

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES



**A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF *JAARSUMMAA*, A TRADITIONAL
METHOD OF DISPUTE RESOLUTION BY COMMUNITY ELDERS: ARSI
OROMO IN FOCUS**

ALEMU DISASSA MULLETA

APRIL 2013

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ALEMU DISASSA MULLETA

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Alemu Disassa Mullela, entitled: *A Discourse Analysis of Jaarsumma, A Traditional Method of Dispute Resolution by Community Elders: Arsi Oromo in Focus* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics & Communication (ALCM) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Prage Yemane
Advisor

T.T.T.
Signature

16-05-13
Date

Eddie W...
Examiner

[Signature]
Signature

16/5/13
Date

Tolomariam F...
Examiner

[Signature]
Signature

16-05-'13
Date

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I declare that *A Discourse Analysis of Jaarsumma, a Traditional Method of Dispute Resolution by Community Elders: Arsi Oromo in Focus* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged with complete references.

Alemu Disassa Mulleta

Signed.....

June, 2013

*To my Parents, for the courage and determination you nurtured in me
to come to this success.*

ABSTRACT

A Discourse Analysis of Jaarsummaa, a Traditional Method of Dispute Resolution by Community Elders: Arsi Oromo in Focus

Alemu Disassa Mullela

Addis Ababa University, 2013

This dissertation reports the result of a critical analysis of the discourse *jaarsummaa* among Arsi Oromo of Ethiopia. Although it has been used for centuries as a major resource in resolving conflicts among Oromo people, little attempt has been made to uncover the interactional features of *jaarsummaa*. Previous studies were mainly descriptive and outcome oriented. They did not address the issue of social power relationship in *jaarsummaa* discourse. Hence, this study adopts a discourse analytic approach to explicate the complexities and subtleties involved *jaarsummaa* discourse focusing on its genre structure, persuasive discourse strategies of the elders, social/gender power relationship, and major approaches of mediation employed by the elders. To this end, twelve actual *jaarsummaa* sessions were audio-recorded from three districts of West Arsi Zone, and data on the broader socio-cultural background of *jaarsummaa* were collected through observation, field notes, and interviews. A socio-cultural approach to discourse analysis has been utilized to analyze both textual and contextual aspects of *jaarsummaa*.

The analyses reveals that *jaarsummaa* among Arsi Oromo has a rather stable macrostructures with distinct communication patterns and purposes. It has four major phases and several moves and steps, the sequential occurrence of which is regulated by *uume/seera ambaa* ‘traditional norms and laws’ of the society. The analyses also indicates that the elders use a number of persuasive discourse strategies that help them make emotional appeal to disputants’ through positive presentation of self and the *jaarsummaa* program. To legitimize their persuasion, the elders often appeal to societal norms, religious discourse, and the government discourse.

The findings also show that husbands have absolute power over their wives and such male power dominance has been legitimized and sustain by the mainstream discourses of the target society. Further, it was found out that the elders seem to have total power over disputants. In addition to their rhetorical power, the elders employ their moral power, social power, informational power, and positional power given to them by courts. In spousal dispute mediations, the elders aggressively persuaded the wives to accept the final decisions by using various discourse strategies such as naturalizing the conflict and the subsequent reconciliation of the couples, ignoring and mitigating major concerns of the wives, and making promises to stop the husbands from further abuses. Other economic and socio-cultural factors also coerced the wives to accept the decision. The analysis also shows that the elders start with problem solving approach and move on to therapeutic approach of mediation.

Based on the above findings, recommendations such as having female mediators as representatives, educating and economically empowering women, giving awareness raising trainings for the elders on issues of gender rights and equalities, have been suggested as part of an attempt to refine the *jaarsummaa* practice. Finally, replication of same studies with large corpus, analysis of discourse of *Gadaa* court, comparative studies of court referred and normally held *jaarsummaa* cases and cases from urban and rural areas were suggested as potential focuses of further research in the area.

INDEX WORDS

Jaarsummaa , Traditional Mediation , Mediation Discourse, Discourse Analysis, Genre Analysis, Arsi Oromo

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Transliteration

The following English letters represent different sounds in Afan Oromo

1. Consonants

- “C” Palatal ejective fricative sound /tʃ/ as in *carraa* ‘chance’
- “Q” Velar, voiceless ejective sound /k’/ as in *qora* “investigator”
- “X” Alveolar, voiceless ejective sound /t’/ as in *xumura* “final”
- “dh” Alveolar implosive digraph /ɗ/ as in *dhugaa* “truth”
- “ph” Bilabial ejective digraph /p’/ as in *kophee* “shoes”
- “ny” Velar nasal digraph /ŋ/ as in *keenya* “ours”
- “/?/” apostrophe before vowel sound has glottal, voiced sound /ʔ/ as in *re’ee* “goat”
- Double consonants show gemination as in *carraa* /tʃaːrɑː/ “chance”

2. Vowels

The following English vowels are always read in the same manner in Afan Oromo as indicated below

- “a” is pronounced as /a/
- “e” is pronounced as /e/
- “i” is pronounced as /i/
- “o” is pronounced as /o/
- “u” is pronounced as /u/
- Double vowels in Afan Oromo show length as in *laafaa* /laːfaː/ “soft”

Abbreviations and Initials of Research Participants

- JD - *Jaarsummaa* Discourse
- JS - *Jaarsummaa* Session
- JSs – *Jaarsummaa* Sessions
- ME/ JW- the Middle Elder/ *Jaarsa Waltajjii* also called *Murtii* ‘decision maker’
- QL - *Qora Lamii* (the two facilitators)
- QU - *Qora Utaa* (the facilitator from Utaa (elder) Clan)
- QW - *Qora Waayyuu* (the facilitator from Wayu (younger) clan)
- Wf - Wife
- Ewf - Elders from the Wife’s Side
- Hs - Husband
- EHs –Elders from the Husband’s Side
- El –an undefined elderly Person
- Els - Group of Elders
- WBr- Wife’s Brother (brother-in-law)
- HBr- Husband’s brother (brother-in-law)
- DS - Disputants

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This study analyzes the discourse of *jaarsummaa*, a traditional method of dispute resolution by community elders among Arsi Oromo clans in Ethiopia. It examines the actual sessions of *jaarsummaa* with the aims of identifying its genre structure, the major discourse strategies that elders utilize to settle cases and the nature of power relationship in *jaarsummaa* discourse (JD). The study also describes the major approach of mediation used by elders. This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the general background of traditional community elders' mediation in the cultural context of African in general and Ethiopian in particular. Following this, is a brief summary of the focuses and findings of the researches so far conducted on the topic of *jaarsummaa* in the context of the target society and other Oromo groups and the existing research gaps that justify the need for the present study. Then, statement of the problem of the study, the major research questions that guide the study, the objectives, significance, and scope of the study are discussed consecutively. The chapter ends with a description of the thesis structure.

1.2. Background of the Study

Conflict is an inherent social phenomenon in almost every human society and so is the mechanism of resolving it. In the culture of every human society were/are various traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution utilized long before and after the introduction of modern legal systems (Macfarlane, 20007). One among these mechanisms is community elders' mediation.

Mediation, as defined by several scholars in the western literature, is an approach to conflict resolution in which disputants are assisted by other third party called mediator to settle their conflict (Bush and Folger, 2005; Roberts, 2008). Traditional community elders mediation is an informal method of conflict resolution where by elders of a given community voluntarily or upon the request of disputants mediate parties in dispute and bring reconciliation between them (Macfarlane, 20007). The elders are often selected based on their age or genealogical seniority, social positions and personal qualities such rhetoric skill, genuineness, knowledge of cultural norms and of the society. It is traditional because it is often conducted by local elders who have never been to formal education. The elders accomplish their tasks based on natural wisdom and knowledge of cultural norms and values which they acquire through experience from their forefathers (Stobbe, 2011).

Though it obtained recognition as a formal practice recently, the practice of resolving disputes with the help of third party intervention "has a long standing informal history in many cultural contexts" (Winslade, 2003:2). This is true especially among many traditional communal societies in Africa. Concerning the use of traditional conflict resolution in Africa, Macfarlane (20007: 496) states the following:

In many parts of Africa, traditional customary practices of informal justice are far more significant and prevalent in the lives of ordinary people than formal justice systems. The first (and perhaps the only) resort to conflict resolution for many ordinary people in Africa is to their established systems of elderly arbitration and mediation, relying heavily on kinship networks and social authority.

According to the above quotation, among many societies in Africa, mediation and other traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution by community elders are still more preferred to litigation. This could mainly attribute to the kind of social structure of these societies.

Most African societies have collectivist culture in which the needs of groups or communities are given more emphasis than the needs of individuals. A known Ghanaian philosopher, Kwame Gyekye describes the culture of African society as "moderate communitarianism" (Macfarlane, 2007:497). In his description, Gyekye shows the strong value that Africans give to moral and social bonds that exist in their societies. He further states that in many traditional African societies¹ "personhood is characterized by the moral virtue that emphasizes kindness and compassion towards others" (Ibid). In short, the 'communitarian' moral philosophy gives emphasis to peaceful co-existence in society. The prevalence of such a strong social bond or peaceful co-existence encourages the use of dispute resolution techniques which are based on the principles of confrontation, acknowledgement and admission rather than forced confession and punishment (Macfarlane, 2007) which is typical of the western legal system. Thus, for a long time, Africans have utilized traditional methods of conflict resolution which is usually realized in the form of mediation and arbitration by community elders.

According to American Bar Association (2006), among many African societies, traditional community elders' mediation has been used as major indigenous means of

¹ *traditional society*- a society with an established custom or belief that is handed down from generation to generation that everyone in the community has in common/similar.

Read more: http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_is_a_traditional_society#ixzz1KpZSfq00

dispute resolution for centuries. Among some of these societies, the social norm is even so strong that "resorting to litigation is regarded as inherently unethical and inappropriate" (Ellickson, 1991:142). Strengthening this, Macfarlane (2007) asserts that whenever they get into conflict with each other, most ordinary peoples in Africa first resort to their well established system of mediation or arbitration which is carried out by community elders. This is mainly because in traditional *oral societies*² of African, elders are believed to have better knowledge of the norms and customs of their societies and a well established experience and skills in resolving disputes. As a result, they are usually acknowledged "as peacemakers in their respective societies" (Deng, 2003:3).

The situation in Ethiopia is no exception to what has been described above. As scholars like Kohlhagen (2005:10) confirm it, "in Ethiopia the art of mediation and conciliation have already been practiced for centuries." In many regions of the country, especially those far from regional centers, these informal mechanisms of conflict resolution are more dominant than the formal system (Macfarlane, 20007). According to many local researchers, the burden of resolving conflict and the building of sustainable peace among several ethnic groups in Ethiopian fall mainly on community elders. Almost every ethnic group in Ethiopia has its own institutions or councils of elders organized along kinship or neighborhood basis. Such councils have their own names such as *Jaarsa Biyyaaaaa* of Oromos, *Ye'ager Shimagile* of Amhara, *Songo or Gudumale* of Sidama *dayaad* of Somali, *makaba* of Afar, *Abbo Gereb* of Southern Tigray and others (Alula and

² *Oral society*- a society in which knowledge and wisdom pass from generation to generation orally through stories and observable practices.

Getachew, 2008; Tarekegn and Hannan, 2008). Most of the time, inter-personal and inter-clan conflicts are resolved by such local councils.

In most cases, elders' councils are established on ad-hoc basis except the council of *Abbo Gereb* of Southern Tigray which has fixed members who serve for relatively longer period (Shimelis and Taddese, 2008). The elders take part in mediation processes either voluntarily or on request by disputants or relatives of disputants. In almost all ethnic groups, the criteria for selecting elders for mediatory roles involve knowledge of custom, honesty, patience, neutrality, experience, and skill of persuasion, genealogical seniority and economic status. These elders carry out mediations within the frameworks of the local customs and laws of their community (Alula and Getachew, 2008; Tarekegn and Hannan, 2008).

With the introduction of the modern legal systems in the country in the 1930s and 1940s, traditional methods of conflict resolution had been denied government recognition in Ethiopia for a long time although people did not totally stop using them (Alula and Getachew, 2008). However, the current government seems to have given some attention to this indigenous method of conflict resolution, as Article 34 (5) of the 1995 Constitution shows. Following this change, some local researchers have begun to conduct studies on traditional methods of conflict resolution among various ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Among these are studies that have been organized and published in two different volumes in 2008. "*Grass-root Justice in Ethiopia: The Contribution of Customary Dispute Resolution*" by Alula and Getachew, (eds) and "*Making Peace in*

Ethiopia: Five Cases of Traditional Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution" by Tarekegn and Hannan.

The studies so far conducted in the field of traditional methods of conflict resolution are mainly descriptive surveys based on data gathered through interviews, field notes, and questionnaires. They focused on narrating procedures and outcomes of the methods, criteria for selecting elders, and relationships between traditional conflict resolution and formal courts in terms of justice. Put another way, the previous studies are outcome oriented. Almost none of these researchers have attempted to study mediation from discourse or language use point of view. They have rarely attempted to record the actual mediation session and analyze its discourse critically. The present study, attempts to study community elders' mediation from discourse point of view by focusing on *jaarsummaa* of spouses' dispute among Arsi Oromo in Ethiopia.

Being a communal society, the Oromo people in Ethiopia are known for their well established community elders' method of conflict resolution called *jaarsummaa*. In the traditional Oromo society, almost all types of conflicts were/are resolved through *jaarsummaa* which is carried out by an institution called *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* 'community elders' or *Jaarsa Araaraa* 'elders of reconciliation' and traditional spiritual fathers. The discussion in the following section focuses on the studies so far conducted on different traditional methods conflict resolution among Oromos and the apparent research gap in the field.

1.3. Previous Studies and Research Gap

Several researches had been done in the area of traditional community elders' mediation among various Oromo clans in Ethiopia. Some of these studies were conducted by students in the school of law at Addis Ababa University under the theme of *restorative justice system* or *traditional methods of dispute settlement*. These studies were predominantly evaluative in nature. They were conducted with the aim of evaluating the qualities of justice served by the mediators in the traditional community elder mediation. The evaluations were done by comparing the procedures and the outcomes of the community elderly mediation with that of litigation in modern courts. For the purpose of data collection, most of the researchers employed questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions (Bizuneh, 2009; Haimanot, 2006; Meseret, 1995; Tullu Bayisa, 2001). According to these researchers, *jaarsummaa* as a restorative justice mechanism provides a viable alternative to existing criminal justice processes. However, according to these researchers, the shortcomings of this method lie on its inability to properly address domestic violence against women.

Similarly, several studies have been conducted on *jaarsummaa* and other traditional methods of conflict resolution among various Oromo clans by some scholars in the department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of Addis Ababa University. Among these studies, the works of some researchers such as Assefa Abebe, (2001), Dejene Gemechu, (2002), Tsega Endalew (2005), Mamo Hebo, (2006) and Araba and Berhanu (2008) are worth discussing here. Lewis, (1988) is also another international scholar worth mentioning here. The list may not be exhaustive. Unlike the previous researchers

in the field of law, these scholars carried out their studies from anthropological points of view.

To start with, Assefa (2001) gave a general summary of the procedures of various mechanisms of conflict resolution among Oromo people in general. His work is more of library research. He gave detail discussions on *Ilaafi Ilaamee* 'negotiation of the two parties without the involvement of a third party', the *Qaalluu* 'traditional religious institution', *Jaarsummaa* 'the traditional elders' mediation'. According to this scholar, *Jaarsummaa* 'elderly mediation' is the most widely used method of conflict resolution and conflict prevention among Oromo people. Assefa asserts that the process of *Jaarsummaa* among Oromo people “involves conciliation, mediation, and arbitration activities which often occur in some sequence” (Assefa, 2001:56). He also discussed the procedures at the *Gada* Court³.

The other researcher, Dejene (2002) on his part studied the traditional methods of conflict resolution among Macha Oromo clans of Waliso area. He described the general procedures of three most common traditional methods of conflict resolution in the area namely *Ilaaf-Ilaamee*, *Jaarsa araaraa* and the *Qaallu* Court. His study focused on the methods of selecting elders for *jaarsummaa* and *Qaallu* court 'spiritual institutions', the procedures of the *jaarsummaa* and the methods of enforcing decision. He also discussed

³ Gada court which is also called *Dhadacha* or *Shanacha* is one of the sub-institutions of the *Gada* system which Abba Gadaa elders resolves conflicts (serious conflicts which involve homicide) based on *Seera Gadaa* 'Gada laws'. According to Asefa (2001), the elders in a *Gada* court sometimes use even majority votes to pass decision.

the *Guma*⁴, a highly procedural and ritual mechanism of resolving conflicts related to murder. In this type of conflict resolution, the offender pays compensation or blood price for the victim's parents or relatives and officially apologizes to the relatives of the victim.

Araba and Berhanu's also conducted a study which focuses on three traditional institutions of conflict resolution among Bale Oromo: the *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* 'community elders', the *Ateetee* 'exclusively women institution' and the *Qaallu* 'spiritual fathers' institutions'. They also discussed the *Guma*. According to these researchers, *Guma* is a justice-based procedure of conflict resolution which punishes the wrongdoer and compensates the victim (Araba and Berhanu, 2008).

The other researcher, Tsega (2005), conducted his study on traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution around Metekel Area. According to him, *Luba Baasaa* 'liberating' and *Harma Hodhaa* 'sucking ones breast', and *michuu* 'friendship' were the major mechanisms that the Oromo people in the study area used to establish peace and create cultural bondage with the non-Oromo ethnic groups of the area. These methods were widely employed during the 16th century Oromo expansion (Tsega, 2005). Tsega gave a detailed account of these methods of peacemaking. However, the methods he mentioned in his discussion are often used for consolidating peaceful relationships between two bodies rather than resolving immediate interpersonal or intergroup conflicts. Another scholar, Lewis (1988) also studied the role of the *qaallu* 'traditional religious institution'

⁴ *Gumaa*- is a common Oromo term which refers to the compensation in kind usually heads of cattle, which an offenders pays to the victim or to relatives of the victim. *Gumaa* also refers to the type of offence. Among Oromos, offences that cause bleeding or lose of one's body part and cause death are considered *Gumaa*. *Gumaa* also refers to the action of taking revenge for the death of one's relative as in "*Gumaa abbaa isaa baase*" meaning 'He avenged the death of his father'.

in resolving conflicts among the Macha Oromos of Ambo area. His study is based on data gathered in the 1960 s, but was published in 1988. In his study, Lewis briefly described the procedures of *qaallu* courts, which were used as a major method of conflict resolution at the time of his field work.

However, the work of Mamo Hebo which focuses on land dispute settlement among the Arsi Oromo clan of Kokosa and Dodola districts is a more elaborate one. He did this study between 1999-2003 on the role of *jaarsa Biyyaaa* 'community elders' in land dispute settlement and the interaction between this customary institution and formal law in relation to the land policy of the state. His focus was on examining the extent and causes for land related disputes and the role of community elders in mediating such disputes. Like other researchers, Mamo's major tools of data were interview and observation, yet he recorded some actual *jaarsummaa* sessions for analysis. In his analysis of the interaction of land dispute mediations, he indicated how disputants present their claim of land ownership right and how these claims are related to the land policy of the state (Mamo, 2006). Mamo also tried to describe the *jaarsummaa* procedures. However, he did not do a detailed analysis of *jaarsummaa* discourse with the aim of examining its communicative and linguistic features. He rarely touched upon the discourse strategies that elders used to play down disputants emotions. Since his study focused on land disputes, he also did not analyze the gender-power relation or the way women were positioned in the discourse of mediation.

To summarize, the communicative aspect of *jaarsummaa* has received little attention by previous researches. The studies so far conducted among various Oromo clans and other

ethnic groups in Ethiopia mainly focused on the description or narration of the procedures of the mediation based on data gathered through interviews and observations. They are primarily outcome oriented. They focused on the evaluation of the legality of the resolutions produced by the elders. Almost no attempt has been made by the researchers to critically analyze the discourse of actual *jaarsummaa* sessions with the aim of examining the dynamics of its interactional. Even at international level, studies in the area of discourse of mediation are few (Szmania, 2004). The lack of literature addressing communication during actual mediation sessions may partly attribute to the difficulty of obtaining access to actual sessions of mediation because of its highly private nature (Ibid).

However, as many scholars in the field mediation claim, communication is the crux of the mediation process. For instance, Curle (1986) cited in Jeong (2000:181) states that "the function of mediation is to attempt to establish or re-establish sufficiently good communication between the conflicting parties so that they can talk sensibly to each other...". Strengthening this, Mayer (2000:2) also asserts, "At the heart of both conflict and conflict resolution is communication... Communication is one of the greatest sources of both difficulty and hope in dealing with serious conflict." According to these scholars, mediation is all about facilitating and repairing broken communication between disputants.

The communication in a mediation session is often complex to manage because disputants come to the session with conflicting interests and negative feelings about their opponents. So, there is little doubt that the success of a mediation process largely depends

on the nature and quality of interaction that is made to happen between disputants during the sessions. Therefore, mediators need to possess especial rhetorical or communication skills to manage the interaction in mediation sessions. According to Silbey and Merry (1986:8) managing the interaction of the mediation session is "an important function for mediators in general and a critical aspect of their ability to settle cases". Studying community-based elders' mediation from communication or discourse perspective is thus essential for getting good insights into its mode of practice. Therefore, the preset study analyzes actual *jaarsummaa* discourse with the main of analyzing its communication dynamics and identifying the common discourse strategies that are used by the elders in their attempt to bring reconciliation between disputants.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

Jaarsummaa, a traditional mediation by community elders, has been used among Oromo people for centuries to resolve various types of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts including those which involve homicide. The process of conflict resolution by its very nature is a difficult discursive practice that demands good skill of managing the often competing and incompatible interaction of disputants. Therefore, during *jaarsummaa*, the elders need to employ especial discourse strategies which help cool down the emotion and anger of disputants and bring them to reconciliation. Yet, little is known about the nature of these discourse strategies, at what stage and to what extent they have been used. To date, the researchers who conducted studies in the field have not attempted to critically analyze the actual interaction of *jaarsummaa* with the aim of describing the subtleties and complexities of discourse strategies involved in it. This study was therefore meant to fill in this gap. Its aim is to analyze actual sessions of *jaarsummaa*, of Arsi

Oromo clan and to uncover the major discourse strategies that the elders use to manage the communication in the sessions and to persuade disputants settle their disputes.

