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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLICE – WITNESS INTERVIEW DISCOURSE: THE CASE
OF TWO POLICE INSTITUTIONS IN WEST SHOA ZONE, OROMIA REGIONAL
STATE

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Birhanu Bekana Lelissa, entitled: *An Analysis of the Police – Witness Interview Discourse: The Case of two Police Institutions in West Shoa Zone, Oromia Regional State* , and submitted in fulfillment of requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics and Communication complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Declaration

I, Brihanu Bekana, hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my own effort and has not been presented to any university in the same or different form to merit a PhD degree other than that for which I am now a candidate, and that all sources used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Signature _____

Birhanu Bekana Lelissa

May, 2019

Abstract

The study aimed at analyzing the police _ witness interview discourses in Oromia Regional State, West Shoa Zone. Ambo town and Dire Inchini woreda police institutions were selected purposely for the study. Qualitative research methodology was employed to attain the research objectives. The participants of the study were eight police interviewers, four selected using convenience sampling from Ambo town police institution and four selected using available sampling from Dire Inchini Woreda police institution. Besides, four respondents to the researcher's interviews (two from each site) selected purposely were participants of the study. Qualitative data were collected using audio-tapping of the police _ witness interviews(interactions) and using the semi structured interviews from the four respondents. Totally, thirty six recordings (four hours) recordings were made from the two sites. Twenty two of the recordings were selected for the research purpose, transcribed using Gail Jeferson's (1984) transcription conventions, translated into English and analyzed qualitatively using Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Pragmatics.

Results obtained from the analysis of the data transcripts indicated that there was a strong power asymmetry (control of the discourses) slanted in favor of the police interviewers in the police_witness interviews. This power asymmetry was revealed mainly through poor rapport building at the opening phase of the interviews, the interviewers' repeated interruptions of the witnesses' utterances, the controlling of the turn takings, the commanding (ordering) utterances, the positioning of the police interviewers themselves as persistent questioners using ('WH' questions, Yes/ No questions and other syntactically non – interrogatives). The finding also showed that the police interviewers had the first go to set the agenda for the subsequent discussions with the participants (interviewees/witnesses) in the study. They were sources of the agenda for the interactions. The discursive roles given to the police interviewers and the witnesses, the higher status given to the police interviewers institutionally and their relative knowledge influenced the dynamics of the interactions during the interviews. Evadings from the main agenda of the interviews (intentional digressions), pauses and disagreements with the interviewers' ideas were merely used by the witnesses as strategies to minimize the imposition from the interviewers. The finding also indicated that the witnesses had feelings of powerlessness in relation to the police interviewers who were perceived as persons with every power, right, dignity, status, freedom, and knowledge.

Finally, it was recommended that police organizations are expected to implement comprehensive trainings on language technicalities, fundamental interviewings to develop more effective interviewers to help the judicial procedures. Police interviewers need to establish a better rapport with the interviewees or witnesses before they go into the interview proper. People (the society)

should be given awareness about police_witness interviews through short trainings. Further studies must also be conducted on the relationship between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) in the police _witness interviews.

Keywords: police, witness, discourse, discourse analysis, police_witness interview discourse, Conversation analysis (CA), Critical discourse analysis (CDA), institutional talk, power, asymmetry

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

DA = Discourse Analysis

CA = Conversation Analysis

CDA = Critical Discourse Analysis

IE = Interviewee

IR = Interviewer

TRP = Transition Relevance Point

TCU = Turn Constructional Unit

PEACE = P= planning, E = engage and explain, A = Account, C=closure, E = evaluate

AAU = Addis Ababa University

O.E.T.A. = Occupied Enemy Territory Administration

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background of the study. It also explains the statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study, significances, scope, and limitations of the study. Moreover, the chapter offers definitions of the key terms and organization of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language undoubtedly has a very important social purpose because it is mainly used for linguistic communication. It is basically a system of communication where sound or signs convey thoughts, objects, actions and ideas. The history of language dates back to many thousands of years. It is primarily spoken not written. But the development of the writing medium and later the printing system went a long way. It is the necessary means of communion; it is the one indispensable instrument for creating the ties of the moment without which unified social action is impossible. It can thus be said to be key to human lives and at the core of humanity (Finsen, 2016).

Language is not only used as a means of communication. It is a complex phenomenon that embodies social practices. This is because language and society are interdependent entities. Hence, language is seen as one of the mechanisms/strategies that speaker-members of any society use to regulate and reproduce that society, to order and control it and transmit it to the next generation. How we use language is shaped by who we are, where we are, where we have been, and to whom we are speaking. Our background will affect our vocabulary and pronunciation, and register will change depending on the setting and to whom we are speaking (O'Grady, Archibald, & Katamba, 2011).

Languages, whether in speeches or writings, do not carry only the communicative and functional values. They can play great roles in the negotiation of power. They can hold a great amount of power to express one's emotion, love or hate, and give meaning. Singh and Peccei

(2004) state that language has a key role in transforming power into right and obedience into duty. These scholars also state that some scholars would go further and say that language is the arena where the concepts of right and duty are created, and thus language actually creates power, as well as being a site where power is performed. In other words, the values and beliefs we hold which seem to be 'normal' and 'commonsense' are in fact constructs of the organizations and institutions around us, created and shared through language. It is more effective and efficient for a system to control our behavior by controlling our perception of reality than it is to control us with force (such as the police, prisons and the military).

More powerful groups and their members control or have access to an increasingly wide and varied range of discourse roles, genres, occasions, and styles. They control formal dialogues with subordinates, chair meetings, issue commands or laws. They are not only active speakers in most situations, but they may take the initiative in verbal encounters or public discourses, set the "tone" or style of text or talk, determine its topics, and decide who will be participant or recipient of their discourses (Mueller, 1973; Schatzman & Strauss, 1972). These scholars also explain that power not only shows "in" or "through" discourse, but is relevant as a societal force "behind" discourse. At this point, the relation between discourse and power is close, and a rather direct manifestation of the power of class, group, or institution, and of the relative position or status of their members (ibid).

Power can be exercised or applied through language or discourse in different ways. Fairclough (1989) illustrates the division of application of power as "power *behind* discourse" and "power *in* discourse," respectively. According to this scholar, "power *behind* discourse" is the social order or order of discourse which exercises hidden power and governs how effectively the power-holders in the institution are able to regulate the shared conventions, how these are enforced and which sanctions are taken against the actors if they are infringed. The idea is that the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power. According to Fairclough, aspects of power behind discourse include issues of standard language, particular discourse types which can be considered 'effects of power' and which are governed by conventions embodying particular power relations (e.g. medical, education, law, religious discourse types and finally the access

to the discourse or power. Power in discourse on the other hand, as stated by Fairclough (1989), is concerned with discourse that is “a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted.

Power is also found at work in our everyday use of language. Discourse structures create power relations in terms of how we negotiate our relative status through interactions with others. Power is an important theme in institutional discourse like the police interview discourses and it is also highly important to linguistic studies. Actors in power can use language to exert their influence. Talbot, Atkinson, and Atkinson (2003) have argued that ‘language is crucial in articulating, maintaining and subverting existing relations of power in society, both on global, national and institutional levels and on the local level of interpersonal communication’. It can give status, be used to oppress opponents, and spread ideals. In this study, the roles that language plays through police interview discourse, which is typical institutional discourse used and the power relations among the participants in the interactions during the information gathering phase of crime investigation (police_ witness) interviews were the points of focus. Thus, issues of crime, crime investigation, police, police _ witness interview, power and discourse are at the central points here.

One of the most intractable internal social problems in culturally diverse societies is crime which is a socio-economic and political problem in any society. That is why actions thought to be against the interest of a community have been criminalized and punished since time immemorial (Aderajew & Kedir, 2009). Crime is an act in violation of penal law and an offence against the state or public right that leads to punishment or imprisonment (Bennet & Hess, 2004).

Because of the nature of their powers and functions (De Rover, 1998), the police are the most important governmental agency to which the protection of human rights is closely related. Accordingly, they are the most visible representatives of the government and the most accessible, interactive and dynamic organizations of any society in preventing and controlling crime.

However, crime prevention does not guarantee its total elimination. It is an inevitable for crime to happen. The arresting of the suspect /s and investigation of the crime plays great roles in such conditions. The primary objective of crime investigation in the public sector is therefore to serve the interests of the society by staying unbiased and serving the needs of both the victim and the suspect within the society (Sennewald and Tsukayama, 2001).

At the heart of crime investigation lays the interactions between police investigators and interviewees (witnesses).The legal system always has relied on the testimony of eyewitnesses, nowhere more than in criminal cases. Eyewitnesses frequently play a vital role in uncovering the truth about a crime. The evidence they provide can be critical in identifying, charging, and ultimately convicting suspected individuals. That is why it is absolutely essential that eyewitness evidence be accurate and reliable. One way of ensuring the most accurate and reliable evidence from eyewitnesses is to follow proper procedures in the investigations (Reno et al.,2009). This involves interactions between the police investigators and the witnesses.This study has therefore been designed to study the interactions between the police investigators and the witnesses.

These interactions between police investigators and the witnesses play a key role in fulfilling the objective of the police institutions and strengthening the justice system through feeding the court with the necessary evidence. In case crime happens, the police are responsible to arrest the suspect, identify the crime, investigate the criminal acts and actors and finally feed the court with reliable evidence so that the criminal will be charged and sentenced based on the law of the country. One of the most important investigative tools that police as a law enforcement body has close at hand is the gathering of information or evidence through interview from relevant sources like the eye witnesses.

Crime investigation is part and parcel of the justice system. The justice system cannot be effective in the absence of police investigation of crime. Investigation is required to substantiate the information pertaining to the commission of crime. The police undertake interrogation of the suspect/s as well as interview of the witnesses to gather reliable and relevant evidence. In the process, the police are expected to refrain from illegal activities leading to the rebuttal of the evidence in court (Aderajew and Kedir, 2009). Information

obtained through crime investigation must describe what the crime is and when it occurred, how the crime was accomplished, and why the crime was perpetrated. Without this information, 'crime victim's' rights cannot be safeguarded; the suspected person cannot be sued; the involved people cannot be completely rehabilitated, and the investigation will most likely be dropped (Holmberg, 2004).

From ancient times, agents of the legislature have attempted to obtain information from suspects, witnesses and victims about the crimes committed. Countries have different contexts with regard to their legal and social traditions. This has made it difficult to have a holistic picture of police development throughout the globe (Mesfin, 2006).

Besides, not much is known about the very early history of police. This is because policing or the maintaining of order and dealing with law breakers had always been a private matter. Citizens were responsible for protecting themselves and maintaining an orderly society. Uniformed, organized police departments, as we think of them today, were not common. However, modern style police departments seem to have appeared in the 14th century in France and in the 19th century in England (Dempsey and Forst, 2010). Since then, modern policing has been established and developed throughout the entire world. Of course, the policing culture is based in the context of each and every country. However, the purpose for which every police institution is established is protection of crime, maintenance of security and investigation of committed crimes.

As the crime protection and security maintenance will never achieve the total elimination of crime, there is a need for another option. This option is the investigation of the committed crime. One of the ways of investigation of committed crimes involves gathering information from the eye witnesses. This is because for police interviews to be effective, investigators must communicate their professional, investigative needs to the witnesses. On the other hand, witnesses must also communicate their knowledge of the crime to the investigators. It is this communication that creates the discourse of police interview. Studying this discourse, as reflected in the title, is the main objective of the present study.

Police interview discourse in Ethiopia has passed through different approaches since the introduction of its application in the country. Most of the facts in our policing systems have

been adapted from western countries. Hence, policing in Ethiopia is the reflection of these experiences. Before the introduction of modern policing concept, the customary laws, the non-constitutional documents like the Kibre Negest (glory of kings), Fetaha Negest (justice of kings) and Sirate Mengist (system of kings) had been in use. After the introduction of policing concept into the country, the discourse of crime investigation had changed from a very traditional style to the modern policing system. This modern policings have in turn passed through different regimes.

Police interview discourse which can typically be considered as an institutional discourse is a face to face interaction that involves communication between the police investigator and the interviewee who, eventually be the suspect, witness or the victim. This discourse plays great roles in the strengthening of the justice system through presenting the evidence to the court for proper treatment of the criminal acts. Williamson (2007) confirms that the interviewing of victims, witnesses, and suspects forms an integral part of the police investigation into criminal activities. Gudjonsson (2006a) further states that it is the quality and fairness of the interviews that often determines whether or not justice is to be served.

Witness interview, which is the focus of the current study, is among the interactions made between police and interviewees. Police use interview with eye witnesses as a means of gathering information about the committed crime. This is an indication of the fact that investigative interview is a discourse that is used by police institutions. The type of police interview discourse to be used depends on the basic objective of the institution that is finding facts about the committed crime. However, this interaction of search for facts (evidences) can be under the influence of the police investigator. Some focus on legal and moral or ethical type of fact finding that focuses mainly on supporting the justice system whereas others focus on seeking information using the institutional and interactional power that involves controlling the interaction and constraining the interviewees using a coercive style (especially linguistic coercion). This coercion is revealed through institutional power. This power is embedded in the language the participants of the interaction (the police interviewer and the witness) use during the interview. This makes the role that language plays in such occasions significant.

One of the important roles of language is its use as a medium of communication or a means of interaction between human beings. However, nowadays, the role of language is going beyond a mere ordinary communication among people. Its roles in the legal issues like criminal investigations or judicial systems is growing and attracting the attention of Applied Linguists. Investigation of crime takes place through language whether it is in spoken or written form. Language is discourse, and discourse in turn, is power. Hence, it is possible to say that the language the police investigators use plays a great role. That is why linguistic influence on the judicial system during the police interview with witnesses has become an interesting research area. That is why the researcher is also interested to study the discourse of the police- witness interview in relation to language, discourse and power.

Good police interview is conducted in the frame of the law, is governed by the goal of the interview, and is influenced by facilitating or hindering factors that may affect the elicited report (Yuille, Marxsen & Cooper, 1999). In this respect, the characteristics of the interviewers are dimensions that are likely to affect the outcome. From the perspective of the importance of the police interview discourse, its substance, and signification for the legal process, it is important to study, the interview methods or discourse controlling strategies used by police officers, how crime witnesses perceive police interview discourses and interviewees (witnesses) experience (Holmberg, 2004). Besides, situations or factors that influences the whole interaction during the interviews needs to be studied. This is what has been done in this study.

There is dynamics of interaction in the process of investigation. This dynamics is performed by language. This is an important area that attracts the attention of researchers in Applied Linguistics. The present researcher is interested in this area of study. In other words, the application of language in the justice systems in general and in police institutions in particular has been explored in this study.

Research that involves applied linguistics in Ethiopia is only a recently emerging phenomenon. As a result, not much has been done to reveal the role of language or discourse used and the dynamics of interactions in the processes of crime investigations. Hence, it seems logical to investigate police interview discourse which takes place in police

institutions to investigate crime and gather information to support and strengthen the justice system in the country in general and in Oromia regional state in particular.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

It is clear that we live in a very complex society that is typically marked by conflicts as well as by variety of interests. Living in a society that is well established, cooperative and with no conflicts or with no identity of interests is interesting. However, it is unfortunate that we hardly see this kind of ideal society or social structure. This is because every society is the constituent of social members or individuals who, by their nature, vary in their attitudes, interests, languages, cultures, religions, philosophies. On the other hand, the presence of conflicts in the society is inevitable and these conflicts and interests should be treated through justice. This is because Justice, according to Rawls (1999), is the first virtue of social institutions, as truth is of systems of thought.

Ethiopia, like all other countries of the world, is a country where legal constitution and law are used to protect the right and justice of individuals through justice systems which include legal courts. However, the presence of courts alone does not guarantee the implementation of justice. The courts must get support from other organs of the justice system. Among these organs of the justice system is the police institution that plays great roles in gathering information from different sources. This is because effective investigation, as Holmberg (2004) states, is based on the information the police investigators gather from different sources through interview. One of these sources is the witness interview that takes place between the police interviewer and the witness.

The primary objective of police institution is to prevent crime from happening. However, the inevitability of conflicts among the members of the society that results in crime gives the police institution the responsibility to investigate crimes and feed the courts with the necessary evidence. This investigation involves the police interview, which typically can be seen as an interview discourse (institutional discourse). The information obtained from the suspects may not sometimes be helpful or sufficient in the investigation of crime. This happens to be so because there is a tendency by the suspects to struggle for denial and maintenance of their identity. Gudjonsson (2003) strengthens that most criminal suspects are

reluctant to confess because of the shame associated with what they have done and the fear of the legal consequences. As a result, the police seek to gather additional information from the eye witnesses or persons present at the time of the commission of the crime. This information, as Holmberg (2004) states, must describe where and when the crime occurred, how the crime was accomplished, and why the crime was perpetrated. It is this kind of interaction between the police interviewers and the interviewees that involved the application of discourse and power and attracted the attention of the researcher.

Interviewing witnesses is a component of any criminal investigation by police. The discourse or language used during crime investigation has its own roles to play in the gathering of information. This shows that the implementation of the interview discourse has its own importance in the judicial systems. It will particularly enhance the effectiveness of the justice system and that of social change in general. It will help to disclose the asymmetrical power relationship between the police interviewers and the witnesses. Besides, it contributes a lot in showing the role of language in mediating power during the interactions. However, the specific role of interview discourses in influencing the interaction between the police interviewers and the interviewee (witnesses) during information gathering has not been studied in depth. Despite the vast amount of work on various types of institutional dialogues, the body of literature on police interviewing remains relatively small. Haworth (2009) confirms that police interviews are undoubtedly an under-researched area, particularly in the field of linguistics. The same is true when it comes to Ethiopian context in general and to this study context in particular.

Article 19 of the Ethiopian Constitution states that any evidence obtained under coercion shall not be admissible. The implication here is that the interviewees who come to give their ideas to the police interviewers will have freedom to speak freely. The constitution also supports ethical and legal conducts. Article 30 (2) of the Ethiopian Criminal Procedure (1961) also states that any person may refuse to answer any question the answer to which would have a tendency to expose him to a criminal charge. Besides, article 31(1) states that no police officer or person in authority shall offer or use or make or cause to be offered, made or used any inducement, threat, promise or any other improper method to any person examined by the police.

However, not much has been done in the local context to show us the extent to which articles in the constitution are maintained. This means that it will be difficult to know to what extent these rights and principles are exploited by the police and the interviewees (witnesses). The 2005 Baseline Report of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia states that there still exists a gap between the law and the practice. That is the law is often uncertain either because of delays in consolidation, lack of codification and imperfect knowledge of proclamations and courts' decisions. Even when the law is known, it is not often strictly implemented. Rules of procedure are ignored. The report also explains that although the conduct of police is clearly stated in two provisions in *Proclamation 313/2003* Article 18 (d) and article 27, gaps in implementation have been observed. In response to this, efforts have been made to improve police conduct and integrity; steps have been taken by many of the commissioners to critically review their organizations. This led to a large number of dismissals of police officers. Though police behavior or conduct is too general to express, it is inevitable that one aspect of police behavior is related to the discourse used by the police in the interview rooms. Thus, change in police interview discourse or the way language is used and the situation in which the police conduct the investigation may change the justice and result in injustice.

The researcher is mainly interested in the dynamics of interaction between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) during the information gathering phase of the crime investigation. Some years ago, the researcher had the chance to visit police institutions in his residential area and give his testimony about what he saw when persons quarreled from his neighbourhood. At the time, he faced a face – to – face interaction with the police interviewers. This encounter showed him how different the interactions were from the ordinary conversation. He faced face to face interactions with the police interviewers during those times. His exposure to these interactions showed him that the interactions were quite different from that of the interactions outside the police institutions or ordinary conversations. He faced a wide gap in power relationships or asymmetries in his exposure. These exposures of the researcher, together with his classroom lessons on discourse and linguistics, applied linguistics, discourse and discourse analysis initiated the researcher to focus on the interaction between the police interviewers and the witnesses.

Besides, the interest in the field arose from the fact that the issue of investigative interview/ police interview discourse is a very under researched area especially in applied linguistics in the context of our country but which is important to raise awareness for all stake holders about the application of language in criminal justice systems of the country. The narratives of the community members about the nature of police _witness interviews have also initiated the researcher to focus on this area.

Haworth (2009) is among the few researchers to analyze police interview discourse. In her study, she analyzed the roles of police- suspect interview discourse in England and Wales criminal justice system, with a focus on its use as evidence. A central premise of her study is that the interview should be viewed not as an isolated and self-contained discursive event, but as one link in a chain of events which together constitute the criminal justice process. Hence, Haworth's study examined the format changes undergone by interview data after the interview has taken place, and how the other links in the chain – both before and after the interview – affected the interview-room interaction. MacLeod (2010) on the other hand, critically analyzed the discourse of police interviews held with Women Reporting Rape in which the discursive patterns of interactions between police interviewers and women reporting rape in significant witness interviews were investigated. The studies of these two scholars were different from the current study. Both studies were in the context of foreign country Unite Kingdom (UK). Both used video-recorded data sources. Haworth focused on the interactions between the police and the suspect than on the interactions between police and the witness.

The present researcher has not come across any local research in connection with police – witness interview discourse. However, three remotely connected studies can be mentioned. The first one was by Mesfin (2006) from Social Work on Police Productivity in Criminal Investigation at Addis University (AAU).The study particularly assessed the Performance Problems in the Gullele Sub-City Police Department. He used a mixed methodology that involved questionnaires, key informant interviews and observations as instruments of data collection. His research findings indicated the absence of uniform measurement standards in the field of criminal investigations, an inadequate level of knowledge and skill on the part of the detective, an incompetent leadership, poor motivation, and ethical problems that decrease

police productivity. Hence, he suggested that a uniform application of community- oriented policing is the best strategy to improve police productivity.

The second one was by Alemayehu (2010) that evaluated the application of human rights principles in crime investigation in Ethiopia (a case study of the Addis Ababa city police). He used a qualitative research approach to analyze the data gathered through documents, observations, interviews with key informants and focus group discussions (FGD). He finally came out with a finding about the deficiencies of the police in applying human right principles during crime investigations resulting from violations of human rights principles in the process of crime investigation resulted from lack of awareness among members of the Addis Ababa police, the perception they have a vested right to forcefully search out facts from suspects, failure to internalize human rights principles, and failure to generate information from independent sources. Hence, both Mesfin's and Alemayehu's studies are also different from the current study.

The third study was by Gesesse (2012) conducted at Addis Ababa University on Raya, Alamata woreda. The study described and analyzed language use and language related problems in the criminal justice process of Raya Alamata woreda. Though not similar (remotely related), the Raya study is somewhat related to the current study than the other two local studies. Yet it is different from the present study in many respects. First, the study focused on the criminal justice processes such as the police, and the courts (lawyers). Second, the study focused more on the analysis of terminologies, language use and language related problems in the criminal justice processes. Methodologically, mixed method (qualitative and quantitative method) was employed in gathering and analyzing the data gathered through questionnaires, interviews and observations. Hence, the current study that is of course qualitative in nature and that focuses on the analysis of the discourse of the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses gathered through the audio/tape and the extended interview is different from the afore mentioned studies.

In this study, therefore, police interview discourse that represents important area of linguistic study and the dynamics of interaction between the police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees) during crime investigation have been analyzed. The proper application of language in police interview and the roles of proper police interview discourse should be maintained and the destructive types of police interviews or the interviews that are not based on legislative framework should be discouraged. This was a gap that the researcher was interested to fill in this study. Thus, this study has been designed to seek answers to the following questions:

1. How is discourse used to establish rapport between police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees)?
2. What discursive strategies and patterns do police officers (investigators) employ to establish and maintain asymmetrical distribution of power?
3. What discourse control strategies are the interviewees/witnesses using to overcome the impositions from the police interviewers during the interviews?
4. What are the major sources of power for the police interviewers at the police institutions?
5. What factors affect the dynamics of the discourse/interaction during the police – witness interviews?
6. How do witnesses perceive the roles of the police investigators in the police institutions?

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to analyze police _ witness interview discourses during crime investigations at the information gathering phase.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Investigate how discourse is used to establish rapport between police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees).

2. Identify the discursive strategies and patterns police officers (investigators) employ to establish and maintain asymmetrical distribution of power.
3. Examine discourse control strategies the interviewees/witnesses are using to overcome challenges and suppress impositions during the interviews.
4. Identify the major sources of power for the police interviewers at the police institutions.
5. Find out factors that affect the dynamics of discourse during the police – witness interviews.
6. Explore how witnesses perceive the roles of police investigators in the police institutions.

1.4. Significances of the Study

“All progress is born of inquiry. Doubt is often better than overconfidence, for it leads to inquiry, and inquiry leads to invention” is a famous Hudson Maxim in context of which the significance of research can well be understood. Increased amounts of research make progress possible. Research inculcates scientific and inductive thinking and it promotes the development of logical habits of thinking and organization (Kothari, 2004). This implies that research is conducted based on the goal of finding out possible problems and recommending possible solutions so that the stake-holders or relevant bodies use the research findings and recommendations to contribute their own efforts in solving the problem. Hence, this study is similarly expected to be significant for different bodies in a number of ways:

1. First of all, this research will be significant for the effectiveness of information gathering from witnesses, suspects, and victims in criminal justice processes.
2. Secondly, it will give better awareness to legal officers on how they use language in the criminal justice to maintain proper dynamics in the police- witness interactions and avoid unnecessary power relationships or power abuses.
3. Thirdly, the police can use the result of the research as an input for the training to be given to the police investigators.

4. Fourthly, as a very under researched area, the research will be a better initiation for further researches in the area. On the other hand, it serves as a resource material for interested researchers in Applied Linguistics.
5. Finally, it also helps the society members to have a better awareness about the nature of interactions between the police interviewers and the interviewees and thus develop self confidence in giving their testimonies freely whenever they are expected to do so.

1.5 Scope of the Study

It would be better to conduct this research on wider areas of West Shoa Zone police institutions or police institutions in Oromia Regional State. However, in principle, it was difficult to manage this kind of qualitative research by individuals with limited financial, material and time constraints across all the police institutions in the zone or the region. Besides, the nature of qualitative research in general and that of interview discourse analysis in particular did not allow the researcher to broaden his scope of research as it becomes unmanageable. Hence, this research was only delimited to the analysis of police interview discourse of Ambo town and Dire Inchini Woreda police institutions in west Shoa zone. Besides, the researcher would have even conducted his research on a broader concept than the current topic; however, still because of the afore-mentioned factors, the researcher was compelled to narrow down his study to the present topic of the study.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

In the current study, audio recordings of the interview or interactions between the police investigators and the witnesses at the research sites under study have been used as resource data for the analysis. Besides, the extended interview with witnesses who have visited police institutions for testimony have been conducted/ included to substantiate the critical analysis. However, the researcher was not able to access the video recorded versions of interviews between the police interviewers and the witnesses. Consequently, the researcher could not use the chance to include semiotic analysis and he failed to address the available semiotic effects on the interaction.

As applied linguistics in general and discourse analysis in particular is a very recent development in Ethiopian context, it was difficult for the researcher to access local researches or literatures to police interviews with witnesses or suspects in the context of language use or discourse. Though some data were collected before, the political instabilities in the country created reluctance and lack of interest in the government bodies to provide the necessary information for research input. This has especially happened during the gathering of data after the pilot study. Hence, the researcher was very much challenged to access the data for this research. However, he finally succeeded with great persuasive investment of efforts.

Transcription and translation of the spoken data were also the tiresome tasks in this research. Detailed transcriptions of the oral texts were not easy. Moreover, there was difficulty in finding equivalent expressions in English for some of the transcribed words and expressions from ‘Afan Oromo’ (Oromo Language). The overlapping of the uses of some symbols in the transcription with those used in mechanics of language which include: bracket, comma, full stop and question mark in the transcription and its normal use, lack of access to literature and researches in relation to oral discourse analysis were also among the challenges. In some cases, the inaudibility of the audio-tapped recordings and the noises in the nearby during the recordings were also the challenges the researcher faced. Hence, the translations and transcriptions may not be free from subjectivities. To maintain the reliability and validity of the translated data in addressing the meaning they convey, the researcher gave it to two language specialists (both PhD), one with linguistic background and the other with applied linguistics background. Finally, I don’t want to pass without mentioning the challenges I passed through during my study because of the political instability in the country and sensitivity of my research topic.

1.7 Organization of the Thesis

The current study is organized into five chapters. The first chapter presents the general features of the paper including the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significances of the study, scope of the study, and limitations of the study.

The second chapter explains related literatures. It reviews issues in relation to language, power, Discourse, institutions, discourse analysis and discourse types, police interview as institutional discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Conversation Analysis (CA) and power, ordinary conversation and institutional discourse, dimensions of distinctiveness in institutional talk, both the global and local historical evolution of the police and the changing faces of police interviews. The conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the study were also described under this section.

Chapter 3 deals with the research design and methodology. It further goes to give briefs about the participants of the study, and the sample. The instruments used for collecting data and how the data were collected (the access of data) for the current study are also explained. The way to analyze the collected data is well discussed. The fourth chapter is the presentation of the main study data analysis and discussions of emerging themes of the study. These themes have been substantiated by drawing on excerpts from the police – witness interviews and the extended interviews with people who visited police institutions for interviews. Chapter five, which is the last chapter contains the summary, conclusions, recommendations and implications for further studies. It is the recapitulation of the overall implications of the police – witness interview discourse. Both the micro and macro features of the discourses have been taken into consideration in highlighting the summaries and conclusion.

1.8 Definition of Terms

- Asymmetry _ unequal distribution of knowledge and power between participants.
- Conversational Analysis_ a research tradition evolving from ETHNOMETHODOLOGY which studies the social organization of natural conversation (also referred to as talk-in interaction) by a detailed inspection of tape recordings and transcriptions (Longman Dictionary of Language teaching and Applied linguistics).
- Criminal Investigation _ is the process of legally gathering evidence of a crime that has been or is being committed. The ultimate goal is to determine, to the extent possible, the truth about how a crime occurred (Brown, 2001).
- Critical Discourse Analysis _ a form of Discourse Analysis that takes a critical stance towards how language is used and analyzes texts and other discourse types in order to identify the ideology and values underlying them. It seeks to reveal the interests and power relations in any institutional and socio-historical context through analyzing the ways that people use language.
- Discourse Analysis (DA): is a term for a broad area of language study, containing a diversity of approaches with different epistemological roots, and very different methodologies, but in general, it can be defined as a set of methods and theories for investigating language in use and language in social contexts (Wetherell, et al 2001).
- Ethnomethodology – a branch of sociology that studies how people organize and understand the activities of ordinary life.
- Ordinary Conversation_ term that has come to denote forms of interaction which are not confined to specialized settings or to the execution of particular tasks. (Heritage and Clayman, 2010)
- Text - written and printed texts, transcripts of (spoken) conversations and interviews, as well as television programs and web-pages (Fairclough, 1995 & 2003)

- Transcription _ the use of symbols to represent sounds or sound sequences in written form. There are different systems of phonetic symbols. One of the most commonly used is the INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET.
- Turn_ is simply the sequences of moves by a speaker during which the other participant(s) do not speak.
- Witness_ a person present at some event and able to give information (testimony) about it.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents issues related to the study context. The study focused on the analysis of police – witness interview discourse. Hence, it reviews issues in relation to language, power, Discourse, institutions, discourse analysis and discourse types, police interview as institutional discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Conversation Analysis (CA) and power, ordinary conversation and institutional discourse, dimensions of distinctiveness in institutional talk, both the global and local historical evolution of the police and the changing faces of police interviews. The conceptual and theoretical frameworks of the study were also described under this section.

2.1 Language and Power Relationship

Language is basically a system of communication where sound or signs convey objects, actions and ideas. It is the necessary means of communion; it is the one indispensable instrument for creating the ties of the moment without which unified social action is impossible. Language is a natural human system of conventionalized symbols that have understood meanings. Through it humans express and communicate their private thoughts and feelings as well as enact various social functions. The social functions include co-constructing social reality between and among individuals, performing and coordinating social actions such as conversing, arguing, cheating, and telling people what they should or should not do. Language can thus be said to be at the core of humanity. It is part of what makes man fully human.

Language is viewed as a system which involves sound (phonetic substances), words and grammar. It is also seen as a discourse that involves the creation of meaning in context that Cook (1989) calls language in use for communication, and as ideology in which social practices, power and dominance are reflected. Fairclough (1989) states that language can be seen as a form of action: that spoken or written utterances constitute the performance of speech acts such as promising, or asking or asserting or warning ; or, on a different plane, referring to people or things presupposing the existence of people or things or the truth of propositions , and implicating meanings which are not overtly expressed. According to Mayr (2008), language is a resource for making three types of meaning or ‘meta-functions’ at a

time. The ideational function which is used to organize, understand and express our perceptions of the world, the interpersonal function which enables us to communicate with other people, take on roles, express and understand feelings, attitudes and judgments and the textual function that helps in the creation of coherent and cohesive texts, both spoken and written.

Language is not just a means of communication; there is also close relationship between language and power. It is also a versatile communication medium, often and widely used in tandem with music, pictures, and actions to amplify its power. Silence, too, adds to the force of speech when it is used strategically to speak louder than words. The wide range of language functions and its versatility combine to make language powerful. Even so, this is only one part of what is in fact a dynamic relationship between language and power. The other part is that there is preexisting power behind language which it reveals and reflects, thereby transferring extra linguistic power to the communication context. It is thus important to delineate the language–power relationships and their implications for human communication.

Five dynamic language–power relationships in communication have emerged from critical language studies, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, and the social psychology of language and communication. Two of them stem from preexisting powers *behind* language that it reveals and reflects, thereby transferring the extra linguistic powers to the communication context. Such powers exist at both the micro and macro levels. At the micro level, the power behind language is a speaker's possession of a weapon, money, high social status, or other attractive personal qualities—by revealing them in convincing language, the speaker influences the hearer. At the macro level, the power behind language is the collective power (ethnolinguistic vitality) of the communities that speak the language.

Power behind the language is viewed as having no power of its own and yet can produce influence and control by *revealing* the power behind the speaker. It is may be explored via orders of discourse and social orders. Power in discourse is concerned with discourse that is a place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted (Fairclough, 1989). Language also *reflects* the collective/historical power of the language community that uses it.

When negotiating with police, a gang may issue the threatening message, “Meet our demands or we will shoot the hostages!” The threatening message may succeed in coercing the police to submit; its power, however, is more apparent than real because it is based on the guns gangsters possess. The message merely reveals the power of a weapon in their possession. In this case, language is used to produce an intended effect despite resistance by deceptively revealing a non-existing power base and planting it in the mind of the message recipient (Robinson, 1996). On the other hand, the language that a person uses reflects the language community’s power.

Language has been granted too much power. The linguistic turn, the semiotic turn, the interpretative turn, and the cultural turn: it seems that at every turn lately every “thing”—even materiality— is turned into a matter of language or some other form of cultural representation (Barad, 2003). On the other hand, the issue of power of language implies that language has power of its own. In relation to this idea, scholars like Spencer (1998) state that Language maintains and reproduces existing dominance. A language evolves and changes to adapt to socially accepted word meanings, grammatical rules, accents, and other manners of speaking.

2.2 The Role of Language and Discourse in Institutional Settings

Language and discourse play important roles in institutional or organizational settings. They are exploited by the representatives or members of the institution to achieve the objectives of the institution. In line with this, Vandjike (2008) puts that social control can be exercised through the control of language, discourse and discourse production itself. This involves central questions like who can say or write what to whom in what situations, and who has access to the various forms or genres of discourse or to the means of its reproduction. According to this scholar, the nature of the users of the discourse, the relationships (gaps) in between the users and the opportunity to access the discourses matter a lot. The less powerful people are, the less they have access to various forms of text or talk.

Likewise, in the police institutions, police interviewers, as members/representatives of the institution, exploit language or discourse to achieve the goals of their respective institutions

and maintain the identities of their organizations. Hence, texts play important roles in this context. Through accessing the spoken discourse that will be transformed into text, they express themselves or their institutions. Fairclough (1995) states that all texts express the social identities of their producers and address the assumed social identities of their addressees and audiences. According to Fairclough, the identity of producers is revealed through discourses because of its 'social identities' and 'subject positions' meaning how the subject is placing its 'self' (ibid.).

Institutions are seen as inextricably linked to power and serving the interests of certain powerful groups. They are shaped by discourse and they in turn have the capacity to create and impose discourses. They have considerable control over the shaping of our routine experiences of the world and the way we classify that world. They therefore have power to foster particular kinds of identities to suit their own purposes. Institutions' power and politics are frequently exercised through the discourse of their members (Mayr, 2008).

Discourses have their own effects. Stenner (1993 & Parker, 1992) in Wooffitti (2005) explain that discourses have two important effects. First, they constrain how we might participate in social life because they furnish subject positions (a part allocated to a person by the use of a story). In this context, texts are studied to show how discourses facilitate and limit, enable and constrain what can be said (by whom, where, when)'. Second, discourses construct objects/ entities which acquire an objective status through the use of particular vocabularies. Vandjike (2008) explains that everyday life, most people have active access as speakers only to conversation with family members, friends, or colleagues on the job. Occasionally, in more formal dialogues, they may speak to institutional representatives, or with job superiors, but in that case, they have a more passive and reactive role. For Vandjike, at the police station, in the courtroom, at the welfare agency, in the classroom, or in other institutions of the social bureaucracy, they are expected to speak, or to give information, only when requested or ordered to do so. For most formal, public, or printed discourse types (including those of the mass media) the less powerful are usually only recipients.

The police institution can be taken as one of the institutions to be considered in this respect. On the one hand, they are obliged to show impartial and balanced approach in servicing the

criminal justice processes and this is an impression they certainly strive to create. However, these are also institutions that need to maintain themselves and their position. They need to operate as well-oiled machines to process and deal with the stuff of their business

What this means in practice is that to some extent, it is the institutional procedures and practices that define what becomes police investigation (interview) more so than the events themselves. In addition, these institutions are owned government bodies that have their own agenda, particularly to increase the reliability of the evidence that is gathered through interview from the suspects, witnesses or victims. Because the police interviewers push for the extraction of more reliable evidence to feed the court, it puts constraints on maintaining the rights of the interviewees (the witnesses). According to (Hutchby, 1999) in Wooffitti (2005), studies of talk in institutional or workrelated settings already offer analyses of features of interaction that lend themselves to interpretation in terms of interpersonal power relations. He notes, for example, that in Drew and Heritage's introduction to their seminal collection of studies of talk at work, institutional interaction is characterised by

... role structured, institutionalised, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants in terms of such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in the interaction. (Drew and Heritage, 1992b: 49).

2.3 Basic Concepts of Discourse

The core of this study is an analysis of police _ witness interview discourses of two selected police institutions in west Shoa zone of the Oromia Regional State. Hence, defining complex concepts such as 'discourse' and 'discourse analyses would be very important here.

The word "discourse" originated from Latin 'discursus' which means conversation, speech (Wisniewski 2006) in Gudeta (2013). The notion of "discourse" is found to be difficult to define. That is why it is used very differently by different researchers. According to Gee (2008:3), discourse is the way of behaving, interacting, valuing, believing, speaking, reading and writing. For Hall (1992) discourse is a production of knowledge through language. For

Hanks (1996), *discourse* is language in action. Blommaert (2005) defines *discourse* as something that comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activities seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use. McGregor (2003) states *discourse* as using words to express oneself. To him, discourses are ubiquitous ways of knowing, valuing, and experiencing the world. He also explains that discourses can be used for an assertion of power and knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and critique. Fairclough on his part sees *discourse* as something not necessarily restricted to language but also language as a form of social practices (Fairclough, 2001).

The term “discourse” is also used very differently in different academic cultures. In German and Central European context, a distinction is made between “text” and “discourse”, relating to the tradition text linguistics as well as to rhetoric (Wodak, 1996). In English speaking world, “discourse” is often used both for written and oral texts (Schiffrin, 1994). The term “discourse” may appear to be a fuzzy concept as there are many meanings that are attached to it. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002), the term Discourse has become a fashionable term especially since the last ten years in different scientific texts, but it has not often been with clear definition. The concept has become vague, either meaning almost nothing, or being used with more precise, but rather different, meanings in different contexts.

According to Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (2002), *discourse* is a general term for examples of language use, i.e. language which has been produced as the result of an act of communication. Grammar refers to the rules a language uses to form grammatical units such as clause, phrase, and sentence whereas *discourse* normally refers to larger units of language such as paragraphs, conversations, and interviews. Sometimes the study of both written and spoken discourse is known as discourse analysis; some researchers however use discourse analysis to refer to the study of spoken discourse and text linguistics to refer to the study of written discourse.

In postmodernism and critical discourse analysis, discourse is used to indicate not only any kind of talk but also the meanings and values embedded in talk. In this sense, a dominant discourse refers to an institutionalized way of thinking and talking about things. Fairclough (2003) states that the term discourse in what is widely called discourse analysis signals the

particular view of language in use as an element of social life which is closely inter connected with other elements.

The aforementioned points clearly indicate that since its introduction, discourse has been defined in different ways by different scholars. Traditional linguists defined discourse as anything beyond the sentence. According to these scholars, discourse is considered as a structural unit that can be studied by comparing it with the sentence. This view puts discourse on equal scale as a grammar, and makes it a collection of descriptive statements that is not related in any way to the human mind.

The other groups of scholars which can be said to hold the second view see discourse in different way. These scholars have the functionalist view of language. According to these scholars', discourse should not focus only on structural study, because this does not take into consideration the function of language. Therefore, function, rather than structure, should be the major focus of discourse. This view of discourse suggests that the study of discourse is the study of language in use. Language use focuses on meaning, and study of discourse, according to functional view, can be taken as how users view the meaningfulness and unity of language in context (Cook, 2003).

The third view of discourse is that of critical theorists. They propose that language function should include nonlinguistic social practices and ideological assumptions that construct power relations in the society. According to this view, discourse becomes a count noun and the term 'discourse' includes linguistic and non- linguistic social practices and ideologies that together form power relations, in which case we can talk of discourse of power and of racism. Critical theorists, hence, view discourse as a particular way of talking about and understanding reality or an aspect of reality (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Schiffirin, D. et al. (2001) state that current research in the field of Discourse and Discourse Analysis flows from numerous academic disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, and disciplines that have applied - and thus often extended - such models and methods to problems within their own academic domains, such as communication, cognitive psychology, social psychology, and artificial intelligence that are very different from one another. Hence, in this scholars' view, "discourse" and "discourse analysis" have different

meanings to scholars in different fields. Others particularly linguists, view "discourse" as anything "beyond the sentence".

For others like Fasold (1990), the study of discourse is the study of language use. Jaworski and Coupland (1999), in their collection of classic papers in discourse analysis, for example, include ten definitions from a wide range of sources. All the definitions, however, fall into the three main categories: (1) anything beyond the sentence, (2) language use, and (3) a broader range of social practice that includes nonlinguistic and nonspecific instances of language (Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, 2001).

2.4 Discourse, Text and Context

Broadly, discourse can be seen as verbal and non - verbal modes. The non- verbal mode of discourse includes visual images, dressing and hair styles, food habit and so on that people use to communicate their sociological and cosmological needs. The non- verbal mode of discourse can be changed and modified based on the socio - cultural circumstances of a group. The verbal mode of discourse on the other hand includes written and texts (Adugna, 2017). Currently, discourse analysts use the term 'text' to refer to the verbal mode of discourse (Fairclough, 2003; Van Leeuwen, 2008 and Wodak, 2011). According to Halliday and Hassen (1989:5) 'text' is a language that is functional. Janks (1997) explains 'texts' as initiations of socially regulated verbal discourse whose processes of production and reception are socially constrained.

However, in some other works, text represents only written language. For instance, Van Dijk (1997) uses text and talk to represent the difference between written and oral texts respectively. Brown and Yule (1989) identified that the problems encountered with the notion of 'text' as a verbal record of a communicative act became a good deal when considering what is meant by 'spoken text'. The simplest view to assume is that transcription of audio taped communicative act can be preserved as a 'text'. Hence, the written records, and the transcribed audio taped oral data can be seen as a 'text'. Fairclough, (2003) strengthens that a text can be seen not only as a written and printed texts such as shopping lists and newspaper articles but also as transcripts of (spoken) conversations and interviews, as well as television programs and web-pages. Fairclough (1995) further explains that

though text is traditionally understood to be a piece of written language – a whole 'work' such as a poem or a novel, or a relatively discrete part of a work such as a chapter, a rather broader conception has become common within discourse analysis, where a text may be either written or spoken discourse, so that, for example, the words used in a conversation (or their written transcription) constitute a text. This study involves the presence of both verbal communicative act and its written records or the transcriptions of the audio taped data. Hence, the term 'text' in this study context is seen in the written and spoken modes of discourse.

McCarthy, 1991) also states that in addition to the description and analysis of spoken interactions, discourse analysis is also concerned with written and printed words: newspaper articles, letters, stories, recipes, instructions, notices, comics, billboards, leaflets pushed through the door, and so on. According to Cook (1989) and Halliday (1989), written and oral texts have different distinguishing features. Written discourse is communicated through the use of printed materials such as letters, newspapers, books, epitaphs, billboards, etc. It is also characterized by organized forms and meanings, and participant detachment. On the other hand, the spoken text, which is the concern of this study, and represented with oral texts, is communicated through the word of mouth. It is characterized by less organized in form, condensed in meaning and face- to- face interaction. Analyzing the discourse of the interaction between the police interviewer and the witnesses in which descriptions of the forms and examining of the functions of oral texts used by the police interviewers and the witnesses in the construction of the participants' identity is one of the objectives of this study. The study also tries to interpret the contexts in which the oral texts are produced to construct the participants' identity.

The issue of context is also closely related to language, situation and culture. According to Song (2010), context can be linguistic, situational and cultural. This scholar strengthens that linguistic context is the context within the discourse that shows the sequential and hierarchical relationships between linguistic forms. Fetzer (2007:5) also stated that "Linguistic context comprises the actual language use within a discursive community. Linguistic forms such as words, clauses, sentence, and utterance." For Fetzer, understanding linguistic context needs an understanding of these forms of a given data. Understanding the

context of the forms is based on the linguistic elements preceding and/ or succeeding words, sentences, etc. (Fairclough, 1989 and Halliday, 1994). In this regard, context is the immediate text – internal context (Van Dijk, 2008 & Wodak, 2001).

Situational context is the immediate environment in which discourse is produced, consumed and the relationship between the participants involved in the process of text production and consumption takes place. According to Halliday and Hassan (1989), there are three features of context of situation: field, tenor and mode. Field refers to what is happening. Tenor refers to the participants and mode of discourse refers to what the participants do with their language. This includes social, historical and culture contexts which refer to the background information against which the text is used and interpreted (VanDijk, 1997) and (Widdowson, 2004). The social and cultural contexts frame the text people use in everyday practices (Halliday and Hasan, 1989). Historical context relates the past situation with the present (Wodak, 2001). VanDijk (2008, 111) stressed that, “context is the social or communicative events that influence text or talk.” This definition is based on the social and cultural context in which language is used.

Therefore, textual context refers to intra- and inter-discursive construction of the linguistic forms. Whereas, the non-textual contexts (e.g. social, cultural and situational) refer to the circumstances in which texts are used. Textual and non-textual contexts include activities, participants, actions, interactions and the objectives that participants want to accomplish. The current study recognizes both aspects of context arguing that language without the context of use is meaningless. Brown and Yule (1983) contend that trial to study a language without its context of use is unacceptable. This is because language is a tool to communicate meaning and meaning- making depends upon not only what is explicitly mentioned in a text, but also what is implicitly assumed from the context.

The social meaning of texts cannot be identified from verbal forms without considering the distribution and interruption of the text. In this connection, Gee (1999) and Fairclough (2003) agree that context accompanies text in the process of contextual meaning. According to VanDijk (1997), context includes material setting, knowledge and belief systems, linguistic structure, social relationships and identities. Fairclough (1992) noted context as discursive

and non-discursive elements. He argues that discursive context involves the construction of meaning through language in use, while the non-discursive context refers to images, photos, and symbols. Therefore, text and context are concatenative elements, in which for an instance of texts to be used there should be a context of situation that involves participants. Similarly, for any context of situation to be established, there are context dependent texts. Therefore, text and context are dialectically related. In a given context, they influence each other (Van Dijk, 2009).

2.5 Discourse Types

In many cases, underlying the word ‘discourse’ is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being ‘medical discourse’ and ‘political discourse’. Besides, there are various types of discourses. These varieties include, medical discourse, legal discourse, classroom discourse, organizational discourse, media discourse, academic discourse, and so on. Policy discourse can be seen as one type of discourse. It can be further subdivided into: education policy, health policy, foreign policy and the likes.

2.5.1 Medical Discourse

The personal troubles that patients bring to doctors often have roots in social issues beyond medicine. While medical encounters involve "micro-level" interactions between individuals, these interpersonal processes occur in a social context shaped by "macro-level" structures in society (Waitzkin, 1989).

Much of the success of health-care provision depends on the quality of interactions between health professionals and patients. For instance, it is widely recognized that patients are more likely to take medication electively if they have been involved in discussions about treatment options, and understand and support the decision about what is prescribed (patient concordance) (Drew et al., 2001).

Drew et al. (2001) further state that at the very heart of the delivery of health-care services lie the interactions between medical staff and patients. Those interactions play a key role in determining, for instance, the accuracy of diagnosis, patients' commitment to treatment

regimes, and the extent to which patients are satisfied with the service they receive. But despite the importance of its role in medical care provision, the interaction between medical staff and patients is perhaps the most difficult aspect of medical care delivery to study and measure. In such cases, the methodological approach which is the analysis of conversation (conversation analysis) offers a good insight into medical interaction and communication, on the basis of:

1. Identifying patterns of behavior which healthcare practitioners might more consciously take into account in their interactions with patients and which, therefore, may have implications for training.
2. Identifying interactional strategies which may facilitate patient involvement in discussions and decisions about health-care (and thereby contribute to patient concordance)
3. Exploring the association between certain interactional styles' and certain outcomes such as patient satisfaction, antibiotic prescription, etc.

Hence, patient participation is important for the success of medical outcomes. The key is to explore how communicative choices made by health professionals impact on the quality of interactions in general and of patient participation in particular (Drew et al., 2001). This clearly implies that medical discourses play great roles in the success of health – care provision or diagnosis of patients. This in turn shows how the doctors or nurses communicate with patients' matters a lot in the medical environment.

2.5.2 Court Discourse

According to Wood (2012), the study of the interactions between language and law has been of great interest to both lawyers and linguists. According to this scholar, a particular focus has been the unique discourse that takes place in the courtrooms of Western countries (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Philips, 1998). All of these studies have contributed to a greater understanding of language-based interactions in courtroom settings including, the language of the interaction of courtroom participants: judges and defendants (Archer, 2006), lawyers and defendants (Aronsson, Jönsson & Linell, 1987), lawyers and juries (Hobbs, 2007), and lawyers and witnesses (Gnisci & Bakeman, 2007; Roberts, 1990).

Critical Discourse Analysis has been applied to courtroom discourse in many ways particularly in order to understand sociolinguistic interactions of courtroom discourse. This theory essentially analyzes all interactions at the level of powerful vs. powerless communicative acts. Thus, from a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, courtroom discourse is not unique, but shares the same framework as all other discourse. One of the crucial tasks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to account for the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, such an analysis should describe and explain how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimized by the text and talk of dominant groups or institutions.

A large portion of published research involving courtroom discourse has focused on interactions between lawyers and witnesses. These interactions occur in the direct examination and cross examination (Adelsward, 1987; Aronsson, Jönsson, & Linell, 1987; Gnisci & Bakeman, 2007).

2.6 Police Interview as Institutional Discourse

Haworth (2009) states that police interviews are undoubtedly an under-researched area, particularly in the field of linguistics. Only one book-length study exists (Heydon, 2005), with the rest of the literature made up of articles scattered across diverse journals or an occasional inclusion in a more general text, often using very dated or unrepresentative data (e.g. Fairclough (1995) and Thornborrow's (2002) use of an interview with a complainant (as opposed to a suspect) conducted in the presence of a BBC TV crew in 1980).

Although the police interview is a highly regulated form of discourse that is structured around legislative requirements, its 'institutionality' is constructed through the participants' interaction as they negotiate the organizational goals. That is, while aspects of a police interview, especially the beginning and end of the interview, are dictated by legislation and police regulations, the way in which each police interview is constructed as belonging to police institutional discourse is negotiated through the interactions.

Police interview is typically face-to-face encounter during which a member of the public is questioned by one or more investigators. It aims to gather evidence concerning possible

crimes. Understandably, interview is traditionally divided according to whether the interviewee is a suspect or witness (Roberts, 2011).

Police interview is a major fact finding method that police officers have at their disposal when investigating crime (Schollum, 2005). For Holmberg (2004) police interview is one of the most important investigative tools that law enforcement has close at hand, and police interview methods have changed during the twentieth century. To Haworth (2009), however, it is undoubtedly an under-researched area, particularly in the field of linguistics. It is conducted as part of the initial information-gathering phase of a criminal case and the resulting data then becomes criminal evidence (Haworth, 2009). A good police interview is conducted in the frame of the law, is governed by the interview goal, and is influenced by facilitating factors that may affect the elicited report (Holmberg, 2004).

We usually read in the literature or listen to people or media the two terms police interview or police interrogation used to indicate seeking information by police to find facts about the committed crime. This shows the little consistency of the terms in usage. Schollum (2005), strengthens this idea explaining that the literature on investigative interviewing shows little consistency in the use of the terms ‘interviewing’ and ‘interrogation’, although the latter is only associated with the interviewing of suspects. For example, early material providing information on techniques that police could use to try to persuade a person to confess tended to use the term ‘interrogation’. Some observers clearly favor this distinction: For instance, Meyer & Morgan, (2000: 2) put, “While the objective of an interview is to gain information, the objective of an interrogation is to gain a confession.” Yeschke (2003: 49) also strengthen this idea stating as, “The goal of interviewing is to collect truthful data to be used for informed decision-making and just action- taking. An interrogation, on the other hand, is a face-to-face meeting with a subject with the distinct objective of gaining an admission or a confession in a real or apparent violation of law or policy.”

In recent years, the use of ‘interrogation’ has fallen out of favor, not least because of criticisms that some of the ‘interrogation tactics’ advocated could induce false confessions (Gudjonsson, 1992). The departure from the term is generally a response to the negative images arising from use of the word, particularly the image of people being subjected to

unpleasant, unjust and uncaring physical and psychological tactics by those in authority over them (Shepherd, 1991).

The terms 'interview' and 'interrogation', as applied to the police investigative process, imply some form of questioning, whether of a witness to a crime, a victim, a complainant or a suspect. Both are essentially a way of gathering information for use in further enquiries and perhaps judicial purposes. The term interrogation is more commonly used in the literature, and in police practice, to refer to the questioning of criminal suspects, whereas witnesses and victims are 'interviewed' (Rabon, 1992). Such a distinction is, however, quite an arbitrary one, and the term 'investigative interviewing' has been proposed to cover both the interviewing of witnesses and suspects in England. This term has now been incorporated into police training and its evaluation (Clarke & Milne, 2001; Williamson, 1994) cited in Gudjonson, 2003). For the purpose of the study, as the point of focus was the police – witness interview, the term interview rather than interrogation was employed by the researcher to avoid confusion.

Fundamental to the success of a crime investigation is the information the police investigator gathers from different sources. This information must describe what happened and when a crime occurred, how the crime was accomplished, and why the crime was perpetrated. Without this information, crime victims' human rights cannot be safeguarded, the suspected person cannot be sued, the involved people cannot be completely rehabilitated, and the investigation will most likely be dropped (Holmberg, 2004).

Evidence can be of a technical nature, for example, fingerprints and DNA profiles. From technical evidence, the investigator may find an important conclusion in the sequence of the crime event, but such technical evidence does not tell the whole story. Moreover, investigations often lack technical evidence and under such circumstances the content of police interviews with crime victims, witnesses and suspects becomes very important, often completely deciding the success of a given crime investigation. To describe the criminal act, the consequences of the crime and the intent of the perpetrator, the crime investigation needs accurate descriptions from the crime victim, possible eyewitnesses, and the suspected

offender. The police interview is therefore an important tool in gathering descriptions from those who have any knowledge of the criminal act (Holmberg, 2004).

2.7 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is both an old and a new discipline. Its origins can be traced back to the study of language, public speech, and literature more than 2000 years ago. One major historical source is undoubtedly classical rhetoric, the art of good speaking (Van Dijk, 1985).

The emergence of new directions in the study of language use and discourse at the beginning of the 1970s showed that there were both continuity and change with respect to the previous decade. Formal sentence grammars had been challenged from several sides and were at least complemented with new ideas about language use, linguistic variation, speech acts, conversation, other dialogues, text structures, communicative events, and their cognitive and social contexts. Most of the paradigmatic shifts in the various language disciplines also brought a natural extension toward discourse phenomena (van Dijk, 1985).

Discourse analysis has recently been described as a new 'cross discipline', to which many established disciplines (linguistics, sociology, anthropology, cognitive psychology among others) have contributed (Fairclough, 1989; Hingham and Croker, 2009). Fairclough puts the discourse view of language as a form of social practice which implies that language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it. Accordingly, language is a social process but it is socially conditioned by other (non-linguistic) parts of society (1989).

In recent decades the social sciences have undergone a 'discursive turn' and become increasingly interested in the part played by language in the creation of the reality that surrounds us. This interest has been accompanied by the development of new theories and methods for the study of language use and its role in human society. Discourse analysis, though often seen as located within the discipline of linguistics, is in fact an interdisciplinary field of inquiry. With a history of less than 50 years it has acquired the status, stability, significance and integrity of a well-established discipline, extending the conventional boundaries of linguistics.

Since the 1960s, discourse has been defined as the analysis of linguistic behavior, written and spoken, beyond the limits of individual sentences, focusing primarily on the meaning constructed and interpreted as language is used in particular social contexts. This definition really shows the fact that language can be analyzed not just on the level of the phoneme/morpheme, the word, the clause or the sentence, but also on the level of the text, and the idea that language ought to be analyzed not as an abstract set of rules, but as a tool for social action. Discourse Analysis has evolved as a fruitful way of understanding the use of language in a variety of institutional, academic, workplace and professional settings (Bhatia et al., 2008).

Discourse analysis is basically the analysis of language in use. The analysis of only linguistic forms leaving out the functions which the forms are intended to serve does not give us the full picture. Linguists may still study language to discover rules that produce acceptable texts. In discourse as communicative behavior, however, the analysis focuses on finding out what constrains the occurrence of utterances and how sentences combine to form texts (Blakemore, 2001).

To conduct discourse analysis, generally, means to investigate language beyond the boundaries of syntactic or semantic form. The analyst, beyond the lexicogrammatical resources of the language system, is expected to pay attention to the functions of this system in the utterances and the functions of the utterance within its context. Thus, discourse analysis is interested not only in the formal aspects of language but also in the social actions performed by language users communicating within social and cultural contexts. It should take into account the formal as well as the social and cultural aspects of language (Barker and Galasinski, 2001).

Blakemore (2001), quoting Fasold (1990), defines the study of discourse, as the study of any aspect of language use. This definition broadens the territory to any aspect as far as the study is concerned with language use. Trappes-Lomaz (2004:134), concerning the multi-throged function of discourse analysis, defines it as: “The study of language viewed communicatively and/or communication viewed linguistically,” and goes on to say that it “...involves reference to concepts of language in use, language above or beyond the sentence, language as meaning

in interaction, and language in situational or cultural context.” Thus, according to Blakemore’s definition here, discourse analysis covers wider area of language use since it encompasses the communication aspect of language. It includes language as meaning in interaction which may possibly indicate that, not only language beyond the sentence but also below the sentence, since meaning can be conveyed in interactions with the help of phrases or even words (Widdowson, 2004).

According to this view, discourse analysis is an analysis of linguistic behavior, written and spoken, longer than a sentence, focusing primarily on the meaning created and interpreted as language is used in particular social contexts. This definition focuses on two major points: the fact that language can be analyzed beyond the limits of individual sentences and on the level of text, and the fact that language ought to be analyzed not as an abstract set or rules existing independently of human action, but as a tool for social action. In short, language should be analyzed from the point of view of its function (Bhatia, 2004).

A sentence cannot be fully analyzed without referring to the physical, social, and psychological world in which it takes place. Discourse refers to the totality of all these elements interacting (Cook, 1989). Grammatical form and its function do not always correspond, but work in harmony in discourse meaning (McCarthy 1991); therefore, discourse analysis requires a close look at language organization beyond the sentence-level. Speech and written text are given fuller meaning and pragmatic coherence is established when they are viewed as discourse. Additionally, in conversation, which is an excellent example of the interactive and interpersonal nature of communication in spoken discourse (Brown, 1994), the time dimension should be taken into account for analysis, since participants jointly contribute to the context of interaction.

According to Haworth (2009), discourse analysis is used as an ‘umbrella’ definition to position the level of linguistic analysis as of the text as a whole, without necessarily implying any particular methodological approach within that broad. According to Haworth, the particular approaches will be drawn upon are:

1. Conversation analysis (CA), for its fine-grained analysis of the sequential organization and structure of talk;

2. Pragmatics, for its focus on implicit and situated meaning;
3. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), in foregrounding the importance of the wider social context and the embedding of ideology in language;
4. And from sociolinguistics an interest in the social construction of identity through language use.

Haworth (2009) also states the types of linguistic features to which these approaches draw attention are:

- turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974)
- topic selection and control (Greatbatch, 1986)
- pauses, interruption and overlap
- the form and function of question types (Harris, 1984)
- terms of address and personal reference
- formulations (Heritage & Watson, 1979)
- lexical choice (Drew & Heritage, 1992)
- Transitivity and tense use (Halliday, 1985).

2.8 Critical Discourse Analysis

The terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are often used interchangeably. However, recently the term CDA seems to have been preferred and being used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL (Wodak, 2006:1). Thus, in this study context, the researcher will also actually continue to use CDA.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately to resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 1998). It is a method that aims at uncovering the assumptions that are hidden in a discourse be it in written texts or talk. It is concerned with what is not said, i.e. looking for the veiled meaning in the process of communication

(Fairclough, 1993). Accordingly, the ‘critical’ component of CDA approach implies the investigation of the causes of hidden assumptions in a given communicative event.

CDA might thus be defined as being fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control when these are manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically, social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized and, and so on by language use (or in discourse). Most critical discourse analysts would thus endorse Habermas’s claim that “Language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. In so far, as the legitimizations of power relations ... are not articulated ... language is also ideological” (Habermas, 1967: 259) in Wodak (2006).

Fairclough, who is the other founding figure of Critical Discourse Analysis, explains that in Critical Discourse Analysis, "power is conceptualized in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events" (Fairclough, 1995:1). CDA is meant to determine the relationship between language and power and how language is used to produce, maintain, and reproduce power relations via discursive means. It explores the way language has been used to maintain inequality (Harrison and Young, 2004).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) explain CDA as a study that helps in addressing social problems that mankind faces. According to these scholars, taking a certain social problem, one may try to see how language has been employed by both the powerful and powerless groups in maintaining and resisting a given social order. This implies that CDA is a vital tool to unpack the underlying ideologies that texts perpetuate. This has also been further expressed by Fairclough (2001), who noted that discourse is ideological as far as it contributes to sustaining particular relations of power and domination. CDA can reveal how the ideological system is produced and reproduced by discourse and social practices that serve certain groups sustain their power. Powerful groups maintain the status quo by creating discourses embedded with ideological interpretations that can dull people (Griffin, 2000). CDA in this context is concerned not only with texts themselves, but also with the wider social contexts in which these texts are produced, including the institutions and the power relations that hold them.

