. They usually interpret symbols with metaphorical inferences. For example, when I asked why the ritual and political chiefs do not have their hair cut but leave it long, one of my informants said, "Their hair grows and becomes like a tree (because they plaster it with butter). People gather under a tree for shade. The chiefs are like such a tree. They hold people under them and protect them." The morphological similarity of hair style and tree is juxtaposed with the functional similarity of the chiefs and trees.

Some symbols are interpreted and not related with any other symbols, but others are associated with a contrasted one and are put into the matrix of the network of binary op-



posites. It is doubtful whether all their indigenous interpretations are held in common. Rather as I mentioned before, there seem to be some core symbols whose exegetical meanings are shared because of their frequent references in everyday life, as in the form of proverbs, and there are other peripheral symbols whose exegesis is left for individual wit. In my investigation of the symbolic meanings of ritual activities, I found that some indigenous interpretations differ according to individuals, and that they consider that elders know much better than youngsters. Actually my young informants sometimes discarded their ideas after they had heard the interpretation of the elders.

In this section I present exegetical meanings of ritual symbols given by the Hoor. In some symbolic activities, informants gave me slightly different interpretations. In the first section I give the interpretations that stand alone. Most of them concern the main motifs of the rituals that are represented one by one through the course of the ritual process. In the second section I present binary opposing symbols. They are not associated directly with the main motifs, but give rich connotations and a consistent direction to the rituals. In dealing with these symbols, I will make it clear when I add my own interpretation.

### 6.1. Overt Motifs

Ngaar and Chirnaan are succession rituals which demarcate and implement transfer of the status of generation sets, that is, to show that the junior generation set has become a *herr*, the elders, from which new leaders are selected and appointed, and political authority is transferred. Transfer of status of generation set is realized by the appointment of new leaders. Distributors of inundated flats are appointed in the *nab* during Ngaar. Cattle guards and punishers are also appointed in Salfa during Ngaar. A political chief is appointed at the outskirts of the settlement in Chirnaan.

Some motifs are expressed by symbolic activities, whose meanings are shared by most of the participants. Both in Ngaar and in Chirnaan the anointment of the blood of a sacrificed bull (*soryo*) is said to demonstrate that the initiands have become full-fledged members and that they are united. *Soryo* is also considered to have the purpose of prohibiting illicit intercourse by disclosing one's shame and punishing him to warn others not to do the same. The Hoor have strict restrictions on sexuality, and those who have had illicit intercourse are considered to be polluted, and are not allowed to anoint themselves. In *soryo*, such a man has his forehead anointed by others, and it gives him a shameful stigma (*lego*). This shameful situation, watched by women from outside the *nab*, causes deep regret in him. Thus to avoid this situation, those who consider themselves polluted usually do not participate in this part of the ritual on the pretext of going out to herd cattle. But everyone knows why they have disappeared.

Ngaar and Chirnaan show some other important motifs through symbolic activities. One of them is to demonstrate that the initiands have become warriors (*bareed*).<sup>(16)</sup> The motif of warriorhood is exhibited most clearly in the suffocation of a billy goat in Ngaar, which is called "choking a billy goat" (*kora ta na kuba*). They say that the goat stands for enemies. Warriorhood is also represented both in Ngaar and in Chirnaan in the smearing (*hi*) of the carbonized powder of the burnt skull of the sacrificed bull. Some of the elders said that by smearing "darkness (*kissa*)" on their forehead, the initiands can hide themselves from their enemies, yet also watch them. They also said that "head" is senior (*angaf*) because babies come out head first when they are born, and that it has power (*irr*) which is transferred from God (*waak*) by the medium of the ritual chief. Thus the strength of warriors is supported by contact with God. One of the elders also indicated this motif of contact with God by associating the color of carbon, which they call *wati*, with the color of God, since the color of the sky (*waak*), where God resides, is also considered to be *wati*.<sup>(17)</sup>

Another important motif is to initiate marriages, and this motif is expressed at Chirnaan. Once the junior generation set becomes the elders, the restriction on marriage of their children is removed. They distribute necklaces made from the slaughtered oxen in Chirnaan. These necklaces are indispensable for marriage negotiation. If a boy wants to marry a girl, the elders of his clan go to her family to ask for the girl for their son, and bring these necklaces to the girl's parents. They wait for some days in front of the girl's house till her

parents approve of starting marriage negotiations. If they approve, the elders put the necklaces on the parents' necks, and start a ritual solicitation called *weyayo*. When I asked one of my informants about what Ngaar and Chirnaan bring about, he replied succinctly. "Ngaar makes the initiands warriors, but their children are still not allowed to marry. Chirnaan opens the door to marriage for their children."

Transfer of the obligation of cattle herding is also shown. The initiands leave the cattle to their children at the last part of Chirnaan when they return to the settlement. They say that this part indicates that they entrust cattle herding to their children. After this, members of the elders' grade usually do not come to cattle camps, and even if they do come, they are prohibited from approaching the central place of the cattle camp called *teu* where utensils for dairy products, such as milk containers are placed.

## 6.2. Ritual Symbols

The succession rituals are constituted from a number of symbolic activities, most of which are adequately interpreted from their positions in the network of symbols that I mentioned before. In this section I put the symbols in this matrix, and show how they are associated with other symbols.