There was also one more thing which initiated this study. In Ethiopia, like in many other African countries, there are different gender activists and feminist scholars who claim that spouses' dispute mediation by community elders' often works in favor of husbands (Tullu Bayisa, 2001, Haimanot Moges, 2006, Alula and Getachew, 2008). These scholars believe that because of the very composition of mediators, who are only males, the mediation of spousal disputes by community elders is biased and exposes women to violence and further abuses. This belief is also shared by some international scholars. For instance, Wilson (2000:104) asserts that mediation is oppressive for women mainly because "it reinforces patriarchal values". Similarly, Cobb (1997:1) claims that "mediation favors the continued oppression of women by decriminalizing violence against women".

Nevertheless, scholars affirm that mediation process works based on voluntary participation of the disputants and there is no reason for disputants, the wives in this case, to accept the biased decisions forcefully. Hence, there must be certain discourse strategies employed by the elders to manipulate the wives and make them accept the 'biased' decision. As some scholars in the field of discourse analysis state, in the so called modern world, people use language as a best tool to maintain and legitimize social power inequalities and injustices in a disguised manner (Titshar et.al, 2000).

However, although extensive CDA researches have been conducted on various discourse genres to examine gender power inequality, almost no study has been conducted on the discourse of traditional spousal dispute mediation with the aim of identifying the way community elders discursively legitimize gender power difference, at least in the Ethiopian context. None of those studies conducted in Ethiopia so far seems to have attempted to explicate how gender-power relationship is represented in the discourse of spousal dispute mediation. Thus, uncovering the nature of such power relationship in the context of Arsi Oromo clans is the other factor which initiated the present study. To these ends, the study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What does the genre structure or communication dynamic of the actual *Jaarsummaa* sessions of Arsi Oromo look like?
2. What are the major discourse strategies employed by the elders during *jaarsummaa* sessions to manage communicatively difficult speech, including emotional communications, complaint narratives, and bring about reconciliation between disputants?
3. How is power relationships represented in the discourse of *jaarsummaa*?
4. What are the major approaches of mediation that are employed by elders in *jaarsummaa* sessions?

1.5. Objectives of the Study

1.5.1. General Objective

The general objective of this study was to critically analyze the actual discourse of *jaarsummaa* of Arsi Oromo and explicate the subtleties and complexities of discourse strategies involved in it. It was intended to investigate how communication is managed and participants are represented or positioned in *jaarsummaa* discourse.

1.5.2. Specific Objectives

Within the above general objective of the study are also the following specific objectives:

1. describing the genre structure or dynamics of communication in *jaarsummaa* discourse;
2. identifying major discourse strategies used by community elders in managing the interaction of *jaarsummaa* sessions and bringing reconciliation between disputants;
3. examining the nature of power relationship in *jaarsummaa* discourse and see how gender power asymmetry (if there is) is legitimized through discursive devices.
4. identifying the dominant approach of mediation used by the elders of the target community.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The results of this study could have the following significances. First, a critical analysis of the discourse of *jaarsummaa* could help uncover the strengths and weaknesses of the practice and this in turn may help sensitize community elders and other government

bodies to refine this practice and promote its utilization in a better way. In the context of Ethiopia, refining and promoting such practice can help resolve problems of disputants with minimum time and cost as compared to modern courts, which are usually overcrowded and located in faraway places. It is also believed that this study could serve as one way of recording and preserving this cultural heritage. The study could also help enrich the literature in the area of discourse analysis in general and mediation discourse in particular. No doubt that this study may also serve as a useful stepping stone for future researches in the area.

1.7. The Scope of the Study

This study analyzes the discourse of *jaarsummaa* of interpersonal disputes in general, that of spousal disputes in particular. It does not include intergroup disputes or those disputes which involve homicides as these often take long time to resolve and difficult to record. Again, because of the unmanageability of the data for transcription and analysis, the study was restricted to the Arsi Oromo clan in West Arsi: Arsi Nagelle, Shalla, and Kokosa districts.

1.8. Organization of the Thesis

Including the introductory chapter presented in the preceding section, this thesis is organized in seven chapters. Chapter two begins with definitions of key terms and concepts such as mediation, conflict, conflict resolution, reconciliation, and forgiveness. It also discusses mediators' intervention strategies and the common models of mediation and the relationship that exists between culture, communication, and mediation. In the second part of the chapter, detail account of *jaarsummaa* and other traditional institutions

of conflict resolution that the Oromo people have used to resolve their conflicts is presented. Chapter Three presents details of methodological frameworks and analytical approaches used in the present study. The chapter begins with the definition of *discourse*, *discourse analysis* (DA). Then it presents the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of various approaches of discourse analysis used in the present study. Finally, the methods of discourse analysis used in the present study are discussed in detail. Chapter Four presents a brief overview of the socio-cultural background of Arsi Oromo. The discussion in this chapter mainly emphasizes the geographical locations, livelihood, social structure, cultural norms, and traditional laws of Oromo people in general and Arsi Oromo in particular. Chapter Five is all about the research design and methodology of the study. The discussion in this chapter involves descriptions of the research design, the data context, procedures of data collection, specific analytic methods used to analyze JD from different perspectives. Included in this chapter is also a brief discussion of ethical considerations in the present study. In Chapter Six, the analysis of the data is presented in four sections in line with the research questions posed in section 1.4 above. Discussion and summary of the major findings, conclusions, limitations, implications of the findings of the study and suggestions for future research are what constitute Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURES

2.1 Introduction

The discussion in this chapter is presented in two parts. The first part focuses on mediation and various issues and concepts which are related to the field of mediation. This part starts with definitions of common terms and concepts in the. Following this, a detailed description of the term mediation and its basic tenets and mediators intervention strategies are presented. The various models of mediation are discussed. The third section of the first part is devoted to the discussion on how culture determines the communication behavior of participants in mediation session. The discussion includes the roles of face work or face-negation in mediation. The discussion in this section also includes the roles of forgiveness and reconciliation and the role of traditional rituals in conflict resolution. Owing to the scarcity of literature in our local contexts, most of the discussions made in the first part are based on studies conducted in the socio-cultural contexts of western societies. The second part of the chapter is devoted to *jaarsummaa*, a traditional community elders' method of conflict resolution and other institutions of conflict resolution among the Oromo people.

PART - I

2.2 Understanding Mediation as Method of Conflict Resolution

2.2.1 Definition of Key Terms and Concepts in Mediation

The field of mediation as a common method of conflict resolution involves various concepts and terms which are often conceived differently by different scholar in the field. Because of variations in culture, similar activities in the practice of mediation may bear different names and the same term is used to define different practices (Stobbe, 2010). Therefore, defining those key terms and concepts can help readers better understand the current research.

2.2.1.1 Conflict

Scholars define conflict often based on the discipline or the school of thought to which they belong. The following are some of the commonly cited definition of *conflict*:

For Wilmot & Hocker, *conflict* is “an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources, and interference from others in achieving their goals” (2007, p. 11).

Deutsch (1973) cited in Stobbe (2010: 14) defines *conflict* as incompatible activities where an action prevents, obstructs, interferes, injures, or makes the other action less effective

As can be learnt from the above definitions, conflict is a social phenomenon which happens when there is competition between two parties to achieve their goals and when one party feels or observes that the other party is working against his/her interest. So the

source of conflict could be substantive or relational. A conflict is substantive when it happens because of a struggle over material resource. But when one party gets in the way of others and try to impose his own opinion, the resulting conflict could be considered as relational. Poor communication and misconceptions could also be other sources of relational conflict (Moore, 1986). So the term conflict stands for a common or “everywhere-present” (Malan, 1997:6) social phenomenon which ranges from simple debate or contest of ideas up to confrontations or battles which involve physical engagement by parties involved.

2.2.1.2 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution refers to the process of settling disputes between two or more parties in a way that satisfies the needs of all parties involved in the dispute. In this context, the term *resolution* bears a meaning “seeking solution to a problem through cooperation and discussion” (Stobbe, 2011:16). The process of conflict resolution goes far beyond finding solution for the problem that led the parties to conflict. It involves repairing the broken relationship between the parties. The ultimate goal of conflict resolution is to create constructive attitude and good communication (Mayer, 2000). According to Stobbe (2011), people can resolve their conflicts through face-to-face negotiation, but the common method that they often use is mediation. The discussion in the next section focuses on the definition and brief description of this method.

2.2.2 The Concept of Mediation

Mediation is defined by several scholars in almost the same way. Sinbey and Merry (1986:1) define mediation as "a process of settling conflict in which the third party oversees the negotiation between two parties, but does not impose an agreement". Bush and Folger (2005:8) conceive it as "informal process in which a neutral third party with no power to impose a resolution helps the disputing parties try to reach mutually accepted settlement." For Roberts (2008:7) also "mediation is a form of intervention in which a third party, the mediator, assists the parties to a dispute to negotiate over the issues that divide them". Other scholars such as Dicks (2009), Douglas and Field (2006), Roberts (2000), Moore (1986) also define mediation in almost the same way.

According to the definitions of the above scholars, mediation creates opportunities for parties in dispute to resolve their problems through face-to-face discussion and negotiation. The resolutions that the disputants finally arrive at are also expected to emanate from the disputants themselves and they should equally satisfy both. Hence, the parties are believed to have equal status or power for negotiation during mediation. The informality of mediation allows parties to freely express their feelings, negotiate, agree, or disagree. Arriving at mutual agreement through voluntary participation and free discussion is believed to have contribution is repairing the parties' broken relationships, removing feeling of enmity and desire for subsequent revenge (Douglas and Field, 2006; Rimelspach, 2001).

As indicated in the above definitions of mediation, the role of mediators is limited to facilitating the interaction between the parties. They are not entitled to make decisions or

impose resolutions upon disputants. In other words, mediators are expected to be neutral. Stressing on the issue of mediators neutrality, Roberts (2008:7) asserts, "The mediator has no power to impose a settlement on the parties, who retain authority for making their own decisions." According to the same scholar, disputants need to have equal power to negotiate. He advises mediators to stop their mediation when they perceive power imbalance between parties for instance "where cultural or other considerations deny a party the capacity to negotiate in their own right at all" (Roberts, 2008:12).

However, several scholars express their doubt about the practicality of mediators' neutrality in the above sense (Bogdanoski, 2009; Bush and Folger, 1994; Picard et al, 2004; Silbey and Merry, 1986). According to these scholars, a number of factors in a mediation session such as destructive interactions, one party domination over the session, parties' inability to come up with compromising resolutions and others calls for mediators' intervention. Yet, it is difficult for mediators to deal with such realities without having the power to do so. Silbey and Merry (1986:1) describe the dilemma regarding the role of mediators as "tension between the need to settle and the lack of power to do so." Hence, many scholars recommend strategic interventions of mediators in the process of settling cases (Bogdanoski, 2009; Lovenheim and Guerin, 2004; Roberts, 2008; Silbey and Merry, 1986; Wolski, 2002). The discussion in the subsequent sections focus on major strategies of settlement that mediators use in their attempt to resolve conflicts.

2.2.3 Settlement Strategies of Mediators

To accomplish their primary goal of settling conflicts, mediators use various intervention strategies that could help them influence the process and the outcomes of mediation (Bogdanoski, 2009; Roberts, 2008; Wolski, 2002). Analyzing the discourse of mediation in various contexts, mainly in western socio-cultural contexts, scholars have identified a number of intervention strategies that mediators employ.

To start with, Wolski (2002) did extensive review of mediation literature, mostly those from western culture, and identified a range of strategies that mediators use to influence the course and outcome of mediation. He categorized the strategies into six broad themes: *defining concerns and issues, option generation, management of the negotiations, reality testing, separate meetings, use of questions* (p-14-16). According to Wolski, mediators define concerns and issues by adjusting the content of mediation through reframing, reordering, emphasizing on common values and ignoring some issues. They can also propose options indirectly by citing alternatives proposed by other parties in similar situations. Mediators also settle cases in limited time by managing the procedure of mediation through limiting the agenda, and controlling turns. They also conduct reality testing by telling disputants about the advantages and disadvantages of having a certain position. Caucusing or separate meeting is also a strategy that allows mediators to give personal advices and tell reasons for a disputant to accept a certain proposal without being perceived as biased. The use of questions framed in a polite manner such as hypothetical questions, leading and suggestive questions are among settlement strategies that help mediators shape discussions in particular direction and to suggest or elicit new ideas (Ibid). To summarize, the strategies identified by Wolski focus on controlling both

the procedural and substantive aspect of interaction in mediation. Strategies related to mediators' personality seem to have been neglected in his taxonomy.

Deng (2010) also analyzed the discourse of contemporary Chinese mediation in one of the province of the country and identified five discursive strategies that mediators use. The strategies involve: appeal to personal relevance, education, invoking or claiming authority, side taking, and bringing in the third party. Deng stresses that in contrary to the western idea of mediator neutrality, Chinese mediators engage in, assisting, educating, and imposing decisions on disputants. They mention the educational status, occupation, and age of disputants to appeal to their personal relevance and to educate them to act in accordance with the cultural norms and values of the society. They also openly take side with one party and persuade the other side to accept the opinion of his/her opponent. According to Deng, Chinese mediators are usually officials and administrative personnel assigned by the state and these mediators directly or indirectly utilize their positional power in mediation to coerce disputants. The mediators also invite experts and authorities who could assist the mediation (Deng, 2010). Though the strategies of Chinese mediators seem to contradict with the basic tenets of mediation, as stated in literature of western culture, Deng (2010:6) claims that the mediators do so without violating mediation principles.

Silbey and Merry (1986) also analyzed several mediation sessions held in urban America and came up with more comprehensive and inclusive strategies of mediators which they classified into four: "presentation of self and the program, control of the process of mediation, control of the substantive issues in mediation and activation of commitments

and norms (p-1). These categories subsume the strategies mentioned by the above scholars. The discussion in the following section focuses on details of specific techniques used by mediators in applying the four major techniques forwarded by Silbey and Merry.

2.2.3.1 Presentation of Self and the Program

Some scholars claim that the mere physical presence of mediators contribute towards settling cases because when they interact in the presence a third party, disputants usually try to behave positively towards each other and towards mediators in order build positive self-image. This facilitates the process of resolving the conflict (Roberts, 2008). The identities of mediators, their relation with disputants, their social status, their knowledge, and experience also have their own contributions in settling cases. “It is who the mediator is than what he/she does [that] has a profound impact on the mediation process” (Bowling and Haffam, 2000, cited in Wolski, 2002:15).

In addition to what have been mentioned above, mediators directly and indirectly construct their identities and their roles in various ways in their attempt to settle cases. They may position themselves as an authority in charge of resolving problems, as advisors, as impartial body who facilitates agreement (Roberts, 2008; Silbey and Merry, 1986). Impartiality of mediators is one of the major requirements for the success in mediation. It helps them appear credible in the eyes of disputants. As Roberts (2008:144) asserts “the credibility of mediators depend not only on being impartial, but on being perceived to be so”. Mediators try to achieve credibility by openly mentioning their commitment to impartiality at the outset, giving equal attention to each party’s point of

view, using co-mediators (Roberts, 2008). They also mention their expertise and knowledge, their years of experience, their success to gain disputants' trust (Wolski, 2002: 12).

Having patience and Empathy are also among strategies that could help mediators settle cases (Lovenheim &Guerin, 2004:22). Wolski (2002:14) also suggests other strategies of mediator self presentation such as “indicating impatience or disapproval, or even anger, threatening to withdraw from the mediation, using personal power to extract an agreement, using silence.”

2.2.3.2 Controlling the Procedure of Mediation

In their attempt to settle cases, mediators also employ various strategies of controlling the structure of communication in mediation. For Wolski (2002:11), “the mediator’s most obvious source of power and influence derives from his or her ability to control the process and procedure of mediation”. Mediators can control the structure of mediation by preventing parties from interrupting each other, allocating turns and time fairly for both parties to avoid one party dominating the session by force and rhetorical skill (Roberts, 2008; Silbey and Merry, 1989). Roberts also suggest quitting the session for sometimes as a strategy of intervention when the interaction in the session goes out of control and leads to escalation of hostility (2008). In short, controlling the structural aspect of mediation has a profound effect on the content and outcome of mediation (Wade, 1994; Wolski, 2002).

2.2.3.3 Control of the Substantive Issues in Mediation

Mediators also control the substantive aspect of communication in mediation by using several strategies such as reformulating or restating, ignoring or deemphasizing violence and, eliciting important issue (Cobb, 1997; Haynes, 1992). Reformulation or restatement can help clean emotionally loaded expressions, emphasize areas of common interest (for instance the issue of children in spousal dispute mediation), and put issues according to their order of importance (Haynes, 1992; Roberts, 2008; Wade, 1996). Suggesting options for settlement and telling parties about possible negative consequences opting for litigation by rejecting the proposed solutions is also another strategy of intervention. According to Roberts, mediators serve as “agent of reality” by telling disputants about “the feasibilities, practicalities and, crucially, the possible consequences of proposals” (Roberts, 2008:140). This is important especially when parties are unable to come up with compromising solutions (Roberts, 2008; Wolski, 2002). Options can be proposed by using leading and hypothetical questions such as “What if?” (Gulliver, 1977; Wolski, 2002). Wolski also suggested other strategies of controlling the content of interaction in mediation such as: “controlling the number of issues to be treated , holding long sessions that facilitate compromise and wear the parties down, using time deadlines to force concessions and prevent further exploration of options” (Wolski, 2002:14)

2.2.3.4 Activation of Commitments and Norms

The fourth dimension of mediators’ intervention strategy focuses on norm education. As strategy of settlement, mediators, sometimes tell disputants to check their behavior and their demands against the existing norms and values of the society (Silbey and Merry,

1986; Wolski, 2002). Mediators also encourage disputants to respect the common norms and values they shared before the dispute.

Although some strategies can be commonly used by mediators across several socio-cultural contexts, scholars claim that a number of personal and contextual factors determine mediators' strategy selection. As to Wolski (2002:16-17), "All mediators have favorites." The same scholar has mentioned the following factors as major determinants of mediators' strategy selection:

The mediator's own personality and style, training received by the mediator, cultural background of the mediator and of the parties, sex of the mediator and of the parties, the context in which the mediation takes place, characteristics and expectations of the parties, proximity of the dispute to the law and the existence (or nonexistence) of a judicial alternative if mediation fails to resolve the dispute, the kind of outcome they wish to achieve (Ibid).

As mentioned towards the beginning of the discussion in this section, most of the strategies of mediators discussed are identified by analyzing literatures and mediation sessions in the western liberal culture. Realizing this, scholars recommend extensive studies to examine the situation in various socio-cultural contexts. For instance, Wolski (2002:19) asserts, "Although some supreme efforts have been made to develop taxonomies of mediator strategies, many issues remain unexplored and under-researched." Hence, analyzing *jaarsummaa* discourse and identifying the nature of intervention strategies of the elders' can help examine what the situation look like in the socio-cultural context, Arsi Oromo.

2.2.4 Models of Mediation

Based on the nature of mediators' intervention and the major focus of interaction in the mediation session, scholars have identified various models of mediation which can be categorized under two broader approaches: problem-solving and therapeutic. For instance, Riskin (1996) proposed two models: *facilitative* and *evaluative* which he recently renamed as *elective* and *directive* models respectively (Douglas and Field, 2006). These models are found to be outcome oriented and are categorized under problem-solving approach.

Evaluative model is based on the assumption that conflict is a problem that arises when needs of individuals are not met and meeting the needs of disputants is the ultimate goal of mediation. In this model, mediators evaluate claims of disputants thoroughly, propose decisions, and urge disputants to accept them by telling them about the possible negative outcomes of court decisions if they opt to take the case to court (Riskin, 1996). Facilitative model on the other hand is based on the assumption that disputants can suggest better solutions than mediators (Ibid). The major role of mediators in this model is therefore to facilitate the interaction between disputants and creating favorable conditions for them to suggest compromising solutions for themselves (Hindmarsh, 2009). In short, problem-solving approach gives priority to settling the immediate causes of the conflict. It is based on individualistic ideology⁵ which considers human beings as distinct entities trying to meet their own individual needs (Picard et, al. 2004; Folger and Bush, 1994). Disputants' future relationship is given secondary attention.

⁵ Ideology is defined in different ways, but in this study it is used with its definition as “a form of consciousness which stabilizes or legitimizes domination or hegemony or unjust social practices, relations of exploitations.” (Guess, 1980).

Other prominent scholars in the field, Bush and Folger (1994) have also developed *transformative model* which focuses on the emotional and relational aspects of disputants. Similarly, John Winslade and Gerald Monk developed 'narrative model'. Douglas and Field (2006) categorize *narrative* and *transformative* models under '*therapeutic approach*'. Transformative model is developed in line with the theory of constructivism⁶. Mediators focus on the interaction of disputants and intervene at points where disputants seem to understand each other's point of view. Using such instances of positive interaction, mediators help the parties better understand each other's interest (Bush and Folger, 2005; Douglas and Field, 2006). They encourage disputants, "to see the conflict from the other party's point of view in order to achieve degree of empathy called recognition" (Douglas and Field, 2006:15) and to consider the conflict "as a natural fact that people encounter and as an opportunity for moral growth and transformation rather than as a problem to be resolved" (Bush and Folger, 1994:84). Narrative model on the other hand, was developed based on the principle of "narrative therapy"⁷ (Douglas and Field, 2006; Winslade, 2003). In narrative mediation, disputants are encouraged to tell their conflict stories. Telling stories of conflicts help disputants "to make sense of the situation, the other people and themselves" (Hindmarsh, 2009:2). After listening to

⁶ *Constructivism* is a philosophy of learning founded on the premise that, by reflecting on our experiences, we construct our own understanding of the world we live in. Each of us generates our own "rules" and "mental models," which we use to make sense of our experiences. Learning, therefore, is simply the process of adjusting our mental models to accommodate new experiences (<http://www.understanding.com/content/constructivism>).