In the works of CDA, discourse is conceptualized as something that combines both the linguistic structure and social practices, i.e. how meanings are constructed through the use of language (Koteyko, 2006). It is understood as not only discursive practices of people, but also how their power relations and ideologies shape it. This direction of discourse analysis brings out hidden meanings and implicit assumptions that would otherwise escape critical attention (Fairclough, 1992).

The root of this discourse analytical research (CDA) lie in classical Rhetoric, Text linguistics and Socio linguistics, as well as in Applied linguistics and Pragmatics (Fairclough 2003; Wodak 2004; Renkema 2004; Blommaert 2005). CDA sees “Language as a social practice” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997), and considers the “context of language use” to be crucial (Wodak 2000).

Kasaye (2013) explains that the exclusion of social and cultural dimensions in structuralism (especially Chomsky’s generative grammar, which was the most acclaimed movement in linguistics) led to the emergence of approaches that encompassed social aspects. One of these movements was CDA which focused attention on the social aspect of language and its semiotic dimensions. According to Gee (2000), CDA is a post structuralist and post-modernist approach whose central attention is on the notion of discourse. CDA emerged as a resistance against the backdrop of the Chomskyan linguistics program which focused on the structure of language alone.

Scholars in the field of discourse analysis could not come up with single uniform analytical frame work of CDA so far. They rather attempted to introduce their own frameworks (Fairclough, 2003, 1989; Wodak, 2003; VanDijk, 1995). Fairclough’s ‘three-level analytical framework’; Wodak’s ‘discourse- historical model’ and Van Dijk’s ‘socio-cognitive model’ of analysis are the three CDA frameworks widely known in the field (Van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 2002; Fairclough, 1995). However, although they claim to have their own frameworks or procedures, the scholars accomplish almost the same thing.

To begin with, the frameworks or models of all the three scholars include the analysis of linguistic aspect of the discourse often called micro-analysis and analysis of text- internal factors called macro-analysis. For instance, Fairclough begins with the analysis of the

linguistic aspect of the discourse and move to the analysis of the immediate and then to the broader socio-cultural, economic and political context from which the target discourses emerges (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough's linguistic analysis is mainly based on Halliday's (1989) Systemic Functional Linguistic.

Similarly, Wodak in her discourse –historical model analyzes or describes the linguistic aspect of the discourses. The difference in the analytical frameworks of the two scholars lie in the priority they give to linguistic analysis. Fairclough prefers to start with texts and move on to the macro-analysis of the social context. However, in her linguistic analysis, Wodak often uses ready-made categories which she makes in line with the type of research questions in her study (Wodak, 2001). She also prefers to start with the analysis or interpretation of the contextual aspect of discourse. In her framework, textual analysis often comes towards the end after the content of the discourse is interpreted in relation to the existing or previous social and historical context (Wodak, 2001, Wodak and Ludwig, 1999). Thus; she gives priority to the careful recording of the context of the discourse. Like that of Fairclough's framework, Wodak's linguistic analysis draws its tool partly from Halliday's (1989) Systemic Functional Linguistic but also employ speech act theory (Wodak, 1996).

Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model also involves linguistic analysis. According to this scholar "since discourse is first of all a form of language use, it goes without saying that linguistic methods of analysis have played a predominant role in the study of text and talk" (Van Dijk, 1985:1). In Van Dijk's model of ideology analysis in media discourses, discourse analysis is considered simply as analysis of the textual aspect of the news. Textual analysis in the case of this scholar, involves the analysis of "semantic relations between propositions, syntactic, lexical and rhetorical elements which include direct and indirect reporting" (Van Dijk, 1988:13). In addition to linguistic analysis, the above scholars also analyze the socio-cultural context in which the discourse is produced.

Police interview interaction has attracted the attention of discourse analysts primarily interested in the effects on discursive patterns of an obviously asymmetrical distribution of power and the goal-oriented nature of institutional talk, as well as ways in which such relationships and purposes are managed, negotiated and resisted at the local level (MacLeod,

2010). In the context of this study, these definitions will be used to show the way language is used and controlled in a setting of police interview with witnesses. Critical Discourse Analysis establishes the basic idea that asymmetries in discourse are expressions of power and control over the discourse. This will be of paramount importance in the understanding of Performance and police interview discourse.

2.9 Conversation Analysis and Power

It seems that there is argument over the definition of power among different scholars. For Critical Analysts power is viewed as the discursive practices that contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups – for example, between social classes, women and men, ethnic minorities and the majority. These effects are understood as *ideological* effects.

Wooffitt (2005) states that CA has uneasy relationship with its parent discipline Sociology. It has distinctive methodology-specifically its rejection of premature theorizing – and its focus on the detailed analysis of the organization of interaction as a topic in its own right. This has led its critics to argue that it fails to address the range of issues traditionally studied by sociologists. Thus, it does not try to conceptualize its data in terms of the theoretical stances currently influential in the discipline. Furthermore, it does not try to make links between the micro-phenomena of interaction and what might be called macro-level order, in which relations of power, the role of ideologies and the influence of history and cultural values are said to operate.

It is untrue, however, to assume that conversation analysts have simply ignored the sociological agenda. Hutchby (1992, 1996a, 1996b, & 1999) strengthen this idea putting that power is not ignored in Conversation Analysis. Accordingly, CA studies of talk in institutional or work related settings already offer analyses of features of interaction that lend themselves to interpretation in terms of interpersonal power relations. Wooffitt also states that in CA, power is concerned, broadly, with the management of interactional advantage through turn-taking (2005). According to Fairclough (1995), in the context of language ideology, power is seen in terms of “asymmetries between participants in discourse events,

and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed (and hence the shapes of texts) in particular socio cultural contexts

Thornborrow (2002) explains power in discourse as something which is negotiated and constructed in the interaction between participants. This scholar adds that power is accomplished in discourse both on a structural level, through the turn and type of space speakers are given or can get access to, and, on an interactional level, through what they can effectively accomplish in that space.

Further, Thornborrow (2002:4) states that:

“.... institutional discourse can be described as talk which sets up positions for people to talk from and restricts some speakers’ access to certain kinds of discursive actions.” This shows how indeed, the aspect of power as a “contextually relative phenomenon” (Thornborrow, 2002:35) has to be taken into consideration when examining power in institutional settings because the resources the different participants are able to use in their discourse is greatly determined by the surrounding norms and institutional roles they have.

A recurrent theme in studies of institutional discourse has been a focus on how the unequal distribution of power among the participants, typical of such settings, is manifested (Newbury & Johnson, 2006). Thus, power is another term requiring explanation here.

MacLeod (2010) states that the concept of power has been proved to be problematic with many competing views as to where it is located, what it consists of and how it is best analyzed. For Thornborrow, power is ‘a set of resources and actions which are available to speakers and which can be used more or less successfully depending on who the speakers are and what kind of speech situation they are in’ (2002). According to Fairclough (1995:1-2), power is conceptualized ‘both in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and in terms of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in particular socio-cultural contexts’.

Wodak’s (1996) definition about power is drawn from Foucault (1977), Bourdieu (1991) and van Dijk (1985). Accordingly, power is interpreted as ‘discursive control that includes who has access to the various types of discourse, who can and cannot talk to whom, in which

situations, and about what. The more powerful the people, the larger their verbal possibilities in discourse become' (Wodak, 1996). Hence, for the purpose of this study, power can be seen to operate at the local level (as a synonym for 'interactional control'), and in the broader context of the police institution's social role.

It is worth mentioning that power is not limited to a simple process of domination. Rather, it can be jointly produced by participants, since the powerless are 'led to believe that dominance is legitimate in some way or other' (Simpson & Mayr, 2009). Hence, besides the more traditional conceptualization of 'power by dominance', the notion of 'power by consent', or what Gramsci (1971) terms 'hegemony', is also relevant to this study.

According to Drew & Heritage (1992), language is viewed by many as being an integral part of the 'work' of social organizations, it being 'the principal means through which lay persons pursue various practical goals and the central medium through which the daily working activities are conducted.

Conversation involves interaction and this interaction involves discourse whether it is ordinary or institutional which in turn is not out of language. As discourse is language, it has power. This is a clear indication of the relationship between language and power. Regarding this, Fairclough (1989) has identified two aspects of the relationship between language and power. The first is the power behind language which points to the ways in which powerful groups can determine aspects of language. The second is the various ways in which power can work *in* language. Accordingly, in face-to-face or telephone interaction there are constraints on the nature and extent of participation.

There are constraints on content (what is said or done); constraints on the kinds of interpersonal relationships people enter when they engage in talk; and constraints on subject positions (the kinds of participatory roles which people can occupy in their discourse). In interaction between friends, these constraints may be flexible and relaxed, but in more formal encounters, a different set of assumptions become relevant. In doctor-patient consultations, for example, it is likely that the patient will describe symptoms and the doctor will ask questions, offer a diagnosis and, if necessary, suggest a course of medical treatment. It is

unlikely that either party will deviate from these normatively prescribed participatory roles without good reason Fairclough (1989).

In general, the facts mentioned earlier indicate that though different scholars have different views on the definition of power, they do not deny the presence of power relationship in conversation analysis. Hence, police interview as one of the institutional discourses that involve the conversation between the police and suspects, victims and witnesses involves the influence of this power relationship.

Haworth (2006) further explains that in police interviews with suspects the role of each participant is clearly defined and restrained. Yet these roles are very unequal, especially in terms of the distribution of power and control. In addition to the asymmetric dynamic created by the ascribed roles of questioner and responder, the police have a considerable degree of direct power over the interviewee, controlling the setting in which the interview takes place and having the capability to make vital decisions about the interviewee's liberty and future based on the outcome. The whole point of the interview process is for the interviewer to gain information from the interviewee. Thus although the police interviewer is ostensibly in control of the situation, the outcome of the interview is very much in the hands (or rather words) of the interviewee. The question of power and control is therefore an important aspect of police interview discourse.

2.10 Ordinary Conversation and Institutional Discourse

The present study can also be seen to belong to a tradition of research into interaction in professional/institutional contexts, or 'institutional discourse' as it has become known. At the beginning, CA focused almost exclusively on ordinary conversation and it has gradually moved away from towards other kinds of conversational environment (Ilie, 2001). CA begins from a consideration of the interactional accomplishment of particular social activities (Drew and Heritage, 1992). Most of the early works in conversation analysis focused on ordinary conversation-a term that has come to denote forms of interaction that are not confined to specialized settings or to the execution of particular tasks. Ordinary conversation is often defined negatively: wedding ceremonies are not ordinary conversation, legal proceedings in court are not ordinary conversation, though both adapt practices of talk and action from

ordinary conversation and press them in to service in these more specialized and restricted speech settings (Shegloff,1999).

In contrast, the studies of institutional talk that emerged in the late 1970s focused on more restricted environments in which the goals of the participants are more limited and institution-specific. There are often restrictions on the nature of interactional contributions, and talk is understood in terms of institution and activity-specific inferential frameworks (Drew & Heritage, 1992).

The use of Conversation Analysis has broadened from its original and primary domain _ordinary conversation _to increasingly diverse social interactions ranging from those in medical, educational and legal settings, to those involving the deployment of complex communication technology, and from studies with a focus on the acquisition of language and communicative competence to those which focus on interactional and pragmatic aspects of their loss (Prevignano and Thibault, 2003). Goodwin and Heritage (1990) also explain that CA is a generic approach to the analysis of social interaction that was first developed in the study of ordinary conversation but which has since been applied to a wide spectrum of other forms of talk-in-interaction ranging from courtroom and news interview conduct to political speeches. Furthermore, Karin and Cristoph (2013) strengthened that CA was originally concerned solely with conversational interactions, however, more recently, non – conversational styles of talk have been analyzing using CA principle for example, court room interactions, interviews, medical consultations, political speeches, radio phone – in show, speech and language therapy sessions, stand up comedy, task oriented interactions and so on.

Because of the intersections between ordinary conversation and institutional talk, scholars usually discuss the difficulty of putting a clear demarcation between them. Heritage and Clayman (2010) state that it is difficult to propose any hard-and-fast distinction between “ordinary conversation” on the one hand and “institutional talk” on the other. Rather, it is possible to investigate the ways in which ordinary conversational practices are brought to bear in task-focused interactions. Because the tasks of these interactions are recurrent, so too are the specific practices that they frequently engage. For this reason, one can fairly readily observe systematic relationships between practices of interaction on the one hand, and

institutional tasks and identities on the other. It is the intersections between interactional practices, social identities, and institutional tasks.

However, still these writers express that there are differences or clear distinctions between ordinary conversation and institutional talk. Regarding this, Heritage and Clayman (2010) also express that although the boundaries between institutional talk and ordinary conversation are not clearly fixed and demarcated, there are clear distinctions between classroom interaction, news interviews, mediation sessions, and medical visits on the one hand, and ordinary conversations between family members, friends, and strangers on the other. The relationship between ordinary conversation and institutional talk can be understood as that between an encompassing “master institution” and its more restricted local variants.

Talk is at the heart of human existence. It is pervasive and central to human history, in every setting of human affairs, at all levels of society, in virtually every social context (Zimmerman and Boden, 1991). The present study can also be seen to belong to a tradition of research into interaction in professional/institutional contexts, or _institutional discourse.

A full definition and conceptualization of institutional discourse is probably impossible. This is partly because the range of institutions is varied. The difficulty of definition is further compounded by the fact that institutional talk is not confined to particular physical or symbolic settings such as hospitals, offices or classrooms (Drew & Heritage 1992). Institutional talk can occur anywhere, and by the same token “ordinary conversation” can emerge in almost any seemingly institutional context. Finally, the vast majority of interactional practices that are deployed in institutional talk are also deployed in ordinary conversation (Heritage and Clayman 2010).

Despite the fact that institutional talk embodies many practices of mundane or ordinary conversation, it is also distinct and distinguishable from ordinary conversation. A number of dimensions of differences were systematized by Drew and Heritage (1992). According to Haworth (2009), institutional discourse is by no means a straightforward thing. On an intuitive, common sense level there seems to be no difficulty in describing between doctors and patients or police and public as ‘institutional’, but it is less easy to draw a meaningful boundary between

institutional and non-institutional discourse, not least because both can occur within a single interaction.

In the introduction to their seminal collection of work in this area, Drew and Heritage (1992) state that a common factor in the interactions analyzed under the banner of institutional discourse‘ is that they are basically task-related and involve at least one participant who represents a formal organization of some kind‘. Clearly, there is no difficulty in treating the police interview context as falling within this category. However, they also state that the institutionality of an interaction is not determined by its setting. Rather, interaction is institutional insofar as participants’ institutional or professional identities are somehow made relevant to the work activities in which they are engaged‘(ibid.).This recognition that interaction which takes place in a setting such as the police interview room is not automatically and of itself institutional ‘is an important one.

Thornborrow, (2002) also describes institutional discourse as:

....a form of interaction in which the relationship between a participant’s current institutional role (that is, interviewer, caller to a phone-in programme or school teacher) and their current discursive role (for example, questioner, answerer or opinion giver) emerges as a local phenomenon which shapes the organization and trajectory of the talk. In other words, what people do in institutional encounters is produced, overall, as a result of this interplay between their interactional and discursive role and their institutional identity and status (Thornborrow, 2002:5).

This implies that an interaction in which a person’s local role as “questioner” is affected by their wider role as “police officer” can safely be labeled as “institutional discourse” (MacLeod,2010:33).

Institutional interaction is typically asymmetrical, since power and control are located in the institutional participant, rather than being equally distributed. This results in the institutional speaker directing and controlling the discourse rather than the lay speaker and institutional transactive goals being pursued at the expense of social or phatic ones Jaworski and Coupland (2006) in Coulthard and Johnson, (2007).

Three key features of institutional talk are proposed by Drew and Heritage (1992: 22), which can be summarized as follows:

- (1) At least one of the participants in an institutional interaction displays an orientation towards some core goal conventionally associated with the institution.
- (2) There may be constraints on what one or all participants will treat as an allowable contribution to the interaction.
- (3) Institutional talk may be produced within context-specific inferential frameworks.

This means that the institutional members of legal conversations – police officers in interviews or barristers in court – are in control of the legal goals and agendas in talk and are aware of the constraints on the meaning of particular words or phrases, such as *intend* or *admit*, whereas lay members do not understand the talk in the same way and could be described as being at the mercy of these goals (Coulthard and Johnson, 2007).

Seligson (2009) states that every day, in police stations across the United States, people confess to crimes that they have not committed. Confessing has serious repercussions for these detainees: many are convicted, imprisoned, and even executed, based on those confessions. Research has shown that confessions are the single most important piece of evidence that will sway jurors to convict defendants. With the advent of DNA evidence, however, there has been an increased awareness in recent years that many innocent defendants have confessed falsely and consequently have been wrongly convicted.

2.11 Dimensions of Distinctiveness in Institutional Talk

Arminen (2005) states that in an empirical analysis, the researcher's task is to seek demonstrable features of institutionality in interaction. However, as mentioned so far, demarking the boundary between ordinary or mundane conversation and institutional talk is surprisingly difficult. Or it can be both easy and difficult as mentioned by Heritage (1997) because institutional features can be found anywhere in interaction. On the other hand, institutional talk embodies many practices of mundane or ordinary conversation. However,

despite these overlapping, institutional talk is distinct and distinguishable from ordinary conversation. Schegloff (1999) strengthens the idea saying that though the boundaries between “conversation” and other types of talk are difficult to define exactly, even fuzzy boundaries can be extremely useful, and the distinction is still worth making.

That is why Drew and Heritage have reconstructed a helpful scheme that may guide the study of institutional interactions which are partly overlapping dimensions to probe the institutional nature of interaction. These dimensions of difference systematized by Drew and Heritage (1992b) include:

1. Turn-taking organization
2. Overall structural organization of the interaction
3. Sequence organization
4. Turn design
5. Lexical or word choice
6. Epistemological and other forms of asymmetry

2.11.1 Turn taking

Turn-taking is one of the basic mechanisms in conversation and the nature of turn taking is to promote and maintain talk (Kato 2000). In a conversation, most of the time one person speaks and the others do not. Participants “take turn” at the floor. While small gaps and overlaps between participants’ speech are frequent, they rarely last more than a few seconds (Raux, 2008). According to this scholar, in the 60s and early 70s, Harvey Sacks and his colleagues, created the field of Conversation Analysis (CA), defined as the study of how people interact with speech in different social settings (e.g. informal conversations, medical appointments, political interviews...). In particular, CA researchers have focused on turn-taking as one of the prominent features of spontaneous conversation.

According to the turn-taking model of conversation (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1978) in MacLeod (2010), a question requires an answer. One of the essential observations of CA is that, when conversing, participants obviously switch their roles of speaker and hearer, i.e., they take turns in the process named turn-taking. Arminen (2005) puts that the organization

of turn-taking is a fundamental dimension of talk-in-interaction. In institutional interaction, specific arrangements for turn-taking organization may be one of the elementary ways to adapt the interaction to the institutional tasks at hand.

All interactions involve the use of some kind of turn-taking organization (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974), and many kinds of institutional interaction use the same turn-taking organization as ordinary conversation. Some, however, involve very specific and systematic transformations in conversational turn-taking procedures. These special turn-taking systems can be very important in studying institutional interaction because they have the potential to alter the parties' opportunities for action, and to recalibrate the interpretation of almost every aspect of the activities that result. For example, the opportunities to initiate actions, what the actions can be intended to mean, and how they will be interpreted can all be significantly shaped by distinctive turn-taking systems .

In conversation, very little of what we say, the actions we perform, or the order in which we do things is determined in advance (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974). In this sense, conversations are unpredictable. In some forms of institutional interaction – debates, ceremonies, and many kinds of meetings – the topics, actions, and order of speakership are organized from the outset in an explicit and predictable way. This kind of organization involves special turn-taking procedures that are systematically different from conversation (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

The most intensively studied institutional turn-taking organizations have been those that obtain in the courts (Atkinson & Drew 1979), news interviews (Great batch, 1988; Clayman & Heritage 2002a), and classrooms (McHoul, 1978; Mehan 1985). As these examples suggest, special turn-taking organizations tend to be present in large-scale formal environments involving many potential speakers and hearers. However, special turn-taking systems can be found in more private, and less formal, contexts. For example, Peräkylä (1995) has described turn-taking practices within counseling contexts that are designed to implement special therapeutic processes, including the elicitation of thoughts about death. Similarly Garcia (1991) has shown that mediation can involve special turn-taking practices as a means of limiting conflict between the participants. There are also other turn-taking

organizations in non-Western societies that order speakership by age, rank or other criteria of seniority (Albert 1964, Duranti 1994), though, perhaps because CA has focused mainly on conduct in industrialized societies which may be less hierarchical than others in the world, these systems have so far been less studied (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

Special turn-taking procedures fall into three broad groups: (1) action (or “turn-type”) pre-allocation which is characteristic of courtrooms, and news interviews (Atkinson & Drew 1979, Greatbatch 1988, Clayman & Heritage 2002a), (2) mediated turn-allocation procedures characteristic of business and other forms of chaired meetings (Cuff & Sharrock 1985), and (3) systems that involve a combination of both processes, which are common in mediation (Garcia 1991) and some forms of counseling (Peräkylä 1995). The most pervasive form of action pre-allocation involves the restriction of one party to asking questions and the other to responding to them. This form of pre-allocation is characteristic of interactions in courtrooms, news interviews, and classrooms. Its effect is to severely restrict when and which persons may speak (the addressee of the question) and the type of contribution they may make (responding to the question). In all three institutions, formal and informal sanctions – ranging from contempt of court to informal chastising – exist for persons who talk out of turn or who fail to be responsive to questions (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

The very briefest glance at conversational data will uncover some basic observable facts and in their seminal paper on ‘A simplest systematic for the organization of turn-taking for conversation’, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) noted that the following observations seem to be worth trying to explain:

- Speaker change occurs
- Generally only one participant speaks at a time
- When overlap occurs it is usually brief
- The order and distribution of turns is not fixed in advance but varies within and between conversations
- The size or length of speaker turns varies from one turn to the next
- Turns(or turn constructional units) can be composed of: a single lexical item(word); phrases; clauses; full sentences

- What participants say in their turns, or what actions they perform with their turns, is not restricted or specified in advance.

The rules as set out by Sacks et.al. (1974) are as follows:

A TRP is a transition relevance place, which is the place in the turn at which it becomes relevant or legitimate for another party in the conversation to begin speaking. C is current speaker and N is next speaker.

Rule 1 – applies initially at the first TRP of any turn

- (a) If C selects N in current turn, then C must stop speaking, and N must speak next, transition occurring at the first TRP after N-selection.
- (b) If C does not select N, then any (other) party may self-select, first speaker gaining rights to the next turn.
- (c) If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects under option (b), then C may (but need not) continue speaking (i.e. claim rights to a further turn-constructional unit).

Rule 2 – applies to all subsequent TRPs

When rule 1(c) has been applied by C, then at the next TRP Rules 1(a)–(c) apply, and recursively at the next TRP, until speaker change is effected.

These rules predict that:

- 1) Only one speaker will generally be speaking at any time (because each speaker will wait either until they are selected or until a legitimate opportunity arises where they may select themselves).
- 2) Overlaps may occur where there are competing next speakers (as allowed by 1b).
- 3) Overlaps may occur at mis projected TRPs. In other words N starts to speak where they (wrongly) anticipated a TRP but where C had not actually yet completed their current TCU.

2.11.2 Overall Structural Organization

Heritage (2004) states that the overall structural organization of an interaction is the map of interaction in the sense of typical phases or sections. This scholar further explains that the

possible structure of institutional interaction includes: opening, denoting the problem, solving and closing. Most forms of interactions have some kind of overall structural organization (Heritage and Clayman, 2013). In this way, a description of the overall structural organization of interaction can provide a mediating level between the detailed analysis of individual sequences of interaction and more general organizational concerns (Arminen, 2005).

The facts that most interactions have phases of activity that ordinarily occur regardless of the interaction's particular content are addressed with "overall structural organization". In ordinary conversation, the openings and closings of the conversation are just this: pre-specified phases of action that are ordinarily features of almost every conversation and have dedicated sets of practices assigned to them (Schegloff 1968, 1986, Schegloff & Sacks 1973).

Otherwise, however, conversation embodies an exceptionally open, fluid, and diverse set of activities and practices which combine and recombine in many unpredictable forms in line with the objectives and inclinations of the participants. For this reason, once we move outside openings and closings in conversation, we do not find other pre-specified phases of overall structure to identify. Matters are rather different in institutional interactions where, as often as not, the overall task of the interaction involves recurrent phases of activity (Heritage and Clayman, 2010). Unlike everyday conversation in institutional communications there is no structure in which everyone can do everything. Turn taking is predefined and determines contribution in interaction. Power of interaction is distributed unequally/asymmetrically. Collocutors that are more powerful dominate over shift alterations, their duration and theme of conversation (Lelićanin, & Šuvaković, 2011).

2.11.3 Sequence Organization

Sequence organization is the engine room of interaction. It is through sequence organization that the activities and tasks central to interaction are managed. It is also a primary means through which both local interactional identities and roles (story teller, news deliverer, sympathizer) and more enduring social and institutional roles (woman, grandparent, Latino, etc.) are established, maintained, and manipulated. This role for sequence organization is true for both ordinary conversation and institutional interaction (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

The production and understanding of an utterance as an action derives from features of the social context, most especially an utterance's place in an organized sequence of talk. Conversation sequencing was explored in early papers on turn-taking and the organization of adjacency pairs) turns of talk like questions and answers, or recommendations and acceptance / rejection that are 2 utterances long and have other regular characteristics. Any participant's communicative action is doubly contextual (Maynard & Heritage, 2005).

Conversation analysts stress that utterances in interaction are not just single events but are connected. They are part of a web of meanings created as *inter*-action, where every utterance can be seen as shaped by, and as an analysis of, the interaction so far. Simultaneously, the utterance creates a new context for the subsequent utterances (Heritage 1984).

CA consistently and insistently asks a single question about any action (or indeed any component of any action): *why that now?* And in response to this question CA examines what the action does in relation to the preceding action(s), and what it projects about the succeeding action(s). From its inception, CA has been occupied with the analysis of the sequential organization of interaction. Underlying this notion is a number of fundamental ideas. First, turns at talk are *context-shaped*: they are overwhelmingly produced with an orientation to preceding talk, most commonly the immediately preceding talk (Sacks 1987, 1992, Schegloff & Sacks 1973). Speakers design their talk in ways that exploit this basic positioning, thereby exposing the fundamental role of sequential positioning as a resource for the production and understanding of their utterances (Schegloff, 1984).

Second, turns at talk are ***context renewing***: They ordinarily project the relevance of a particular "next" action, or range of next actions, to be done by a subsequent speaker (Schegloff, 1972). Finally, turns at talk are the building blocks of ***inter subjectivity***: By the production of next actions, speakers show an understanding of a prior action and do so at a multiplicity of levels: for example, by an "acceptance", an actor can show an understanding that the prior turn was possibly complete, that it was addressed to them, that it was an action of a particular type (e.g., an invitation) and so on (Schegloff, 1992c). Hence CA focuses on the dynamic processes through which connected sequences of actions are built up. Its methodology is premised on the notion that all three of these features – the grasp of a next

action that a current one projects, the production of that next action, and its interpretation by the previous speaker—are methodically achieved by means of a set of socially shared procedures. CA analyses are thus analyses simultaneously of action, context management, and inter subjectivity, because all three of these features are simultaneously, if tacitly, the objects of the actors’ actions.

Finally, the procedures that inform these activities are normative in that actors can be held morally accountable both for departures from their use and for the inferences which their use, or departures from their use, may engender. It was in the integration of these three themes that the separate ideas of Goffman and Garfinkel became fused into a single, powerful research program that crystallized into a clear set of empirical working practices which were applied, without exception, to tape recordings of naturally occurring interactions (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

2.11.4 Turn Design

All turns at talk are constructed and will be evaluated by others in terms of their analysis of and sensitivity to the circumstances in which they are produced (Drew, 2012). Sequences are made up of turns and cannot, therefore, be completely analyzed without a major consideration of turn design. Institutional talk is no exception to this generalization. Sequences of institutional talk are made up of turns that quite often exactly index the institutional circumstances in which they are produced and that also of course instantiate these same circumstances. Turn design is a massive topic of investigation and can only be briefly illustrated in an overview of this nature (Heritage, 2013).

This section deals with some ways that institutional contexts are implicated in the design of turns and of the actions they implement. This is a massive topic and only glimpses of its ramifications can be presented in a short review. It is worth beginning, however, by remembering that in much institutional interaction a highly practiced institutional representative is talking with a very much less practiced layperson. Thus sheer repetition generates a kind of “knowhow” about dealing with the general public, and in particular how conflict or confrontation can be avoided (Heritage and Clayman, 2010). Drew and Heritage (1992) note that turn design involves two distinct elements of selection:

(1) The action that the talk is designed to perform and (2) the means that are selected to perform the action. The first sense in which a turn is “designed” concerns the selection of the action which someone wants to accomplish in a turn at talk. The second aspect of turn design arises from the fact that the same action can be performed in a variety of different ways. Thus speakers must also select among alternative ways of performing an action.

2.11.5 Lexical Choice

Lexical choices are really an elementary level for the analysis of interaction. They are related to turn design, as turn design is to sequence organization (Arminen, 2005). Turn designs are implemented with words that have to be selected. Our “Why that now?” question can certainly embrace this process of selection (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

Lexical choice implies that alternative lexical formulations are available to reference the same state of affairs. For example, speakers can reference themselves using “I” or “We”, the latter choice often being used to index that they are speaking on behalf of an institution (Sacks, 1992). Again, law enforcement can be referred to as “police” or “cops”, but the selection between these two terms may be sensitive to whether the speaker is appearing in court (Jefferson, 1974), or talking with adolescent peers (Sacks, 1979).

Lexical choice and person reference according to (Drew & Sorjonen, 1997) are profoundly complex aspects of institutional talk. They embody highly general principles which are nonetheless exquisitely linked to the interactional projects in which the participants are engaged. Schegloff (1972) showed that lexical formulation is strongly impacted by considerations of “recipient design”, having to do with the particular circumstances and individuals involved in the interaction. This is just as true of institutional contexts as it is of ordinary conversational interaction. Examining participants lexical choices, therefore, can give a very exact window into how they are oriented to the states of affairs they wish to describe, the circumstances they are in, and the ways in which those circumstances are to be navigated (Heritage and Clayman, 2010).

Layers of organization within institutional talk that we can examine nest within one another. The selection of words (lexical choice) contributes to turn design and the building of actions

within turns. Turn design contributes to sequence organization which, in turn, contributes to the phases of interaction which make up its overall structural organization. All of these activities are pervaded by the turn-taking system that is in play within a given type of interaction. These layers, or orders, of organization can also be viewed as “keys” that can be used to unlock institutional data. Our “Why that now?” question can be used to ask questions about why particular words were chosen, why turns were designed that way, how and why particular sequences were built, and how and why the phases of the interaction took the exact form that they did (Heritage and Clayman , 2010).

2.11.6 Epistemological and other Forms of Asymmetry

Heritage (2013) confirms that institutional interactions are overwhelmingly characterized by asymmetries of various kinds that involve: i. participation ii. ‘Knowhow’ about the interaction and the institution in which it is embedded (what is routine for more powerful participant, it is a unique experience for less powerful participant) iii. Substantive or technical knowledge, epistemological caution and asymmetry in knowledge (more powerful participants avoid to take a firm position in the form of personal opinion, but they rather talk on behalf of the profession i.e. institution) and **iv.** Rights to articulate substantive knowledge.

Many studies have documented asymmetries in participation in a wide variety of institutional interactions and that the participant representing the institution takes and retains the initiative in these interactions relative to lay persons Linell Gustavsson and Juvonen 1988 in Heritage (2013). ‘If there were no asymmetries at all between people i.e. if communicatively relevant inequalities of knowledge were non-existing there would be little or no need for most kinds of communication’ (Linell and Luckmann, 1991). Yet it is also clear that there is a distinction to be made between the moment to moment asymmetries whether epistemic or otherwise (Drew, 1991 and Heritage, 2012b) of ordinary conversation on the one hand and interactions in which one party is in need of help and the other has institutional authority that is directly tied to discursive rights in the situation.

Many forms of institutional talk involve asymmetries of interactional and institutional ‘knowhow’. These gaps in knowledge and know how are very great in the field of medicine, especially involving ‘vulnerable subjects’ such as children or the mentally ill, and has stimulated a large scale movement to redress the balance so that patient choices are better informed and medical care is more patient-centered (Heritage, 2013).

Asymmetries of substantive or technical knowledge and rights to articulate substantive knowledge are so overwhelmingly present, diverse and complex as to resist any useful summary. One systematic problem that they generate concerns a dilemma over vocabulary. Put simply, should the expert use technical terminology and risk lay misunderstanding, or should the expert use simpler vernacular terminology and risk appearing patronizing to the lay person Kitzinger & Mandelbaum, 2012 in Heritage (2013).

For instrumental achieving the power in discourse, (Fairclough, 2001: 113–114) especially quotes:

- a) **Interruption** of the collocutor as the reflex of power of the more powerful participant
- b) **Enforcing explicitness** – unambiguous meaning is requested from the inferior participant, most frequently by an additional question.
- c) **Controlling topic** – more superior participants in interaction are often in situation to determine the nature and purpose of interaction at the beginning and/or to prevent contributions that are not relevant for the theme.
- d) **Formulation** – reformulation of already said or formulation of the one that is anticipated that the other participant will say, aiming to check understanding or to obtain control over the contribution of another participant.

2.12 Historical Background of the Emergence and Development of Police and the Ethiopian Police

Although in a complex society that is typically marked by conflicts as well as by identity of interests it is inevitable for crimes to happen, society on the whole wants to be protected from these criminal attacks. People want to feel secure in their homes and on the streets from any kind of attack (Sowle, 1962). Hence, there should be responsible body to maintain the

security of a society. The police are important organ in human rights protection for their indispensable contribution through their functions of maintaining peace and order in the society. Police departments maintain public peace by preventing riots, unlawful assemblies and by ensuring the rights of every citizen that are granted to him/her in the constitution (Wilson, 1950). Hence, it is valuable to have a clear image of the global and local evolution of police. The intention of the following sections is then to discuss the emergence and development of both global and Ethiopian police.

2.12.1 The Global Historical Evolution of the Police

It is difficult to draw similar experience in the development of modern policing across the board. Countries have different contexts with regard to their legal and social traditions. Therefore, bringing a holistic picture of police development is more difficult (Mesfin, 2006). Hence, it needs to focus only on some relevant experiences in the establishment and development of policing.

Much is not known about the very early history of the police. Policing—maintaining order and dealing with lawbreakers - had always been a private matter. Citizens were responsible for protecting themselves and maintaining an orderly society. Uniformed, organized police departments as we think of them today were rare. Actually, modern style police departments did not appear until the fourteenth century in France and the nineteenth century in England (Dempsey and Forst, 2010). Dempsey and Forst further state that around the fifth century B.C.E., Rome created the first specialized investigative unit, called ‘questors’, or “trackers of murder.” Around the sixth century B.C.E. in Athens and the third century B.C.E. in Rome, unpaid magistrates (judges), appointed by the citizens, were the only people we would consider law enforcement professionals. The magistrates adjudicated cases, but private citizens arrested offenders and punished them. In most societies, people in towns would group together and form a watch, particularly at night, at the town borders or gates to ensure that outsiders did not attack the town (Ibid).

The word ‘police’ comes from the Latin word ‘politia’, which means “civil administration.” The word “politia” goes back to the Greek word polis, “city.” Etymologically, therefore, the police can be seen as those involved in the administration of a city. ‘Politia’ became the

French word police. The English took it over and at first continued to use it to mean “civil administration.” The specific application of police to the administration of public order emerged in France in the early eighteenth century. The first body of public order officers to be named police in England was the Marine Police, a force established in 1798 to protect merchandise in the port of London (Dempsey & Forst, 2010).

When it is used in the modern phrase “police power”, it refers to the power of the state to regulate or govern; hence the original meaning of the word becomes more apparent (Fyfe & Jand, 1997). According to these scholars, the French, who established a police force as early as the fourteenth century, used the word referring to the act of bringing order, to civilize or organize. In Britain, the word began to be used in a similar sense from the eighteenth century onwards (Raymond, 1986).

As long as there has been a need to maintain order and to control conflict, policing has always existed in some form or another whenever people have lived in groups. In fact this is witnessed in early tribal societies. When we look at the evolution of the organization of the police, in medieval free cities in Europe, civic authorities assumed responsibility for safety and security. However, there was no such organized police force. It was the emergence of national states after the middle ages that created the need for a more organized form of policing. There is also evidence of formalized policing in ancient China, Egypt and the Greek city-states and Rome (Kelly, 1973).

Critchley (1967) states that the necessity for laws to govern the growing relations in society did not only result in creating laws and customs. It also resulted in organizing the society at different levels and establishing enforcement bodies for the practical application of the law. For Critchley, organized society throughout the whole period of civilization has employed public officers to enforce rules and to bring to justice those who are charged with breaking them (Ibid). For Raymond (1986) also explains that the fact that the institution of the police is one of the indispensable machineries in the administration of criminal justice is indeed a reality beyond dispute in every country of the world since early times. Nevertheless, police as an institution in its modern sense is mainly the phenomenon of the 19th century and can be

traced back to the era of the development of modern industry and technology (Critchley, 1967).

For instance, Dempsey (1999) states that Henry Fielding was the first man to be credited with laying the foundation for the first modern police force in England. He was appointed as magistrate in West Minster in 1748, and inspired high constables and together they formed a small investigative unit, which they called the *Bow Street Runners*. These were private citizens who were not paid by public funds but who were permitted to accept thief-taker rewards.

The debate on the public, that whether formal police force should exist on public fund or not, had been going on until the first decades of the 19th century. Later on, Sir Robert Peel drafted the first police bill, and the parliament passed it in 1829. This act established the first large scale, uniformed, organized, paid, civil police force in London. Although it was a civil police force, it was structured along military lines. The police were commanded by two magistrates, later called commissioner. And it was controlled by the home secretary, a member of the democratically elected government (Dempsey, 1999). It is starting from that time that distinct and organized type of police forces became established in all over the world.

The other policing system to be viewed is the American policing that has been heavily influenced by the English system throughout the course of history. The development of American policing started from the 18th century. The organization of the police in the USA is divided into two: the urban and the frontier. With regard to the urban experience, during the 18th century, the most common form of American law enforcement was the system of constables in the day time and the watch at night. Because of the ever increasing rate of crime and disorderliness, the first organized American metropolitan police department was created in Boston in 1838. Soon after this, in 1844, the New York state legislature authorized communities to organize police forces and gave special funds to cities to provide 24 hour police protection. Following this police departments were established in cities of all over America (Dempsey, 1999).

When the law enforcement bodies gradually institutionalized and enlarged so as to respond adequately to the demands of the society, they required separate departments and agents for their function. Primarily the law enforcement bodies were only concerned with the application of the law but later on with the passing of time, specialized agencies dealing with different issues has come into existence. Among other institutions, the police were created as a result of this evolution (Raymond, 1986).

Different countries may organize their police agencies in either the centralized form or decentralized form. The advantage that the decentralized system of policing has over the centralized one is that it avoids manipulation of power and increases the degree of accountability. A centralized police force leads to undue influence or power in the hands of a group outside and above the community and law enforcement should not be controlled by authorities located at a distance from the scene. It is necessary to feel the pulse of the community (George, 1969).

2.12.1.1 The Changing Faces of Police Interviews

From ancient times agents of the legislature have attempted to obtain information from suspects about their involvement in crime. Until the 1930s the methods used invariably involved some form of coercion such as threats and physical violence such as beatings and torture. The term “the third degree” was coined to label questioning of a suspect using aggressive techniques and included methods such as exposure to bright lights, cold water and physical blows. The central aim of these approaches was to elicit a confession from a suspect about their involvement in a crime, the aggressive behavior generally being continued until such time that a confession was obtained (Leo, 1992).

From the mid 1930s doubts arose about the use of these tactics. Confessions obtained in this way were often of dubious value because suspects frequently confessed to avoid experiencing more violence, irrespective of guilt. Although suspect interviews largely remained a process designed to extract confessions, towards the end of the 1930s consensus developed that interviews produced more robust outcomes using specific questions rather than accusations, threats and violence (Peixoto, 1934; Leo, 1992). Later on, in Sweden in the 1940s, it was recommended that police officers should attempt to gain the trust of a suspect

before asking them relevant questions. Since the 1960s there has been more systematic research into the workings of human memory and the behavior of suspects during police interviews and this has spawned a number of different tactical approaches to interviewing (Ord et al, 2008). Some of these approaches are distinct improvements over the use of physical violence to extract confessions, however not all are without problems (Roberts, 2012).

2.12.1.1.1 Question and Answer

Following from the work of Hassler in the 1930s, *question and answer*, interviewing arose. Here the interview consists of the interviewer asking a series of questions of the suspect around topics of interest to the interviewer. Typically in these approaches little attempt is made to build rapport or otherwise engage the suspect (Bull and Milne, 2004; Roberts and Herrington, 2010). This approach rests upon a belief that the police should be in complete control of any interview and know what information is relevant to their inquiry (Roberts and Herrington, 2010). A strong limitation to the question and answer approach therefore is that it may not provide any clear opportunity for suspects to present this information. Besides, the topics questioned by the police may strongly imply that other issues and information that a suspect may have are of little relevance or importance (Shepherd, 1991).

The other approach is the *interrogative approach* which can be considered an extreme form of question-answer interviewing, often characterized as an asymmetrical ‘conversation’ between an interviewer and suspect in which the interviewer dominates the encounter. Interrogations may also include implied or explicit threats and coercion, place control in the hands of the interviewer and also suffer similar limitations to question and answer approaches (Gudjonsson, 2003).

2.12.1.1.2 Persuasive Interview Techniques

During the 1960s, the persuasive *interviewing technique whose aim* is to persuade a suspect to make personally incriminating statements *was developed* (Inbau et al, 2004). These methods are used particularly in North America. Within the tradition of persuasive interviewing Inbau et al also advocate a nine step approach towards obtaining a confession

that begins with the interviewer developing rapport with the suspect showing both sympathy and understanding, particularly for the crime itself.

2.12.1.1.3 Ethical Interviewing

From the 1960s there was increasing judicial concern about police behavior during the arrest and interview of suspects. Legislation was enacted in a number of legislatures that aimed to clearly identify a suspect's rights and define what kinds of police behavior were acceptable and what were not. For example, the Police and Criminal Evidence act (PACE, 1984) in the United Kingdom, the fourth and fifth amendments and the Miranda rules in the United States and in Australia part 1c of the Commonwealth Crimes Act. Despite this legislation miscarriages of justice involving interviewer behavior continued and as a result of this in the United Kingdom a review of police interviewing procedures was carried out (Baldwin, 1992, 1993).

2.12.1.1.4 The PEACE Model of Interviewing

In 1992, the United Kingdom Home Office developed the PEACE interviewing model (Bull, 2000). This model stresses the development and maintenance of rapport throughout any interview. Rapport engenders trust, minimizes the possibility of anxiety, anger or distress on the part of the interviewees. It maximizes the likelihood that suspects will answer the interviewer's questions and feel able to disclose other relevant information and minimizes the risk of unreliable information (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992; Milne & Bull, 1999).

The acronym PEACE highlights five distinct stages in the interview process. (P) Planning – stresses the importance of planning an interview prior to its commencement so that clear aims and objectives of the interview are established, topics of interest are identified, questions designed and issues such as interview location, timing and recording procedure are considered; (E)Engage and explain – involves explaining to the witness what the purpose of the interview is, what they should expect and how the interview will proceed; (A)Account – refers to the manner in which an account or version of events is elicited from the witness, this depends upon the purpose of the interview and different methods will be discussed below; (C)Closure – stresses the importance of bringing the interview to a comfortable conclusion

whilst maintaining rapport with a witness and avoiding negative emotional reactions such as anger or anxiety; (E)Evaluate - reminds the interviewer to evaluate the product of their interview and their performance to identify other informational needs (Milne and Bull, 2003).

In developing rapport during an interview Fisher and Geiselman (1992) stressed the need for personalizing the interview and showing empathy for the suspect and Milne and Bull (1999) stressed that interviewers should actively listen and pay attention to the needs and behaviors of the suspect.

2.12.1.1.5 Conversation Management

Conversation Management (Shepherd, 1991) is based upon extant memory research. This approach has most commonly been used with crime suspects; however it is also used with non-compliant witnesses of crime. It has distinct phases, the *suspect agenda*; the *police agenda*. The interviewer starts the *suspect agenda* by asking an open question related to the offence in question. The suspect is permitted to say whatever they wish concerning their knowledge and recollections of the offence. The interviewer allows the suspect to speak in his or her own words and does not interrupt. Following the suspect agenda the interview moves onto the police agenda.

Generally, police approaches to interviewing developed from the use of overt threats and violence to extract confessions, through question and answer based approaches to approaches that stress rapport development exemplified by frameworks such as PEACE. Behavioral sciences have influenced the design of interview approaches, although an uncritical acceptance of these principles has at times led to the development of strategies explicitly designed to obtain confessions at all costs. In recent years, there has been increasing concern about the rights and abilities of suspects and a desire to minimize interview bias. This has given rise to the development of the so-called ethical approaches to interviewing exemplified by conversation management (Roberts, 2012).

2.12.2 The Historical Background of the Ethiopian Police

The evolution of the Ethiopian police is started much later than the global evolution of police. This short history of Ethiopian police can be divided into four distinct periods as

described below. The Pre-1930, the Haile Selassie Regime (1930-1974), the Dergue Regime (1974-1990) and the EPRDF Regime (Post 1991). The history of the police in Ethiopia during each of these periods will be discussed here under.

2.12.2.1 Pre - 1930s

In the years prior to the 1930s, the issue of modern policing and the establishment of law enforcement bodies like the police institution for criminal investigation was not given due attention. Customary procedures had been used to resolve conflicts. This is because there was perhaps no written constitution to establish constitutional law enforcement bodies to protect the rights of citizens. Perham (1969) states that in Ethiopia, aggrieved parties in civil and minor criminal disputes used to call upon community elders to solve their disputes.

In those days, there had been traditional documents, which were described through three instruments, namely, the Fetha Negest (Justice of kings) which represents one of the received foreign laws imported to Ethiopia after it had been translated from Arabic to Ge'ez, Kebra Negest (glory of the kings) which was the traditional public and Sirat Mengist (rule of government). Although these documents contained constitutional principles, they were not more than instrumental documents to serve the monarchical state and strengthen the power of the governors. They were highly related to an imperial court system that involved religious rules. It was a much misused policing system that resulted from the maladministration of the time to serve the dynasty. Hence, the issue of police institution or other law enforcement bodies was simply instrumental at the time.

According to Andargatchew (2004:14), an attempt had been made to introduce a more modern policing system to patrol the city of Addis Ababa with two branches: the uniformed police and the detective branch by the name of *Arada Zebgna* in 1916. Of course it involved, a central record office, where photographs, physical description of offenders, records of modus-operandi of known criminal were kept.

In general, in the absence of formal law enforcement body (the police) that protects the happening of crime or investigate the committed crime to support the judicial system to judge

the criminals to discourage any acts of crime and minimize the insecurity of the society, it is difficult to talk about police interview discourses.

2.12.2.2 The Haile Sellasie Regime (1930-1974)

In 1931 a new trend which involved the establishment of written Constitution in the history of the country began to appear and thus recognized certain rights. However, the constitution did not establish civil and political rights as working laws'. Besides, it hardly implemented even those rights that were recognized. In fact, the constitution paved the way for the consolidation of power in Emperor Haile Sellasie's hand rather than establishing and strengthening law enforcement bodies. According to the Legal and Judicial Sector Assessment Manual, (2002), despite emperor Hailesellasie's enactment in 1931 of an imperial constitution that created a bicameral parliament and a system of courts, all real power and authority remained firmly entrenched in the emperor and the traditional ruling class.

In 1935 the emperor authorized the establishment of formal, British-trained police forces in Addis Ababa and four other cities. About seven months before the outbreak of the war with Italy in 1935, a detachment known as the *gendarmarie* was established. However, as the result of the invasion by Fascist Italy, all these developments were interrupted in 1936. The invaders brought their own police men both from Italy and from some of their colonies and established the police force named *policia colonial* which served from 1936 to 1941. After the departure of the Italian forces and the restoration of the Emperor to power in 1942, Emperor Haile Silassie established modern police force by virtue of Proclamation No. 6 of 1942. This was organized under British tutelage as a centralized national force with paramilitary and constabulary units (Andargachew, 2004). From 1941 to 1945 the police force in Ethiopia was known as "Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A)" and they then changed to "Ethiopian Imperial Police Force" in 1948 following the return of most British force members except the Commander-in-chief and few experts Shuffa (2005) in Workineh (2016).

It was in the second half of the 1940s that some elements of modern policing started to appear in Ethiopian police history. For example, the police underwent different trainings

inside and outside of Ethiopia. Considerable efforts were also made to equip the institution with the necessary materials and members of the police were also encouraged to upgrade their level of education through part-time education (Mogos, 1970). *Later on Abadina* Police College, which is now called the Ethiopian Police College, was established in 1946 at Sendafa.

Emperor Haile Sellasse I (1930-1974) continued the establishment of modern police institutions to meet his ambition of having a strong centralized government denying power the regional lords (Mogos, 1970). Thus, during the time of emperor Haile Selassie, there was a massive increase in the number of police officials in the country. This was evidenced by police statistical records and was a clear indication of the relative emphasis given to the police during this period.

Generally, Ethiopia became member of the UN and this forced the Emperor to revise the 1931 constitution in 1955. According to Spencer (1993), these revised constitution contained 27 articles about Human Rights. These were adopted from developed European countries and the American Bill of Right. This constitution included the modern concepts of fundamental rights of individuals; nevertheless it was subject to the prerogative power of the emperor (Alemayehu, 2010).

Fisher (1971) expresses the situation in Ethiopia before 1970's in relation to most African countries. He states that, as was the case in most African traditional societies, separation of judicial from administrative power, was until very recently, not a feature of Ethiopian governmental organization. In such situations, the investigation of crime by police may not be free from focusing on confession that involves threats, personal and institutional power. This means linguistic coercion was used to characterize rather than fact finding, with great violation of human right and dignity.

2.12.2.3 The Dergue Regime (1974-1990)

Emperor Haile Selassie's rule came to an end in 1974, when he was deposed by a military junta known as the *Derg* ("Committee"). After the revolution of the 1974, the military regime commonly known as the Dergue regime took power and adopted a socialist ideology in the

government of the country. The Derg suspended the constitution and established a highly centralized socialist state ruled by a military dictatorship and characterized by brutal oppression of its own people (Legal and Judicial Sector Assessment Manual, 2002). As a result of the ideology which applauds the necessity for respecting nationalities' rights, the Dergue pronounced that all nations, nationalities and ethnicities could enjoy freedom of exercising their democratic and political right. However this promise could not be fulfilled as the government eventually came to be dictatorship. The dictatorship completely focused on establishing and strengthening military to avoid any group that could resist the system. As a result, the whole system of the government came to be very much a militarized and terrifying. It focused on punishment rather than prevention. Hence, in the Dergue regime, like in the regimes that preceded it, the issue of proper crime investigation was not based on the principles of Human Rights.

In 1977 the national police were re-organized, and a politically reliable commissioner put in command. A security committee formulated policy, which then was implemented by the Ministry of Interior. The army assumed a larger role in criminal investigation and in maintaining public order. People's Protection Brigades took over local law enforcement duties previously assigned to the constabulary. As a result of these changes, by 1982 the strength of the national police had declined in number. Instead, Mengistu also created the army's new Eighth Division from police commando units. Other special units joined the augmented 9,000-member paramilitary Mobile Emergency Police Force for employment in counterinsurgency operations (Wikipedia: 2014).

Markos (2000) strengthens this fact stating that, compared to the Emperor; the Dergue regime (1974-1991) gave more attention to the army than to the police for it was a military government. The Dergue, because of its negative impression regarding the police, carried out certain actions. The first thing it did after it came to power was to transfer a number of qualified police officers to the army and to neutralize the police power by delegating it to numerous organizations.

Ethiopia has gone from one extreme to the other – from feudalism to socialism and until 1991, the police institution was a means for the former regimes to realize their objectives,

which were often not in the interests of individual citizens. The baseline Study Report of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (2005:188) on Comprehensive Justice System Reform Program explains that it is common knowledge in Ethiopia that the police wrestle with a poor image. Despite doing much to change this image, it remains very poor. The reasons for this poor image have not been researched. One can think of history. Until 1991, the police was a means for the former regime to realize its objectives, which were often not in the interests of individual citizens. Hence, confession, threats and coercions characterized the discourse of criminal investigation exercised by the police institution of the regimes that held power.

2.12.2.4 The EFDR / Ethiopian Federal Democratic Republic Regime (1991- Present)

A coalition of opposition forces – the Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) – overthrew the *Derg* in 1991. The EPRDF established a transitional government with an interim constitution (Transitional Charter) and embarked on a wide-ranging process of democratic decentralization. Following this, establishment of law enforcement bodies like police and public prosecutors which have the role of facilitating the functioning of the courts, were established to ensure the delivery of better justice for the public.

Although a very centralized police system had been in place during the past regimes, the structure of the police force changed substantially when the country adopted the federal system. Law enforcement in Ethiopia is dealt with by the Ethiopian Federal Police at federal level and by regional police commissions in the Regions of Ethiopia. Accordingly, the Ethiopian Police system presently consists of Federal Police Service, nine regional police forces, and the police forces of Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa Councils of City Administrations.

The current government, in organizing the police according to the decentralized power system arrangement, follows a complete deviation, as a result of the dictation of the federal arrangement. Currently, the Federal Government and the states share the police structure. Apart from the federal police headed by the Ministry of justice, the power to organize and determine the structure of state police is within the states’ jurisdiction (Article 52 (2) (9) of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Constitution: 1995).

The participation of the public in recruiting and evaluating the activities of the police, so as to enable the police to protect human rights and discharge its functions with the co-operation of the public, is highly emphasized. With regard to the decision to share police power between the regions and the federal government, the powers and functions of police have emanated from the constitution - article 52 sub article 2 (g) - which gives power to regional states to own and administer regional police officers with the aim of maintaining public order and peace within the state. In addition, article 51 sub article 6 embraces the right of the Federal Government to institute a Federal Police Force.

With regard to the police in the existing government, as stated in the preamble of proclamation no 8/1992 (police establishing proclamation), the government promised that the past experience should not be repeated and the line of arrangement which existed until then (centralized structure) should not be followed, for it was a means of subjugating people in the name of unity. At present, the country has a police force organized at central and regional levels. As stated in the Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), the Federal Government has its own police force and the states have their own police agencies (Constitution of FDRE, 1995: Art, 51(6) and 52(2)(9) respectively).

Hence, after the Dergue regime (1974-1991), the central police institution was dissolved and the new restructuring process has been based on the Federal structure. This means that the police forces are under the jurisdiction of local governments. Likewise, the 1995 Constitution created a federal form of state and the division of power has resulted in different district police forces being created in different regional governments and some charter city administrations, which are accountable to the Federal Government (Constitution of Ethiopia, 1995 article 46/1: 1st year No 21 August, 1995).

According to Article 49 of the constitution of the FDRE, Addis Ababa is the capital city of the Federal Government. Moreover, it is stated in the same article that Addis Ababa shall have a full measure of self-government and is accountable to the Federal Government under the ministry of Federal Affairs.

The legal basis for the Federal Police is found in the “*Federal Police Commission Proclamation, 313/2003*”. Article 6 of this Proclamation defines the objective of the

Commission as maintaining the peace and security of the public by complying with and enforcing the Constitution and other laws of the country, and preventing crime. The Proclamation also describes the duties and powers of the police organization. According to article 7 the Federal Police are responsible for crime control within designated areas of jurisdiction, all of which relate to state security (Comprehensive Justice System Reform Program Baseline Study Report, 2005).

The Regional states are allowed to have their own police forces. Their structure is more or less similar with the structure used in the Federal Police. The respective state authorities have the power to assign the regional police commissioner. The regional services are also independent when it comes to administering and implementing the actual police work.

The Regional States are subdivided into a system of smaller administrative units. The police organization mirrors these administrative divisions and operates in a decentralized way. One of the nine Regional states is the Oromia Regional State where my study focused. It is the widest in the total land coverage and the most populated region in the country and is divided into 18 zonal administrations and one special zone around Finfinnee. These Zonal Administrations in turn contain Woredas (Districts) which in average contain population above one hundred thousand people. The police and public prosecutor institutions are established throughout these districts to facilitate the work of the judiciary. Similarly, the West Shoa Zone which is one of the eighteen zonal administrations in Oromia and where my study focuses on is subdivided into 18 districts and 1 urban district in which the police institutions are established to serve the society.

2.12.3 Mandate and Responsibility of the Ethiopian Police

Police are one of the most ubiquitous organizations of the society. The policemen, therefore, happen to be the most visible representatives of the government. They are expected to be the most accessible, interactive and dynamic organization of any society.

According to Bayley (1979), Police work is not confined to protecting life and property and enforcing the law. Various neat but commodious classification schemes have been suggested

to cover the range of police activities. Accordingly, the exhaustive list of police functions, specifying at least one country where each is performed includes:

Protecting life and property, maintaining order and decorum in public places by directing, interrupting and warning, regulating and suppressing vice and caring for the incapacitated (U.S.); enforcing the criminal law, conducting prosecutions, issuing permits and licenses and impounding animals and lost property (Britain); patrolling public places, sentencing for minor offenses, and controlling crowds, issuing ordinances and inspecting premises (Germany); advising about crime prevention (Canada); investigating criminal offenses, guarding persons and facilities, conducting counter-espionage gathering information about political and social life, and participating in policy councils of government (France); regulating traffic, serving summonses, and supervising jails (Norway); counseling juveniles (Netherlands) ; monitoring elections (Italy); advising members of the public and referring them to other agencies and promoting community crime-prevention activities (Scotland) (Bayley , 1979:111).

Likewise, the Ethiopian police are also expected to give functions which are on the base of the Federal Police Commission Proclamation of the country. The Ethiopian Federal Police (EFP) was established in 1995 to serve the public, to ensure the observation of human and democratic rights and to maintain the safety and welfare of the public. Its stated duties are the enforcement of laws and safeguarding constitutional guarantees, the prevention, detection and investigation of crime, the coordination of national state police commissions and development of national policing standards. The EFP also has to provide operational support to regional police commissions. However, local militias also provide local security largely independent of the police and the Ethiopian military.

According to the Federal Police Commission proclamation of Ethiopia, no.313/2003 article 6, the functions of the Federal Police Commission is to maintain peace and security of the public by complying with and enforcing the constitution and other laws of the country and preventing crime through participation of the people.

A variety of powers and responsibilities are given to the Ethiopian police by law. The Federal Police Commission Proclamation No. 313/2003, article 7, states that the mandate of the police is to:

1. Prevent and investigate crimes and to prevent any activities in violation of the constitution that may endanger the constitutional order.
2. Prevent violence against public peace, hooliganism, terrorism, trafficking in and transferring of drugs.
3. Prevent crimes against the interests and institutions of the Federal Government.
4. Execute orders and decisions of courts.
5. Execute orders issued by the federal public prosecutors regarding the investigation of crime.

The law has also provided responsibilities to be charged for the police. The Criminal Procedure code of Ethiopia, 1961, article 9, puts that the primary responsibilities of the police are to:

1. Protect life, property and constitutional guarantees
2. Preserve order
3. Investigate crime

Thus, it is clear that the Ethiopian police are responsible not only to prevent crime against public peace, hooliganism, terrorism, trafficking in and transferring of drugs, and the interests and institutions of the Federal Government but they are also responsible for investigating issues related to these crimes in different ways. One of the methods they use for investigation is involves linguistic interaction between the police/ criminal investigator and the witnesses, suspects or victims.

2.13 Conceptual Framework

This subsection offers a conceptual framework that has served as an—advocacy lens in analyzing police -witness interview discourse during information gathering phase of crime investigation. The advocacy lens (conceptual framework) for the study is constructed based on the notions of three conceptual banners that include CA (Conversation Analysis), CDA

(Critical Discourse Analysis), and Pragmatics. Hence, explaining these concepts is important in this context.

Conceptual framework is the operationalization of the theory that guides the research and the analytic framework employed in a given research. In so far discussions in the literature part of this study a lot has been raised about CA (Conversation Analysis). Conversational Analysis, which was developed by Harvey Sacks in association with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson that emerged in the 1960s, is the base for this study. Sacks and Schegloff were students of Goffman at the University of California at Berkeley and were also in close touch with Harold Garfinkel (Schegloff 1992a). The program of research they developed together stood at the intersection of the perspectives developed by Goffman and Garfinkel. From Goffman, they took the notion that talk-in-interaction is a fundamental social domain that can be studied as an institutional entity in its own right. From Garfinkel came the notion that shared methods of reasoning are implicated in the production and recognition of contributions to interaction, and that these contributions advance the situation of interaction in an incremental, step-by-step fashion.

CA is completely insistent on the use of recordings of naturally occurring data as the empirical basis for analysis. Moreover, Sacks argued, naturally occurring data represents an infinitely richer resource for analysis than what can be invented or imagined. Conversation analysis involves two research traditions namely, ordinary conversation and institutional talk where as this study focused on the “institutional talk” which began to emerge in the late 1970s with Atkinson and Drew’s *Order in Court* (1979), a classic study of courtroom interaction. It focused on more restricted environments in which the goals of the participants are more limited and institution-specific. Accordingly, there are often restrictions on the nature of interactional contributions, and talk is understood in terms of institution- and activity-specific inferential frameworks (Drew & Heritage 1992).

According to Drew Heritage, Atkinson and Drew were interested in how the specialized turn-taking system for courtroom interaction solved problems connected with the large number of people in the courthouse during a hearing. They examined how questions were produced by lawyers and heard by witnesses to be building up towards an accusation, and how defenses

could anticipate and forestall this kind of build-up. In short, they were concerned with how the tasks and substance of court business are transacted through interaction (Drew & Heritage 1992).

Besides, the identification of power and control as potentially significant factors in the chosen interaction seems to be appropriately treated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which allows a wider consideration of the significance of the institutional context and the social identities and status of the participants. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) studies address social issues by analyzing the relationship between language use and the wider socio-cultural structures. It uncovers various kinds of camouflaged and unfair social power dominances that are sometimes considered as normal social phenomena.

The primary role of CDA therefore is to reveal how powerful groups manipulate language to establish, sustain and legitimize their dominance over the powerless groups. It also studies how personal identities and social identities are constructed in a given society. According to Wodak and Meyer (2008), any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) also comments that CDA is part of a wider strand in applied linguistics and other human and social sciences that indicate a profound shift in thinking about the relation between language and the context and hence the role of language in social life.

Researchers in various social science fields have begun to use CDA to look into social problems and social changes using language as a lens. They predominantly focus on analyzing covert relationships of dominance, discrimination, racism, power, and ideology as reflected in various cultural and political discourse genres (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 2001). CDA not only uncovers the above social problems, but also call for change. According to Jorgenson and Philips (2002), CDA aims to contribute to social change along the line of more equal power relations in communication process and society in general.