Let us take a look at the number four. This number is repeated during the rituals. The initiands dance three days and they enter the *nab* on the fourth day in Ngaar. When the elders give a name to the generation set of the initiands, they suggest unsuitable ones three times, and give an appropriate name at the fourth time. They spend four days in cattle camps. They slaughter four oxen each day and so on. This symbolization is also found in other rituals. The seniormost age set "buy (*bitad*)" their meeting place three times and enter the *nab* at the fourth time after their initiation rituals. In a marriage ceremony, a mediator goes to the bride's house three times but returns without entering: the fourth time he enters the gate. In a cultivation ceremony, a medium puts seeds in four holes dug on the field where they are going to sow. They usually associate the number four with the number of nipples of the cow, which connotes "perfect", and is related to man. But the number four is not a symbol which stands alone. They couple it with the number three, and it is associated with the number of hearth stones (*kidiso*), related to woman and imperfection. The superiority of masculinity is emphasized not only by the exclusion of women but also by stressing the number four in contrast to the number three throughout the succession rituals.

The same opposition is found in the direction of rotation in dancing. Most dancing processions in the rituals rotate counterclockwise around the center of a cattle kraal. This direction is regarded as "the direction of the right hand", thus, as "the direction of men". Clockwise rotation is considered to be "the direction of the left hand, and thus that of women." In sharing drinks, men must pass a calabash counterclockwise, while women do the opposite. This opposition of right and left is reflected in a symbolic division inside the house. The house of the Hoor consists of a main room, which is dome shaped and thatched with grasses, and a rectangular entrance room where they treat visitors. The right division of this entrance room is allotted to the husband, and the left division to the wife, whereas the front part of the main room is for the husband, and the back for the wife.

Turning to the arrangement of the settlement, we can find a different aspect of this counterclockwise rotation. In the settlement of the Hoor, the early arrival clans are considered to occupy the right side of the residential area, since the right is considered to be the side of seniority. The second most senior clans occupy an area to the left of the first arrivals, the third arrivals occupy the next place left and so on. This sequential occupation constitutes a counterclockwise rotation from senior clans to junior clans as a whole. In Gandarab for example, the southern part is occupied by the Early Arrivals, the eastern part by the Second Arrivals, the northern part by the Third Arrivals, and the western part is by the Late Arrivals. This counterclockwise rotation on the settlement level is demonstrated by the transition of meeting places of a senior age set of the youths, as I will show in the next section.

Right/left symbolization also appears in the distribution of dismembered parts of the

sacrificed bull. This is combined with the oppositions of head/buttocks, and stands for seniority of the groups of clans. The First Arrivals gain the front, right parts. The Second Arrivals gain the front, left parts, the Third Arrivals the hind, right parts and the Late Arrivals the hind, left parts.

Livestock slaughtered in the rituals constitutes a configuration of symbolic meanings. Livestock which are used in the rituals of the Hoor are bull (*aar*), ox (*hau*), nulliparous cow (*maar*), billy goat (*korat*), castrated sheep (*tumi*) and nulliparous sheep (*sube*). Except for virgin cows, any of these can be slaughtered. Considering these livestock, one can find two distinguishing criteria among them. The one is between cattle and small stock. It is said that cattle are senior (*angaf*) and small stock junior (*manda*). The other distinction is between male (*diil*) and female (*modiya*). Among cattle the bull is usually considered to be a head of a homestead and is associated with manhood. The nulliparous cow is associated with the female whereas the ox is located in-between. Among small stock, the goat is regarded as senior and the sheep as junior, since "goats are clever and they can lead a flock of small stock, whereas sheep are dull and they just follow those preceding them." When they slaughter a goat, they put a thong bracelet on the right hand, which is associated with seniority as well as manhood, whereas the sheep's thong is put on the left hand, which is the junior side, as well as the woman's.

Although not mentioned by my informants, it seems possible to say that the billy goat is on the side of manhood while the nulliparous sheep is on the side of womanhood, while the castrated sheep, which is regarded as equivalent to the ox, is in-between among small stock for ritual slaughter. We may be able to reconstruct the total configuration of sacrificial livestock by crossing the two criteria, namely, cattle and small stock as senior (*angaf*) and junior (*manda*), and male and virgin stock as man (*diil*) and woman (*modiya*). These criterion can be intertwined to reinforce each other, since senior is regarded as man as junior is woman. Therefore, the one extremity seems to be represented by the bull, which is associated with manhood. The other extremity is represented by the nulliparous sheep, which is associated with womanhood and fertility. The association of nulliparous sheep with fertility is supported by the ritual done by a ritual chief before distributing an inundated flat. He puts its fat and greater omentum in a hole dug under the water "to spread its fertility to all the inundated land through the water." Both bulls and virgin sheep are sacrificed, but castrated sheep and oxen are used only for ritual killing.

Once we obtain this schema, we can appropriately locate sacrificed livestock in each ritual activity. As will be mentioned later, small stock are slaughtered in age set rituals. The stock slaughtered in age set rituals and cattle slaughtered in succession rituals are distinguished according to the criterion of senior and junior, which corresponds to the distinction between age set and generation set. Contrary to these highly significant kinds of livestock, castrated sheep and oxen are juxtaposed to demarcate the phase of pre-stage and post-stage to and from the phase of climax, as will be shown in the next section.