⁷ *Narrative therapy* is a counseling approach in which therapists dig into one's problem through respectful and non-blaming manner and with the aim of encouraging the person to use his/her abilities and knowledge to solve his/her problems (Morgan, 2000).

disputants' stories, mediators ask disputants about the kind of relationship they would like to have or deduce it from the conflict stories of the disputants. Then they develop alternative stories which appeal to the interest of both parties and which can help dissolve the conflict stories (Douglas and Field, 2006; Winslade, 2003). According to Douglas and Field (2006), in therapeutic approach, attention is given to healing the broken relationship of the disputants.

Although the above models of mediation seem to have different focus and area of application, when it comes to the actual practice, they usually work together. Often mediators move across a range of models in a mediation session. They may start with an evaluative or facilitative model and later move to a narrative or transformative model based on what the situation of the mediation session demands (Douglas and Field 2006). These models of mediation are seen to have been developed based on ideologies of western so called modern societies. So they are believed to be better applicable in such societies.

2.2.5 Forgiveness and Reconciliation in Mediation

Forgiveness and reconciliation are believed to be the outcome of successful conflict resolution approaches especially in societies where interdependence and social bonds are emphasized. They are highly interrelated and most often the latter is believed to be the cause for the former (Stobbe, 2011).

Various scholars have defined forgiveness as a process which requires the offender to publicly admit the unpleasantness of the harms he/she committed on the victim and the

victim to change negative feeling towards the former and drop the intention for revenge and show willingness to re-establish positive relationship with the offender (Stobbe, 2011; Szmania, 2004). It is a feeling that a victim is supposed to develop and communicates to the offender on condition that the latter truly admit his/her offense in public and apologize or show readiness to make some kind of material or moral amends (Deutsch, 2000; Shriver, 1998 cited in Stobbe, 2011). According to Szmania (2004), apology may help develop feeling of empathy in the victim's mind and initiates him/her to offer forgiveness.

Forgiveness can be communicated in different forms. It can be explicitly put in words or implied in the speech of the forgiver. Kelley (1998) categorized spoken forgiveness as "direct, indirect, or conditional forgiveness" (as cited in Szmania, 2004:103). Direct forgiveness is offered by saying "I forgive you" after making discussions and understanding each other. Indirect type of forgiveness, on the other hand, is communicated through physical contacts and movements such as hugging, touching and eye contacts. The third type, conditional forgiveness, as implied in the name, calls up on the offender to accomplish certain activities as preconditions to be offered the forgiveness (Kelly, 1998 as cited in Szmania, 2004). However, Kelly did not mention what those preconditions are.

Reconciliation, on the other hand, is a gradual transformation of destructive relationship into constructive one in the course of conflict resolution. Forgiveness could be limited to abandoning revenge and avoid negative feelings, but reconciliation requires actions or behavioral changes which go beyond that. It involves "accepting the other into one's

moral community and establishes or reestablishes a positive, collaborative relationship” (Deutsch, 2000 cited in Stobbe, 2011:44). Reconciliation is a time taking process which requires the active participation and commitment of the disputants (Stobbe, 2011).

The emphasis given to reconciliation in mediation varies from culture to culture. In traditional communal societies where social bond and inclusion into a group is given high priority reconciliation or healing relationship between disputants is crucial for conflict resolution (Jeong, 2000).

2.2.6 Culture, Communication and Face in Mediation

The three concepts: culture, communication and face are highly interrelated social phenomena that have direct influence on the practice of dispute mediation in every social context, but different in each (Hall, 1976 as cited in Stobbe, 2011; Avruch, 1998). A brief overview of these concepts may help better understand their role in the field of mediation.

2.2.6.1 Culture and Mediation

Culture is a broad and complicated concept which is often difficult for scholars to define. For some scholars in the field of social anthropology, culture is a kind of discourse that binds people and helps them create homogenized group (Stobbe, 2011). Hall (1997: 16) defines culture as “community specific system of common sense which facilitates shared meanings and coordinated actions (cited in Stobbe, 2011:72).

The above definitions convey two important aspects of culture: its collective nature, and its ability to shape the way people think, perceive the world around them and the way they behave in distinctive ways. Culture determines the way people communicate and behave in various social contexts, the way people of different social classes and kinship address each other and value each other's relationship. It determines the way meanings are packed and messages are conveyed in interpersonal communication (Stobbe, 2011). Mediation is a social context where people of different social classes, age groups meet and interact. So, culture affects the communicative behaviors of participants in the context of mediation. This means, culture directly or indirectly determines the way conflict is resolved in a given society. Concerning the role of culture in the process of conflict resolution, Stobbe (2011) asserts, "Culture is foundational for all models of conflict resolution if they are to contribute to effective conflict resolution and sustainable peace" (Ibid:53). Hence in traditional communal societies, having good knowledge of the cultural norms and values of the community of the disputants is used as one of the basic criteria for selecting mediators (Ibid). In short, there is strong relationship between culture and mediation

2.2.6.2 Communication in Mediation

As discussed in the preceding section, the communicative behavior of people is often determined by their culture. Thus communication can be a source of conflict when it occurs against the cultural norms of people. In other words, communicative behavior of people can be a cause and a cure for conflict (Folger and Jones, 1994; Mayer, 2000; Wilmot & Hocker, 2007). At the same time, interpersonal conflicts are managed through communication. From communication point of view, mediation is carried out with the

belief that "conflict is a socially created and communicatively managed reality occurring within a socio-historical context" (Folger and Jones, 1994: ix). Thus, mediators use various communication strategies to soften hard feelings of disputants and change their mind. They "deconstruct the discourse at work in the production of dispute" and help disputants come to agreement (Winslade and Monk, 2000:3).

Disputants often come to a mediation session with opposing and incompatible wishes or desires. As a result, the interaction towards the beginning of a mediation session is often complex and full of claims, complaints of grievances, accusation, and denials. Cobb (1997:2) categorizes these types of discourse as "rights discourse". In this type of discourse, the speakers often compete to position themselves as victims or to justify their actions in the ways that save their face. According to Cobb, the major purpose of mediation is to change or dissolve such discourse of competition and confrontation and establish a kind of discourse which focuses on mutual understanding, respect for each other and peaceful co-existence in the future. Cobb calls the latter type of discourse "needs discourse" (Ibid). The process of changing "rights-discourse" into "needs-discourse" is termed as "domestication of violence" (Ibid). This is a gradual process which is supposed to emerge in the course of a mediation session.

Supporting Cobb's position, Wolff (2007:5) also state that one of the goals of mediation is to create a context where "disputants communicate openly, express their genuine feeling, and interest in a safe, controlled forum where definite ground rules ensure courtesy and respect for each other". According to him, mediators have big responsibilities in controlling or managing communication in a mediation session. To

manage the communication in such context, mediators need to employ various strategies. for the details of strategies employed by the elders (see section 3.4.3).

To summarize, there is transitivity type of relationship between culture, communication, and mediation as a method of conflict resolution. Culture determines communicative behavior of people which in turn determines the process and outcomes of mediation. Wilmot & Hocker (2007) describes such relationship as “inextricable tie”. The discussion in the following sections elaborates this relationship.

2.2.6.3 Culture and Face

Brown and Levinson (1978) define *face* as “the public self-image that every member of a society wants to claim for him/herself” (as cited in Lee & Hwee Hwee, 2009: 159). It is a discursive social practice which refers to the way a person constructs himself or wants others construct him in public. It reflects one’s concern for dignity, status and esteem (Griffin, 2000). Face is dynamic in its nature and that it can be given away or gained, threatened or lost, maintained or saved (Lin 1968, as cited in Lee and Hwee Hwee, 2009: 159).

Face giving or maintaining others face refers to the practice of giving appropriate honor or respect for others in public. It is the practice of refraining from embarrassing or humiliating others. On the contrary, we say one’s *face is threatened* or *lost* when he/she his/her honor, dignity or status is ignored or challenged or when one is embarrassed or humiliated in public. When their face is threatened, people use various discourse strategies to repair or restore it. This attempt is called *face saving* (Griffin, 2000).

There is strong relationship between face and conflict or conflict resolution. When someone's face is threatened or when one loses face, he/she feels embarrassed and ashamed. These psychological discomforts lead to anger and defensiveness which in turn causes conflict. So, the primary concern of mediators in conflict resolution should be on working towards saving, restoring, and giving face to disputants, according to (Griffin, 2000). In doing so, mediators will be forced to use various discourse strategies which fit the cultural norms and values of the disputants (Ibid: 408).

In her extensive research in the area of face and culture, Ting-Toomey has tried to show the link between face concerns of a given society and their conflict management strategies. She developed a communication theory called "Face-Negotiation". According to this theory, "face is an explanatory mechanism for different conflict management styles in different cultural groups" (Oetzel and Ting-Toomey, 2003:231) and face-work varies based on peoples' culture and way of life (Griffin, 2000). In individualistic culture, where the "I – identity" is given emphasis, individuals give priority for preserving *self-face*. Such individuals often pursue personal interest and define themselves independent of affiliation with any group. On the other hand, in collectivist culture where interdependence and the "we-identity" are given more value, people give more concern to maintaining *others-face* during conflict resolution. Members in such culture act and think in line with the interest of the group. "The greatest threat to face for an individualist is an attack on autonomy and loss of control over self and others, while for a collectivist it is the possible loss of inclusion, approval, and association" (Augsburger, 1992 cited in Stobbe, 2011: 23). However, other scholars claim that there could be variations among individual who belong to the same culture (Griffin, 2000:418).

According to Ting-Toomey, in collectivistic culture mediators give emphasis to relational issues whereas those in individualistic culture focus on giving solutions to immediate problems of disputants. In general, to bring disputants into reconciliation, mediators need to use communication strategies which can “preserve or give face to parties rather than threatening their public self-image” (Ibid: 417).

2.2.7 The Role of Rituals in Mediation

Scholars have defined the concept *ritual* from two broad aspects: its function and its form. For Rappaport (1999:24), the term *ritual* refers to " the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances". The other scholar, Van Gennep as cited in Davidheiser (2006:1) defines rituals “as social institutions that enable marked transitions in social status”. The first scholar focuses mainly on its form whereas the second one focused on its purpose. Based on the definitions of above scholars and some others, I would like to define ritual as a set of acts (verbal and non-verbal), repetitively performed in a fixed sequence by a given cultural groups with the aim of transforming the mental or social status of the performer.

In rituals, meanings are often conveyed through symbols, senses and emotions” (Stobbe, 2011:28). According to Schirch (2005: 4), such “Symbolic acts can penetrate the impenetrable, overwhelm the defensive, and convey complex messages without saying a single word”. A number of activities and practices such as eating, singing, dancing, religious ceremonies and others are considered as ritual practices (Ibid).

Several scholars consider rituals as best resources for practitioners in the field of conflict resolution. For instance, Schirch (Ibid:123) affirms that “socializing and transforming rituals are vital to peace-building, and all cultures have traditional rituals that build relationships, limit violence, and solve conflicts.” Gulliver (1977), also shares this opinion. Davidheiser (2006:5) also affirm that, ritual practices are used to conclude the peacemaking or conflict resolution process among many societies.

PART II

2.1 *Jaarsummaa*: a Traditional Method of Dispute Resolution by Community Elders among Oromo People

The Oromo people have a well established culture and tradition of resolving and preventing conflict. *Jaarsummaa*, a traditional mediation by community elders, is a common method of conflict resolution that has been used across all Oromo clans. In the traditional Oromo society, as it is true in other traditional societies as well (Malan, 1997), *jaarsa*⁸ or *maanguddoo* literally ‘old men’ have moral responsibilities to settle disputes and establish peace in their community. They are supposed to resolve any kind of *conflict* that they may come across in their community. They either resolve it on the spot or fix a date, usually weekends or holidays, to mediate the disputants (Asefa, 2001; Lewis, 1988). The elders accomplish such roles through their institution called *Jaarsa Biyyaaa*⁹ ‘elders of the country’ also called *jaarsa araaraa* ‘elders of reconciliation’. The method the elders use is called *Jaarsummaa* ‘dispute mediation by community elders’. However, there seem to be some inconsistencies in the definition of the term *jaarsummaa* among those researchers who have studied the area. Araba and Birehanu (2008) describe *jaarsummaa* as “*Jurisdiction of Jaarsa Biyyaaa tribunals*”. Mamo Hebo (2006:122) on his part understands *jaarsummaa* as practice which has close resemblance with mediation. He states “mediation appears to be closer in context to the *jaarsa* [*jaarsummaa*] setting, than arbitration”. In the present study, I adopt Mamo’s conception of the term. The analysis of

⁸ The term *Jaarsa*, according to age grades of Gada system refers to an Oromo man whose age is eighty (Desalegn et al. (2005:8). *Jaarasa* also means ones husband. But in the context of traditional conflict resolution, the term refers to any person (male) who participates in the process of settling dispute. It refers to the roles of the person rather than his age.

⁹ The *Jaarsa Biyyaa* is literally ‘elders of the country’. However, the term *Biyyaa* in this context bears the meaning ‘community’ rather than its literal meaning ‘country’. In the subsequent discussion, the term *jaarsa* or *jaarsa Biyyaaa* refers to any adult male(s) with the role of settling disputes.

the discourse of *jaarsummaa* session in the current study has helped in clearing this inconsistency (see Chapter six: section 6.7).

Through *Jaarsummaa*, the Oromo people have resolved various types of interpersonal or inter-group conflicts ranging from minor clashes to violent conflicts which involve homicide (Araba and Berhanu, 2008; Mamo, 2006; Dejene, 2002). The elders are often selected by disputants or closer relatives of the disputants. Usually, elders with good knowledge of the customary law and traditional norms of the society, those with good reputation for their neutrality and rhetorical skills of persuasion are selected as *jaarsa Biyyaaa* or *jaarsa araaraa* 'elders of the community' or 'elders of reconciliation' respectively. Genealogical seniority is also considered as another criterion for selecting the elders. According to Dajane Magarsa (1991), elders whose ancestors had once held a *Gada* office are often preferred for mediation because the decisions of such elders are often respected because they are believed to have good knowledge of the *seeraaf heera Oromo* 'Oromo law and custom'.

The elders are often selected on ad hoc basis. However, among some Oromo clans such as Arsi Oromos of my study area, there are individual who are chosen by different sub-clans and lineages to permanently give *jaarsummaa* service. These elders who are called *shanacha balbalaa* 'the fives of the lineage' or *saddeeta gosaa* 'eights of the clan' are often selected based on genealogical seniority. Before they start their work, these elders are given blessings by their community and they officially take oath to genuinely serve their community.

Jaarsa usually voluntarily take part in the process of dispute settlement in their localities. In the case of spousal dispute mediation however, both parties select their own elders. The elders of the two parties are called “*Jaarsa bitaaf mirgaa* 'elders of the left and the right sides' “(Dejene, 2002:46). However, normally the elders are supposed to be impartial as the Oromo saying goes “*Jaarsi abbaa hinqabu*” literally 'an elderly [as dispute settler] has no father'. They belong to none of the two parties in dispute. Meaning, they serve both sides equally.

The number of elders in a *jaarsummaa* session may vary based on the severity of the cases to be handled and the timing of the session. Usually a minimum of five elders can conduct a *jaarsummaa* session, according to the local elders interviewed. The number of elders can go up to twenty in the case of mediation of serious cases, such as inter-clan conflicts and homicide cases (Araba and Berhanu, 2008; Asefa, 2001). As I personally observed, the number the elders decreases during busy farming seasons. Among many Oromo clans, the institution of *jaarsa Biyyaa* is usually hierarchically organized based on neighborhood and paternal kinship line.

As discussed above, the Oromo people resolve their disputes most commonly through *jaarsummaa* which is conducted by the institution of *Jaarsa Biyyaaa*, yet there are also other traditional institutions of conflict resolution that are used by the people. Among these institutions are the *Gadaa* Court, *Qaallu*, 'religious institution', and *Ateetee / siiqee*, 'institution of senior women'. These institutions have structured procedures and more or less fixed members. Although they differ in the type of cases they handle and the procedures they follow, all the above mentioned institutions of conflict resolution apply

the principle of *jaarsummaa* in one way or another. They all work based on the principle of healing the broken relationship and creating peace by removing feelings of enmity from both parties. In some of these institutions such as *Gadaa* court, the offenders are often fined some amount of money or heads cattle. However, this is usually done not with the primary intention of punishing or hurting the offender, but healing the broken relationship between the two by giving compensation to victims. Sometimes, the victims pardon the offender by not taking the compensation. For instance, in some cases which involve murder, the offender is required to pay up to hundred heads of cattle in compensation. However, the victims often do not take more than sixty or seventy heads of cattle. He leaves the rest for the victims as a sign of expressing sympathy and forgiveness (*Source: interview with local elders*).

Similarly *Qaalluu* institutions also resolve often difficult conflicts through the process of mediation and adjudication¹⁰ (Asmarom, 2000; Lewis, 1988). "The *qaallu* and his institution were committed to social justice, the laws of God and the rule of law, and fair deliberation" (Asefa 2001:16). In a *qaalluu* court, either the *qaallu* himself serves as a judge/mediator or appoints honest and wise elders of the community. These elders are called *jaarsa yaboo* or *jaarsa bokkuu* and often permanently serve in a given *qaalluu* institution. Usually three or more *yaboo* or *bokkuu* elders work in a session (Degene, 2002; Lewis, 1988). People take their cases to *qaalluu* on two occasions: when disputants are not happy with the outcome of the mediation by community elders and when disputants could not come up with sufficient evidence to substantiate their claim in which

¹⁰ *adjudication* in this context refers to the act of passing decision or judgment after listening to disputants claim. The judgment is often made based on established customary laws.

case, the *qaalluu* summons the suspect and make him/her prove his/her innocence by taking an oath (Asmarom, 2000). *Qaalluu* courts are often considered supreme and disputants often accept their decisions and speak the truth mainly for fear of punishment arising from the spirit of the *qaalluu*'s. However, this institution also works with the primary goal of creating reconciliation and forgiveness and removing the feeling of enmity between disputants. In some areas Oromia Region where the Gada system is still active, cases that cannot be resolved by *qaalluu* are referred to *Gumii* or *Gumii Gaayoo*¹¹ 'the assembly of multitudes' for adjudication. "Beyond *Gumii* there are no higher bodies that can intervene" (*Ibid.*, P. 138). Although, their role as spiritual institution has been reduced due to the expansion of Christianity and Islam, the *qaalluu* institution still serve as a forum for conflict resolution especially among the *Borana*, *Tuulama* and *Maca* Oromo clans.

Although they do not directly function as *jaarsa byyaa* 'elders of the society', women among traditional Oromo societies have resolved conflicts and safeguarded their right through their *Siinqee* or *Ateetee* institution. This institution is made up of a group of married women who lives in a given neighbourhood. The women consider their *siinqee* 'ritual stick' as their unifying emblem. Such group of women holding their *siinqee* is named *ateetee* or *siinqee*. The same group of women observes a religious ritual called *ateetee* and play political roles such as protecting women against male abuse and resolving inter-clan conflicts. According to Østebø (2009: 1053), "Ateete [ateetee] or

¹¹ *Gumii* or *Gumii Gaayoo*- (the assembly of multitudes) brings together every type of important living leader, such as living- *Abba Gaddas*, the *qaallus*, age-set councilors, clan leaders and *gada* councilors, and other concerned individuals - to make or amend or change laws and rules every eight years. The Gumi Gayo assembly has the highest degree of authority than the gada and other assemblies, and what Gumi decides cannot be reversed by any other assembly (Asefa Jalata, 2010:8).

sinqee [siinqee] seems interchangeably [used] to refer both to religious marches as well as to political mobilizations conducted when women's rights or perhaps more correct to say, women's wayyuu has been violated."

As stated above, the intervention of such women comes on two occasions: when a husband seriously abuses his wife, physically or verbally, especially while she is in her maternity house, locally called *dubartii qanafaa*¹², or *Ulmaa* and when there is a serious clash between two clans. In the first case, the women go to the husband with their *siinqee* 'ritual stick' and investigate the case. If the husband is found guilty, they insult, defame, and even curse him if he refuses to apologize. They force him to slaughter an ox or two and prepare a feast to make peace with them. They also force him to buy clothes for his wife as compensation. As I mentioned before, the women do not conduct the mediation process, but urge or force the institution of *Jaarsa Biyyaa* to resolve the case (Mamo, 2006; Jeilan, 2004; Legesse, 1973).

2.4 Summary

The review in this chapter is generally meant to create better understanding of the field of mediation as a commonly used method of conflict resolution. As stated in the review, conflict is often conceived as a social phenomenon that occur when people compete for common goal or resource or when one party feels and observes the other party working against his/her interest. Conflict resolution, on the other hand, refers to the process of settling problems of disputants in the way that satisfy their interest and repair their

¹² *qanafaa* - sacred piece of wood that an Oromo mother tie on her forehead during and after childbirth to celebrate the event and symbolize the highest dignity she has assumed by virtue of childbirth(Jeilan, 2004)

relationship. The process of resolving conflict in which a ‘neutral’ third body(s) assist disputants settle their problem is called mediation. As conceived by scholars in the western culture, mediators are people who facilitate interaction between disputants and help them come to reconciliation, but who have no power to make decision on behalf of disputants. However, the issue of mediators’ neutrality is yet controversial. Some scholars claim that mediators with no power of making decision could hardly help disputants come to agreement. These scholars assert that in order to accomplish their main goal of settling cases, mediators should use various intervention strategies that can help them shape the procedure and content of the interaction in mediation. To accommodate the above controversies over the issue of mediators’ neutrality, scholars have developed various models of mediation which assumes the roles of mediators differently.

The review in the above chapter also indicates that mediation is often affected by culture. Culture affects the way people communicate, negotiate face and construct their own and each others’ identity at different socio-cultural contexts of which mediation is one. The nature of communication in turn determines the outcome of mediation. These show the strong relationship between culture, communication, and mediation. Rituals are also components of culture which could play a big role in the process of mediation.

As indicated in the second part of the literature review, the Oromo people are known for their well established traditional institutions and methods of conflict resolution of which *jaarsummaa*, ‘a traditional mediation by community elders’ is the common one.

Jaarsummaa is the cultural role and responsibility of institution of *jaarsa Biyyaaa* ‘elders of the country’. In addition to *jaarsa Biyyaaa*, other institutions such as *qaalluu* ‘religious institution’, *siinqee* ‘institution of married women’, and the Gada court also play big role in resolving various types of conflicts among the Oromo people.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the major theoretical and methodological frameworks used in this study. The current study draws on discourse analysis as its theoretical framework and methodological path. The chapter begins with definitions of important concepts such as *discourse* and *discourse analysis* and moves onto discussions on social constructionist philosophy, the underpinning philosophy of the approach of discourse analysis selected for the present study. A detailed account of methodological guidelines and various analytic techniques used in the current study is the next focus of the chapter. The chapter also presents the major criticism raised against the approach of discourse analysis used in the current study.