The current research is also related to pragmatics. Scholars have variously defined pragmatics. For example, Levinson (1983) describes pragmatics as “the study of language usage”. Yule (1996) reveals pragmatics as: the study of speaker and contextual meaning, and how more gets communicated than is said, as well as the study of the expression of relative

distance. Adegbija (1999) defines pragmatics as the study of language use in particular communicative contexts or situations. This would take cognizance of the message being communicated, or the speech act being performed, the participants involved, their impact on their interaction, what they have taken for granted as part of the contexts (or the presupposition) and the deductions they make on the basis of what is said or left unsaid, and the impacts of non-verbal aspects of interaction on meaning.

Barton (1990) strengthens the idea explaining that pragmatics is the meaning that consists of interpretation within contexts. Pragmatics is concerned with the study of language use in particular communicative contexts or situations (Adegbija, 1999). This would take cognizance of the message being communicated, or the speech act being performed, the participants involved, their impact on their interaction, what they have taken for granted as part of the contexts (or the presupposition) and the deductions they make on the basis of what is said or left unsaid, and the impacts of non-verbal aspects of interaction on meaning (Adeniji and Osunbade, 2014).

According to Yule (1996), pragmatics deals with, “User’s meaning, Contextual meaning, implied meaning, and the expressions of relative distance.” User’s meaning is the meaning communicated by speakers and / or writers. Contextual meaning is what people mean in a particular context, and implied meaning refers to listener’s inference to what is not presented based on what is presented. Finally relative distance indicates the relationship between speaker and listener, their positions based on shared experiences and assumptions from which the text is produced and used.

Pragmatics focuses on attitudes of users in doing things with language. Attitudes activate and passivate both positive and negative positioning (Fairclough, 2003 and Van Leeuwen, 2008). As an element of discourse, pragmatic properties include modality, polarity, speech acts and intertextuality that encodes realities in certain situations (Zienkowski et al., 2011). Modality, polarity and speech acts have common intentions. All emphasize speaker’s commitments, attitudes, judgments and stances in the actions they perform in utterances (Fairclough, 2003 and Halliday, 1994). Fairclough (1992) states that modality is concerned with what and how

people commit themselves to the statements they make or the questions they ask. He notes that people commit themselves to attain their personal and social goals.

In general, pragmatics is the study of the use of language in communication, particularly the relationships between sentences and the contexts and situations in which they are used. It includes the study of: how the interpretation and use of UTTERANCES depends on knowledge of the real world, how speakers use and understand SPEECH ACTs and how the structure of sentences is influenced by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. As it has relevance with the interaction in the police – witness interview during the crime investigation, Pragmatics is also employed in this research work.

2.14 Theoretical Framework

Merriam (2001) describes theoretical framework as “the structure, the scaffolding, and the frame of a study”. In other words, theoretical framework is the general theory that guides the study. Theories provide complex and comprehensive conceptual understandings of things that cannot be pinned down: how societies work, how organizations operate, and why people interact in certain ways. They provide researchers different ‘lenses’ through which to look at complicated problems and social issues, focusing their attention on different aspects of the data and providing a framework within which to conduct their analysis.

There may be several perspectives from which a given research could be scrutinized. However, a researcher cannot take all the viable angles into consideration in a given study. There is no one way to understand why something has formed in a certain way. In other words a researcher has to take a specific vantage point from which she/he can view the problem which is termed the ‘theoretical framework’ (Kasaye, 2013). Hence, it may need the application of many lenses to a problem, each focusing on different aspects of it.

Likewise, there are various ‘critical’ perspectives in applied linguistics. Pennycook (2004) points out that some of these perspectives have emerged under explicit banners of criticality: Critical discourse analysis, critical pedagogy, or critical literacy. Critical theory consists of contributions by Foucault (1972), Habermas (1988), and others. These works mainly focus on rethinking and critiques of Marxist and neo-Marxist works. In sum, works in critical

theory examine the practices by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of social justice (Tollefson, 2006).

Critical social theory has roots in Marxist thought and the literary traditions of critique and literary criticism (DeMarco et al. 1993). It originated from the Marxist studies of the Institute of Social Research established in Frankfurt. As a result, it has been termed, the Frankfurt School (Held, 1980). It describes how groups of people exist in relation to the historically based dominant ideologies that structure their experience. It also advocates that people can bring on liberating practices as awareness of oppressive conditions increases. Critical theory seeks to identify ways in which social phenomena might become less obscure. Its ultimate goal is the emancipation of human beings as a consequence of becoming aware of an alternate interpretation. Moreover, critical theory gives prominence to the significance of critical examination of topics and practices wherein issues of social injustice are at stake. Richards and Schmidt (2002) strengthen this idea stating that critical theory aims at identifying, confronting and resolving problems of injustice through the processes of awareness, reflection and argumentation.”

Language use is one of the issues that receive attention in critical theory. Critical theory approves that languages use plays decisive role in creating and maintaining power and in expressing ideological positions. This indicates that the roles and responsibilities, as well as the identities of participants in the interactions are represented explicitly or implicitly through language.

The ‘communicative practices’ in the police witness interviews in this study can be in this context. This study attempted to deal with the police –witness interview discourses in general and specifically to discourses used to establish rapport by the police interviewers, the power relations between the participants of the interaction, and the discourse controlling strategies or language features used by the police interviewers during the interviews. This shows that it attempted to reveal hidden ideologies, which are implicit in several messages of the interviews (the interactions). On the other hand, the study attempted to elucidate how language has been employed in police _ witness interviews to perpetuate existing power

relations. Besides the application of Conversation Analysis and Pragmatics, Critical Social Theory was used as a theoretical framework in the current study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.0 Introduction

It is of fundamental importance to give careful consideration to the collection of data, the selection of appropriate tools for analysis, and the issues that arise as a result of these choices. This chapter will provide information about the research methodology i.e. the design

employed in the research, research sites, participants of the study, instruments of data collection, methods of data collection and analyses used in the study. In addition, issues of transcriptions, translations of the recorded data and the validity and reliability of the data are also part of this section.

3.1 Methodology

The aim of this study is to analyze the interaction between the police investigators and the witnesses in the crime investigation process in the selected research sites (Ambo town police and Dire Inchini) police institutions. The study involved several issues such as the language features used in the interactions, the discourses and the discourse control strategies used and the power relations in the interactions. To address issues involved in the study, a multi-method approach has been followed.

In this study, qualitative research methodology was selected. This is because police interview is face to face interaction between the police investigators and the interviewees; the witness in this context. It is an interaction which is a kind of dialogue or conversation between two parts. Conversation analysis is one of the prominent approaches within discourse analysis and an ethno methodological approach whose aim is to explore how language is used in social action or verbal interaction. It involves the analysis of spoken data through interpretive and explanatory way.

Thus, in line with the objective of the research and the nature of data used in the study, qualitative research methodology that has been defined by scholars Strauss and Corbin, (1990:17) as , "...any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" has been selected. Qualitative research methodology differs from quantitative research methodology in that the former seeks to explain or illuminate a given situation whereas the latter seeks to determine the causal link between different constructs.

Qualitative research methodology uses inductive analysis and is interested in meanings. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state qualitative research methodology as, "an approach that aims to generate and analyze holistic data, use rigorous, precise, trustworthy and ethical methods

and techniques”. Creswell (2007) further states that qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to enquiry the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and that establishes patterns or themes. This indicates that qualitative research involves using data that is available to draw meanings. The meanings should be further explicated so as to bring to light their implications. This understanding led the researcher to use the qualitative research approach in the current study.

As mentioned so far, the overall objective of this study is to analyze the police interview discourse which involves the interaction that takes place between the police investigators and the witnesses in the crime investigation process in the police institutions. That was why it considered access to audio - recorded speeches of the interactants (the police investigators as interviewers and the witnesses as interviewees in the interactions). Because of the difficulty in accessing the videotaped interaction of the police investigators and the witnesses, the researcher focused on the naturally occurring audio taped interactions.

Thus, this study was based on the analysis of the audio _ taped interviews between the police investigators and witnesses as well as the interview responses gathered from other selected respondents. The method selected for scrutinizing the data involved a multi-method discourse analytic approach that combined Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and pragmatics.

3.2 Research Design

Research Design is the overall plan for carrying out a research study. It is like the blueprint for building a house (Perry, 2005:71 and Scott and Morris, 2005:58). Kothari (2004) further explains that research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. It is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. Research design facilitates the smooth sailing of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible. It yields maximal information with minimal expenditure of effort, time and money. Research design is needed in advance of data collection and analysis for a research project. It

stands for advance planning of the methods to be adopted for collecting the relevant data and the techniques to be used in their analysis, keeping in view the objective of the research and the availability of staff, time and money (Kothari, 2004).

Preparation of the research design for a study helps in establishing directions in which to proceed and in knowing exactly what has to be done at every stage. It furnishes a clear idea to the activities that are effective in helping to decide specific data needs. At the stage of analysis and interpretation, the research design also helps in providing direction to the computation and interpretation of the data gathered for a given study (Kumar, 2008).

This study is of course a qualitative type in its nature. However, qualitative research by itself is an umbrella term or a broader concept that is nowadays used in almost all fields of social science inquiry and used to refer to a complex and evolving research methodology that has its roots in a number of different disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and philosophy. Qualitative research focuses on phenomena that occur in natural settings, which is the real world, and involves studying those phenomena in all their complexities (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). Qualitative research includes different research designs. Hence, multiple qualitative case study or collective cases study as mentioned by (Stake, 2005) and which is one of the qualitative research designs, and again explained by Dornyei (2007) as an excellent method for obtaining a thick description of a complex social issue embedded within a cultural context offering rich and in – depth insight that no other method can yield allowing researchers to examine how an intricate set of circumstances come together and interact in shaping the social world around us has been used as a research design in this study.

3.3 Background Information of the Study Areas

3.3.1 West Shoa

West Shoa Zone is the setting for the present study. West Shoa is among the 18 zones of the Oromia Region. West Shoa Zone, which is located in western central plateau of Oromia regional state, is astronomically located between 80 17'' to 90 60'' North latitude and 370 17'' to 380 45' East longitude. It is one of the zones in the state, with 21,552 square kilometers width. It is adjacent to Amhara Region in the north, East Wollega and Horo

Guduru Wollega in the west and North West, Jimma zone in south west, south west Shoa zone in south east and north Shoa zone in the south east. The zone is 170 kms long from north to south and 183 kms wide from east to west. According to CSA (2007) survey, the total population of the zone is 2,186,866. From this, 1,933,220 (88.12%) resides in the rural areas while the rest 253,646 (11.88%) are urban dwellers and of which 51% are females. In these administrations, there are 529 rural and 39 urban kebeles. Afan Oromo is the native language of the people in the zone and in the most widely spoken language. Amharic is also a fairly widely spoken language particularly in urban areas. The zone is where different nations and nationalities live in peace and passion. The capital of West Shoa Zone which is Ambo town is located 114 kilometers from the capital city of the country or Oromia regional state, Addis Ababa.

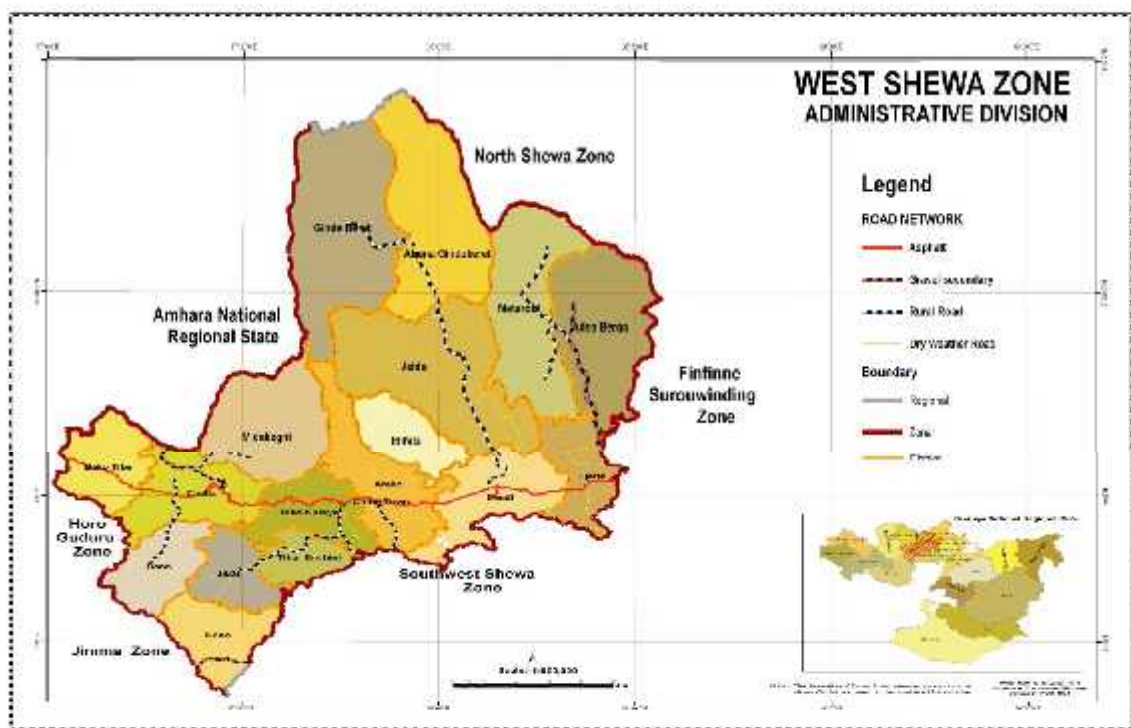


Fig. Map of West Shoa Zone Administrative Division (Source: West Shoa Zone Socioeconomic Profile (2011).

The livelihoods of the Population of the province are mainly dependent on agriculture and agricultural related activities. In different terms, the population of the province is predominantly an agrarian society.

West Shoa zone is endowed with many tourism attraction sites and places with rich natural and historical/cultural sites. There are many scenic beauties of landscapes, historical and natural sites, large and smaller rivers with great potentials, mountain ranges rising over 3200 m.a.s.l and variety of birds' species, wild animals and tree animals (West Shoa Culture and Tourism office). To mention some, the Natural Bridge or locally named 'Ya Igziyaber Dildiy', mountains like Dendi, and rivers like Muger, Awash, Dabus and Ghibe are again some that dicore the topography of province. It has three major drainage basins, Abay (the Blue Nile), Ghibe and Awash rivers. They drain not only water, but the rich top soil and the lives of the upper-stream people. The West Shoa is a zone where remnants of indigenous tree forests like Chilimo, Gedo and Jibat State forests are found. Dendi Lake, known as one of the source to one of the tributaries of Abay (the Blue Nile) is also located in this zone.

The zone has 22 districts (Ambo, Adea Berga, Abuna Gindeberet, Bako Tibe, Cheliya, Dano, Dendi, Ejere, Gindeberet, Illu Galaan, Ilfeta, Jeldu, Jibat, Nono, Meta Robi, Mida Kegn, Dire Inchini and Tokke Kutaye, Liban Jawi, Ejersa Lafo, Meta Walkite and Chobi) and 1 urban local administration (Ambo town). Similarly the zone has 22 woreda police institutions and one zone police institution found at the zone's capital Ambo town. From all these police institutions in the zone, only two police institutions, Ambo town and Dirre Inchini wereda police institutions were selected for this study purposely.

3.3.1.1 Dire Inchini

Dire Inchini is one of the twenty two woredas in the west Shoa zone with a population of about 73, 696 according to the 2007 national census information obtained from the woreda's communication office. It is located 40kms away from Ambo town, which is the capital for the west Shoa zone, and 155kms away from Addis Ababa, the capital of the country. It is adjacent to Toke Kutaye district in the north, Ameya district in the south and Jibat district in the east. 'Afan Oromo' (Oromo Language) is widely spoken language in the district as a mother tongue. Besides, Amharic is used by the insignificant number of speakers.

The livelihoods of the people in Dire Inchini are also mainly dependent on agriculture and agricultural related activities. In different terms, as 85% of the total population of the country is believed to be farmers, the people of the district are predominantly an agrarian society.

They live on mixed farming that involves farming and use rearing animals. The district is known in supplying quality 'butter' for the nearby towns like Ambo and Guder and even to Addis Ababa. Although agricultural products like 'Inset', barley, wheat, maize, beans, and peas are common. Many other agricultural plants can be grown in this area. From the total available land for the district, 18, 527 hectares are for agriculture, 2, 205.07 hectares are for grazing, 4, 570.51 hectares for forest, 432.42 hectares for construction and 2,952 hectares of land for investment. About 95% of the area is Dega and the rest 5% is a temperate (Woina Dega).

This district is endowed with some tourist sites. Among these are: Boku/ Lafto Samphalo the place where the Geda assembly of the Ja'an Ammayyaa (the six members of Ameya), water falls of Daballe, Shaboo Goree and others, the hot spring of Chariftu, attractive forests of Hawato, Roge, Doshe, Taraphisa, Daballe, Labu and Churchure that are the common sceneries of the district. Thus this district was selected as one of the two research sites in the zone (Source: Dire Inchini woreda communication office).

3.4. Participants of the Study

Research is a systematic search for truth. It involves not only the participation of the researcher but it also involves different participants. It is the cumulative roles of these participants that make research full fleshed work as well as effective and important. Police investigators from Ambo town and Dire Inchini police institutions and witnesses were the participants in this study. Besides, selected persons (respondents) from the study sites who experienced giving their witnesses to the police institutions were participants of the study.

3.4.1 Police Investigators

As discussed so far, this study analyzed police interview discourses. Police interview involves the participation of the police investigators and the persons/individuals to be interviewed. Four police interviewers from Dire Inchini and four police interviewers from Ambo woreda police institutions were participants of the study.

3.4.2 Witnesses/ Interviewees

As this research basically focused on the analysis of police - witness interview discourses of West Shoa Zone, the selected police investigators were the participants. However, only the presence of the police investigators does not guarantee collecting the required data. That is why the involvement of interviewees (witnesses) had great importance and consideration. This shows interviewees, in this case witnesses from the selected police institutions were also research participants in this study.

3.4.3. Other Selected Respondents from the Research Setting

Selected persons from the two research sites for extended interview from the community who had experiences in visiting police institutions were participants of the study.

3.5 Sampling

It would be better to conduct this research on wide areas of West Shoa Zone Police institutions or police institutions in Oromia regional State or throughout the country. However, in principle it was impossible to manage this kind of research by individuals with limited financial, material and time constraints. Besides, the nature of qualitative research in general did not allow the researcher to broaden the scope of research. Hence, this study considered only Ambo town and Dire Inchini woreda police institutions.

The researcher has been working around the research sites for more than eight years. Hence, he had a good attachment with the society. This has given him a better access to the research settings than to any other woredas in the zone. Thus, to avoid lack of access to data, these two police institutions were selected purposely. There were 162 police officers at Ambo town police institution. However, from a total of this number, only twelve (12) of them were working as crime investigators. This is because the issue of crime investigation was not necessarily the issue of all the 162 police officers. It was primarily the work of the twelve police officers. That is to mean, the rest of the police members had been assigned to discharge other duties and responsibilities. Hence, the researcher's sample was directly related to those twelve (12) crime investigators. Because of the nature of the study (its qualitative nature), it was difficult to manage such huge data gathered from large number of samples. Hence, only

the police – witness interviews made with the four (4) police interviewers were used as samples for this study. They were selected based on convenience. Furthermore, there were 24 police officers at Dire Inchini police institution. Among these police interviewers, four of them were working as crime instigators. Here, the researcher used all of them using available sampling. Thus, the police –witness interviews made by these four police interviewers were used for the study. Furthermore, four persons from the two research sites (two from each site) were selected purposively to provide their responses to the semi structured interview questions prepared. Totally, four hours recordings (36 recordings) were made. That means, four recordings with each sample police interviewer (eight police interviewers * four interviews =32 interviews) and four recordings from the witness respondents to the researcher’s interviews were made from the two research sites. From these, twenty two of them were selected, transcribed, translated, and analyzed.

3.6 Data Access

Conducting research needs access to data. The nature of the data depends on the nature of the research. Some require quantitative data; others need qualitative data. This research required qualitative data. Hence, access was required to spoken interaction in authentic police interviews with witnesses. Different jurisdictions have different procedures for interviewing. For instance, the UK and US (common law system) is based on oral evidence/ tape-recording rather than written document (Haworth, 2009). However, in Ethiopian context in general and in Oromia Regional State or west shoa zone in particular, only under rare or special cases are audio recorded materials used as evidence for judicial purposes in the police institutions. There is a more recent development in the video/audio recordings, especially with the most serious cases issued 1st nationally in 2004. However, this has not yet mandatory in many circumstances. The implementation of recording even varies considerably from institution to institution, often due to financial constraints and technological developments. This means, there was little or no access to a file of a pre existing data source or audio or video recorded data regarding crime investigation of police in Ethiopia. Similarly, the researcher faced lack of access to the recorded data in the research sites. Hence, he was expected to seek new recordings than seeking for ready made audio recorded research data which was not accessible. This made him do his own audio recordings of the interactions.

The data collection process was therefore as follows. As a first step, the selection of target places (institutions) and participants from the institutions were selected. The audio recording materials were prepared in advance. The selected police institutions were approached for permission to access data requesting access to record the interviews conducted on a variety of offences through audio taping. It was not easy to access the data; however, after exhaustive explanation of the research objectives and guarantying the confidentiality of the study, they responded to the researcher's approach letter positively and allowed him the access.

This was followed by conducting the interview and recordings of the interviews (interviews between the police interviewers and the witnesses and the interviews between the researcher and the respondents).

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

3.7.1 Audio- taping

Once the research design is determined, it needs to decide exactly how it is possible to gather the research data. Wooffitt (2005:85) states that conversation analysis examines audio or, less frequently, video recordings of naturally occurring, 'real-life' talk-in-interactions and transcripts are used as an aid in that analysis. That is why CA researchers insist on the use of audio- or video recordings of episodes of 'naturally occurring', that is non-experimental, interaction as their basic data. Recorded data are indefinitely rich in empirical detail. In this study context, the recorded data (which is qualitative and naturally occurring data) collected from the interviews or interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses provided rich insight about the patterns of power asymmetry or how the police interviewers exercised their power through interview discourses to access the power and to control the interactions to achieve the desired institutional goals in the crime investigations. The audio recorded data could also reveal how the police interviewers used different mechanisms during the interactions to help the researcher to for, pragmatics of control and resistance in the interactions

The use of recorded data serves as a control on the limitations and fallibilities of intuition and recollection; it exposes the observer to a wide range of interactional materials and

circumstances. It also provides some guarantee that analytic conclusions will not arise as artifacts of intuitive idiosyncrasy, selective attention or recollection or experimental design. The availability of audio-recorded data enables repeated and detailed examination of particular events in interaction and hence greatly enhances the range and precision of the observations that can be made. The use of such materials has the additional advantage of providing hearers and, to a lesser extent, readers of research reports with direct access to the data about which analytic claims are being made, thereby making them available for public scrutiny in a way that further minimizes the influence of individual preconception (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984). Hence, for this study, the basic data collection instrument was audio/tape-recording of the naturally occurring talk-in- interaction which involved the police _ witness interviews in the selected research sites.

3.7.2 Interview

Interview is the most often used method in qualitative inquiries and regularly applied in a variety of applied linguistic contexts for diverse purposes (Zoltan, 2007). Oral interview has been widely used as a research tool in applied linguistics. Crano and Brewer (2002 :22) defined interview as: “the data collection method in which participants provide information about their behavior, thought, or feeling, in response to questions posed by an interviewer”. An extended interview with respondents about the police institution, the police interview or criminal investigation processes in the judicial system was another source of data. Four persons (two from each site) were selected for the interview based on convenience to get information. Twelve (12) semi structured interview questions were prepared in English and then translated to the respondents’ mother tongue (Oromo Language). The translation was used to make the respondents understand the message that in turn helped the researcher to gather reliable information.

The data collected through this kind of extended interview with the selected respondents were used to obtain **qualitative data about** the perceptions and feelings of the respondents (witnesses) about the police institutions in general and the police interviewers (the police_witness interview situations) in particular. The approaches the police interviewers used during the interviews and the power relations between the police interviewers and the

witnesses (interviewees) during the police interviews were also collected through interview. The nature of the interactions (participants) of the interactions, the sources of the power, and the controlling strategies employed during the interactions were also obtained from the oral interview made with the researcher and the data obtained from the respondents. Therefore, interview was another data gathering tool used for the study. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, translated, analyzed and interpreted.

3.8 Method of Data Analysis

The collected data was analyzed and interpreted qualitatively. Multimethod data analysis, which involves the application of CA, CDA and Pragmatics, has been employed. It has been discussed so far that conversation analysis is one of the prominent approaches within discourse analysis. This approach has been used by scholars who employ CDA in their study as a base for analysis. It focuses on studying social organization of 'conversation', or 'talk-in-interaction'. It needs to be made clear how this study was made or the type of methodology used.

Conversation Analysis (CA), a research tradition that grew out of ethno methodology, has some unique methodological features. It studies the social organization of 'conversation', or 'talk-in-interaction', by a detailed inspection of tape recordings and transcriptions made from such recordings. The approach is based on the analysis of naturally occurring data and undertaking a close analysis of detailed transcripts giving emphasis to the micro features of interaction and its sequential organization.

Roberts & Sarangi (1999) explain that linguistic studies which utilize only one methodology can be of considerable theoretical interest, especially in terms of increasing the understanding of the nature of spoken interaction; however, they argue that such an approach is likely to be less effective in addressing more practical research questions. No single methodological approach will uncover much about one particular aspect of a context or an interaction. On the other hand, it should be noted that a single approach is unlikely to reveal the whole picture. Haworth (2009) states that real events are almost infinitely multi-layered and multi-faceted. She argues that in order to understand them in their entirety the most successful approach needs to be used to uncover and examine as many of those aspects as possible.

Making CA as a base, the analysis also followed (employed) Fairclough's (1989 and 1992) three dimensional frame work: description, interpretation and explanation. The description of the data is concerned with the formal properties of the oral texts collected from the participants of the police _witness interview interactions as well as from the interview respondents. Fairclough (1989) and Wodak (2001) recommend the critical discourse analysis to begin with description of text – internal linguistic features to make empirical and valid interpretation and explanation when text – external contextual and sociological analysis of oral texts are conducted. The study also needs interpretation of the qualitative data to explore the circumstances involved in the process of text production and consumption among the groups. Descriptive _ interpretive design allows the researcher to describe and interpret data from participant's perspectives. Data interpretation mainly examines the discursive roles of ideologies, practices of the participants in the interview and their discourse controlling strategies.

Explanation of the data uncovers the power relationship among the participants (the police interviewers and the interviewees) and the underlying roles or practices, and strategies. Wodak (1996) states that explanation focuses on textually_mediated social action, ideological and hegemonic works used in representing and constructing social identity, and reproducing unequal relations of power. Fairclough's three dimensional frameworks are sequential and consequential. The sequential nature arises from the fact that textual analysis leads to contextual analysis. The consequentiality arises from the fact that information about context can be gained from a piece of text people use. A piece of text people use is produced and consumed in the context in which people live , and the meaning they attempt to convey. In this dialectical relationships, text influences and is influenced by context which could be social and cultural (Adugna, 2017).

Not all questions in this research were answered using a single research method. That was why a multi – method was used in the study. Issues related to the power dynamics between the police investigators and witnesses through interview and the discourse strategies used in the interaction, for instance, involved the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a research method. Critical discourse Analysis is used here to interpret the results of the descriptive analysis of the data and to discover the assymetrical power relationship between

the participants. Consequently, in this study, besides the Conversation Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis is used as analytic method to deal with the macro features of the discourses in the interactions. On the other hand, CDA was used to see the identification of power and control as a potentially significant factor in the interaction to allow a wider consideration of the institutional context and the social identities and status of the participants. Wodak and Meyer (2001) strengthen these ideas when they state that CDA can help in discerning discourses by revealing implicit power relations.

According to MacLeod (2010), a variety of existing methods of analysis have been employed in CDA research. Many of such methods rely to some extent, on a systemic functional grammar framework. It has been known for other types of analysis, for example Conversation Analysis (CA) to form the basis for subsequent macro-level critique. Van Dijk (2001:96) further argues that CDA can be ‘combined with any approach and sub-discipline in the humanities and the social sciences’. Similarly, Wetherell (1998) explains that CA and CDA adopt considerably different orientations, but they are not necessarily incompatible and may potentially be adopted in a complementary way. Wetherell further illustrates the argument which holds that CA tools are adequate for analyzing single textual units only, while critical discourse studies are only appropriate for wider units of texts as they aim to investigate texts at a higher structural level, is misconceived.

Hence, a multi-method discourse analytic approach or an integrated approach was used in this study, combining Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and pragmatics. In CA’s approach to data collection and analysis using naturally occurring data, a close analysis of detailed transcripts were given due attention. Of course, Conversation Analysis (CA) scholars like MacLeod (2010:45) claim that CA is a type of “micro analysis” generally regarded as paying little attention to social structures and patterns of inequality. This shows that when CA is used, the analytical emphasis will be on the micro features of the interactions. Hence, the macro feature that involves identification of power and control as potentially significant factors in the chosen interaction seems to be appropriately treated with CDA. Critical discourse analysis allows a wider consideration of the significance of the institutional context and the social identities and the status of the participants.

On the other hand, the starting point of the current study was to analyze of police –witness interview discourse through CA. Eventually, however, Critical Discourse Analysis was used to analyze the police – witness interviews and an extended interview with the other witnesses. This helped to fill the gap between the micro and macro features in the discourse of the interactions between the police and the witnesses. Besides, because of the nature of the study or the data, pragmatics was considered. This was because the analytic features also involved it. Stalnaker's (1978) views pragmatics as "the study of linguistic acts and the context in which they are performed". In general in this study, a multi method approach which involved combining Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Pragmatics was used to bridge the gaps and to address all the specific objectives or the research questions.

In general, the recorded data were transcribed and translated in a manner that was, a practical compromise given various objectives, considerations and circumstances. Episodes or excerpts for analysis were selected from the transcripts of the audio recorded data from the police – witness interviews and from the extended respondents' interviews with the researcher on the basis of a variety of considerations. The researcher, then, tried to make sense of the episodes, using mainly his common sense. CA was mainly used for the analysis of the micro features that involved the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees). In this regard, how the turns were designed and the turn takings were managed has been analyzed. Besides, the sequence organizations of the interactions, and the overall structural organizations were considered in the analysis. In short, the analysis of issues in relation to language, discourse, verbal interactions or communications were given due attention at this level.

On the other hand, as there had been criticisms from some scholars, who claim that CA fails to address issues of power and dominance, especially between groups, the need to bridge the gap was tried to be filled by analyzing the qualitative data through CDA. The same data were used as a resource for the analysis. Accordingly, issues of *power, dominance, and inequality between social groups (the police and the interviewees)* in this study were analyzed using Fairclough's (1989 and 1992) three dimensional frame work that involves: description, interpretation and explanation. The selected episodes from the transcripts were again

described, interpreted and well explained to show the existence of power, dominance and inequality between the police interviewers and the witnesses (the interviewees). This shows that CDA was used to bridge the gap between micro and macro approaches.

The data could also reveal that the interactions between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) were pragmatically influenced. It involved the application of linguistic acts and the contexts in which these acts were performed. On the other hand, it showed the contexts in which the discourses were used and speech acts were employed in the interactions during the interviews. Hence, in addition to the analysis of the turn takings, structural organizations, power relationships, dominances and inequalities, issues of pragmatics, especially speech acts were analyzed from the data presented.

3.9 Transcription and Translation of the Spoken Data

The basic data for this research was a naturally occurring talk of the police – witness interview and the interview between the researcher and the respondents. As reported earlier, in this study, all the interviews were recorded (audio-taped), and later transcribed using transcription conventions. The transcribed data was translated into English, as the interviews were made in Oromo language which is the mother tongue of the study participants. Transcribing audio data according to Chafe (1980), addresses the peculiar features of the oral texts. Some features of the audio taped oral texts, according to Burnes (2005), include intonation, pause, connectives, etc. Intonation can be raising or falling. Comma marks the rising intonation, whereas period marks the falling intonation. Liddicoat (2007) in Heritage, 1984b; Psathas and Anderson, 1990) state that transcripts of talk are only ever partial representations of the talk that we record but they allow the analyst to see the transient and complex nature of talk captured in an easily usable, static format. According to this scholar, transcriptions are not substitutes for the original recordings but they are additional tools which can be used to analyze and understand these recordings.

On the other hand, recordings are essential means in discourse research, but are not sufficient by themselves for the systematic examination of interaction. It is simply impossible to hold in mind the transient, highly multidimensional, and often overlapping events of an interaction as they unfold in real time. This has made transcripts invaluable. They provide a distillation

of the fleeting events of an interaction, frozen in time, freed from extraneous detail, and expressed in categories of interest to the researcher (Edwards, 2007). In this study also an attempt has been made to represent the oral data with written transcript.

Mayr (2008) states that without a written representation, talk is very difficult to analyze systematically. It will therefore be good to discuss several aspects of transcription. Roberts (1997) remarks that ‘if talk is a social act, then so is transcription’. As one transcribes data, one relies on one’s own social evaluations of speech in deciding how to put it down on paper. In other words, all transcription is representation and cannot be neutral. Therefore, transcribers should use or develop a system that can best represent the recorded interactions. This means there is a need to establish balance between accuracy, readability, and the ‘politics of representation’ (Mayr, 2008). Great attempt has been made in the present study to maintain these balances.

In discourse analysis of speech, data must be collected for analysis and a conventionalized system employed to visually represent the data. This conventionalized system, i.e., transcription notation systems, take various forms, from simple orthography to finely detailed notations of pronunciation, breathing, loudness, pitch, and the like (Heigham, and Croker, 2009).

In this study, the data were collected from the data sources (the participants who were the police interviewers, the witnesses and the respondents) using ‘Oromo language’ to support the gathering of a reliable data. However, it happened to be necessary to translate the transcribed spoken data in to the target language (English language). That was why the researcher first transcribed the data and then translated it into English. Next, he made the transcribed and translated version of the data to be checked for accuracy by two other persons. In this way the current study is the production of a written transcript which is intended to be a representation of the original spoken data.

3.9.1 Transcription Conventions

Transcription is the use of symbols to represent sounds or sound sequences in written form (Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, 2002). It is merely the

representation (re- presentation) of the data collected. The conversion of spoken data into a written format is a highly problematic process. According to Wood & Kroger (2000) cited in MacLeod (2010), in converting speech to writing, “a literal rendering is impossible”. It is nevertheless the creation of a transcript that makes it possible for the researcher to attempt any kind of analysis (ibid). While it has been suggested that transcription should be comprehensive, due to the impossibility of knowing in advance the importance of certain features (Schiffrin, 1994; Wood & Kroger, 2000), it is also important to ensure readability. Thus, it has been suggested that “too much detail can be as unsatisfactory as too little” (Cameron, 2002:39).

Gibbons (2003) and Walker (1990) in Haworth (2009) state the difficulty of changing speech to writing. The fundamental problem stated by Gibbons is that speech and writing are different media, with different properties. Walker in her study also notes that, of all the features that distinguish writing from speech, the one which is potentially the most significant in transcription, is the inability of our writing conventions to express some of the para- and extra-linguistic signals that speakers rely on to get their meaning across. She gives examples of paralinguistic features such as intonation, breathiness, emphasis, high and low pitch, long, drawn out sounds; and of extra-linguistic features such as raised eyebrows, out flung arms, nods, sneers, and smiles’, which can convey meaning on their own or alter the significance of the words they accompany’(ibid.). Thus, the transcription conventions used in this study were derived from the Jeffersonian system (Jefferson, 1984) used in Wooffitt (2005) with slight modification (adaptation) and a full list of the notations appears in the appendices.

3.10 Validity and Reliability of the Data

Validity is accuracy or correctness of the findings where as reliability is consistency with which the research will produce the same results if repeated. These two factors are key aspects of all research. Qualitative research is based on subjective, interpretive and contextual data, making the findings are more likely to be scrutinized and questioned. In qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument of the study. A reliable research is a credible research. Credibility of a qualitative research depends on the ability, skills and

efforts of the researcher and is more easily influenced by the researcher's personal biases and idiosyncrasies. Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as "real world setting the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2001: 39). Most qualitative research studies, if not all, are meant to study a specific issue or phenomenon in a certain population or ethnic group, of a focused locality in a particular context, hence generalizability of qualitative research findings is usually not an expected attribute. This means, the trustworthiness or the quality of the research findings or validity and reliability of qualitative research will be evaluated in terms of credibility and transferability.

Hence, efforts have been made to maintain the reliability and validity of the data used in this study. One of these strategies is triangulation which is quite widely used in the qualitative research tradition. According to LeCompte et al (2003), cited in Adugna (2017:84), "Analyzing data from multiple sources, collected by diversified methods, and supported by a range of theories allows the researcher to make comparisons, verify emergent assertions, and convey a sense of trustworthiness to the reader." In this study data were collected from two different sources (from the investigative interaction between the police and witnesses) and from an extended interview between the researcher and the respondents who were interviewed to share experiences they had about police – witness interviews.

The other strategy to ensure validity and reliability of the data used in this study is using different methods for analysis. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the researcher has used multifaceted analytic approach which involves conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis and pragmatics. Hence, these methodological triangulations were used to make the study more reliable and valid.

In this research, data validation was also made using the individuals involved in data translations. The researcher gave the translated version of the audio- recorded data to two colleagues in the field of Applied Linguistics. One is a PhD holder in the field and the other is a PhD student who has now submitted his thesis for defense. Both have excellent command of Afaan Oromoo and English languages. The comments obtained from them highly improved the research validity and reliability. In this way, the validity and reliability

of the data obtained from the police – witness interview and the the extended interview between the researcher and the witnesses was insured.

3.11 Research Ethics

When using human participants in a study, there are several ethical issues that must be considered. The main concern is to protect the rights and privacy of human participants (Perry, 2005). Researchers are unconditionally responsible for the integrity of the research process. The power to produce knowledge requires responsibility for integrity in its production. Similarly, the power relation inherent in researcher–researched interactions requires responsibility to ensure the dignity and well-being of the researched. Ethics is foundational to all research. Because the aim of research is to produce new knowledge, it is crucial that the task is approached with integrity and rigor. Responsibility for knowledge production requires that researchers attempt to: recognize and balance subjectivities; give accurate research accounts; act within the law; and develop required expertise (Zina O’Leary, 2004).

It is a researcher’s responsibility to protect the interests of its research participants and to avoid unintended negative effects toward the participants both during and following the actual study. Researchers are expected to adhere to ethical guidelines and ensure that the participants of a study will not be harmed as a result of participating in this study. These guidelines included: gaining informed consent, maintaining confidentiality of the participants, and sharing results with the interested participants (Best & Kahn, 2006).

In a similar way, in this research also the researcher made all things clear for the participants so as to increase the access to reliable data or information and to avoid participants’ worry. First of all, the researcher received a support letter from Addis Ababa University Department of Foreign Language and Literature and took it to the subjects in the research sites to collect the data for the study. He explained the purpose and nature of the research to the participants to get their consents. He also explained to the participants that he uses the data only for research purpose and their confidentiality will be safeguarded,

In short, the researcher did his best in the collection of data, analysis of data or throughout the research process because he realized that he has a moral obligation to protect the participants from harm, unnecessary invasion of their privacy, and the promotion of their well-being.

3.12 The Pilot study

This study has been supported by additional evidences about the appropriateness of instruments and procedures of data collection and analysis. These evidences were obtained from a pilot study conducted before the main study. The pilot study was conducted using some selected samples from the study population. This section therefore aims to discuss the purpose of the pilot study, the participants involved, the procedures of data collection and analysis and the methodological insights obtained from the study.

3.12.1 Purpose of the Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted mainly to get insights for establishing appropriate design and procedures for the main study. On the other hand, it aimed to check the appropriateness and clarity of instruments and overall procedures as well as to make the necessary revisions (if necessary) before they were used in the main study. This is because, in the pilot run “deficiencies may be uncovered that were not apparent by simply reviewing the items” (Wiersma, 2000).

3.12.2 Participants

Three police interviewers and two witness respondents to the researcher’s interview from Ambo town/ police institution were used as participants of the pilot study. Audio _taping and interviewing were used to collect the data from these sources. Using the samples taken from the study population, nine interviews of the police _witness interviews with the three police interviewers were recorded/ audio taped and pilot tested. Interviews (the researcher - respondent interviews) were conducted with two persons with witness experiences with the police institution. From this data collection and analysis, some important insights pertaining to the quality of instruments and procedures of the data collection and analysis were gained and used in the improvement of the instruments and procedures in the main study.

3.12.3 Insights Gained from the Pilot Study

The results obtained from the pilot study helped the researcher to make the necessary changes in the instruments and procedures of data collection for the main study. Accordingly, the following changes were made to make the study a full fleshed work.

1. The researcher avoided technical errors in recording/ audio taping the police - witness interview data.

The researcher found some interviews unrecorded during the pilot data collection. It was because of technical errors in using the digital audio recording material used during the pilot data gathering. Hence, this problem was solved to avoid the problem of missed recordings during the main study.

2. The researcher avoided some inconveniencies in recordings like noises around the interview rooms.

There were noises in and around the interview rooms during the pilot study data collection. This was because a number of interview sessions were taking place within a single room with different police interviewers. Besides, there were noises or voices of different people from the outside of the interview rooms. Hence, there were inconveniences during the recordings. These inconveniences were solved in the data collections for the main study.

3. The researcher modified some of the interview itmes (inclusion, revision and exclusion)

There were some problems during the interviews with respondents. Some of the questions were indirectly asking for similar responses and also yielded similar responses. Hence, the necessary changes were made to avoid interview items that ask for similar responses. Some of the responses obtained from the respondents were too general. These kinds of responses had created blurred image to the responses of the target questions. Hence, the researcher used probing questions to avoid such problems during the gathering of the interview data for the main study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The study generally aimed at analyzing the police – witness interview discourses. The analysis of the data was using Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and pragmatics. In the analysis, the dynamics of power in the interaction between the police interviewers and the witnesses, the discourse controlling strategies or the language features used by the participants, the witnesses' perceptions towards police interviews and the strategies used by the witnesses to conceal their guilty or reveal their innocence were focused at.

The analysis starts from the opening phase of the interaction. This phase is a preliminary phase where rapport is expected to be established. Hence, rapport building discourses were analyzed as the starting issues. Next, the language features used in the discourses to control the interactions were analyzed. This was followed by the analysis of factors that influenced the interview interactions and the power relations among the participants in the interaction. Finally, the witness perceptions towards the police interview interactions and the strategies witnesses use to conceal or reveal their innocence or guilt. In short, the presentations and discussions of data were organized around the research questions. The emerging themes related to the research questions were identified through repeated reading of the texts.

4.1 Rapport Building

Rapport building is an opening section in which the parties enter into a state of interaction and establish their identities for one another (Schegloff, 1986). It is a critical step in the development of a professional relationship between an officer (a police officer) and a non-professional (a witness) in this study. Rapport should be established and maintained to influence the quality and outcome of police interviews. The success of police interviews reflects, in part, how well the witness and interviewer interact with each other. Ideally, the interviewer must gain the witness's trust as someone who is concerned about the personal welfare of the witness and is not seen only as an evidence-gatherer (Fisher and et al, 2010). The goals of the first interview phases are normally greeting and personalizing the interview, establishing rapport, and explaining the aims of the interview. If an institutionally defined goal of the opening phase is the building of rapport, for instance, then an orientation to this goal should be observable in the language of the interviewing officer or the police interviewer. However, in the opening phases of the interview, the discourses used by the police interviewers were not fully addressing the way it was expressed earlier. It is worth analyzing how the discourses were presented in the opening phases of the interviews in this study.

Excerpt 1 (1- 8)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1. IR: MAQAAKE? | 1. IR: YOUR NAME? |
| 2. IE: (.) | 2. IE: (.) |
| 3. IR: Maqaakee guutuu natti himi | 3. Tell me your full name. |
| 4. IE: (Likkiisaa) Diribaa. | 4. IE: (Likisa) Diriba. |
| 5. IR: (Likkiisaa) Diribaa eenyuu? | 5. IR: (Likkiisaa) Diriba's
Father's name? |
| 6. IE: Diribaa Badhaadhaa | 6. IE: Diriba Badada |
| 7. IR: Umuriike. | 7. IR: Your age. |
| 8. IE: Digdamii ja'a | 8. IE: Twenty six |

The interview interaction in the excerpt is the opening phase to the information gathering or to the "interview proper". It is the phase at which the police interviewer, as a person who is

ready to gather information from the interviewee (witness), completes all the preliminaries. It is unusual to audio record the police interview interactions during crime investigation in our country's judicial system. The police interviewers transcribe the interaction like minutes taking (manually record the interview verbatim) of the spoken interaction using pen and paper. This transcription or recording includes filling formalities or gathering the preliminary information like the name, age, address, family status, or job of the witness. These are done to maintain the legality of the information gathered and to increase its reliability. At this stage, the police interviewers are expected to establish good rapport with the witness to increase the effectiveness of the information gathering. Scholars like Vallano and Compo (2011) also strengthen this when they state interviewers need to build rapport to increase the accuracy of witness recall.

The asking of questions related to the names, ages, addresses, marital status or family condition can of course be considered to be some ways of making rapport in the interaction. However, these cannot be considered to be a better rapport creating or establishing methods. Besides, the loud voice of the police interviewer heard at the first utterance would not allow the interviewee to relax. In this interview context, the police interviewer could not establish a good rapport with the interviewee (witness). Greeting helps to improve the relationship between the police officer and the witness and reduces sense of potential frustration on the part of the witness. Furthermore, it creates trustworthiness between the two participants in the interaction. Introduction of oneself and one's responsibility also helps to approach the interviewee in a good manner. However, the police interviewer neither started the interaction by greeting the interviewee (witness) nor introduced himself and his responsibility to the interviewee (witness) before coming to the main information gathering phase of the interview.

It was also possible for the police interviewer to establish good rapport through explaining the objective of the interview to the interviewee. This is because explaining or orienting the interviewee in such a way creates positive atmosphere between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) at the beginning of the information gathering phase. Nevertheless,, the police interviewer did not do that at all. Furthermore, the police interviewer did not orient the witness (interviewee) how to proceed the interview and what ethical and legal considerations

need to be maintained to avoid false witnessing which also affects the evidence and spoils the legal processes.

Luck of good rapport at the beginning of the interaction and the power relation built through loud voice of the police interviewer for instance, may create sense of worry and tension to the witness which in turn may affect the next mood in the interaction.

On the other hand, the transcribed/ recorded format of the police investigation on which the interviewee's (witness's) ideas were recorded indicates that the interviewee (witness) is not obliged to give his/her ideas if he/she thinks doing that will lead them to be criminalized. The format/ transcription document puts is as follows:

Maqaafi teessoonkoo ani armaan olitti galmaa'ee guyyaa 12/04/2009 sa'aatii 5:30 tti tuuta qorannaa fikennuu seeraan kan nahimachiisuu danda'u yoo ta'e deebii kennuuf kanaan hin dirqamnee ta'uukoo dhugaa baasaa irraa naaf ibsamee akka armaan gaditti jecha ragummaakoo fedhiikootiin kenneen jira.

Translated as:

I the person whose name is mentioned here under on 12/04/2009 at 5:30 local time have been given orientation from the crime investigation team on my right not to give my ideas if it leads me to accusation .Hence, I have given my genuine ideas (witness) for the team because of my consent.

Hence, it is not difficult to realize from excerpt (1) of the above interview that the opening phase of the interaction lacks a good rapport. A relaxing context has not been established for the interviewee (witness). Instead, the police interviewer went on to seek information about the identity or name of the interviewee (witness) as in turn line (1). This is manifested in this extract in different ways. The first turn (or turn constructional unit) of the interviewer (turn 1) raises the opening question to the interviewee (witness). In this case the police interviewer asked the witness's name. Even syntactically, the question was not forwarded directly using the appropriate interrogative way. Besides, it is a single word that does not qualify for the

structure of an interrogative sentence. Though it is possible to ask questions using single word for instance, using ‘WH’ words such as what, when, who, how, where, which, why and whom, it needs context or it is *context-shaped* in which the turns in talk are overwhelmingly produced with an orientation to the most commonly immediately preceding talk. In this context however, there is no preceding talk.

MAQAAKEE? /YOUR NAME? does not have a full potential to express interrogative message on its own. Besides, it is less formal or is an informal way of beginning interview. This in turn indicates the gap between the police interviewer and the witnesses. The police interviewer is acting informally to the witness. This is because the police interviewer wanted to show the authority given to him. To seek the name of the interviewee (witness), the interviewer did not say “What is your name?” or did not politely request using the utterance “Can you tell me your name?” The phrase MAQAAKEE? / YOUR NAME? is neither interrogative nor imperative (command) in its structure. This means, syntactically observed, the act of speech does not clearly indicate questioning or commanding. Hence, it made the interviewee (witness) confused. This confusion is revealed in the second turn where the witness made pause and restricted himself from speaking for a short time. The fact that the interviewee (witness) failed to respond is evidenced by the short pause in his speech turn 2 of the interaction in the interview extract.

The production and understanding of an utterance, as an action, derives from features of the social context, especially an utterance’s place in an organized sequence of talk. Any participant’s communicative action is contextual (Maynard & Heritage, 2005:429). Hence, this communicative action depends on the orientation of the preceding, most commonly the immediately preceding talk, the projection of the relevance of the particular “next” action or range of the next actions. On the other hand, turns at talk are based on the inter subjectivity of the interactants in which the interactants understand each other in the process of interaction. The implications is that, the next speaker will only respond or interact correctly if he/she understands well what has already been spoken by the earlier speaker. This means if the second speaker fails to understand the preceding talk, it will be less probable to respond properly. This is what has been observed in the first two turns of the interactions in the

interview excerpt. This characterizes police-witness discourse at the rapport building phase of the interview process.

From the first two turns or lines 1 & 2 of the previous excerpt (1- 8), the interviewee (witness) made a short pause perhaps because he seems to be confused with the utterance of the police investigator. Besides, the police interviewer's utterance was uttered in a loud voice and raised intonation which shows a gap between the participants of the interaction. This in turn leads to tension or uneasiness from the side of the interviewee. This is because it is unusual way of asking, especially at the beginning of interactions. As a result, the first adjacency pair in the exchange ended in the request from the interviewer with no response from the interviewee (witness). This shows lack of the understanding from the interviewee about what has been uttered by the police interviewer. Apparently, this has made the police interviewer to make his question more clear or provide additional context in his next turn to bring the interviewee to the right track.

As stated In turn 3 of the same excerpt, lines (1-8), the police investigator presented the question again, but this time in a different way. Although the second request of the police interviewer was clearer than the earlier one, the police interviewer did not want to use the direct question that says, what is your full name? Instead, he used an imperative sentence to ask the interviewee's name saying, "Tell me your full name." This was using the imperative sentence "Tell me your full name." This utterance seems clear to the interviewee (witness) to understand. This is evidenced by the interviewee's (witness's) response in turn line 4. However, it is good to see the nature or structure of this statement in the context of this interaction. It is also good to ask why the police interviewer preferred to use imperative than the direct interrogative or questioning here to get response from the interviewee. This was because imperatives, more than questions, are expressives of power. They show that the speaker (the police interviewer) in this context is more powerful.

In ordinary communication, for example, it is less common to ask names or identities of persons using imperative sentences. This is because participants in such interactions less likely show authority to each other. This in turn, shows gap in knowledge, information, authority and less formal way of communication among the interactants. Hence, in this

discourse, the police interviewer used the opportunity to show the power between him and the interviewee or his authority over the interviewee (witness). On the other hand, the police interviewer in excerpt 1 used imperative sentence as a form of command or order rather than direct question. The implied message here is that the police interviewer commanded or ordered the interviewee (witness) to provide the response and the interviewee (witness) was obliged to answer.

The police interviewer's intention or power embedded in the imperative sentence used for interaction needs to be realized here. Linguistically, interrogative sentences and imperative sentences are among the four functionally grouped sentence types. They have their own intentions based on the writer's or speaker's use. One of these sentence types, which is interrogative sentence, basically helps to ask questions whereas imperative sentences are used to command or order someone to do something. Hence, it is possible to realize that even under normal conditions or with no support of other linguistic features like loud sound, or raised intonation, a stronger power is embedded in imperative sentences. Hence, the interaction between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) shows the power exploited by the police officer in these few turns of interaction. This made the interaction to be weak in establishing a better rapport using more polite expressions.

Like in his turn line 1, the police interviewer used a similar style of asking about the age of the interviewee (witness) in his turn line 7. He said, "Umuriikee?" / "Your age". If this utterance of the police interviewer is detached from the context, it will neither become meaningful nor complete. Thus, the interviewee may not provide proper response like the one mentioned earlier. But in this case, the interviewee (witness) was not confused. The previous style of the police interviewer's utterance provided him with a clue to perceive the phrase as request for age. At this level, the interviewee seems to have a clear understanding and that is why he responded saying, "digdamii ja'a" / "Twenty six" as his age in turn line 8.

When critically explored, the police interviewer did not greet the interviewee (witness). He did not introduce himself to the interviewee (witness) and did not take time to explain the need for the interaction. This opposes the idea forwarded by scholars like Collins *et al.* (2002) that dictate police interviewers to invest time at the outset of the interview to develop

meaningful, personal rapport with the witness. He simply started by asking the name of the interviewee (witness) which is part of the information gathering phase. Generally observed, in the interview extract 1 above from turns 1 to 8, though asking for the names and age of the interviewee can be part of establishing rapport, the police interviewer could have used a more effective rapport establishing discourses.

The ways the police interviewer created relationship with the interviewee (witness) here could not relax the interviewee (witness). This is one way that crime investigation fails to support the justice system. The police interviewer only used questioning to ask name and age as a rapport building strategy in the interview interaction. He did not use good rapport establishing discourses that could make the interviewee more relaxed to speak freely. There was no greeting and personalizing (approaching the participant in a friendly way). Thus, the focus was mainly on gathering information that supplements the evidence rather than using better and relaxing discourses which put the interviewees at ease to gather information. In fact the police officer wanted to extract evidence that may support the investigation of the crime out of the witness. Whichever way he does, he wants to be sure to get the evidence required from the witness. The way the evidence is elicited determines the quality of the evidence itself. This, in turn spoils the justice needed to be established. The next excerpt also shows the nature of the discourses in the rapport establishment during the interview.

Excerpt 2 (1- 6)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. IR : Maqaakee natti himi | 1. IR: Tell me your name |
| 2. IE: ⁰ Tasfaayee ⁰ | 2. IE: ⁰ Tesfaye ⁰ |
| 3. IR: Tasfaayee eenyuuti? | 3. IR: Tesfaye's father name? |
| 4. IE: Baayyisaa, | 4. IE: Bayisa, |
| 5. IR: Baayisaa eenyuu? | 5. IR: Bayisa's father name? |
| 6. IE: Qana'aa | 6. IE: Bayisa Kenea |

Similar to the way reported in the opening phase in the interaction in excerpt 1 (turns 1 _8), the police interviewer in the above interview excerpt 1(1_6) started her request for the identity of the interviewee (witness) using an imperative sentence Maqaakee natti himi /“ Tell me your name.” She did not even explain the aim of the interview and how the

interviewee (witness) should proceed or act in the interview process. She did not also use the direct question “what is your name?” Instead, imperative sentence was used. The use of this imperative sentence indicates the gap in authority between the police officer and the interviewee (witness). It is command or imperative that carries a strong message to the interviewee (witness). On the other hand, the interviewee (witness) is ordered or commanded to tell his name to the police officer. The police interviewer’s utterance is not polite. This was because the police officer knows that politeness is not needed. Her non - use of direct question is an expression exercising of power through language (discourse). Rather, she ordered the interviewee (witness). The institutional power vested in the police officer is embedded in this imperative sentence and exerted to the interviewee (witness) through her first turn in line (1) of the interview excerpt 2 above.

The police interviewer in her speech wanted to show that the investigation or interview is between her and the witness. The pronoun ‘me’ and the phrase ‘tell me’ in the expression “maqaakee natti himi”/ “Tell me your name” reveals that the police interviewer is acting as the representative of the institution or gathering information on the behalf of the police institution. ‘Me’ is a personal pronoun that directly refers to the interviewer; however, this does not necessarily mean the interaction is too personal. This is because the interaction is not an ordinary or everyday interaction that takes place between peer groups or friends. Rather, it is to indicate that the police interviewer is the agent or representative of her institution.

The police interviewer - interviewee (witness) interaction at this initial phase was designed to open or begin the investigation. This phase of interaction seeks information regarding the identity or name of the interviewee (witness) and the way the turns in interaction were arranged were based on the police interviewer’s controlling or managing of the topic or the turns. Consequently, the police interviewer used imperative sentence and interrogative sentences. The imperative utterance of the police interviewer is used here to impose order (command) on the interviewee to do what he is told to do. Utterance in questioning form on the other hand is used to urge the interviewee (witness) to provide response. In general, in both types of utterances, the discourse for building rapport was influenced more by questioning and commanding than relaxing discourses.

Excerpt 3 (1- 10)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. IR: Eenyu maqaankee? | 1. IR: What is your name? |
| 2. IE: Girmaa Taaddasaa | 2. IE: Girma Tadesse |
| 3. IR: Girmaa Taaddasaa eenyuu? | 3. IR: Tadesse's father name? |
| 4. IE: (Taddasaa Nageessoo) | 4. IE: (Tadesse Nageessoo) |
| 5. IR: Umuriinkee? | 5. IR: Your age? |
| 6. IE: Digdama | 6. IE: Twenty |
| 7. IR: Sadarkaa barumsakee? | 7. IR: Your educational status? |
| 8. IE: Kudha tokko | 8. IE: Eleven |
| 9. IR: Hojiinkee? | 9. IR: Your job? |
| 10. IE: (Hinqabu) | 10. (Hinqabu) |

Similarly, the above interview (i.e excerpt 3) is about opening phase of the interview. In this interview, the police interviewer did not identify himself by name, rank, or affiliation. Hence, there is no evidence in the interaction in which the police interviewer projected his professional identity, name, rank or responsibility for the content of much of his utterance to the police institution.

The police officer simply started asking the name or identity of the interviewee (witness) directly using direct question with raised intonation in turn line 1 as shown next. "Eenyu maqaankee?"/ "What is your name?" It is good to see why the police interviewer preferred to use direct question here. He did not ask in a polite manner using, "Would/can you tell me your name please?" The police interviewer seems not worried about easing the relationship between him and the interviewee (witness). This is may be because he was given institutional power to interview the witness and he believes that such impositions will help him make the interviewee (witness) frustrated and shaped.

The first two pairs of the turns between the police interviewer and the interviewee focus on getting information about the interviewee's name and father's name. The third adjacency pair is about the interviewee's age. It is good to see how the police interviewer presented the request. He says, "Umuriinkee?" /"Your age?" This utterance in turn line 5 of the police interviewer is vague if it is detached from the context of the interview. The same is true for

turn lines 7 and 9. This is because syntactically these two utterances of the police interviewer are neither questions nor imperatives that trigger the interviewee to comprehend and respond. If so, how was it possible for this interviewee (witness) to respond? The phrases “Umuriinkee?”/“Your age?”, sadarkaa barumsakee “your educational status?” and Hojiinkee? / “your job?” by themselves do not make complete sense to the interviewee. This is because they are not complete sentences that give complete ideas by themselves. Rather, they are simply phrases that are even vague if detached from the contexts of the interactions.

In such cases, how can the next speaker (the witness) respond to the police interviewer? In this regard, Heritage (1984) states that utterances in interaction are not just single events but are connected with other utterances in the interaction. Likewise, in this interview extract, the interviewee (witness) was supported by the contexts provided in the previous turns about personal information like name, and father’s name. The interviewee could understand that the previous turns of the police interview in lines (1 and 3) were questions about name and father’s name. From this, he could realize that the intention of the two turns used by the police are related to gathering preliminary information like name, address, job and others. Hence, it was not that much difficult for the interviewee to understand the interviewer’s turn in line (5) which is about age. Besides, the raised intonation in the police interviewer’s turn provides him with additional clue. This helped, the interviewee to tell the interviewer his age to be twenty.

Generally, in the interview presented in the previous excerpt, the police interviewer did not use a better approach that makes the interviewee (the witness) relaxed to express his ideas during the interview. On the other hand, the police interviewer’s discourse mainly focused on gathering the preliminary information about the interviewee’s name, father’s name and age. For this to happen, the police interviewer used direct questions. No language that expresses politeness, smooth or relaxing approach is forwarded by the police interviewer. The police interviewer used systematic approach that characterizes institution based discourse. He did not also use anguages for introducing himself because he did not believe in the importance of doing that. On the other hand, this was act of being coercive in using language to the witness in the interaction. Hence, it seems that the police interviewer was not worried about

establishing a relaxing rapport. Instead, he was concerned about gathering information in whatever it is.

4.1.1 Maintaining Relationship

In so far analysis of the interview transcripts, the discourse the police interviewers used to establish rapport (open the interviews) has been considered. Information gathering hasn't stopped there. The interactions were expected to move forward to the body of the interview. This was to get the necessary information related to the crime. The police interviewers thus used different strategies to maintain the dynamics of the interactions throughout the police – witness interviews during crime investigations. It will be good to see how the participants of the interaction (the police interviewers and the witnesses) maintained the relationships and who has played dominant roles in maintaining the relationship in the process.

Excerpt 11 (5 _7)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 5. IR: Beetii Tarrafaa. Maaliif? Dhuftee: | 5. IR: Bety Terefa. Why? you
have co: me |
| 6. IE: Dhimma (.) Abdifaafin dhufe | 6. IE: Because of the case of (.)
Abdi and others |
| 7. IR: Mee: maa:? l beekta
guyyaasaarraa ka'iitii waan beektu | 7. IR: What do you know
le:t you tell us about what you
know starting from the date |
| 8. IE: Guyyaasaa (-) [saa] | 8. IE: The[date] (-) |
| 9. IR: Himataan [eenyu?] | 9. IR: [Who is the] complainant? |

The interactions in the above excerpt 11(turns 5_9) tells us that the police interviewer was moving on to the basic agenda in hand. It was a problem initiation section used to get into the business of crime investigation and thus to gather evidence from the interviewees/witnesses. The utterance of the interviewer in turn 5 that says, “Beetii Tarrafaa. Maaliif ? Dhuftee: / Bety Terefa. Why? you have co: me” implies that the police interviewer was raising a new agenda after he gathered background information of the interviewee. He wanted extend his relationship with the interviewee to check whether the interviewee knows why he was at the

police station. This was a means to come to the main agenda in the gathering of evidence about the incident. This has made the interviewee to utter in the next turn (6) saying, “Dhimma (.) Abdifaafin dhufe / Because of the case of (.) Abdi and others”. This shows that the police interviewer’s utterance in turn (5) was used as initiation to engage the interviewer in the communication.

The police interviewer’s utterance in turn line (7) also indicates that there is a need to maintain the relationship with the witness. For this to happen, the interviewer used another initiation (commanding) the witness to tell him the date of the incident as well as what he knows about the incident in detail. This is a new agenda which is the extension of the question for reasoning why the witness came to the police institution. Still, the access of the resource for the discourse was controlled by the police interviewer. Issues of when to start, when to stop, how to start and when to stop were only in the hands of the police interviewer.

Furthermore, the police interviewer moved to another step of initiation as indicated in turn (8) asking for the identity of the complainant saying, “[himataan eenyu?] / [Who is the complainant?] This question was a means to maintain the relationship and make the witness stay in the interaction until the police interviewer feels that he gets the necessary information. The witness had no option to make himself out of the interaction. This was because he was not the source of the agenda or discourse that leads or initiates the interaction. Only the police interviewer was given the opportunity to determine how the interaction needs to move, where to stop and how it should end. On the other hand, this was a clear indicator of the police interviewer’s power in maintain the relationship throughout the interaction. This trend has happened throughout the whole transcript in the interaction. One more instance can be seen from other transcript to indicate that the police interviewers play great roles in controlling or maintaining the whole interaction.