Let us return to another example of symbolic opposites in the rituals. For fire wood to burn a sacrificed animal, a special kind of wood called *sou* (*Acacia tortilis* (Forssk.) Hayne ssp., *spirocarpa*) is used. *Sou* is a common tree found in the dry savanna, and it has some practical uses. Since it is hard, it is used for axe handles. Its pods are good forage for livestock. *Sou* is also used for ritual purposes. Its thorns are put on tombs. Ritual gates are made of *sou*, which patients pass through from east to west to remove a curse, and so on. Though it is difficult for the Hoor to explain why they use this tree in particular ritual contexts, they associate it with man, because it is "resistant, heavy and hard like a man." In Chirnaan, they burn the sacrificed bull with it, wishing that "the generation set shall be strong like *sou*". While they burn it in the *nab*, another important tree is used at the outskirts of the settlement. This is called *mederte* (*Cordia sinensis* Lam.). *Mederte* is a tree found near flood plains. Its fruits are edible. The Hoor use its flexible branches to construct a dome-shaped house, and its bark as thongs to tie branches. Like *sou*, *mederte* has ritual uses. A long rod called *simirte* is made of its branches, and this is a symbol of a ritual chief and a political chief. They always carry them when they go out. In Chirnaan, four ritual rods are given to the new political chief, and one of the councilors anoints them with butter. While



*sou* is regarded as man, *mederte* is regarded as woman because "It is weak, but flexible and unbreakable like a woman". Another informant said, "*mederte* grows fast like women do." This characteristic of *mederte* is associated with fertility, and the image of fertility is related with water, rain and flood plains. They put butter on ritual rods to keep them wet, as women put butter on their bodies, and "wet ritual rods bring rain, bring water to *leba* (former riverbed), and increase the fat of cattle. If ritual rods became dry, a drought will come to the land." This image is also associated with the power of the ritual rod which "cools down" the ferocity of disease and enemies. Ritual chiefs and political chiefs, who are not allowed to go to the battle fields, pray to God to reduce the ferocity of their enemies.

Let me make one comment here. In explaining ritual meanings, the Hoor never say that a woman is equivalent to rain. Thus the association of rain with woman is latent. But this kind of latent association itself seems to enrich symbolic inferences. When I asked about the relationship between rain and woman, one of my informants said, "No, we don't say that rain is like a woman.", but immediately added a proverb, "We sometimes say 'May rain fall as a lazy woman allows it to.'", and said, "Because a lazy woman always leaves the door of her house open, and lets dogs and goats come in and turn over containers of water and milk so that they spill on the ground (just as rain pours)." This exegesis may seem to miss the core of the matter (or one may find sexual connotations and associate it with fertility), but anyway it shows how individuals interpret latent associations by their wits, and multiply symbolic inferences.

I have suggested a sharp contrast between the two extreme poles of sacrificial livestock, namely, a bull and a virgin sheep. Although not mentioned by my informants, in Chirnaan, this contrast appears at the same time and it exactly corresponds to the juxtaposition that I pointed out here between *sou* and *mederte*. While they sacrifice a bull in the *nab*, a nulliparous sheep is also slaughtered at the outskirts of the settlement when they inaugurate a political chief. It is boiled with a clay pot in the house of a new political chief. Thus we can find two streams of opposing symbols. The one is an aggregate of a bull, *sou* burned in the *nab*, associated with hardness, manhood, warriorhood and so on. The other is that of a nulliparous sheep, *mederte* anointed with butter at the surroundings of the settlement, related with flexibility, womanhood, peace, fertility and so on. It is also noticeable that this contrast, which highlights one of the rudimentary symbolic structures of the Hoor, is observed at Chirnaan, the final part of the series of rituals.

## 7. THE RITUAL PROCESS

In this section I examine the transformation of symbolization through the ritual process and show how the rituals introduce continuity to the world of dualistic symbols.

Unlike binary symbols, of which they have a conceptual framework to represent the inter-relationships, the Hoor are not conscious of the structure of the diachronic process of their rituals. But the diachronic process also presents a surprisingly clear consistency. In this section I will investigate the rituals from three aspects. Firstly I will show that they share a common diachronic structure consisting of three stages, which I call pre-stage, climax, and post-stage. Secondly I will look into the diachronic process of the rituals from the emotional point of view. The rituals have two phases, the former characterized by excitement, and the latter by calmness. The turning point from the former to the latter is found at the stage of climax. Finally I will suggest that the total ritual process of rite of passage of the Hoor shows a gradual escalation of symbolization.

### 7.1. Pre-stage, Climax, and Post-stage

From a spatial and sociological point of view, both Ngaar and Chirnaan consist of three stages which I call pre-stage, climax and post-stage.<sup>(18)</sup> The pre-stage is the stage at which a ritual starts, and ritual activities are done at the outskirts of the settlement. The main activities are dances in cattle kraals. Then they move to the stage of climax, at which most of the ritual activities are carried out in the center of the settlement. A bull is sacrificed, its blood is anointed and its burnt skull is smeared. Finally they move to the post-stage at

which ritual activities are done outside the settlement, where they slaughter oxen and eat them together.

Distinctions among these stages are shown not only in the transition of the places but also in the exegesis of some ritual activities that demarcate them. In Ngaar, for example, they dance for three days at the outskirts of the settlement at the beginning. Transition from the pre-stage to the climax is demarcated by bathing in the Weito River before they enter the *nab*. My informants said that bathing means "to throw away whatever concerns *morko*".

Considered from a sociological point of view, a social segmentation based on the kinship principle is emphasized in the pre-stage, and social integration from lineage to clan is performed in the course of dancing. At the stage of climax, the predominance of the age grade principle is shown. This stage is the most dramatic in the sense that the selection of full-fledged members is demonstrated in public by anointment, and the power of God is transmitted to all the participants by smearing. This corresponds to a turn from the phase of excitement to that of integration. The post-stage is one in which social order according to seniority is emphasized. Each age set constructs its own hut and stays there separately. In communal eating, meat and water are distributed according to seniority, and punishers regulate this distribution.