3.2. Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Scholars define *discourse* and *discourse analysis* from various perspectives based on the theoretical or philosophical orientation of their respective disciplines. Since these terms are going to be used as operational concepts and are key to the understanding of the analytical framework used in the present study, giving their definitions in the way they are used in this study would be of help in understanding the discussions in the sections that follow.

3.2.1. Definition of Discourse

There are two broader conceptions of the term *discourse*. The first one consider discourse as actual instance of written and spoken texts which involves units above the level of a sentence (Tracy and Mirivel, 2009; Thomson, 2003). Such conception is often shared by scholars in the field of structural linguistics. The second, rather broader, conception of the term emphasizes the social functions of language. It considers *discourse* as representation or expression of one's identity, belief, and world view in a text (written and spoken) and other means of signification (Johnstone, 2008; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001; Fairclough, 1995;). This definition is often given by scholars in the field of applied linguistics and other social science fields such as sociology and psychology. For these scholars, *discourse* refers to the social action that people accomplish through language and other means of communication. According to the second definition of the term, written and spoken texts are among the means through which discourse manifests itself. For Burr (1995:34), " anything that can be 'read' for meaning can be thought of as being a manifestation of one or more discourses and can be referred to as a 'text'...Buildings may 'speak' of civic pride...Clothes and uniforms may suggest class position, status, gender, age or subculture... ". Yet, the same scholar assert that "no definition of discourse is sufficient" (Ibid:32). In this study, the term *discourse* assumes the second broader definition given above.

3.2.2. Discourse Analysis

Like the definition of the term discourse, *discourse analysis* (DA) has also been defined in various ways. Structural linguists define DA as the analysis of written and spoken texts with the aim of identifying recurring patterns of words or abstract structures in a language

by analyzing language data detached from its user and context of use (Johnstone, 2008; Salkie, 1995). In this case, the focus of discourse analysis is language per se. However, later the approach of structural linguists faced criticism for being based only on linguistic corpus disregarding its users and other contextual factors that affect language use and meaning. To fill such gap, scholars came up with *functional approach* to discourse analysis.

Functional approach helps analyze how meanings of utterances vary based on context of speaking and the mood of the speaker (Biber et al., 2007; Alvesson, 2004; McCarthy, 1991). Various DA methods such as conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, and speech act theory are grouped under this approach. The second approach brought shift of attention from structure to meaning, yet it has been criticized for being confined to the analysis of meaning in a text disregarding the role of the broader socio-cultural context (Alvesson, 2004). The approach was found to be inadequate in analyzing how language use influences and is influenced by the existing wider socio-cultural and political realities. In response to this inadequacy, later on, scholars in the field of applied linguistics and other social science fields came up with the third, rather broader *socio-cultural approach to discourse analysis* often referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA). This new approach goes beyond analysis of textual meaning. It includes analysis of the broader socio-cultural and political context in which a given discourse is produced and consumed (Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 1999; Wodak, 2007). In this approach, language is considered as a lens to critically investigate various social, political, and cultural practices that shape and are shaped by it.

The third approach to discourse analysis mainly focuses on how language is used in constructing one's identity, selfhood, personal, and social change and power relations. Within this new approach or paradigm of discourse analysis are various analytic methods. "CDA is made up of a number of approaches" (Barker and Galasinski, 2001:62). Thus, to address the research questions of the current study, various discourse analytic methods that work within the domain of the *socio-cultural approach to discourse analysis* have been used. This new approach to discourse analysis has got its theoretical foundation in social constructionist theory (Burr, 1995) and it is even labeled as "social constructionist approach to discourse analysis" (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:4). A brief highlight of this theory is given in the subsequent section.

3.3 Social Constructionism and Discourse Analysis

Social constructivism also called Social Constructionism (Burr, 1995) is a postmodernism¹³ theory which was developed by scholars like John Dewey and Kenneth Gergen in the 1990s. According to this theory, knowledge is a subjective entity which is jointly created in social interactions which take place in various contexts. Social constructionists conceive knowledge as an output of people's daily social interaction and claim that "there can be no such thing as objective fact" (Ibid: 4). They also believe that knowledge is viable to change and what is considered as truth or knowledge at one historical moment may be disproved or discarded later due to the emergence of new

¹³ *Postmodernism* is a rejection of both the idea that there can be an ultimate truth and of structuralism, the idea that the world as we see it is the result of hidden structures. It emphasizes instead the co existence of a multiplicity of variety of situation-dependent ways of life (sometimes referred to as pluralism (Burr, 1995: 9)

knowledge. In the creation of a new knowledge, people negotiate and make some kinds of transactions based on their prior knowledge (Ibid).

Hence, language plays the central role in the production of knowledge since social interactions take place through language (written, spoken, sign). Emphasizing on this role of language, Burr (1995: 26-27) states, "The person you are, your experience, your identity, your 'personality' are all the effects of language ... our thoughts, our feelings and how we represent our behavior are all 'prepackaged' by language". This means every utterance that a speaker makes in a given interactional context accomplishes certain social actions. According to social constructivist theory, "much of the time we deal with the world in terms of discursive constructions of versions" (Potter et.al.,1990:208). Thus, the analysis of discourse can help uncover the identity of the participants and the social actions they accomplish with the language they use.

In general, the place given to language in the Social Constructivism could be mentioned as a theoretical base for the emergence of the third paradigm of discourse analysis, a *socio-cultural approach to discourse analysis* which in turn paved a new direction for researches in humanities and various social science fields. Using this new paradigm, scholars in these fields began to conduct discourse analysis researches to address various social, cultural and political issues. Within the third paradigm to discourse analysis are various discourse analysis approaches which cater for different discourse data and objectives of the researcher who conducts the analysis. With regard to the diversities in discourse analysis research, Burr (1995:113) states the following:

“the term ‘discourse analysis’ is an umbrella which covers a wide variety of actual research practices with quite different aims and theoretical backgrounds. All take language as their focus of interest, and therefore use as their basic materials such things as interview transcripts, recordings of ‘natural’ conversations, extracts from books and so on, though different ‘species’ of discourse analysis vary in terms of what it is they are looking for in a piece of text, and the specific methods by which they carry out their analysis.

The discussions in the following sections focuses on the definitions, basic principles and methodological guidelines of CDA and various specific techniques of discourse analysis used in the present study to analyzing the discourse of *Jaarsummaa* ‘traditional dispute mediation by community elders’ from different angles.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

As stated by various scholars (Burr, 1995; Mayr, 2008; Rogers, 2004; Zotzmann, 2007) and many others, CDA has been developed in response to the drawbacks of its preceding approaches to discourse analysis, which analyze language as an abstract system devoid of its context¹⁴. CDA considers the broader context of language use to be crucial (Wodak, 2007; Meyer, 2002). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271) CDA focuses “not on language or the use of language in and for themselves, but upon the partially linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures”. Strengthening this, Wodak and Meyer (2008:2), also affirm that “CDA is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se, but in studying social phenomena...” It addresses social problems by using language as a lens (Fairclough, 1998, 2003; van Dijk, 2001). In other words, CDA

¹⁴ *Context* refers to an ever widening set of factors that accompany language in use. This includes the aerial setting, the people present (what they know and believe), the language that comes before and after a given utterance the social relationship of the people involve and their ethnic, gendered and sexual identities as well as cultural, historical and institutional factors. (Gee cited in Rogers, 2004:29).

consider linguistic analysis as a means to an end rather than as its final goal. It is “a critical perspective on doing scholarship ... on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (van Dijk, 2001:96). According to this scholar, CDA is not a method or a theory which stands on its own. Rather it is a perspective of doing research which focuses on “sophisticated theorization of the intricate text-context relationship” (Ibid: 98) and which can be used in tandem with any approaches in humanities and social science fields. Fairclough (1995:132-3) on his part defines CDA as an approach to discourse analysis which:

" aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

As stated in the above definitions, 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 scholars is, therefore, to reveal how powerful groups manipulate language to establish, sustain, and legitimize their dominance over the powerless groups. They study how personal identities and social identifications are constructed in a given society. Wodak and Meyer (2008:2) further state that "any social phenomenon lends itself to critical investigation, to be challenged and not taken for granted". Summarizing what has been stated above, Fairclough and

Wodak (1997: 271) comment 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 context and hence the role of language in social life”.

In addition to what has been discussed so far, CDA possesses other features which distinguishes it from other approaches of discourse analysis. To start with, CDA is a critical approach. The term ‘critical’ in this case is conceived in various ways. For Fairclough the term “Critical” refers to the process of revealing the often hidden enactment of power through manipulative use of language (Fairclough 2001: 4). For Rogers (2004:3), the term assumes a different meaning. It refers to the subjective position or doubt that the analysts should reflect in their analysis. He conceives it as “a rejection of naturalism” or questioning of commonsensical cultural beliefs and practices. Similarly, Wodak (2007:209) understands the notion “critical” as “having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, making the respective political stance explicit...”. Therefore, in exposing power dominance or inequalities, CDA requires the analysts to take some political stance. It requires them to play the role of political activists by taking side with the oppressed group (van Dijk, 2001).

Methodologically speaking also, CDA is considered as an eclectic or a multidisciplinary approach which draws on diverse theories and disciplines in its attempt to give adequate critical account of a given social phenomenon (Bazzi, 2009; Meyer, 2002; Wodak, 2007; van Dijk, 1998). It is often considered as a hybrid of Critical/Functional linguistics, pragmatics, and critical social theory (van Leeuwen, 2009; van Dijk, 1995). With regard to the methodological features of CDA, Wodak and Meyer (2008:5) state the following:

..., it is important to stress that CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies.

Strengthening the assertion of the above two scholars, Rogers (2004:7-8) also affirms: "There are no formulas for conducting CDA. Deciding which set of analytic procedures to use depends on the particular research situation you are in, the text you are studying and your research questions". Van Dijk (2001:96) also shares the same feeling.

According to the above scholars, CDA is an approach to DA which established its identity by taking snatches from various theories and disciplines with the aim of investigating a given social phenomenon from various angles at a time considering analysis of language use as a point of departure. So, multidisciplinary in CDA refers to using diverse analytic methods which draw on multiple theories. Scholars like Wodak and Meyer claim that the need for multidisciplinary approach in CDA accounts for the complexity of the social phenomenon that it takes as its target of investigation (Wodak and Meyer, 2008; Meyer, 2002). CDA also differs from other approaches of discourse analysis "because it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work" (Rogers, 2004:2). In other words, in CDA, textual data is explained and interpreted based on the underpinning socio-cultural, political, historical, processes which shape the production of the text (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001). Yet, the analytic method that a CDA researcher utilizes is determined by the nature of the textual data he/she analyzes

and the discourse dimension he/she wants to emphasize on. In short, CDA is a new approach which introduced a new dimension to the field of discourse analysis.

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, 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2002; Dijk 2001). CDA not only uncovers the above social problems, but also call for change. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:64), "CDA aims to contribute to social change along the line of more equal power relations in communication process and society in general".

3.4.1 CDA and Power Relationship in Contemporary Society

The concept *power* has been conceived differently based on the resources utilized for its exercise. For instance, physical power of a person and military power of a country is often exercised through use of forces. Similarly the rich use their money to exercise their power and the professors their knowledge (van Dijk, 1998). The present study deals with a social power that is exercised between various social groups and classes where the dominant groups control the actions and thought of the powerless and make them behave or act in line with the wishes and interest of the former. Such power difference is often exercised enacted through manipulative use of language.

Foucault postulated the link between discourse and power first. For him, power and knowledge are embedded in discourses and thus discourses serve as tools in producing

and enacting power (Bazzi, 2009; van Dijk, 1998). Following Foucault, Wodak (2002:11) asserts “language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over power and where power is challenged.” She further states “Very few linguistic forms have not at some stage been pressed in to the service of the expression of power by a process of syntactic or textual metaphor” (Ibid). Therefore, such power difference can be revealed through analysis of language use in various contexts. Regarding the role of CDA in social power analysis research, van Dijk (1993:254) states the following:

“...’modern’ and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to *change the mind of others in ones own interests*. It is at this crucial point where discourse and critical discourse analysis come in: managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk.

In the feudal society, there were socially and legally legitimized power differences between different social classes. For instance, there were abusive power relationship between landlords and tenants, master and slave or male and female. There was no or little room for human rights discourse. In such society, one does not need to carry out CDA research to examine social power relationship for it was visible there on the surface. However, with the emergence of human rights discourse in the modern so called “democratic society”, all human beings are believed to have “equal” rights regardless of their racial, sexual, economic and other differences. Thus, the type of power imbalance in the former society has had no more legal base in modern society.

Nevertheless, discriminations and social power abuses still exist in the modern society, though in hidden or disguised manner (van Dijk, 2002). According to Mayr (2008:12),

“In democratic systems, power needs to be legitimate to be accepted by people” .The powerful groups exercise and legitimize their power often by controlling or manipulating the thought and desires of their subjects' using discourse as a major tool (Ibid). Sometimes, the dominated groups may go to the extent of accepting the domination as established norm and cooperate with the dominating ones (Karleberg, 2005, Fairclough, 1995). Several scholars in the field of applied linguistics and other social science fields used CDA as a common tool to uncover such covert social power relationship in modern society. The powerful groups reproduce their dominance and hegemony over the powerless mainly by using the following strategies.

3.4.1.1 Strategies of Enacting Power Dominance

One of these strategies of enacting power dominance is securing good access to discourse or communication contexts (van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2007). The powerful groups control or restrict the others' (the less powerless) access to discourse by using various strategies such as deciding on when, where and who should take part in a given speech or communicative event. For example "if men exclude women from meetings, whites restrict the access of blacks to the press; we have instances of discourse dominance namely communicative discrimination" (van Dijk, 1993: 260).

The powerful groups also enact their power by controlling the content or the topic of discussion in a given communicative context. They decide on the type of lexical items and even the volume of the speech of the powerless groups (van Dijk, 1998:7). Karlberg (2005) mentions two examples of such type of power: a teacher controlling the students' response in classroom interaction and a judge doing the same with a suspect.

Controlling the minds of people by using different discourse strategies is also the other way of enacting power dominance. Among various discourse strategies that serve for mind controlling are "topicalizing", that means, putting the topic to be emphasized in the headlines or forefront (Dun et. al., 1988 cited in van Dijk,1993), generalizing or naturalizing the discourse of domination, using rhetorical figures such as metaphors, hyperboles, euphemisms and proverbs. Less controlled aspects of discourse such as intonation, lexical or syntactic styles, politeness, and turn-taking strategies also help to establish dominance (van Dijk 1993). According to the same scholar, intentional denying of the presence of the domination and trying to give justification for the domination are also other strategies of reproducing dominance.

Mind control is also possible by using authorities. People often accept what some authoritative, trustworthy people or professionals and known medias tell them. So, power can be enacted or reproduced by using these groups as resources. People also accept a given discourse of dominance when they do not have enough knowledge to challenge it or when they do not have alternative sources of information to cross check. With regard to this, van Dijk (1998:9) asserts: "If freedom is defined as having the opportunity to think and do what one wants, then such lack of alternatives is by definition limitations of the freedom of the recipient. And limiting the freedom of others especially on ones interest happen to be one of the definition of power and domination".

Being an interactive social practice where people with various attitudes, demands, and expectations meet, mediation allows various types of power relationship to come into

play (Winslade, 2003). The power relationship in mediation is often studied from two dimensions: power relation between disputants and between mediators and disputants.

3.4.1.2 Types of Social Power Relationship

Scholars in the field of power theory conceptualize social power relationship in various ways, but I found Karlberg's (2005) conceptualization more comprehensive and convenient for analyzing power relations in the present study. Karlberg categorizes power relationship on two major dimensions: *relational* and *distributive* which are further subdivided into four dimensions. On *relational* dimension, he classifies power relationship as *adversarial* and *mutualistic*. These are mutually exclusive and parallel categories, according to this scholar. Similarly, on the *distributive* dimension, he classifies power relation as *equality* and *inequality* (Ibid: 12). According to him, power relationship can be considered *adversarial* when one party uses power against the interest of the other party or when one uses power to gain some advantage at the expense of the other person's loss. On the contrary, *mutualistic* power relationship occurs when powerful groups exercise power over less powerful ones with the aim of helping, nurturing or empowering the latter. Karlberg (2005) mentions the parent-child and teacher-student power relationship as best examples of *mutualistic* power relationship. This type of power relationship occurs between two bodies that work for common goal or one working to the benefit of the other. On the contrary, *adversarial* power relation usually occurs between two bodies that have competing interests.

The above categorization of power relationship appears to be simple and clear, yet it is highly susceptible to subjectivity. The power relationship that one considers as

mutualistic could be interpreted as *adversarial* by others. For instance, sometimes a teacher could seriously violate students' right and claims that the power relationship is *mutualistic*. This doubt is clearly conveyed by Karlberg himself. "A nurturing relationship may begin with a high degree of inequality and steadily progress toward a state of relative equality, as indeed is the goal in most parental and educational relationships" (Ibid P, 12-13). This categorization is found to be more suitable in the analysis of social power relations.

The analysis of both *mutualistic* and *adversarial* power relationship could be taken as the subject of research, but most of the researches so far conducted focused on the study of *adversarial* power relationship which is often termed as power dominance or power abuse. The results of the research works so far conducted in the area reveal that power abuse or power dominance is enacted by using various strategies (Karlberg, 2005). The discussion in section 3.4.1.1 above focuses on some of these strategies.

3.4.2 Methodological Frameworks of CDA

Owing to the relative newness of the area, as mentioned before, scholars could not come up with a single uniform methodological framework of CDA so far. They rather attempted to introduce their own frameworks and tried to justify the diversity (Fairclough, 2003; 1989; Wodak, 2003, 2001; Van Dijk, 1995). According to Paul Gee, "There are many different approaches to discourse, none of them including this one [his own approach] is uniquely "right" (Gee 1999:5). Gee also claims that "different approaches often fit different issues and questions better than others" (Ibid). 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, a careful examination of their frameworks reveals that practically, the scholars accomplish almost the same thing. In the following discussion, I will try to compare the frameworks of the above mentioned three famous scholars in the field of CDA.

To start with, the frameworks or models of all the three scholars include the analysis of linguistic aspects of the discourse often called micro-analysis and the analysis of text-external factors called macro-analysis. For instance, Fairclough begins with the analysis of the linguistic aspects of the discourse and moves to the analysis of the immediate and then to the broader socio-cultural, economic, and political contexts from which the target discourses emerges (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough's linguistic analysis is mainly based on Halliday's (1989) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Similarly, in her *discourse-historical model*, Wodak analyzes or describes the linguistic aspects of the discourse. The difference in the analytical frameworks of the two scholars' lies in the priority they give to linguistic analysis. Fairclough prefers to start with text and move on to macro-analysis of social context although he does not claim that analysis should be done in such strictly linear fashion. However, in her linguistic analysis, Wodak often uses readymade categories which she makes in line with the type of research questions in her study (Wodak, 2001). So, her approach can be considered rather top-down. 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 contexts (Wodak, 2001a; 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 (1985/1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics but also employs 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 discourse, discourse analysis is considered simply as the 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 and used. For instance, for Fairclough, discourse reflects how people understand themselves or build their identities in relation to what is going on around them and the world at large (Fairclough, 2003). So, in the analysis of the contextual aspect of a discourse, Fairclough includes the interpretation and explanation of both "situational context" and "intertextual" contexts of the discourse. "Intertextuality" refers to the relation that a given text may have with some other concurrently existing texts or discourses in other disciplines. Situational context on the

other hand refers to the time and place in which the discourse occurs and the identities of the participants (Fairclough, 1995:61). In short, he explains how textual meanings are shaped by the surrounding contextual factors.

In the case of Wodak's *discourse-historical model*, the term “historical” stands for all available background information that can help interpret a given discourse. In her model, the analysis of the context of the discourse is given equal emphasis with that of textual or linguistic analysis (Wodak, 2007). Similarly, in his *socio-cognitive model*, van Dijk includes, “social analysis” which means the analysis of the context and the overall social structure of the discourse. He interprets textual analysis in relation to the knowledge opinions and memories that are shared by groups who created the discourse (van Dijk, 1995:18). In short, at macro level of analysis, the three scholars explain the meanings in the target text in relation to the wider world around the text which involves the social, political, historical, economic, educational, and other aspects (Fairclough, 1995, Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1995).

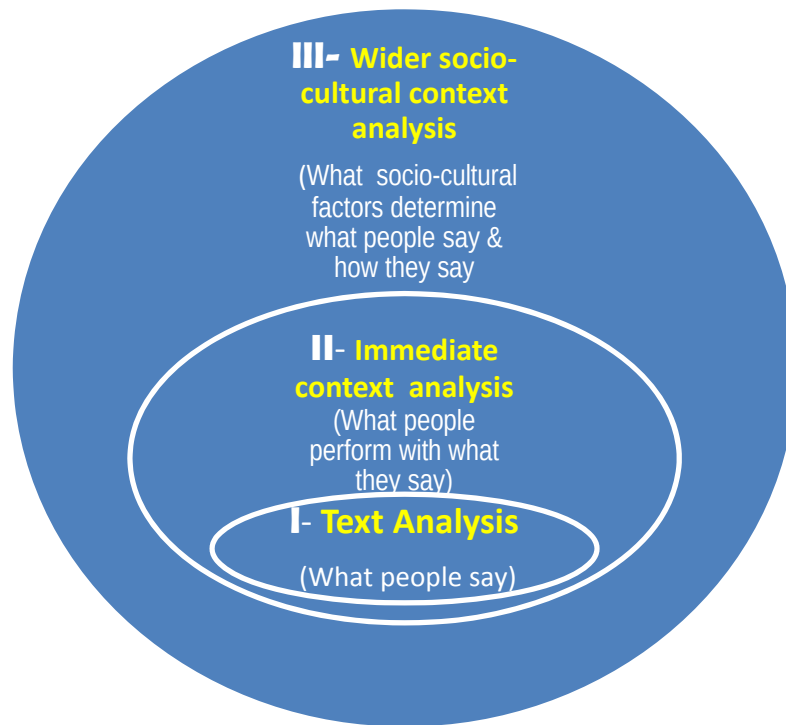
In all the three scholars’ analytical procedure, the two major types of analysis, textual and contextual, are often carried out in an embedded manner. During analysis, they make recursive movement between text and its context. Such “recursive move between linguistic and social analysis of texts is what makes CDA a systematic method“, not haphazardly conducted analysis according to (Rogers, 2004:7).