Excerpt 16 (21- 27)

21. IR: Godinnikee ?

22. IE: Amboo

23. IR: Amboo godina  maalii jala jirti?

21. IR: Your Zone?

22. IE: Ambo

23. IR: Under  which Zone is
Ambo found?

24. IE: Godina maalii jaladhaa?

25. IR: Ii

26. IE: Aanaa Amboo

27. IR: Isan SIGAAFACHAA JIRU

natti himi aanaan

sigaafachaa jiraa? Amboo

maaliitiin ? siinjedhe

24. IE: Under which Zone?

25. IR: Ii

26. IE: Ambo Woreda

27. IR: Tell me WHAT I AM

ASKING YOU about am I

asking you woreda?I said

under which Zone is Ambo found?

The police interviewer had the first go in the interactions. Turn (21) in the above excerpt shows that the interviewer asked the witness to tell him his residence (zone). The witness told him saying, “Ambo”. However, Ambo is not zone. Rather, it is town. Hence, another question was raised to the witness because he failed to respond. The interviewer further continued asking as shown in turn (23). The witness asked the same question raised by the interviewer for clarification or confirmation that the question is really about the zone. In turn (25) the interviewer gave the witness to continue responding to the same question saying, “Ii) which indirectly shows agreement.

It implies that though the witness could not respond to the question, the police interviewer did not let him. He further maintained the interaction using different technique. It seems that he was dissatisfied with what the witness said. That why his turn (27) was changed to command (imperative) followed by question. This was supported by a loud sound. At this time he had mixed feelings. He was maintaining the interaction through change of strategy. He made the witness stay in the interaction until he gets relevant response.

In short, the length of the interactions, the manner of interactions, the time to begin the interactions and the time to finish the interactions were maintained by the police interviewers. This tells us that there was police interviewer’s power to maintain and control every interaction among the participants in the interaction.

4.1.2 Ending (closing) the interview

Interactions will have beginnings and endings. Likewise, the police interview interactions in the transcripts for the study indicated that the police interviewers were procedural in their

interactions. They began from gathering preliminary information about the witnesses' name, age, address, educational status family status and others. This was followed by the police interviewers' agenda for gathering evidence from the witnesses. Finally, the police interviewers were the participants of the interactions who were accessible to the discourses for closing the interactions. It will be good to see how the interactions were concluded during the interactions.

Excerpt 14 (61- 64)

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 61. IR: Yoomi? jettee guyyaasaa? | 61. IR: When? was the date? |
| 62. IE: Qidaamee. | 62. IE: Saturday. |
| 63. IR: Kanuma beekta. | 63. IR: You know only this. |
| 64. IE: Kanuman beeka. | 64. IE: I know only this |
| 65. Mallatteessi asitti. | 65. Sign it here. . |

The above exchange is generally a closing (final section) of the interaction that was devoted to manage how to exit from the interview. In turn line (63), the police interviewer said, "Kanuma beekta. /You know only this." This utterance of the police interviewer was around the last turn in the interview transcript 14. In this context, the interviewer was using syntactically a declarative sentence. The purpose of declarative sentence is to declare or inform something; however, in the context of this utterance of the police officer, the utterance aimed at asking the witness for confirmation of the information gathered.

The witness in turn 64 (in his last turn) responded saying, "Kanuman beeka. / I know only this." In this utterance, the witness confirmed that he knows only to that extent. Like the opening phase of the interview, the police interviewer did not worry about the polite conclusion. He neither gave thanks for the information nor said good bye to the witness for smooth departure. The police interviewer rather ordered the interviewee saying, "Mallatteessi asitti. / Sign it here." in turn 65. In this context, the last turn, that carries command or order is possessed by the police interviewer. The interviewee did not get or try to get another turn. It simply ended in ordering of the police interviewer. This was to make the interviewee to

confirm that he gave the witness based on his willingness. This is unusual closing in ordinary conversation. However, this has been used in this study to indicate that the police interviewer has a higher institutional status, power or authority to use a discourse that can reveal his power. The police interviewer was accessible to the resource of the discourse that enables him to thank or say good bye, but he did not make use of it deliberately to indicate power he owns over the witness. He had also the access to open, maintain and close the interview. That was why he used this opportunity to close the interview through possessing the last turn for ending the interaction.

Excerpt 1 (128 – 131)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 128. IR: Kanuma beektaa? | 128. IR: You only know this? |
| 129. IE: Ee kanuman beeka. | 129. IE: Yes. I know only this. |
| 130. IR: Koottu Mallatteesi. | 130. IR: Come and sign. |
| 131. IE: ⁰ Eessatti? ⁰ | 131. IE: ⁰ Where? ⁰ |
| 132. IR: Kunuu asitti. | 132. IR: Here. |

In a similar way, in the above exchanges, the police interviewer asked for confirmation saying, “Kanuma beektaa? / You only know this?” as he was moving to conclude his interaction with the witness. The witness confirmed that, that was all about what he in his final utterance, the police ordered the interviewee to put his signature for further confirmation of the evidence. Here two things can be realized. The first is that the interviewer was using imperative sentence to indicate that the witness has the obligation to satisfy his of putting signature. The other thing is that putting signature implies that confirming the legality of the information from the witness. Changing mind from the witness may bring accountability to the witness.

No sign of politeness, departing expressions, thanks or goodbye were used as a final remark. Rather it was concluded by provision of accountability and responsibility to the witness for what has been spoken by him during the interaction. Hence, the closing phase of this interaction seems to indicate strong power relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee.

Likewise, when the final remarks or closing exchanges of the participants of the interview are analyzed, almost in all the transcripts (1-18), the police interviewer used similar discourses. They were only asking for confirmation of the reliability of the information gathered from the witnesses. They did not seem to worry for smooth departure. They rather focus only to information gathering. However, it should be clear that the quality of information gathering depends on the quality/ nature of the discourses used by the police interviewers during the interview.

Generally, the power to open the interviews/interactions as well as to close them was accessible only to the police interviewers. This indicates that the police interviewers had the power to manipulate the discourses to control, and dominate, the interviewees during the interview from the beginning to the end.

4.2 Linguistic Features as Discourse Controlling Strategies

Language carries meaning. The role language plays depends on the context in which it is used and the identity, the discursive roles given to him/her, and the status of the person who uses it. Language is beyond a means of communication. It can also carry power embedded in discourses. Hence, language can also be a means of imposing or influencing other persons. This could be using discourses that embed power in them. Likewise, in this study of the police – witness interviews, the police interviewers used the interview discourse to impose or influence the witnesses to give proper evidences. For this to happen, the police interviewers used different strategies. Among these are the linguistic features that were used as discourse controlling strategies that include interruptions, overlaps, pauses, turn_takings, questioning, lexical choice and topic selections. Hence, it will be worth mentioning to examine these features and analyze how the police interviewers use them to control the interactions and show the power relationship with the witnesses.

4.2.1 Interruptions

Interruptions are violations of a speaker's turns at talk and are used as devices of exercising power and control in conversations. James and Clarke (1993) put that interruption happens when one person initiates talk while another person is already

talking. Police interviewers used different types of interruptions to get more turns of talk during the interviews. The interruptions used were interrogative, confirmative, informative, information-objection, declarative, non-information objection, and corrective interruptions. The dominantly used interruptions in the interviews by the police interviewers were interrogative interruptions. It is worth mentioning how these interruptions were used in the interview extracts taken from the police – witness interviews. Besides, it will be good to see the great roles played by the police interviewers in influencing the participants' time to speak, who has to speak (ask or answer) in the process of interactions, the agenda to be spoken about, and the participant (person) to open, maintain and close the interaction between the police and the witnesses (interviewees) during the interviews.

Excerpt 1 (51- 63)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 51. IR: Maaliif dhufte? har'a. | 51. IR: Why are you here? today. |
| 52. IE: Himata (-) Tsige Kumalaa fi (.) | 52. IE: To complain about (-) |
| | Tsige Kumela and (.) |
| 53. IR: .h h | 53. IR: .hh |
| 54. IE: Himatamaa aaddee | 54. IE: Defendant wro. |
| Badhaadhee Badhaadhaa fi | Bedade Bedada and |
| 55. IR: .hh ((gidduutti kuteen)) namatu | 55. IR: .hh ((Interrupted)) what I |
| wallolee? mee waan ani sigaafadhe. | asked you is, "did people quarrel?" |
| 56. IR ₂ : Isaan gidduutti maal beekta? | 56. IR ₂ : What do you know |
| | between them? |
| 57. IE: Isaan gidduuttii: (.) ani | 57. IE: In between the::m (.) I was at |
| manakoon Jiraa (.) wacini kaanaan | my house (.) I heard shouting and. |
| dhufee yeroon dhufu | went there. When I arrived, I was |
| wallolaa jiruu jechaadha. | told they were quarreling. |
| 58. IR ₂ : Yoomi? ((gidduutti kuteen)) | 58. IR ₂ : When? ((interrupted)) |
| 59. IR: Gaafa guyyaa meeqaati? | 59. IR: On which da::te? |
| 60. IE: Guyyaa:: sadii | 60. IE: Three |
| 61. IR: Sadii ((gidduutti kutteen)) | 61. IR: Three ((interrupted)) |
| Ji'a meeqa? | How many months? |

62. IE: Ji'a lama

62.IE: Two months

63. IR: Barroo?

63. IR: The year?

The shift from the opening phase to the information gathering, or the “interview proper”, is evident in this extract in a number of ways. First, the police interviewer’s turn from line (51) that says, *Maaliif dhufte? har’a.* /“Why are you here? Today.” is a quite different issue from the information about address or personal background of the interviewee (witness) mentioned in the previous interview excerpts 1, 2 & 3. Second, the focus of the interview excerpt above is not about the interviewee’s (witness’s) information, rather it is about the gathering of information about the victim and the suspect (defendant); what happened between them and when the action happened. Hence, it is possible to say, in this context, the police interviewer has shifted from opening stage of the interview to the information gathering which is the main objective the police interviewer intends to arrive at.

The main intention of the police interviewer in the above interaction turn line (51) was to get information about why the interviewee was there (at the interview room). It is known that suspects, witnesses or victims go to the police institution when there is a case requiring investigation. Besides, in Ethiopia, people who are requested to give statement on a given criminal act are legally summoned to appear in police stations to give their testimony. They are called through an official and legal letter and failure to obey this leads to penalty.

In line 51 of the above excerpt, the police investigator begins his business by asking the interviewee why he was at the police station. Probably no body else knows why the person is there better than the police investigator himself. So the question here is that if the police investigator knows, why does he ask such question? Although the police investigator knows the reason, as he is gathering legal evidence or information from the witness, he preferred to make the information he obtains to be from the person who has seen the act or who has heard about it. This is a strategy institutionalized to confirm the witness’s knowledge of why he was at the police institution. It seems that the police interviewer used the “why” question to listen to the interviewee’s possible reasons .That is why the interviewer used several “WH” questions throughout the interaction in the excerpt. This is an evaluative question that tests whether the interviewee has really information about what he is going to do.

The police investigator did not tell the interviewee the reason why he has come and then ask him to tell or explain what he has seen or heard about the crime. Instead, he was acting as if he had no information about the reason why the interviewee was there. This is a deliberate and purposeful question that the police investigators use during crime investigation. They may use this kind of questions to identify those who come to witness with little or no knowledge about the crime that happened and end in wrong witnessing. It helps to check whether the interviewee (the witness) interview leads to reliable information that supports the evidence.

In turn line 52, we see the interviewee responding to the question saying, Himata (-) Tsige Kumalaa fi (.) /To complain about (-) Tsige Kumela and (.), but with halted utterances after some words. This pause seems to be initiated by the police investigator through the in breath (.hh), a strategy used by the police interviewer to prompt (give a prompt to continue). The interviewee continued talking about the defendant. The police investigator seems not to be happy about the interviewee's speech. This is because the interviewee (the witness) is evading (avoiding answering directly). That is why she is mentioning more about the victim and the suspect (the defendant) than their actions. The police investigator on the other hand, wanted to know what really happened among these persons rather than about the persons themselves. As a result, the police investigator interrupted the speech of the interviewee (witness). Although the police interviewer used his first turn in line (51) to get answer to the reason why the interviewee (witness) was in the interview room, he could not get relevant response in the interviewee's turn in line (52). Because of lack of proper response, the police interviewer asked the interviewee (witness) to speak on the requested agenda. The interviewee (witness), however, continued to evade talking about the names of the persons involved in the situation or the occasion. The police interviewer seems to understand that this turn of the interviewee (witness) in line (54) does not also yield relevant answer. Hence, he did not want to tolerate up to the end of the interviewee's speech. As a result, he interrupted the interviewee (the witness) in the middle of the speech in line (55) as indicated in the utterance that says, “.hh ((gidduutti kuteen)) namatu wallolee? mee waan ani sigaafadhu./ .hh ((Interrupted)) what I ask you is, “did people quarrel?”. This is a strategy to change the line of the witness's thought.

Besides, in the interruption of the interviewee's speech, turn line (55), the interviewer says, "namatu wallolee? mee waan ani sigaafadhe."/"What I asked you is, did people quarrel?" This is an interrogative interruption aimed to get information through question. In this context, the police interviewer wanted to make clear that the interviewee (witness) was talking about what was not asked. This means the interviewee is deliberately evading. It may be because he was not certain about what has happened or to divert reality. On the other hand, what the police interviewer is implying in his request here is that he did not ask about the persons, rather his question was why the interviewee (witness) was in the interview room. This indicates that the interviewee (witness) is talking about what he is not asked. Because of this, the police interviewer wanted to narrow the scope of the interviewee's speech and bring back to the relevant issue in hand. This means it seems good time for the police interviewer to manage or bring back the interviewee (witness) to the right track to get relevant information.

This turn of the interviewer also shows that the police interviewer was using first person singular pronoun "I" in the utterance that says, "namatu wallolee? mee waan ani sigaafadhe." /"What I asked you is, did people quarrel?". As the context reveals, this interaction is different from the ordinary conversation that takes place between peers or friends. The reason is, this is in the context of police institution and police interview. Hence, the police interviewer in this context is not representing himself. The interaction is oriented with institutional goal. In this context therefore, the police interviewer is using "I" to represent the institution (the police institution). He is speaking on behalf of the police institution he belongs to. This means there is a difference between the pronoun "I" in ordinary or casual conversation and the pronoun "I" in the police interviewer's utterance. In ordinary conversation, "I" carries personal power but in police interview context, the first person singular subject pronoun "I" shows not only personal power but also institutional agency. This shows that it is through the representatives like the police interviewers that the institutions speak and function.

Besides, in the police interviewer's utterance mentioned earlier that says, ".hh ((gidduutti kuteen)) namatu wallolee? mee waan ani sigaafadhe./ .hh ((Interrupted)) what I asked you is, "did people quarrel?" the phrase, "What I asked you" is in the form of active sentence. It

seems that the interviewer used this way of utterance (active voice) than the passive voice deliberately. This was to exercise his power to influence the interviewee. This indicates the power relationship between the participants that slanted in favor of the police interviewer in the interaction. The interruption of the interviewee's /the witness's utterance once again, happened in turn 58. This also shows that the interviewer's interest to take the floor and to control or manage the utterance of the witness is the target point. This goes in line with what Fairclough (1989) states that power in discourse is to do with powerful participants who control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants.

Furthermore, in the utterance turn (61), the police interviewer again interrupted the witness's turn. This was again an interrogative interruption which directly raised question to seek the month. Because the witness provided short and relevant response in turn (60) about the specific date, the police interviewer did not want to waste time listening extra information that might come from the witness. That was the strategy to go to the next agenda by constraining the witness from extra talk.

Generally, this interaction was organized to gather information about the crime committed. Though the interviewee seems to be moving around the issue rather than revealing it directly, the police investigator used mechanisms to control or manage the direction of the interaction. Interruptions were used to prevent the interviewee (the witness) from being able to finish what he wants to say and to allow the police interviewer to take over the floor. Interruptions were used by the police interviewer to control or manage the interaction. This has happened through the manipulation of the interviewee's discourse desired that the response could be obtained. On the other hand, it has been through the police officer's interruption and shaping of the interviewee's utterance (discourse) that the necessary information was aimed to be obtained. However, scholars like Schollum (2005) oppose the use of interruptions by the police interviewers stating that interviewers must learn to curb any tendency to interrupt the interviewee as this will break the person's train of thought and stop the flow of information, potentially preventing important facts from emerging.

This is because as James and Clarke (1993) state, the person who interrupts gains some control over the conversation by getting a chance to speak when it is not his/her turn.

Accordingly, interruptions are considered as having the potential to disrupt turns at talk, disorganize the ongoing construction of conversational topics, and violate the current speaker's right to be engaged in speaking and therefore, interruption has long been associated with dominance and power.

Excerpt 1 (69 –76)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 69. IR: Aanaa kam keessatti? | 69. IR: In which woreda? |
| 70. IE: Aanaa (.) ⁰ duwwaa tokko.
Incinnii ⁰ | 70. IE: Woreda (.) ⁰ Zero one
Inchini ⁰ |
| 71. IR: ((interrupted)) HINSODAATII: NII:?
dubbadhuu:: | 71. IR: ((interrupted)) DO: N'T be
AFRAI:? D spea:: k it out |
| 72. IE: <u>Incinnii</u> duwwaa tokko | 72. IE: <u>Inchini</u> zero one |
| 73. IR: Bakkisaa maal jedhama? | 73. IR: What is the pla:ce
What is it called? |
| 74. IE: Addis Katamaa | 74. IE: Addis Ketema |
| 75. IR: <u>Bakkisunoo</u> : MAA: L jedhama? | 75. IR: WHA:T <u>abo:ut the place</u>
what is the Plac: e called? |
| 76. IE: Addis Katamaa
(0.8) | 76. IE: Addis Ketema
(0.8) |

As stated in line 69 of the above excerpt, the police investigator is asking for specific woreda (district). He did not ask the name of the kebele. The interviewee (witness) however, responded saying, “Aanaa (.)⁰duwwaa tokko. Incinnii⁰”, “Woreda (.)⁰Zero one Inchini⁰”. This response is a mixture of the district and kebele. Besides, the interviewee slowed down his voice in his turn line (70). Why did the interviewee pause in his utterance? What made him make his voice or utterance quieter or low? These are important points to note. These are clear indications of the fact that the interviewee (witness) was with little or no confidence to speak to the police interviewer. This in turn shows that there was frustration from the side of the interviewee (witness). This turn of the police interviewee (witness) has given context for the police interviewer who is going to speak in the next turn.

The interviewee's turn led the police interviewer to interrupt the interviewee and use two speech acts in his turn line (71). These are, HINSODAATII: NII:? / "DON'T BE AFRAID." and "dubbadhuu :: / speak out." Both are imperatives (commands). From the previous turn of the interviewee (line 70), the police interviewer realized that the interviewee (the witness) was afraid of speaking to him. This was evidenced from the interviewee's use of slow speech. In addition, the interviewee made a pause just after uttering a single word "aanaa/woreda." Consequently, the police interviewer decided to interrupt and told the interviewee (the witness) not to be afraid. Besides, the police interviewer used imperative sentence to order the witness (interviewee) to speak out.

This interview is different from ordinary conversation that takes place between peers or friends. In ordinary conversation, the participants have a balanced power and right to contribute their ideas, interrupt at any point in the middle of the talk, ask for clarifications where needed and give reasons on the other participant's initiation. However, the case in institutional interactions, police interviews with witnesses, is quite different. This is because in police – witness interaction, the police have both legal and institutional power to influence the interviewee. This erodes the interviewee's confidence to speak the way he does with his peers or friends. That is why the interviewee in the above excerpt speaks with a quieter voice (in line 70) which is an expression of lack of confidence.

Why were imperatives preferred to the direct questions by the police interviewer in the interaction turn line (71)? The police interviewer did not encourage the interviewee to avoid fear and speak aloud as his intention was getting the desired information at any cost. He also spoke loudly when he told the interviewee not to be afraid. The point here is that what does the police interviewer mean when he says, "HINSODAATII: NII:? /DON'T BE AFRAID"? This expression reveals that the police interviewer realized that the interviewee (the witness) was not speaking freely. On the other hand, the interviewee (witness) was afraid of speaking with the police interviewer. There was no way of keeping silent for the interviewee because he was not only requested to avoid frustration but also ordered to speak it out. This shows the way the interviewee speaks was controlled by the police interviewer. These are indications of power embedded in the police interviewer's discourse to manage the dynamics of the interaction in the interview.

In line 72, the interviewee responded “Incinnii duwwaa tokko/ Inchini zero one” as the name of the woreda but the police interviewer further asked him the particular place of the site of the crime. Although the interviewee said Addis Ketema is the crime site line (74), the police interviewer repeated similar question in his turn (75) in a different way. After hearing the interviewee’s reply, the police interviewer began with a loud voice to ask the same question. The reason why the police interviewer used similar question for the second time is because either he wanted to confirm that the place mentioned by the interviewee is really Addis Ketema or to test the witness’s stand for telling the truth.

To sum up, in the above excerpt, the interview was totally concerned with the gathering of information about where the crime took place. The turn design, the topic and the whole interaction were highly controlled or managed by the police interviewer. The interviewee was expected to answer a question raised from the police interviewer in any directions. Incase the interviewee failed to do so, the police interviewer used interruption as a means to control the dynamics.

Excerpt 6 (9 – 12)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 9. IR: Haalli maatii? | 9. IR: Family condition? |
| 10. IE: Haa:lli maatii: (.) gabareedhakaa,
haallikenyaa:: | 10. IE: Fa: mily conditi:on (.) is
farmer, our conditi: on i::s. |
| 11. IR: ((gidduutti kuteen)) Haadha
manaatii jedhikaa. | 11. IR: ((interrupted)) Say you
are a house wife. . |
| 12. IE: Tole | 12. IE: Ok |

As indicated in the above interview excerpt, the police interviewer asked about family condition. The utterance used here is structurally not in the form of question. However, it is a phrase that demands response. It is not clear what the police interviewer wanted to say. The interviewee (witness) was first a little bit confused. This is evidenced in her utterance that started with repetition of the police interviewer’s phrase, “Haalli maatii: (.) /fa: mily conditi:on i::s (.)” but later she responded with hesitation that her family condition as a farmer. The police interviewer in her turn line (11) interrupted to correct her. The police interviewer’s interruption aimed at correcting or repairing the witness’s utterance. This was

through telling her to correct the utterance that says, “gabareedhakaa, haallikeenyaa: to “haadha manaa/ house wife”. The phrase “Haa:lli maatii: /fa:mily conditi:on” is a very open utterance that invites the interviewee to respond in a variety of ways. For instance, the interviewee can talk about health condition, marital status, and family size. That was why the police interviewer made corrective interruption.

Excerpt 6 (36- 42)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 36. IR: Maal argite? | 36. IR: What did you see? |
| 37. IE: Waa: ntiinan arge,
Istaadiyoomii keessaan
kaboota [funaanaa jira] | 37. IE: Wha:t I saw is, from the
inside of the stadium I
[was collecting] dry cow dung |
| 38. IR: hh [Istaadiyoomii isa kami?]
((Gidduutti kutteen)) | 38. IR: hh [From which stadium?]
((Interrupted)) |
| 39. IE: Istaadiyoomii (--)
gama iddoo:: (- -) | 39. IE: The stadium (--) the ::re (--) |
| 40. IR: Haayskuulii duuba? | 40. IR: Behind the highscool? |
| 41. IE: Haayskuulii duuba ani
kabootan funaanaa jira. Innii
midhaan gaariidhaan fe’achaa
jira Hayluun.Midhaan gaariin
fe’achaa jira inni kun harree
wayii seentee harree ari’aa jira
Kun kan nama fuunduraa mitii
kan waaqaaf Kiristoos fuunduratti
ifaati. Qofaakoo mitii dhaabbiina
waaqaaf lafa ofbukkee kaa’een | 41. IE: I was collecting dried cow
dung from behind school. Hailu
was loading grain on cart. This
one was chasing donkey. Clearly,
this is not what I speak in front a
person. I am alone. I am
speaking in front of God and
land. [What I speak] |
| 42. IR: [kanan dubbadhu] ((gidduutti dubbate))
[Nutti himi waan]
argite sirriitti | 42. IR: ((the police man
interrupted)) [tell us clearly]
what you saw |

In the interview excerpt 6 (36 -42), the police interviewer is asking what the interviewee (witness) saw during the incident. She used direct question using “WH”. In her turn line (37),

the interviewee started narrating what she was doing by the time the crime happened rather than speaking directly about the incident. As it is interviewee's action more than what the interviewee saw, this information has no or little importance for the police interviewer or the judicial system. That was why this utterance of the interviewee was followed by the overlapping and interruption of the interviewer's utterance in turn line (38). This turn of the police interviewer aimed at identifying the place (the stadium) where the interviewee (witness) was collecting dried cow dung.

In the next turn of her utterance line (39), the interviewee (witness) tried to respond where the stadium was found but failed to do so. This is indicated by the two consecutive halted utterances after the phrase "Istaadiyoomii (--) / the stadium (--) " and the word "gama iddoo:: (--) / the:: re" (--). It seems that the interviewee could not provide proper response to the request from the police interviewer. This shows that the interviewee (witness) was not in a position to identify where the stadium is found. As a result, the police interviewer was obliged to supplement the idea in the mind of the interviewee through providing clue to get reliable information. That is why she says, "Haayskuulii duuba? / Behind the school?" in her turn line (40). Syntactically, the utterance is not stated in the form of question. It is simply a phrase forwarded to an interviewee (witness) with raised intonation indicated by the question mark. Hence, it is only from the raised intonation that the interviewee understands the police interviewer's utterance is a request for approval of the location of the stadium spoken by the interviewee. This utterance aimed at whether the interviewee is talking about the stadium that is found behind the school or any other stadium found somewhere else. Though the intention of the police interviewer in the turn line (40) is to seek response in the form of yes/no, the interviewee's utterance in turn line (41) seems to be full of details that have little or no value for the investigation. Hence, the police interviewer used interruption in turn line (42) as a means to control the utterance of the interviewee.

The interview excerpt is organized around seeking information about what the witness saw and where she saw it. The police interviewer progressed from asking what was seen to where the crime happened. The turn taking procedure and the turn length are shaped or managed by the police interviewer. The interviewee could not give proper response to most of the requests and there appeared problems of adjacency pairs in the interaction. It was intentional

digression by the interviewee. That resulted in the repeated interruptions of the interviewee's utterance by the police interviewer. Interruptions in these situations are used to violate the current speakers' turns to take the floor from the current speaker while they are still producing their TCU (turn constructional Unit).

Excerpt 8 (58 -62)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 58. IR: DHAABATEEDHUMA tiksaa? | 58. IR: Was he keeping BY HIMSELF? |
| 59. IE: Ani egaa yennaan dhaqu
[jaarsis achuma jiraa,] fardeenis
achuma jiru | 59. IE: When I arrived there, [the old
person was there,] the horses were
also there |
| 60. IR: [Isheen kun] ((Gidduutti kuteen))
Kanaafuu: himattuun maal goote? | 60. IR: [the woman] ((interrupted her))
So:: what did the complainant do? |
| 61. IE: Adaraa [seeraa] | 61. IE: For the sake [of law] |
| 62. IR: [Maal] ((Gidduutti kuteen))
<u>maal gochaa jirtiin</u> siin jedhe? | 62. IR: [What] ((interrupted her))
I said <u>what was she doing?</u> |

The police interviewer's request in the turn line (58) which says, "DHAABATEEDHUMA tiksaa? / Was he keeping BY HIMSELF?" is a direct request or question that needs short yes/no response. However, the interviewee (witness) in her turn line (59) did not respond accordingly. Instead, she preferred to go deep into the explanation in which the police interviewer seems not interested. She rather tried to move around the main issue than providing clear cut response to the interviewer. On the other hand, she was trying to escape/evade from telling the reality. On the other hand, this was again the strategy used by the interviewee to resist the challenge from the police interviewer. It was a technical retreat made to escape the police interviewer's trap. Because of this, the police interviewer was not patient to wait for the interviewee (witness) to finish her extended explanation. He interrupted in the middle of the interviewee's speech in line (60) and forwarded direct question about the action of the suspect (defendant) during the incident. In this interview extract, the police interviewer is raising the second question that says, "Isheen kun] ((Gidduutti kuteen)) Kanaafuu: himattuun maal goote? / [the woman] ((interrupted her)) So: what did the complainant do?" In this context, the police interviewer implicitly expressed

that he was not satisfied with the interviewee's first response. This can be understood from his discourse marker which says, "so:." spoken in elongated sound in the utterance.

In his turn line (61), the interviewee (witness) made an attempt to avoid unknown risk of witnessing through intentional digression of the utterance. The witness started explaining further, but still the police interviewer was not yet happy with what she was doing. As a result, the police interviewer interrupted the speech and raised the third question that says, "maal gochaa jirtiin siin jedhe? / I said, what was she doing?" In this turn of his speech, the police interviewer is expressing that he did not get a clear answer to the questions because the interviewee was talking the other way than telling what the suspect (defendant) did. The phrase 'I said' in the utterance that says, "I said, what was she doing?" implies that the interviewee (witness) either did not understand or did not want to respond properly and is talking about what the police interviewer did not ask.

Generally, in the above short interview excerpt, the interaction between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) is dominated by the police interviewer's interruption of the interviewee's utterances. The questioner or the police interviewer is the only person who is accessible to the questioning turn whereas the interviewee (witness) is the one with no opportunity to ask. That means it is only possible for the interviewee (witness) to speak if given the opportunity to do so. All the dynamics in the interaction is managed by the police interviewer through interruptions and questions. Hence, the interviewee (witness) is only considered as the respondent or source of answer for the questions raised from the police interview.

Excerpt 9 (58- 62)

58. IR: Eenyutu eenyuun rukutemee?

Akkamitti maaliin rukute?

59. IE: Akkamitti rukutanii, amma

ani mangadiidhaan deema.

Mangadiidhaan deemaa iyyuman

dhagahee yommaan dhufu isaan sun

lamaan dhufanii isaan rukutani.

58. IR: Who beat whom?

How and with what he beat?

59. IE: I was walking. While I was walking,

I heard shout. Then, those two came and beat them.

60. IR: ((Gidduutti dhaabsiise))
EENYUTU ee::nyu
rukutee:: n jedhe.

60. IR: ((Interrupted)) I said
WHO bea::t who::m?

61. IE: Dargaggoo Alamaayyoofii (.)

61. IE: Alemayehu and (.)

62. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen))
Alamaayyoon eenyu rukute?

62. IR: (interrupted) Whom did
Alemayehu beat?

The police interviewer's request from turn (58) that says, "Eenyutu eenyuun rukutemee? Akkamitti maaliin rukute? /Who beat whom? How and with what he beat? claims for three things. These are: who beat how he /she beat and with what or what kind of material was used for beating. In turn line (59), instead of giving direct response, the interviewee (witness) started explaining that while he was walking on the road, he heard the shout. He further tried to explain that two persons came and beat them. Neither of these expressions of the interviewee (witness) will give clear response for the requests. They are irrelevant explanations which do not help the police interviewer to strengthen the evidence. Hence, the police interviewer interrupted the interviewee's (witness's) utterance as in line (60) and raised the question about the identity of the person and who participated in the beating for the second time.

In turn line (61), the interviewee mentioned the name of one person to be (Alemayehu) and took a gap or pause to mention the name of the next person. The police interviewer realized that the interviewee is not able to disclose the identity of the next person. Hence, in the mean time, the police interviewer interrupted or constrained the interviewee and requested whom did Alemayehu beat.

To put it in a nut shell, in the above interaction, it is clear that the asymmetry between the police interviewer and the interviewee is revealed through the police interviewer's dominance through interruptions whenever he believes to constrain the interviewee (witness) is necessary. This in turn indicates the extent to which interruptions are used by the more dominant participants in the interaction, the police interviewer in this context.

Excerpt 1 (77 – 86)

77. IR: Iyya dhageessee

77. IR: When you came out

- | | |
|--|---|
| yogguu baatu maal argite? egaa: | hearing the shout, what |
| | did you see did you see? the: n |
| 78. IE: Yeroon Iyya dhagahee: | 78. IE: When I came hearing |
| dhufu wallolaa [jiruu] akkasumas | the shout, they [were] |
| | quarreling and |
| 79. IR: [Iyye,] ((Gidduutti kutteen)) | 79. IR: [shouted] ((Interrupted)) |
| Eenyutu iyyee? | Who shouted? |
| 80. IE: Maatii isaanitu iyyee [jechuudha]. | 80. IE: [That means,] it is their |
| | family who shouted. |
| 81. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) | 81. IR: ((interrupted)) was |
| [Miidhamtuumoo:?) | [the victim o: r?] people who |
| nama dirmatetu iyye. | arrived for help that shout |
| 82. IE: h | 82. IE: h |
| 83. IR: Miidhamtuumoo:: nama | 83. IR: Who <u>shouted?</u> the victim |
| dirmatetu <u>iyye?</u> | o::r those who arrived for help |
| 84. IE: Maatiidhuma warra | 84. IE: <u>That means</u> the family of |
| miidhamee: tu iyyee <u>jechuudha</u> | the victim: ms shouted |
| 85. IR: Maal argiteree? | 85. IR: Then, what did you see? |
| 86. IE: Yeroon dhufu wallolaa | 86. IE: As I arrived, they were |
| jiruu baqqaa waan adda addaa | quarreling. When I came |
| ingochuudhaaf yeroon idduu | between them to do |
| harkaa (.) Birqee Dachaasaatti | different things, she beat |
| kan isheen kan isheen | what was in the hands of (.) |
| qopheessitee: jirtu harkatti | |
| Birke Dechasa. | . |
| rukuttee:: jechuudha. | |
| (0.6) | (0.6) |

The above interaction tells us that the police interviewer wanted to know what the interviewee saw by the time he came out of his house hearing the shout (line 77). The interviewee then responded in line (78) saying, “Yeroon Iyya dhagahee: dhufu wallolaa [jiruu] akkasumas/ When I came hearing the shout, they [were] quarreling and.” In this

interaction, at least two things can be analyzed. First, there is overlapping of speech in between the police investigator and the interviewee. Why do police investigator's speech overlap with the speech of the interviewee? This is a clear indication for the fact that police investigators use different mechanisms to manage or control the speech of the interviewees whether they are witness, suspects or victims. In his turn of the interview line (77), the police interviewer's intention was to get information about what the interviewee saw. Because of this request, the interviewee started to respond regarding the quarreling of the persons on his arrival as in line (78). In the mean time, the police interviewer decided to change his request from issue of quarreling to the identity of the persons who shouted.

As a result, he didn't want the interviewee to proceed on the issue of quarreling. He then used overlapping speech to show that his intention is to make the interviewee focus on the identity of the people who shouted. The interviewee continued speaking even after the overlap for some time but he was interrupted by the police interviewer as in line (79) and requested to tell who the shouted people are. The overlapping and interruption of the interviewee's utterance by the police interviewer indicates that in this interaction, the police interviewer can interfere and shape the utterance of the interviewee whenever he wants.

In line 80 of the excerpt, the interviewee started to give further explanation on the identity of the persons who shouted. He responded, "Maatii isaanitu iyyee [jechuudha]/ It is their family who shouted." in turn line 80. This statement from the interviewee is vague. As a result, it further instigated the police interviewer to raise question about the specificity of the persons who shouted. In his previous turn, he asked who shouted. He couldn't get specific response because the interviewee's utterance that says, "Maatii isaanitu iyyee/ their family shouted" is a very general idea that can be used either for the victim's family or the suspect's family. Hence, this needed another turn of utterance to bring the interviewee to come to the point. That is why the interviewer in his turn line (81) of the interview excerpt shows how the police interviewer used providing options to ask and get information on the identity of the persons involved in the shout. He interrupted the interviewee for the second time in the interaction in line (81) and asked whether the person shouted is the victim or another one who arrived for help. The phrase which says, "[Miidhamtuumoo:?] / [the victim o: r?]" gives clue or shows the direction of the question. In this context, the interviewee is expected to be

in the boundary of “the victim” or “other people who were there.” On the other hand, the speech of the interviewee (witness) in the next turn is controlled or shaped by the police interviewer.

The police investigator expected appropriate response from his perspective in the next turn (line 82), but still the interviewee (witness) could not respond to the request properly. Rather, he could only utter a single sound “h”. Why does the interviewee resist telling the truth? This could be either he does not want to be mistaken by the police investigator or he is not sure of what he is telling to the police investigator. Besides, it was a deliberate act by the interviewee either to give clue that he was not clear with the question or to make the police interviewer change the direction of his request. That is why the police interviewer repeated the previous question from turn (line 81) in his turn (line 83) with emphasis on the identity of the person/s who shouted. The police interviewer used a more stretched sound O::r than the O: r used in his previous turn line (81). Had he shifted his question, he wouldn’t have arrived at the information he obtained from the interviewee in line 84.

In line (85) of the interview extract, the police interviewer raised the next question, “Maal argiteree? / then, what did you see?” This question emerged from the interviewee’s response. It was similar to the question asked by the same interviewer at the beginning of this interview extract in line (77). The purpose of this question at this level was to extract further information to what has been gathered in the previous question. It seems reasonable or effective that the interviewee gave additional information about the incident or what he saw in his speech in line (86).

In general, the interaction in the interview extract 1 (77 - 86) focused on two basic agendas. These are gathering information about the identity of the person/s involved in the shouting (who shouted) and what happened in the event. The police interviewer managed the conversation so as to get the information. All the strategies such as overlapping, interruptions, emphasis on selected word and the stretching of sounds were used by the police interviewer as a means to manage the direction of the interaction and control the responses’ turn length, and turn sequence of the interviewee to come to the needed information. Hence, it is the interviewer who controlled the interaction, possessing as they do

the authority, invested in them by the institution they represent, to constrain interviewee's type and length of turn, and to control the topics that are discussed. This in turn shows that power of interaction is distributed unequally/asymmetrically. The police interviewer is more powerful and dominates the whole situation in the interaction.

Excerpt 3 (31- 35)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 31. IR: <u>Akkamitti</u> rukutamani nutti himi. | 31. IR: <u>How</u> were hey beaten? Tell us. |
| 32. IE: Akkaataatti rukutaman ⁰ ani
nan baqadhee lubbuukoof ⁰ [yeroosana]
isa booda | 32. IE: How he was beaten ⁰ I fled
to save my life ⁰ [by the time]
after that |
| 33. IR: [Baqadheekee: miti]
((gidduutti kuteen)) <u>ee::ssa?</u>
ooltanii: eenyufaa faana deemtanii :
eenyutu rukutee: ajjeese? | 33. IR: [It is not about your flee:]
((interrupted)) Whe::re? have
you bee: n whom you were
walking with? and who bea: t
and killed? |
| 34. IR ₂ : <u>Eenyutu</u> rukutee ajjeese? | 34. IR ₂ : Who beat and killed? |
| 35. IE: Anii Mirkanaatu dura rukute (.)
Mirkanaan rukunnaan
Siisaay Baqqalaa rukutee:
Kumalaa Goosomsaa rukutani.
⁰ Kana caalaa ani nan baqadhe ⁰
jaarsa ta'uu isaanii arginaan | 35. IE: Me First Mirkana beat
him (.) After Mirkana beat,
Sisay Bekele and Gosomsa
Kumala also beat. ⁰ After all, I
runaway ⁰ as I saw that he is
the old. |

In this interview excerpt, the first turn (31) is forwarded from the interviewer. It shows that the police interviewer has information about the beating of the person. This could be in fact from the interviewee's last turn of the previous excerpt. The police interviewer used two speech acts (the questioning and directing or commanding) to get detailed information about how the victim was beaten. The interviewer uttered the first word that says, "Akkamitti/How" with emphasis. The interviewee started his utterance using the phrase the interviewer used at the beginning. That means he repeated the interviewer's words saying, "Akkaataatti rukutaman / how he was beaten". However, in the meantime he shifted to another speech

accompanied by a relatively low voice that says, “⁰ ani nan baqadhee lubbuukoof ⁰/₀ I fled to save my life ⁰.” The interviewee’s low voice indicates either lack of confidence with what he speaks or the presence of frustration. This expression indicates complicated feelings of the interviewee (witness). There were feelings of confession and denial of the happening of the incident in this expression.

The interviewee’s beginning phrase shows that he has the intention to respond or explain how the action of beating happened, but in the mean time diverted his stand. Why did he say “I fled to save my life by the time?” This expression is used by the interviewee to show that he was not there after the victim was beaten and was not aware of what happened next to the beating of the victim. He did not want to extend giving information about the incident during the beating. In this move, we observe the mismatch between the question and the response. The question seeks answer on how the victim was beaten where as the response is about not being there (absence) of the witness. This is a clear indication for the mismatch between the two consecutive moves in the adjacency pair. At this point, the objective of the police interviewer’s question seems failed. Hence, he has to go further and use a better technique to come to the answer.

In the next turn of his speech or turn line (33), the police interviewer could not allow the interviewee to finish his speech; rather we see an overlap of speech from both parts. The police interviewer’s words in the overlap here indicate that he is not in agreement and not satisfied with what the interviewee (witness) speaks. We see the police interviewer saying, “[Baqadheekee: miti]/ [It is not about your flee:]. This expression shows that the police interviewer was not interested to what the interviewee (witness) was talking about. He was rejecting or ignoring what was said by the witness. This indicates that there is tension between the interviewee (witness) and the police interviewer. In this context, the police interviewer did not want to listen to the interviewee’s idea. Instead, he interrupted in turn line (33) and urged the interviewee (witness) not to divert the direction of the response. This helps them to exercise their power to manage or control the flow of the interaction. It also makes the interviewee to be frustrated and lose confidence in talking what they feel.

Besides, in the same turn, after ignoring the interviewee's speech about "the flee", the police interviewer requested the interviewee to answer three questions: where have you been, with whom you were walking, and who beat and killed. These questions were forwarded by the interviewer to gather information that strengthens the evidence. The next turn (turn 34) should have been given to the interviewee, but it was taken by the main police interviewer's colleague who was with him. The question raised was about the identity of the person who beat and killed the victim. It was not different from what was raised by the police interviewer, but it simply indicates where the focus area of the information to be gathered lies. In line (35) of the interview excerpt, the interviewee responded to the police interviewer's and public prosecutor's questions directly. He mentioned the name of four persons involved in the criminal act (beating and killing) of the person. In addition to this, the witness's last utterance (turn line 35) that says, "Jaarsa ta'uu isaanii arginaan/ as I saw that he is the old" tells us something about the use of pronoun. In this utterance, the witness is talking about an individual who is a victim. However, the pronoun used to express this single, old person is represented by a plural pronoun form in the Afan Oromo version. The word "isaanii" in the utterance stands for the equivalent English pronoun "They". Hence, the question should be why the witness used plural pronoun for singular person. This is because in the context of Afan Oromo language though singular subject is replaced by singular pronoun, there is also a contextual use of plural pronoun for single person to express respect. Therefore, the witness's plural pronoun for a single old person (the victim) is to express her being junior in age and her respect.

Generally, in the interview from excerpt above, the turn-taking was initiated by the police interviewer and the turns were organized to seek two things: how the victim was beaten and who participated in the criminal act (the beating and the killing). The interruption of the police interviewer (turn line 33) and the pause in the utterance of the interviewee (turn line 34) showed the presence of asymmetry between the two parts (participants in the interaction). The overlapping of the utterances of the participants in the communication is a sign of competing for taking turns for speaking. It shows that it was while the interviewee was speaking that the police interviewer's utterance overlapped with. Besides, the power relations between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) was clearly observed in the whole interaction and particularly in line 33 using the phrase "it is not about your flee" of the

interaction that clearly indicates ignorance (rejection) of the interviewee's utterance by the police interviewer. Hence, interruption and overlap are mainly used to constrain the utterance of the police interviewer as a resource to manipulate the interviewee's utterance.

4.2.2 Overlaps

Overlapping happens to interrupt the speaker. They can be of course used to show solidarity or closeness and enthusiasm to the speaker. However, in the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses in this study context, almost most overlappings happened from the side of the police interviewers. These overlappings were not to indicate sense of intimacy or closeness. Rather they were struggles for taking turns before the speaker finishes it. There had been a number of overlappings in which the two interlocutors (the police interviewers and the witnesses) spoke at the same time in the interview transcriptions. The police interviewers were seen to be the participants who overlapped with the witnesses' utterances in most instances. It is worth describing how these overlapping happened and for what purposes they happened from the excerpts taken from the transcripts.

Excerpt 17 (21-23)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 21. IR: Maalinni sababiin lolaa? | 21. IR: What is the reason
for the conflict? |
| 22. IE: Sababasaa hinbeeku. Ani
Gara manatti galuuf deemaa
jirraa: etoo [deemaa jirruu]
dhaaphuu jedheen | 22. IE: I don't know the reason.
while [we were walking]
to ho:me he said stop |
| 23. IR: Eenyutu dhaaphu jedhaan? | 23. IR: Who said stop? |

In the above exchange, the police interviewer raised question to the witness (turn 21). The witness started narrating. He claimed that he doesn't know the reason. This was a clear response though it was not the response the police interviewer expects. However, the witness continued narrating issues which were not asked by the police interviewer. After few seconds, the police interviewer however decided not to wait longer. As a result, he spoke (overlapped) with the witness's utterance. The turn belongs to the witness, but because the

police interviewer was not happy with what was going on interfered and asked a probing question.

The implication is that, it was the police interviewer who tried to come in the middle of the witness's turn. The police officer used his power to influence, shape or manage the interaction. On the hand, overlapping of utterance was used as a means to manage the interaction and show power relationship that favored the police officer.

Excerpt 13 (45_48)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 45. IR: Maal goota ati chii | 45. IR: What do you do from there |
| 46. IE: Ani achii: [hojjechaan] jiraa: | 46. IE: I was [working] from the::re |
| 47. IR: [achii suuqii] | 47. IR: [AFTER THAT WERE YOU |
| KEESSA TEESSAMOO:? | SITTING IN [the shop] O:R?) |

In this exchange also there is overlapping of utterances of the participants of the interaction. This overlapping was because of the police interviewer's trial for using the witness's turn to achieve his goal. It was while the witness was speaking that the police interviewer asked for clarification for where the witness was during the incident. The person who has the right to use the turn was the witness, not the police interviewer. However, the police interviewers used the chance to exploit the witness at any point in the interaction to get the necessary information. The witness did not have this kind of opportunity. Several overlapping of the two participants were observed in the transcripts of the interview. Almost all of them happened by the police interviewers. On the contrary, there were few instances in which the witnesses used this opportunity. This shows that the the institutional power invested in the police interviewers made this resource (overlapping) more accessible to them.

4.2.3 Pauses

Another important feature that should be realized here is the issue of pauses in the interviews between the police interviewers and the witnesses. They are short intervals when speakers are speaking. Though pauses perform multiple purposes in structuring oral narratives, in the police – witness interview interactions from the transcripts, pauses were basically used by the witnesses rather than by the police interviewers. Mostly, they occurred within the

interviewees' turns or at transition relevance places (when the witnesses take turns). The witnesses used pauses for fear that the evidence they provide causes legal consequences to them. Besides, they felt insecure and used pauses as a means to evade from providing evidence implying that they are not willing to give their opinions on the agenda raised by the police interviewer (want to to shift the topic in hand). In the interview transcripts, most overlaps happened by the police interviewers whereas most pauses happened by the witnesses (interviewees). This in turn indicates the absence of power (the powerlessness) from the side of the witnesses (interviewees) and the presence of power from the police interviewers. Hence, pauses were used as a strategy to evade from the evidence and as a sign of powerlessness by the interviewees. The next excerpts typically show these facts.

Excerpt 16 (79 -83)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 79. IR: Istii lakkaa'i ji'aan. | 79. IR: Let you count in month. |
| 80. IE: (- -) | 80. IE: (--) |
| 81. IR: Xiqimtiin ji'a
MEEQAFFAADHA? | 81. IR: WHICH MONTH
is October? |
| 82. IE: (- -) | 82. IE: (--) |
| 83. IR: BEGEETAA BEYESUUS
namni akkanumaan lafarra.
deemaayii? Halkanmoo?
guyyaadha. | 83. IR: IN THE NAME OF
THE LORD JESUS how does he
simply move? on the earth.
Is that day or? during the night. |

The police interviewer asked the witness to tell her the specific month in which the incident happened (turn 79). The witness made a long pause in the next turn (80). The witness paused because he was not sure about the specific month. The police interviewer raised the question for the second time providing him clue saying, "Xiqimtiin ji'aMEEQAFFAADHA?/WHICHMONTH is October?" in turn (81). However, the witness could not respond for the third time. He preferred to be silent or buy time through long pause turn (82). He did not utter anything. The police interviewer finally came to be very angry and surprise. She complained how a person simply moves without any understanding or knowledge saying, "BEGEETAA YESUUS namni akkanumaan lafarra deemaayii? /THE LORD JESUS how does he "simply move? on earth." Turn (83).

Excerpt 1 (56 – 57)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 56. IR: Isaan gidduutti maal beekta? | 56. IR: What do you know about them? |
| 57. IE: Isaan gidduuttii: (- -) ani
manakoon Jiraa (-) wacini kaanaan
dhufee yeroon dhufu
wallolaa jiruu jechaadha. | 57. IE: In between the::m (- -)I was
at my house (-) I heard
shouting and went there When
I arrived, they were quarreling. |

In the above exchange, the police interviewer asked question (turn 56) that says, “Isaan gidduutti maal beekta?/ what do you know about them?”. This utterance of the police was the request for information about the persons who were in conflict. Hence, response was expected from the next utterance (turn 57) of the interviewee (witness). The next speaker, who was the interviewee, started the response by repeating the same phrase used by the interviewer (turn 57), however, in the mean time, used a long pause. The interviewee did not want to respond directly. First, he used a long sound of the phrase used to begin with. Then, he used long pause to show that he was not that much interested to respond. Second, instead of directly responding to the request from the interviewer, the interviewee said, “ani manakoon jiraa/ I was at my house”. This was not a response to the question asked by the interviewer. He did not also want to talk about what happened; rather used pause for the second time in his single turn. This all implies that though the witness did not want to respond to the request, he could not say he does not know what happened. This was because he was somewhat powerless to that in this context. Hence, he could indirectly want to evade the issue technically, however finally he was obliged to tell it.

Excerpt 16 (78 – 83)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 78. IE: Ji’asaa hinbeeku. | 78. IE: I don’t know the month. |
| 79. IR: Istii lakkaa’i ji’aan. | 79. IR: Let you count in month. |
| 80. IE: (- -) | 80.IE: (--) |
| 81. IR: Xiqimtiin ji’a meeqaffaadha? | 81. IR: Which month is October? |
| 82. IE: (- -) | 82. IE: (--) |
| 83. IR: BEGEETAA BEYESUUS | 83.IR: IN THE NAME OF |

namni akkanumaan lafarra.

THE LORD JESUS does he

deemaayii? Halkanmoo? guyyaadha.

simply move?on the earth.

Is that day or? during the night.

Here, the interviewee seems to respond that he does not know the specific month. He was given another chance by the police interviewer to count and tell the correct month. However, the interviewee's response ended in long pause. The police interviewer raised the question for the second time (turn 81). The interviewee again kept silent (made a long pause) (turn 82). Although he knows that he does not know it, he failed to utter that he does not know the correct answer for the request. From the six turns used in the exchange, except in the first pair, there was disagreement in the adjacency pairs. For example, the police interviewer's requests in turns 79 and 81 had no responses. Hence, from the six turns in the interaction, only one (turn 78) was used by the interviewee. This indicates that the interviewee was powerless. He did not exploit his turns well.

In general, pauses were mainly observed to be the characteristics of the witnesses in the interview interactions. When the witnesses felt they were not sure about the situations, when they felt that giving such information leads them to risk or when they were under pressure or linguistic coercions by the interviewers, they used pauses as a means to evade from facing the risk. On the other hand, pauses were methods used by the witnesses to conceal evidences from the interviewer. Long pauses were not supported by the police interviewers. They urged the witnesses to speak when they faced such characteristics. In the interview extracts of the study, the witnesses were observed using strategies to shift the topic in hand by providing responses that were not related to the immediate issues. In some cases they tried to evade or escape from speaking the reality they knew.

4.2.4 Turn Takings

In a friendly conversation among relative equals, whoever currently has the floor has the right to select the next speaker. However, in more structured interactions with power asymmetries, the person with power has the right to direct all the conversational traffic. The second situation is closely related to the police interview interaction in which the power

asymmetry is between the police interviewer and the interviewee (the witness) in the context of this study. In line with this, Hutchby, 1999) in Wooffitti (2005) puts that studies of talk in institutional or workrelated settings already offer analyses of features of interaction that lend themselves to interpretation in terms of interpersonal power relations. Citing Drew and Heritage, (1992b) he also notes, institutional interaction is characterised by

... role structured, institutionalised, and omnirelevant asymmetries between participants in terms of such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in the interaction. (Drew and Heritage, 1992b: 49).

Hence, it will be good to analyze again how the turn takings and turn-taking features (pause, gap and overlap) are used in the previous interview extracts.

In the interview excerpt 1, lines (77- 86) turn line (78), the interviewee (the witness) was interrupted in the middle of his speech by the police interviewer's speech in turn (79). The police interviewer did not want to wait patiently until the interviewee (witness) finishes his speech. He interfered the interaction and took the floor. This means the interviewer constrained the interviewee from using his turn to utter. The police interviewer then raised a question to the interviewee (witness). In this situation, the interviewee (witness) did not complain about being constrained or interrupted from speaking. Instead, he continued to give response in his next turn of the same excerpt turn line (80). However, for the second time, he was interrupted or constrained from progressing in turn (81) by the interviewer.

The interviewee (witness) had no power to complain or react to interrupt the speech of the police interviewer in a similar way. This implies that the interaction is asymmetrical in that the police interviewer has asymmetrical power to dominate the interaction (the interview). It seems that the police interviewer is very accessible to the resource of the discourse that manipulates and shapes the utterance of the interviewee.

The interaction is influenced by the action pre-allocation that involves the restriction of one party to asking or initiating questions and the other to responding. Accordingly, the

interviewee's (witness's) utterance is severely restricted by the police interviewer. On the other hand, who should speak, when to speak and the type of contribution to be made is determined by the police interviewer. The general implication in the exchange is that although the turn taking structure is expected to be in the order of IR _ IE and both participants are expected to use or exploit their own turns; there appeared the interruption and taking of the interviewee's turns by the police interviewer.

The interactions between the police interviewer and the interviewee (witness) in lines (31-33) of the previous excerpt (excerpt 3) also indicate that the police interviewer in turn line (31) wanted the interviewee (witness) to tell how the victim was beaten. The interviewee (witness) started simply by repeating the utterance that has been already used by the police interviewer. In the mean time, the interviewee (witness) diverted his idea and said, "⁰ani nan baqadhee lubbuukoof ⁰ / I fled to save my life." The police interviewer realized that the interviewee (witness) wanted to change his mind in giving information. As a result, he first rejected the interviewee's idea about the "flee" and then interrupted to constrain him from uttering further words about the denial of the presence at the place. The taking of turn between the two parts (police interviewer and the interviewee) was influenced by the interruption from the interviewer. The police interviewer played a great role in controlling and dominating the turn taking in the conversation. This means interruption is an indicator of the interlocutor's power, control or dominance in the turn takings of the police interview with witnesses.

In the interview excerpt 8 turn (58), the police interviewer started with initiation (raised question). The question is directed toward the identification of the person who was keeping the horses mentioned in the previous utterances. It involves the YES or NO response. Instead of providing short and precise response, the interviewee who was given the opportunity to be the next speaker, started to explain the situation in turn line (59) of the same excerpt. The police interviewer understood that the interviewee (witness) made an intentional digression than giving short answer. Because of this he did not wait patiently until the end of the interviewee's utterance. Rather, he interrupted in the middle as in turn line (60) and forwarded question for the interviewee (witness) to get relevant response. The interviewee (witness) began providing further explanation for the question but again was

interrupted by the police interviewer in turn line (62). Besides interrupting, the police interviewer was correcting or repairing the interviewee's (witness's) utterance or response using the direct question with emphasis added. The police interviewer says, "maal gochaa jirtiin siin jedhe?/I said what was she doing?" Here, the phrase that says "I said" implies that what the interviewee has been speaking in the earlier turns is not relevant or related to the question he raised and the expected response. In addition, "I said" shows the power the interviewer had to control the content of the interaction.

From this turn takings, it is possible to understand that the turns are pre allocated. The length of the witness's utterances and the duration of his speech are influenced by the asymmetry of the interaction. In this situation, the interviewee (witness) has no power to extend the utterance. The turn takings of the witness are influenced by the police interviewer's interruptions. Besides, the witness is expected only to give a short reply to the question asked. He has come to be persistent responder. The interviewer has the role of constraining the interviewee from speaking.

On the other hand, in the pattern of long part exchange, the police interviewer made initiation and the follow up move where as the interviewee (the witness) was restricted to responding moves. In police_ witness interview interactions this is the pattern where witnesses (interviewees) have little or no chance to ask or interrupt to take the floor to speak what she/he feels. In such situations interviewees rarely get the opportunity to interrupt or to ask. They are given the responding role than initiating and following up the move. This is a good indication of the fact that all the turn takings are in the hands of the police interviewer.

Excerpt 1 (87 – 96)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 87. IR: Eenyutu qabee:: eenyutu
rukutee:? Isa rukute maaliin
akka rukutame ifa godhii baasi. | 87. IR: Who ca::ught, who bea: t? with
what? Make it clear. |
| 88. IR: Iyya dirmattee yeroo dhaqxu,
kana eenyutu rukutaa: jira? | 88. IR: By the time you heard the shout
and went there, who wa: s beating? |
| 89. IE: Yeroon dhaqu, yeroon dhagee
wannii jedhu kan (.) sababinni | 89. IE: When I go, when I went,
what I say (.) [the cause of it] |

- | | |
|---|---|
| ittiin ka'e jaartii isaan <u>sanaa</u> : jechuudha. | was <u>tha:t</u> old lady. I mean |
| Badhaadhee Badhaadhaatiin ka'e. | by Bedade Bedada. |
| 90. IR: Ee::shii | 90. IR: Ok:: |
| 91. IR: Bukkee hin labiin. | 91. IR: Don't go round. Respond |
| Kallattiin deebisi. | it directly |
| 92. IE: Yeroosana namni dhufee: gidduu | 92. IE: By that time, people came |
| nammineerraa dubartootni jiran immoo: | and we were in between them. |
| ishee kanammoo: Birqee Dachaasaa | All the women there were |
| akkasumas qabdee jirtii:: | catch::ing this woman, |
| | Birke Dechasa and |
| 93. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)). Sababa | 93. IR: ((interrupted)) First of all, do |
| lolasaanii, beektaa: ati? Jalqaba. | you know the cause of their conflict? |
| 94. IE: Animoo:? | 94. IE: Me:? |
| 95. IR: .hh | 95. IR: .hh |
| 96. IE: Wacan dhagahee: dhage malee | 96. IE: I heard the shout and went there. |
| hin beeku sababa isaa. | I do not know the cause. |
| (0.14) ((transcribing)) | (0.14) ((transcribing |

In the above interview excerpt, the police interviewer in his turn (87) began his speech seeking information about the identity of the person(s) who caught, who beat and thing(s) used for either catching or beating during the incident. The interviewer presented three questions in his single move. Three of the moves in the exchange use “WH” in their questions. These are initiative moves which require the interviewee to speak. The police interviewer wanted to know the identity of the person(s) who performed the actions of beating and catching during the incident. Besides, he used one imperative sentence which says, “ifa godhii baasi./ Make it clear.” This imperative sentence was used by the police the interviewer to shape the interviewee’s speech in the next turn. This implies that the interviewee’s utterances which are not relevant to the move are not considered as legitimate response by the police interviewer. On the other hand, this is a means of constraining the interviewee from speaking irrelevant or unnecessary things. In this turn of his speech, the police interviewer used the questioning and commanding (directive) speech acts.

Under normal circumstances, the police interviewer's turn (87) should have been directly followed by the interviewee's speech in the next turn line (88). However, the turn was initiated by another police interviewer who was sitting with near the main interviewer. The focus of the initiation was on seeking information about the identity of the person (s) who participated in the beating of the victim during the incident. He did this using a questioning speech that begins with "WH". This question was one of those questions raised by the main police interviewer earlier in turn (87). However here, the question is used as a strategy to narrow the focus of the question by providing signal to the interviewee(witness).

In this interview extract's context the police interviewers represent the police institution. The interview they make is quite different from the ordinary conversations. This is because their speeches are based on the goal of the police institutions. Besides, it is worth mentioning that in much institutional interactions like the police interview, a highly practiced institutional representative is talking with a layperson like the witness in this study context.

In every day conversation, there are expectations about whose turn it is to speak. The turn taking systems influence or shape the intended messages and the performed actions. From the turns in lines (87, 88 and 89), it is possible to realize that the turns of the interviewers (87 & 88) belong to the representatives of the institutions. This means the interviewee (witness) was not given the opportunity to take (use) the turn next to the police interviewer line (87). This indicates that the turn taking was determined or influenced by the interviewers.

Apparently, the interviewee's response in his next turn line (89) failed to provide relevant response to the questions by raised the police interviewer and the public prosecutor. Of course, it is difficult to know whether the witness really failed to give the desired response or intentionally digressed at this stage. He did not name the person who caught or beat the victim, but instead he began narrating irrelevant issues. He said, "Wannii jedhu kan (.) sababinni ittiin ka'e jaartii isaan sanaa: jechuudha. / what I say (.) the cause of it was that old lady." This expression in the interviewee's turn can tell us something. First, there is a mismatch between the question "Who was beating?" of the interviewer and the interviewee's answer which says, "What I say (.) the cause of it was that old lady". These two utterances are not related to each other. The question, "who was beating?" requires a short response (the

name(s) of the person(s) who did the action; however, the interviewee (witness) talks about the cause of the crime (beating) that was not related to the interviewer's question. This shows the mismatch or problem in between the two moves in the adjacency pair

On the other hand, some parts of the interviewee's speeches were fuzzy. They were incomplete. The phrases like, when I go, when I went, what I say, I mean by Bedade Bedada were clear indicators for the interviewee's (witness's) confusion. It was also followed by a small pause and self repair. What forced the interviewee to use self repair? If we see part of the interviewee's response that says, "the cause of it was tha:t old lady" turn (89), there is something that needs clarification. The demonstrative pronoun used here as an adjective "that" in "that lady" is not clear. To make the identity of the lady, the interviewee used the proper noun, which is Bedhaadhee Bedhaa/ 'Bedade Bedada'. The phrase, "I mean" is an indicator of the repairing made by the witness. The interviewee (witness) brought the name of the person whom he considered to be the cause of the beating at the end of his speech. However, he did not want to give a direct response to the question raised. This shows there is hesitation or lack of confidence in speaking the truth about the identity of the person who beat the victim.

It is not difficult here to observe the problem in the adjacency pairs. The interviewer's question was not followed by relevant answer. As a result, the police interviewer tried to initiate the interviewee to go further in the explanation (turn 90). Sacks et al. (1974:700f) explain that the size or length of speaker turns varies from one turn to the next. Turns (or turn constructional units) can be composed of: a single lexical item (word); phrases; clauses; full sentences. Turn line (90) of the extract can be typical example for this. The interviewer's turn is only made from a single word "Ok::" The word "Ok::" is a discourse marker which in this context shows the interviewer's attention or initiation to the interviewee. Indirectly, the interviewer is prompting the interviewee to continue speaking more about the issue raised by the police interviewer in his prior turn. Literally, "Ok" is a word used to show agreement or acceptance to something. In this context however, it is spoken in a stretched manner by the interviewer to indicate a transition marker to show the speaker's acknowledgement of accepting the earlier point and at the same time initiating the speaker to continue expecting more to come.