Comparing the ritual processes of Ngaar and Chirnaan from the formal point of view, it seems that the phase of the pre-stage at the outskirts of the settlement corresponds to that of the post-stage outside the settlement. In Ngaar, both of them show a gradual transition. They spend three days at the outskirts of the settlement, and thereafter move to the center. Before transferring to the cattle camp, they spend four days in the place called Salfa which is near a flood plain. Chirnaan shows a more abrupt transition. The participants enter the *nab* on the first day, and the climax suddenly comes. On the next day they move to the cattle camp (Chirnaan), which is farther away than the cattle camp (Charko) in Ngaar, and shift to the post-stage.

## 7.2. Emotional Responses

Considering the emotional responses of the participants, we can differentiate two phases in the rituals. The first part is characterized by excitement, which is based on the differentiation of social groups. It continues till the anointment of a sacrificed bull. The second part is characterized by satisfaction and calmness after the installation of a new generation set. It starts with the smearing of crushed burnt skull and continues till the last part of the rituals.

The participants of the succession rituals show a lot of emotional responses especially in the first half of the rituals. In Chirnaan, I found some women crying during the dances. One of my informants said, "They cried because they could not find their siblings in the dances." Dances in Ngaar and Chirnaan are organized according to the line of segmentary structure of descent groups and are the occasion for showing off their vigor to their neighbors. They start dancing in each homestead at first, then gather in a cattle kraal of their lineage elders, and finally in a cattle kraal of their clan elders. At each stage they compare the splendor of their dance. My informant said, "If one finds that their dance is less vehement because they do not have enough members in their dancing troop, it reminds her (him) of the death of their siblings. S(he) may think, 'Arsirba is dead, Arkulo is dead, only Argari is alive. There are many other clan members, but only one in our lineage.' Then (s)he is seized by a feeling that s(he) cannot find her (his) place in the community."

Keen emotional responses are found especially during the anointment of blood. A lot of the participants shudder, which they call *si au*.<sup>(19)</sup> Some of them even enter a trance, which is called "*rinnnyu*" and is regarded as the culmination of *si au*. The state of *si au* is usually considered to be the result of the increase of *onne*, which is the emotional state that makes one lose control of his rationality. *Onne* is nurtured by certain kinds of food such as milk and blood, and is, therefore, associated with life in cattle camps and boyhood. They say that an excess of *onne* sometimes makes them do rash, silly acts, such as rushing to the forefront of the battlefield, immediately to be killed. Once they start to live in a settlement, their *onne* decreases because they depend mostly on grain, and participate in political and ritual activities that demand patience and rationality. It is interesting to notice that, contrary to the

everyday life of the Hoor, this enhanced state of emotion (*si au*) is observed in the *nab*, but not in the cattle camps, during the rituals. In addition to a certain physical condition such as increase of *onne*, people are caught in this state at the height of overwhelming feeling. The emotions evoked in the rituals are diverse. The common explanation concerning this state was that they felt keen joy because of the splendor of the ritual. In discussing *si au* in this ritual context, however, my informants also associated this state with feelings of regret.<sup>(20)</sup> They even regarded trance (*rinnnyu*) as the extremity of this feeling. In anointing the blood of the sacrificed bull, some of them cannot anoint their forehead by themselves, since they are polluted due to illicit intercourse. Triggered by the feeling of humiliation, they are reminded of the illicit intercourse they had before, and are seized with strong regret. Gradually they start to lose control of their body, and sometimes collapse into a trance.<sup>(21)</sup>

The phase of excitement is immediately followed by the phase of integration the next day. The ritual chief (of the initiands' age set in Ngaar and of the territorial group in Chirnaaan) smears the carbonized crushed skull of the sacrificed bull on all the initiands to transmit the power of God. The participants do not show keen emotional responses such as *si au* and *rinnnyu* in this phase.

The ritual activities in cattle camps are characterized by calmness. Oxen are slaughtered "just for eating" and the participants are satisfied with sufficient meat. Thus, the emotional response rises gradually from the pre-stage, and reaches its apex at anointment, after which it decreases at smearing in the climax, and merges into calmness in the post-stage.

### 7.3. Escalation in the Ritual Process

I have investigated common diachronic features of Ngaar and Chirnaaan. Now I turn to the total ritual process, which consists of rites of passage including not only the succession rituals but also age grade rituals called Kuusam. I introduce age set rituals first, and show that these have the structure that leads to a climax. Then I compare Ngaar and Chirnaaan, and demonstrate that the total process of rite of passage also shows a gradual escalation of symbolization.

Almost every eight years after succession rituals have been completed, the boys of *morko* start to organize their age set. When they organize an age set, they slaughter a sheep or a goat outside the settlement and eat together. This small stock is called *abjal*. The ritual is called Kuusam. The senior members who started this process of age set formation are called *metom*, and take leadership among their age mates. Those who participated in slaughtering the small stock call each other *abjal*. They are exempted from daily activities such as herding and farming, and concentrate on organizing their age mates (Ayallew 1995).

After this ritual, they "buy" a cattle kraal (*kob*) as their meeting place from a certain elder, by paying him some amount of tobacco. This is called Kob Biti (buying *kob*). The first age set "buys" a cattle kraal from an elder of Heruf, whose cattle kraal is located at the north eastern corner of the settlement in Gandarab. Then they move "westward" and "buy" the second one from an elder of Riis, whose kraal is situated at the south western corner. They again move to a kraal of Hezgalatch, and "buy" that. Finally they enter the *nab* through the gate of Furto, which is situated at the south eastern corner of the settlement, and occupy the eastern corner, which is called *dibe*. The movement of meeting place is a counterclockwise rotation. They stay in one *kob* for about a year. The other three junior age sets "buy" their kraal only once from elders of Riis.