In short, although the above three scholars claim that their CDA frameworks or models are different, what they practically do is almost the same. They all analyze discourse at

micro and macro levels. They all attempt to uncover hidden social power domination between various social groups. Their only difference lies on the priority or the emphasis they give to the textual and contextual dimensions of discourse during analysis.

In the present study, I use the analytical framework of Fairclough (1995), yet I do not and cannot totally exclude others. Fairclough is a well known CDA scholar that almost no research article or book written in the field of CDA has failed to quote. I have chosen Fairclough's framework because I find it more comprehensive and procedurally clear. It is also widely used by previous researchers who have carried out CDA research in various disciplines. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002:60) consider Fairclough's CDA framework as "the most developed theory and method for research in communication, culture, and society," and they confirm that, "Fairclough's approach consists of a set of philosophical premises, theoretical methods, methodological guidelines, and specific techniques of linguistic analysis" So, I found this framework fit to some of the research questions of this study. But I also used Wodak's framework to analyze the *jaarsummaa* discourse from historical perspective; to examine how the discourse of this cultural practice has been modified or changed in line with the changes in socio-political and cultural realities of the target population. The following diagram summarizes the analytic procedure of Fairclough's CDA framework.

Fig. 3.1 Diagrammatic representation of Fairclough's CDA framework



3.4.3 Critiques of CDA

Some scholars criticize the methods and procedures of analysis in CDA as unstructured, and subjective or biased interpretation (Widdowson, 1995 cited in Meyer 2002). However, proponents of CDA clearly consider subjectivity and unstructuredness as inherent and useful qualities of CDA which reflect its basic principles and major goals of analysis (van Dijk, 2002). To quote the words of van Dijk (2002:96), “CDA does not deny, but explicitly defines and defends its own sociopolitical position. That is, CDA is biased and proud of it.” According to Social Constructionism, the underpinning theory of CDA, we all have different perspectives regarding the way we perceive the world and this variation has its own influence on the analytical approaches that scholars draw upon

in conducting CDA researches. So, the major aim of research in Social constructivists paradigm is not to come up with “objective or absolute truth”, but describe an event or social phenomenon from various perspectives holding “ relativist position” (Burr, 1995:112). Thus, for scholars like van Dijk, the unstructuredness of the analytic procedure in CDA is considered as a useful strategy that allows critical examination of social phenomenon from various angles. Galasinski, (1997) describes this feature of CDA as “flexible critical arbitrariness” (cited in Barker and Galasinski, 2001:65). Emphasizing on the usefulness of such feature of CDA, van Dijk (2001: 95), asserts that “ready-made methods' are 'incompatible with a critical attitude”.

Once again, the major objective of CDA, as stated above, is to uncover “morally or legally illegitimate” power dominances and inequalities which are often enacted discursively in a disguised manner (van Dijk, 1996:20). In doing so, a CDA analyst will be obliged to take “a critical and oppositional stance against ... those who abuse their power “and line up by the side of the oppressed group (Ibid). Mayr (2008:8) on his part states, “Because of their concern with the analysis of the ‘often opaque relationships’ between discourse practices and wider social and cultural structures, CDA practitioners take an “explicit socio-political stance” and this inevitably exposes the practitioners to what some scholars call the politics of subjectivity.

In spite of the above mentioned realities, attempts have been made by scholars in the field to systematize the analysis in CDA and come up with verifiable and replicable analytical procedures (Threadgold, 2003). Various scholars attempted to develop analytic tools and

procedures for CDA. For instance, Baker and Galasinski (2001) developed what they call “tool-kits of analytical categories” by collecting and summarizing the common focuses of previous CDA researches. However, this tool-kit mainly focused on the linguistic aspect of discourse and gave little attention to the analysis of contextual dimensions. In the following sections, I try to give a brief account of the common analytical units and tools used by CDA researchers in the analysis of both textual and contextual aspects of a discourse.

3.4.4 Text Analysis Tools in CDA

Indicating the fundamentally verbal nature of discourse, scholars propose linguistic analysis as one aspect of discourse analysis that almost all CDA scholars need to embrace (Wodak, 2007). “CDA's arguments are based on a close analysis of discourse within texts, whether written or spoken” (Barker and Galasinski, 2001:62). Capitalizing on the importance of textual analysis in CDA, van Dijk (2001:97) also states the following:

...Whatever other dimensions of discourse CDA deals with, CDA as a specific form and practice of discourse analysis obviously always needs to account for at least some of the detailed structures, strategies and functions of text and talk including grammar, pragmatic, interactional, stylistic, rhetorical, semiotic, narrative or similar forms of verbal and paraverbal organization of communicative events”.

However, it may not be obligatory for a researcher to carry out the analysis of all these features in a single study. A CDA researcher may choose some of these linguistic feature based on his/her specific research objectives and the nature of the linguistic data he/she wants to analyze (Barker and Galasinski, 2001; Wodak and Meyer, 2002). Due to the

diversity of these textual features, researchers often face difficulties in limiting their boundaries of analysis (Mayr and Bastow, 2008). Therefore, one needs to identify the most relevant linguistic resources that he/she focuses on during textual analysis.

For the analysis of the linguistic aspects of discourse, scholars in the field of discourse analysis in general and CDA in particular often use the functional theory of language called Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL), developed by Halliday (Fairclough, 2003; Rogers, 2004). According to Mayr, “While there are undoubtedly other theoretical models that are also critical, SFL is useful for CDA precisely because it sees language as meaningful behavior and interprets language as a process of making meanings” (Mayr, 2008:16). Strengthening Mayr’s position, Barker and Galasinski (2001:64) also state that “linguistic analysis of discourse, anchored within systemic-functional linguistics can help reduce the arbitrariness of interpretation by anchoring it on the discourse form itself”. SFL helps to analyze how various syntactic structures are used to convey different functions of language and how people make choices among the structures in making meaning (Rogers, 2004).

According to SFL theory, language helps to construct and convey three major functions: (1) *ideational function* which refers to the use of language for representing or expressing the realities around us or how someone’s identity and world view is represented in his/her utterances; (2) *interpersonal function* which refers to the way speakers or writers represent their roles and identities in relation to that of their audiences in a given text (spoken or written) and (3) *textual function* : the use of language in arranging or structuring messages in a text (Halliday, 1978 cited in Mayrd, 2008). The above three

‘metafunctions’ of language are often realized through three major grammatical features: *transitivity*, *modality* and *theme* at any part of a text. Therefore, these three grammatical resources are considered as common focuses of analysis for scholars engaged in CDA research (Gee, 1999, Fairclough, 2003). Below are brief accounts of the purposes and features of these grammatical resources.

3.4.6.1 Transitivity

According to Simpson (1993), *transitivity* in discourse analysis “shows how speakers encode in language their mental picture of reality and how they account for their experience in the world around them” (Simpson 1993: 88). *Transitivity* analysis therefore helps to examine representations in terms of who does what and to whom, how a speaker feel about the proposition he/she made, what identity someone is given and by whom and how (Barker and Galasinski, 2001; Bazzi, 2007). It usually helps to investigate how some social realities are implied in a text. For instance, it helps to find out how a speaker or a writer manipulates agency or construct a person as an agent or doer of an action or as a subject that can be acted up on. Such discursive practices of representation can be realized by using different grammatical features such as active and passive voice, nominalization, lexicalization (Mayr, 2008).

Nominalization refers to “turning verb processes into nouns” (Ibid: 19). For example the process verb ‘to invest’ can be changed to, ‘investment’, ‘to adapt’ in to ‘adaptability’, to solve problem as ‘problem-solving’, etc (Ibid). Through nominalization “actions” can be changed to “things” and emphasis can be given to what has happened rather than who did it (Barker and Galasinski, 2001). Eliding agency with nominalization and passive voice

can help to systematically omit responsibility of the agent. Manipulation of agency according to Mayr (2008:19) is “one of the most important ways in which language can represent power.”

Lexicalization on the other hand refers to the repeated or selective use of certain forms of words or word collocations in representing participants and their actions in either negative or positive manner (Ibid). The preference for certain words or word forms over the others reveals the attitude or emotional status of the speaker or writer towards the target issue (Mayr, 2008).

3.4.4.2 Mood and Modality

From Halliday’s functional linguists point of view, *mood* and *modality* refer to interpersonal functions of language (Barker and Galasinski 2001; Bazzi, 2009). *Mood* refers to the way people use language in giving or requesting for information. It refers to the feeling and intention a speaker consciously or unconsciously reflects in his/her words (spoken or written). As to Halliday (1978), *mood* element could be communicated in two forms: as a “proposition” (statement or question) or a “proposal” (offer or command) (cited in Bazzi 2009:83). While communicating message during interaction, people in one way, or another, expresses their position or attitude in relation to their audiences. Therefore, *mood* can help examine nature of social power relationship.

Modality, on the other hand, is a concept that stands for one’s level of confidence or commitment in what he/she is saying. It is “ speakers’ attitude towards the proposition(s) that they render in their utterance(s)...[or] judgments as to whether something is, might be, or must be the case, and whether one should, ought, or must do something” (Barker

and Galasinski, 2001:77). Modality is expressed using “modal verbs (can, must should), modal adverbs (obviously, clearly etc), copular verbs (is, seems, appears), verbs of cognition (think, believe, feel...)” (Mayr, 2008:20). But for Fairclough (1992), any linguistic unit that reveals the writer’s or speaker’s feelings towards what he speaks or writes can signal modality. The analysis of modality helps in identifying one’s level of certainty or uncertainty. For instance, the use of modal adverbs such as *always*, *obviously*, *definitely* shows high level of certainty whereas copular verbs such as *appears*, *seems* convey lower level of certainty. The use of simple present tense also helps to make categorical statements about somebody or some issue (Mayr, 2008) and this in turn reveals the status and power of the speaker with regard to the message he/he delivers. In the current study, the analysis of mood and modality is done to examine how the elders express their attitude and position in relation to disputants in their attempt to change the attitude and feelings of the disputants. It is used to uncover the strategies that the elders use to enact their power or win the consent of disputants.

3.4.4.3 Theme

The other textual feature, *theme*, refers to “the point of departure of the message: it is that with which the clause is concerned” (Halliday (1985: 38) cited in Mayr, 2008: 20). Theme analysis therefore helps in identifying how messages are sequenced in a sentence and how a certain message is given emphasis.

3.4.4.4 Other Aspects of Textual Analysis

CDA scholars also focus on other grammatical features such as pronoun use, forms of address (use of honorifics and personal titles) metaphorical expressions (Rogers, 2004)

and pragmatic resources such as presupposition, implicature and entailment (Wodak, 2007). For example, the use of inclusive pronouns such as “we” and “our” are interpreted as indicators of cooperation in making decisions whereas exclusive pronouns such as *they* can be used in negative *others* representation. The use of honorifics and personal titles also show the nature of power relationship and solidarity between people (Barker and Galasinski, 2001).

Most of the grammatical and pragmatic features mentioned so far refer to implicit and deeper components of meaning of a text. Therefore, the analysis of these types of meanings requires critical reading on the part of the analysts. The analysis in this study focuses on, most of the semantic features mentioned above. I used transitivity and modality analysis to examine how elders represent themselves and their action, how they represent the disputants’ action and personalities, and the nature of power relationship implied in such representation. In addition to these semantic features, however, I have analyzed the structural and the interactional aspects of *jaarsummaa* discourse as well. The interactional aspects: *turn-taking*, *topic control*, *politeness (face saving)* and *speech acts* are analyzed to examine the strategies elders use in managing the interaction in *jaarsummaa* sessions and in enacting their power.

Speech act as defined by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) is a social action that can be performed with ones utterance (cited in Bazzi, 2007). The same scholars claim that for an utterance to perform certain social action, it demands the audience to recognize the intention of the text producer and the reasonable condition for the producers to produce the utterance.

Yule (1996) categorizes speech acts as *direct* and *indirect*. Direct speech act is made when there is direct relationship between the structure and its function as in (Can I come in? as request for permission). On the other hand, when there is no direct relationship between the grammatical form and its function as in (*It is too hot in here*, to request for the opening of a window). In short, speech act helps to analyze interpersonal function of language; how speakers position themselves and their audiences. In the current study, it has been used to examine the action that the elders accomplish (persuade, warn, advise etc) through their utterances. The top-down approaches to discourse analysis: *move analysis* and *rhetorical appeals analysis* have also been utilized to examine the schematic structures of JD and the elders' strategies of persuasion respectively. A brief summary of these two discourse analysis approach is given in the next sections.

3.4.4.5 Genre Analysis

Scholars have defined the term *genre* from two perspectives: structural and functional. For Fairclough, "genre is a way of acting and interacting linguistically " (Fairclough, 2003:15). The other scholar, van Leeuwen (2005:75) defines *genre* as "linear concatenation of communicative moves (staged) each of which constitutes a particular communicative acts." The first scholar conceives genre from functional point of view whereas the second one emphasizes on its structural perspective. The following definition by Swales (1990:58) summarizes the major features and functions of the notion *genre*:

A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to

keep the scope of a genre as here conceived focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience. If all high probability expectations are realized, the exemplar will be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community. The genre names inherited and produced by discourse communities and imported by others constitute valuable ethnographic communication, but typically need further validation.

According to this definition, a *genre* has a specific, recognizable communicative goal. It has also specific internal linguistic structure that can be segmented into smaller discourse units which have unique linguistic features and communicative purposes. These smaller discourse units are referred to as *rhetorical moves* or simply *move* (Swale, 1990). The communicative function of each segment or *move* of a genre contributes its part towards the achievement of the major communicative goal of the genre. To use Eggin's words, "each stage in the genre contributes a part of the overall meanings that must be made for the genre to be accomplished successfully" (Eggins, 2004: 59). Therefore, the communicative purpose of a given discourse genre determines the contents and the schematic structure or organizational patterns of its contents. Again, to be considered as a genre, a given text is required to share similarities in contents, patterns, and style with other sample texts of the same genre (Biber et al, 2007). Yet, scholars like Fairclough assert that "genres vary considerably in terms of their degree of stabilization, flexibility and homogenization... some are well-defined almost to the level of being ritualized. Others are quite variable and in flux " (Fairclough, 2003:48).

The above conceptualizations of *genre* by different scholars presuppose that genre can be analyzed by considering its communicative purposes and its linguistic features. Genre analysis usually focuses on the structural organization of texts in the entire corpus with

the aim of identifying stable patterns of communication across the entire corpus of a given genre. This is done by first identifying well defined units of analysis.

There are two major approaches to corpus-based analysis of genre structure: top-down and bottom-up approaches (Biber et al., 2007). The bottom-up approach begins with the analysis of the linguistic features of the corpus quantitatively. In this approach, the vocabulary patterns of the entire corpus are analyzed mechanically by using various computer softwares such as *TextTiling* and the corpus is segmented into a discourse unit called Vocabulary Based Discourse Units (VBDUs). The shift in vocabulary patterns serves as signal to mark the boundaries of VBDSs. Following such segmentation, the internal discourse organization, and the communicative function of each unit is analyzed (Biber et al., 2007).

Top-down approach, on the other hand, starts with segmenting the entire corpus into smaller discourse units called *moves* based on the analysis of communicative functions of the text. In this case, boundaries of moves are marked based on shift in topic or communicative purpose rather than a shift in lexical pattern. In top-down approach, the analysis of the linguistic features of each move comes as the second step to facilitate the detail interpretation of the move (Ibid). The most commonly used top-down approach to genre analysis is *move analysis* (Ibid). Swale (1990) defines *move* as a stretches of texts or communicative events that serve a specific communicative purpose in the entire corpus of a genre. According to Biber et al (2007) also, a *move* is identified based on distinct propositions, topics or communicative functions it serves. A genre is made up of

sequence of moves arranged in some stable patterns to achieve one major communicative goal. The communicative function of each move is realized through some steps or stages that constitute the move (Swales, 1990).

In corpus-based approach to genre analysis, “the moves and move types in each text must first be identified and tagged individually by the researchers making qualitative judgments about the communicative purposes of the different parts of a text” (Biber et al., 2007:20). Identifying the perceptual boundaries of each move “calls for cognitive judgment” of the analyst (Bhatia, 1993; Paltridge, 1994 cited in Biber et al., 2007:32). Therefore, two people who analyze the same corpus may come up with different move types. To curb such problems, inter-raters reliability check or checking the degree of similarity between the coding of two people is often recommended (Biber et al., 2007).

Rhetorical moves in genre analysis can have a number of attributes. For instance, though they contain only one proposition, moves may vary in length and their linguistic features (Connor & Mauranen, 1999 cited in Biber et al, 2007). Again some moves can be recursive while others can be optional. Some may contain multiple steps or stages that together, or in some combination, realize the move (Swales, 1990).

Based on Swale’s (1990) notion of *move*, scholars have developed various frameworks for conducting move analysis of a genre. For instance Biber and his colleagues developed the following ten steps of analytical framework that can be used in identifying and coding rhetorical moves of a genre and its constituent steps:

1. Determine rhetorical purposes of the genre.
2. Determine rhetorical function of each text segment in its local context; identify the possible move types of the genre.
3. Group functional and/or semantic themes that are either in relative proximity to each other or often occur in similar locations in representative texts. These reflect the specific *steps* that can be used to realize a broader *move*.
4. Conduct pilot-coding to test and fine-tune definitions of move purposes.
5. Develop coding protocol with clear definitions and examples of *move types* and *steps*.
6. Code full set of texts, with inter-rater reliability check to confirm that there is clear understanding of move definitions and how *moves/steps* are realized in texts.
7. Add any additional *steps* and/or *moves* that are revealed in the full analysis.
8. Revise coding protocol to resolve any discrepancies revealed by the inter-rater reliability check or by newly discovered' *moves/steps*, and re-code problematic areas.
9. Conduct linguistic analysis of move features and/or other corpus-facilitated analyses.
10. Describe corpus of texts in terms of typical and alternate move structures and linguistic characteristics (Biber et al., 2007:34).

However, the above approaches or analytical frameworks are not without limitations. For instance, in the above approaches the analysis is limited to the textual aspect or “text-internal features” to use Bhatia’s (2004) words. In both bottom-up and top- down approaches, the analysis of the contextual aspect of the text is given no attention. But according to Bhatia (2004), to get better understanding of schematic structure of a given discourse genre, texts “... often need to be interpreted in the context of text-external aspects of the genre, i.e. the goals of the specialist community and the broader

institutional and disciplinary contexts in which the genre is likely to be constructed, interpreted and used in real-life situations” (Ibid: 114).

In response to the above limitation of the previous approaches of genre analysis, Lee (2011:37) came up with a new approach called “multidimensional approach to genre analysis”. Lee’s new framework involves the analysis of both textual and contextual dimensions of a genre. As I discussed towards the beginning of this Chapter, the preset study mainly draws on CDA which gives emphasis to analysis of both textual and contextual elements as its theoretical and methodological frameworks. Therefore, Lee’s new approach aligns with the theoretical framework of the current study.

In the present study Lee’s new multidimensional approach to genre analysis is utilized in analyzing the schematic structure of JD in relation to its surrounding socio-cultural and political factors which shape the interaction in this discourse genre. Since *jaarsummaa* is a discursive social practice, its discourse can be affected by various socio-cultural factors. In other words, various discourse genres may come into play in shaping the discourse of *jaarsummaa*. In short, this new approach helps combine textual analyses with ethnographic investigations of the existing socio-cultural norms and beliefs that determine the way the elders and disputants behave in JD.

3.4.4.6 Persuasive Appeals Analysis

As I discussed in Chapter Two above, mediation as a method of conflict resolution often relies on persuasion as a main strategy of leading disputants towards resolution. To do so, mediators often utilize different persuasion strategies. According to Aristotle’s theory of

persuasion, one can effectively persuade his audience by using mainly three types of appeals: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* (Anthony and Gladkov, 2007; Duke, 1990). The *Ethos*, also called *credibility appeal*, refers to the way a speaker or writer construct his/her identity in relation to his/her audiences. Quoting Aristotle, the same scholars assert that “persuasion can be achieved only by those speakers who appear to be positive character for the audience” (Ibid). In other words, the way speakers build their image in relation to his/her audiences determines the worthiness of his/her message. Based on Aristotle’s theory of persuasion, scholars suggest various discourse strategies that speakers/writers could use to build their trustworthy image. Among those strategies are showing respect to audiences’ interest and their point of view, appreciation of the audiences past deeds, showing good or helping character and fair judgment, and giving first hand information (Connor and Lauer’s, 1985 cited in Anthony and Glaskov, 2007:125).

The second persuasive appeal, *pathos* also called *Affective appeal*, on the other hand refers to the strategies of putting audiences into certain emotional states. “Persuasion is effected through the audience when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, liking or hatred” (Aristotle, 1929, cited in Anthony and Glaskov, 2007:122). According to this scholar, audiences can be put into certain emotional state by using discourse strategies that address their attitudinal and moral values. These include making direct request and the use of emotionally charged languages that can make the audience experience *relevant emotion*¹⁵.

¹⁵ *Relevant emotion* here refers to a kind of emotion which can positively shape the mind of the audience towards required outcomes.

Rational appeal, *logos*, is third type of appeal that can be made by proving the truthfulness of something. This can be done by telling stories from ones personal experience, forecasting possible negative or positive consequences of an event, drawing on socially agreed upon principles and norms and using statistical facts (Connor and Lauer's, 1985 cited in Anthony and Glaskov, 2007: 124). Though they differ in their focus, "all in all, appeals are the ways in which ideas are presented to persuade the reader [listener]" (Ibid).