The police interviewer's utterance in turn (90) was then directly followed by the other interviewer's utterance line (91). The turn taking after the police interviewer's utterance in turn line (90) should have been that of the interviewee's (witness's); however, the interviewee was not given the opportunity to speak at this stage. The turn taking was violated by the other interviewer who sits with the main interviewer. Hence, the interviewee was compelled to speak in turn line (92) after the two consecutive turns of the police interviewer and the public prosecutor.

The interviewee started narrating about the prior issues of "catching" during the incident in line (92) of the interview excerpt but was interrupted by the police interviewer in the next turn (93). The interviewer felt to have obtained a response to who beat the victim. This interruption shows the police interviewer's struggle for taking the floor to speak. On the other hand, it is a matter of constraining the interviewee (witness) from using his turn to express what he feels. This was a means of diverting the issue. The police interviewer did not want to hear any more about the points settled in the earlier turn (beating, shouting and catching). He rather preferred to gather information about the cause of the conflict in another way. This was followed by the interviewee's turn which says, "Me :?" Literally, this utterance is used by the interviewee when there are two or more interviewees together in the interview room. This is to identify oneself from other persons and to avoid the risk of taking a wrong speaking turn. In this interview context however, the interviewee is the only person facing the police interviewer to give his witness. So, he could have directly answered the question rather than making the police interviewer initiate him again. This all resulted in the initiation of the police interviewer and finally response from the interviewee that ended in the denial of the knowledge of the cause for the conflict.

To put it in a nut shell, the interaction in the interview excerpt is organized based on the "cause of the crime, who committed the crime and how the crime was committed." The turn takings of the interviewees were influenced by the interviewer's turns which involve the restriction of one party (the police interviewer) in this excerpt to asking questions and the other (the interviewee) to responding. Every exchange was initiated only by the interviewers, whether with a statement, a question or a command was responded by the witnesses. The police interviewers had turn dominance in which they most often took the floor through

openings, interruptions and closings. They were participants who select the particular next speakers.

4.2.5 Questioning

How the first question in the the interview is worded is vital to the usefulness of the information. Research shows that some of the most common approaches are particularly ineffective (Schollum,2005). When we speak or communicate using language, we perform different kinds of speech acts (Searle 1969). This is because speech acts are the underlying actions we perform in our speeches. Besides, recognizing the speech act that is being performed in the production of an utterance is important because it is the speech act that to some extent tells us what the speaker intends to do with the propositional content of what he/she says (Schiffrin , 2005).

Questioning is a speech act which affects the way information is organized. Different types of questions are used for different purposes. The purpose for which questions are used is based on the intentions of the speakers when uttering a question and on the functions that questions perform. Different types of questions are characterized by different functions. The use of different modes of questioning also indicates the relationship that exists between the questioner and the respondent (intimacy, social distance, authority).

In other words, the meanings given to questions are determined by the status of the speakers involved in the question act and the way they convey intention. Modes of questioning are strategies for conveying; certain kinds of intentions and not others.

Likewise, from the extracts of the interview between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) in this study, it could be understood that the police interviewers used questioning as one of the strategies to gather information. For this to happen, different types of questions were used in the interactions for different purposes. Hence, it will be advisable to analyze the purposes for which the police interviewers used and the contexts in which these questions were used.

In the interview interactions, the police interviewers were given the roles of persistent questioners and the interviewees (witnesses) were given the roles of respondents. Thus, it

needs to see forms and functions of questions used by the police interviewers in the interview during the crime investigation or information gathering from the eye witnesses (interviewees).

4.2.6 Forms and Functions of Question Types Used by the Police Interviewers

When the police interviewers interacted with witnesses in the interview rooms, they used language as a tool to extract information using different techniques. They performed different acts using language they used or utterances they produced. In this regard questioning played great role in the discourse of the police interviews with the witness during information gathering phase of crime investigation. Hence, it is worth analyzing the types of questions used, how the questions are used and why they were used.

4.2.6.1 WH Questions

It has come to be clear from the extracts that questioning was being used by the police interviewers as a means or strategy of extracting information from witnesses. The opportunities to access ‘WH’ questions and the possibility to use these kinds of questions were seen as the roles that were given to just police interviewers. Hence, other issues like, who was accessible to asking of questions, what kinds of questions are used, for what purposes are this questions used and in which context are the questions used need to be explored.

Excerpt 1: (11, 17, 22, 23, 24, 38 and 39)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 11. IR: <u>Lammiinke</u> ; maa: linnii:? | 11. IR: Wha: t is <u>you: r citizineship</u> ? |
| 17. IR: Aanaanoo? | 17. IR: What about worda? |
| 22. IR: Ganda kami? | 22. IR: Which Kebele? |
| 23. IR: Maal? duwwaa: tokko | 23. IR: Wha:t zero: one |
| 24. IR: <u>Gaaffichi magaalli</u> kun <u>maal</u> ?
jedhamaa: dha | 24. IR: <u>The question</u> is <u>what</u> ? is thi: s
<u>town</u> ca::lled |
| 38. IR: Eenyu himattuun? | 38. IR: Who is the complaint? |
| 39. IE: Tsiggee Kumalaa | 39. IE: Tsige Kumela |

The police interviewer's turns collected from the first transcript of the data reveals the initiation stage of the interaction. In these initiations, "WH" questions were used by the police interviewers in the interaction. In this police interview with the interviewee (witness), some of the "WH" questions like "who" and "which" were used to seek specific information like names, addresses (kebele, woreda, zone) and others. The turn lines (11, 17, 22, 24, 38, and 87) of the police interviewers' questions in the first transcript were forwarded to gather particular information from the interviewee (witness). Of course, the ways they were uttered were different. This means the police interviewer used these questions not in similar ways or contexts. Hence, the message they transferred also showed the relationship between the police and the interviewee (witness). For instance, the question forwarded by the police interviewer in line (11) is different from a normal questioning style that takes place between the peer groups. In this context, the speaker used extended or elongated sound in two places and emphasis on two places. This implies that the police interviewer was pressurizing the interviewee (witness) to speak. Line (24) of the interview transcript also indicated that the police interviewer's utterance was with elongated sounds that show that he was not interested with the previous utterance of the interviewee. The questioning style indicated in turn line (24) of the interview extract that says, "Gaaffichi magaalli ku:n maal? jedhamaa:: dha /The question is what? is thi:s town ca::lled" indicated that the police interviewer used different linguistic features to strengthen his message than using a simple interrogative sentence that asks for information. First, the police interviewer started saying, "The question is...." which implies that the interviewee (witness) was not clear with the question raised earlier and failed to respond properly. Second, the police interviewer put emphasis on the word "gaaffichi/ the question, maal/ what and magaalli / town" and raised the intonation of the word 'maal? /what?'. This was because his question of "what" did not get relevant response or answer in the earlier move.

Third, the police interviewer elongated the sounds of the two words "ku: n/ thi: s and jedhamaa:: / ca: lled". He also emphasized the noun "magaalichi/ town". In this case, the police interviewer's intention to get the specific name of the town seem failed. These all features make the questioning style the police interviewer used to be different from the normal questioning that takes place in everyday conversation. On the other hand, the police interviewer used these questions not only to get or gather information but also to reveal his

relationship with the interviewee (witness). That means the existence of gap, power, authority or asymmetry between the participants in the interaction (the police interviewer and the interviewee) in this context were disclosed discursively .

Excerpt 1: (29, 38, 39, 51, 52, and 56)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 29. IR: <u>Magaalli</u> kun <u>maal</u> ?
jedhamaa: dha | 29. IR: The question is <u>what</u> ? is thi: s
<u>town</u> ca::lled |
| 38. IR: Eenyu himattuun? | 38. IR: Who is the complaint? |
| 39. IE: Tsiggee Kumalaa | 39. IE: Tsige Kumela |
| 51. IR: Maaliif dhufte? har'a. | 51. IR: Why you are here? today. |
| 52. IE: Himata - Tsige Kumalaa fi | 52. IE: To complain about- Tsige Kumela and |
| 56. IR: Isaan gidduutti maal beekta? | 56. IR: What do you know about them? |

The other group of “WH” questions used in the interview by the police interviewers as initiations belongs to those which seek further information or explanation from the interviewee (witness). For instance, the question asked by the police interviewer in line (51) of the transcript that says, “Maaliif dhufte? har'a. / why you are here? today.” is intended to force the interviewee (witness) to explain the reason/s why he was at the police institution on that day. In addition, the messages transferred in questions line (56) that says, “Isaan gidduutti maal beekta? /what do you know about them?” seem to seek a more detailed information than specific information. The questioning compelled the interviewee to utter more on the agenda. In this context, the interviewer wanted to urge the interviewee (witness) to speak all things about what were asked.

From the analysis of police – witness interview extracts, it is possible to see that questioning was mainly used to initiate the interviewee provide information. The questioning was observed mainly involving “WH” questions. These questions were only observed to be used as a resource only for the police interviewers. Only under rare conditions that witnesses were accessible to questions as resources. This implies that the police interviewers used questioning as resources to seek information and are given the roles of questioners and the interviewees are given the roles of constant respondents.

4.2.6.2 Command (imperatives)

Pragmatically, speakers perform their illocutionary acts within entire conversations. Speech acts are the underlying actions the participants perform when they speak and recognizing this in the production of an utterance is important because it is the speech act that to some extent tells us what the speaker intends us to do with the propositional content of what he says (Schiffrin, 2005). Likewise, the police interviewers in the police institutions of the study site not only used questioning as a strategy to gather information from witnesses. They also used imperatives to command the interviewees to provide them information. They were seen as main actors of ordering the interviewee to speak (utter) in the interactions. The implication was that the police interviewers were discursively assigned or given not only the roles of asking; they were also accessible to use the resource of discourse to order or command the interviewees (the witnesses) during the police – witness interactions.

For the sake of clarity, the reason why the police interviewers do not use only questioning as a means of gathering information or why they use imperatives is something that needs to be critically seen in the context of the police – witness interview interactions in the sample extracts.

Excerpt 1: (3, 4, 15, 16, 71, and 72)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. IR: Maqaakee guutuu natti himi. | 3. Tell me your full name. |
| 4. IE: (Likkiisaa) Dirribaa. | 4. IE: (Likisa) Diriba. |
| 15. IR: Sagaleekee: OLKAASIKAA: | 15. IR: RA:ISE you:r voice |
| 16. IE: GODINA SHAWA LIXA
(0.4) | 16. IE: WEST SHOA ZONE
(0.4) |
| 71. IR: Hinsodaatii: nii:? dubbadhuu:: | 71. IR: Don't afraid: d spea: k it out |
| 72. IE: <u>Incinnii</u> duwwaa tokko | 72. IE: <u>Inchini</u> zero one |

The above excerpt shows us that the other way through which the police interviewer gathered information from the interviewee was using commanding speech act. In these kinds of utterances, the police interviewer used imperative sentences. In turn lines (3, 15 and 71) of the excerpt, the intention of the police interviewer was to order three of them. In turn line (3) of the interview excerpt 1, the police interviewer used the imperative sentence that says,

“Maqaakee guutuu natti himi. / Tell me your full name.” From this utterance, it is possible to realize that this kind of speech is not like the one that is usually used in everyday conversation between intimate persons. There is a strong message that is embedded in the utterance. According to this utterance, the interviewee is ordered or commanded to tell the police interviewer his full name. This move in the exchange tells us that there is strong illocutionary force that urges the interviewee to tell his name. In line (15) of the same excerpt, there is another utterance that says, “Sagaleekee: OLKAASIKAA: / RA: ISE you: r voice”. In this utterance also the police interviewer used imperative sentence that involves the application of commanding act. The message embedded in this speech act dictates the interviewee to raise his voice which in turn shows that the interviewee was not with loud voice to speak.

The loud voice in the utterance of the police interviewer “OLKAASIKAA: / RA: ISE” and the elongated sounds indicate that the interviewee (witness) is under pressure to do what is told by the police interviewer. Hence, in this context, the intention of the utterance is not only limited to gathering information through commanding. It is also supported by the power embedded in the utterance of the police interview to urge the interviewee or to control the dynamics. In addition, the personal pronoun “me” in the turn line (3) indicates that the police interviewer is acting not as any ordinary person; rather it shows the agency or that the policy interviewer is the representative of the institution that he belongs to.

In turn line (71), the utterance that says, “Hinsodaatii: nii:? Dubbadhuu:: / Don’t afraid speak it out” is a commanding speech act that compels the interviewer to do two things. The first is to warn not to be afraid and the second is to speak out about what he was asked.

In this interview context, the police interviewer dominantly used imperative sentences to perform the act of command (order) and the interviewees (witnesses) were expected to obey the command. The police interviewers were assigned as those who order whereas the witnesses were given the role of satisfying the police investigators’ orders. The use of these imperative sentences in the utterances of the police interviewer is an indication of a gap or asymmetry between the participants (the police officer and the witness) in the interaction. The relationship between the participants (the police interviewer and the witness) indicated

that a professional _ subordinate one in which the police investigator orders and the witness accepts the order and implements what he was ordered. This again provides the police investigator to have the chance of controlling or constraining the witness's utterances throughout the interaction.

Excerpt 1 (87 & 88)

87. IR: Eenyutu qabee:: eenyutu
rukutee:? Maaliinni? Ifaa taasisi.

87. IR: Who ca::ught, who bea: t? with
what? Make it clear.

88. IR: Iyya dirmattee yeroo dhaqxu,
kana eenyutu rukutaa: jira?
Ifatti dubbadhu.

88. IR: By the time you heard the shout
and went there, who wa: s beating?
Speak clearly.

In the above excerpt, both consecutive turns are the interviewers' turns. In both cases the interviewers used questioning as a means to gather information but at the end of their utterances, both of them used imperative sentences or commands to enforce the interviewee to respond in a clear way. They ordered the interviewee two things. The first one is to give response for those raised questions where as the second one is to order the interview that his responses should be clear. The police interviewer's utterance that says, "Ifa taasisi. / Make it clear" implies that the earlier utterance of the interviewee was not clear. As a result, the police interviewer pressured the interviewee to speak in a more transparent.

4.2.6.3 Alternative Questions (Yes / No Questions)

The police interviewers also used Yes/ No or alternative questionings as strategies to seek information from the witnesses. The purpose for which they use these kinds of questions was implied in the discourses of questioning strategies of the police interviewers. This is what the next analysis reveals.

20. IR: Dirree Incinniimoo:?
Xiqur Incinnii.

20. IR: Is it Dirre Inchini? O : r Tikur Inchini.

21. IE: DIRREE Incinnii.
Dirree Incinnii.

21. IE: DIRRE Inchini. Dire Inchini.

81. IR: [Miidhamtuumoo:?)

81. IR: ((interrupted)) was [the victim o: r?]

((Gidduutti kuteen))	people who arrived for help that shouted.
Nama dirmatetu iyye.	
82. IE: h	82. IE: h
83. IR: Miidhamtuumoo:: nama dirmatetu <u>iyye</u> ?	83. IR: Who <u>shouted</u> ? the victim o::r those who arrived for her
84. IE: Maatiidhuma [warra]	84. IE: <u>That means</u> the [family] of
102. IR: [Himatamtuu] tokkoffaamnoo: lammaffaa.	102. IR: The first [defendant] o:r the second defendant. .
103.IE: Himatamtuu lammaffaa	103. IE: The second defendant
112.IR: Hin (du'e) dhiita'emoo:? Hin dhiigee?	112. IR: Did (it die) swell o:?r bleed?
113.IE: Hindhiige	113. IE: It bled

The question in turn line (21) of the police interview in excerpt 1 that says, “Dirree Incinniimoo:? Xiqur Incinnii. / Is it Dirre Inchini? O : r Tikur Inchini.” indicates the intention of the police interviewer to constrain the interviewee (witness) from the opportunity to speak wider than the given alternatives by the interviewer. The police interviewer used this chance to control or manage the boundary of the interviewee’s utterance. The police interviewer’s utterances in lines (21, 81, 83, 102 and 112) in the above interview excerpt from transcript 1 also show similar intentions. All the utterances were used to narrow down the interviewee’s possibility to access to the production and explanation of things. In this situation, the police interviewer indirectly limited or controlled how much the interviewee has to speak. Hence, it was difficult for the interviewee to speak on issues which were not dictated by the interviewer.

From this, it can be realized that the police interviewers used alternative questions as a means to constrain or control the speech of the interviewees (witnesses). In this situation, the interviewees were only accessible to one of the two given options by the police interviewer. The police interviewer narrowed the topic or agenda for discussion. This constraining on the other hand shows the power relationship between the police interviewers and the interviewees. This is because the police interviewer played great role in shaping the

interaction through the authority, status and power embedded in the language used in the interaction.

4.2.6. 4 Others

The police interviewer also used other syntactically different sentences as information gathering tool. Among this is a kind of declarative sentence to ask questions.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 119.IR: Hin argine [Isheedhaa rukutu]. | 119. IR: You didn't see [her beating]. |
| 120.IE: Eeyyee | 120. IE: Yes |
| 125.IR: Isheen rukutushee | 125. IR: You <u>didn't see</u> her while beating. |
| <u>Hinagarre</u> | |
| 126.IE: Ee isheen rukutushee hinagarre. | 126. IE: Yes. I didn't see her while beating. |
| (0.15) | (0.15) |
| 127.IR: Kanuma beektaa? | 127. IR: You only know this? |
| 128. IE: Ee kanuman beeka. | 128. IE: Yes. I know only this |

The above interview excerpt is taken from transcript 1. The police interviewer's utterances used in turn lines (119,121,125 and 127) are syntactically not in question forms. Rather they are structured in statement forms. Statements by their nature inform than ask. However, the context in which the police interviewer used the utterances shows asking for confirmation. For instance, the utterance of the interviewer in turn line (119) that says "Hin argine [Isheedhaa rukutu]. /You didn't see [her beating]." is syntactically not in the form of question, but it is observable from the context that the intention of the police interviewer in this sentence seeks confirmation for the proposition. This confirmation was expected from the response of the interviewee (witness). That is why we observe the response " Eeyyee/ yes" in turn line (120) which in turn shows an answer for the declarative question from the police interviewer in the previous turn line (119). The police interviewer's intention was to check whether the interviewee (witness) has seen the action of beating the victim or not. He did not directly use interrogative (question) that needs yes/no answer. However, instead of this, the police interviewer used an utterance that seeks confirmation to what he said. The utterances in turn lines (25 and 27) also share similar situations.

In similar ways, the following two excerpts in the interview transcripts show how the police interviewer used a syntactically different structure to ask questions.

Excerpt 5: (73 & 74)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 73. IR: KANUMA QOFAA? Beekta. | 73. IR: You know ONLY THIS? |
| 74. IE: Eeyyee. Kanuman beeka. | 74. Yes. I only know this. |

The police interviewer's utterance in turn line (73) that says, "KANUMA QOFAA? Beekta./You know ONLY THIS?" is not structurally in question (interrogative) form. It is in the form of a declarative sentence. Declarative sentences in their nature are used to declare or inform than to ask. However, in this context the utterance was used by the police interviewer as a means of asking confirmation of the previous proposition than a mere information. Hence, this utterance has been used as a declarative question. The police interviewer preferred to use this kind of sentence to check whether the interviewee has any other extra information or not. In this situation, the interviewer used a loud sound with raised intonation as a means of providing clue for the interviewee that he seeks confirmation on what has been asked before. The raised intonation and the loud voice of the police interviewer shows also the existence of power relationship in between the participants in the interaction.

Excerpt 8: (30 & 31)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 30. IR: Lachuurraa firooma homaa
hin qabduu firas jibbas hinqabdu. | 30. IR: You don't have both relation and
conflict with both. |
| 31. IE: Homaa hinqabu. | 31. IE: I don't have any. |

In a similar condition, the utterance that says, "Lachuurraa firooma homaa hin qabduu firas jibbas hinqabdu. / You don't have both relationship and conflict with both" in turn line (39) above is a declarative sentence. However, the context in which it was used and the purpose for which the police interviewer used here is different. Although it should have only served the purpose of informing or declaring information as an informative sentence it is, it has been used by the interviewer to ask for strengthening or confirming the information. This utterance of the police interviewer is different from giving alternatives. In this situation, the police

interviewer was only interested to obtain information that supports the idea he raised. Hence, indirectly this is urging the interviewee (witness) to approve the raised idea.

In the process of interaction during the interview, the police interviewer used different discourse strategies to ask question or to gather information from the interviewees than a single way of using syntactically interrogative discourses.

4.2.6.5 Lexical Choice and Person Reference

Excerpt 3 (63 -67)

The words the police interviewer used also mattered in influencing the interactions. Because the police interviewers were more accessible to the discourse resource, they had also a better opportunity to make lexical choices that can help to achieve their desired goals in the interactions. The following excerpt can tell us more.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 63. IR: Kanaaf Dhoksite? | 63. IR: That is why you hide it? |
| 64. IE: Eeyye | 64. IE: Yes. |
| 65. IR: Kun dhoksuudhumtuu.
yakkadha | 65. IR: Even hiding this by
itself is crime |
| 66. IE: Nan balleessee. | 66. IE: I made fault. |
| 67. IR: Hiriyyummaan waa biraa
Haqni yookaan seerri waabiraa
kana beekta mitii? | 67. IR: Friendship another. Justice or law
is something else.
Do you know this? |
| 68. IE : (--) | 68. IE: (--) |
| 69. IR : Mallatteessi asitti.: | 69. IR: Sign it here. |

It seems that the interviewer found the interviewee knew the committed crime but failed to report to the police. The police interviewer said, “Kanaaf Dhoksite? / that is why you hide it?” turn (63), the interviewee confessed and replied “Eeyyee/ Yes” turn (64). The police interviewer then said, “Kun dhoksuudhumtuu yakkadha. /even hiding this by itself is a **crime**.” In this context, the police interviewer was not satisfied with the response from the interviewee. Rather, he forwarded that hiding the **crime** by itself is considered to be a **crime**. It is possible to witness to what extent the interviewee (the witness was influenced by the

word ‘crime’ from his response in turn 66. He immediately confessed that he was mistaken. The police interviewer used this word deliberately to test the witness’s confidence.

Besides, the police interviewer in turn 67 raised a serious question that says, “ Hiriyyummaan waanbirraa haqni yookaan seerri waanbirraa kana beekta mitii? / Friendship is another. **Justice or law** is something else. Do you know this?” Here again, the police interviewer used another legal term ‘**justice**’ that is related to law. This choice of word was to impose the witness. This imposition was shown by the witness’s silence or long pause in turn 68. The witness’s confession in turn 64 and 66, and the long pause or silence in turn 68 were indicators of the impositions. Hence, the police interviewer’s utterances as well as choices of words played roles in imposing the interviewee.

Excerpt 1 (9 – 12)

The use of personal pronouns like, “I” and “we” used in the transcripts by the police interviewers indicated the representation of the police institution by the police interviewers. Thus, the pronouns were carrying institutional power and authority invested in the interviewers. Besides, some technical words, which were new to the witnesses, especially who were not with education seemed to influence their interactions. One instance, is indicated by the following excerpt in which the underlined for emphasis created confusion.

9. IR: Lammiinkee maalinni?

10. IE: hh (-) hojii?

11. IR: Lammiinkee; maa: linnii:?

12. IE: Lammiin Oromoodha

9. IR: What is your citizenship?

10. IE: hh (-) work?

11. IR: Wha: t is you: r citizenship?

12. IE: The citizenship is Oromo

In this excerpt, the police investigator started with a direct question that requests response from the interviewee. For this purpose the police interviewer used “WH” question. Structurally, there is no confusion here with the intention of the interviewer or the police officer for the interviewee. This is because it is direct question that begins with “WH”.

However, the problem arose from the word selection of the interviewer. The police interviewer used the word ‘citizenship’ in his first turn line (9). There was problem with the word choice of the police interviewer. The word ‘citizenship’ is about someone’s state of being a member of a particular country. The interviewee was confused in whether the police interviewer wanted to know his being member of the country or to one of the nations and nationalities of Ethiopia (a group of people with the same race, religion, and tradition etc.).

Although the interviewee seems to be clear with line (9) that it is a question that needs response, it seems that the interviewee is confused with the content or the idea that the police investigator wants to get. This is evidenced by the response given by the interviewee. In line (10), the interviewee (witness) breathed out and made a short pause before he goes to speak. This was followed by forwarding a word that seems to ask clarification about the request using the word (work?) with raised intonation. This indicates lack of understanding of the prior speaker’s turn. In conversations, turns at talk are context – shaped and context – renewing. This means it is based on the understanding and the context of the prior speech that the next speaker is based to forward ideas. The mutual understandings between the two interactants or the intersubjectivity of these parts have also great impact on shaping the interaction.

Because the interviewee failed to respond correctly to the question, the interviewer was compelled to repeat the question. By this time, the repetition however is in different tone of speech from his first question. In the second speech (line 11), the police interviewer raised his voice, stretched some sounds and emphasized some of the focus areas to make clear for the interviewee. The interviewee has responded to the request saying “The citizenship is Oromo”. However, it seems that still there is confusion. The police interviewer’s intention was to ask for the identity of the interviewee (the witness). As it is the police institution that is one of the district police institutions of the Oromia regional state, the police investigator wanted to know the nation of the interviewee rather than the citizenship. However, the word he used or selected was related to the national identity (the nationality) of an individual. This has created confusion to the interviewee and that is why the interviewee ended in telling his nation as an Oromo than responding to the proper question of citizenship. The confusion has resulted in misunderstanding of the participants and presentation of wrong response.

4.2.6.6 Topic Selection and Control

Topic refers to what is talked about and how it is talked about across turns. One of the important issues to be dealt within the interactions between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witness) is about who has a better access to select the topic for discussion and who has a greater authority or power to control the dynamics in the interactions during the interviews. This is because one major element in the discursive reproduction of power and dominance is the very access to discourse and communicative events. This implies that Who may speak or write to whom, about what, when, and in what context, or Who may participate in such communicative events in various recipient roles matters a lot. The access of discourse is indicator of the power of social groups and their members.

In the Police – witness interview discourse analyzed, it could be realized that the police interviewers had the first go to set the agenda for the subsequent discussion with the participants (interviewees/witnesses) in this study context. They controlled the interaction through the authority, they represent, to constrain interviewees and control the topics that were discussed during the interaction in the interview.

On the other hand, the interactions in the interview excerpts revealed that the police interviewers were sources of the agenda for the interaction. They had the first to go. In other words, they were in a position to set the agenda for the subsequent discussions with the participants. Besides, they were controlling each and every point of interaction in the interview. Each and every response of the interviewee (witness) was based on the police interviewer's questions. This showed that the interviewees did not respond unless they were initiated or asked by the interviewers. Furthermore, the interviewees' responses were shaped by the nature of the questions raised from the police interviewer. The police interviewers were asking and the interviewees were responding or answering.

The interactions in the interview extracts were based on the relationships between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses). The terms "interviewer" and "interviewee" by themselves tell us that there exists an asymmetry or power imbalance between the two participants of the interaction. This was also what was observed in these interview interactions. It was the interviewers who were more accessible to the interview resources like

asking (questioning), commanding (ordering), interrupting, or shaping the interviewees than the interviewees.

The agendas or topics on which both the police interviewers and the interviewees interact were only forwarded from the police interviewers to the interviewees (witnesses). On the other hand, the interviewees were just expected to give responses. In all the interview excerpts treated in this analysis, or the transcripts (1-18) or the transcript of the respondents, the police interviewers took the floors to lead or control the interactions. Each interview and every exchange in the interview starts with the initiation of the police interviewers. Initiating each and every exchange of the interaction means setting and providing topic or agenda for discussion. The police interviewers were persistent questioners and the interviewees (witnesses) were persistent respondents.

The police interviewers were not asking questions just for the sake of asking. Besides, their questions were not irrelevant to the agenda in hand. They were asking questions which were related to the crime, the crime scene, the suspected person, how the crime happened and others. The technicality about which relevant questions to ask was considered as the responsibility of the police interviewer than the interviewee (witness). This means the police interviewers were given the power to select what to speak or ask. The implication is that, topic selection was in the hands of the interviewers. This opportunity gave the police interviewers to control the dynamics of the interaction. This was because controlling the topic was closely related to controlling or managing the whole interaction.

In short, in the context of this police – witness interview, the point of who has to ask, what to ask (the agenda in hand), how to ask (the technique to be used), why to ask (the reason behind), when to ask, and where to ask were the resources which were accessible to only police interviewers. On the other hand, the discourse of topic selection and controlling of the interaction was highly influenced and dominated by the police interviewers in the interaction during the interview. Hence, it is possible to realize that topic selection and control was used by the police interviewers in the interview to shape the direction of the interaction and the utterances of the witnesses through discourse. This is the fact that scholars like Fairclough (2001) confirm stating that more superior participants in interaction are often in a situation to

determine the nature and purpose of interaction at the beginning and/or to prevent contributions that are not relevant for the theme.

4.3 Major Discourse Control Strategies Used by the Police Interviewers

In the course of interactions, police interviewers control the discourses. For this to happen they use different discourse control strategies. Below is the interview extract from the respondent's response that reveals how police interviewers control or manage the interaction during the information gathering from the witnesses.

IE: *The police investigator can ask questions using different strategies or methods to search for truth. It is must to give responses to why, who, when, where how, which, whom and whose questions the police ask. When they take the witness information, they raise their voice. To check whether the information gathered is based on truth or not, they ask questions repeatedly. Because sometimes they interrupted me or broke my speech and raise their own ideas or questions, it made me take care of my own speeches.*

The extract tells us that the police use not only one strategy. There is a possibility for them to use different strategies during the information gathering phase. The expression that says "The police investigator can ask questions using different strategies" shows the legality and power that are particularly given to the police during the interview with the witness. The expression that says, "It is must to give responses for the "Wh" questions the police ask..." implies that the witness is not given the opportunity to ask. Rather, she/he is expected to respond to the questions raised from the police interviewers. This reveals that the police interviewer has an asymmetrical (unbalanced) relationship in this situation. For their asymmetrical relationship, they use different strategies. They use questioning as a means of controlling the discourse. They raise a variety of questions that involve "WH" questions. These kinds of questions help the police interviewers get specific information and detailed explanations. For instance, the question that begins with "who" is intended to know the name/ identity of a person whereas the questions that begin with "WHY" or "HOW" are intended to obtain detailed explanation from the

interviewee (witness). Hence, the police interviewers use “WH” questions as one of the discourse control strategies.

The reality in the interview extract also tells us that the police interviewers use illocutionary forces through illocutionary acts. Besides using questions, the application of meta-linguistic features like using raised intonation by the police interviewers during the police interview is another indicator that the police interviewers use to manage or control the interaction during the interview. According to the respondent of the interview, repeating similar questions is also used as a means of confirming information and controlling or shaping the dynamics of the interaction during the interview.

4.4 Discourse Strategies Used by the Witnesses to Resist the Imposition of the Police Interviewers

Excerpt 8 (46 -50)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. IR: ((gidduutti dubbate))
[DUBBII HINDHEERESSIINIITII]
isuma argite
QOFAA dubbadhuu::</p> | <p>46. IR: ((Interrupted))
[DON'T ELONGET THE THING]
Spea: k ONLY what you
have seen</p> |
| <p>2. IE: ISUMAN ARGE qofaan hime IJOO ::
Horrikoo maaliif yaafta as
keessaa jennaana mitii seera
gaafadhuu yoo isaan sii'eeyyaman
hin tifikattaa kaloo malee horiikoo
hinyaasiinii maaliif yaaftaa horiikoo
maaliif yaafta [achi keessaa jennaana]</p> | <p>47. IE: I told you gu:ys ONLY
WHAT I SAW He said “why
you ride out my cattle from
here?” said, “It is not me.
It is the law. Go and ask the
law. If they allow for you, you
will keep your cattle here.”
Otherwise, don't ride my
Cattle. Why you ride the
cattle out?” [he said this and]</p> |
| <p>3. IR: ((Giddutti itti dubbate))
[Maaltu maal ta'eree?:]</p> | <p>48. IR: ((interrupted)) [The: n
what has happened?]</p> |
| <p>4. IE: Jennaana qaama achii</p> | <p>49. IE: He spoke saying go and</p> |

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| eeyyamsiifadhuutii Koottuu | bring permission from that |
| [ennaasana] | body. [Then,] |
| 5. IR: ((Gidduutti dubbate)) | 50. IR: ((interrupted)) [Now |
| [ammaa MAAF] dheeressitaa:? | WHY you] elonga:te it? |

In the interview excerpt turn 46, the police interviewer interrupted the witness saying “DUBBII HINDHEERESSIINIITII isuma argite QOFAA dubbadhu: / DON’T ELONGET THE THING spea: k ONLY what you have seen”. The implication here is that the witness (the interviewee was talking something about what she did not see in her previous utterance. Hence, the police interviewer found the utterance not necessary. The police interviewer tried to impose her to speak the truth he likes. He revealed this through the loud sounds he produced; however, the witness (the interviewee) in her utterance turn 47, tried to resist the imposition from the interviewer uttering, “ISUMAN ARGE qofaan hime IJOO: / I told you gu:ys ONLY WHAT I SAW”. This utterance of the witness shows resistance to the utterance of the police interviewer. She was telling him that she was not willing to speak what the police interviewer wants her to speak, rather she preferred to speak her own mind. Besides, she continued narrating. The police seem to be not satisfied to the interviewee’s speech as she was not directly talking about what she was asked to answer. She was only speaking something less important and less relevant issues. As a result once again the police interviewer used interrogative interruptions in turn 48 saying, “Maaltu maal ta’eree: / The: what has happened?” This interruption indicates that the police interviewer is still searching for the truth. Surprisingly, the witness did not want to respond directly even after such repeated interruptions of the police interviewers. Rather she started to move around the basic issue in hand saying, “Jennaan qaama achii eeyyamsiifadhuutii Koottuu ennaasana/ He spoke saying go and bring permission from that body” in turn 49. This utterance of the interviewee was again interrupted by the police interviewer. This shows that the witness was indirectly resisting the police interviewer through moving around the topic rather than speaking directly about the question raised. The interviewee (witness) made an attempt to avoid unknown risk of witnessing through intentional digression of the utterance.

Excerpt 1 (89_ 96)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 89. IE: Yeroon dhaqu, yeroon dhaqee
wannii jedhu kan (.) sababinni
ittiin ka'e jaartii isaan <u>sanaa</u> : jechuudha.
Badhaadhee Badhaadhaatiin ka'e. | 89. IE: When I go, when I went,
what I say (.) [the cause of it]
was <u>tha:t</u> old lady. I mean
by Bedade Bedada. |
| 90. IR: Ee::shii | 90. IR: Ok:: |
| 91. IR: Bukkee hin labiin.
Kallattiin deebisi. | 91. IR: Don't go round. Respond
it directly. |
| 97. IE: Yeroosana namni dhufee: gidduu
nammineerraa dubartootni jiran immoo:
ishee kanammoo: Birqee Dachaasaa
akkasumas qabdee jirtii:: | 92. IE: By that time, people ca:me
and we were in between them.
All the women there were
catch::ing this woman,
Birke Dechasa and |
| 98. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)). Sababa
lolasaanii, beektaa: ati? Jalqaba. | 93. IR: ((interrupted)) First of all, do
you know the cause of their conflict? |
| 99. IE: Animoo :? | 94. IE: Me:? |
| 100. IR: .hh | 95. IR: .hh |
| 101. IE: Wacan dhagahee: dhaqe malee
hin beeku sababa isaa.
(0.14) ((transcribing)) | 96. IE: I hea: rd the shout and went there.
I do not know the cause.
(0.14) ((transcribing |

The interviewee's utterance or response to the police interviewer's previous initiation is narration. It seems that the police interviewer did not get the necessary information. Thus, used a discourse marker that says, "Ee::shii/ Ok::" in turn 90. The police interviewer used this discourse marker to initiate the witness to continue the narration because he did not get the necessary information. Another police interviewer, who was with the main investigator, uttered in turn 91 saying, "Bukkee hin labiin. Kallattiin deebisi/ Don't go round. Respond it directly." This utterance implies that the witness (the interviewee) was not directly addressing the issue, rather moving around the agenda raised by the police interviewer. This was the strategy that the witness used to resist the imposition from the police interviewer to get the relevant information about the issue in hand.

The witness's utterance in turn 92 still shows the evading method used through explaining less relevant issues than the point of discussion needed by the police interviewer. This was actually something that the police interviewer could not tolerate. That why he used the interrogative interruption in turn 93 that says, "Sababa lolasaanii, beektaa: ati? Jalqaba./ First of all, do you know the cause of their conflict?"The intention of this utterance is to seek for relevant information than a simple narration of the less important issues.

In turn 94, the witness surprisingly uttered saying, "Animoo:? / Me:?" It is clear from the context that the communication is between the police interviewer and the witness. Besides the police interviewer has made it clear in turn 93 saying, "First of all, do you know the cause of their conflict?" Here the pronoun 'YOU' indicates (refers to) the interviewee. If so, why does the interviewee seem to be confused by the initiation from the police interviewer is important issue to be dealt with. Though given another opportunity by the police interviewer through turn 94, the witness's intention to evade from the reality still appeared at turn 95 through narration of less relevant agenda. Actually, this is nothing more than resisting the initiation of the police interviewer intentionally. It shows that there was no interest in responding to the interviewer's questions. Instead, the witness s preferred to go deep into the explanations in which the police interviewer seems not interested. There were attempts of moving around the main issue than providing clear cut response to the interviewer. On the other hand, the witness was trying to escape/evade from telling the reality.

The implication in the discourses of the transcripts from the respondent interviews to the researcher's questions also indicate that though witnesses are less resistant and more dominated by the police interviewers during the investigations, still they do not totally come to be passive receivers. They sometimes directly or indirectly try to express their efforts to minimize the impositions through different strategies. The following interview extract shows the strategies used by the interviewees during the interactions.

IE: *I cannot avoid imposition but sometimes for example, when I am asked things which I do not want to talk about, I will behave just as if I forgot the idea to buy some time or make a pause so that the interviewer passes over the issue. If the police interviewer imposes me to speak on I will start*

talking less relevant issues by moving around the main agenda. If all this does not work, I will try to oppose the idea of the interviewer though this is not usually my preference.

This interview transcript shows that the police interviewer's imposition on the witness is inevitable or something that the witnesses can never avoid in the interviews. This is because there is asymmetrical relationship between the police interviewers and the witnesses. However, this does not mean the witnesses are completely out of resistance or maintenance of their identity during the interviews. To some extent they try to minimize the degree of imposition or dominance using different strategies. Accordingly, witnesses use pauses (silences) as a means of buying time to initiate the interviewer to pass over the issue. Besides, if it is must for them to talk, they will move around the issue than directly addressing the agenda initiated by the interviewer. In the absence of any option, they try to softly oppose the interviewer's utterances. In general, the witnesses use silences (pauses), moving around the topics initiated than directly addressing (evading), and directly resisting (disagreeing) with idea of the interviewer were used to reduce dominance (imposition) from the police interviewers.

4.5 The power relationship as revealed in the discourses used

Griffin (2000) states that discourse gains its meaning through power. This idea corresponds with the notion which holds that subjects do not produce meanings; they only reproduce meanings produced by the powerful group. According to this scholar, power is exercised rather than possessed and it is disseminated via discourse. The difference between the police and other people is not merely the difference of perception. The power relationship is among these differences observed in the society. Hence, it needs to critically see where the power lies and how it is reflected. When asked why he was at the police institution, one of the witnesses said:

IE: Today I am here because I was summoned by the police to come and give my witness.

The witness used passive construction to express that his presence at the police institution was not because of his willingness but because of the order by some other body which is the police who are the representative or agent of the institution. This shows that interviewees were not only expected to come to the interview room but also to give interview. This in turn implies that in police interviews, the norm for interviewees is to have their power reduced, cooperate and fulfill their roles as interviewee by answering the questions raised from the police interviewers.

Similarly, the asymmetry between the police interviewers and the members of the society witnesses as expressed by one of the respondents is presented as follows:

IE: Yes. The police have power. They have their own authority. They work on the protection of crime. If crime is committed, they investigate. They investigate the crimes committed, how they are committed, and the causes of the crime being supported by their authority.

The interview extract indicates that, there is power relationship between the police and the other members of the society. Why has the respondent said the police have power, authority? The term ‘Power’ used here is not to indicate the physical power exerted to do something. In this context, this is the power used by the police to control people and events during information gathering phase. The term “authority” in the respondent’s speech that says, “*They have their own authority*” is another term used in the response. Power is embedded in this authority. The police power emerges from the authority given to the police institution by the law or the constitution. Accordingly, the police are not simple or ordinary persons. They are members of the judicial or legal system that are equipped with the authority, power and right to arrest people involved in crime. The other way round, the police have their own power indicates that the other people who are not police or who do not belong to the judicial system have no access to such authority. Hence, if they have no authority, they will be expected to have no/less power on every interaction that takes place between the police interviewer and the witness.

Who can make legal investigation in the judicial process is the other issue that needs to be considered. In our society, there are cultural values such as local elders. This does not mean

these members of the society (the elders) have similar power that is given to the police. In most cases elders help solve problems such as settling disputes, through arranging negotiations between suspects and victims.

The police however are authorized government body to protect the happening of crime and arrest persons who commit crimes. They are also given special right or power to investigate cases or crimes that happen in the society. This kind of power or right is not given to the other members of the society. The extract below also demonstrates the difference between police power and other non police members of the society.

IE: Yes. The government supports them. They are armed. They even wear uniform which are blue jacket, blue- black trousers and cape, different from the other members of the society. They work using their own and the government's power.

The above extract is about the contributors of the power that the police possess. The sentence that says, "The government supports them" declares that government is a more powerful body than the police and that provides the police with right to exercise power over the others during investigation. This implies that the power exercised is not merely an individual's (the police man's/woman's) power but the combination of the individual, institutional and government power vested on them through the law. This implies that, other members of the society do not have equal access and legality to the protection, control and investigation of the crime.

Besides, the sentence that says, "*The government supports them*" is directly followed by a sentence that says, "*They are armed*". Here, there is a perception reflected from the interview extract that the police not only possess institutional and ideological power but also physical power. They are armed means they can use force or physical power to maintain peace and security of the society. This idea of the respondent can psychologically convince the interviewees to surrender ideologically to give interview with no resistance or reluctance. This indicates how the presence of physical police equipments like arms influences the attitude or perception of the people. The physical power seems to support the individual or institutional power.

Different organizations have uniform clothes for their employees. These clothes vary in styles and colors. Only through a simple gaze we can sometimes identify to which organization the person in the uniform cloth belongs to. Similarly, the police have their own uniform clothes by which they will be identified. Oromia police have their own uniform clothes. The clothes transfer messages that a person in the police uniform is not an ordinary person; rather a powerful individual to protect, maintain, and control crime and make further investigations on the suspects after the arrest. Semiotically, the uniform or the color has its own psychological effects on individuals.

IE: ...*They don't want you make any mistake. You are obliged to give response to all questions they ask you. If not, you can even be jailed. That means you consider them as a master.*

The idea embedded in the sentence that says, “They don’t want you to make any mistake” in the interview extract above shows us that anyone who is exposed to the police interview during the information gathering phase as a witness is expected to speak only the truth. Mistake in this context refers to the invalidity of the information gathered from the witness. This in turn indicates to what extent the information the witness provides is related to the agenda in hand for the police interviewers. The expectation is that the witness is discouraged from talking any irrelevant issue about the questions raised from the police.

Besides, it is easy to understand from the interview extract that no question from the police interviewer should remain unanswered. This is clearly revealed by the expression that says, “You are obliged **to give response to all questions they ask you.**” First, the pronoun ‘you’ refers to everybody who goes to the police station to witness or give information about what she/he has seen or heard. In this context, the power of the police is revealed in the respondent’s perception. The implication behind this is that not answering all the questions raised by the police is considered to be not satisfying the interest of the police interviewer or not respecting law. On the other hand, this means there is obligation for everyone who goes to the police station to give eye witness to give response.

The expressions used in this extract like you are **obliged**, you can be even **jailed**, and you consider them as **masters** are clear indications for the dominance of the police and the

acceptance of the dominance of the police by the interviewees. The word 'obliged' is here used to show either the obligation that the police impose on the society members who go to the police institutions for judicial purposes or the power that the other community members believe that the police impose on them. You can be even 'jailed' shows the authority the police possess and the power of the police embedded in the authority. In addition, the police are represented as masters. The message behind this is that, other persons (the interviewees) are represented as servants who satisfy the need of the other end Do as asked; I asked you to...The masters are those with power and authority to influence the others. The perception of the interviewees also indicates that the police have the authority to compel people to respond to the questions or send to prison if people fail to comply. The police are also perceived to master the dynamics of the interaction. From this, it is not difficult to realize that the police interviewers have power and authority on controlling (managing) the dynamics during the information gathering phase of the interview.

4.6 Main Sources of power

Police interviewers work in the context of the police institutions. They are governed by the institutional goals. They also work to achieve these institutional goals which in turn emerge out of the law of the country. Institutions are shaped by discourse. They have also the capacity to create and impose discourses. They have considerable control over the shaping of people's routine experiences of the world. Therefore, they have power to foster particular kinds of identities to suit their own purposes. The police interviewers thus exercise this power during the crime investigations.

On the other hand, Drew and Heritage (1992) state that institutional talk (discourse) is characterized by three features. These include presence of at least one person who represents the institution and who displays an orientation towards the institutional goal, the constraints imposed on one or all participant/s in the institution and the presence of specific context inferential frameworks.

Hence, the power relationship between the police interviewers and the witnesses during the information gathering phase showed the slanting of power to the side of the police

interviewers. This power seems to have basically emerged from the face to face interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees). Besides, the power emerged from the institutional goals or objectives that were expected to be achieved. These goals or objectives of the institutions were derived from the law which in turn emerges from the constitution of the country. Hence, it is possible to say that the two major aspects of power – power behind the discourse (the power invested to the police interviewers by the institution and other police features like the presence of uniform, weapon, military style) and the power in discourse (the power of discourse revealed through face to face interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses) during the crime investigations as stated by Fairclough (1989) were the sources of power for the police interviewers in the study. On the other hand, these were the sources of the powerlessness for the interviewees (the witnesses). These is of course supported by the discourse indicators from the interview transcripts in the study.

As indicated in the police - witness interviews transcripts in this study, the relationship between the police and the interviewees during the information gathering stage was asymmetrical. This was because it was largely slanted in favor of the police interviewers. Though a lot has been said directly or indirectly in so far observations, the source of police power is the important point that needs exploration. The extract below shows the witness's perceptions of the source of the power of the police.

IE: The police are legal bodies supported by government. They get great power from: first the police members are selected from the society and trained. After they finish their trainings, the government sends them to come back to serve the sociehe government, after training, equipping them with basic policing capacity and with different materials including the arms and uniform clothes, sends them back to the society protect crime from happening.

In the expression “The police are legal bodies supported by government”, at least two things (the law and the government) can tell us where the source of power for the police emerges. All people are equal before the law, but the law is above all people. This means

the law has great power and is the source of power. Legal bodies are individuals or institutions that are given special rights and responsibilities to discharge under certain circumstances. Likewise the police as well as the police institutions are given the responsibility and legality of maintaining peace and security of the society, controlling or arresting suspects, gathering information (investigating the crime) and bringing the cases to the court. This enabled the police interviewers to have institutional power to investigate suspects or gather additional information from the witnesses. Ordinary people do not have similar access, opportunity, legality and responsibility because their power is limited. In short, law and the government serve as the source of power for the police.

The police have been members of the society before they have come to be police officers. They were selected from the society and were given professional trainings. These trainings make them different from other members of the society. The other members of the society who do not belong to any of the judicial systems or who are not taught issues of law and legality do not have similar knowledge. Knowledge is power that the knowledgeable people use to influence or lead others. On the other hand, there is knowledge gap between the police and other members of the society in legal and judicial issues. The police are more knowledgeable/ trained than other members of the society. Hence, the police knowledge that results from trainings is one of the sources of power for the police interviewer. It is through this interactional and institutional power that the police interviewers gather information and secure reliable evidence for charging the suspect.

The fact that “ the police are equipped with different materials including the arms and uniform clothes after training ...” from the interview transcript indicates that there is something that the presence of arms and uniform clothes contribute in relationship between the police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees). Symbolically, the weapons the police officers carry are the representations of power invested to the police by the institutions. Though carrying weapon does not necessarily mean hurting or imposing people, it is inevitable for the police officers who carry weapon to create psychological tension or frustration to the other ordinary people, especially those who try to associate weapon directly to power, killing and imposition. It is difficult to say there

will be no effect on the psychology of the interviewee in the presence of pistol/ clashinkove nearby the police interviewer during the interviews. The uniform cloths that the police wear have their own psychological and emotional effects on the interviewees.

IE: Yes. They have great power. It is because they have great power that they can arrest you whenever they suspect you. They have right because they work for the protection of people's right. I think in that way. The power they posses is related to law. I think the source of the power is the lawt. It is revealed in that whenever you are asked to give your witness, you will be summoned by legal letter. For example, if you ignore coming it is crime. The reason is you didn't respect the law.

The interview extract above puts that, the police are equipped with great power that the other persons do not have access to. Accordingly, the police are given the right to arrest or control any suspected individual. They are supported by the law that is above all persons and actions. The right to arrest or control suspects emerges from this law and it is this law that is implemented by the police or members of legal institutions. The personal pronoun "they" here refers to the police interviewers in general. In the case of witness interview, the witness is not expected to come to the police institution to give the necessary information without any official request. Rather, the police investigator/ the institution sends her / him an official letter to come and give her / his account on what she/ he has seen. The identity of the witnesses depends on the information from the complainant (the victim). The important point to note here is that the role that the letter from the police plays. This letter is not a friendly letter. Rather, it is a letter that carries institutional order from the police institution. Not responding to or ignoring the letter leads to the presumption of ignoring the law and this leads to illegality which in turn causes punishment. That is why it is possible to say law is the source of power for the police.

IE: The place by itself is different from other areas. As you enter the compound you see may police men and women carrying weapons like ' Klashinkove' and piston. You also see may victims, suspects,

and witnesses. So you will be frustrated and you don't express your idea well.

From the above extract, it is not difficult to realize to what extent the interview setting has effects on the interview as well as on the interviewees. The idea that the respondent forwarded about the difference between the police institution and other compounds outside shows the psychological imposition the setting has created to the respondent. Besides, the presence of many police men and women, weapons, many victims, suspects and witnesses also seem to have created frustration or anxiety to the respondent. This can be evidenced from the expression that says, "You will be frustrated and you don't express your idea well". Hence, the setting (the police institution in general and the interview rooms in particular) play roles in initiating the police power and reduce the interviewees (witnesses).

4.7. Chief Factors that Affect (shape) the Structures and the Dynamics of Interaction in the Police _ witness Interviews

In this study, the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses seem to be influenced by different conditions. Critically analyzed, the police – witness interviews as well as the interview responses imply that the discursive roles of the participants, their status and relative knowledge play great role in influencing the dynamics.

4.7.1 Discursive Roles Assigned to the Participants of the Interview by the Context

The ascribed discursive roles of the participants are of paramount importance in contexts like police – witness interactions during crime investigations. They provide the positions from which each participant operates. In the context of this study, there was unequal access to the resources used among the participants. As it was observed from the analysis of the interview extracts in this study, several factors emerged as being of particular significance in the balance of power and control. Discursively, the police interviewers were given the roles of questioners and the witnesses were given the roles of responders. The police interviewers were given the roles of opening, maintaining and closing the interactions. They were the

openers, initiators, commanders, and managers of the interviews during the crime investigations. This assignment of roles was not just revealed in the transcripts of the interaction between the police interviewers and the witnesses. It was also implied in the transcriptions of the interviews made between the researcher and the respondents.

Let's see how the roles of the police interviewers were expressed in the extract below taken from the interview held with witness.

IE:if crime is committed, they investigate. The police investigate crimes committed, how they are committed, and the causes of the crime being supported by their authority.

From the above extract, it is possible to realize that the police interviewers are assigned to investigate crimes and their causes. This investigation or gathering of information involves asking questions. However, these kinds of roles are not basically given to the interviewees /witnesses. Though interviewees are not totally forbidden formally to ask questions, the power dominance from the police interviewers constrains them from taking the role of the police interviewers. The role of asking questions is accessible to only the interviewer (the police) in this context. The police interviewers have the roles of generating the agenda for discussion, asking questions, and controlling the dynamics. The authority given to them helps to have such influential roles in the interaction during information gathering.

These facts in general tell us to deduce that police interviewers are given the roles of questioning, selecting the topics for discussion and managing or controlling the dynamics of the interaction. There is unequal access to the resources. It gives the police interviewers a considerable advantage in terms of power and control in the interview interaction. On the contrary, the witnesses/interviewees are given the role of respondents. Hence, the discursive roles given to the participants affect / influence the dynamics of interactions in the interview.

4.7.2 Institutional status of the Police

The institutional status of the police interviewers had great roles in influencing the dynamics of the police interaction with the interviewees/witnesses. This has shown how much institutional power of the police interviewers play great roles in constructing the overall picture of police _witness power relations in which the police have influence on the witnesses/interviewees. The following extract can tell us the detail.

IE: ... Personally, I think the police are different from other persons. This is because the police are judicial, security and legal bodies to protect the well being or peace of the society. ...They have the right or power supported by the law that gives them to patrol, control, arrest, investigate and bring to the law. They are bodies that also give different trainings for the society how to protect the happenings of crime.

The sentence which says, “*The police are different from other persons*” reveals that the police are not in a similar position or status with other people who are non- police like the witness/interviewee in this context. This is a misconception. The implication behind this idea is that there is something that makes the police unique. This again shows that other non-police people are not so special that their status is lower than the police. The facts that make the police to be with higher institutional status are reflected in the extract through different expressions. The expression which says, “the police are judicial, security and legal bodies to protect the well being or peace of a society” implies that not all people (ordinary people) are equipped with this kind of status. The power to patrol, control, arrest, investigates and bring to the court or law is particularly given to the police. All these are not personal or individual instances given to the police. Rather, the police are given this status because of their profession or the nature of the institution. Of course, interviewees/witnesses have rights; however, they have no institutional status. They have their own contributions in maintaining and controlling the peace and security of the society at the individual base but they have no access to arrest, investigate and bring the case to the court. This is because such things need institutional status which ordinary people may not have.

The police interviewers in this study context were with higher institutional status than the interviewees/witnesses. This widened the gap between the police and the

interviewees/witnesses during the interviews. The participant with higher institutional status will have a greater influence on the ordinary individuals with no institutional status. This influence will in turn affect the interview providing the police interviewer a dominant position to control or constrain the participation of the witnesses/interviewees during the information gathering.

To sum it up, the issue of who speaks to whom and the discourse used by each is the basic thing. In this context, the relation is between the police interviewers who are institutionally given higher status with the witnesses/interviewees who are accessible to the resource of controlling, restricting, and interrupting the witnesses. The virtue of the police as the guardian of peace and well-being of the society has vested knowledge (specialized knowledge) and power in the institution. Hence, institutional status can be one of the factors to influence the dynamics of the interaction during the interview.

4.7.3 The Relative Knowledge of the Participants

There is an old idiom that says ‘knowledge is power’. This shows that Power and knowledge are inseparably interrelated. Furthermore, they both are interdependent with discourse. Foucault (1978:100) in Kasaye (2013:51) strengthens this idea stating that “... it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together.” Thus, deconstructing power-knowledge relationship is a means to reveal reality among complex relationships. Chandler (2001/2007) in Kasaye (2013, 46-47) further states that, in its contemporary expression, power is assumed to give an individual or a group the ability to create knowledge which in turn implies that knowledge capacitates the knowledgeable to define a certain issue so as to direct subjects’ (peoples’) perception of it. In such a way knowledge becomes the weapon of control per se.

Knowledge is fundamental for the production and comprehension of discourse. However, not all people are equipped with similar knowledge. Individuals have different potentials on different issues. The knowledge people have has the power to influence the interaction of others. Relatively, the knowledge the police have about law, crime, crime investigation or judicial process is higher than the other non police or non judicial members in the community. If we compare the relative knowledge of the police interviewers and witnesses /

interviewees, it will not be difficult to conclude that the police are with higher or better knowledge. Hence, the police have a better opportunity and power to influence or challenge the witnesses/ interviewees.

In the above response from the interview extract, the expression that says,” *They are bodies that also give different trainings for the society how to protect the happenings of crime*” shows the relative difference in knowledge on policing between the police and the interviewees in general. Who gives training for whom? Why do they give trainings to the society? On what issues do they give trainings? These questions need answers. The answers for these questions can be obtained from the extract from the respondent’s discourse.

In this situation, the police give training. The reason is that the police are considered to be knowledgeable in the area. First, training carries knowledge and it is a means of transferring knowledge from the more knowledgeable and conscious body to the less knowledgeable and less conscious body. Hence, training is awareness creation. This shows the police give trainings to the members of the society because there is a belief that the society members are not more conscious enough in crime and legal issues. The police give trainings because they have better knowledge. All these indicate the difference in knowledge about crime, crime protection, investigation and legal processing between the police and the other non judicial members of the society, the witness/interviewee in this context.

Although it is difficult to know how much knowledge is required to say well-equipped or fairly equipped, it is possible to realize that the police interviewers have a better professional, institutional, legal and judicial knowledge than the ordinary interviewees (witnesses) with no legal and judicial experience. This clearly show the presence of asymmetry (unequal distribution) of knowledge and power between participants of the interaction (the police interviewers and the interviewees) which indicated that there was no equal access to technical knowledge about relevant organizational procedures that in turn indicated the difference in comparative knowledge.

It is this knowledge gap that gives the police interviewers to access discourses used to influence and dominate the interactions with the interviewees (witnesses). This in short shows that relative knowledge is one of the factors that play great role in influencing the

dynamics of the interaction in the interview during crime investigation or information gathering.

4.8 Witness's Perceptions about the Roles of the Police Investigators

In so far analysis of the police _ witness interview discourses, though it has been tried to address the issues of macro features, a lot of things were in relation to the micro features of the interactions during the information gathering phase. It is also important to supplement the study with the implication of the interaction between the police interviewer and the witnesses in relation to language as a social practice. At this point, the responses obtained from the respondents of the researcher's interviews were critically analyzed. This is because discourse is both a linguistic and non - linguistic social practice and ideologies that together form power relations. Hence, it will be good to see critically how people perceive the police interviewers.

This is because information that people give to the police is influenced by the perceptions they have about the police. This shows that the way people perceive police should be explored. As one of the focuses of this study is also exploring the relationship between interviewees and police interviewer during interview, there is a necessity to see witnesses' perceptions of the police from the extract from the extended interviews with persons who had experiences to police institutions to give their witnesses on cases under investigations.

IE: Yes. Personally, I think the police are different from other persons. This is because the police are judicial, security and legal bodies to protect the well being or peace of the society. They go down to the society and work for the protection of crime from happening. Besides, they are responsible bodies to arrest the suspect and bring to the justice system to make the criminals charged and get proper sentence. Hence, the police are different bodies from the other people. They have the right or power supported by the law that gives them to patrol, control and bring to the law. They are bodies that also give different trainings to the society how to protect the happenings of crime.

In the above interview extract, it is possible to understand that there is a perception that makes the police different from other persons. The sentence, “the police are different from other persons” clearly indicates the comparison between the police and the other persons. The point to be seen here is that what makes the police different from other persons and who are those other persons? In this situation, the respondent is giving more attention to the power or position given to the police than the other people who are not police. This idea of the interviewee is evidenced in the respondent’s utterance that says, “The police are judicial, security and legal bodies to protect the well being or peace of the society.” This implies that the police are given legally the right to protect the well being or peace of the society whereas though they can contribute great roles in the maintenance of peace and security of the society, the other persons who are not police have no such influential power in the community. Hence, the respondent feels that the police are not similarly perceived with other persons and rather they are given special power and status in the society. This might have created wide gap between the police and the non – police society members.

Further concept that has to be viewed here is the idea forwarded by the respondent about the responsibility of the police to arrest criminal and to bring to the justice system. The term “arrest” and the phrase “bring to the justice system” show special power given to the police to control the suspect /s to investigate the crime and bring the suspect/s to the justice system. This implies that the non police or other members of the society may contribute their roles in the maintenance, control and arrest of the suspects; however, they are not as powerful as the police. On the other hand, this means the non - police are not equipped or given the power that the police possess. The police are equipped with both institutional and legal power that is supported by the law.

From the interview extract, it is possible to realize that the police are government bodies that can give different trainings to the society on how to protect crime from happening. crime. The points to be noted here are issues of what trainings are, for what purposes they will be given and who gives for whom. First of all, trainings are awareness creation activities. They are processes of learning the skills people need to do a particular job or activity (how to protect and control crime in this study context). They can be prepared by the institutions, authorities or individuals (people with better expertise) in the area where the trainees need

help. In the context of this interview extract, the police are believed to have better awareness (knowledge) than the ordinary members of the society about crime, its causes, consequences and technical or legal procedures to be implemented. This shows that there is a clear difference or gap between the police or other members of the judicial system and the other members of the society in the awareness (knowledge) of issues about crime, crime protection and legal procedures. On the other hand, this implies that the police have a better exposure and knowledge about legal and judicial issues than other non- police members of the community. This knowledge, exposure, and experience will provide a better power for the police to have a potential to be special or different from any other person.

Individuals' perceptions which can also be part of the societal perceptions are embedded in the responses of the respondent in different ways. The following extract also shows an aspect of this.

IE: For me, the police are legal body. This means, the police are the body that protect the peace and security of the society. They control the crime from happening. As much as possible they control the crime. If crimes happen, they arrest and bring the criminals or suspects to the law. Therefore, as I think the police are one among the legal bodies that protect us from being hurt by crimes.

In this extract from the respondent's interview, the respondent perceives that the police are legal body. What does the respondent want to say here? Of course everybody is legal under no criminal act or if he/she commits no crime. However, what makes the legality of the police different is that there is special legal right that is given to them to protect, control, arrest, investigate and feed the court for further legal procedure. Not every member of the society can have this kind of opportunity. The respondent also perceives the police to be the one that have greater responsibility, authority, and power. This in turn reflects the perception that exists in the society about the police. Though it is acceptable idea, the extreme perception among the society may leads to misperception and makes people to fail to exercise their rights of communication.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study aimed at analyzing the police –witness interview discourse during criminal investigations in gathering information from the witnesses for evidence in the selected two police institutions in Oromia Regional State, particularly West Shoa Zone (Ambo City administration and Dire Inchini) police institutions. Specifically, it was to:

- Investigate how discourse is used to establish rapport between police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees).
- Identify the discursive strategies and patterns police officers (investigators) employ to establish and maintain asymmetrical distribution of power.
- Examine discourse control strategies the interviewees/witnesses are using to overcome challenges and suppress impositions during the interviews.
- Identify the major sources of power for the police interviewers at the police institutions.
- Find out factors that affect the dynamics of discourse during the police – witness interviews.
- Explore how witnesses perceive the roles of police investigators in the police institutions.

For this purpose, the multifaceted analytic approach which involves Conversation Analysis (CA), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Pragmatics had been used to deal with the data obtained through audio taping and extended interviews. It came up with a number of insights presented, interpreted and discussed in Chapter four. This last chapter therefore is intended to summarize the major findings that emerged from the analysis of the qualitative data collected for the study. Finally, based on the summary, it draws conclusions, findings, recommendations and implications.