When they buy the first cattle Kraal, the members of the age set ask the elders of their senior generation set to cooperate, and slaughter a young billy goat in the cattle kraal of the would-be political chief of the age set (*jima kernet*) with a spear, and anoint their forehead with the blood. Then they roast it with sou and eat it. At this time they select and appoint their age set leaders such as a ritual chief, a political chief and five councilors. The elders give the leaders ritual rods, and the political chief an oryx horn. As in Ngaar and Chirnaaan, those considered to be polluted concerning their sexual behavior are not allowed to anoint themselves.

I want to note some points concerning these rituals. Firstly, they have a similar structure



to Ngaar and Chirnaan, except that the order of sacrifice and slaughtering is reversed. The sacrifice of a bull in the *nab* precedes the slaughtering of oxen in cattle camps in Ngaar and Chirnaan, but slaughtering of small stock outside the settlement precedes, and the sacrifice of a billy goat in a cattle kraal in the settlement follows in Kuusam and Kob Biti. Secondly, the ritual components of Kuusam and Kob Biti are replaced by minor ones, such as the *nab* being replaced by a cattle kraal, a bull being replaced by a billy goat, an ox replaced by a sheep or a goat, and generation set leaders replaced by age set leaders. All this indicates that the age set rituals are miniatures of the generation set rituals. Thirdly, the process of the age set rituals has a structure which leads to a culmination, which is however withheld until the succession rituals. This process to a climax is indicated in the following three points. First, it is suggested in the movement of the meeting place from the outskirts to the center of the settlement. They start to have their meeting places in cattle kraals, that is, the surroundings of the *nab*. They move around the settlement, and finally enter the corner of the *nab*, but the place is not considered to be a *nab*, a full fledged meeting place for a generation set, but a *dibe*, a place for *morko*. This produces the image of a spiral rotation to the center. It is interesting to notice that this rotation would represent the procession from senior clans to junior clans if it followed this sequence exactly, but actually it shows a progression from "junior to senior", since the age set "buys" its meeting place at the beginning from a junior clan and then moves to the kraals of senior clans. They start to buy from Heruf, which belongs to the Second Arrivals, then bypass the Third and Late Arrivals and directly reach the kraals of Riis and Hezgalatch, both of which belong to the First Arrivals. Second, the ritual components are "junior" ones within the matrix of symbolization of the Hoor, and, as will be shown, they are replaced by "senior" ones. Third, the incompleteness of the ritual structure itself causes anticipation of a climax. Participants are not smeared with the black powder of a burnt skull of a sacrificed animal, and this is because "smearing must be withheld till Ngaar." These characteristics of age set rituals seem to give the initiands, who are going through succession rituals, but have already implemented age set rituals, a kind of pre-experience as well as an anticipation of the climax.

I have compared the structures of the age set rituals and succession rituals, and pointed out that age set rituals demonstrate a structure leading to a climax. Looking into the whole process of rites of passage, the same motif appears in the succession rituals.

The structure of Ngaar mediates age set rituals and Chirnaan. It shows a gradual transition of status, which is demonstrated through the transition of ritual places within the process. The transition from the youths to the elders seems to be prepared by the three day dance in the cattle kraals of the settlement. It is as if reproducing the movement of the meeting place of the senior age set. Then they bathe "to throw off whatever concerns *morko*" in the river, and enter the *nab* through the gate of *Furto*, as they did when they had a temporary meeting place, *dibe*, in the corner of the *nab* of the settlement. After having finished sacrifice in the *nab*, they move to the cattle camp called Charko. In Ngaar the whole process gradually shifts to this phase. Before the participants move to Charko, they spend four days in the place called Salfa. This place is near the flood plain, and is not considered to be a grazing place. Thus it is regarded as a place between the settlement and the cattle camp. The activities done during this period also indicate ambiguous features between the settlement and the cattle camp. They stay there during the day, and return to the settlement at night. They slaughter four oxen every day as they do in the cattle camp, but they select and appoint certain kinds of leaders as in the settlement. The leaders selected during this period are cattle guards (*modo ha me*), who are also ambiguous in terms of their social status since as members of the elders, they belong to the settlement, but as cattle guards, they belong to cattle camps. After having passed this phase, they move to the cattle camp.

In the same vein, we may be able to observe the structural reinforcement of the contrast between the anointment of blood in the phase of excitement and the smearing of carbonized powder in the phase of integration. In Kob Biti, smearing is withheld "since it is done in Ngaar." In Ngaar, anointment is supplemented by smearing which shows a sharp contrast. In anointment, fresh blood, which is red, is anointed on the forehead by the participants themselves after being spilt on the ground. In smearing, burnt skull, which is black,

Table 2. Comparison of initiation rituals.