Although there could be variations in the use of specific appeal strategies across genres, Anthony and Glaskov (2007) confirm that the three basic appeal types discussed above exist in all types of persuasive texts. According to the same scholars, a top-down structural analysis of discourse called *rhetorical appeals* analysis can be used as a best tool to identify the three appeal types. These scholars also assert that "persuasive appeals analysis can be applied to any kind of persuasive text" (Ibid: 123). Appeals are identified by analyzing the persuasive roles of segments of texts or "their intent to make the reader [listener] act or do something about the situation" whereas rhetorical moves are identified based on the communicative or informative purposes of texts, yet both belong to top-down approach to discourse analysis (Ibid).

Jaarsummaa is a traditional method of conflict resolution in which disputants voluntarily take part to resolve their disputes with the help of traditional community elders. It is conducted based on voluntary participation the disputants. So, the outcome of the *jarsumma* is often determined by the elders' skill of persuasion. In other words, it depends on the way the elders construct their identities in relation to the disputants and

the discourse strategies they employ to persuade the disputants. Thus, persuasive appeals analysis can serve as best tool to identify the strategies that the elders use in persuading and bringing disputants towards reconciliation.

3.4.5 Analysis of Broader Socio-cultural Contexts

So far, I tried to give detail accounts of those linguistic elements that could be considered as targets for textual analysis in CDA research. However, in CDA textual analysis is considered as one aspect of discourse analysis that is done to investigate what is going on in a text. Nevertheless, as many scholars confirm, texts are not produced in the vacuum. The production and consumption of a given text is regulated by the existing socio cultural and political realities (Bhatia, 2004; Fairclough, 2003). So, to get better understanding of the meanings and communicative purposes of a text, one needs to analyze the broader socio-cultural factors that could affect the production and interpretation of the target text in Fairclough's, (2004:229) words the "causal effects of social structures and social practices on text". In other words, the findings of textual analysis need to be explained and confirmed by relation to the existing socio-cultural realities. In doing so, CDA calls for frequent moves between linguistic analysis and social analysis.

The link between textual analysis and broader contextual analysis is often made possible through interdiscursivity of intertextuality analysis. According to Meyer (2002:15), iterdiscursivity/intertextuality analysis implies the analysis of textual data taken from various contexts with the aim of triangulating the findings of textual analysis. Zotzmann, (2007:58) also asserts that "texts relate and refer directly or indirectly to other texts, authors and discourses, texts usually share a similar immediate and general context of

production... and reception and similar communicative purposes” and such relationship calls for analysis of inerdiscursivity or intertextuality.

Intertextuality/ interdiscursivity also refer to the mixing of different discourse genres in a single text. As to Fairclough (1992:84) “Intertextuality is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth”. Therefore, intertextuality analysis can be done in two ways: by taking excerpts from various discourse genres or by examining the co-occurrence of different discourse genres within one text. For instance, to find out factors that shape the nature of English Language teachers’ classroom discourse, Lee analyzed texts taken from national curriculum, education policy documents and syllabuses and other books on the prevailing teaching methodology (Lee, 2011). According to Fairclough, intertextuality analysis demands the analyst’s good background knowledge of the broader context of a text, which in turn demands the researcher to stay in the institutional setting of the text for significantly long period and gather relevant ethnographic data or make good reading in the field of the target text (Ibid).

Thus, in the current study, I conducted the interdiscursivity/ intertextuality analysis in both ways. For example, I analyzed relevant texts taken from (marriage discourse, cultural proverbs and sayings, metaphors, and interview transcripts) to show how JD is shaped by the prevailing wider socio-cultural norms and beliefs of the target society, for example to examine traces of gender power representations in such discourses. I also

conducted inertextuality analysis to examine how the elders utilize various discourse genres by embedding them in JD in their attempt to legitimize their persuasive power.

3.4.6 Positioning Theory

Positioning theory is a concept which was developed in the field of social psychology to study identities of people by analyzing their speech or action in an interaction (Harre et. al, 2009). It is believed to have taken its theoretical input from Foucault's concept of *discourse as social practice* and Austin's *speech act theory* (Harre, 2004; Tirado & Gálvez, 2007). This concept had been introduced to the field of social science in the 1980s by Hollway (1984). This scholar used positioning theory to analyze how subjectivity is constructed in the interaction of opposite sexes (Harre, et, al 2009; Tirado and Galves 2007).

The notion *Position* in an interaction involves the moral and personal attributes that describe individual's action or behavior. It encompasses roles, descriptors, or traits that positively or negatively represent the identity of a person (Harre and Moghaddam, 2003). In an interaction, individuals construct their positions and that of their interlocutors in different ways. In other words, they assign a certain personal attributes, roles, and rights to themselves and to others. Such process is called positioning. Hence, positioning is a relational and a discursive process which evolves in the course of peoples' interactions. It reveals the kind of relationship that is built between speakers in an interaction (Harre et al. 2009; Tirado and Galvez, 2007).

Positioning is a dynamic phenomenon. The positions that a person holds in an interaction may change from time to time as the theme or direction of the interaction changes (Harre et al, 2009; Tirado & Gálvez, 2007; Barnes, 2004). Position is also negotiable. In an interaction, one may accept or reject the positions assigned to him. Refraining from challenging the position assigned to oneself is often considered as the acknowledgement or confirmation of that positioning and the moral authority of the position giver. On the contrary, by rejecting positions assigned to him/her, one challenges the moral or social authority of the position giver. Such process of negotiation of positions is common in the interactions that take place in various social contexts (Harre et al. 2009; Tirado & Gálvez, 2007).

In positioning theory, social episodes are used as units of analysis (Tirado & Gálvez, 2007). An episode refers to a chunk of utterances or narratives arranged in a certain sequence to build a meaningful whole (Ibid). A given social episode involves the three basic concepts of positioning theory: story lines, position and speech acts (van Langenhove and Harre, 1999). Story lines refer to the narratives or conversations that take place for a moment. Within these story lines are positions of the speakers. Speakers' utterances are given meanings based on the position they hold in the story lines. In other words the action that a person performs through his/her utterances is determined by the position he/she holds in the interaction (Barnes, 2004).

Positioning theory has been used to as research tool for studies that involve the analysis of the complexities and dynamics of interpersonal interactions in workplaces and various social settings (Harre et. al., 2009). With regard to this, Tirado and Gálvez (2007: 8)

state, "The idea of positioning is a conceptual and methodological resource especially appropriate for studying interaction". When people interact, they build their identities and that of their interlocutors' and this in turn reveals the kind power relationship that exists between them. For Winslade (2003), positioning theory is all about the way power relationship between individuals or groups is induced in through discourse. Therefore, Positioning Theory is often used as a best analytical tool to uncover dynamics of social power relationship in an interaction (Barnes, 2004).

So far, several scholars have used positioning theory as analytical tool in researches they have conducted in various disciplines. For example scholars like Barnes (2004), Boxer (2002) and Yamakawa, et.al. (2005) have used positioning theory in the field of educational discourse to analyze identity formation and power relations in classroom interaction. Similarly, Zelle (2009) and Tirado and Galvez (2007) have employed this theory to address the same issues in workplace interactions. Scholars like Winslade (2003) and Harre et.al, (2009) claim that positioning theory can also be used as a best tool for analyzing mediation discourse. "Positioning theory is important for analysis of mediation process because mediation by its very nature is about weaving a path through contest and contradictions" (Winslade, 2003: 12). In the context of mediation, positioning theory can help to analyze the kind of positioning that led the two parties in to conflict and the kind of relationship they want to have in the future. It can also help uncover the nature of power relationship between disputants and between mediators and disputants. In this study, positioning theory has been used in tandem with CDA to find out the nature of power relationship in JD.

3.5 Summary

The discussion in this chapter focused on discourse analysis, which is used as a theoretical framework and methodological path in the current study. The chapter began with the definition of the notions *discourse* and *discourse analysis*. In the present study, *discourse* has been defined as the representation or expression of one's identity, belief, and world view in a text and other means of signification whereas discourse analysis has been defined as the process of uncovering these representations.

Following the definition of the two notions, the chapter presented a detail account of CDA, an approach to discourse analysis used in the current study. CDA has been defined as a socio-cultural approach to discourse analysis which integrates textual analysis with the analysis of broader socio-cultural contexts, and which addresses social problems such as social power dominance and discrimination by using language as a lens. The approach has got its philosophical foundation in social constructionist theory. Among the three major methodological or analytical frameworks of CDA, the present study mainly draws on Fairclough's three-level analytical framework because of its procedural clarity and its appropriateness in addressing the research question in the present study. The discussion in this chapter also included the major criticism raised against CDA as a research method. Subjectivity and lack of clear analytical procedure have been raised as major drawbacks of CDA. Yet, its proponents consider these features as inherent and good qualities of CDA.

Finally the chapter presented the major focuses of textual and contextual analysis in the present study. Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL), has been used as a major

theoretical guideline for analysis of textual data. Specifically, text analysis in this study focused on semantic features such as transitivity, mood, modality; pragmatic features such as presupposition, implicature, speech act; interactional features such as turn-taking, topic control, politeness (face saving), the use of honorifics and personal titles. In addition to these features, another two top-down approaches to discourse analysis: *move analysis* and *rhetorical appeals analysis* have also been utilized to examine the schematic structures of JD and the elders' strategies of persuasion respectively. The analysis of power relationship was also supplemented by positioning theory.

The discussion also pointed out how the findings of textual analysis could be explained and interpreted in relation to the existing socio-cultural realities through iterdiscursivity and intertextuality analysis. Put together, the chapter presented philosophical underpinnings, methodological guideline, and specific techniques of discourse analysis used in the present study.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF ARSI OROMO

4.1 Introduction

As I discussed in the preceding chapter, research in CDA mainly emphasizes theorizing a dialectical relationship between language and society. It explains how discourse shapes and is shaped by the prevailing socio- cultural, economic, and political factors. Therefore, in such type of research, the primary task of a researcher will be to have good understanding of the broader socio-cultural context of the target text.

Hence, the discussion in this chapter covers a brief description of socio-cultural and economic background of Arsi Oromos and their major institution of conflict resolution. First it describes the geographic distribution and kinship structure of Arsi Oromo. Second, it presents the livelihood of the people. A brief discussion of the religion, the cultural norms, and Oromo traditional laws are the next major focuses of discussion in the chapter. The discussion in this section includes some common social norms such as *safuu* ‘ethical moral code’ and *Wayyoma* ‘social respect’ and a brief description of marriage and its restrictions among Arsi. Final to come in the discussion of this chapter is a brief description of the structure of the institution *Jaarsa Biyyaa* ‘community elders’ among Arsis. The discussion in this section is based mainly on secondary sources, but I also added information from my ethnographic accounts when I discuss the issue in relation to the context of my study area. In short, the discussion in this chapter is aimed

at establishing the ecological context of the target discourse community which in turn facilitates the analysis of JD from a wider socio-cultural context.

4.2 Geography

Although the region Arsi covers a small area which extends between Awash and Shebelle rivers, Arsi Oromo is the largest Oromo group which occupies the whole of the present Arsi and Bale regions and some part of East Showa, West Hararge (Abbas, 1995; Jeilan, 2005). According to Abbas Haji, the regions between Tulama [Showa] , Somali, Sidama and Hararge is homeland of various Arsi Oromo clans (Abbas, 1995). In the current zonal map of Oromia Regional States, the former Region of Arsi is divided into two zones: West Arsi Zone with Assela town as its capital and East Arsi Zone with Shashemene as its zonal capital.

4.3 Moieties and Kinship Structure

The Arsi Oromo is believed to be descendant of Barentu, one of the two major moieties¹⁶ of Oromo (Asmarom, 1973). They have elaborate moiety systems and kinship structure organized along paternal genealogy. Arsis are subdivided into two major moieties called *Sikko* and *Mando*. The *Sikko*'s again is further divided into five sub-moieties called *Bullala*, *Wacaale*, *Jaawi*, *Waqji* and *Ilaanni*. Similarly the *Mando* is divided into seven sub-moieties: *Raayyaa*, *Kajawaa*, *Hawaxaa* (*Hawaxxuu*), *Utaa*, *Waayyuu*, *Harawaa* and *Biiltuu* (Jeilan, 2005:26).

¹⁶ *Moieties*- meaning one of two basic subdivisions of a tribe. Moiety system is an aspect of the Oromo dual organization that cuts across territorial groupings that include tribes and clans. This system shows the direction of the Oromo peoples' demographic movement in the past. It also help determine the positions of the moiety leaders in electoral politics, define and limits the politico legal role of the moiety leaders, enables the society to sort out social groups on the basis of their seniority, enables the society to define and maintain rules governing who is to marry whom (Jeilan, 2005:26).

Kinship social structure of Arsis Oromo in ascending order includes, *warra* 'family', *balbala* 'lineage', *gosa* 'clan', *Arsooma* 'Arsihood'. There exist some disparities among scholars regarding the naming of these social hierarchies. Asafa Jalata, quoting Asmarom Asmarom (1973) puts the hierarchy of Oromo kinship structure from higher to lower as *gossa* [*gosa*], (the largest kinship), *qomoo* (clan) which is subdivided into *mana* (lineage), *balbala* (minor Lineages) and *warra* (minimal lineage or extended family) (Aseffa, 2010:12). However, according to my ethnographic account, terms like *qomoo* and *mana* are not common among Arsi Oromo groups of my study area. Among these groups, the lowest of the hierarchy is *warra* (family) followed by *balbala* (lineage) and then *gosa* (clan). Among my target groups, all hierarchies of kinship structure above *balbala* 'lineage' are often referred to as *gosa* and when they are asked about their descent; most often they mention their *gosa*. According to elders at Arsi Nagelle and Kokosa districts, *balbala* 'lineages' of a given clan develops into *gosa* 'clan' after *abba torbii* 'seven generation'. In this study, I preferred to use the names of these kinship hierarchies as it has been used in my study area. According to Jeilan (2005:26), Arsi Oromos also define their relationship in terms of *aanoma* 'relation through descent or parentage', *soddooma* 'relation through affinity or marriage', *Arsooma* 'Arsihood' the broadest form of relationship.

Paternal kinship structure is very important for Arsis because in public gatherings, an individual is often referred to by the name of his clan or lineage rather than by his personal name. Most of the time, members of the same paternal clan live together, in villages. A conflict between two individuals from different lineages or clans is also

considered as a conflict that occurs between lineages or clans rather than mere interpersonal conflict.

Arsi Oromos have also strong in-group identity and they often put themselves and others in *Us-Them* categories. They consider a person who belongs to Arsi as *amba*¹⁷ and non-Arsi as *sidi* or *diina* ‘enemy’. They believed to have developed such identities because of the frequent wars they fought with the Christian rulers of Northern Ethiopia and their neighboring non-Arsi ethnic groups (Abbas, 1995). According to the local elders, if a person refuses to act in line with the norms and customs of Arsi, he will face social isolation which is locally called *sideessuu* ‘exclusion’ or *diinsuu* “putting him in the category of enemy.” This, of course, is the capital punishment that an individual could face among Arsi Oromo. Once a person is excluded from his community in such a way and loses his Arsihood identity; he won’t be allowed to enjoy the social privileges that an Arsi man and woman get from his community. In the previous periods, the punishment goes to the extent of chasing the person out of the territory of Arsi. Contrary to this, if a person from other non-Arsi or non-Oromo ethnic group wants to accept and live according to the social norms and customs of Arsi, he will be included into the clan and given the identity of Arsihood through the process called *amboomsuu* “inclusion”. The person will be declared as a member of a certain clan through traditional ritual ceremony called *lallaba* “announcement” which will be prepared by the Arsi clan to which the person is included. Once a person goes through such process, he starts to trace his

¹⁷ *Amba* – this term has different meanings among various Oromo clans. It may mean *others* among Tulamas for instance. Among Arsi Oromos, the term is often used as inclusive pronoun to refer to Arsi Oromo in general as it is used in their common expression *waan ambaa diinaa hinjirre* ‘some thing which is not common among allies [Arsi] and ‘enemies’ or foreign [non-Arsi]. The expression also reflects the ethnic ideology of Arsi Oromo, which is believed to have resulted from the historical wars they fought with non-Arsi ethnic groups.

genealogy to this Arsi clan and equally enjoy every social privilege that an Arsi man and woman enjoy. A whole ethnic group could be included into Arsi in the same procedure. If an individual Arsi who had been excluded from the clan for his disobedience regret his action and agrees to accept and live in line with the social norms and customs of the clan, he regains the identity of Arsihood through the same procedure of *amboomsu*. This of course is/was a common practice among other Oromo Clans who live in line with traditions and norms of *Gada* system (source: *Elders of Arsi Nagelle and Kokosa Districts*). I believe that the traditional practice of *amboomsu* and *diinsu* or *sideessu* could be potential areas of research for those scholars in the field of social anthropology.

4.4 Religion

Like all other Oromo clans, Arsi Oromos were the followers of the traditional religion of the Oromo people, *Waaqeffannaa* 'belief in Sky God' (Jeilan, 2005). But later they have become predominantly Islam, which of course they willingly accepted according to the same scholar. In spite of religious and other external influences, the Arsi Ormo groups of my study area, the *Utaa*, the 'elder clan', and *Waayyu* 'younger clan', often collectively called as *Utaa-Waayyu*, have managed to preserve some of the elements of their traditional Oromo religious practices. One can mention several practical examples to justify this claim. For instance, their traditional prayer and blessing which is neither Biblical nor Koranic, could be considered as one evidence. The opening phrases of their common traditional prayer goes as follow:

<i>Faatee Waaqni dhagahi</i>	<i>You God listen to our prayer,</i>
<i>Lafti dhagahi</i>	<i>The Earth listen,</i>
<i>Gadaan dhagahi</i>	<i>The Gada listen,</i>
<i>Gadaamojin dhagahi</i>	<i>Gadamoji listen,</i>

Dhibbi dhagahi
Dhibaayyuun dhagahi

The whole community listen
The spirit also listen

In the above common prayer of Arsi Oromo of my study area, expressions such as *Waaqa* ‘Sky God’, *Gadaa* (in this case traditional Oromo leader) *Gadaamojjii*¹⁸ (Senior Gada Grade), *Dhibaayyuun* ‘the spirit’, clearly depicts the traditional Oromo religion. They often use term *Waaqa* or *Rabbi* (God) instead of its Islamic equivalent *Allah* in their religious discourse. The prayer also indicates the fact that cattle economy holds the highest priority in the life of Arsi which is also true among all other traditional Oromo groups. During prayer, the participants sit in circle and hold each other’s hand or touch the ground firmly with their figures. This again is in line with the traditional religious belief of Oromo. Contrary to this, in Islam and Christian religious prayers, people turn the palms of their hand up to the sky and sometimes move their figures while reciting the prayer.

The traditional Oromo belief which considers *Waaqa* as invisible supernatural body that governs the cosmic whole is also evident in the discourse of their traditional mediation. Among Arsi Oromo of my study area, *Waaqa* is often mentioned in collocation with *dhugaa* ‘truth’. For instance at the beginning of their mediation session they pray by saying “*Waaqni dhugaa haa baasu*” ‘May God reveal the truth’, “*Waaqni dhugaa nuhaadubbissu*” ‘May God make us speak the truth’. Similarly when a disputant presents his/her case to elders for mediation he/she says “*Dhugaa Waaqaa lafaa naa argaa*” ‘Find my truth of God/Heaven and Earth’. In response to this the elders say “*dhugaa waaqaa*

¹⁸ *Gadaamojjii* is one of the age grades in Gada System. It includes all male aged 73-80 and who serves as senior advisors in the system (*Desalegn Chemeda et. Al., 2005*)

lafa qabda” ‘You deserve the truth of God/Heaven and Earth’ when they give decisions for the victim. Whenever a suspect refuses to admit the truth, the elders often bless the other side by saying “Waaqni dhugaa kee sii haa baasu” ‘May God reveal your truth’. In their discourse above, the elders of Arsi considers *Waaqa* as giver of truth or enlightenment. It also shows the elders belief that every human deeds is within the knowledge of God. Nothing that a man does in secret is out of sight of God.

4.5 Livelihood

Although they practice both farming and herding, Arsi Oromos were/are known for their cattle. In every social and inter-personal interactions of Arsi Oromo are the discourses of cattle. For instance, when someone welcomes a guest to his house, he/she says "*Nooraa*" 'welcome' and to this invitation the other side responds by saying "*Kuma Horaa*" 'may you breed thousand [cattle]'. In greetings also, the Arsis ask each other about the wellbeing of their cattle. They say "*Sa'aa namni nagayaa?*" literally 'Are both your cows/cattle and your people fine?' or "*Maatii waatiin nagayaa?*" 'Are both your family and your calves fine?'. In their traditional songs as well, they praise their cattle. Among this clan, one's economic status is/was often measured in terms of the number of heads of cattle he possesses. Compensations and gifts are also given mainly in heads of cattle. However, nowadays, crop production has also become equally important economic activity among Arsis.

4.6 Cultural Norms, Values, and Laws

In traditional collectivist societies, social roles, personal behaviors, and practices of each member of the society are often shaped by the cultural norms, values and traditional laws

of the society. Someone's action can be judged as good or bad based on these norms and laws. Being a traditional social practice, traditional community elders' mediation can be influenced by these socio-cultural factors. Scholars in the field of mediation have also confirmed this. Although they had tried to present mediation as value free practice at the beginning, prominent scholars in the field, Bush and Folger (2005:1) eventually admitted that "mediation practice in general is not "value-free" but is based on ideological or value premises, no matter what model is being used". Other scholars also emphasize the need for considering cultural norms and values in analyzing traditional mediation practices (Stobbe, 2011, Deng, 2010). Hence, the discussion in this section focuses on traditional Oromo law and customs which in one way or another could affects the discourse of traditional elders' dispute mediation.

Like many traditional societies in Africa, the Oromo people have their own customs, values, and norms which they use for regulating social behaviors, sustaining, or nurturing social orders and peaceful co-existence. Most of these cultural norms, customs, and laws have their base in the *Gada* System, a traditional age-set socio political institution of Oromo people and in their traditional religion, *Waaqeffanna* (belief in sky God) (Gemetchu, 2005). Traditional social law of Oromo is believed to have been made up of three elements: "*seera*"; "law", *aadaa* "custom" and *c'eera-fokko* "distance and respect" (Ibid:77).The discussion in the following section focuses on few aspects of these traditional norms and laws of Oromo in general and Arsi Oromo in particular.