5.1 Summary of the Research Findings

Rapport is a critical step in the development of a professional relationship between an officer (a police officer) and a non-professional (a witness) to increase the accuracy of witness recall (Vallano and Compo, 2011). A better rapport should be established and maintained to influence the quality and outcome of police interviews. This is because the success of police

interviews reflects, in part, how well the witness and interviewer interact with each other. Ideally, the interviewer must gain the witness's trust as someone who is concerned about the personal welfare of the witness and is not seen only as an evidence _ gatherer (Fisher and et al, 2010). The finding obtained from the analysis of the data transcripts do not show this.

- The interview discourses during the opening phase of the police – witness interviews indicated that rapport creation of the police were only based on asking for the names, ages, address (residential areas) and reasons why the interviewees appear at the police institutions. Besides, these questions were raised to the interviewees not in a very relaxing and inviting or friendly manner. Rather, they were observed to be asked using a very frustrating tone of utterances. The police interviewers were the only accessible body to the opening of the interview and the interviewees were only accessible to respond to what was raised from the police interviewers. Hence, all the interviewees seem that they were not relaxed because they were implicitly told to be passive receivers of the questions and only respondents to the questions raised. The discourses used by the police interviews were not relaxing and not to establish a good rapport in the interactions. This shows that the police interviewers merely focused on information gathering than creating good rapport that makes the interviewees (witnesses) relaxed and increase their accuracy for recall. In short, there was gap among the police interviewers in establishing a better rapport.
- The other interesting area of analysis in this study was about the relationships or the dynamics of power among the participants in the interactions, the interaction between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) in this context. This is related to the issue of who had a greater power or who had less power in the interactions. The power relationship among the participants (the police and the witnesses) in police institutions under study was very asymmetrical. Both the power behind language (discourse) that involve the police interviewers' possession of a weapon, high social status, assigned roles and higher institutional authority and the power in discourse that was exercised through the face to face interactions during the interviews were in favor of the police interviewers than the witnesses (the interviewees) who were at the receiving end.

- In this study context, police _ witness interview discourse or the language of interactions during the interview that was used by the participants of the interactions, especially by the police interviewers was to achieve the intended goals of the institution, rather than establishing good rapport with the witnesses. As the central focus was gathering information (evidence), usually the police interviewers used languages or discourses that favored the gathering of the necessary evidence and the goals of the police institutions. This has made the interactions to incline in asymmetry towards the police interviewers. This created dynamics of interaction that was revealed through discourse or language to establish power relationship between the participants. Thus, it was generally the police interviewers who controlled the interactions, possessing the authority, invested in them by the institution they represented, to constrain the interviewees and by the face to face interactions through which they exercised power in discourse. To enact, establish and maintain the asymmetrical distribution of power, the police interviewers employed different discursive strategies and patterns.
- A. Interruptions were considered as signs of assertions of power in the police _witness interview discourse of the study. They were linguistic features used as a discourse control strategies by the police interviewers who were the interlocutors to have power, control and dominance over the interviewees (witnesses) in the interviews (in the interactions). Not all participants in the interactions had equal access to all resources of discourses. The presence of asymmetries between the police interviewers and the interviewees favored the participants with institutional power or authority over the other ones. Likewise, the police interviewers used frequent interruptions to influence the participant's (interviewee's) participations in the interactions. Interruptions were used by the police interviewers as a means to dominate more turns to talk. This search for more turns in itself provided the police interviewers a better access to exploit the discourses that enabled them to exercise power. On the other hand, interruptions were used by the police interviewers to limit the interviewee's chance to use the proper turn sequences in the interactions. At this point, the police interviewers used the power to control

the time when the interviewees have to speak and not to speak in the process of interactions.

Because the interactions in the extracts focused on the gathering of information (evidence) about the committed crime, the police interviewers used mechanisms to control or manage the direction of the interactions. They did this through the manipulation of the interviewees' discourses or utterances. On the other hand, it has been through the police officers' interruptions and shaping of the interviewees' utterances (discourses) that the necessary information was aimed to be obtained. The rules of turn-taking were designed to help conversations take place smoothly between the participants, however, the discourses of the police – witness interviews during the information gathering phase indicated that repeated interruptions were used to violate the turn takings of the interviewees during the interactions. This implies that interruptions were used as means to control the interviewees' interactions and to achieve the desired goals. In this way, the police interviewers generally controlled the flow of information, and regulated the talking and much of the thinking thereby relegating the witnesses to playing a passive role, namely to answer the interviewers' questions.

B. The police – witness interview discourse, as observed in the transcriptions, has a very ordered turn – taking under the control of the police interviewers' and witnesses' suppress. The turn taking system was confining. In a friendly conversation among relative equals, whoever currently has the floor has the right to select the next speaker. However, this did not seem to work in the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses in this study. This was because the interviews were more structured interactions with power asymmetries. That was why the persons with power (the police interviewers) in this context had the right to direct all the conversational traffic. Only the police interviewers were very accessible to the resource of the discourse that manipulates and shapes the utterance of the interviewees. The interactions were influenced by the action pre-allocation that involved the restriction of one party (the police interviewer) to asking or initiating questions and the other (the witnesses/interviewees) to

responding. Accordingly, the witnesses' utterances were severely restricted by the police interviewers. This implies that who should speak, when to speak and the types of contribution to be made were determined by the police interviewers. The general implications in the exchanges showed that although the turn taking structures were expected to be in the order of IR _ IE and both participants were expected to use or exploit their own turns, there appeared the interruptions and taking of the interviewees' turns by the police interviewers.

C. Scholars like Searle (1969:168) explain that speaking or communication using language involves performing different speech acts. Schiffrin (2005:5) also tells us that speech acts tell us to some extent what the speaker intends to do using language in interactions. Likewise, the police _ witness interview discourses in the extracts from the police _ witness interview interactions also indicated that questioning was primarily used by the police interviewers as a basic resource to gather information from the other participants (the witnesses) in the interactions. This shows that most of the police interviewers' utterances at the initiation stages were related to questions. Of course, these initiations of the police interviewers in the interactions involved different types of questions that were used for different purposes. The use of different modes of questioning also indicated the relationship (the gap) that exists between the questioners and the respondents (intimacy, status or social distance, and authority).

D. Common asking/ interrogative forms used by police (in the form of 'WH' Questions) were used as resources for the police interviewers/ investigators as a mechanism of instructional controlling to the discourses in the interviews. On the other hand, 'WH' questions or questions that involve (who, whom, when, where, what, which, why, and how) were frequently employed in the extracts by the police interviewers during the interviews. Where the police interviewers needed specific information such as names of persons who involved in the occasion (crime), the specific time at which the crime happened, the specific places where

the crime happened, and which person involved in the incident, the police interviewers employed questions that begin with 'who', 'when', 'where', 'which', and 'whom'. These kinds of questions are almost closed types of questions which do not provide full freedom for the interviewees. The implicit power of the police interviewers to constrain the interviewees, and narrow down the freedom of narration was exercised using these kinds of questions. In cases where the police interviewers felt not satisfied with the short answers, they used 'WH' questions that could invite a narration from the interviewees or detailed explanations to yield better information. In short, in the police _ witness interviews transcriptions in the study, language was used as a means of creating asymmetry. This asymmetry has made the participants to position themselves. Accordingly, the police interviewers considered themselves as questioners where as the interviewees (witnesses) were made to assign themselves to only respondents.

- E. Police interviewers in the interview extracts used not only questioning as a means to gather information from the interviewees. They were also main actors of ordering (commanding) the interviewees to speak (utter) in the interactions. This means they used ordering or commanding as illocutionary acts in the interviews during the interactions. In these kinds of utterances, the police interviewers used imperative sentences. These imperative sentences were mainly used by the police interviewers to substantiate the information that the interviewers failed to gather through questioning. Furthermore, the police interviewers also used imperative sentences to show their status or gap that also implies that they had power to urge the interviewees to speak even when they hesitated to speak or did not want to speak. In other words, the witnesses were coerced into accepting the order and obeying the command by the police interviewers.
- F. In their interview interactions with the interviewees (witnesses), the police interviewers used alternative questions (Yes/ No) questions to indicate their intentions to constrain the interviewees (witnesses) from speaking wider than the given alternatives. The police interviewers used this chance to control or manage the boundary of the interviewees' utterances. All the utterances were used to narrow

down the interviewees' possibilities to access to the production and explanation of situations. It shows that the police interviewers limited or controlled how much the interviewees had to speak. Hence, it was difficult for the interviewees to speak on issues which were not dictated by the interviewers. Hence, the police interviewers used alternative questions as a means to constrain or control the speeches of the interviewees (witnesses). The interviewees were only accessible to one of the two given options by the police interviewers. The police interviewers narrowed the topics or agendas for discussions. This constraining on the other hand showed the power relationship between the police interviewers and the interviewees. This is because the police interviewer played great roles in shaping the interaction through the authority, status and power embedded in the language (discourse) used in the interactions.

- G.** Other than the direct questioning (interrogative questions) and commanding (imperative sentences), syntactically different sentences were also used as information gathering tool by the police interviewers. They also used utterances that were structured in declarative forms. Though not in direct questions (they are declaratives), the contexts in which the police interviewers used the utterances shows that they were asking for confirmation of the proposition. This confirmation was expected from the response of the interviewees (witnesses). In these situations, the interviewers were supported by meta_ linguistic features like loud sounds with raised intonations as a means of providing clue for the interviewees that he seeks confirmation on what has been asked before.
- H.** In the Police – witness interview discourses analyzed from the extracts, it could be realized that the police interviewers had the first go to set the agenda for the subsequent discussions with the participants (interviewees/witnesses) in this study. This means that the police interviewers were sources of the agenda for the interactions. They controlled the interactions through the authority they represent to constrain interviewees' utterances where necessary and where to control the topics that were discussed during the interactions in the interviews.

Issues of who has to ask, what to ask (the agenda in hand), how to ask (the technique to be used), why to ask (the reason behind), when to ask, and where to ask were resources accessible to only police interviewers. On the other hand, the discourses of topic selection and controlling of the interactions were dominated by the police interviewers in the interactions during the interviews. Hence, it is possible to conclude that topics selection and control was used by the police interviewers in the interviews to shape or manage the directions in the discourse.

- The analysis of the interview transcripts indicated that witnesses were dominated by the police interviewers during the interviews, however, there were efforts made by these interviewees to minimize the impositions of the interviewers through different strategies. Accordingly, evading from the main agenda of the interviews (intentional digressions), shifting topics, pauses and disagreements with the interviewers' ideas were merely used by the witnesses as strategies to minimize the imposition from the interviewers.
- The power of the police interviewers during the emerge basically from the face to face interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses (interviewees). Besides, the power emerged from the institutional goals or objectives that were expected to be achieved. Hence, it is possible to say that the two major aspects of power _ power behind the discourse (the power invested to the police interviewers by the institution and other police features like the presence of uniform, weapon, military style) and the power in discourse (the power of discourse revealed through face to face interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses) during the crime investigations as stated by Fairclough (1989) were the sources of power for the police interviewers in the study.
- The analysis of the transcripts of the police witness interviews and respondents in the study indicated that the dynamics of interactions between the police interviewers and the interviewees were influenced by different conditions. The police interviewers were given the greatest power to control the interactions; however, the interviewees seem to be only

respondents to the questions raised. Both the police_witness interview discourses in the extracts and the extended interview resources could imply that at least three things seem to affect the dynamics of interactions. First, the police interviewers were given discursive roles of questioning, selecting topics for discussions or managing the discussions whereas the witnesses were given the roles of respondents. Hence, the discursive roles given to the participants have affected / influenced the dynamics of interactions in the interviews. This has been clearly observed in the features that indicated the dominance of the police interviewers over the interviewees in all aspects.

- The study indicated that the police interviewers were institutionally given higher status whereas the witnesses/interviewees who were subjected to control, restriction, and interruptions by the police interviewers were not in similar status with the police interviewers. This was another factor that influenced the dynamics of the interactions during the interviews.
- Power and knowledge are inseparably interrelated. This means those with knowledge also possess power to influence others. However, not all people are equipped with similar knowledge. The knowledge the police interviewers had about law, crime, crime investigations or legal procedures was higher than the other non police or non judicial members in the society. Hence, there was a wide gap of knowledge between the police and the witnesses. This clearly showed the presence of asymmetry (unequal distribution) of knowledge and power between the participants of the interactions (the police interviewers and the interviewees). There was no equal access to knowledge about relevant organizational procedures that in turn indicated the difference in comparative knowledge.
- The way the society members who are non police or not members of the judicial system perceive police has its own roles on the efficiency or inefficiency of the crime investigations. From the police – witness interview excerpts and the extended interview extracts in this study, it could be understood that the police interviewers were perceived as persons who have

the right to do everything. It seems that they have misperceived the roles of the police. This misperception gave rise to the respondents to have undermined themselves by giving every power, right, dignity, status, freedom, and knowledge only to the police interviewers or have given a very lower status for themselves. The interviewees (respondents) believe that the police have the power or right that can be over used to influence other persons as they want. It was likely for this fact that there had been a rare case of challenge, question, refutation or argument against what had been raised by the police interviewers observed in the interactions of interviewees with the police interviewers

5.2 Conclusion

The analysis of the data shows that the opening phases of the interviews indicated that rapport creations of the police interviewers were only based on asking for the names, ages, address (residential areas) and reasons why the interviewees appear at the police institutions. This shows that the police interviewers merely focused on information gathering than using a better language or discourse that helps to establish a better rapport that makes the interviewees (witnesses) relaxed and increase their accuracy for recall. Hence, from this, it can be concluded that there was gap from the side of the police interviewers in using a better and relaxing discourses during the beginning of the interviews with the witnesses.

The analysis of the data also indicated that there was power asymmetry that favored the police interviewers and that constrained the witnesses (interviewees) from exploiting the discourses well to express their feeling freely. Generally, the police interviewers controlled the interactions possessing as they do the authority, invested in them by the institutions they represent, to constrain the interviewees. This was revealed through frequent interruptions of the witnesses' utterances, controlling of the turns of the interviewees, interactional sequences and the topics (the agenda). This implies that interruptions were used as means to control the interviewees' interactions and to achieve the desired goals. In this way, the police interviewers generally controlled the flow of information, and regulated all the talking and

much of the thinking thereby relegating the witnesses to playing a passive role, namely to answer the interviewers' questions.

Most of the police interviewers' utterances at the initiation stages were related to questions. These questions were mainly based on interrogative forms used in the form of 'WH'. Questions that involve (who, when, where, what, which, whom why, and how) were frequently employed in the extracts by the police interviewers during the interviews. Except the last two (why and how), the rest questions are almost closed types of questions which did not provide full freedom for the interviewees. On the other hand, the implicit power of the police interviewers to constrain the interviewees, and narrow down the freedom of narration was exercised using (Who, when, where, what, which, whom) where as the open ended questions that enforce the witnesses to narrate a lot or give more information were used through (why, and how). In short, in the police _ witness interviews, the police interviewers considered themselves as questioners where as the interviewees (witnesses) assigned themselves to only respondents.

In addition to the 'WH' questions, the data in the interview extracts and its analysis also indicated that the police interviewers used alternative questions (Yes/ No) questions to indicate their intentions to constrain the interviewees (witnesses) from speaking wider than the given alternatives. The police interviewers used this chance to control or manage the boundary of the interviewees' utterances.

The analysis of the data in the interview extracts indicated that not only questioning was used by the police interviewers as a means to gather information from the interviewees. They were also main actors of ordering (commanding) the interviewees to speak (utter) in the interaction. They used ordering or commanding as an illocutionary acts in the interview during the interactions. For this to happen, the police interviewers used imperative sentences to show their status (position) and to substantiate the information that the interviewers fail to gather through questioning.

The police interviewers were the only participants who were accessible to the resources of setting all the agendas (selections of the topics) for the discussions. All things about what have to be asked, how they should be asked, when to ask them, and where to ask were

accessible only to the police interviewers. They controlled the interactions through the authority they represent to constrain interviewees and control the topics that were discussed during the interactions in the interviews.

The institutional status given to the police interviewers, the perceptions the witnesses have towards police institutions and the police itself, the professional knowledge the police interviewers possessed in crime investigation or police science, and the discursive roles given to the police interviewers affected the interactions between the police interviewers and the witnesses contributing dominance and power for the police interviewers and constraining the witness.

The roles the witnesses had in the interactions to control or resist the police interviewers initiations were very restricted. In some of the instances, they of course tried to use strategies to evade from speaking what the police interviewers wanted to hear through quieter voices, pauses and diversions of their speeches to escape from the interviewers' focus; however, these instances by themselves were influenced by the interviewers' discourses.

To conclude it, the data in the interview extracts indicated that there were power asymmetries that favored the police interviewers in the interactions. These power and control were expressed using different strategies. In the beginnings of the interactions, the police interviewers did not worry about establishing a better rapport with the interviewees. They used interruptions to constrain the utterances of the witnesses and used the opportunity to take the floor of the turn taking. The police interviewers used questioning and commanding as resources to control the interactions and to gather information. Selecting the topics or setting the agenda for the interactions was also used as a discourse strategy to impose the interviewees. The discursive roles given to them, their status, relative knowledge (differential distribution of knowledge) and access to conversational resources played great roles in influencing the whole interaction during the interviews. The misperception of the witnesses about the police interviewers' roles which includes the attitude that police interviewers omnipotent (can do everything) to the

witnesses during the interaction also contributed its role to make the police interviewer to influence the witnesses more.

5.3.Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, it appears to be reasonable to make the following suggestions as agenda for action:

- Police interviewers need to establish a better rapport with the interviewees or witnesses before they go into the interview proper. This is because a better rapport helps to build professional relationship between police interviewers and non – non professionals (witnesses) to influence the quality and outcome of police interviews.
- Poor investigative interviewing affects people’s perceptions of the criminal justice system. It is of no value to anyone; it is a waste of time, resources and money. People will not come forward if they have no confidence in the quality of investigators’ interviewing techniques.” No one wins (Milne & Bull, 1999:191). It yields poor information that may not have of value for the judicial process. The poor interviewing practices are possibly due to a lack of trainings, supervisions, and feedbacks for police interviewers. Hence, police organizations must implement comprehensive trainings on language technicalities, fundamental interviewing, and best practices for the police in general and for the crime investigators in particular to develop effective interviewers and to support the judicial procedure with reliable evidence.
- For police interviews to be effective, investigators must communicate their professional, investigative needs to the witness. Witnesses must also communicate their knowledge of the crime to the investigator. This is because ineffective communication leads witnesses to withhold valuable information or provides irrelevant, imprecise and/or incorrect answers. To solve these problems the police interviewers must avoid unethical behaviors such as making threats or promises or using coercive and oppressive tactics.
- People (the society) should be given awareness through short trainings that police should be respected as far as they are also members of the community but trained to

protect crime, arrest suspects, and gather the necessary information from the necessary sources like suspects and witnesses through oral investigation. However, equally they should be oriented that they need not frustrate to express their feelings freely without evading from the realities on the ground.

- The police interviewers should give opportunities to the witnesses (interviewees) to narrate freely to express their feelings than constraining or interrupting them. This is because it is difficult to assume that the police interviewers fail to get the necessary information if they wait till the interviewees finish their speeches.
- Further studies must be conducted on the relationship between the police interviewers and the interviewees (witnesses) in the police _ witness interviews. Based on these studies a comprehensive and uniform national training model should be developed to strengthen the crime investigation effective and improve the interviewees' freedom of narration and quality of recall during the interview.

5.4 Implications

5.4.1 Implications for Practice

Constitutionally, any evidence obtained under linguistic coercion shall not be admissible. The constitution also supports ethical and legal conducts. However, practically observed in the interview extracts in the police _ witness interview discourses, there had been power asymmetries, supported by the repeated interruptions of the witnesses' utterances, over takings of the turn takings, controlling of the agendas for discussions, loud sounds or raised intonations. This implies the presence of gap between the participants in interactions during the interviews in the police institutions. Hence, there should be a clear guideline about the roles and responsibilities for the police interviewers and the interviewees to make the crime investigation effective and the information gathered more reliable. Besides, there should be supervision and monitoring of the crime investigation process by the police organizations.

5.4.2 Implications for Policy

For poor countries like Ethiopia, the need for using research results as resources to improve the holistic development of the country is very necessary. However, the practices of using research results to disseminate and solve practical problems are less exploited. Thus, the practice of dumping research resources on shelves should be discouraged. The research findings need to be potential resources or inputs for the policy makers to have a well developed policy and for all stakeholders to make use of it. Hence, the implication here is that, this study results are expected to play their significant roles to the policy developments and effective crime investigations.

5.4.3. Implications for Further Study

The results of this study highlight the presence of a power asymmetry revealed in discourses between the police interviewers and the witnesses, the strategies used by the police interviewers to exercise this power and the factors that affected the interactions between the participants. Crime investigation does not merely include gathering of information from the witnesses. It further needs the interactions between the police interviewers and the suspects or the victims. There exists a wide research gap in this area. The presence of study results in all the mentioned areas (the police, the victims, the suspects, and the witnesses) provides a holistic nature of the interactions that help the police organizations and the policy developers in the judicial systems. Hence, the interactional culture or the dynamics between these parts need to be studied. This is to mean they need further investigations.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Transcription Key

The transcription conventions used in this study are common to conversation analytic research. Hence, the transcriptions of data for this study are based those developed by Gail Jefferson (1984) and used by Wooffitt, 2005: 211-212) with slight adaptation. The following symbols are used in the data.

- (.) Small pause/micro pause/pause shorter than two seconds
- (-) Longer pause (number of dashes indicates relative length)
- .hh Audible speaker in-breath (number of 'h's indicates relative length/ the more 'h's, the longer the in-breath)
- hh Audible out-breath /the more 'h's the longer the breath.
- (()) A non-verbal behavior/ activity.
- ? Rising intonation, not necessarily a question
- . Falling intonation, not necessarily the end of an utterance
- , 'Continuing' intonation /flat intonation not necessarily between clauses
- [] Overlapping talk
- : Lengthened sound
- () An unclear fragment on the tape.
- (guess) The transcriber's best guess at an unclear fragment.
- Under Indicate speaker emphasis.
- ↓↑ A marked falling or rising intonational shift. They are placed immediately before the onset of the shift.
- CAPITALS a section of speech noticeably louder than that surrounding it / with the exception of proper nouns
- > < That the talk they encompass was produced noticeably quicker than the surrounding talk.
- o o Degree signs are used to indicate that the talk they encompass is spoken noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk.

Appendix B: Police – Witness Interview Transcript

Transcript 1

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. IR: MAQAAKE? | 1. IR: YOUR NAME? |
| 2. IE: (.) | 2. IE: (.) |
| 3. IR: Maqaakee guutuu natti himi | 3. Tell me your full name. |
| 4. IE: (Likkiisaa) Dirribaa. | 4. IE: (Likisa) Diriba. |
| 5. IR: (Likkiisaa) Dirribaa eenyuu? | 5. IR: (Likkiisaa) Diriba's
father's name? |
| 6. IE: Dirribaa Badhaadhaa | 6. IE: Diriba Badada |
| 7. IR: Umuriike. | 7. IR: Your age. |
| 8. IE: Digdamii ja'a | 8. IE: Twenty six |
| 9. IR: Lammiinkee maalinni? | 9. IR: What is your citizineship? |
| 10. IE: hh (.) hojii? | 10. IE: hh (.) work? |
| 11. IR: <u>Lammiinkee</u> ; maa: linnii:? | 11. IR: Wha:t is <u>you:r citizineship</u> ? |
| 12. IE: Lammiin Oromoodha | 12. IE: The citizenship is Oromo |
| 13. IR: Godina kami? | 13. IR: Which Zone? |
| 14. IE: ⁰ Godina shawaa lixaa ⁰
⁰ Godina Shawaa lixa ⁰ | 14. IE: ⁰ West Shoa Zone ⁰
⁰ West Shoa Zone ⁰ |
| 15. IR: Sagaleekee: OLKAASIKAA: | 15. IR: RA:ISE you:r voice |
| 16. IE: GODINA SHAWA LIXA
(0.4) | 16. IE: WEST SHOA ZONE
(0.4) |
| 17. IR: Aanaanoo? | 17. IR: What about woreda? |
| 18. IR: Aanaa? | 18. IR: Woreda? |
| 19. IE: Aanaan Tikur Incinnii | 19. IE: The woreda is Tikur Inchini |
| 20. IR: Dirree Incinniimoo? Xiqur Incinnii. | 20. IR: Is it Dirre Inchini? o:r
Tikur Inchini. |
| 21. IE: DIRREE Incinnii. Dirree Incinnii. | 21. IE: DIRRE Inchini. Dire Inchini. |
| 22. IR: Ganda kami? | 22. IR: Which Kebele? |
| 23. IE: Duwwaa tokko
(0.2) | 23. IE: Zero one
(0.2) |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 24. IR ₂ : Maal? duwwaa: tokko | 24. IR ₂ : Wha:t zero: one |
| 25. IR: Maal, duwwaa, tokko | 25. IR: Wha:t zero one |
| 26. IE: Ganda duwwaa tokko
(0.4) | 26. IE: Kebele zero one
(0.4) |
| 27. IR: Amboomoo:?
Gudar duwwaa tokko.
(0.2) | 27. IR: Ambo? o: r Guder zero one.
(0.2) |
| 28. IE: Aanaa Xiqur Incinnii
ganda duwwaa tokko | 28. IE: Tikur Inchini Woreda kebele
zero one |
| 29. IR: <u>Magaalli</u> kun <u>maal?</u> jedhamaa: dha | 29. IR: The question is
<u>what?</u> is thi:s <u>town</u> ca::lled |
| 30. IR : Dirree Incinniimoo:?
Xiqur Incinnii jedhamaa: | 30. IR: Is it called Dirre
Inchini? O:r Tikur Inchini |
| 31. IE: Dirree Incinnii | 31. IE: Dirre Inchini |
| 32. IR: Magaallisaahoo? Maa:l jedhama? | 32. IR: What about the town? Wha:t
is it called? |
| 33. IE: Magaallisaa? | 33. IE: The town? |
| 34. IR: .hh | 34. IR: .hh |
| 35. IE: Addis katamaa
(0.2) | 35. IE: Addis Ketema
(0.2) |
| 36. IR: Lakkofsa bilbilaa qabdaa? | 36. IR: Do you have phone number? |
| 37. IE: Eeyyee. | 37. IE: Yes. |
| 38. IR: Eenyu himattuun? | 38. IR: Who is the complaint? |
| 39. IE: Tsiggee Kumalaa | 39. IE: Tsige Kumela |
| 40. IR: Tsigee Kumalaa,
Himatamtootnoo? | 40. IR: Tsige Kumela, what
about the defendants? |
| 41. IE: Badhaadhee (.) Badhaadhaafii (.) | 41. IE: Bedade (.) Bedada and (.) |
| 42. IR: .h | 42. IR: .h |
| 43. IR: Himatamtuu tokkoffaan eenyu? | 43. IR: Who is the first defendant |
| 44. IE: Badhaadhee Badhaadhaa | 44. IE : Bedade Bedada |
| 45. IR: Lammaffaa? | 45. IR: The second? |

46. IE: Miimmii Likkumaa
 47. IR: Ta'uu Beekta.
 48. IE: Eeyee
 49. IR: Jibbaaf firooma irraa qabdaa?
 (0.4)
 50. IE: Lakki irraa hin qabu
 ollummaa malee.
 51. IR: Maaliif dhufte? har'a.
 52. IE: Himata (-) Tsige Kumalaa fi (.)
 53. IR: .h h
 54. IE: Himatamaa aaddee Badhaadhee
 Badhaadhaa fi
 55. IR: .hh ((gidduutti kuteen)) namatu
 Wallolee? mee waanan sigaafadhu.
 56. IR: Isaan gidduutti maal beekta?
 57. IE: Isaan gidduuttii: (--) ani
 manakoon Jiraa (-) wacini kaanaan
 dhufee yeroon dhufu
 wallolaa jiruu jechaadha.
 58. IR₂: Yoomi? ((gidduutti kuteen))
 59. IR: Gaafa guyyaa meeqaati?
 60. IE: Guyyaa sadii
 61. IE: Sadii ((gidduutti kutteen))
 Ji'a meeqa?
 62. IE: Ji'a lama
 63. IR: Barroo?
 64. IE: Kuma lamaafi saddeti.
- 46.IE: Mimi Likuma
 47. IR: You know this.
 48. IE: Yes
 49. IR: Do you have hate and
 relation with them persons?
 (0.4)
 50. IE: No. I haven't but only
 Neighbourhood.
 51. IR: Why you are here? today.
 52. IE: To complain about (-)
 Tsige Kumela and (.)
 53. IR: .hh
 54. IE: Defendant wro. Bedade
 Bedada and
 55. IR: .hh ((Interrupted)) what I
 ask you is did people quarrel?
 56. IR: What do you know about
 them?
 57. IE: In between the::m (--)I was
 at my house (-) I heard
 shouting and went there When
 I arrived, they were quarreling.
 58. IR₂: When? ((interrupted))
 59. IR: On which date?
 60. IE: Three
 61. IR: P: Three ((interrupted))
 how many month?
 62.IE: Two months
 63. IR: The year?
 64. IE: Two thousand eight.

65. IR: Guyyaamoo? halkani.
66. IE: Guyyaa:
67. IR: Tilmaamaan sa'atii meeqa? ta'a.
68. IE: Ja'a
(0.18) ((gad jettee barreessaa turte
Sagaleen muuziqaa duubaan
nidhagahama))
69. IR: Aanaa kam keessatti?
70. IE: (Aanaa) (.) duwwaa tokko.
Incinnii
71. IR: ((interrupted)) HINSODAATII: NII:?
dubbaddhuu::
72. IE: Incinnii duwwaa tokko
73. IR: Bakkisaa maal jedhama?
74. IE: Addis Katamaa
75. IR: Bakkisunoo: MAA: L jedhama?
76. IE: Addis Katamaa
(0.8)
77. IR: Iyya dhageessee
yogguu baatu maal argite? egaa:
78. IE: Yeroon Iyya dhagahee:
dhufu wallolaa [jiruu] akkasumas
79. IR: [Iyye,] (Gidduutti kutteen)
Eenyutu iyyee?
80. IE: [Maatii isaaniitu]
iyyee jechuudha.
65. IR: During the day or the night?
66. IE: The day
67. IR: By assumption, what time
was it?
68. IE: Six
(0.18) (bow down and wrote))
music sound from the back ground))
69. IR: In which woreda?
70. IE: (Woreda) (.) Zero one
Inchini
71. IR: ((interrupted)) DO: N'T
AFRAI:? D spea:: k it out
72. IE: Inchini zero one
73. IR: What is the place what
is it called?
74. IE: Addis Ketema
75. IR: WHA:T about the place
what is the Place called?
76. IE: Addis Ketema
(0.8)
77. IR: when you came
out hearing the shout,
what did you see? the: n
78. IE: When I came hearing
the shout, they [were]
quarreling and
79. IR: [shouted] (interrupted) who
shouted?
80. IE: That means, [it is their
family] who shouted.

81. IR: [Miidhamtuumoo:?)
((Gidduutti kuteen))
nama dirmatetu iyye.

82. IE : h

83. IR: Miidhamtuumoo:: nama
dirmatetu iyye?

84. IE: Maatiidhuma warra
miidhamee:tu iyyee jechuudha

85. IR: Maal argiteree?

86. IE: Yeroon dhufu wallolaa
jiruu baqqaa waan adda
gochuudhaaf idduu galu
addaa harkaa (.) Birqee
Dachaasaatti kan isheen in the
hands of (.)Birke kan isheen
qopheessitee: jirtu harkatti
rukuttee:: jechuudha.

(0.6

87. IR: Eenyutu qabee:: eenyutu
kun lamaan. Eenyutu
rukutee:?, eenyutummoo:: maal
godhe mee: ifa godhii nutti himi.

88. IE: Garuu isaan sana yennaan
dhufuu jaartii qabaniitu namoonni
biraas achi harkisaa jiruu ishee
sanammoo: nabiratti [rukutte]

89. IR: (Gidduutti dubbate) JALQABA
eenyutu rukute?

100.IE: Jalqaba ?

101.IR: .hh

102.IE: (ii) Miimmiitu rukutee

81. IR: ((interrupted)) was [the
victim o: r?] people who
arrived for help that shouted.

82. IE: h

83. IR: Who shouted? the victim
o::r those who arrived for he

84. IE: That means the family of
the victim: ms shouted

85. IR: Then, what did you see?

86. IE: As I arrived, they were
quarreling. When I came yeroon
in between them do different
things, she beat what was
Dechasa.

(0.6)

87. IR: Who ca::ught, who beat?
Who::beat and who di: d
what? Tell us clearly.

98. IE: Of course,by the time
I arrived, other people were
dragging and she [beat] tha: t
old lady in front of me.

99. IR: (interrupted) Who beat
her FIRST?

100. IE: First?

101. IR: .hh

102. IE: (ii) I mean, Mimi beat her.

jechuudha. Miimmii [Likkumaa]	[Mimi Likuma]
103.IR: [Himatamtuu]	103. IR: The first [defendant]
tokkoffaamnoo:Lammaffaa.	o:r the second defendant.
104.IE: Himatamtuu lammaffaa	104. IE: The second defendant
105. IR: Maaliin rukutte?	105. IR: With what she beat?
106. IE: Falaxaa (qarsaan)	106. IE: With stick (spilt wood)
107. IR: Eessashee rukutte?	107. IR: Which part of her body did she beat?
108. IE: Sammuudha (0.15)	108. IE: The head (0.15)
109. IR: Mataashee sammuu walakkaa rukuttee? Mataa eenyuu?	109. IR: Did she beat in the middle of her head? Whose head?
110. IE: Tsiggee Kumalaa	110. IE: Tsige Kumela
111. IR: Mataashee sammuu walakkaadhaa? (--)	111. IR: Is it in the middle of her head? (--) Then what happened to the
Bakki rukutame	area beaten ?
sun maal ta'eree? ((sagalee muziqaa duubarraa))	((music noise from the background))
112. IE: Hin madaa'ee -	112. IE: Wounded - (Interrupted)
113. IR: Hin (du'i) - dhiita'emoo?: hin dhiigee?	113. IR: Did (it die) swell o?:r bleed?
114. IE: Hindhiige	114. IE: It bled
115. IR: Dabalataan bakka rukutte qabdii ? himatamituun lammaffaan kun mataa malee	115. IR: Did this second defendant beat additional places than head?
116. IE: <u>Kanumaan</u> arge ani	116. IE: I saw <u>only this</u>
117. IR: Himatamtuun tokkoffaanoo Badhaadheen waansheen rukttee argiteettaa?	117. IR: Did you see who the first defendant, Bedade beat?

118. IR: Himatamtuu tokkoffaanoo? 118. IR: What about the first defendant?
119. IE: Achi ishee qabaniitu 119. IE: Other persons caught
- namoonni gara biraa (waannii, ii...) her and she had been (.)
- jedhaa jirti malee isheedhaa saying, ii. [I haven't seen]
- rukutu [hinarginee] her while beating.
120. IR: Hin argine 120. IR: You didn't see [her beating].
- [Isheedhaa rukutu].
121. IE: Eeyee 121. IE: Yes
122. IR: Gocha isheen 122. IR: You didn't see actions
- raawwatte hinargine ati. she did.
123. IE: Badhaadheen? 123. IE: Bedade?
124. IR: .h 124. IR: .h
125. IE: Eeyee 125. IE: Yes
126. IR: Isheen Rukutushee 126. IR: You didn't see her while
- Hinagarre beating.
127. IE: Ee isheen rukutushee 127. IE: Yes. I didn't see her
- hinagarre. while beating.
- (0.15) (0.15)
128. IR: Kanuma beektaa? 128. IR: You only know this?
129. IE: Ee kanuman beeka. 129. IE: Yes. I know only this.
130. IR: Koottu Mallatteesi. 130. IR: Come and sign.
131. IE: ⁰Eessatti⁰ 131. IE: Where?
132. IR: Kunuu asitti. 132. IR: Here.

Transcript 2

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. IR (F): Maqaakee natti himi | 1. IR: Tell me your name |
| 2. IE: ⁰ Tasfaayee ⁰ | 2. IE: ⁰ Tesfaye ⁰ |
| 3. IR: Tasfaayee eenyuuti? | 3. IR: Tesfaye who? |
| 4. IE: Baayyisaa, | 4. IE: Bayisa, |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5. IR: Baayisaa eenyuu? | 5. IR: Bayisa who? |
| 6. IE: Qana'aa | 6. IE: Bayisa Kenea |
| 7. IR: h | 7. IR: h |
| 8. IE: BAAYYISAA Qana'aa. | 8. IE: BAYISA Kanea. |
| 9. IR: Umuriinkee meeqa? | 9. IR: How old are you? |
| 10. IE: Digdamii sagal. | 10. IE: Twenty nine. |
| 11. IR: <u>Digdamii</u> sagal | 11. IR. <u>Twenty</u> nine. |
| 12. IR: Hojiinkeewoo? | 12. IR: What about your job? |
| 13. IE: Hojiinkoo: daldalaadha | 13. IE: M:y job is trader |
| 14. IR: Teessoonkee eessa? | 14. IR: Your residence? |
| 15. IE: Dirree Incinnii. | 15. IE: Dirree Inchini. |
| 16. IR: Ganda kami? | 16. IR: Which kebele? |
| 17. IE: Gandaa: aa: duwwaa tokko | 17. IE: Kebele:ee zero one |
| 18. IR: Maa:l duwwaa tokko? | 18. IR: Wha:t zero one? |
| 19. IE: (.) Incinnii duwwaa tokko | 19. IE: (.) Inchini zero one |
| 20. IR: Lakkofsi manaa: jiraa? | 20. IR: Do you have house number? |
| 21. IE: Lakki hinfudhanne. | 21. IE: No, I didn't take. |
| 22. IR: Har'a waan dufteef beektaa:? | 22. IR: Do you know why
you have come today? |
| 23. IE: Eeyee: | 23. IE: Ye:s |
| 24. IR: Maalii:f dhufte? | 24. IR: Wh:y are you here? |
| 25. IE: Gocha Tsiggeefii: Miimmii
gidduutti raawwatameen mannii kun
sibarbaade jennaanan dhufe. | 25. IE: Because of the conflict
between Tsige a:nd Mimi,
I was requested to come here. |
| 26. IR: Raagaa taatee: | 26. IR: To: witness |
| 27. IE: Eeyee | 27. IE: Yes |
| 28. IR: Himattuun eenyunnii:: dha? | 28. IR: Who:: is the complainant? |
| 29. IE: Himattuun? Tsiggeedha. | 29. IE: The complainant? Tsige. |
| 30. IR: Tsiggee eenyuu? | 30. IR: Tsige who? |
| 31. IE: Kumalaa | 31. IE: Kumela |
| 32. IR: Himatamtootnoo:? | 32. IR: What about the defendants? |

33. IE: ⁰Miimmi⁰ Miimmii Likkumaa
 34. IR: Ishuma qofaa?
 35. IE: Eeyyee
 36. IR: Miimmii Likkumaa qofaa?
 37. IE: Jaartiinis bira jiru haati
 Badhaadheenii (.)garuu ani
 rukuchaasaanii hinargineefan
 lolicha keessa jiru.
 38. IR: Sadarkaa barumsakee,
 natti himi.
 39. IE: Torba
 40. IR: Kutaa torba?
 41. IE: .h
 42. IR: Lakkoofsa bilbilaa qabdaa?

 43. IE: h
 44. IR: Duwwaa? Sagal.
 45. IE: Afurtama.
 46. IR: Afurtama.
 47. IE: Shantamii toorba.
 48. IR: Shantamii:? toorba.
 49. IE: Duwwaa toorba.
 50. IR: Duwwaa? toorba
 51. IE: Soddonii sagal.
 52. IR: Himattuun eenyu? dha (--)
 himattuun eenyudha?
 53. IE: Tsiggee
 54. IR: Tsiggee eenyuuti?
 55. IE: Kumalaa
 56. IR: Himatamtoota,
 57. IE: ⁰Miimmii ⁰Likkumaa(--)

33. IE: ⁰Mimi⁰ Mimi Duguma
 34. IR: Is she the o:nly?
 35. IE: Yes
 36. IR: Only Mimi Duguma?
 37. IE: The old lady, Bedade's
 mother (.) was there. She
 was in the conflict but I
 didn't see her beating
 38. IR: Tell me your educational
 status.
 39. IE: Seven
 40. IR: Grade seven?
 41. IE: .h
 42. IR: Do you have telephone
 number?
 43. IE: h
 44. IR: Zero? Nine.
 45. IE: Forty.
 46. IR: Forty
 47. IE: Fifty seven.
 48. IR: Fift:y? seven.
 49. IE: Zero seven.
 50. IR: Zero? seven
 51. IE: Thirty nine
 52. IR: Who is the complaint?(--)
 Who is the defendant?
 53. IE: Tsige
 54. IR: Tsige who?
 55. IE: Kumela
 56. IR: The defendants,
 57. IE: ⁰Mimi⁰ Likuma (--)

((poolisiin barreessaa ture))
(0.16)

58. IR: (Ee) Badhadheenoo: yeroo gocha
isheen raawwatte hin argine jettee?
achi jiraachuu malee?

59. IE: [(Ee)]

60. IR: [Bira] jirti malee: waan isheengoote
hinjirtu mitii:?

61. IE: Maal ishee rukuchuuratti hinargin
((poolisiin gad jedhee barreessa ture))
(0.7)

62. IR: Badhaadhee eenyuuti?

63. IE: Badhaadhee? Badhaadhaa

64. IR: Ta'uu beekta.

65. IE: Eeyyee

66. IR: Isaan gidduuttii maal beektaree?

67. IE: Isaan gidduutti? walloluu.

68. IR₂: Gaafa kami?

69. IE: Hin wacuu. Kuma lamaafi
sagal Gaafa guyyaa sadiiti.

70. IR: Gaafa guyyaa sadii
Ji'a kami?

71. IE: Ji'a lammaffaa
(0.18) ((sagalee waliin dubbii
poolisii fi nama biraa boodaan
dhagahama jira)

72. IR: Eessatti? gochichi kan raawwate.

73. IE: Asuma Dirree Incinniiti

74. IR: Aanaa Dirree Incinnii?

((the police was transcribing))
(0.16)

58. IR: (Ee) you said? you didn't
see Bedade while involving
in the action except being there?

59. IE: [(Ee)]

60. IR: [She was there] but she didn't
do anything?

61. IE: What I didn't see her while
beating. ((the police man
was transcribing))
(0.7)

62. IR: Bedade who?

63. IE: Bedade? Bedada

64. IR: You know this.

65. IE: Yes

66. IR: Then what do you know
about them?

67. IE: In between them? conflict.

68. IR₂: On which day?

69. IE: They shout. In two thousand
nine on day three.

70. IR: On day three which month?

71. IE: The second month
(0.18) ((another sound of police
interview is audible from the back))

72. IR: Where? did the action take place.

73. IE: Here in Dirre Inchini

74. IR: Dirre Inchini woreda?

75. IE: Eeyyee
 76. IR: Ganda kami?
 77. IE: Dirree lalistuu
 78. IR: Ganda kamii?:n jedhe
 79. IE: Duwwaa tokko
 80. IR: Maal: duwwaa tokko?
 81. IR: Incinnii maa biraa hanbistuu:
 isin? Gaafa guyyaa meeqaati kun?
 82. IE: Gaafa guyyaa sadii
 83. IR: Ji'a meeqa?
 84. IE: Ji'a lammaffaa
 85. IR: Barroo:?
 86. IE: Kuma lamaafi sagal.
 87. IR: Guyyaa moo:: halkani
 88. IE: Guyyaadha
 89. IR: Bakkisaa maal jedhama?
 90. IE: Dirree Lalistuu
 91. IR: h
 92. IE: Dirree Lalistuu jedhama
 93. IR: Bakkisaan itti wallolan?

 94. IE: Isuma (-) ganduma duwwaa
 tokko keessa ta'ee jechuudha -
 95. IR: Addis ⁰Katamaamoo⁰:
 Dirree Lalistuu?
 96. IE: Eeyyee Addis Katamaa
 97. IR: Maqaa lama qabaa?
 98. IE: Dirree Lalistuu hin jedhu
 egaa: eeheeka Dirree Lalistuunan
 beeka ani.
 99. IR: Dirree Lalistuun beektamoo:?

75. IE: Yes
 76. IR: Which kebele?
 77. IE: Dire Lalistu
 78. IR: I said whi:ch? kebele
 79. IE: Zero one
 80. IR: Wha: t zero one?
 81. IR: Why you lea:ve the word Inchini?
 On which date did this happen?
 82. IE: On three
 83. IR: Which month?
 84. IE: Second month.
 85. IR: The year?
 86. IE: In two thousand nine.
 87. IR: During the day o:r night?
 88. IE: During the day
 89. IR: What is the place called?
 90. IE: Dire Lalistu
 91. IR: h
 92. IE: It is called Dire Lalistu
 93. IR: The place where they where in
 conflict?
 94. IE: That is it (-). I mean in the
 kebele zero-
 95. IR: Addis ⁰Ketema⁰ o:r Dire
 Lalistu?
 96. IE: Yes, Addis Ketema.
 97. IR: Does it have two names?
 98. IE: Yes, they call it Dire Lalistu.
 Of co:urse I know it by the
 name Dire Lalistu.
 99. IR: By which name you know it?

- Addis Katamaan beekta. by Dire Lalistu? o:r Addis Ketema.
100. IE: Addis Katamaanis [garuu] - 100. IE: [Of course]- by Addis Ketema
101. IR: [Maqaa:? lama] hin 101. IR: It does not ha::ve [two na: mes?]
qabuu::ati kamii::n My question is wi::th which
beektaa::dha. do you kno::w
102. IE: Dir-Dirree Lalistuunan 102. IE: I know as Dir- Dire Lalistu
beeka ((poolisiin barreessaa ture)) ((the police man was transcribing))
(0.12) (0.12)
103. IR: Maaltu ta'e? bakka kanatti. 103. IR: What happened? at this place.
104. IE: Wal- .hh 104. IE: Con- .hh ((choking kind of
((akka hudhamuu ta'e)) sound)) conflict happened.hh
loluutu ta'e .hh
(0.1) (0.1)
105. IR: hh 105. IR: hh
106. IE: Wal- (.) loluu::tu ta'e .hh 106. IE: Con- (.) confli:ct happened .hh
(0.1) (0.1)
107. IR: Bira jirtaa ati yeroo sana 107. IR: Have you been there at that time?
108. IE: Manaa:n ba'e 108. IE: My house was there, I came out.
manannikoo achiim.
(0.1) (0.1)
108. IR: Maal dhageessee: 109. IR: What did you hea:r and out?
manaa baate?
109. IE: Waca wacamun 110. IE: I heard shout and came out.
111. Eenuutu iyyee? 111. IR: Who shouted?
112. IE: Ishee (.) rukutamtetu iyyaan 112. IE: I heard the one who (.) was
(0.27) ((barreessaa turte)) beaten shouting.
(0.27) ((The police man was transcribing))
113. IR: Sababa lolasaanii beektaa? 113. IR: Do you know the
cause of their conflict?
114. IE: Sababa waan ta'e waa'ee 114. IE: When I arrived, they were
lafaati jedhanii yennaan gadi talking about a sort of land issue.
bahu waltti wawwacuu wal They were insulting each other.

abaaru. Amma [etuma achii]	[while I was there]
115.IR: ((Gidduutti itti dubbate)) [Sababa lola lafaa] ta'uu: beektaa?	115. IR: ((interrupted)) Do you know the cause of the conflict [to be: the issue of land]?
116.IE: Ee (--)	116. IE: Ee (--)
117.IR: Ati beektaa:?	117. IR: Do you know that?
118.IE: .hh	118.IE: hh
119.IR: Sabb lafaa irratti walloluu isaanii beektaa?	119. IR: Do you know they quarreled on land issue?
120.IE: Waca egaa: waa'eedhu Lafaatiifii: jedhan yennaa sana kani jechuun yennaa walitti ka'ani jechuudha.	120. IE: At that time, that means when they said the cause is the land issue.
121.IR: Lafti maal ta'e? jedhanii irratti wallolan.	121. IR: What happened to the land? according to their speech.
122.IE: <u>Jaartiin</u> waa'ee midhaan wayiitu na jalaa bade jedhaniitu achii duraa badhaadheen [jechuudha]	122. IE: The <u>old lady</u> was complaining about the lost crop plant. That means Bedade [I mean]
123.IR: [Midhaan] manaa hatani moo:?	123. IR: was the grain stolen or?
124.IE: (hh'i)	124. IE: (hh'i)
125.IR: hh	125. IR: hh
126.IE: Biqilaa: ala jiruutu diigamee jedhanii achii wal a'abaaru [dhaqnee]	126. IE: They were insulting each other saying the crop plant outside was destroyed.[We went]
127.IR: [Maaltu] Biqilaan biqilaan maalinni?	127. IR: [What:] what is plant?
128.IE: MIDHAAN jechuudha. ⁰ midhaan ⁰	128. IE: It means plant. ⁰ plant ⁰
129.IR: Midhaanichi maalinni?	129. IR: What is plant? its type.

- gosti isaa:
- 130.IE: Garbuu
(0.8) ((poolisiin gad jettee
barreessaa turte))
- 131.IR₂: Midhaan garbuu maal
goote mucaan jedhani?
- 132.IE: Horiitu dheede
jedhaniitu achii wal
abaaru.Yeruma wal
abaaranin dhagahe
midhaankootu
badee asii horii natti
yaaftanii Jedhanii abaaru
wal a'abaaru.
- 133.IR: Eenyu faana?
- 134.IE: Kunoo: isaan faanaa
jechuudha (.) maatii faana.
- 135.IR: Sana boodawoo:?
- 136.IE: Sana boodaa lola
walitti nam'anii: achiin
yennaa qaban egaa: ishee
kana <buruksitee mucaa
isheen sun>.
- 137.IR: Maaliin?
- 138.IR: Maaliin rukutte?
- 139.IE: Ulee baarzaafiidhaan
((Cabsaan)) achuma dallaa,
- 140.IR: Ulee maalii:ti? mee ifa
godhii nutti himi.
- 141.IE: Baarzaafii
- 142.IR: Eessashee buruksite?
130. IE: Barley
(0.8) ((the police woman
was transcribing))
131. IR₂: What did they say the child did
to the barely?
132. IE: They were insulting each other
saying that the cattle grazed their
growing crop plant. I heard them
while insulting each other saying,
the cattle destroyed their crop plant.
133. IR: With whom?
134. IR: I mean he: re with her (.)
with family.
135. IR: What about after tha: t?
136. IE: After that, when people
made them stop the conflict,
<that lady has bumped the
head of this one>.
137. IR: With what?
138. IR: With what she beat?
139. IE: With a stick from eucalyptus
tree she ((broke)) from fence,
140. IR: Wha:t kind of stick it is?
Tell us clearly.
141. IE: Eucalyptus tree
142. IR: Which part of her body did she

	bump?
143.IE: Mataashee	143. IE: Her head
144.IR: Mataa bakka kami?	144. IR: Which area of her head?
145.IE: Mataadhuma walakkaa addarra.	145. IE: Just in the middle of her fore fore head.
146.IR: <u>Eenyusheen</u> buruksitu egaa	146. IR: <u>Who is she</u> that bumped?
147.IE: Miimmii Likkumaa	147. IE: Mimi Likkumaa
148.IR: Miimmii Likkumaa, ishii Badhaadheenoo:?	148. IR: You said Mimi Bekuma, what about: t Bedade?
149.IE: Isaan waluma keessa jirukaa maatiin [hundii hin wacaa ()]	149. IE: They are altogether [all the family were shouting ()]
150.IR: ((Gidduutti dubbate)) Maa::l godhanii:n ?] siinjedhe	150. IR: ((interrupted)) I am asking you [wha:t did they do:?)
151.IR: Waan isheen goote	151. IR: What she did
152.IE: Kana bichaan arge ani (0.7)	152. IE: I saw only this. (0.7)
153.IR: Himatamtuu lammaffaan?	153. IR: The second defendant?
154.IE: Hundumasaanii otoo walirraa qabnuu jaartii isaan kunis achuma [jiruu jechaadha]	154. IE: While we were trying to make the conflict stop, the old lady [was there]
155. IR: ((Gidduutti dubbate)) [Waan isheen goote] <u>jiraayii::</u> dha (bee) amma	155. IR: ((interrupted)) I am asking you now isthat <u>was the::re</u> [somehing that she did?]
156.IR: RUKUTTEETTIHYII? rukutuushee ijaan hin agarre MITII?	156. IR: DID SHE BEAT? You DIDN'T see with your necked eyes while she was beating.IS IT NOT?
157.IE: Eeyee	157. IE: Yes

158.IR: Maa: soba raagessitaree?

159.IE: Jaartii -

160. IR: Rukkuchuushee hin arginee:

himatamtuu lammaffaa achi

jirti malee jette

161.IE: Eeyee

(0.30) ((gad jettee barreessa turte)

162.IR: kanuma beekta.

163.IE: Eeyyee

164.IR: Koottu mallatteessi

158. IR: So wh: y you witness false?

159. IE: The old lady -

160. IR: You said, “I did:n’t see the

second defendant while she was

beating except she was there by

the time of conflict.

161. IE: Yes

(0.30) ((she was transcribing))

162. IR: You know only this.

163. IE: Yes

164. IR: Come and sign

Transcript 3

1. IR: Eenyu maqaankee?

2. IE: Girmaa Taaddasaa

3. IR: Taaddasaa eenyuu?

4. IE: (Nageessoo)

5. IR: Umuriinkee?

6. IE: Digdama

7. IR: Sadarkaa barumsakee?

8. IE: Kudha tokko

9. IR: Hojiinkee?

10. IE: (Hinqabu)

11. IR: Amantaankee?

12. IE: Ortodooksiiidha

13. IR: Haala maatiikee attami?

14. IE: Hinfuune

15. IR: Hinfuunee? Ee:shii.

Sabummaankeeewoo:

16. IE: h

17. IR: Sabummaankeeewoo maalinni?

1. IR: What is your name?

2. IE: Girma Tadesse

3. IR: Tadesse Who?

4. IE: (Nageessoo)

5. IR: Your age?

6. IE: Twenty

7. IR: Your educational status?

8. IE: Eleven

9. IR: Your job?

10. (Hinqabu)

11. IR: Your religion?

12. IE: Orthodox

13. IR: How is your family?

14. IE: Not married.

15. IR: Not married? O:k, about
your nation?

16. IE: h

17. IR: What about your nation?

18. IE: (-)
19. IR: Sabummaankeeewoo maalinnii?
Oromoodhamoo? Amaaramoo:
maalinni?
20. IE: Oromoodha.
21. IR: Gandikee eessa?
22. IE: Bolaa Roggee.
23. IR: Amma waan as dhufteef beekta
mitii? Mee maaliif dhufteemee :
bal'isiitii nutti himi.
24. IE: Waa'ee jaarsi du'aniif
25. IR: Eenyutu du'e?
26. IE: Gaashe Kumalaa.
27. IR: Kumalaa eenyuuti?
28. IE: Kumalaa Dheeressaa.
29. IR: Akkamitti du'e?
30. IE: Rukutamanii
31. IR: Akkamitti rukutamani nutti himi.
32. IE: Akkaataatti rukutaman ⁰ani
nan baqadhee lubbuukoof [yeroosana]
isa booda
33. IR: [Baqadheekee: miti]
((gidduutti kuteen)) ee::ssa?
ooltanii: eenyufaa faana deemtanii :
eenyutu rukutee: ajjeese?
killed?
34. IR₂ : Eenyutu rukutee ajjeese?
35. IE: Mirkanaatu dura rukute (.)
Mirkanaan rukunnaan
Siisaay Baqqalaa rukutee:
Kumalaa Goosomsaa rukutani.
18. IE: (-)
19. IR: What about your nation? Are
you Amhara? O:r what?
20. IE: Oromo.
21. IR: Where is your Kebele?
22. IE: Bola Roge.
23. IR: Do you know why you
have come here now? Tell us in
detail why you have come here.
24. IE: For the death of the old person.
25. IR: Who died?
26. IE: 'Gashe'Kumala.
27. IR: Kumala Who?
28. IE: Kumala Deressa.
29. IR: How did he die?
30. IE: Being beaten
31. IR: How was he beaten? Tell us.
32. IE: How he was beaten ⁰ I fled
to save my life ⁰ [by the time]
after that
33. IR: [It is not about your flee:]
((interrupted)) Whe::re? have
you bee: n whom you were
walking with? and who bea: t and
34. IR₂: Who beat and killed?
35. IE: First Mirkana beat him (.)
After Mirkana beat, Sisay Bekele
and Gosomsa Kumala also beat.
<After all, I runaway> as I saw the

- <Kana caalaa ani nan baqadhe > old person.
jaarsa ta'uu isaanii arginaan.
36. IR: Maaliif Dhoksiteree: 36. IR: If so, why you hide the old's
jaarsii rukutamuu isaanii? being beaten?
37. IR₂: Rukutamanii maal? 37. IR₂: What happened to him after
tahan the beating?
38. IE: Hinkufan. 38. IE: He fell down.
39. IR: Ergakufanii boodawoo:? 39. IR: What about after he
fell down?
40. IE: Erga⁰ kufanii booda hin 40. IE: After he⁰ fell down⁰
(qaxxaxan)⁰ Ani nan baqadheen I fled. There is a sort of river
bishaan wayi jira there. I fled (.) crossed the
gamatti baqadheen (.) river and went (-)
deeme ani ce'een (-)
41. IR: Sana booda maal godhaniree:? 41. IR: What did they do: after that?
42. IE: h 42. IE: h
43. IR: Maal godhan? 43. IR: What did they do?
44. IE: Isaan reebanii: dhuma deeman. 44. IE: They left there after beating.
45. IR: Maal ta'aniree jaarsi? 45. IR: Then, what happened to the
old person?
46. IE: Hin du'an. 46. IE: He died.
47. IR: Sababuma sanaatii:n? 47. IR: Because of that reason?
48. IE: Garuu sababumasanaatiin 48. IE: Of course, because of the beating
49. IR: ((Gidduutti itti dubbate)) 49. IR: ((Interrupted)) As soon as you
Ati himteeree kana ajjeesuusaanii came, did you the death tell of
himteeree akkuma dhufteenii this old person? Did you tell that
jaarsakana isaantu ajjeese they have killed this old person?
jettee himteeree?
50. IE: hinhimne. 50. IE: I didn't tell.
51. IR: Maaliif? 51. IR: Why?
52. IE: Hinhimiinii: jedhee Siisaay. 52. IE: Sisay told me not to tell.

53. IR: Maal jedhee?
53. IR: What did he sa:y?
54. IE: Hinhimiinii jedheetuma
asumatti nakaksiisan malee
erga gaafa sanatii waanan
isaan arge hin qabu.
54. IE: They made me swear here
not to tell anyone. I haven't
seen them since then.
55. IR: Maa::li walargitaniittu
manasaanii dhaqxanii achi
bultanii:
55. IR: No::you met each other,
went to their house, and
passed the night the:re
56. IE: Hin bullee ani achi.
Iddoo biraan bule ani gaafa sana.
56. IE: I didn't pass the night
there. I passed the night
somewhere else on that day.
57. IR: Eenyutu buleree: achi?
57. IR: Then,who passed the
night there then?
58. IE: kumalaa Goosomsaa
fi Mirkanaa.
58. IE: Kumela Gosomsa and Mirkena.
59. IR: Eenyutu sikaksiise?
Maal jedhee sinkaksiisee::n jedhe?
59. IR: Who made you swear? I asked
you what did he say when he
made you swea::r?
60. IE: Namni kana hime maal
haata' u maal haa ta'u jedhee
nakaksiise maal haata'u
jedhee nukaksiise.
60. IE: He made me swear saying
let the person who tells this
be this. Let he be this.
61. IR: Kanaaf himuu
diddeeree: ati?
61. IR: Is that the reason for you no:t to tell?
62. IE: Eeye.
62. IE: Yes.
63. IR: Kanaaf Dhoksite?
63. IR: That is why you hide it?
64. IE: Eeye
64. IE: Yes.
65. IR: Kun dhoksuudhumtuu.
yakkadha
65. IR: Even hiding this by
itself is crime
66. IE: Nan balleessee.
66. IE: I made fault.

67. IR: Hiriyyummaan waa biraa
Haqni yookaan seerri waabiraa
kana beekta mitii?
68. IE : (--)
69. IR : Mallatteessi asitti.:

67. IR: Friendship another. Justice or law
is something else.
Do you know this?
68. IE: (--)
69. IR: Sign it here.

Transcript 4

1. IR: Maqaakee?
2. IE: Fiqaaduu
3. IR: Fiqaaduu eenyuu?
4. IE: Hirphasaa
5. IR: Umuriikee?
6. IE: Soddonii tokko
7. IR: Gandikee?
8. IE: Muunyoo jilaa
9. IR: Aanaa eessaati?
10. IE: Aanaa Ammayyaa
11. IR: Har'a maal taatee dhuftemee?
12. IE: Ragaadhaafan dhufe.
13. IR: Eenyuuf ragaa taate?
14. IE: Daadhituu Milkiisaa
15. IR: Daadhituun maal taate?
16. IE: Hin butan
17. IR: Kan biraawoo
warri raga taatuuf?
18. IE: Mulgeetaa
19. IR: Mulgeetaa eenyuuti?
20. IE: Mulgeetaa Milkiisaa
21. IR: Maal ta'e?
22. IE: Hinrukutame.
23. IR: Yoomi guyyaansaa?