Whole Process	Kuusam	Kob Biti	Ngaar	Chirnaan
Transition		buying a <i>kob</i> from Riis	dance at the outskirts of the settlement (3days)	dance at the outskirts of the settlement (half a day)
		buying a <i>kob</i> from Heruf		
		entering the <i>nab</i> through <i>Kare Furto</i> obtaining the <i>dibe</i>	washing body in the river entering the <i>nab</i> through <i>Kare Furto</i>	entering the <i>nab</i> directly from the outskirts
Climax (sacrifice)		sacrifice of a bull goat ( <i>soriyo</i> ) anointment inauguration of <i>jima kawot</i> , <i>jima kernett</i> and <i>jima jalaab</i>	sacrifice of a bull anointment ( <i>soriyo</i> ) inauguration of <i>mura</i>	sacrifice of a bull anointment ( <i>soriyo</i> ) inauguration of <i>kernett</i>
			smearing ( <i>hiy</i> ) by a <i>jim kawot</i>	smearing ( <i>hiy</i> ) by a <i>her kawot</i>
Punctuation (ritual killing)	(START) ritual killing of small stock in bush		moving to Salfa (near flood plain) ritual killing of oxen inauguration of <i>danto</i> and <i>modo ha me</i> (4days)	moving to Chirnaan (in dry plain) ritual killing of oxen (4days)
	making peer groups ( <i>abjal</i> ) by sharing fat necklaces		moving to Chalko (in dry plain) ritual killing of oxen (4days)	haringefat necklaces for marriage
			suffocation of a bull goat	(END)

—————→  
intensification of ritual symbolization

powdered on the cow hide, is mixed with water, and is smeared by the ritual chief of their age set with his hand. However in Chirnaan, this contrast is reinforced. Anointment is the same. But in smearing, burnt skull powdered on the cow hide, not mixed with water but kept dry, is smeared by the ritual chief not of their own age set but of the territorial group, and not with his hand but with a black stone. We can find a weak opposition of anointment and smearing in Ngaar compared with a strong opposition of anointment and smearing in Chirnaan. But what is important here from the indigenous point of view is not the structural reinforcement but the upgrading of the rank of the ritual chief who smears the participants, making more assured continuity with God.

I have shown that these rituals (Kuusam, Kob Biti, Ngaar and Chirnaan) share an equivalent structure, and the series of the rituals seems to repeat the similar motifs. Table 2 demonstrates this process. Though I differentiated three stages in each ritual, it seems now more appropriate to consider these ritual as a whole process. The start and end of the series of rituals are punctuated by ritual slaughterings done outside of the settlement. Before entering the center of the settlement in each ritual, the phase of transition is inserted, and the climax is reached at the sacrifice of a bull or a billy goat. Introducing slight transformations to each ritual activity, they constitute the total process as a whole, in which ritual transition to a culmination is deliberately organized. The magnitude of the effects of ritual symbols increases as each ritual passes by, and it reaches a culmination at Chirnaan.

## 8. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The process of continuous progression from juniorhood to seniorhood is demonstrated

by utilizing the matrix of symbols in a particular way. The image of continuity is realized through modification of binary opposites by emphasizing seniority and masculinity, and transforming it to counterclockwise rotation, which subsequently represents the order of clans according to seniority in the rotation around the settlement of the meeting place of the senior age set. Repetition of the similar ritual structure also fosters this image. The image of continuity is most dramatically shown at the smearing in Chirnaan. The supremacy of the *herr* is confirmed by establishing continuity with God through the head of sacrificed bull mediated by the ritual chief. Meticulously prepared mediate tools seem to show the process of "morcellement" which tries to bridge the gap between God and the participants by filling it (Lévi-Strauss 1971). It disrupts the closed dualistic world and introduces an outer entity. The whole process also shows the image of movement from the outskirts to the center of the territorial group, which may evoke the contrast between cattle camps and the settlement.

We can conclude that the rituals modify dualistic symbols in the following ways. First, they modify symmetrical pairs by emphasizing one of the opposites, and produce a vision of continuity. Second, they replace minor symbols with major ones, and again produce the image of continuity leading to a culmination. Part of this image of continuity, which is essentially different from the dualistic world view, is however meshed by the very opposites utilized in the dualistic categorization. This is shown in the relationship between *morko* and *herr* and between the outskirt and center of the settlement.

The relationship between *morko* and *herr* is an anomaly from the dualistic point of view because it represents continuity in terms of the life course of one person, and also represents filial relationships (chain of succession) in terms of the relationship of father and son. These connotations impair the dualism consisting of symmetric opposites. Through the ritual process, this asymmetrical pair undergoes transformation. Through the replacement of "junior" ritual components such as small stock with "senior" ritual components such as cattle, their relationship is represented as a pseudo senior/junior one. This relationship is then extended to another social realm, namely, descent groups and the age grade system in everyday life. The association between the transition from youths to elders and the relationship between decent groups and the age grade system is particularly apparent in Ngaar and in Chirnaan. Before the initiands enter the *nab*, they dance in the cattle kraals of their descent groups. Dances are organized according to the line of segmentary structure of descent groups and are an occasion for showing off of their vigor to their neighbors. They start dancing in each homestead at first, then gather in a cattle kraal of their lineage elders, and finally in a cattle kraal of their clan elders. The dances are saturated with emotional tints. However, once they enter the *nab*, they change the constitution of procession and reform it according to seniority of age set. We can see that the ritual focus moves to the symbols of the age grade system. There is thus a chain of pairs whose relationships are dissonant; *morko/herr* : outskirts/center : descent groups/age grade system : junior/senior.

From a functionalist point of view, the rituals show not only the image of promotion from juniorhood to seniorhood but also the subordination of the kinship principle to the age grade principle. They overcome the distinction of descent groups and achieve the integration of the community. This representation of social motif is achieved by the modification of dualistic symbols through the rituals. On the most abstract level of symbolization, symmetrical pairs are deformed and connected with asymmetrical pairs. Introducing disruptions to the dualistic system, it produces a much more complicated image of a society consisting of center, periphery, continuity, spiral rotation and the other world.