4.6.1 *Seera Ambaa* ‘Customary Laws’

The Oromo people have their own traditional law which they refer to as *seera ambaa* or *seera Biyyaaa* or *aaloo ambaa*, *uumea ambaa* ‘the law of the society’. Gemetchu (2005) and Aseffa (2010) classify this traditional Oromo law into two as *Seera Waaqaa* “the law of God’ and *Seera Namaa* “the law of human being’. According to these scholars, the first one is eternal whereas the latter is liable to change or amendments based on peoples agreement. These traditional oral laws help sustain acceptable behaviors and control deviants among Oromo and other traditional societies. Aseffa (2010) and Gemectchu (2005) also assert that, to live in peace with the cosmic whole, an adult Oromo man needs to have the knowledge of these customary law and *beekumsa aadaa* “the knowledge of the custom” and elders are often given the responsibility to teach these customs and laws to younger generation.

In their traditional institution, *Gada* System, the Oromo men make or amend laws through the process called *seera tumaa* or *tumata* ‘law making”. These laws regulate the activities of the society in every aspect and they are orally communicated to the society through a process called *labsii* ‘declaration’ which takes place at a *Gumii Gayyoo* “assembly of multitudes” (Asmarom, 2000). This process often takes place at a place called *dhaddacha* every eight years when a new *Abbaa Gada* ‘a traditional Oromo leader’ takes office. The laws are often declared together with the punishment that could be incurred for transgressing them. These laws are declared by *Hookkaa* ‘the assistants of Abba Gada.’ According to my informant at Arsii Nagelle, Aba Gadaa Moollisoo Badhaasoo, the *labsii* ‘declaration’ of the law and norms is made as follows:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Lubbuun namaa Gumaa , Muramte.
(Dhiiraa dhibbaa, Dubartii shantama) | <i>Killing Human being is Guma (punishable) It is decided.(Hundred for a man and fifty for a woman (heads of cattle)</i> |
| 2. Gubaan manaa Gumaa, Muramte. | <i>Burning ones house is Guma , It is decided</i> |
| 3. Jaarsi wayyuu, Muramte. | <i>An Old man is respected , It is decided</i> |
| 4. Dubri qanafa wyyuu, Muramte. | <i>A woman in maternity bed is respected, It is decided</i> |
| 5. Gaddifni Wayyuu, Muramte. | <i>A shade is respected, It is declared</i> |

As stated in the above utterances, transgressing these laws is punishable. For instance one will be fined hundred heads of cattle for killing an Arsi man and fifty heads for killing an Arsi woman. Of course the number of animal depends on the nature of the crime. If the killing is accidental, it will be considered as *danuu* ‘unintentional’ and the killer will be asked to pay only seven to ten heads of cattle.

Originally, all Oromo groups had the same law, but gradually when the people start to split into different groups, they amended this law and developed their own versions in line with the existing socio political realities (Jeilan, 2005). For example the Utaa-Waayyuu Arsi Oromo, in my study area held the ceremony of *seera tumaa* or *tumata* ‘making/amending law’ at a place called *Dhaddacha Guutaa* ‘the assembly of Guta’ two years ago (Source: *Arsi Nagelle Culture and Tourism Bureau*).

4.6.2 Wayyooma ‘Social Respect’

Wayyooma is especial social position or respect that Oromo people grant to certain groups of people and some selected animals, places, and things. The respect given to these bodies are often declared as customary law and announced to the society in the form of *labsii* ‘declaration’ in the traditional Gada system of Oromo people. According

to my ethnographic account of, Utaa-Waayyuu Arsi Oromos, the term *wayyuu* is often used as adjective to mean ‘the honorable’ and its noun form is *wayyooma* ‘social respect’. But more elaborate definition of the concept *Wayyuu* has been given by Leus and Salvadori (2006:653 cited in Østebø, 2009:1050) in their newly published dictionary of Borana culture. The following is part of the definition given by these scholars:

“ **wayyuu**-ni (m) (1): something/someone revered, blessed. This can refer to an object, or a person, category of persons, a place or an animal, also several specific positions (...) to call something or someone *wayyuu* implies an element of respectful sanctity...”

This definition describes the concept *wayyuu* as it is used among Arsi Oromo of my study area. For instance, according to my informants at the Culture and Tourism Bureau of Arsi Nagellee and Kokosa districts, the following group of people are considered *wayyuu*: *jaarsa* ‘an old man’, *haadhaaf abbaa* ‘ones father and mother’, *dubartii qanafaa* ‘a woman in her maternity bed’, *soddaa/ soddaatii* ‘ones in-laws’, *hangafa* ‘one’s elder’, *ateetee* ‘group of woman gathered for ritual practice’, *haftittii* ‘unmarried [virgin] girl’. Among inanimate, *gaaddisa* ‘a tree shade’, *karaa* ‘streets/road’, *halangee* ‘traditional whip of Abba Gada’, *siinqee* ‘ritual stick of married women’ are considered *wayyuu*. Among animals, *korma* ‘a bull’, *sangaa fardaa* ‘male horse’ are *wayyuu*. These bodies are often given such a special respect based on the roles or contributions that they make for the society. For instance, according to my informants, old men are *wayyuu* because they are believed to be the educators of social norms and the agents of peace. Similarly *korma* ‘a bull’ is considered as *wayyuu* because it makes intercourse with all cows in the community with no discrimination and helps in breeding. A tree shade is *wayyuu* because it is a place where people gather and discuss various issues and resolve their problem.

Again *Haftittii* ‘unmarried [virgin] girl’ is *wayyuu* because she is believed to be a common property in two ways. For instance she could be taken as wife by any Arsi man other than her clan. Again a girl also brings respect and material benefit to her family and her clan during marriage if she could keep her virginity till marriage.

Quite many such animates and inanimate bodies are given the status *wayyuu* among Arsi Oromos. *Wayyooma* ‘social respect’ given to these bodies is so special that it is even believed to have some religious dimensions (Østebø, 2009). The status of *wayyuu*, although declared as traditional law, is believed to be the reflection of natural order of *Waaqa*. Østebø (2009) studied the concept *wayyuu* focusing on its contribution in safeguarding women’s right among Arsi Oromo of Bale. This scholar confirmed that this traditional Oromo concept help protect women’s right. In short, the concept of *wayyuu* or *wayyooma* clearly depicts the Oromo world view which is based on maintaining peaceful coexistence by regulating the relationship that human beings make among themselves and with the cosmic whole.

4.6.3 *Safuu* ‘Ethical/Moral Code’

The concept *safuu*¹⁹ among Oromo refers to the natural guiding principle that governs human action on the right direction in his interaction with the cosmos (Gemetchu, 2005). It is another mechanism of sustaining social orders and peaceful co-existence. Extensive study of this Oromo concept had been carried out by two prominent scholars: Father

¹⁹ I could see variation among scholars as to the way this term is spelled: (Gemetchu, 2005), spells it as *saffu*, with geminate ‘f’ Østebø (2009) as *saffuu* adding one more vowel sound ‘u’ and (Jeilan, 2004) as *Safuu*. But in the way it is pronounced in my study area, West Arsi, Jeilan’s spelling “*safuu*” seems to be correct.

Bartels, a well known scholar in the study of Oromo religion and Gemetchu Megerssa, an indigenous scholar who followed the footsteps of the former. As discussed by Gemetchu, Bartels employed emic perspective in his study or description of the Oromo concept *Sufuu*. After analyzing how the term is used in the day to day interaction of the user and in the traditional law making process of *Gada* system and after ‘asking the users’ comment on the usage of the term, Bartels came up with the conclusion that the concept *safuu* stands for “ the Oromo world view of right and wrong” (Gemetchu, 2005:74). Following Bartels, Gemetchu made a detailed analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of this concept and came up with the following definition:

“*Saffuu [safuu]* is a moral category, based on Oromo notions of distance and respect for all things The concept of *saffuu* is not merely an abstract category: it constitutes the ethical basis upon which all human action should be founded; it is that which directs one on the right path; it shows the way in which life can be best lived within the context of Oromo world” (Gemetchu, 2005: 70).

As can be seen in the above quotation, Gemetchu’s definition of *safuu* is an elaboration of Bartels’ definition. Both conceive the term as moral principle which governs human actions among Oromo societies; an ethical code helps the people to establish harmonious relationship at all levels (Ibid).

In line with the above conception of the term, I will try to give practical examples to show how this concept is used in guiding the daily practice and relationship of people among Arsi Oromo. Among Arsis it is *safuu* to beat or insult or even talk rudely to an old man or woman. It is *safuu* to belittle or refuse *kadhaa jaarsaa* ‘polite request of old men’. It is *safuu* to beat one’s mother or father, to beat *dubartii qanafaa* ‘a woman in her maternity bed’, to chase away a girl who comes to one’s family in request for marriage. It

is *safuu* to keep animals without food and drink or overuse their power. It is *safuu* to misuse one's resource such as over eat or dispose food. There are dozens of such examples among Arsi Oromo (Source: Interview with Arsi Nagelle Elders). According to the above examples, *safuu* mainly refers to misuse of one's resource and power, action which is believed to be against *seera waaqaa* 'the law of God' and which often entails the punishment of God.

According to my ethnographic account of Arsi Oromo, the two concepts *wayyuu* and *safuu* have a cause-effect relationship. *Wayyuu* or *wayyooma* is a social law or norm which grants especial respect for some group of people, some animals, and things and if one transgresses this law and denies these bodies such respect, it will be considered as *safuu*. For example, an old man and woman are *wayyuu* and insulting or beating them is *safuu*. In short, *safuu* is a moral and ethical code that Oromo society uses to guide the action and behavior of individuals. Transgressing such codes could be one source of conflict which in turn becomes a topic for mediation.

4.7 Traditional Marriage among Arsi

The Arsi Oromos are highly polygamous and at the same time exogamous society. Jeilan (2005:25), a local researcher who conducted a detailed analysis of the oral traditions of this society, cited the following proverb to indicate the deep rooted polygamy of the society: *Namni niitii takkaa, nama ija takkaati* 'a man limited to one wife is like someone who has only one eye'. My ethnographic account also strengthens this. Surprisingly, all of the local elders that I interviewed in my study area have more than one wife.

There are some taboos and restrictions in the marriage tradition of Arsi Oromo. For instance, although they are followers of Islam, *Utaa-waayyu* Oromo sub-clans of Arsi still managed to preserve the culture of exogamy which is the original traditional practice of Oromo people under the Gada system. Likewise, among *Utaa-waayyu* Oromo, a man of Daawwe clan is culturally forbidden to marry a Daawee girl even though Islamic religion permits marriage between close kins such as nephew and niece. Jeilan (2005) claims that these days endogamy is becoming common among Arsi due to Islamic religious influence. This could be true in the case Arsi Ormo of Bale, where there is strong influence of Islamic ideology, but according to my informants in Arsi Nagelle and Kofale districts, marriage between close kin is still considered as taboo or *haraamuu*²⁰ ‘abnormal’. Asked about why such restriction is made, the local elders in my study area said that if couples of same clan marry, the wife may not bear children of good breed health. They use their words “sanyii gaariin hindhaatu” ‘they can’t bear children of good breed’.

Once again, Arsis do not encourage marriage between neighborhoods. According to Jeilan (2005) and my interview with local elders in my study area, such restriction is made for many reasons. First, exogamous marriage helps to create good social ties between different clans of Arsi. It also has some economic advantage. If a man who lives in lowland areas has parent-in-law at highland areas, he can move his cattle between the two places based on seasonal changes.

²⁰ *Haraamuu* also refers to mentally poor and physically weak and small children often born of couples who have closer genetic ties.

Like many other traditional societies in Africa, marriage among Arsis is considered as the union of two families or clans rather than a simple relationship between couples (Ibid). So, if a man marries from a given clan, he considers the whole clan of his wife as *soddaa* 'parent-in-laws'. The elders of one's clan and parents play a big role in helping a groom search a girl for marriage. In other words, an Arsi man is expected to consult his kinsmen before marriage although this may not be strictly practiced these days. A wife that a man marries without consulting his parents and his kinsmen is often given less respect and protection from the husband's clan.

Among Arsi Oromo clans, there are six types of marriage: *gabbara*, *wal-gara*, *hawwii*, *Aseenna* (*adda baana*) , *benbetoo*, *bidhaa*. *Gabbara* is a type of marriage in which a man sends local elders to bride's parent and formally requests for marriage. In this type of marriage, the bridegroom and his parents give *gabbara* 'bride price' either in heads of cattle or in cash for the girl's parent and relatives before marriage. In return, the girl's parent give *geegawoo* 'gift of few heads of cattle' and household equipment for the couple on their wedding day. This is believed to be more accepted type of marriage.

The second type, *Wal-gara* is a kind of marriage in which two men of different clan marry each other's sisters in exchange. This is usually done to avoid payment of *gabbara* 'bride price'. In this type of marriage, if a man has no sister to give in exchange, he asks for a girl among his close relatives to serve as exchange.

The third type, *Hawwii* is a type of marriage in which a man sends a go-between to a girl and expresses his love and intention for marrying her. The go-betweens are often female relatives of the girl. If the girl accepts the invitation, she goes to the place of appointment

where the man together with his friends waits for her. Then the man takes the girl to his home and send elders to the girl's parent the next day to formalize the marriage.

Aseenna is the fourth type of marriage in which a girl holding her *siinqee* 'ritual stick' and *sardoo* 'green grass' goes to the house of the parents of a man she wants to marry and openly asks for marriage. If the man accepts the request, the next day, his parents send elders to the girl's parent and fix the day for marriage. It is often considered immoral or *safuu* to refuse the girl's request and send her back. In case the man is not willing to marry the girl, his parents buy the girl clothes, bless her and take her back to her parents. The fifth type, *Benbetoo* is also another type of marriage in which a man marries his wife's younger sister when the wife dies. This is believed to have been done to protect the children of the diseased from mistreatment by stepmothers. The sixth type of marriage, *Bidhaa* is a type of marriage in which a man marries another girl when the girl whom he planned to marry refuses the marriage and disappears from her parent's home on the fixed wedding day. Among Arsis, it is shame for a bridegroom to come home without wife on his wedding day. So, he may stay away from his home for a week until he gets another girl (Source: *Arsi Nagelle Culture and Tourism Bureau document*).

Although the amount varies, in all types of marriage with the exception of *Walgaraa*, the bridegroom or his parents give *gabbara* 'bride price' to the girls family either in cash (4-10 thousand ETB) or in kind. This is done to create *araaraa* 'reconciliation' between the two families. Unless this is done, the couple won't be allowed to go to the home of the bride on any occasion.

4.8 *Jaarsummaa* among Arsi Oromos

Among Arsi and other Oromo groups, *Jaarsummaa* 'traditional dispute mediation by community elders' is a highly ritualized and institutionalized social practice which is carried out by institution of *jaarsa Biyyaaa* literally means 'elders of the country'. It has its own registers or terminologies and members with more or less fixed roles. It is also hierarchically structured based on social structure of the society. The hierarchy of the *jaarsa Biyyaaa* in my study area from bottom to top is put as *Jaarsa Ollaa* also called *Bitimaa* (elders of the neighbor), *Jaarsa Balbalaa* (Elders of the Lineage), *Jaarsa Gosaa* (Elders of one's clan), *Jaarsa Ambaa* (elders of other clans) and *Bokkuu*²¹ or *Gadaa Murtii Utaa-Waayyuu* 'Uta-Wayyu Gada court'. Elders of the lineage and elders of the clan are also called *Saddeeta*²² *Balbalaa* 'the eight of the lineage' and *Saddeeta Gosaa* 'the eight of the clan'. According to Tufa Dararso and other elders in the locality, the term *saddeeta* 'the eight' indicates the period of time a Gada leader takes an office. Conflict cases are treated at these levels based on their degree of seriousness. At the lower level, minor clashes between neighbors or individuals are resolved whereas serious cases which involve murder and inter-clan conflicts are resolved at the top level by *Gadaa Murtii Utaa-Waayyuu* 'Uta-Wayyu Gada court'.

Fig 4.1 Traditional Institutional Structure of Jaarsa Biyyaaa among Arsi Oromo

²¹ *Bokkuu*- literally mean 'scepter' but in this context the term refers to the elders who have spiritual power and who mediate disputes.

²² *saddeeta*- this term is derived from Afan Oromo term *Saddeet* 'number eight'.



The above structure of *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* institution is a traditional structure which has been there for centuries. However, currently the government has organized the community elders under the supervision of the district and zonal culture and tourism bureaus. In my study area this new structure is called *Koree Maanguddoota Araaraa* ‘Committee of Elders of Reconciliation’. This new structure is formed by making some amendments to the traditional hierarchy of *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* institution. This new structure has more or less fixed members. It is organized in relatively formal way and has written working guidelines in some districts. For example, in Arsi Nagele the guideline is named as *Dambii Ittiin Bulmaataa Fii Qajeelfamaa Hojii Gadaa Guutaa Utaa Waayyuu Aanaa Arsii Nageellee* ‘Administrative and Working guideline of Uta-Wayu Gada of Arsi Nagele’. According to this written guideline, which I personally read, there are seven

fixed members at each hierarchy. The elders at the higher hierarchy of this new structure sometimes work in cooperation with representatives from the district government offices: one or two persons from the culture and tourism bureau and one from peace and security office of the district. According to the chairman of Culture and Tourism Bureau of Arsi Nagelle district, the main roles of representatives from government office are giving technical support such as provision of transport facilities, paying per diem to elders, observing the reconciliation process, and educating the elders about the government law, human rights and democracy. These representatives do not directly intervene in the mediation or reconciliation process. The government representative gives this support usually in the case of serious inter-clan conflicts or conflicts that claim life. They do not take part in the mediation of simple interpersonal conflicts which are handled at grassroots level.

4.9 Summary

The discussion in this chapter was meant to provide readers with the socio-cultural and economic background of Arsi Oromo. As indicated in the discussion, the Arsi Oromo clan currently living in Arsi, Bale and some part of East Showa, West Hararge is believed to be descendant of Barentu, one of the two major moieties of Oromo. Arsi Oromos have well established paternal kinship social structure which includes, *warra* 'family', *balbala* 'lineage', *gosa* 'clan', *Arsooma* 'Arsihood' in an ascending order. They also define their relationship through *soddooma* 'relation through affinity or marriage' and have strong in-group identity. Arsi Oromos were the followers of the traditional religion of the Oromo people, *Waaqeffannaa* 'belief in Sky God', but later converted to mainly Islam. Yet, as it

can be evident from their traditional prayer and blessing, which is neither Biblical nor Koranic, the Arsi Ormo clans of my study area, have managed to preserve some elements of their traditional Oromo religious practices.

Arsi Oromos are highly polygamous and at the same time exogamous society. Marriage between close kin is still regarded as taboo in most cases. They practice various types of marriage: *gabbara* 'marriage based on formal request of brides parent', *wal-gara* 'marriage each others' sister-in-law in exchange', *hawwii* 'marriage based on couples' free will", *Aseenna (adda baana)* 'marriage based on the request of the girl', *benbetoo* 'marriage of sister-in-law in replacement for a deceased wife", *bidhaa* 'unconditional marriage arranged up on disappearance of a bride'. Although the amount varies, in all types of marriage with the exception of *Walgaraa*, the bridegroom or his parents give *gabbara* 'bride price' to the girls family either in cash or in kind.

Arsi Oromo have also their own traditional law called *seera ambaa* or *seera Biyyaaa* or *uume ambaa* 'the law of the society" and other customs, and norms such as *wayyooma* 'especial social respect' and *safuu*, 'moral and ethical code', which they use for regulating social behaviors, sustaining social orders and nurturing peaceful co-existence. The laws and norms have their base in the *Gada* System, a traditional age-set socio-political institution of Oromo people. The Oromo men make or amend laws through the process called *seera tumaa* or *tumata* 'law making".

Among Arsi Oromos , *Jaarsummaa* 'traditional dispute resolution by community elders' is a highly institutionalized social practice which is carried out by institution of *jaarsa Biyyaaa* 'elders of the country'. It is hierarchically structured as *Jaarsa Ollaa* also called

Bitimaa ‘elders of the neighbor’, *Jaarsa Balbalaa* ‘Elders of the Lineage’, *Jaarsa Gosaa* ‘Elders of one’s clan’, *Jaarsa Ambaa* ‘elders of other clans and *Bokku* or *Gadaa Murtii Utaa-Waayyu* ‘Uta-Wayyu Gada court’. Conflict cases are treated at these levels based on their degree of seriousness. Recently the government has organized the community elders under the supervision of the district and zonal culture and tourism bureau with the title *Koree Maanguddoota Araaraa* ‘Committee of Elders of Reconciliation’ and with slightly different structure from the traditional one.

Most the above mentioned socio-cultural realities are believed to have impact on the discourse of *Jaarsummaa* directly or indirectly. Hence, they are used as interpretive resource in the current study.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed description of methodological procedures employed in the present study. It begins with explaining the research design of the study. Next, it describes the data context. Then it explains about the instruments of data collection and the procedures followed in collecting the data. To be specific, the discussion in this part involves the details of the activities done in accessing and recording the required data. Following this, it describes the data preparation and analysis procedures. Included in this section are detailed accounts of the procedures of data transcription, data translation, data management and the various analytic methods used in addressing the research questions set in Chapter one. A brief discussion of the ethical considerations in conducting the current study is what concludes the chapter.

5.2 Research Design

In the discussions made in Chapter three, it has been stated that this study draws its theoretical and methodological framework from Critical Discourse Analysis, a qualitative research design which is built on the epistemology of social constructionism. According to Tracy and Mirivel (2009:153), the procedure in a discourse analysis research involves the following:

“...recording interaction; transcribing the tape; repeated study of the tape; formulating claims about the conversational moves, structures, and strategies demonstrated in the interaction; and then building an argument with transcript excerpts that are analyzed”

This research design is preferred because the research questions of the current study which were structured using descriptive constructs such as, ‘what are’ and ‘how is’ (Chapter one: section 1.4) could be best addressed through critical descriptive qualitative analysis rather than quantitative analysis.