1. IR: Your name?
2. IE: Fekadu
3. IR: Fekadu who?
4. IE: Hirpasa
5. IR: Your age?
6. IE: Thirty one
7. IR: Your kebele?
8. IE: Mugno Jila
9. IR: Which woreda?
10. IE: Amaya woreda
11. IR: Why are you here today?
12. IE: I have come here to be a witness
13. IR: For whom you witness?
14. IE: Daditu Milkisa
15. IR: What happened to Daditu?
16. IE: They abducted
17. IR: Who are other people you will
witness for?
18. IE: Mulugeta
19. IR: Mulugeta who?
20. IE: Mulugeta Milkisa
21. IR: What happened to him?
22. IE: He was beaten.
23. IR: When was the day?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 24. IE: Guyyaa kudhani | 24. IE: Day ten |
| 25. IR ₂ : Ji'a meeqaffaa? | 25. IR ₂ : Which month? |
| 26. IE: Lammaffaa | 26. IE: Second |
| 27. IR ₂ : Bara kami? | 27. IR ₂ : Which year? |
| 28. IE: Bara kuma lamaafi sagal | 28. IE: In the year two thousand nine |
| 29. IR: Sa'atii meeqa? | 29. IR: At what time? Is it during the |
| Halkanimoo: guyyaa? | night O:r during the day? |
| 30. IE: Guyyaa | 30. IE: During the day |
| 31. IR: Sa'atii meeqa? | 31. IR: At what time? |
| 32. IE: Sa'atii sadiitti | 32. IE: At three o'clock |
| 33. IR: Aanaa eessaati? | 33. IR: Which woreda? |
| 34. IE: Aanaa (.) Dirree Incinnii. | 34. IE: Woreda (.) Dirre Inchini. |
| 35. IR: Ganda kami? | 35. IR: Which kebele? |
| 36. IE: Ganda Buuyyamaa Roggee | 36. IE: Buuyyamaa Roge kebele |
| 37. IR: Bakkisaahoo:? | 37. IR: What about the specific place? |
| 38. IE: Callee Wallaggaa. | 38. IE: Chale Wollega. |
| 39. IR: Mee ati maal | 39. IR: What did you hear and go to |
| Dhageessee dhaqxe bakka | Chale Wollega? |
| Callee Wallaggaasanaa? | |
| 40. IE: Iyya | 40. IE: Shout |
| 41. IR: Iyya dhageessee: birmattee | 41. IR: Did you hear the shout and |
| dhaqxee:? | went: t for help? |
| 42. IE: Eeyyee | 42. IE: Yes |
| 43. IR: Maal argiteree yeroo dhaqxu? | 43. IR: Then, what did you see when |
| | you went there? |
| 44. IE: Yeroon dhaqu mucaa | 44. IE: When I arrived, they were |
| harkisaniitu fiigu. | running catching the girl. |
| 45. IR: Eenyuu:n? | 45. IR: Who:m? |
| 46. IE: Daadhituu | 46. IE: Daditu |
| 47. IR: Eeenyutu eenyuun qabee fiiga? | 47. IR: Who was running catching who |
| 48. IE: Kan qabee fiiguu (0.3) Fayisaa | 48. IE: The one who was running |
| | catching her was (0.3) Feyisa |

49. IR: Fayisaa eenyuu?
 50. IE: Fayisaa Badhaadhaa
 51. IR: Fayisaan maal godhe?
 52. IE: Harkashee mirgaa qabee fiiga.
53. IR: Kan biraawoo eenyu fa'i?
 54. IE: Guutamaa
 55. IR: Guutamaa eenyuu?
 56. IE: Guutamaa Badhaadhaa
 57. IR: Innoo: eessashee qabe?
 58. IE: Harkaashee bitaa
 59. IR: Harkashee bitaa qabe.
 60. IE: Eeeyyee
 61. IR: Kanbiraawoo: namni
 waan qabee jiru jiraa?
 62. IE: Kan biraa - fuulduratti
 darbee: (.) Bulloo Daashoo rukutee
 harkashee mirgaa.
63. IR: Maal akkasheen taatuuf?
 64. IE: Akkasheen deemtuuf.
 65. IR: Kanbiraawoo: namni
 rukute jiraa?
 66. IE: Eeeyyee
 67. IR: Eeenyudha?
 68. IE: Naggasaa
 69. IR: Naggasaa eenyuu?
 70. IE: Naggasaa (--)
 71. IR: Maal godhe Naggasaan?
 72. IE: Innis dugda duubaan rukute.
 73. IR: Maal godhuudhaaf?
 74. IE: Akkasheen deemtuuf
49. IR: Feyisa who?
 50. IE: Feyisa Bedada
 51. IR: What did Feyisa do?
 52. IE: He was running catching
 her right hand.
 53. IR: Who are other persons with him?
 54. IE: Gutama
 55. IR: Gutama who?
 56. IE: Gutama Bedada
 57. IR: Where did he catch her?
 58. IE: Her left hand
 59. IR: He caught her left hand.
 60. IE: Yes
 61. IR: Was there another:r person who
 caught her?
 62. IE: Another - Bullo Dasho,
 passing to the front (.) beat her right hand.
63. IR: To make her what?
 64. IE: So that she goes.
 65. IR: Was there another:r person
 who beat her?
 66. IE: Yes.
 67. IR: Who is that?
 68. IE: Naggasa
 69. IR: Nagasa who?
 70. IE: Nagasa(--)
 71. IR: What did Nagasa do?
 72. IE: He also beat her back.
 73. IR: To do what?
 74. IE: So that she goes

75. IR: Kana boodawoo:
 76. IE: Jabaadhu jedhee

 77. IR: Akkasheen deemtuuf
 78. IE: Eeeyyee
 79. IR: Fuudhanii deemanii:
 fudhatanimoo: buusiisteree?
 80. IE: Nan buusise
 81. IR: Buusistanii?
 82. IE: Eeeyyee
 83. IR: Namni biraa miidhamehoo
 Jiraa? Mulgeetan maal ta'e?

 84. IE: Mulgeetaa ilkaantu cabe
 85. IR: Eenyutu rukutee Mulgeetaa?
 86. IE: Guutamaa
 87. IR: Maal goonaan?
 88. IE: Mucaa buusisuu dhufnaan
 gad lakkisaa jennaan rukute.
 89. IR: Eessasaa rukute?

 90. IE: Ilkaan gara duraa
 91. IR: Kanuma beektaa jechuudh.
 92. IE: Eeeyyee

75. IR: What about after that?
 76. IE: He told her to
 be strong to go
 77. IR: So that she goes?
 78. IE: Yes
 79. IR: Did they take her away or
 you made the release her?
 80. IE: I made them release her.
 81. IR: You made them release her?
 82. IE: Yes
 83. IR: Was there any other person
 being hurt? What Happened to
 Mulugeta?
 84. IE: His tooth broke.
 85. IR: Who beat Mulugeta?
 86. IE: Gutema
 87. IR: Why is that?
 88. IE: He came to help the girl.
 Then, he beat him.
 89. IR: Which part of his body
 did he beat?
 90. IE: The front tooth
 91. IR: You know only this.
 92. IE: Yes

Transcript 5

1. IR: Maqaankee enyuunii?
 2. IE: Kabbadaa Baayyisaan jedhama
 3. IR: Umuriinkee:?
 4. IE: Umuriin digdamii ja'a
 5. IR: Hojii: n?

1. IR: What is your name?
 2. IE: I am called Kebde Bayisa.
 3. IR: How old are you:?
 4. IE: Twenty six
 5. IR: Your job?

- | | |
|--|---|
| 6. IE: Hojiin qonnaan bulaa. | 6. IE: My job is farmer. |
| 7. IR: Teessoonkeewoo:? | 7. IR: Your residence? |
| 8. IE: Ganda tokkee Laamuu | 8. IE: Tokke Lamu kebele |
| 9. IR: Har'a waan dhufteef beektaa? | 9. IR: Do you know why you are
here today? |
| 10. IE: Eeyyee raagaa ba'u | 10. IE: Yes. To witness |
| 11. IR: Himataaf himatamaa beektaa? | 11. IR: Do you know the complainant
and the defendant? |
| 12. IE: Eeyyee. | 12. IE: Yes. |
| 13. IR: Himataan eenyuunni? | 13. IR: Who is the defendant? |
| 14. IE: Himataan Guutuu Waggaarii. | 14. IE: The complainant is
Gutu Wagari. |
| 15. IR: Himatamaanoo? | 15. IR: What about the defendant? |
| 16. IE: Himatamaan Isheetuu Nagarii. | 16. IE: The defendant is Eshetu Wagari. |
| 17. IR: Isaan gidduutti firoomaafi
jibba qabdaa? | 17. IR: Do you have relation or
conflict with these persons? |
| 18. IE: Hinqabu, Firummaas hinqabu
jibbas hin qabu. | 18. IE: No, I don't have relation or
conflict with them. |
| 19. IR: Maal beektaree Isaan gidduutti ? | 19. IR: What do you know about them? |
| 20. IE: Isaan gidduuttii: (--) | 20. IE: About them (--) |
| 21. IR: Isaan gidduutti maal?
beektaadha kan nuti
sigaafachaa jirru. | 21. IR: What we are asking you is,
what? do you know about them. |
| 22. IE: Isaan gidduuttii (-) | 22. IE: About them (-) |
| 23. IR: Isaan gidduutti maal? <u>beektaa</u> : | 23. IR: What? do you <u>know</u>
about them |
| 24. IE: Isaan gidduutti kanan beeku
(--) nafaana otoo dhaabatee
Jiruu [iyya ijoolleen] dhaga'e | 24. IE: What I know about them
(--) while he was standing
with me, I heard [children
shouting] |
| 25. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) | 25. IR: ((the police man interrupted)) |

- [Maal godheen] siin jedhe? I asked you [what did he do]?
26. IE: Hin rukute. 26. IE: He beat.
27. IR: Hin rukute. Yoomi? 27. IR: He beat. When?
28. IE: Gaafa guyyaa afurii ji'a afurii 28. IE: On 4, in December
29. I: Eessatti? 29. IR: When?
30. IE: Ganda tokkee Laamuu 30. IE: Tokke Lamu kebele
31. IR: Sa'aatii meeqatti? 31. IR: At what time?
32. IE: Naannoo sa'atii sagaliin. 32. IE: Around nine o'clock.
33. IR: Aanaa kam keessatti? 33. IR: In which woreda?
34. IE: Aanaa Dirree Incinnii 34. IE: Dire Inchini woreda
35. IR: Ganda kami? 35. IR: Which kebele?
36. IE: Tokkee Lamuu 36. IE: Toke Lamu
37. IR: Bakki sunoo:? 37. IR: What about that place?
38. IE: Bakki sunii Cirri jedhama. 38. IE: The place is Chiri.
39. IR: Ati maal goota iddee sanaa? 39. IR: Why did you go there?
40. IE: Midhaaniin haamaa jira. 40. IE: I was harvesting.
41. IR: Akkamitti argiteree? 41. IR: So, how did you see?
42. IE: Yeroo: isaanii (.)
ijoolletu iyyee, ijoolleen
iyyinaanii yeroo olfiignee
dhaqnu namni wal rukutee
innil reebaa jira kuffisee. 42. IE: By the time of their (.) conflict
children were shouting, when we
arrived, people were beating each
other and some even fell down.
43. IR: Maaliin rukute? 43. IR: With what did he beat?
44. IE: Uleedhaan. ulee shimalaatiin rukute. 44. IE: He beat with stick.
45. IR: Ulee shimalaatiin, eessasaa? 45. IR: Where did he beat using stick?
46. IE: Ilkaansaa rukutee reebaa
jira yeroo nuti dhaqnu,
[dhiigaa jira mucaani afaaniin] 46. IE: He was beaten his teeth. When
we arrived, [his mouth
was Bleeding]
47. IR: ((poolisiin Gidduutti kuteen))
[MEEYYU eenyutu eenyuun]
_rukute? 47. IR: ((the police man
interrupted)) [OK the question
is who beat whom]?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 48. IE: Asheetuutu Guutuu rukute. | 48. IE: Ashetu beat Gutu. |
| 49. IR: Asheetuutu Guutuu
rukute, maaliin? | 49. IR: Ashetu beat Gutu, with what? |
| 50. IE: Ulee shimalatiin | 50. IE: With stick |
| 51. IR: Eessasaa? | 51. IR: Which part of his body? |
| 52. IE: Ilkaansaa. | 52. IE: His teeth. |
| 53. IR: Ilkaan karaa kami? | 53. IR: Which side of the teeth? |
| 54. IE: Ilkaan mirgaa | 54. IE: The right teeth |
| 55. IR: Jalamoo: gubbaa? | 55. IR: Below o:r above? |
| 56. IE: Jalaan | 56. IE: From below |
| 57. IR: Isa jalaa, ilkaan isa kami? | 57. IR: The teeth from below, which
tooth? |
| 58. IE: Aa'oo | 58. IE: The pre molar |
| 59. IR: Maal ta'e? | 59. IR: What happened to it? |
| 60. IE: Hincabe ilkaansaa. | 60. IE: His tooth was broken. |
| 61. IR: Ilkaan <u>tokkomoo</u> : lama? | 61. IR: <u>One tooth</u> o:r two teeth? |
| 62. IE: Tokko | 62. IE: One |
| 63. IR: Ilkaan tokko cabe.
Ilkaan tokkowoo:? | 63. IR: One tooth was broken. What
about the othe:r one? |
| 64. IE: Hinsosocho'e | 64. IE: It moved |
| 65. IR: Kanumadha kan ati beektu. | 65. PP: This is the only thing that you
know. |
| 66. IE: Eeyyee | 66. IE: Yes |
| 67. IR: Yennaa rukutameewoo: maal ta'e? | 67. IR: What happened to him when
he was beaten? |
| 68. IE: Afaan dhiigni guutnaan
tufi yeroo [jennu mucaan] | 68. IE: His mouth was full of blood.
When we [asked him to spit,
the boy] |
| 69. IR: ((poolisiin
gidduutti dubbate))
[si'a meeqa] rukutee:? dha | 69. IR: ((the police man interrupted))
[How many times] did he bea:t? |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 70. IE: Isa garuu hinbeekuu (.)
rukuchhusaan arge [malee] | 70. IE: I don't know that (.) I saw
[only that] he was beating |
| 71. IR: [SI'A MEEQA RUKUTEE:] dha | 71. IR: The question is, [HOW MANY
TIMES DID HE BEAT] |
| 72. IE: SI'A TOKKO | 72. IE: ONCE |
| 73. IR: KANUMA QOFAA? beekta. | 73. IR: You know ONLY THIS? |
| 74. IE: Eeyyee. Kanuman beeka. | 74. IE: Yes. I only know this. |
| 75. IR. Mallatteessi koottu. | 75. IR: Come and sign. |

Transcript 6

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|--|--|
| 6. IR: Maqaankee eenyu? | 1. IR: What is your name? |
| 7. IE : Maqaankoo Jifaree Abarraati. | 2. IE: My name is Jifare Abera. |
| 8. I: Abarraa eenyuu? | 3. IR ₂ : Abera Who? |
| 9. IE: Abarraa yaadasaa. | 4. IE: Abera Yadasa. |
| 10. IR: Umuriinkee meeqa? | 5. IR: How old are you? |
| 11. IE: Waggaa soddonii shan. | 6. IE: Thirty five years old. |
| 12. IR: Teessoonkee eessa? | 7. IR: Where is your address? |
| 13. IE: Ganda Hoomii Anii | 8. IE: Homi Ani kebele |
| 14. IR: Haalli maatii? | 9. IR: Family condition? |
| 15. IE: Haa:lli maatii: (.)
gabareedhakaa haallikenya:: | 10. IE: Fa: mily conditi:on (.) is
farmer, our conditi: on i::s |
| 16. IR: ((gidduutti kuteen)) Haadha
manaatii jedhikaa. | 11. IR: ((interrupted)) Say you
are a house wife. |
| 17. IE: Tole | 12. IE: OK |
| 18. IR: Har'a waan dhufteef beektaa? | 13. IR: Do you know why you are
here today? |
| 19. IE: Eeyyee, nanbeeka. | 14. IE: Yes, I know. |
| 20. IR: Maaliif dhufte? | 15. IR: Why you came? |
| 21. IE: Raagaa Tirfeessaa Camadaa | 16. IE: To be witness for Tirfessa
Chemeda |
| 22. IR: Himataafi Himatamaa
beektaa? | 17. IR: Do you know the defendant
and the complainant? |

23. IE: (.) himataa [fii (.) himatamaa]
24. IR: ((Poolisiin gidduutti
Dubbate)) [Eenyutu himate]?
25. IE: h
26. IR: Eenyutu himatee?
27. IE: Tirfeessaa Camadaa
28. IR: EENYU INNI
Himatameewoo
eenyunni?
29. IE: Hailuu Yaalii
30. IR: Ishii. Isaan gidduutti
firoomaa fi jibba qabdaa?
Jarreen lachurraa.
31. IE: Inni kun abbaa warraakooti.
32. IR: Himataan abbaa warraakeeti
33. IE: Eeyyee
34. IR: Himatamaarraawoo:?
jibba qabdaa?
35. IE: Homaa jibbaa hin
qabu [jaalala malee] [except love]
36. IR: ((poolisiin gidduutti dubbate))
[Firoomawoo:]
37. IE: Firoomas homaa walirraa
hinqabnu biyyummaa
jaalala malee
38. IR: Ishii: isaan gidduutti
maal beektaree?
39. IR: Maal argite ati?
40. IE: hh
41. IR: Maal argite?
18. IE: (.) the complainant [and (.)
the defendant]
19. IR: ((the police man interrupted))
[Who complained?]
20. IE: h
21. IR: Who complained?
22. IE: Tirfessa Chemedaa
23. IR: WHO IS the person who is
accused?
24. IE: Hailu Yali
25. IR: Ok. Do you have hate or
relations? with the two persons.
26. IE: This one is my husband.
27. IR: The complainant is your Husband
28. IE: Yes
29. IR: What about from the
defenda: nt? Do you have
conflict with him?
30. IE: I don't have any conflict
31. IR: (police interrupted)
[what about relations?]
32. IE: We haven't any relations
except countryhood and love,
33. IR: Ok: what do you know
about them?
34. IR : What did you see?
35. IE: hh
36. IR: What did you see?

42. IE: Waa: ntiinan arge,
Istaadiyoomii keessaan
kaboota [funaanaa jira]
43. IR: hh [Istaadiyoomii isa kami?]
44. IE: Istaadiyoomii (--) gama
iddoo:: (--)
45. IR: Haayskuulii
Duubaa?
46. IE: Haayskuulii duuba ani
kabootan funaanaa jira. Innii
midhaan gaariidhaan fe'achaa
jira Hayluun. Midhaan gaariin
fe'achaa jira inni kun harree
wayii seentee harree ari'aa jira
Kun kan nama fuunduraa mitii
kan waaqaaf Kiristoos fuunduratti
ifaati. Qofaakoo mitii dhaabbiina
waaqaaf lafa ofbukkee kaa'een
[kanan dubbadhu]
47. IR: ((gidduutti dubbate))
[Nutti himi waan]
argite sirriitti
48. IE: Kabootan guuraa jira ture.
Tirfessaa jedhe. O:: jedheenii.
Inni kun harree oofaa jira. Midhaan
namatti galti jedhee midhaan namaa
achi keessaa hin sassaabamne.
Harree oofaa jira. Tirfeessaa
jedhee gaariittin midhaan
fe'atee bahuufi.
37. IE: Wha:t I saw is, from the inside
of the stadium I [was collecting]
dry cow dung
38. IR: hh [From which stadium?]
39. IE: The stadium (--) there (--)
40. IR: Behind the highschool?
41. IE: I was collecting dried cow
dung from behind school.
Hailu was loading garain
on cart. This one was chasing
donkey. Clearly, this is not
what I speak in front a person.
I am alone. I am speaking
in front of God and land.
[What I speak]
42. IR: ((the police man
interrupted)) [tell us clearly]
what you saw
43. IE: I was collecting dried cow
dung at that time. He called
Tirfessa, 'Tirfesa responded
'o::' while he was riding donkey.
He was riding donkey and
protecting it from entering
somebody's crop plant. He called
him while he was out loading

- [O: jedheen] ‘Tirfessa’
 49. IR: ((poolisiin gidduutti dubbate))
 [Eenyutu?]
50. IE: Hayluun. O: jedheen.
 [Jennaan kaloo maaliif tifikatta]
51. IR: ((gidduutti dubbate))
 [DUBBII HINDHEERESSIINIITII]
 isuma argite
 QOFAA dubbadhuu::
52. IE: ISUMAN ARGE qofaan hime IJOO::
 Horrikoo maaliif yaafta as
 keessaa jennaan ana mitii seera
 gaafadhuu yoo isaan sii’eeyyaman
 hin tifikattaa kaloo malee horiikoo
 hinyaasiinii maaliif yaaftaa horiikoo
 maaliif yaafta [achi keessaa jennaan]
53. IR: ((Giddutti itti dubbate))
 [Maaltu maal ta’eree?]
54. IE: Jennaan qaama achii
 eeyyamsiifadhuutii Koottuu
 [ennaasana]
55. IR: ((Gidduutti dubbate))
 [ammaa MAAF] dheeressitaa:?
56. IR: Itti fufiimee::
57. IE: Jennaani hiixatee rukute.
- his grain on a cart. [He said O:]
 44. IR: ((the police man
 interrupted)) [who?]
45. IE: Hailu. He said O: Then
 he asked him, [“why are you
 making your cattle graze my
 grass land?”]
46. IR: ((Interrupted))
 [DON’T ELONGET THE THING]
 Spea: k ONLY what you
 have seen
47. IE: I told you gu:ys ONLY
 WHAT I SAW He said “why
 you ride out my cattle from
 here?” said, “It is not me.
 It is the law. Go and ask the
 law. If they allow for you, you
 will keep your cattle here.”
 Otherwise, don’t ride my
 Cattle. Why you ride the
 cattle out?” [he said this and]
48. IR: ((interrupted)) [The: n
 what has happened?]
49. IE: He spoke saying go and
 bring permission from that
 body. [Then,]
50. IR: ((interrupted)) [Now
 WHY you] elonga:te it?
51. IR: O::K let you continue
52. IE: Then, he stretched his hand
 and beat him.

58. IR : Maaliin?
59. IE: Innaan garaftuu, garaftuu
sibiilaa, (iimi) (.) garaftuu
muktisaa sibiilaa
60. IR: ((Gidduutti dubbate))
Garaftuu muktisaa sibiilaa
Karaa:: sibiilaatiinimmoo::
61. IE: Karaa sibiilaati rukutee
62. IR: Eessaasaa?
63. IE: Addasaa kana gubbaa ijagubbaa.
64. IR: Karaa bitaamoo? karaa mirgaa.
65. IE: Inni rukutee, mirgaan rukute.
66. IR: Kara bitaamoo: kara mirgaatii?
67. IR: Ijamoo: ija gararraamoo:
ija gajjallaa: rukutee?
68. IE: Ija gararraa kunoo.
69. IR: Ija gararraa ija bitaamoo?
ija mirgaa?
70. IE: Ija mirgaa, kana gubbaa jechuudha.
71. IR: Iddoon sun maal ta'e?
72. IE: Hinmadaa'e.
73. IR: Si'a meeqa rukute?
74. IE: Garaftuudhaan si'a
tokkichuma rukute, yennaa
inni garaftuu ufirratti qabee
jedhu booksiidhaan
53. IR: With what?
54. IE: Then, using whip, metallic
whip, imi (.) whip that is
metallic handle
55. IR: (interrupted) A whip whose
handle is metal, Is it using the
metal side or using
56. IE: He beat him using the metal side
57. IR: Which part of his body?
58. IE: On his forehead Just above
his eyes.
59. IR: Is it from the left side? Or
from the right side.
60. IE: Where he beat? He beat
him on the right side.
61. IR: Is it on the left Or on
the right?
62. IR: Where did he beat? Was
it on eyes, above the eyes,
or below the eyes that he beat?
63. IE: Above the eyes here.
64. IR: is it above the eyes? the
left eye or the right eye?
65. IE: I mean, above the right eyes.
66. IR: What happened to that area?
67. IE: It swelled.
68. IR: How many times did he beat?
69. IE: He beat him only once using a
whip, and when he caught the
whip upon himself, beat with box
on one.

kana gubbaa dhahe.

75. IR: Dabalee ijichuma keessa?

76. IE: Ijichuma keessaa gara gadii
rukute, gajjallaasaa. Amma yomma
inni iyyu inni iyyinaan biran jiraa
kabootasan funaanuu dhiisee dhaqee
gargar qabe.

77. IR: Sana boodawoo?

78. IE: Kana booda inni midhaan
ofii fe'atee bahee anuu siigodha
ofirraa sidhowwuun
dadhabee: ana Hayluu
Yaaliitiyyuu nama ati
akka qaldiitti [na ilaaltuu] jedhe.

79. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen))
Kanuma beektaa?

80. IE: Kanuman beeka.

70. IR: Repeating in his eye?

71. IE: He beat in his eye from
the below. I was there collecting
dried cow dung when he was
shouting. I sopped collecting
it and went and made them calm.

72. IR: What happened after that?

73. IE: After loading his grain,
he went out. He said, "I will do
for you. Did I feel to defend
myself from you to protect.
Is it me Hailu Yali whom
[you are considering me] as a
simple person"

74. IR: Do you know only this one?

75. IE: I know only this one.

Transcript 8

1. IR: Eenyu maqaankee?
2. IE: Masqalee Dirribaa
3. IR: Umuriinkee waggaa meeqa?
4. IE: Soddoma
5. IR: Hojiinkee maalinni?
6. IE: Qoteebulaa,
7. IR: Teessoonkee eessa?
8. IE: Mi'aa
9. IR: Ganda kam keessa?
10. IE: (.) Gandaa (--) gandikoo (.)
qabalee daballee

1. IR₂: What is your name?
2. IE: Maskele Diriba
3. IR: How old are you?
4. IE: Thirty
5. IR: What is your job?
6. IE: Farmer,
7. IR: Where is your residence?
8. IE: Mi'a
9. IR: In which kebele?
10. IE: Kebele (--) my kebele is (.)
Debele kebele

11. IR: Buuyyamaa Dabballee?
 12. IE: Buuyyamaa Dabballee.
 Mana seeraarraa
 dhaamsi naqaqqabnaanan
 dhufe
 13. IR: ((lamaanuu wal
 Faana dubbatan))
 MAALIIF?
 14. IE: Himattuu [Gusu Tirfeessaa]
 15. IR: (Gidduutti kuteen)) [Har'a
 ati MAALIIF?] duftedha
 16. IE: Har'a kanan dhufe raagaafi
 17. IR : ((Wal faana dubbatan))
 raaggafindhufee Eeyyee
 18. IR: HIMATTUU beektaa?
 19. IE: Eeyyee
 20. IR: Eenyunni?
 21. IE: <Gusuu> Tirifeessaa
 22. IR: Himatamaanoo?
 23. IE: Olee Caalchisaa
 24. IR: Isan gidduutti firoomaafi
 jibba qabdaa?
 25. IE: Ani homaa jibba hinqabu.
 26. IR: Firoomahoo?
 27. IE: Isaan amaatiikooti.
 28. IR: Namichihoo inni himatamaan?
 29. IE: Wasiila abbaa warraakooti.
 30. IR: Lachuurraa firooma homaa
 hin qabduu firas jibbas hinqabdu.

11. IR: Buyama Daballe?
 12. IE: Buyama Dabale. I have
 come here because I was
 requested by the police
 13. IR: ((both spoke together))
 WHY?
 14. IE: The complainant [Gusu
 Tirfessa]
 15. IR: (interrupted) I am asking
 you [WHY are you here
 today?]
 16. IE: I have come here to witness
 17. IR: Yes, say I have come
 to witness
 18. IR: Do you know the
 COMPLAINANT?
 19. IE: Yes
 20. IR: Who is that?
 21. IE: <Gusu> Tirfessa
 22. IR: Who is the defendant?
 23. IE: Oli Chalchisa
 24. IR: Do you have relation or
 conflict with the?
 25. IE: I don't have any conflict.
 26. IR: What about relativeness?
 27. IE: She is my mother-in- law.
 28. IR: What about the man who is
 accused?
 29. W: He is my husband's uncle.
 30. IR: You don't have both relation
 and conflict with both.

31. IE: Homaa hinqabu. 31. IE: I don't have any.
32. IR: Isaan gidduutti maal beekt? 32. IR: What do you know about them?
33. IE: Isaan gidduutti (.) Gusuu Tirfeessaa 33. IE: In between them (.)
iyyaan [iyya dirmadhe] Gusu Tirfessa was shouting
and [I went]
34. IR: ((gidduutti kuteen)) Yoomi? 34. IR: (interrupted) When?
35. IE: Gaafa bultii kudha sagalii 35. IE: On 19th
36. IR: Ji'a kami? 36. IR: Which month?
37. IE: Ji'a kuma lamaafi sagal 37. IE: In two thousand nine.
38. IR: Jiinisaa: 38. IR: The month
39. IE: Ji'a sadaffaa, ji'a darbe keessa 39. IE: the 3rd month, that is
last month
40. IR: Ji'a darbe keessa. Halkanmoo guyyaa? 40. IR: Last month, was that
during the night or day?
41. IE: Guyyaa 41. IE: During the day
42. IR: Sa'atii meeqa? 42. IR: At what time?
43. IE: Tilmaamaan sa'aatii kudha tokko ta'a 43. IE: By assumption it will be
((sagalee wacaa duubaan dhagahama)) around eleven o'clock
((noise from the background))
44. IR₂: Ganda kami keessatti 44. IR₂: In which kebele did
yakkichi kan raawwate? the crime happen?
45. IE: Dirree Incinnii Mi'aa jedhama 45. W: In Dire Inchini place
called Mi'a
46. IR: Maal argitee iyya dirmattee? 46. IR: What did you see
after you went there
hearing the shout?
47. IE: Fardeentu midhaankeessa jiraa 47. IE: Gusu Tirfessa
Gusuu Tirfeessaa hin iyyuu was shooting and complaining
Jaarsii gadhittii farad nyaattu the presence of horses in his
fardakoo nyaachuufii iyyitaa growing plant. The old man

- mortittii kan goodaakana balleessuyyuu
si'i hin morta fardakoo nyaachuuf jedhaan
- was insulting saying, you, the
bad person who eats horse,
are you shouting to eat my
horse, you are witch. It is you
who has destroyed this area.
48. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) Fardeen
kan eenyuuti?
48. IR: ((Interrupted)) Whose
are the horses?
49. IE: Kan abbaakoofa'idha
49. IE: My father's
50. IR: Fardeen sun kan eenyuutiinsinjedhe?
50. IR: I am asking you whose
horses are they?
51. IE: Kan jaarsaa fi kan ilmasaa
51. IE: The old's and his son's
52. IR: Eenyu jaarsii?
52. IR: Who is the old person?
53. IE: Olii Caalchisaa
53. IE: Oli Chalchisa
54. IR: Fardeen kan Olii Caalchisaati,
Fardeensun maal gootee?
miidhaanidhamoo kaloo dheedde?
54. IR₂: You said the horses
are Oli Chalchisa's, What
did the horses do? Did
they eat crop plant or grass?
55. IE: Miidhaan dheedde.
55. IE: They ate crop plant.
56. IR: Himatamaan sunoo achi
jiraa yennaasana?
56. IR: Was the person accused
there at that time?
57. IE: Achuma jira.
57. IE: He was there.
58. IR: DHAABATEEDHUMA tiksaa?
58. IR: Was he keeping BY
HIMSELF?
59. IE: Ani egaa yennaan dhaqu
[jaarsis achuma jiraa, fardeenis]
achuma jiru
59. IE: When I arrived there,
the old person as well as
the horses] were there
60. IR: [Isheen kun] ((Gidduutti kuteen))
Kanaafuu: himattuun maal goote?
60. IR: [the woman]
((Interrupted her)) So: what
did the complainant do?
61. IE: Adaraa [seeraa]
61. IE: For the sake [of law]

62. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) Maal
gochaa jirtiin siin jedhe?

63. IE: Inni ishee abaree.

64. IR: Isheen maal goonaan abaaraa?

65. IE: Fardeen midhaankeessaa
iyyaa oofaa [jiru isaan]

66. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) [Qoyi isheen]
fardeen oofnaan abare

67. IR: Ati kanuma beekta.

68. IE: Eeyyee

69. IR: Mallatteessi.

62. IR: ((interruptedher))
I asked you what was
she ddoing?

63. IE: He insulted her.

64. IR: What was his reason to
insult her?

65. IE: While chasing the horses,
[she was] shouting

66. IR: ((Interrupted)) [wait
because she] chased the
horses, he insulted her

67. IR: You know only this.

68. IE: Yes

69. IR: sign.

Transcript 9

1. IR: Eenyu maqaankee?

2. IE: Maqaankoo Abbabaa Fufaa dha.

3. IR: Umuriinkee waggaa meeqa?

4. IE: Umuriinkoo (.) digdamii saddeeti

5. IR: Hojiinkee maalinni?

6. IE: Wangeelaawiidha

7. IR: Teessoonkee eessa?

8. IE: Bolaa Dammaqaa

9. IR: Har'a waan dhuftee ::f beektaa?
Maaliif dhufte?

10. IE: Rakkoo: (-) ⁰obboo Guutamaa⁰

11. IR: ((gidduutti kuteen))

1. IR: What is your name?

2. IE: My name is Ababa Tufa.

3. IR: How old are you?

4. IE: My age (.) twenty eight
years

5. IR: What is your job?

6. IE: Preacher

7. IR: Where is your residence?

8. IE: Bola Damaka

9. IR: Do you know why you
Co::me here today?

Why you come?

10. IE: Proble:m (-)
⁰Obbo Gutema⁰

11. IR: ((interrupted))

Maa ::liif dhufte HAR'AA ::N
 siinjedhe?

12. IE: Har'a?

13. IR: Ee

14. IE: Har'a raga (-)

15. IR: Raagaa taateetu dhufte?

16. IE: Eeyyee

17. IR: Himataaf himatamaa beektaa?

18. IE: Eeyyee

19. IR: Himataan eenyunni?

20. IE: Himataan obboo
 Gutemaa Badhaadhaa

21. IR: Himatamaanoo?

22. IE: Dargaggoo Alamaayyoo
 Biraanuufi (.)Darajjee Biraanuu

23. IR₂: Ishii: isaan gidduutti
 jibbaafi firooma qabdaa?

24. IE: Lakki

25. IR: Garee lachuurraayuu isa
 himatus isa himatamurraas
 jibbas firoomas hinqabduu?

26. IE: Homaa [rakkoo hinqabu]

27. IR: ((Giduutti kuteen))
 [Atinsiinjedhe]

28. IE: Rakkoo biraa hinqabu.

29. IR: Rakkoo sigaafadheeraa?
 firoomaafi jibba qabdaa
 irraayiin siinjedhe malee

I said, wh ::y are you here
 TODA ::Y?

12. IE: Today?

13. IR: Yes

14. IE: Today witness (-)

15. IR: Have you come to
 witness?

16. IE: Yes

17. IR: Do you know the
 complainant and the defendant

18. IE: Yes

19. IR: Who is the complainant?

20. IE: The complaint is Gutema
 Bedada

21. IR: What about the defendant?

22. IE: Alemayehu Birhanu and (.)
 Dereje Birhanu

23. IR₂: O:k Do you have conflict or
 relations with them?

24. IE: No

25. IR: Don't you have any conflict
 or relation with both the
 complainant and the defendant?

26. IE: I have [no problem]

27. IR: ((Interrupted))
 [What I said is]

28. IE: I haven't any problem.

29. IR: Did I ask you about problems?
 I asked you whether you
 have relation or conflict
 with them.

30. IE: Firoomas isaanirraa
hinqabu.
31. IR: Maal beekta isaan
gidduutti?
32. IE: Isaan gidduutti ani
Waantinbeeku (-)
33. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) Maaltu ta'e?
34. IE: Waanti gidduusaaniitti ta'e,
ani waldaa [dhaquufan deema]
(ee) waldaa dhaquufan deemaa:
35. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen)) MAAL
godhanii: Ijooleen
kun namicha kanaan
siinjechaan jiraa?
36. IE: Isaan lamaani, ijoolleenkun
Lamaan, dhufaniidhuma isaan
hin rukutan.
37. IR: hin reeban
38. IE: Eeyyee
39. IR: Yoomi?
40. IE: Rukutaanii hin kuffisan.
41. IR: Yoomii?
42. IE: Gaafa guyyaa toorbaa
43. IR: Ji'a kam keessa?
44. IE: Ji'uma isa kana keessa.
45. IR: Jiini kun ji'a meeqa?
46. IE: Ji'a arfaffaa
47. IR: Bara kami?
48. IE: Bara kuma lamaafi sagal
49. IR: Halkanmoo guyyaadha?
30. IE: I have also no relation with
them.
31. IR: What do you know
about them?
32. IE: What I know about them is (.)
33. IR: (Interrupted) What
happened to him?
34. IE: What happened is, while
I was [going to Church]
(ee) I was going to church
35. IR: (Interrupted) What I am
asking you is WHAT did
these boys do?
36. IE: The two boys came and
beat them.
37. IR: They beat them
38. IE: Yes
39. IR: When?
40. IE: Beat and made fell down
41. IR: When?
42. IE: On seven
43. IR: In which month?
44. IE: Just In this month.
45. IR: Which month is this month?
46. IE: The sixth month
47. IR: In which year?
48. IE: In two thousand nine
49. IR: Was it during the night

50. IE: Guyyaa, sa'aatii sadiirratti.
 51. IR: Guyyaa keessaa sa'aatii
 Saddiirratti,
 52. IR: Ganda kam keessatti?
 53. IE: Ganda Bolaa Dammaqaa
 54. IR: Bakkisunoo? iddee it lolli alate.

 55. IE: Bakka labuu jedhamutti
 56. IR: Maal argite ati achitti?
 57. IE: Achitti wantan arge anis
 mangadiidhuman deemaa isaanitti.
 dhufe Otoo isaan walitti bu'aniittin
 ani akka tasa itti dhufee walirraa
 dhowwe malee yeroo isaan
 wal rukutan hinagarre.
 58. IR: Eenyutu eenyuun rukutemee?
 akkamitti maaliin rukute?
 59. IE: Akkamitti rukutanii, amma
 ani mangadiidhaan deema.
 Mangadiidhaan deemaa iyyuman
 dhagahee yommaan dhufu isaan sun
 lamaan dhufanii isaan rukutani.
 60. IR: ((Gidduutti dhaabsiise))
 EENYUTU ee::nyu
 rukutee::n jedhe.
 61. IE: Dargaggoo Alamaayyoofoo (.)
 62. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen))
 Alamaayyoon
 eenyu rukute?
 63. IE: Isaan rukute

or the day?
 50. IE: During the day, at three o'clock.
 51. IR: During the day at three o'clock,

 52. IIR: In which kebele?
 53. IE: In Bola Damaka kebele
 54. IR: What about the specific place?
 where the conflict happened.
 55. IE: At a place called Labu
 56. IR: What did you see at that place?
 57. IE: I was walking while I came
 across them. I didn't see while
 they were beating each other.
 I only arrived while they
 were in conflict and helped him
 .
 58. IR: Who beat whom?
 How and with what he beat?
 59. IE: I was walking. While I was
 walking, I heard shout. Then,
 those two came and beat them.
 60. IR: ((Interrupted)) I said WHO bea::t
 who::m?
 61. IE: Alemayehu and (.)
 62. IR: ((interrupted)) Whom did
 Alemayehu beat?
 63. IE: He beat them

64. IR: Eessasaa rukute?
maaliin rukute?

65. IE: Ulee wayiitiin [ulee]

66. IR: ((Gidduutti dubbate))
[Ulee: akkamii:?]

67. IE: <Ulee dhumaa >qabataatiin
uleedhumaa eenyuudhaatiin
isaan rukute.

68. IR: Eessasaa rukute?

69. IE: Miillasaanii bitaa rukute.

70. IR: Miilla bitaa eenyutu rukute?

71. IE: Alamaayyoo [fi]

72. IR: ((Gidduutti kuteen))

[Qooyi] kan

Alamaayyoo bichaa

natti himi dura.

Alamaayyoon

EESSA RUKUTEEN

siinjedhe?

73. IE: Miillasaanii bitaa rukute.

74. IR: Miillasaanii bitaa jilbaa ol moo
jilbaa gadi?

75. IE: Jilbaa o' ol naannoodhuma kanaa
jechuudha.

76. IR: Iddoon rukutame maal ta'e?

77. IE: Iddo inni rukutame
yeroo isaan baasanii
nuargisiisan dhiita'eera.

78. IR: Hindhiita'e sana

64. IR: Where did he beat? Using what?

65. IE: Using a sort of stick [stick]

66. IR: Interrupted) [With what
ki:nd of sti:ck?]

67. IE :< Using his own stick >He beat
using stick.

68. IR: Which part of his body did
he beat?

69. IE: He beat his left leg.

70. IR: Who beat the left leg?

71. IE: Alemayehu [and]

72. IR: Alema – [WAIT] first
tell me only about Alemayehu.

I said, where did

ALEMAYEHU BEAT?

73. IE: He beat his left leg. below

74. IR: It is left leg above o:r the knee?

75. IE: It is just above the elbow
I mean around this.

76. IR: What happened to the beaten
area?

77. IE: The beaten area swelled they.
showed us.

78. IR: It swelled. What about after

boodawoo? Inni tokkowoo
eessa rukute?

79. IE: Inni tokkos achuma rukute.

80. IR: ACHUMA idduma inni
duraa rukutemo:?

81. IE: Iddoosana lama dhiitoonsaa.

82. IR: Gararraamoo gajjallaa?

83. IE: Achuma tokko as tokko asi

84. IR: Ela jechikoo siigaleeraawoo?
Himatamaan tokkoffaan jilba gararraa
rukutee dhiitessee jette. Himatamaan
lammaffaanoo: eessa rukute?

85. IE: Himatamaan lammataanis
achuma rukuteenii.

86. IR: Achi iddee kami?

87. IE: Sarbaa, isaanii gara olii

88. IR: Miilla isa kami?

89. IE: Miilla bitaa

90. IR: Miilla bitaa, jilbaa
gadimoo jilbaa oli

91. IE: jilbumaa oli

92. IR: Innis rukutee maal ta'e iddoon sun?

93. IE: Iddoon sun lachuu dhiita'eera

94. IR: Iddeen lachuu dhiita'eera.

95. IE: Eeyyee

96. IR: Kanuma argite?

97. IE: Ani hammanuman arge

that? Which area did the
other person beat?

79. IE: The other one also beat there.

80. IR: Just the SAME PLAE where
the first person beat?

81. IE: In that place, there are
two swellings.

82. IR: Is it above or below?

83. IE: Just there. One here. One her

84. IR: Look have you understood?
You told us that first defendant
beat the leg of the peron above
the knee. So, where did the
second person beat?

85. IE: The second person also beat
in the same place.

86. IR: There. Which place?

87. IE: Just above his thigh

88. IR: Which leg?

89. IE: The left leg

90. IR: The left leg, below the
elbow or above the elbow?

91. IE: Just above the elbow

92. IR: What happened to the area
after being beaten?

93. IE: Both areas swelled

94. IR: Both areas swelled.

95. IE: Yes

96. IR: You saw only this

97. IE: I saw only this

98. IR: Asitti mallatteessi.

98. IR: Sign it here.

Transcript 10

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. IR: Maa:l argite amma ati? | 1. IR: Wha::t did you see ? |
| Maa: l beekta? | Wha: t do you know? |
| 2. IE: Animo:? | 2. IE: Me:? |
| 3. IR: Uh [↑] Maal maaltu bade? | 3. IR: [↑] What happened |
| 4. IE: < Uffata> | 4. IE: < clothe> |
| 5. IR: Gosti uffatahoo? Maalii. | 5. IR: What kind of? Clothe. |
| 6. IE: Surree: Tiisheertoota [caammaa] | 6. IE: Trousers T-shirts [shoe |
| 7. IR: [Surreen meeqadha] | 7. IR: [How many clothes] |
| 8. IE: (- -) Surree saddeeti. | 8. IE: (--) eight pairs of trousers. |
| 9. IR: Surree saddeti Han dhiiraamoo:: | 9. IR: Were these trousers males' |
| kan dubartii:? | O::r fema:les'? |
| 10. IE: Han dubartii: | 10. IE: Fema:les' |
| 11. IR: Hanbiraanoo::? maa:lfa'i | 11. IR: Wha:t e::lse? |
| 12. IE: Boodii | 12. IE: Body clothe |
| 13. IR: Mee: qa? | 13. IR: How many? |
| 14. IE: Iii (- -) boodii soddoma | 14. IE: Iii (- -)thirty body clothes |
| shurraabii (-) | sweater (-) |
| 15. IR: Shurraabii:: | 15. IR: Swea::ter |
| 16. IE: Sagal. | 16. IE: Nine. |
| 17. IR: kanbiraa:woo::? | 17. IR: Wha:t e::lse? |
| 18. IE: Taaytii. | 18. IE: Tight. |
| 19. IR: Meeqa? | 19. IR: how many? |
| 20. IE: Digdama. | 20. IE: Twenty. |
| 21. IR: Kan biraa:? | 21. IR: What e:lse? |
| 22. IE: Hand Waaktii Harkaa. | 22. IE: Hand (wakti). |
| 23. IR: Boorsaa Harkaa:tii :? Meeqa. | 23. IR: Is that ha:nd bag? how many. |
| 24. IE: Eeyyee Sagal. | 24. IE: Yes nine. |
| 25. IR: Borsaa Harkaa Sagal kan biraawoo:? | 25. IR: Nine hand bags what e:lse? |

26. IE: Caammaa dubartii.
 27. IR: Kophee dubartii: hanbiraahoo:?
 28. IE: Shitto.
 29. IR: Urgooftuu. urgooftuu meeqa?
 30. IE: Kudhan.
 31. IR: Maa: liin? kaa'amee jira.
 32. IE: Shaanxaa.
 33. IR: Shaanxaa? meeqa.
 34. IE: (- -)
 35. IR: Meeqaa:?
 36. IE: Sadii.
 37. IR: Shaanxaa sadiin↑teenyutu
 Fuudheree?
 38. IE:Gowaaddenyaakooti.
 39. IR: Enyusheen?
 40. IE: Maqaashee (-) Addisee
 41. IR: Addisee jedhamti. yeroo isin
 manaa baatan fuutee ?
 42. IE: Eeyyee.
 43. IR: (barreesaa jirti) Yeroo (- -)
 nutii (- -)manaa banu fuute
 Qabeenyaan kun kan ↑teenyuuti ?
 44. IE: Innaattee nech yelaakechiwu.
 45. IR: Hh..hh
 46. IE: Haadhakoo. Kewuccii.
 47. IR: Qabeenyaan kun manaa
 baduusaa beekta.
 48. IE. Yes .
 49. IR: Asitti maqaakee
 barreessii mallatteessi

26. IE: Females' shoes.
 27. IR: Women's shoes what else?
 28. IE: Perfume.
 29. IR: Perfume. how many?
 30. IE: Ten.
 31. IR: With what? container it was.
 32. IE: Bag.
 33. IR: How many? bags.
 34. IE: (- -)
 35. IR: How many?
 36. IE: Three.
 37. IR: with three bags ↑who took it?
 38. IE: My friend.
 39. IR: Who is she?
 40. IE: Her name (-)
 41. IR: She is called Addise.
 she took it when you were
 out from house?
 42. IE: Yes.
 43. IR: (transcribing) she took
 when (- -) we (--)went out
 ↑whose possession it is?
 44. IE: It is my mother who sent.
 45. IR: Hh..hh
 46. IE: My mother. from abroad.
 47. IR: You know these
 properties lost .
 48. IE. Eeyyee.
 49. IR: write your name and sign here.

Transcript 11

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. IR: Maqaankee? | 1. IR: Your name? |
| 2. IE: Beetii | 2. IE: Bety |
| 3. IR: Beetii eenyuu? | 3. IR: Bety whom? |
| 4. IE: Beetii Tarrafaa. | 4. IE: Bety Terfera. |
| 5. IR: Beetii Tarrafaa. Maaliif? Dhuftee: | 5. IR: Bety Terefa.
Why you have come |
| 6. IE: Dhimma (.) Abdifaafin dhufe | 6. IE: Because of the case of (.)
Abdi and others |
| 7. IR: Mee: maa:?! beekta guyyaasaarraa
ka'iitii waan beektu | 7. IR: What do you know
let you tell us about what you
know starting from the date |
| 8. IE: Guyyaasaa (-) [saa] | 8. IE: Guyasa (-) [|
| 9. IR: [himataan eenyu?] | 9. IR: [Who is the complainant?] |
| 10. IE: Himataan Abdii Guddataa.
Gudeta. | 10. IE: The complainant is Abdi |
| 11. IR: Himatamaanoo:? | 11. IR: What about the defendant? |
| 12. IE: himatamaa innisii (-) | 12. IE: the defendant (-) |
| 13. IR: Mee: maaltu maal ta'e? gaafa
guyyaasanaa guyyaasaarraa
ka'ii dubbadhu | 13. IR: Then what happened ?
speak about it starting
from the date |
| 14. IE: Gaafa kamisaa galgala
sa'aatii [afuriifii] | 14. IE: Thursday evening at [four] |
| 15. IR: [Gaafa guyyaa meeqaati?] | 15. IR: [On which date?] |
| 16. IE: Gaafa guyyaa tokkoo | 16. IE: On the 1 st day |
| 17. IR: Gaafa guyyaa tokkoo JI'A (.)
MONTH (.) | 17. IR: ON the first day of the |
| 18. IE: Ji'a lammaffaa. | 18. IE: The second month. |
| 19. IR: Bara Kami ? | 19. IR: Which year? |
| 20. IE: Bara kuma lamaafi | 20. IE: The year two |

- | | |
|--|---|
| kudha tokko. | thousand eleven. |
| 21. IR: Eessattidha? | 21. IR: Where? |
| 22. IE: Asi dhaaba dammaa. | 22. IE: Here honey market area> |
| 23. IR: Magaala kami ? | 23. IR: Which town? |
| 24. IE: (magaalaa kana) | 24. IE: (magaalaa kana) |
| 25. IR: Ganda kami ? | 25. IR: Which Kebele? |
| 26. IE: Ganda duwwaa sadii. | 26. IE: Kebele zero one. |
| 27. IR: Naannoon sun maal?
Jedhama | 27. IR: What? is that particular
place called |
| 28. IE: Naannoo (-) safara
dammaatti wallolan | 28. IE: they quarreled around (-)
honey market |
| 29. IR: Mee maaltu ta'e ? egaa
gaafa guyyaa tokkoo ji'a lama
fi bara kudhanii kana maaltu ta'e. | 29. IR: Then what happened?
on the first day second
month two thousand ten. |
| 30. IE: Saa'aatii afuriifi walakkaa
akkabaabii (.) Abdiin galuu
didee kanaaf abbaa warraakoo
afuriifi walakkaa akkabaabii
yeroo ta'u nandaawwaleefii
hingaltuu jenaan daqiiqaa
digdama naeegi nandhufaa
jedhe daqiiqaa digdamaa
booddee eegee dadhabee
barrii saaqeen [gad ba'e] isaa booda | 30. IE: Around four o'clock (.)Abdi
did not come back home
because of this I called him
when the time came to be
around four and half
o'clock and I asked him
why he did not come home
and he told me to come after
twenty minutes I waited for
twenty minutes and [went out]
opening the door after that |
| 31. IR: [ihii yoomi guyyansaa]
guyyaa bade beektaa? | 31. IR: [Ii when was the date]
do you know when he
disappeared? |
| 32. IE: Wallolaa jiru bar sagaleesaa
dhagahee iyyaa turee[| 32. IE: They were quarrelling
you know I heard his
him shouting[|

- 33 IR: Ihii [Eeynu
 34. IE: Warra wallolan hinbeeku
 ani [
 35. IR: [Eenyuun adda baasaa jiraree
 36. IE: Ijoolleen wallolaa jiruu
 37. IR: [Abdiitu iyyamoo nama
 biraatu iyya
 38. IE: Iyya namabiraan dhagahe anii (.)
 39. IR: Iyya nama bira dhageessee
 yeroo achi deemtu Abdiin gidduu
 jira ishii isaa booda maaltu ta'e
40. IE: Intinaa Anteenee
 Jifaaraammoo shimala
 qabatee dhaabbataa jiraa
 innaa fiigee gaafa Abbee
 bira dhaquu haati isaa
 jaartii duukaa jiruu innaa
 harkasaa mirgaadhaan
 dhaqee abbeen Takaabee
 dhiisi dhiisi jedhee
 gaafanni gidduu harkasaa
 mirgaadhaan abdii rukutuusaa
 nanbeekaa[
41. IR: [Eenyutu rukuta
 42. IE: Anteenee gaafa harkasaa
 bitaadhaan rukutu Abdiin kufe
 achitti achumarraan fudhannee
 mana yaalaatti geessine.
 43. IR: Kanuma beekta ati .
33. IR: Ihii [Who
 34. IE: I don't know the persons
 who were quarrelling [
 35. IR: [So who resolved the problem
 36. IE: The persons were quarrelling
 37. IR: [Is that Abdi or another
 person who was shouting
 38. IE: I heard another person's shout
 39. IR: When you went there
 hearing the shout of
 another person Abdi was
 among the persons ok
 what happened after that
40. IE: Anteneh jifara was
 standing caring stick
 (Shimel) then when he to
 Abbe running his old mother
 was there and Abbe went to
 Tekabe and said stop I also
 know that he beat Abdi
 with his right hand[
41. [IR: Who beat
 42. IE: Abdi fall down when Anteneh
 beat him with his left hand
 after that we took him to
 health station
 43. IR: You know only this.

Transcript 12

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. IR: Ragaadhaa ati? | 1. IR: Are you a witness? |
| 2. IE: Eeyyee. | 2. IE: Yes. |
| 3. IR: Maqaankee eenyu? | 3. IR: What is your name? |
| 4. IE: Dirribaadha. | 4. IE: Diriba. |
| 5. IR: Diribaa eenyu? | 5. IR: Diriba whom? |
| 6. IE: Iddoosaa | 6. IE: Idosa |
| 7. IR: Iddoosaa eenyuu ? | 7. IR: Idosa whom? |
| 8. IE: (Guddisaa) | 8. IE: (Gudisa) |
| 9. IR: Umuriinkee meeqa? | 9. IR: How old are you? |
| 10. IE: Digdamii saddeeti. | 10. IE: Twenty eight. |
| 11. IR: Hojiinoo:? | 11. IR: Wht abo: ut Job? |
| 12. IE: Daldaalaadha | 12. IE: Merchant |
| 13. IR: Sadarkaa barnootaa? | 13. IR: Educational status? |
| 14. IE: (kutaa afur) | 14. IE: (grade four) |
| 15. IR: Amantaa? | 15. IR: Religion? |
| 16. IE: Pheenxeedha | 16. IE: Pente |
| 17. IR: Sabummaa? | 17. IR: Nation? |
| 18. IE: ii (- -) | 18. IE: ii (- -) |
| 19. IR: SABUMMAA? | 19. IR: NATION? |
| 20. IE: Sabummaa: (-) | 20. IE: Nation: (-) hh Ethiopia: |
| hh Itophiyaadhakaa: | |
| 21. IR: Eessa jiraatta? | 21. IR: Where do you live? |
| 22. IE: Asuma | 22. IE: Here |
| 23. IR: As eessa? Magaala | 23. IR: Here where? in Ambo town? |
| Amboodhaa? | |
| 24. IE: Eeyyee | 24. IE: Yes |
| 25. IR: Himataan ↑ eenyudha? | 25. IR: ↑Who is the complainant? |
| 26. IE: Addisuu | 26. IE: Adisu |
| 27. IR: Addisuu eenyuu? | 27. IR: Adisu whom? |
| 28. IE: Addisuu Maammoo | 28. IE: Adisu Mamo |

29. IR: Himatamtootni
Eenyufaa? dha.
30. IE: Tokkoffaan Milkeessaa
Abbabaati
31. IR: Tokkohoo:?
32. IE: Geetuu
33. IR: Gara biraahoo:?
34. IE: Isaanuma kana.
35. IR: Mee MAA:L? godhan
ijoolleen kun maal
yennaasaan godhan
argite ati
36. IE: Ani (.) ijoolleen kana nuti
achi jirra yeroo sanii
37. IR: Ii
38. IE: Achi jirra
39. IR: ijoolleen kun kan
wallolee Addisuu Maammoo
fi Milkeessaa Abbabaati
isaan lamaantu wallole.
40. IR: Jibbaafi firooma qabdaa?
ati jarootakanarraa
41. IE: Hin qabu ani isaan
lachuurraayyuu
42. IR: Eessatti ?
43. IE: Naannoo Awwaroo
44. IR: Awwaaroon kun magaala
MAALII keessatti argama
godina maalii? keessatti
45. IE: Magaa laa Amboo
ganda duwwaa ja'a
29. IR: Who? are the defendants.
30. IE: The first is Milkessa Abebe
31. IR: The other one?
32. IE: Getu
33. IR: Another:r?
34. IE: Only these.
35. IR: Then WHA:T? did these
persons do you saw
while they were doing what
36. IE: I (.) these persons we
were there at that time
37. IR: Ii
38. IE: We are there
39. IR: The quarreled persons
were Addisu Mamo and
Milkessa Abebe.
40. IR: Do you have hatred and
relationship?
41. IE: I do not have from two of them
42. IR: Where?
43. IE: Around Awaro
44. IR: In which town is
this Awaro found in WHICH zone?
45. IE: Ambo town kebele zero one

46. IR: Maal? argitee maal?
beekta ati.

47. IE: Ani fuuldurasanatti
egaayi isaan kun lamaan
gizee wallolanii nuti
gidduu galle gizee
gidduu galluu isaan
sunimmoo lama
ta'aniituu mucaa
sana qabatani

48. IR: Ati kanuma beektaa jechuudha.

46. IR: What? did you see
What? do you know

47. IE: I was in front of them
when they were quarrelling
while we were trying to be in
between them those caught
the boy being two

48. IR: This means you know only this.

Transcript 13

1. IR: Maqqaankee?
2. IE: <Firoomsaa >
3. IR: Firoomsaa eenyuu?
4. IE: <Raggaasaa >
5. IR: Raggaasaa eenyuu?
6. IE: Raggaasaa Jabeessaa
7. IR: Jabeessaa?
8. IE: Eeyyee
9. IR: Umuriinkee meeqa?
10. IE: Digdamii shan
11. IR: Sadarkaa barumsaa ?
12. IE: Sadarkaa barnootaa egaa
nagadeetuman bulaa [
13. IR: [Kuta meeqa baratte
14. IE: Kutaa afur
15. IR: Hojiinkee?
16. IE: Hojiinkoo daldaalaadha.
17. IR: Fuutee?

1. IR: Your name?
2. IE: <Firomsa>
3. IR: Firomsa whom?
4. IE: < Regasa>
5. IR: Regasa whom?
6. IE: Regasa Jebesa
7. IR: Jebessa?
8. IE: Yes
9. IR: How old are you?
10. IE: Twenty five
11. IR: Educational status?
12. IE: Educational status well
I live on trading [
13. IR: [how many grades you learnt
14. IE: Grade four
15. IR: Your job?
16. IE: My job is merchant.
17. IR: Married?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 18. IE: Lakki | 18. IE: No |
| 19. IR: Amantaa? | 19. IR: Religion? |
| 20. IE: Amantaan pheexeedha. | 20. IE: Religion Pente. |
| 21. IR: Godinakana jiraattaa? | 21. IR: Do you live in this zone? |
| 22. IE: Ii | 22. IE: Ii |
| 23. IR: Godina kana <u>jiraattaa</u> | 23. IR: Do you <u>live</u> in this zone |
| 24. IE: Eeyee | 24. IE: Yes |
| 25. IR: Aanaa Amboomoo :? | 25. IR: Ambo worda? |
| Magaalaa. | O: r Ambo town. |
| 26. IE: Aanaa Ambooti. | 26. IE: Ambo worda. |
| 27. IR: Ii | 27. IR: Ii |
| 28. IE: Magaalaa keessa | 28. IE: In the town |
| 29. IR: Himataanoo eenyunni? | 29. IR: Who is the complainant? |
| 30. IE: Himataan (-) | 30. IE: The complainant (-) |
| 31. IR: Ii | 31. IR: Ii |
| 32. IE: Gammadaa Ragga'aa | 32. IE: Gameda Rega'a |
| 33. IR: Himatamanoo:? | 33. IR: What about the defendant? |
| 34. IE: Tokkoffaan Addisuu (-) | 34. IE: The first is Addisu (-) |
| Addisuu Baqqalaa | Adisu Bekele |
| 35. IR: Ee | 35. IR: Ok |
| 36. IE: Addisuu | 36. IE: Addisu |
| 37. IR: Addisuu Baalgodaa | 37. IR: Addisu Balgoda |
| hinbeektu taanaan | If you don't know the |
| asitti malee mana | name it will be problem |
| murtiitti rakkoodha | at the court ok on which |
| baqqaa gaafa guyyaa | |
| meeqaati day was it | |
| 38. IE: Gafa guyyaa | 38. IE: on the twenty fifth |
| digdamii shanii | |
| 39. IR: Ji'a meeqa | 39. IR: Which month |
| 40. IE: Ji'a kudhan | 40. IE: Ten months |

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|--|--|
| 41. IR: Maal beektaree | 41. IR: so what do you know |
| 42. IE: Waantan beeku etuman
achi taa'uu dhufanii ol
nam'anii | 42. IE: What I know is while
I was sitting there they came in and |
| 43. IR: hh | 43. IR: hh |
| 44. IE: Achii animmoo
dura surree najalaa kutan
jettee mucaan boo'aa jirtii[| 44. IE: After that she was
crying saying that they cut
the trousers[|
| 45. IR: Maal goota ati chii | 45. IR: What do you do from there |
| 46. IE: Ani achii::[hojjechaan]
jiraa: | 46. IE: I was [working] from the::re |
| 47. IR: [achii suuqii]
KEESSA TEESSAMOO:? | 47. IR: [AFTER THAT WERE YOU
SITTING IN [the shop] O:R?) |
| 48. IE: Achii (muuzii)adda addaan
hojjechaa jira | 48. IE: I am working different (banana) |
| 49. IR: .hh | 49. IR: .hh |
| 50. IE: Achiin hojjechaa jira
fuuldurumasanaa jechaadha[| 50. IE: I am working from there
in front of there |
| 51. IR: Amma ennaa sana suuqii
keessa jirtamoo eessa ?
jirta ati | 51. IR: where were you by the
time were ? you in the shop |
| 52. IE: Keessuman jira ani. | 52. IE: I was inside. |

Transcript 14

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. IR: Maqaankee:? Eenyu? | 1. IR: What? is you: r name? |
| 2. IE: <Indaalee Taakkalaa > | 2. IE: <Endale Takele> |
| 3. IR: Ih | 3. Ih |
| 4. IE: INDAALEE TAAKKALAA? | 4. INDALE TAKELE |
| 5. IR: Indaalee: Taakkalaadhaa: | 5. IR: I::s it Endale TAkele? |
| 6. IE: Eeyyee. | 6. IE: Yes. |
| 7. IR: Maalii:f? dhufte har'a. | 7. IR: Wh:y? you are here today. |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>8. IE: Ragaa seeraa bahuufan dhufe</p> <p>9. IR: Ragaa: seeraa ↑ maaltu maal ta'e.</p> <p>10. IE: (-) gaa:fa guyyaa sadii (-)
ji'a tokko kuma lamaafi kudha tokko
halkan keessaa sa'aa lamatti (-)
hojii oollee gowaaddanyaadhumakoo
isa wajjin oollee faana jechuudha[</p> <p>11. IR: [Eenyu gowaaddanyaan kee</p> <p>12. IE: Abbuu Gabree</p> <p>13. IR: Ishii::</p> <p>14. IE: Wajjin oollee gara
manakeenyaatti otoo galaa
jirruu halkan keessaa (.) sa'aatii
lamatti guyyansaa qidaamee (-)
namichi himataan kun silkii
daawwalaa ture. Himatamaan
obbo (Yonaas Si'eessaa)
kunimmoo nubiraa
utaalee darbee (-) nubira
utaalee darbee (-)
harkasaa harkasaa
mirgaa qabe harkasaa
lamaaniin.</p> <p>15. IR: Ishii::</p> <p>16. IE: Inni tokkommoo? shimalaan
gateettii isaa keessa rukute. Sanaan
booda gaafanni kufu namni
sadiimmoo:? iddoonni kufetti
cuubeedhaan doorsisu ture.</p> | <p>8. IE: I have come to give legal
testimony</p> <p>9. IR: Legal testimo:ny
↑ What happened.</p> <p>10. IE: (-) o:n day three (-)
one month two thousand
eleven during the night at
two o'clock (-) we were
together during the day and[</p> <p>11. IR: Who is your friend</p> <p>12. IE: Abu Gebre</p> <p>13. IR: O::k</p> <p>14. IE: While we were
returning to our home after
being together during
the day on Saturday (-)
at (.) two o'clock the
defendant was dialing phone.
the defendant obbo
(Yonas Si'essa) run
and passed by us and (-)
passed by us and (-)
caught his right hand
with his two hands.</p> <p>15. IR: O::K</p> <p>16. IE: The other one? beat his
shoulder with stick (shimel).
after that he fell down the other
three:? were threatening him
with were knife while he was</p> |
|---|---|

17. IR: Ishii:
 18. IE: Sanaa booddee iddoonni
 kufetti kiisiisaa keessaa qarshii
 kuma kudhan fuudhee [
 19. IR: [Qarshii kuma kudhanii: ?
 20. IE: Eeyyee
 21. IR: Hin lakkoofteettamoo:: ? maa:litti ?
beekta ati.
 22. IE: H-idhaadha <abbaa dhibbaa
 dhibbaa> Hidhaadhaa.
 23. IR: Jechuu::n lakkoobsa isaa maa:litti ?
Beektaree::? atii
 24. IE: Hidhaadha ture <birriin >
 25. IR: Qarshii isatu kuma kudhan
 Sii::n jedhe maleeyii
attamitti beekta
 hammanni qabate
 26. IE: Birrichi hidhaadhakaa::? abba
 dhibba dhibbaan.
 27. IR: Maa:linnii hidhameef
otoo hin ta'iinii
 kuma sadii:s hidhachuu
 nan danda'a kuma shanis
 hidhachuu: nan danda' a
 ati hin lakkoofne mitii?
 qarshii sana.
 28. IE: Qarshii sana <ani hin
 Lakkoofne> garuu[
 29. IR: [Abbaa dhibbaa ta'uu beekta.
- lying on the ground.
 17. IR: O:K
 18. IE: After that he took
 ten thousand birr from
 his pocket from where
 he lied on the ground and
 19. IR: Ten thousand bi: rr?
 20. IE: Yes
 21. IR: Did you count? O::r
How you knew it.
 22. IE: It was packed.
 < hundred birr notes> packed.
 23. IR: I mea::n ho:w do you
kno:w? the number
 24. IE: <The money > was packed
 25. IR: How do: you know how
 much he possess unless he
 te::lls you it is ten thousand birr
 26. IE: The money was pac:ked?
 in hundred notes.
 27. IR: Wha:t is it it is not
because it is packed
 I can pa:ck three:
 thousand birr I can
 pack five thousand birr
 did you count? the money.
 28. IE: <I did not count the
 money> but [
 29. IR: [You know it is

30. IE: Abbaa dhibbaa ta'uu beeka.

31. IR: Eeyyee akkas malee ati
waan hin lakkoofne akkasumaan

32. IE: ↑Hidhaadhaa kaa: birrichi.

33. IR: Eenyutu fuudhe?

34. IE: Obbo Shunaa
Si'eessaa Sanaan booda
iddoo inni kufettii namni
sadii cuubeedhaan
doorsisu. obbo shunaa
si'eessaa namni jedhamu
kunimmoo?: kiisiisaa
bitaakeessaa birrii kuma
kudhan kana fuudhee: brichi
ishigiidhaa kiisiisaa bitaa
keessaammoo? qarshichi
dibbadhibbadha.