\* \* \*

In this paper I have dealt with some part of the social organizations and rituals of the Hoor. We can find other spheres of their world which operate differently from the succession rituals. I also have dealt with the dualistic symbols and rituals as if they were independent, but their relationship must be much more complicated. Further studies that investigate these domains will elucidate their world with more depth and clarity.



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## NOTES

- (1) Though they have been referred to by the name 'Arbore' by linguists and anthropologists (Jensen 1959, Fleming and Bender 1976, Ayalew 1995), 'Arbore' is in fact the name of the northern division of this ethnic group. The people overall call themselves Hoor, which means inundated flat. In this paper I call this ethnic group the Hoor.
- (2) The word *dirr* refers to a community as well as a place which is presided over by a ritual chief (*kawot*) (e.g. *dirra Gandarab*). It can also refer to a regional group (e.g. *dirra Arbore*).
- (3) The generational system (*luba*) consists of a series of generation groups (which is also called *luba*). This system is, like the age grade system, one of what is called paternal linking systems, in which the groups that an individual may join are specified in relation to the group that his (or her) father joined (Stewart 1977). What is different from the age grade system is that the rule of *luba* strictly prescribes that one is to belong the junior adjacent group of his father's (For the rule of the age grade system, see note 10). Each group has its own name after having performed a ritual called Meke Lubat (name of *luba*), and bought a knife called *bilau lubat* (knife of *luba*) from its senior generation group. After this, the members start to perform a ritual called Kacha, in which one's elder daughter has her front teeth extracted. Seniority in one generation group is an "achieved status". It is determined according to the order of Kacha ritual. They thus try to go ahead of others. Groups that have not performed the Meke Lubat ritual are called by a kind of teknonym referring to the name of the group that have finished the ritual last. In Arbore, the system is a dual organization. Each clan is allotted to one of the "moieties" (*gas*) called Murale and Egude, and each generation group has its counterpart in an opposite "moiety". There are ten active groups in Gandarab, but only the seniormost ones have their own name. I have found eight other named groups that are defunct. It is therefore possible to go back nine generations from the most junior group. Actual ages of the members of one generation group thus spread in a wide range because of "generation paradox" (to adapt Spencer's phrase).

There are several explicit and implicit functions of the generational system. First, it gives a frame of inheritance of ritual chief position. In Gondarab, the position is inherited within one generation group of the Olmok clan from a senior lineage to a junior lineage, and then it is handed over to the most senior lineage of the Olmok of the next generation group. Second, it regulates marriages. The members who belong to the adjacent groups are prohibited to marry. Third, this system introduces an effect to offset rigidity of the age grade system. Senior members are privileged to order others and take a big portion of food and drink in rituals such as marriage ceremonies. In such rituals, one can put on airs with his seniors of the age grade system since the seniority of the generational system often contradicts that of the age grade system due to its achieved characteristic and the "generation paradox" of the system itself.

- (4) The word *wari* primarily means a group of persons who are connected by agnatic or territorial ties. Thus it can refer to family members (e.g. *wari iya Arkulo*, the family of the father of Arkulo), lineage members (e.g. *wari unmo Sura*, the lineage members of the children of Sura), clan members (*wari unmo Riiset*, the clan members of Riis), territorial group members (e.g. *wari Gandarab*, the members of Gandarab) and regional group members (e.g. *wari Arbore*, the members of Arbore).

- (5) The word *ola* has several meanings. 1) It primarily means a congregation of houses whether inhabited by people or not. The following meanings are derived from this original meaning. 2) Usually people use this word to refer to a temporary settlement inhabited by a temporary community (*reer*). (e.g. *Olah an sedda*. I will go to a temporary settlement). 3) It can also refer to a settlement which is inhabited by a territorial group (*dirr*) (e.g. *ole Gandarab*). 4) It refers to a section within the settlement (e.g. *ole Ele*).
- (6) According to one of the elders, there was a clan called Murle, and at that time only the Murle were regarded as Yede. But they died out due to famine. Then, the clans of Ole Bola section were divided into two and one of them became Yede.
- (7) It may be more precise to consider this system as a "semi age grade system", since there is only one age grade *herr* that is defined by its positive characteristics such as administrative power and warriorhood. The other generation sets are defined by reference to it. *Morko* are regarded as those who have not yet undergone succession rituals. The word *gerda* literally means old people, and it is used only to distinguish them from active members of *herr*.

The word *herr* has two different meanings. When it is used in relation to *morko* or *gerda*, it refers to an active generation set in power. When used in relation to an age set (*jim*), it refers to any named generation set.