35. IR: Kanbiraamo?

36. IE: Eeyyee kuma ↑shaniifi
dhibba ja'a.

37. IR: Maa:l atoo LAKKOFTEETTAKAA
kankee fudhatanii? Kiisii: seenanii ?

38. IE: Ee (.)

39. IR: Kankee keessaa [

40. IE: Dhabanneetu ilaalla egaa nuti[

41. IR: [Maa:l? lakkaa'eetu fudhatee ?

Qo::yi na dhaggeeffadhu.

42. IE: Qoyaa egaa: sinittan hima

43. IR: [Maa:l natti himtaa? anuu sittan

hundred birr note.

30. IE: I Know it is hundred birr note.

31. IR: Yes it is like that you
did not count the money

32. IE: ↑The money is pa:cked.

33. IR: Who picked it?

34. IE: Obbo Shino Si'essa after
that three person were
threatening him. A person
called Shuna Si'essa:?
pi:cked a packed birr
which is ten thousand
from his left pocket
from his left pocket he
picked a packed birr of
hundred notes again.

35. IR: Additionally?

36. IE: Yes ↑five thousand
six hundred.

37. IR: Wha:t YOU COUNTED
did they take your own
money? from your po:cket?

38. IE: Ee (.)

39. IR: is it from your[

40. IE: We were observing standing [

41. IR: [Wha: t did he take counting?

Wa::it listento me.

42. IE: IE: Wait then I will tell you

43. IR: [Wha::t do you tell me?

- Himaa jira. dura waliigalle mitii ? I am also telling you.
 Didn't we agree before?
44. IE: Waliigalleerra. 44. IE: Yes we agreed.
45. IR: Qarshii abbaa dhibbaa
 ta'uu beekaa:: jette
 waliigallee amma
 immoo: birrii kuma
 shaniifi dhibba shaniif
 waanta'e jechaa: jirta
kankee miti kan bade
 the money was hundred
 birr notes and we
 agreed no:w you are
 te:lling me it is five
 housand five hundred
 something like that
 the money taken was
not yours
46. IE: Ishii 46. IE: Ok
47. IR: kanaafimmoo::
 qarshii fuudhuu? Yoo:
 argite malee? amma
 qarshii bay'ina sana
 HINBEEKTUUN
 siinjechaan jira ani.
 therefo::re unle: ss
 you see? the taking of the
 money? I am telling you that
 YOU DO NOT KNOW the
 amount of money.
48. IE: Eeshii 48. IE: Ok
49. IR: Otoo: kankeetii ::?
 hin beekta dhugumadha.
 kanaafimmoo isa
 kanarrattii lakkoofsasaa
 beektamoo::qarshiisana
 inni fuudhuusaa
beekteen jedhe.
 If it is you::rs? you
 know it it is truth. hence
 on this Occasion do you
 know the amount o::r only
 the taking of the money.
50. IE: Birrii fuudhuusaa
 Argineerra. himataan
 Taammiruu Miidhaksaa
 kunimmoo olka'ee iyyeetu
 birrii kuma kudha shaniifi
 50. IE: We saw him while he was
 taking the money. this nt
 complainaTamiru Mideksa
 stood up and shouted saying
 they took from fifteen

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p> dhibba shan narraa fuudhanii
 jedhe birricha baay'inasaa
 isatu[</p> | <p> thousand and five hundred
 the amount of money of
 course he knows[</p> |
| 51. IR: [Maal? inni naggaadeedhaa? | 51. IR: What? is he is he a merchant? |
| 52. IE: Naggaadee ta'ee?
hojiisaa hinbeeku ani. | 52. IE: I don't know his job
whether he is a merchant? or not. |
| 53. IR: Ishii: eessaa:? galtu isin. | 53. IR: O:k Whe:re? were you
coming from. |
| 54. IE: Nuti hojiirra oolleetu iraatii
nyaanneetu gara
manakeenyaatti gala
jirra nun [| 54. IE: We were coming back
from work after having
our dinner we[|
| 55. IR: [Isa faana deemaa jirtumoo: ? | 55. IR: Were you travelling
with him o: r? |
| 56. IE: Lakki qofa qofaa jirra nuti. | 56. IE: No we were alone. |
| 57. IR: Siniin maa: dhiisaniree?
sinirraa fudhachuu | 57. IR: Then wh:y didn't they
take the money from you ? |
| 58. IE:Nuti duubarra deemna
turee isaa booda nutiyyuu
iyyineefiirra | 58. IE: We were behind him
after that we also shouted
for him |
| 59. IR: Sintu iyyeefii:? lola qabuu:? | 59. IR: You shouted for
him? Did they have conflict? |
| 60. IE:Hinbeeku ani lola.
hinbeeku ani. | 60. IE: I don't know. I don't
know the conflict. |
| 61. IR: Yoomi? jettee guyyaasaa? | 61. IR: When? was the date? |
| 62. IE:Qidaamee. | 62. IE: Saturday. |
| 63. IR: Kanuma beekta. | 63. IR: You know only this. |
| 64. IE: Kanuman beeka. | 64. IE: I know only this |
| 65. Mallatteessi asitti. | 65. Sign it here. |

Transcript 15

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. IR: Maqaankee:? eenyu. | 1. IR: Wha: t? is your name. |
| 2. IE: Abbuu Gabree. | 2. IE: Abu Gabre. |
| 3. IR: ABBUU GABIREE | 3. IR: ABU GEBIRE |
| 4. IE: .h | 4. IE: .h |
| 5. IR: Teessoonkee: hoo? | 5. IR: You: r address? |
| 6. IE: Awwaaroo | 6. IE: Awaro |
| 7. IR: Ganda duwwaa meeqa? | 7. IR: Kebele zero what? |
| 8. IE: Ganda duwwaa ja'a. | 8. IE: Kebele zero six. |
| 9. IR: Har'a [↑] maaliif dhuftee? | 9. IR: [↑] Why you have come here? today |
| 10. IE: Ragaa seeraafan dhufe. | 10. IE: I have come for legal witness. |
| 11. IR: Ragaa seeratiif dhufte. | 11. IR: You have come for legal witness. |
| 12. IE: .h | 12. IE: h |
| 13. IR: Ragaa seeraa [↑] maaltu
maal ta'ee ? | 13. IR: Legal witness [↑] what happened |
| 14. IE: Namicha himataanii
Taammiraat Lachiisaa
jedhamu kunii nuti hojii
guyyaa hojjenna siniigalee: | 14. IE: The complainant called
Tamirat Lechisa you understand: |
| 15. IR: Eshii : | 15. IR: O:k |
| 16. IE: Kezzaa otoo nuti
iraatii nyaannee manatti
deebi'aa jirruu himatamaan
Shunaa Si'eessaa jedhamu
kun akkanni dawwalaa
deemutti harkasaa lamaaniin
harkasaa mirgaa kana qabuu
argineerra. | 16. IE: After that while we
were coming back home
after having our dinner
I saw the defendant called
Shunaa Si'essa beating his
right hand with his two
hand while he was dialing Phone. |
| 17. IR: Eshii : | 17. IR: O:k |
| 18. IE: Kufee jira. as keessaa
kiisiisaa keessaa birrii hidhaa | 18. IE: He laid down. from his
pocket he picked ten |

- | | |
|--|--|
| fudhuusaa kuma kudhan | thousand packed birr notes. |
| Fuudhuusaa fuudheera . | |
| 19. IR: Eenyutu? Fuudhe. | 19. IR: Who? took it. |
| 20. IE: Kiisii fuulduraakeessaa. | 20. IE: From the front pocket. |
| 21. IR: Kuma kudhan ta'uusaa
isatu sitti ↑ himemoo:?
lakkooftetu beekta. | 21. IR: Did he tell ↑ you the money
is ten thousand birr o:r ?you
knew through counting. |
| 22. IE: Lakki lakkaa'ees hinbeekuu.
hidhaa ta'uusaan arge ani. | 22. IE: No I did not count.
I saw it was packed. |
| 23. IR: Abbaa meeqaati? abbaa
Shaniiti ?moo:: abbaa kudhaniiti? | 23. IR: Was it five? O:r ten birr note? |
| 24. IE: Abbaa dhibbaati. | 24. IE: Hundred birr notes. |
| 25. IR: Halkanmoo:? guyyaadha. | 25. IR: Was it day? O:r night. |
| 26. IE: Halkani. | 26. IE: Night. |
| 27. IR: Halkanoo: Dukkana.
akkamitti? sitti mul'aterree:? | 27. IR: Night i:s dark then how?
did you see it? |
| 28. IE: Seenuusaa argineerrakaa:
nuti fuudhuusaa. | 28 IE: We sa:w him while
entering and pick:ing it. |
| 29. IR: Ibsaatu Jiramoo:?
ibsaa it qabde. | 29. IR: Was there light? o:r
you lit on that. |
| 30. IE: Ibsaa itti hinqabne nuti.
Isaan dhagaa nutti guuraa jiru. | 30. IE: We did not lit toward it.
they were throwing stone at us. |
| 31. IR: Birri waraqata ta'uusaa
adda baasteettaa? | 31. IR: Did you identify whether
it was paper or birr? |
| 32. IE: Yaaluudhuma namichaarratin
arge malee hinargine. | 32. IE: I did not see I saw only his trial. |
| 33. IR: Amma qarshiin fuudhame
suni meeqa akka ta'e hinbeektu. | 33. IR: Now you don't know
how much the money taken is. |
| 34. IE: Hinbeeku.Waanan
fudhadhu fudhadheeraa
itti hinbu'iinaa. koottaa | 34. IE: I don't know. He said
I have taken what I want.
don't touch him. |

dhiisaatii jedhe.

35. IR: Kiisii isa kam seene?
isa bitaamoo? isa mirgaati.

36. IE: Kiisii isa bitaa.

37. IR: Akkasii:?

38. IE: Eeyyee.

39. IR: Eeshi.

35. IR: Which pocket he
Entered? the left? or the right.

36. IE: the lest pocket.

37. IR: is tha:t ?

38. IE: Yes.

39. IR: Ok.

Transcript 16

1. IR: Maqaankee eenyu?

2. IE: <Gammachuu>

3. IR: Gammachuu.
Gammachuu eenyuu?

4. IE: Abarraa.

5. IR: Ii

6. IE: Abarraa

7. IR: Abarraa eenyuu?

8. IE: Likkiisaa

9. IR: Iii

10. IE: Likkiisaa

11. IR: Likkiisaa. Umuriikee meeqa?

12. IE: Digdama

13. IR: Amantaankee↑hoo?

14. IE: Pheenxee

15. IR: Sabummaankeehoo?

16. IE: Sabummaankeehoo (-)

17. IR: Ii

18. IE: Akkamii [

19. IR: [Oromoodhamoo:? Amaara ati.

20. IE: Oromoodha

21. IR: Godinnikee ?

1. IR: What is your name?

2. IE: < Gemechu>

3. IR: Gemechu. Gemechu whom?

4. IE: Abera.

5. IR: Ii

6. IE: Abera

7. IR: Abera whom?

8. IE: Likissaa

9. IR: Iii

10. IE: Likisa

11. IR: Likisa. How old are you?

12. IE: Twenty

13. IR: What about↑ your religion?

14. IE: Pente

15. IR: What about your nation?

16. IE: My nation (-)

17. IR: Ii

18. IE: How [

19. IR: [Are you Oromo o:r? Amhara.

20. IE: Oromo

21. IR: Your Zone?

22. IE: Amboo
23. IR: Amboo godina ↑ maalii jala jirti?
24. IE: Godina maalii jaladhaa?
25. IR: Ii
26. IE: Aanaa Amboo
27. IR: Isan SIGAAFACHAA JIRU
natti himi aanaan
 sigaafachaa jiraa? Amboo
godina maaliitiin ? siinjedhe
28. IE: Oromiyaa
29. IR: Ii
30. IE: Oromiyaa Godina
 Ambo jechuun (.)
 godina Ambootikaa
31. IR: Godina Amboo kan
 jedhamu jiraa?
32. IE: Eeyyee
33. IR: Godina MAALIITIREE:?
 Ambo
34. IE: Godina Amboo.
35. IR: Mucaan ↑ maa: l ta'ee?
 (ofitti gumgumte)
 Amma fakkeenyaaf
 godina Shawaa bahaa Shawaa kaabaa = = Shoa Zone North Shoa Zone
 kan jedhamu jira mitii ?
 kun Shawaa maaliitiree:?
36. IE: Shawaa Bahaa
37. IR: Dhugaa:?
 Adaamaadhaa: asi ? Shawaa
 Lixaadha. Ishii gandikee
22. IE: Ambo
23. IR: Under ↑ which Zone is
 Ambo found?
24. IE: Under which Zone?
25. IR: Ii
26. IE: Ambo Woreda
27. IR: Tell me WHAT I AM ASKING
 YOU about am I asking you woreda?
 I said under which Zone
 is Ambo found?
28. IE: Oromia
29. IR: Ii
30. IE: Oromia that means (.) it is
 Ambo zone
31. IR: Is there a Zone called Ambo?
32. IE: Yes
33. IR: Then WHI: CH? Zone is Ambo
34. IE: Ambo Zone.
35. IR: ↑ Wha: t happened?
 to the boy (complained to herself)
 for example aren't there east
 so Which? Shoa is thi:s ?
36. IE: East Shoa
37. IR: Su:re? is this Adama ?
 This is west Shoa. O:k?
 Your kebele is zero ↑ what?

- duwwaa ↑meeqa?
38. IE: Ishi
39. IR: Bakka dhalootakee?
40. IE: Baakkoo
41. IR: Baakkoon aanaa maa:l
jala jirti ?
42. IE: Aanaa (-) godinasaamoo: (.)
43. IR: MAA:L ta'ee: kun
godinnifi aanaan tokkoo:?
44. IE: Aanaa Baakkoo Tibbee.
45. IR: Aanaa Baakkoo
Tibbee kan jedhamu
jiraa ? (Guddetaa
(-) Guddee Baakkoon
aanaa kami jalaa?)
Godinnikee eessadha ?
46. IE: Godina Amboo
47. IR: Oo! Isuman
amma sitti hime natti
himtaayii:? ammas
amma sitti hinhimnee?
Shawaa lixaa jedhee.
48. IE: Hin beeku
49. IR: Amma sitti hinhimnee?
ani ganda meeqaa?
50. IE: Carii ganda duwwaa sadii.
51. IR: Cariin duwwaa
Sadiiyiin? sin jedhe.
MAALII KUN.
(Gaafatte Katamaatiin) Katamaa
Cariin duwwaa shan mitii?
52. Katamaa: Duwwaa Lama.
38. IE: Ok
39. IR: Your birth place?
40. IE: Bakko
41. IR: Under whi:ch woreda
is Bakko found?
42. IE: Woreda (-) its Zone o:r (.)
43. IR: WHA:T happened to thi:s
are Zone and woreda the same?
44. IE: Bakko Tibe Woreda.
45. IR: Is there Woreda
called Bakko Tibe ?
(Gudeta (-) Gudde
under which woreda
is Bakko?) Where
is your Zone?
46. IE: Ambo Zone
47. IR: Oo!You tell me again
what I tell you no:w? didn't
I tell you? saying West Shoa.
48. IE: I don't know
49. IR: Didn't I tell you?
which kebele?
50. IR: Chari Kebele Zero three.
51. IR: I say is Chari
zero three WHAT IS THIS
(asked Ketema) isn't
Charii zero five? Ketema
52. Ketema: Zero two.

53. IR: O! duwwaa
sadii jedhaaree
kunimmoo: Hinbeeku
hin jettuu maal
giddaajiidhaan sifidee
54. IE: Aayi giddaajiidhaan miti.
55. IR: Hinbeeku
Hinjettuuuree? waanan amma
sitti himeyyuu dandeessee
hindubbattu. dhuguma mana
murtii dhaabattaaree:? ati
56. IE: (--)
57. IR: Ii Himataan eenyudha?
58. IE: Himataan Tasfayeedha.
59. IR: Tasfaayee Eenyuudha .
60. IE: Gasharee
61. IR: Gasharee. Gashareedhamoo: ?
Gasharbuudha. ka'i gaafadhu
(0.20)
62. IE: Gasharbuudha.
63. IR: Maa Gasharbuudha
Jettaree? firooma irraa qabdaa?
64. IE: Hinqabuu
65. IR: Sifaana eenyutu dhufe
66. IE: Dastaa
67. IR: Jibbaafi firooma
irraa hinqabduu
68. IE: Lakki
69. IR: Lachanurraayyuu barroo
70. IE: Ji'a tokkoffaa (--)
maskaramii (--)
53. IR: Oh! Thi:s guy says
zero three why you don't
say I don't know why
did come being obliged
54. IE: No not with obligation.
55. IR: So why don't you
say? I don't know even
you don't realize what
I tell you now. For sure
doyou stand at the court in this way?
56. IE: (--)
57. IR: Ii who is the complainant?
58. IE: The complainant is Tesfaye.
59. IR: Tesfaye whom.
60. IE: Gashare
61. IR: Gashare. Is it Gashare?
o:r Gasharbu. stand and ask
(0.20)
62. IE: It is Gasharbu.
63. IR: So why you Gashare
do you relation
64. IE: No I don't have
65. IR: Who were with you
66. IE: Desta
67. IR: You don't have
friendship and conflict
68. IE: No
69. IR: From two of them the year
70. IE: the first month (--)
meskerem (--)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 71. IR: MUCAA? abbaan
dhimmaa baayyeetu
dhaabachaa jira. | 71. IR: YOU GUY many persons
are waiting. |
| 72. IE:Gguyyaa ja'a[| 72. IE: Six days [|
| 73. IR: [hh Jiinoo:? | 73. IR:[hh the mo:nth? |
| 74. IE: Ji'a hinqabanne. | 74. IR: Month I don't remeber it. |
| 75. IR: Hinqabannee:? ji'a
isa kam keessa? | 75.IR: I didn't rembe:r? in which month? |
| 76. IE: Dheengadda jechaadha.
gaafa maaksanyoo. | 76. IE: It was the day before.
yesterday on Tuesday. |
| 77. IR: JI'A MEEQAFFAADHAREE ? | 77. IR: SO WHICH MONTH IT IS? |
| 78. IE: Ji'asaa hinbeeku. | 78. IE: I don't know the month. |
| 79. IR: Istii lakkaa'i ji'aan. | 79. IR: Let you count in month. |
| 80. IE: (- -) | 80.IE: (--) |
| 81. IR: Xiqimtiin ji'a meeqaffaadha? | 81. IR: Which month is October? |
| 82. IE: (- -) | 82. IE: (--) |
| 83. IR: BEGEETAA BEYESUUS
namni akkanumaan lafarra.
deemaayii? Halkanmoo?
guyyaadha. | 83.IR: IN THE NAME OF
THE LORD JESUS does he
simply move?on the earth.
Is that day or? during the night. |
| 84. IE: Guyyaa | 84.IE: Day |
| 85. IR: Guyyaa keessaa sa'aatii
Meeqa? | 85.IR: At what time of the day? |
| 86. IE: Kudha lama | 86. IE: Twelve |
| 87. IR: Ih | 87.IR: Ih |
| 88. IE: Kudha lama | 88. IE: Twelve |
| 89. IR: Eessatti | 89. IR: Where |
| 90. IE: (-) Gabaa Baqqalaa. | 90. IE: (-) Beke Market. |
| 91. IR: Ganda duwwaa meeqa? | 91. IR: Kebele zero what? |
| 92. IE: Ganda duwwaa lama. | 92. IE: Kebele zero two. |
| 93. IR: Naannoo gabaa baqqalaatti | 93.IR: What happened at |

maaltu ta'e?
 94. IE: Otoonni Boqqolloo
 gurgurachaa jiruu taa'ee innii
 duubaan dhufee
 rukuchuusaan arge.
 95. IR: Ijakeetiin argitee.
 96. IE: Eeyyee.
 97. IR: Tole.

Bekele market?
 94. IE: I saw him beating
 from behind while he was
 sitting and selling maze.
 95. IR: You saw with your necked eyes.
 96. IE: Yes.
 97. IR. Ok.

Transcript 17

1. IR: Maqaakee eenyu?
 2. IE: Nagasa
 3. IR: Nagasa eenyuu?
 4. IE: Dhinsaa. Dhinsaa.
 5. IR: Umuriinkee meeqa?
 6. IE: Digdama
 7. IR: Sadarkaa barumsaakee?
 8. IE: Ammammoohojjechaan
 Jira. kutaa kudhan fixeen.
 9. IR: Maaliif dhufte har'a?
 10. IE: Miidhamaa Taaffasaa
 yeroo miidhaman argee
 ragaafan dhufe.
 11. IR: Miidhamaan Taaffasaan
 Maa:l ta'e?
 12. IE: Hin reebame.
 13. IR: Eenyutu? Reebe.
 14. IE: Kabbadaa fi Taasisaa.
 15. IR: Ii
 16. IE: Kabbadaa fi Taasisaa .
 17. IR: Eessatti ?

1. IR: What is you name?
 2. IE:Nagasa
 3. IR: Nagasa whom?
 4. IE: Dinsa. Dinsa.
 5. IR: How old are you?
 6. IE: Twenty
 7. IR: Your educational status?
 8. IE: Now I am working. after
 completing grade ten.
 9. IR: Why you are here today?
 10. IE: I have come to give my
 witness about the complainant
 Tafese.
 11. IR: Wha:t happened to
 the complainant Tafese ?
 12. IE: He was beaten.
 13. IR: Who? beat him.
 14. IE: Kebede and Tasisa.
 15. IR: Ii
 16. IE: Kebede and Tasisa.
 17. IR: Where?

- | | |
|--|---|
| 18. IE: Aabboo Laga maaroo. | 18. IE: Abo Laga maro. |
| 19. IR: Ii | 19. IR: Ii |
| 20. IE: Laga maaroo. | 20. IE: Laga maro. |
| 21. IR: Maalinni sababiin lolaa? | 21. IR: What is the reason for the conflict? |
| 22. IE: Sababasaa hinbeeku. Ani
Gara manatti galuuf deemaa
jirraa: etoo deemaa jirruu
dhaaphuu jedheen [| 22. IE: I don't know the reason.
while we were walking
to ho:me he said stop[|
| 23. IR: Eenyutu dhaaphu jedhaan? | 23. IR: Who said stop? |
| 24. IR: Si'a tokko dhahee? | 24. IR: He beat once? |
| 25. IE: Yennaa inni dhahu?
hin kufee. Iddoo inni
kufesanatti rukute. | 25. IR: when he beat him?
He fall down. He beat him.
where he lay down. |
| 26. IR: Eenyutu? | 26. IR: Who? |
| 27. IE: Dugdasaa rukute Kabbadaan. | 27. IE: Kebede beat his back. |
| 28. IR: Deebiseetumamoo:? | 28. IR: Aga: in? |
| 29. IE: Eeyyeen. | 29. IE: Yes. |
| 30. IR: <u>Uluma sanaan?</u> | 30. IR: <u>With that stick?</u> |
| 31. IE: Eeyyee achii yeroo
inni olan jedha jedhu
Taasisaan immoo
dugdasaarra dhahee achii
deebi'ee ammas harkasaa
kanatti dabalee kaanee
iyyinee yeroo olqabnu [| 31. IE: Yes after that when he tres
to stand up Tasisa beat his back
the he added to his hand we
shouted took him up [|
| 32. IR: Isaanoo: garamitti? goran. | 32. IR: Which direction the:y? went |
| 33. IE: Kallatti isaaniitti goran
Hinbeeku. | 33. IE: I don't know which direction
they went. |
| 34. IR: Halkanmoo: guyyaadhaa? | 34. IR: Was it at day? O:r
during the night. |
| 35. IE: Sa'aatii tokko hinta'a | 35. IE: It will be one o'clock in assumption. |

tilmaamaan.

36. IR: Galgalamoo:?

37. IE: Eeyyee.

38. IR: Ijumaan argite.

yommaanni rukute

39. IE: Eeyyee.

36. IR: In the evening o:r?

37. IE: Yes.

38. IR: You saw. while he

was beating.

39. IE: Yes.

Transcript 18

1. IR: Maqaankee eenyu?

2. IE: Kumee

3. IR: Kumee?

4. IE: <Eeyy>

5. IR: Olfuudhii dubbadhu.

Kumee eenyuu?

6. IE: Dhaabasaa

7. IR: Kumee Dhaabasaa?

8. IE: Kumee Dhaabasaa eenyuu:?

9. IE: Riqitaa

10. IR: Ih

11. IE: Riqitaa

12. IR: Riqitaa

13. IE: Umuriinkeehoo:?

14. IE: (-)

15. IR: Ih

16. IE: Digdama

17. IR: Amantaankeehoo?

18. IE: Proteestaantii pheexee
jechuudha

19. IR: EESSA jiraatta?

20. IE: Ganda duwwaa lama.

21. IR: Ganda Duwwaa lama.

1. IR: What is your name?

2. IE: Kume

3. IR: Kume?

4. IE: <Yes>

5. IR: Speak loudly. Kume whom?

6. IE: Dabasa

7. IR: Kume Dabasa?

8. IE: Kume Dabasa Who:m?

9. IE: Rikita

10. IR: Ih

11. IE: Rikita

12. IR: Rikita

13. IE: Wha about you:r age?

14. IE: (-)

15. IR: Ih

16. IE: Twenty

17. IR: What about your religion?

18. IE: Protestant I mean Pente

19. IR: WHERE do you live?

20. IE: Kebele zero two.

21. IR: Kebele zero two. Ambo town?

magaalaa Ambootii?

22. IE: Eeyyee

23. IR: Har'a maaliif? dhufte

24. IE: (-) ee <Taaffasaa Dhinsaatiif >
ragadhaafan dhufe.

25. IR: Taaffasaan maa:l ta'e ?

26. IE: Hin reebame

27. IR: Eenyutu reebe?

28. IE: (-) Kabbadaa (Naccii)

29. IR: Kabbadaa (Nacciitu) reebbee.

30. IE: Eeyyee

31. IR: Isuma bichaadhaa :?

32. IE: Taasisaanis jira

33. IR: Kabbadaan[↑] maaliif
rukute sababni isaa?

34. IE: Sababa isaa hinbeeku.
ani karaa deemaan jira.
nama biraa otoon akkana
deebi'aa jiruu inni
rukutamemmoo akkana
deemaa jira manasaatti gala jira.

35. IR: Eshii:?

36. IE: Achii dhaaphuu jedheen.

37. IR: Eenyutu? dhaaphu jedhaan.

38. IE: Kabbadaa

39. IR: Kabbadaatu EENYUUN jedha?

40. IE: Taasisaa

41. IR: Eeshii::

42. IE: MAANNII kabbada maal

22. IE: Yes

23. IR: Why are you here? today

24. IE: (-) ee I have come as witness
< for Tafese Dinsa>.

25. IR: What happened to Tafesse?

26. IE: he was beaten

27. IR: Who beat him?

28. IE: (-) Kebede (Nechi)

29. IR: It is Kebede (Nachi)
who beat him.

30. IE: Yes

31. IR: O: nly him?

32. IE: Tasisa was also present

33. IR: [↑]What was the reason
for Kebede to beat?

34. IE: I don't know the reason.
I was walking on the
street. The person who was
beaten was walking to his home.

35. IR: O:k?

36. IE: After that he ordered
him to stop.

37. IR: Who? asked him stop.

38. IE: Kebede

39. IR: To WHOM Kebede said that?

40. IE: Tasisa

41. IR: O::k

42. IE: He sad WHAT IS IT Kebede

taatee? jennaan homaayyuu
 itti hindubbannee rukute.
 43. IR: eessasaa rukute
 44. IE: Mataasaa duubaakana
 Rukute
 45. IR: Ii
 46. IE: Mataa duubaa
 47. IR: Yoomi guyyaansaa?
 48. IE: Sanyoo galgala
 49. IR: Lakkofsaanan siinjedhee
 50. IE: Guyyaa kudha lama
 51. IR: Kana beekta
 52. IE: Eeyyee

what happened to you? he did
 not speak to him but beat him.
 43. IR: Where did he beat
 44. IE: The back side of his head
 45. IR: Ii
 46. IE: The back of the head
 47. IR: When was the date?
 48. IE: Monday evening
 49. IR: I said in number
 50. IE: On day twelve
 51. IR: You know this
 52. IE: Yes

Appendix: C

Interview Questions (English Version)

Interview Questions (Gaaffiiwwan Afaanii)

1. Why are you here? What is police for you? What is your attitude and feeling for the police?
2. Do you think that the police are different from any other people? Why?
3. How did you feel during the interview with the police interviewers?
4. Was the interview in a friendly approach or aggressive approach? Why?
5. How did the police start the witness interview with you?
6. Do you think the police have power? If you say police have power, what kind of power do you think they have? Where did the police bring this power from? What are the indicators of this power?
7. What kinds of questions were asked by the police?
8. How did you express your ideas? Just freely as you like or only being controlled by the police?
9. How did the police control you not to be out of the topic or to talk only the information that the police interviewer wants to get? What strategies you used to reduce impositions?
10. What kinds of methods or strategies did the police use to gather information from you?
11. Why didn't the police take any information you raised directly than using different strategies to ask and gather information?
12. How do you think the society perceives the police? Do they afraid off? Do they believe that the police have more power than the power they have?

Appendix D: Interview Questions (Gaaffiiwwan Afaanii) _ Afaan Oromo

Version

1. Maaliif dhufteetta asi? Poolisiin maal si'iif ? Ilaalchiifi miirri ati poolisiif qabdu maal fakkaata?
2. Poolisii namoota biroorraa adda gootee ilaaltamoo attamidha? Maaliif?
3. Miirri ati yeroo waliin dubbii poolisii waliin gootee maal fakkaata ture?
4. Waliin dubbiin keessan haala dhiheeyya hiriyyummaa of keessaa qabudhamoo kan biraadha? Maaliif?
5. Akkaataa kamiin kan qorataan yakkaa poolisiin yerroo raga bahuuf deemtesan siwaliin dubbii kan eegale?
6. Poolisiin human qaba jettee yaaddaa? Humnai kun humna attamiitii ? Maddi human kanaahoo maali jettee yaadda? Humni kunoo maaliin mul'ata/ ibsama?
7. Gaaffilee bifa amala attamii qaban bayyeen isaanii kan ati gaafatamte?
8. Yaadakee akkuma barbaaddetti (bilisaan) ibsachuu dandeesseettamoo akkaataa poolisiin sun siqajeelchettidha?
9. Akka ati yaada mataakee qofaa hin fayyaadamne maaliin / attamitti sidaangesse yookiin sito'ate poolisiin? Atimmoo dhiibbaa kana hirrisuuf toftaalee attamiifayyadamte?
10. Poolisiin odeeffannoo yookaan raagaa qabatamaa sirraa fuudhuuf toftaalee attamii fayyadame?
11. Poolisiin maaliif kanuma itti himame akka odeeffannootti hin fudhatu?
12. Hawaasni poolisii attamitti ilaala? Nisodaata, humna isaanii olii qaba jedhee yaada?

Appendix E: Sample Interview Transcript in Afan Oromo (Voluntary witness respondent) __ Afan Oromo version

Interview 1

Gaaffii fi Deebii Raagaa Bahaa lammaffaa waliin

IR: Duraan dursee gaaffiifi deebii kana naa laachuukeef fedhii qabaachuukeetiif galatoomin siin jedhaa maqqaankee eenyudha?

IE: Maqaankoo Tasfaayee Baayisaan jedhama

IR: Mee jalqabarratti poolisiinsiif maalidha?

IE: Anaaf poolisii jechuun qaama seeraati. Jechuunkoo poolisiin qaama nageenya hawaasaa eegu yaakki adda addaa akka hin raawwanneef kan to'atudha. Hanga danda'ametti yakka ittisuu yoo kanarra darbee yakki raawwatemmoo yakkaamaa qabee kan seeratti dhiheessudha. Kanafuu akkan yaadutti poolisiin qaama seeraa keessaa tokko ta'ee kan yakka nurraa ittisudhaan jedha ani.

IR: Tole. Ati akka nama dhuunfaatti ilaalchi ati poolisiif qabdu maal fakkaata?

IE: Eeye egaa ani poolisii gama lamaan ilaala. 1ffaa akkuma siin jedhe poolisiin qaama seeraa kan nageenya keenya eeguu waan ta'eef natty tola. Karaa biraammoo poolisiin seeraa waliin waan wal qabatuuf nama sodaachisa. Yeroo tokko tokko ejjennoo isaan shakkantootarratti fudhatan yeroo argitummoo nama rifachisa nama sodachisaa jechuukooti.

IR: Kanaafuu poolisii namoota biroorraa adda gootee ilaalta jechaadhaa?

IE: Eeyyee. Kun dhugaadha. Poolisiin namoota biroorraa addadha. Gama baayyeen ilaaluu danda'ama. Uffata seeraasaanii, meeshaa isaan qabatan, koofiyyaa isaanii, kana kana yeroo ilaaltu warra kaanirraa addadha. Dabalataanis itti gaafatamummaan isaaniiif laatameef namoota biroo akkakoof laatamee wal bira qabdee yeroo ilaaltu garaagartummaa guddaa argita. Kan isaanii yaakkaa argan yookaan shakkan iddoo

kamittu to'annoo jala oolchuuf human guddaa qabu. Kun kan tarii ani gochuu hindandeenyedhaa jeechuudha.

IR: Miiirri ati yeroo waliin dubbii poolisii waliin gootee maal fakkaata ture?

IE: Isaa dhugaa dubbachuuf baayyee nama sodaachisa. Miira soda of keessaan qaba ture. Haalli poolisoota achi jiraanii, bakkichi, uffata isaan uffataniif haloonni heeduun nama sodaachisu.

IR: Akkaataa kamiin gara dubbiitti galte yeroo raagaa bahuuf yaadakee laachuu jalqabde?

IE: Ol lixee. Isaa booda maqaakoo umuriikoo, teessookoo fi waan kana kana nagaafatan. Isaa booda gaaffilee hedduu nagafaatan. Akkaatadhuma kanaan gaafatamee jechuudha.

IR: Waliin dubbiin keessan haala dhiheeyya hiriyyummaa of keessaa qabuunimoo kan biraadha?

IE: Waliin dubbiin haala hiriyyummaa hin yaadamu. Sagaalee olkaasanii sigaafatu. Xiqqooshee akka dogongortu hin barbaadani. Isaan waan sigaafatan deebisuuf dirqamadha. Ta'uu baannaan hidhamuuyyuu dandeessaa ta'uu danda'a. Akka gooftaatti ilaalta jechuudha.

R: Poolisiin human qaba jettee yaaddaa? Humni /mirgi inni qabu kan attamiiti? Eessaa dhufe? Kunimmoo maaliin mul'ata?

IE: Eeyyee. Humna guddaa qaba. Humna waan qabuufi kan inni akka barbaadetti yeroo barbaadetti yoo sishakke to'annoo jala si oolchuu danda'u. Mirga qaba sababiin isaa seera eegsisaa waan ta'eef seeran laatameeraaf jechaadha. Ani egaa akkasittin yaada. Humni inni qabu kan seera wajjin wal qabatedha. Kan inni maddus achuma keessaa naatt fakkaata. Kan inni ittiin mul'atummoo raagaa akka baatuu yoo barbaadamte xalayaatiin barbaadamta. Fakkeenyaaf yoo diddee hafte yakkadha. Sababiin isaas seera hin kabajne jechuudha.

IR: Mee gaaffilee bifa amala attamii qaban bayyeen isaanii kan gaafatamte?

IE: Gaaffii kallattii adda addaatiin siigaafatu. Maal akka argite, eessatti akka argitee, yeroosaa, eenyuun akka argite, etoo maal goodhuu akka argite, eenyu waliin akka ture, yoomi akka ta'e fi waanu akkasii nama gaafatu. Baayyeen isaa ibsa akka itti laattu sigaafatu. Odeeffanno sana kallattii adda addaatiin mirkaneeffachuu waan barbaadaniif natty fakkaata.

IR: Akkuma barbaaddetti yaadakee ibsachuu dandeesseettamoo akkaataa poolisiin sun siqajeelchettidha?

IE: Waan akkasii hin jiru. Akka barbaaddeetti dubbachuun waajjira poolisii alatti qofa. Asitti waan gaafatamte qofaa dubbatta. Waan kana alaa yoo dubbatte waan biraa keessa galta. Isaanis siif hin obsani. Kanaaf kan ati dubbattuu waan isaan sirriitti dhaggeeffattee boodadha jechuudha.

IR: Akka ati yaada mataakee qofaa hin fayyaadamne maaliin / attamitti sidaangesse yookiin sito'ate poolisiin? Atimmoo dhiibbaa kana hirrisuuf toftaalee attamii fayyadamte?

IE: Jalqabarratti yaada mataakee kanati dubbattu dangaa dubbii poolisiin siikaa'een. Jechuun kan isaan sigaafatan qofaarratti hundoofteetu. Akka ati waan biraa dubbachuutiin yeroosaa hedduu hin fudhanneef ta'uu danda'a yoo barbaachise gidduutti sitti dubbatu yookaan sidhaabsisu. Itti aansanii ibsa yookaan gaaffii kallattii duraaniirra akkati deemtuuf si akeekkachiisu. Yeroo tokko tokkommoo waan ati dubbattu isaanitti hin tolle taanaan sidhaabsisanii kan ofii isaanii odeeffanno irratti barbaadan qofaa irratti akka ati xiyyeeffattu sitaasisuu jechaadha. Dhiibbaakana hanbisuu hindandahu garuu yeroo tokko tokko waan ani dubbachuu hinbarbaadne yeroo nagafatutti fakkeenyaaf yeroo xiqqoof akka nama yaadni jalaa badeetti otoo hindubbattiin turuu, yeroo inni akka ani dubbadhuu dhiibbaa naarratti gageessemoo sobee bukkee naannahuutiin waan biraa odeessuutiin irra darbuuf yala ture. Yerroommoo dubbichi raakina natty uuma jedhee yaademmoo akkas miti jedhee ofjabeesseedhuma dubbachuutu ture.

IR: Poolisiin odeeffannoo yookaan raagaa qabatamaa fuudhuuf toftaalee attamii fayyadama/fayyadame?

IE: Toftaalee asiin dura haasa'e maraa fayyadamaniiru. Soba raga bahuu dandeessa jedhaniitu fakkaata sisodaachisu, jechuunis dhugaashee qofaa akka itti himtu sitti dubbatu. Sagalee isaanii olkaasanii sitti dubbatu. Gidduutti sikuchisiisanii waan barbaadan qofa sigaafatu. Deebii ati laatteratti hundaa'anii kabiraa sigaafatu. Akka ati daangaa sana keessaa hin baanee sito'atu. Waantota akkas akkasiitiin sidaangessu jechuudha.

IR: Poolisiin maaliif kanuma itti himame akka odeeffannootti hin fudhatu?

IE: Akka natti fakkaatutti namni odeeffannoo laachuu dhufu tokko yookaan namni raagaa bahuu dhufu sobuu danda'a jedhanii waan yaadan natti fakkaata. Kanaafimmoo toftaalee adda addaa fayyadamanii odeeffannoo waan funaanani natty fakkaata.

IR: Hawaasni poolisii attamitti ilaala? Nisodaata, humna nuuti olii qaba jedhee yaada.

IE: Sirriitti nisodaata. Humna guddaa akka qabaniittis amana. Qabusimmoo. Sabaabiinsaa seerrii waan hedduu namoota biraaf hin laannee isaaniif waan kenneeru natty fakkaata. Fakkeenyaaf ani meeshaa hinqabu, akka arge shakkama qabuu hindandahu yoon yaales naaf qabamuu dhiisuu dnadaha. Isaan garuu kana hunda qabu.

IR: Odeeffanno naalaatteef galatoomi.

IE: Tole homaa miti.

Appendix F: Sample Interview Transcript in Afan Oromo (Voluntary witness respondent) _Afan Oromo version

Gaaffii fi Deebii Raagaa Bahaa lammaffaa waliin

Interview 2

IR: Duraan dursee gaaffiifi deebii kana naa laachuukeef fedhii qabaachuukeetiif galatoomin siin jedhaa maqqaankee eenyudha?

IE: Jireenyaa Abdiisaa

IR: Har'a waajjira poolisii kana maaliif dhufteetta?

IE: Waajjirri poolisii kun raagaa akkan bahuuf xalayaa naqaqqabsiisnaan dhufe.

IR: Poolisiin maal si'iif ? Ilaalchiifi miirri ati poolisiif qabdu maal fakkaata?

IE: Ani poolisii... anaaf qaama mootummaa, qaama nageenyaadha jedheen yaada. Ilaalchi ani qabu jaalaas ta'e jibbasaanii hiqabu.Yeroo yakkamtoota qaban, seera siritti kabachiisan natty tolu.Yeroommoo nama reeban, rukutan, dhiitanimmoo nattintolanii. Kanuma.

IR: Tole. Poolisii namoota biraarraa adda gootee ilaaltamoo akkaataa kamitti ilaalta me poolisii?

IE: Ee poolisii ani akka yaada dhuunfaakootti poolisii namarraa adda godheen ilaalaa. Sababni isaa poolisoonni qaama seeraa qaama nageenya eegu yookan hawaasa keessaa gadi bu'uudhaan yakki akka hin raawwatamne kan ittisaniifi yakki yoo raawwatamemmoo to'atanii seeratti warra dhiheessanidha. Kanaafuu poolisonni hawaasarraa adda kan isaan godhu huma mataasaaniitiin yookaan seeraan deeggaramanii gara seeraatti fiduufii yakki biraan immoo akka hin raawwatamneef immo leenjii adda addaa warra kennanidha.

IR: Tole. Amma yeroo waajjira poolisiikana dhufte maaltu sitti dhagahame? Waliin dubbii poolisii waliin goote irratti miirrikee maal fakkaata ture?

IE: Waajjira poolisii kana yeroondhufe sodaa tokko tokko namatti dhagahamaa maaliifii fakkeenyaaf raagaa bahuufan waamame waan ta'eef yeroo raagaa baanu kanaa poolisiin dhimma barbaadeef haala adda addaa fayyadamee gaaffii dhiheessuu danda'a fakkeenyaaf sagaleesaanii olguddisani yeroo dubbatan xiqqo naasuufi rifaatuun namatti dhagaamuu danda'a. Waanuma dura nugaafatanillee irra deebi'anii nugaafachuudhaan yaada keenya sakatta'uu waan ta'eef sodaafii of eeggannoo akka qabaannuf xiqqoo sodaan nutti dhagahama. Haalumti bakka itti yaadakee laattuuyyuu isa bakkeerra adda. As keessa yeroodhuma lixxu poolisii heedduu, shakkamaa heedduu, miidhamaa hedduu, raga nama laatu hedduu, meshaa waraanaa kan akka qawwwee fi shuguxii waan kana kana waan argituuf ni rifatta. Kanaaf bilisa taatee yaadakee hwaan ibsattu miti. Haala waliin dubbii poolisii waliin tasise keessattis yoo tahe miirrikee bilisa tahee yaadakee sirriitti ibsachuuf ulfaataa akka ta'e hubadheera.

IR: Tole amma kanaafuu poolisiinii namoota kaan akkuma keenyaarraatii addadhaa jettee yaaddaa jechuudha.

IE: Ee poolisiin hawaasarraa xiqqoo addadha maaliifii tokkoffaa dhimma yakkaafi dhimma nageenyaarratti waan hojjetaniifii hawaasa keessaa filatamanii yakki akka hin raawwatamneefii isa raawwatamemmoo qoratani gara seeraatti fiduufii hawaasni immoo nagaan bahee akka galuuf qaamolee hojjetanidha. Kanaafuu hawaasarraa addadha jedheen yaada ani.

IR: Kanaafuu humna hawaasni qabuutii olitti qabu jettee yaaddaaa?

IE: Eeyyeenikaa mootummaan isaan deeggara meeshaallee niqabuu. Uffanni isaaniillee kan hawaasarraa adda kan ta'e uffata mataasaanii qabu. Humna mataasaaniifii kan mootummaan isaan ajaajeen kan adeemanidha.

IR: Isaan kuni warrii fakkeenyaaf uffata uffachuun kuni meeshaa qabachuun kun mallattoo maaliiti sitti fakkaata?

IE: Fakkeenyaaf poolisiinii hawaasatti yeroo gadi bu'u uffata siivilii otoo hin taane uffata seeraa yookaan danbii uffetu bu'a. Sababiinsaa poolisiinii hawaasarraa kan ittinii adda ba'u uffata sanaan yookaanisimmoo meeshaan kennameefii uffatasana uffatanii

hawaasatti yeroo gadi bu'an poolisootadha isaan kunii mallattoosaanii yoo kanaachimmoo uffata seeraasaanii waan ta'eef uffatanii hawaasatti gadi bu'anii meeshaa sanammoo qabatanii soda tokko malee yakki akka hin raawwatamne fi isa raawwatamemmoo meeshaasanaan deeggaramanii yakka raawwatame gara seeraatti fiduu jechuudha.

IR: Me amma ati raagaa laatee baatee kana jechuunimmoo siifi poolisii gidduu waliin haasawuutu turee. Waliin dubbii siifi poolisii gidduutti taasifamaa ture maal fakkaata? Akkuma barbaaddetti yaadakee ibsatteettaa?

IE: Ee ani yemmuuni raagaa bahuufi maqaa waamamee ol galee poolisiin yaada mataasaatiinidha kan inni qorannoo gaggeessu. Gaaffii inni siidhiheessurra dhaabatteetu deebii kennita. Haala adda addaatti fayyadamee akkaataa dhugaa yookaan wanticha barbaadu sna argachuu danda'u sanatti fayyadamee gaaffii gaafata. Gaaffii inni gaafate sanaafimmoo seeraan deebii kennuun barbaachisaadha. Amma isaan yemmuu raagaa fuudhani sagalee olkaasanii dubbatu. Ishuma nuti dubbanne sanammoo hangam dhugaadha jedhanii irra deebi'anii nuugaafatu. Takkatakkammoo isuma dubbannu sana adda kutanii waan barbaadan nugaafatu waanta'eef isa kana akka nuti of eeggannoodhaan dubbannu nutaasisa. Wantichi gaarii ture garuu soda, naasuufi rifaatuunimmo xiqqo nama keessatti hin uumama yemmuu isaan gaaffii qaxxamuraa yookiin immoo gaaffii irra deddeebi'aa gaafatan kana sodaan natti dhagahamaa ture.

IR: Kanaafuu poolisiin raagaa fuudhuuf yookaan odeeffannoo barbaachisu fuudhuufi toftaalee adda addaa fayyadama jechuudhaa yeroo gaaffii taasisu kana keessatti?

IE: Eeyyee toftaalee adda addaa fayyadamaa. Fakkeenyaafii yakki tokko raawwatameera yoo ta'e eessatti maaliif akkamitti kan jedhu kana poolisiin nigaafata. Kallattiillee kaabamoo kibbarra dhaabattee argite, bahamoo dhiharra dhaabattee argitee, uffata attamii uffata turee, namtichi yakka sana raawwatemmoo uffata attamii uffataa, maal baataa kan jedhu odeeffannoo akkas akkasii yookaanimmoo odeeffannoo ittiin raagaa funaanu sana qabateeti kan inni raagaa sana fuudhu. Eessatti, attamitti, maaliif, maal ta'a jettee yaadda sababni isaa yeroosanammoo maaltu ture kan jedhu yeroo sana waan

jiran hundumaa gaafachuudhaaf waantota akkasiitti fayyadameetudha kan raagaa fuudhu.

IR: Tole. Mee amma poolisiin kanarra waanuma raagaa bahaan sun itti himu maaliif hin fudhatu ofiisaa irra deddeebi'ee gaafachuurraa fakkeenyaaf irra deddeebi'ee toftaa adda addatiin gaafachuurraa takkaa gaafatee waanuma namichi itti hime sana maaliif hinfudhatu?

IE: Eeyyee egaa ammaa namoonni sobuu danda'uu yommuu sobanimmoo odeeffannoo isaan funaannataniifi murtoo isaan kennan qulqullina dhabuu waan danda'uuf kanaafuu dhugaa barbaachaafi irra deddeebi'anii karaa itti dhugaa sana yookaan haqa sana baasanii murtoo itti kennan barbaadu waan ta'eef. Irra deddeebi'anii dhimmicha qulqulleessuuf gaaffii adda addaatti fayyadamanii dhimma kana qulqulleessu.

IR: Tole egaa amma poolisiin akka waajjiraattis ta'ee akka poolisii isa yakka sakatta'uu yookaan poolisii isa odeeffannoo fuunaanuu kanaatti human qabaa jechuukeeti.

IE: Eeyyee. Poolisiin humna qaba. Aangoo mataasaa hin qaba. Yakkootarrattis gad fageenyaan nihojjetaa kan hojjetamanillee hin qorataa, yakkoota hojjetaman akkamitti hojjetamanii, sababni isaanii maalidhaa kan jedhu aangoo qabanitti fayyadamanii dhimmoolee yakkaarratti nihojjetu.

IR: Tole amma mee kun yaada keeti. Hawaasni inni kaanimmoo fakkeenyaaf poolisii akkamitti ilaala? Hin sodaataa? Humna addaa nuutii olii qabu jedhee yaadamoo attamidha mee naa ibsi kana irratti yaada qabdu.

IE: Eeyyee. Amma poolisii hawaasni nisodaata. Maaliifii namni yakka yogguu hojjetu poolisiidhaan qabameetu gara mana sirreessaatti waan deemuuf baqqaa hin sodaatu maaliifii gahee hojii isaanii waan beekaniif yakkarratti waan hojjetaniif hawaasni hin sodaata. Yakka gaafa hojjetan poolisiidhaan to'atamanii gara waajjira kanaa kan isaan dhaqani poolisiinis immoo yakkooleen akka hin hojjetamne hawaasatti gad bu'anii wal ga'ii kaa'anii hin barsiisu, hin akeekkachiisu waan ta'eef poolisiin human guddaa akka qabu waan beekaniif hawaasni hin sodaata. Kanaaf hawaasni poolisii hin sodaatas hin kabajas.

IR: Humni kun eessaa dhufe? Poolisiin humana namoota biraarraa olaantummaa qabu eessa fide maalinni ka'umsi isaa?

IE: Amma poolisiin humna mootummaatiin deeggarametudha. Humna guddaa kan inni qabaatu 1ffaa poolisiin hawaasuma keessaatii funaanamanii erga buufata leenjiitti leenji'anii booda kan mootummaan gara hawaasaatti isaan fidee akka hawaasa tajaajilan godhu. Mootummaan gaafa gara hawaasaatti isaan buusu meeshaalee adda addaa isaan deeggaree human akka qabaataniif leenjii adda addaa isaaniif kennee dandeettii isaanii cimsee meeshaalee qawwee uffata erga kenneefii booda human akka godhataniif wantoota isaan barbaachisu erga guuteefii booda gara hawaasaatti gadi buusee akka isaan tajaajilan godha.

IR: Tole odeeffannookana naalaachuukeetiif baayyee galatoomi.

IE: Homaa miti.

Appendix G: Sample Interview Transcript in Afan Oromo (Voluntary witness respondent) _ English version

Gaaffii fi Deebii Raagaa Bahaa lammaffaa waliin

Interview Transcript 1

IR: First of all I would like to thank you for showing me keen interest to give me information on the questions I am going to raise. What is your name?

IE: My name is Tesfaye Bayissa.

IR: First of all, what is police for you? Or how do you explain police?

IE: For me, the police are legal body. This means, the police are the body that protect the peace and security of the society. They control the crime from happening. As much as possible they control the crime. If crimes happen, they arrest and bring the criminals or suspects to the law. Therefore, as I think the police are one among the legal bodies that protect us from being hurt by crimes.

IR: Well. As an individual, what kind of attitude you have toward the police?

IE: Ok. I see police in two ways. First as I told you earlier the police are legal body that maintains or protects us from different crimes and I am happy with them. On the other hand, because the police are related to legal body they make me afraid of them. When you sometimes see measures they take on suspects you will be frustrated, I mean you will be afraid of them.

IR: Therefore you see the police different from other people.

IE: Yes. This is the truth. The police are different from other people. This can be seen from different angles. When you see their legal clothes (uniform clothes) they wear, the weapons they carry, their capes, they are different from the other people. In addition, when you compare the rights and responsibility given to them, you observe great differences with other people who are not police. They have the right or power to control and investigate any crime they see or suspect everywhere. This is for example what people like me cannot do.

IR: How was your feeling during the interview with the police? Were you relaxed or worried? Or what kind?

IE: To tell the truth it is frustrating. I had a feeling of worry or frustration. The condition of the police there, the place itself, their uniform clothes and many of the conditions were frustrating.

IR: How did you enter into the interaction when you started giving your witness interview?

IE: I entered the interview room. After that, they asked me my name, my age, my address, and other similar issues. Then after they asked me many questions. So I was asked or interviewed in this way.

IR: How was the interview interaction? Was it in a friendly manner or in another way?

IE: It was difficult to think about friendly interaction. They use a loud voice like a shout during the interview. They don't want you make any mistake. You are obliged to give response for all questions they ask you. If not you can be even jailed. That means, you consider them as a master.

IR: Do you think the police have power? What kind of power or right do you think the police have? How is this power revealed?

IE: Yes. They have great power. It is because they have great power that they can arrest you whenever they suspect you. They have right because they work for the protection of people's right. I think in that way. The power they possess is related to law. As I think, its source is also from that. It is revealed in that whenever you are requested to give your witness, you will be summoned by legal letter. For example, if you ignore coming it is crime. The reason is you didn't respect the law.

IR: What kinds of questions were presented to you during the interview?

IE: They ask you using questions from different directions. What you saw, where you saw, whom you saw by the time, while doing what you saw him/her, with whom he/she was, when the action happened, and other issues are asked. Most of the questions invite explanations. I think this is because they want to confirm the information from different angles.

IR: Did you express your ideas freely as you like or it was only based on what has been raised by the police?

IE: There is no such a thing. Speaking freely or as you like is only possible outside the police institution. Here you speak only about what you are asked about. If you speak different from this, you will be in another issue. The police will never also tolerate you. Therefore, what you speak should be after you carefully listen to them.

IR: How did the police demark or control not to speak freely or use your own speech during the interview with the police? What strategies you used to minimize these impositions?

IE: First, you can speak your own ideas within the boundary of the police. This means you depend only on what they ask you. This can be to protect from speaking another issues and taking much time unnecessarily. If they think it is necessary, they interrupt your speech or make you stop the speech. Next to that, they will warn you not to go beyond or out of the asked questions. Sometimes if they are not interested with what you speak, they can make you stop and tell you focus only on information they want. I cannot avoid imposition but sometimes for example, when I am asked things which I do not want to talk about, I will behave just as if I forgot the idea to buy some time or make a pause so that the interviewer passes over the issue. If the police interviewer imposes me to speak on I will start talking less relevant issues by moving around the main agenda. If all this does not work, I will try to oppose the idea of the interviewer though this is not usually my preference.

IR: What kinds of strategies did the police use to gather concrete evidence during the interview with you?

IE: They used all the strategies I told you earlier. I think it seems that they suspect people may witness false. They frustrate you. This means they initiate you to tell them only the fact. They speak to you with a loud voice. Interrupting you in the middle, they ask you only what they want. They control you not to be out of that boundary. That means they use this and other kinds of methods to limit your speeches.

IR: Why do you think the police do not take only what is spoken by the witnesses or the interviewees as reliable information?

IE: As to my opinion, this is because they think that a person who comes to give information or a person who comes to give witness may give false witness. I think that is why they use different strategies to gather information.

IR: How do you think the society see the police? Are they afraid of them? Do they think the police have greater power than them?

IE: The society respects the police. They are afraid of not only the law but also the police themselves. They also see the police as the legal body with great power than any other ordinary member of the society.

***Appendix H: Sample Translated Interview Transcript (Voluntary witness)_ English
version***

Interview Transcript 2

IR: First of all I would like to thank you for showing me keen interest to give me information on the questions I am going to raise. What is your name?

IE: Jireгна Abdisa

IR: Why is that you are here today?

IE: Today I am here because I was summoned by the police to come and give my witness.

IR: OK. How do you see the police? Do you think the police as different people from other people? Tell me your perception.

IE: Yes. Personally, I think the police are different from other ordinary persons. This is because the police are judicial, security and legal bodies to protect the well being or peace of the society. They go down to the society and work for the protection of crime. Besides, they are responsible bodies to arrest the criminal and bring to the justice

system to make the criminals charged and get proper sentence. Hence, the police are different bodies from the other people. They have the right or power supported by the law that gives them to patrol, control and bring to the law. They are bodies that also give different trainings for the society how to protect the happenings of crime.

IR: Ok. How was your feeling during the interview with the police investigator? What did you feel during the interview?

IE: When I came to this police institution, I was feeling frightened. This is because I was summoned to give my witness, I felt that the police can use different methods or strategies to ask and gather information. For example, they use loud voice in their questioning and this can make people to be frightened. They even repeat their questions in another way to investigate our answers very well. So it makes people to be very careful in their responses and to be frightened. The place by itself is different from other areas. As you enter the compound you see many police men and women carrying weapons like 'Klashinkove' and piston. You also see many victims, suspects, and witnesses. So you will be frustrated and you don't express your idea well.

IR: Ok. So you believe that the police are different from other ordinary people like us?

IE: Yes. I think the police are somewhat different from the other members of the society who are not police. First, the police are different because they are concerned or responsible for issues of peace and security or protecting crime. They are selected among the society to protect the happenings of the crimes and to work to bring the criminals to justice through investigation. They are members of the judicial bodies to keep or maintain the peace and security of the society. Hence, they are I think they are different from the other members of the society.

IR: So do you think that the police have more power than the power the society have?

IE: Yes. The government supports them. They are armed. Even they have their own uniform clothes which are different from the other members of the society. They work using their and governments' power.

IR: What do you think are these things like wearing uniform clothes and carrying weapons?

IE: For example, when the police go down to serve in the society; they wear uniform or their legal clothes than clothes used by other civil people of the society. This is because the police can be identified by this uniform clothes and weapons. When they wear their uniform clothes and carry their weapons, they can perform their duties without any frustration. They can protect crime or arrest criminals to bring to the court

IR: Well. This time, you have come from giving your witness. This means there was conversation or interview between you and the police investigator. How was the interaction or interview between you and the police investigator?

IE: Well. When I was called and when I entered into the interview room to give my witness, the police was conducting the interview based on his own way. You give responses based on the questions he raises to you. The police investigator can ask questions using different strategies or methods to search for truth. It is necessary to give response for those questions the police ask. When they take the witness information, they raise their voice. To check whether the information gathered is based on truth or not, they ask questions repeatedly. Because sometimes they interrupted me or broke my speech and raise their own ideas or questions, it made me to take care of my own speeches.

It was good but it made me to be a little bit frustrated and scared when they raised questions from different angles or repeated questions.

IR: So do you mean the police use different strategies to take witness or gather information during the investigation?

IE: Yes. They use different strategies. For example, if there is crime that happened, they ask where it happened, and how it happened. From which direction I saw whether it is north or south, from the east or west, what kind of cloth the suspect was wearing, what does he/she carry were among the common questions raised. Where? How? Why? What do you think the cause or reason will be? What happened by the time? And other questions were used to raise questions to gather information.

IR: Well. Why is that the police do not use only the information that the witness gives rather than raising repeated questions. For example, instead of asking repeated questions using different strategies why not the police simply take what is spoken by the witness?

IE: Well. People may speak false or witness false. When people give false information, this false information affects the quality of the evidence and decisions they give. So to search for truth, the police ask different questions or repetitive questions

IR: Ok. Now you are telling me that the police as an institution or as an individual crime investigator have power.

IE: Yes. The police have power. They have their own authority. They work on the protection of crime. If there is crime committed, they investigate. They investigate the crimes committed, how they are committed, and the causes of the crime being supported by their authority.

IR: OK. I think this is your opinion. For example, how do you think the society see police? Do they afraid of them? Do they think they have more power than them? Or what? Please explain this.

IE: Yes. Now the society is afraid of the police. Because when people commit crime, they are arrested and taken to prison, they are afraid of the police. The police know their roles and responsibilities and work on crime protection, people are afraid of them. When people commit crime, they are arrested and brought to this police institution. The police also go down to the society and calls for meeting to give awareness on crime prevention and to warn people not to commit crime. Because of these, the police have great power and people are afraid of them. So the society is afraid of the police and respects them again.

IR: From where do you think this power came? Where did the police bring greater power from the other people? What is the source of the power?

IE: The police are the legal body supported by government. They get great power from: first the police members are selected from the society and trained. After they finish their trainings, the government sends them to come back to serve the society. The government, after training, equipping them with basic policing capacity and with different materials including the arms and uniform clothes, sends them back to the society to make them serve the society in protecting or controlling the happenings of crimes.

IR: Ok. Thank you for giving me this all information

IE: No matter.