- (8) Council members are divided into two groups. One is called *tuzba nab* "the seven of the *nab*", responsible for domestic affairs in the settlement. The other is called *tuzba sib* "the seven of the outside", dealing with diplomatic affairs with neighboring ethnic groups.
- (9) Before they marry, females are considered to belong to the junior adjacent generation set of their fathers, regardless of their age. They usually explain the marriage regulation by saying, "you cannot marry a daughter of your generation set coevals." although it is prohibited for males to marry females who belong not only to the junior but also to the senior generation set. After they have married, females are referred to as a wife of their husbands' generation set even if they belong to the alternate generation set of their husband.
- (10) Affiliation to age organization is determined according to physiological maturity, filial relationship, and social status. When a new age set is organized, boys who are capable of ejaculation and girls whose breasts have swollen are qualified to join. But the age constitution of age sets is deformed at the most senior age set and the most junior age set within one generation set because of a second criterion. Children cannot belong to the same generation set as their fathers, but boys can belong to the alternate generation set of their fathers' if they are small enough while girls must belong to the generation set just below that of their fathers'. As a result, the most senior age set includes those who are old enough to join the senior generation set but are carried over to the junior one since their fathers belong to the senior generation set. In this case the oldest ones may be in their early thirties when they start to organize a new age set, and they are prevented from marrying till then. On the contrary, the most junior age set comprises girls who are not mature enough but whose fathers belong to the precedent generation set. Furthermore, fathers want their eldest sons to join their adjacent junior generation set even if they are not mature enough, since it is important for a family to have a member in a would-be dominant generation set to participate in the politics of a territorial group.
- (11) The relationship between a signifier and a signified seems interchangeable among core combinations. You can say that *angaf* and *manda* are like right and left, and *vice versa*. But this is not true with a core pair and a peripheral pair. You can say that Marle and Arbore are like *angaf* and *manda*, but you cannot say that *angaf* and *manda* are like Marle and Arbore.
- (12) Members of adjacent generations are regarded as "*sodo*", and their relationship is characterized by ritual avoidance. A father cannot enter the main room of his son's house. Members of adjacent generation sets cannot eat together. They cannot enter the meeting place (*nab*) of their adjacent generation set when they hold a meeting. A son in law and his wife's parents avoid each other and cannot call each others' name till the wife gives birth to the first child. The stars called *halmot* (Vega) and *sodo halmot* (Sirius and Canopus), which cannot be seen at the same time in the sky, are said to be a son in law and his wife's parents. To the contrary members of alternate generations are regarded as "*aka*", and their relationship is considered to be affectionate. The naming system of the Hoor illustrates the operation both of the seniority rule among the same generation and the alternation rule of filiation. The eldest brother inherits his grandfather's

name. Consequently the eldest members of the seniormost lineage repeat alternate names such as "Arkulo, Armar, Arkulo, Armar, Arkulo, Armar and so on."

- (13) The word *soryo* is derived from a verb *soory-* (slaughter by cutting the neck). In this paper I call slaughter of animals for communication with God "sacrifice", slaughter for other purposes such as communal eating in rituals "ritual killing". *Soryo* originally means sacrifice by cutting the neck of an animal. If slaughter by cutting the neck is done for ritual killing or mundane slaughtering, it is called *soritu*. Slaughter by stabbing the back of the head is called *gimis*, and this is done only for ritual killing and mundane slaughter. In Ngaar, the slaughter of the bull in the settlement is regarded as *soryo*, while the slaughter of oxen outside settlement as *soritu* or *gimis*.

analytical category	indigenous category	ways of slaughter
sacrifice	<i>soryo</i>	cutting the neck
ritual killing	<i>soritu</i>	
and mundane slaughter	<i>gimis</i>	stabbing the back of the head

- (14) There are seven or eight prescribed names for generation sets. According to one informant, they are Milbasa (equivalent to Merhere), Oggalsha, Ofura, Chargudo, Osida, Kerkera and Edigale. The senior generation set elders and junior generation set leaders discuss and decide which name is to be taken. The name Milbasa was taken this time since the name has long been left out.
- (15) Ebure is etilogically derived from "red fire". They are considered to be the aborigines of the Gandarab. Attracted by the fire made by the Ebure, who were foragers at that time, the ancestors of the First Arrivals came with cattle from south to the Gandarab. The Ebure are now categorized into the Late Arrivals.
- (16) Ideally the members of the elder's grade are warriors, but actually the young members of *morko* have been playing an important role in ethnic warfare with the Hamar and Borana.
- (17) The word *wati* covers black and dark blue, and is distinguished from *ili*, that covers the blue-green cluster of colors. The Hoor consider sky and water to be *wati*. In the Hoor language, color (*biif*) primarily indicates livestock coat color and pattern. They have eleven basic color (not pattern) terms, ten of which are considered to be *biif*. (*Moramoracha* (yellow) is not *biif* because there is no yellow cattle). They sometimes associate specific cattle coat colors for sacrifice with certain meanings. Preferable coat colors are green (*ili*), which indicates fertility, white (*ezi*), which indicates light, beige (*bori*) which indicates *Arbore* (beige bull, the name of the regional section Gandarab belongs to) and spotted (*nyakori*), which indicates multiplication of cattle. On the contrary, black (*wati*) and red (*huri*) are avoided since black indicates darkness, which is the death of the sun, and red indicates blood. In Ngaar, a beige bull was sacrificed, and in Chirnaan, a spotted bull was selected.
- (18) These stages are usually called separation, liminality, and aggregation (van Jennepe 1909, Turner 1967). But in Ngaar and Chirnaan the motifs associated with these phases are not so obvious. I deal with the ritual process of the Hoor from several different aspects.
- (19) The verb "si?aw-" means "Feel an overwhelming urge to attack someone". (Hayward 1984)
- (20) The mental state which I translate as regret is called *tau*, which literally means pondering over a problem.
- (21) Observance of sexual restrictions and respect for seniority are tightly connected in the emotional life of the Hoor. If one's serious misdeed (*chubbo*), including making an unmarried girl pregnant, incest, theft, murder and so on, is disclosed in public, it leaves a stigma (*lego*) which is considered to be the most shameful state. When one expects that his misdeed will be disclosed, he feels anxiety. This state of anxiety is called *foko*. But *foko* also means the awful feeling which is brought about when one is going to approach his seniors. The Hoor esteem a person whose character is *fokolach*, which may be translated as "modest", but it more precisely means a person who knows *foko* (anxiety) and does not violate social rules or the dignity of others.



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Yukio@soc.cias.osakafu-u.ac.jp