As discussed in Chapter three, in CDA, language use is viewed “as social action and social behavior” (Mayar, 2008:8). Therefore, in CDA research, the analyst examines how a speaker or a writer accomplishes a certain social action through the language he/she uses in specific social context. Such analysis and interpretation of linguistic meaning requires the analyst to situate the text in “wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts “ (Talbot, 2007 cited in Mayar, 2008:7). The current study has been conducted with two major goals in mind. The first one was to examine the schematic structure of JD genre and how this interaction is shaped by immediate contextual factors or the wider socio-cultural norms and practices of the target society. The second major goal was to examine the social power relationship in JD, more specifically to see how participants in JD (the elders and disputants) use language in constructing their personal identities, roles and how the elders manipulate disputants mind and enact their social power or persuade the latter to come to reconciliation.

As discussed in Chapter three above, CDA is often considered as a research approach created to address social power inequalities or dominance (Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk,

1995; Wodak, 2001). Thus, CDA is a better methodological approach that fits the objective of the current study. CDA has also been used in the current study with the following major assumptions about *jaarsummaa* and *jaarsummaa* discourse:

1. *Jaarsummaa* is a discursive social practice whose internal features are shaped or regulated by the existing socio-cultural realities and ideology of the society in which it is used.
2. JD is a special discourse genre which has specific communicative social goal and which has beginning, middle, and end.
3. JD is an institutional discourse with its own unique internal linguistic features, purposes, and participants with some specific identities, roles, and power.

Given the above assumptions of *jaarsummaa*, there is a legitimate ground for using CDA as a methodological path in the current study. Several scholars who conducted CDA researches in various disciplines or discourse genres: Zotzmann (2007) and Mohammed (2006) on academic discourse, Bazzi (2009) on media discourse to mention but few that I managed to access on line, used CDA as both theoretical framework and method of data analysis.

CDA is often conceived as an approach created for solely studying social power abuses and discriminations. Although analyzing social power relationship is one of the major goals of the current study, CDA here is used with its broader conception as a new, poststructuralist paradigm of discourse analysis that combines the description and analysis of textual messages with the interpretation and explanation of its wider socio-

cultural and institutional context. In other words, in the current study CDA assumes its broader definition “as context-sensitive form of discourse analysis” (Huckin, 2002:1).

5.3 Description of the Data Context

In the discussion in Chapter Four above gives a detailed description of the socio-cultural background of Arsi Oromo, the participants of the current study. In this section, I provide explanation on methodological procedure I have followed in the selection of specific sites for collecting the data for the current study.

The data for this study was collected from three districts of West Arsi Zone in Oromia Region. This zone shares borders with Eest Arsi, Bale, East Showa zones, and South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. I selected this zone as my research site purposefully for several reasons. The first reason is my personal experience. While staying as a visitor in one of the districts of this zone, Arsi Nagelle, I observed several *Jaarsummaa* sessions carried out in a manner different from the ones I used to observe in my locality. So, this had raised my curiosity to know the details about the practice. Based on this personal interest, I held informal discussions with my colleagues who are from various districts of Arsi Zones. From this discussion, I learned that the *jaarsummaa* in West Arsi Zone is conducted in a more traditional and cultural ways. The studies so far conducted in the area also revealed that Arsi Oromos have managed to preserve some of their traditional laws and customs through traditional institutions such as *jaarsa Biyyaa* in spite of the strong cultural influence of Islam and Christianity (Mamo, 2006; Jeilan, 2004). Mamo Hebo (2006) also asserts that Arsi Oromo clan is less researched as

compared to other Oromo groups. This also encouraged me to choose this Oromo group as subjects of my study.

There are twelve districts in West Arsi zone. Among these districts, I conducted preliminary survey in four: Arsi Nagelle, Shalla, Kofale, and Kokosa districts. I selected these districts because, based on the information I obtained from the Culture and Tourism Bureau of the zone, these districts have relatively well structured institution of *Jaarsa Biyyaa*. I recorded sample *Jaarsummaa* sessions and held discussion with the people in Culture and Tourism Bureau of each district. From this preliminary survey, I learned that the *jaarsummaa* practice in Kokosa district is slightly different from the rest. I also found the sub-clans in this district to be different from the rest especially with regard to the roles of the facilitators and the middle elder. So, I excluded this district from my sample sites. I tried to record as many *jaarsummaa* cases as I could from the remaining three districts which are home to Utaa and Waayyuu Arsi Orom clans. Again relation to the other two, I found the *jaarsa Biyyaaa* institution in Arsi Nagelle district to be more active and better structured. Because of the contact persons I had in the district, I also found the local elders in this district more cooperative. As a result, I purposively selected this district as my major data site for the study. According to Dezin (2000: 159), choosing familiar situation where one can obtain an *inside contact*²³ and close cooperation of the participants is a helpful data collection strategy “for projects involving interactions in institutional settings”. This scholar assert that having such contact help save the time a researcher takes for establishing rapport and getting access to the required data.

²³ An *inside contact*: someone connected to the institution, either yourself, a friend or colleague, or better still, somebody in authority who is able to grant you permission for conducting your research

To give a brief description of the target groups, *Utaa* and *Waayyu* clans of Arsi Oromo often referred to as *Utaa-Waayyu*, are the dominant Arsi Oromo clans in my research site. In spite of strong influences of Islam and Christianity, this clan has managed to preserve some elements of their traditional cultural practices and identities unlike Arsi Oromos of Bale and West Arsi. I can cite several practical examples that may justify this claim.

To start with, although the majority of *Utaa-Waayyu* sub-clans of Arsi Oromo are followers of Islam, they still strictly apply exogamy. Endogamy, a common marriage practice among other Muslim Arsi Oromo and a practice which has a legitimate ground in Islamic religion, is still considered taboo among the Arsi Oromo of my study area. Second, although they are predominantly Muslim, this Arsi Oromo group has managed to preserve some elements of traditional Oromo religion, belief in *Waaqa* (Sky God). This is evident in their traditional prayer and blessing which is neither Biblical nor Koranic (See *Chapter Four: section 4.4 for the sample prayer*). This indigenous prayer reflects traditional economic and socio-cultural realities and world views of the Oromo people.

Third, although the Gada system had been almost forgotten among many Oromo clans with the exception of Borana and Gujii Oromos, *Utaa-Waayyu* Oromos of my study area has been exercising it partially. This clan has been using the Gada rules and rituals especially in resolving serious conflicts which involve homicide. Currently, they have their own autonomous Gada called “Gadaa Guutaa” or *Gadaa Utaa-Waayyu*, which is currently led by *Abbaa Gada* ‘holder of scepter/leader’ Molliso Badaso.

To add one more evidence, among *Utaa-Waayyuu* Arsi Oromos, collectivism, or group identity is still given more emphasis than individual identity. In the interactions that are made in various social contexts, an individual is often referred to by his clan or lineage name. For instance to differentiate between two people who have the same name, they say "Jamaal ka Gamboo san", 'Jemal, the one from Gambo', "Jamaal ka Daawwee san" 'Jemal, the one from Dawwe'. Similarly the name 'Arsii' is used when someone refers to a group of people from different clans as in "Arsiin maal jedhe?" to mean "what did the people say?".

5.4 Data Collection

The data for this study were collected between February, 2012 and June 2012. In order to collect the necessary data for this study, I utilized multiple data gathering methods. The major method of data collection in this study was audio recording of the actual *jaarsummaa* sessions. However, I also interviewed the local elders, took field notes of my personal observation, and held informal discussions with some local elders, read various literatures written about the target group to obtain data on the broader socio-cultural context of *jaarsummaa* in the target society. According to some scholars, using multiple methods of data collection and analysis can help “as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:5). The discussion in the next sub-sections focuses on a detail description of the procedures and methods of data collection used in the current study.

5.4.1 Procedures of Data Collection

Accessing the required data was a difficult job of the current study mainly because *jaarsummaa* sessions in general and that of spousal disputes in particular are naturally confidential. Besides, spousal disputes are often considered minor and resolved by elders at grassroots level. Therefore, I employed more of ethnographic research method to gather the necessary data for this study. As some scholars witness, this approach is more preferable in the study of cultural practices. Willis (1977) cited in Baskin and Sommers, (1990:253) states: "Ethnographic methods can help record and analyze meanings, values and some symbolic communication practices". So, I patiently waited for and accepted several appointments (some of which were canceled) for months to get acquainted with the local elders and obtain the required data. I stayed in the research site for six months (on and off) to record JSs and gather ethnographic data on the broader socio-cultural practices of the target community.

In order to access the required data for this study, I used chain of contact persons. First, I consulted my colleague Wako Gada whose origin is from the study area. Wako introduced me to his relative, Dasta Banata who is working in Arsi Negelle district government office. Desta in turn introduced me to the head of Arsi Negelle Culture and Tourism Bureau and other workers of the office. Here I was lucky enough to meet an organized group of local elders called *Koree bulchinsa Maanguddoota Abba Gadda* 'administrative committee of Abba Gada elders'. This committee is composed of prominent local elders and members of *Abba Gadaa* Councils. The committee works under the supervision of the culture and tourism bureau of the district. This committee

has two wings: the administrative wing (Koree bulchinsa Abba Gadaa) and the mediators or decision makers wing (Gadaa Murtii Utaa-wayyuu). The former is responsible for organizing the elders and doing the administrative activities such as receiving or recording cases and assigning mediators, fixing dates for *Jaarsummaa* while the later is mainly responsible for resolving the conflict (source: *Arsi Negelle Culture and Tourism Bureau*).

I observed similar structural organization of local elders in all districts I visited during my field work. Though these elders normally handle difficult cases which involve homicides and which do not fit the domain of my research, they helped me in accessing the type of cases I required for the current study by introducing me to other prominent elders who serve at the lower stratum of *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* institution. I first interviewed these local elders. Then these elders took me to remote villages where I recorded the actual JSs I analyzed for this study.

From among the above elders, I created closer relation with the vice chairman of the elders committee at Arsi Nagelle district, Tufa Dararso, who took me to his home and introduced me to several elders of his locality. This man is a highly prominent figure in his locality and in his clan. He was able to effectively explain my objective to the disputants and the elders when I went for recording the first mediation session in which he himself took part as *Murtii*²⁴ 'decision maker' or the middle elder. I recorded the session with full consent of all participants. Of course, the elders gave me the permission

²⁴ *Murtii*- This literally 'decision maker' is the elder son of a senior clan in the locality. One assumes the position of *murtii* through genealogical seniority.

after they carefully examined my origin, ethnicity, and my objective. My mentor, Tufa Dararso also introduced me to other local elders, who helped me in recording the other JSs that took place in remote rural villages. I followed almost similar procedures to record the cases from other neighboring districts. Using chain of links especially, my colleague Waqo, helped me to establish what Mayr and Bastow (2008:168) call “sympathetic inside contact”. Having such type of contact, according to similar scholar, help researcher easily get the consent of the subject people for accessing recording the data without being considered as intruder.

5.4.2 Methods of Data Collection

5.4.2.1. Interview with the Local Elders

To get background information on the general practice of *jaarsummaa*, I conducted prerecording interview with the local elders. I purposively selected the organized group of elders I met in the culture and tourism bureaus of target districts for this interview because of their social position. These elders are believed to have better recognition and skills of mediation among the society. They are also the authorities at the top of the modern structure of *Jaarsa Biyyaa* institution organized as I discussed above (see section 4.8). So I have chosen these elders because I felt that conducting the interview with them could help me introduce my research objectives and get their cooperation in accessing the actual *jaarsummaa* sessions which take place in the remote villages. In the three districts, I interviewed 12 elders, six from Arsi Negelle districts and three each from Kofele and Shalla districts. I used semi-structured interviews to gather detail information through probing. My interview focused on the criteria for selecting the elders for

jaarsummaa, the procedure of taking cases, the structural organization of the institution of *Jaarsa Biyyaaaa* ‘community elders’, the general procedures of *jaarsummaa* (the previous and the current). After I finished the interview, I told the elders that I want to see practically and record what they had told me during the interview. They agreed and took me to the remote villages and introduced me to those elders who handle the type of cases I needed for my study. After recording some JSs, I again conducted unstructured interviews with some selected elders especially those who led the session I recorded as middle elder or *Murtii* “decision maker”. I conducted this post recording interview with the aim of getting clarification on the general procedure of *Jaarsummaa* and on some activities I observed the elders doing during sessions.

5.4.2.2 Recording the *Jaarsummaa* Sessions

Compared to the interviews, first hand data such as audio-recording of the actual interaction can provide more accurate picture of what really happens in discursive social practices (Mayr 2008). As to the amount of data in discourse analysis research, there are no strictly stated guidelines to follow according to Mayr and Bastow (2008). These scholars assert that the amount of the linguistic data is usually determined by the availability of time and the nature of the project (Ibid: 167). During my fieldwork for over five months, I was able to record twelve JSs. I audio-recorded most of these sessions, but I also partially used video-recorder on the first two occasions. Out of the recorded sessions, five are complete whereas the remaining seven are partial.

Among the target society, it is quiet common that *jaarsummaa* of a single case may take two or more days over appointments which extend for weeks. Therefore, it was difficult for me to capture a complete session of all *Jaarsuma* cases I recorded. Again, four out of the twelve JSs, are that of spousal disputes. The others are of disputes on land, abduction and other interpersonal cases. I recorded all JSs of interpersonal disputes I could access excluding those cases which involve homicides and which have been treated by the highest level of the *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* institution. I excluded homicide or *Guma* cases because the *jaarsummaa* of these cases take very long time (up to six months) and several appointments to arrive at the final resolution. So, it is often difficult to properly record such cases. Besides, as I personally observed and partially recorded some cases, the procedures and principles of *Guma* cases are different from other *jaarsummaa* cases.

In accessing the JSs I recorded for this study, I employed two strategies. The first one was using the meetings of the local elders. According to the modern structure of *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* institution, every two weeks, the representative local elders of various *baymaoota* 'sites of *jaarsummaa*' meet at the compound of their districts' culture and tourism bureau. I attended several such meetings and asked the participants if they had *jaarsummaa* cases they were going to handle in their localities. I either personally asked the elders or told the chairman of the meeting or workers from culture and tourism bureau to do it for me. I managed to access nine of the twelve JSs through this strategy. I also used the information from the district court to access the remaining cases. I took letter to the court to allow me access the data of cases that were referred to the local elders for *jaarsummaa*. After I located the address of the disputants from the registrar of the court, I

went back to the elders in culture and tourism bureau to identify the possible contact person who could help me in explaining my research objectives and help me get the consent of the elders and disputants for recording. Two of the spousal dispute cases were accessed and recorded through this procedure.

In general, the elders and the workers at culture and tourism bureaus of the three districts, especially those from Arsi Nagelle district, helped me a lot in accessing, getting the consent of the subjects, and recording the JSs by making the elders and the disputants perceive my research objectives from the point of view of preserving cultural heritages. In large scale PhD projects, one of the strategies of getting the consent of the subject of the study is “to convince people who represent institutions of the significance of your research and the possible benefits they might derive from it “(Mayr and Bastow, 2008: 168).

In all JSs I recorded, I tried to capture the whole interactions of the sessions by using two audio-tape recorders. The session took two to five hours on average. The two audio-recorders were used in turns. I used one of the recorders as a standby while recording with the other one. Audio-cassettes with the capacity of recording time of ninety minutes were used to minimize the frequency of interruption while recoding. I also used my mobile phone with four GB memory as a backup in recording the sessions. During *jaarsummaa*, participants always sit in a circle. So, in order to capture the clear voice of the participants, I placed the recorder at the center of the circle. But in two of the sessions, I used video camera as well although the battery of the camera could not last for

more than one hour. Besides, I took notes of my personal observations on the age and number of the elders who took part in each session.

5.4.2.3 Observation, Informal Discussion, and Field Notes

I personally recorded all JSs used in this study. So while recording the sessions, I took notes on various issues: the physical set up or sitting arrangement of the session, the number of elders their ages, the elders personal relation with the disputants and other non-verbal ritual practices that were held as part of consolidating the reconciliation achieved in JS. As Cohen et al. (2007) assert, observation gives the researcher the opportunity to gather authentic data on habitual behaviors or natural cultural patterns of the participants of the study.

During my stay in the field, I also held informal discussions with some local elders and other people working in the culture and tourism bureau on issues related to marriage, the social roles and status of the elders, the roles and status of women in *jaarsummaa*. Through these informal discussions I held with these people during tea break and lunch time, I managed to collect valuable ethnographic data which, I feel, I might not be able to elicit through formal interviews. The proverbs, sayings and other texts that I took from the mainstream discourse for the analysis of the socio- cultural context of *jaarsummaa* in the next chapter were gathered mainly through informal discussion, observation, and field notes. I have integrated the analysis of the data from my field note and interview data with the analysis of the discourse of the actual JSs.

5.5 Preparation and Analysis of the Data

5.5.1 Case Selection

Before I embarked on the transcription process, I repeatedly listened to the interaction of all recorded JSs. The length of the recorded JS varies from one hour and twenty minutes up to six hours. I provided tabulated summary of all cases in the next chapter. I have used all recorded cases differently to address my research questions. However, for detailed critical analysis, I have selected three JSs, two spousal dispute and one land dispute *jaarsummaa* cases. Because of the length and complexity of the interaction of JD, I then selected only one spousal dispute JS case which I feel best reflects the whole process of the *jaarsummaa* in the target community and transcribed it in its totality. It took me almost a week time to transcribe this case manually and the transcript together with its translation took 59 pages of single space. “As a rule of thumb, transcribing five minutes of conversation can take up to one hour or longer, particularly if you transcribe multi-party conversation” (Mayr and Bastow, 2008:167). Therefore transcribing all the recorded JSs in their entirety, I feel, is not only an unattainable attempt, but also is of little importance other than bulging the appendix of my dissertation. So, instead of transcribing the entire session, I gave detail summary of the remaining two cases. But for the analysis of genre structure of JD, I have used all the recorded JSs including partially recorded ones to examine the occurrence of a certain type of move at various phases of JS.

5.5.2 Transcription of the Data

Several scholars assert that transcription of taped interactions is the second most important duty that researchers in the field of discourse analysis are required to do next to recording data (Tracy and Mirivel, 2009). “Without a written representation, talk is very difficult to analyze systematically” (Mayr and Bastow, 2008: 170). Adding to this, Have (1999) asserts “transcribing allows researchers to become more familiar with the data as they observe the data more closely through repeated listening and/or viewing” (cited in Lee, 2011: 55). However, the question of which transcription conventions to use has remained a controversial issue among the researchers in the field of discourse analysis. The common controversy in this regard is the issue of the level of linguistic details that should be included in the transcription. This controversy mainly emanates from the backbreaking and time consuming nature of the transcription process. According to Wetherell (2001b), the time that a one-hour long audio-recorded transcript takes for transcription ranges from four to twenty hours based on the amount of details included in the transcription.

Although there are various conventions of transcriptions, most researchers in the field of communication seem to prefer the *Jeffersonian* transcription system, which was developed for the purpose of conversation analysis. In this system, all elements of interactions including linguistic, paralinguistic or prosodic features are transcribed using a number of transcription symbols or notations. It also involves utterance timing, overlapping speeches and repetitions (Tracy and Mirivel, 2009). This transcription system is helpful in transcribing spoken data that are meant for detailed linguistic

analysis. It can be used in the analysis of conversation, which takes place for a short period. However, this kind of transcription is difficult to use in the case of discourse analysis research which utilizes longer and spontaneous speeches that may last for hours. I also feel that *Jeffersonian* transcription system is less useful in the case of DA because discourse analysis often focus on meanings which may not be captured through detailed analysis of linguistic features alone. As a result, most of the time scholars in the field of discourse analysis use the simplified version of this transcription system.

Nevertheless, several scholars in the field of discourse analysis agree that the decision about which transcription approached to use or what notations to include in a transcript is mainly determined by the researcher based on his/her research objectives or the type of analysis the researcher wants to perform (Ochs, 1979, Edward, 2007). These scholars further assert that the same spoken data can be transcribed differently by different researchers who have different research objectives.

The main research objective of the current study was to analyze how meaning was constructed in JD. Therefore, a detail transcription which involves complex phonetic transcription notation was unnecessary (if not undesirable) for the current study. Hence, a simplified version of Jeffersonian transcription system was used to transcribe one of the recorded JSs verbatim. In the transcription, mainly standard orthography was used with some transcription symbols that represent some features of the interaction such as overlapping speeches, emotional speeches, long and short pauses and others. To keep the

privacy of the speakers in the JSs, only the first two or three letters of their names have been used in the transcription.

Before starting the transcription, I copied sound data from the tape cassette to my computer and saved it as Wave Sound file using computer software called Audacity. Then, I transcribed the session while running it with window media player. The data was first transcribed in its original language, Afan Oromo. In the transcription, I have used the local accent, but I sometimes gave the standard orthographic versions in parenthesis {} (eg. na dhufe {natti dhufe}, dhufeera {dhufee jira}) for some accents which I felt could obscure meaning for those readers who do not speak the target accent. The transcript was proof-read by two of my colleagues and the necessary corrections were made before it was translated into English. The proofreading was done while listening to the raw audio data alongside. Repeated listening to the audio data during transcription and edition had also helped me produce a better standard analysis later on.

5.5.3 Translation of the Data

The translation was done by me with the support of my colleagues. *Jaarsummaa* texts are often full of culture-specific terms. Some scholars in the field of translation witness that translating such type of texts is often challenging mainly because the terms used in these texts have particular connotations and implications in the source language (SL) which may not necessarily be found in the target language (TL) (Ordudari, 2007). To overcome such challenge, I conducted the translation with the support of my mentor in the field, Tufa Dararso, and my colleagues such as Wako Gada and Tufaro Bunkure. These people

helped me in explaining some sayings and metaphorical expressions which are typical of the target community. I also employed various translation procedures forwarded by Graedler (2000). For instance, instead of giving direct word for word translation, I explained the meaning of some cultural terms of the SL in parenthesis. I also tried to use words in the TL which convey similar meaning or have the same function as the terms in SL. Where necessary, I also preserved the source language terms intact and explained their meanings using footnotes.

5.5.4 Data Management

Because of the diversity of the approaches of discourse analysis that researchers use, it is often difficult to give a single guideline that can be applied uniformly (Burr, 1995). So in this section, I give a brief explanation on the general procedure of analysis I followed in the current thesis. Some qualitative data analysis methods such as grounded theory and thematic or content analysis reduce raw data into few themes and categories that could be quantified. However, in the case of critical discourse analysis, raw data is rather elaborated through the arguments and justifications made during analysis. In the case of content or thematic analysis, excerpts are taken away from the main text to be grouped under certain theme for analysis. But in the case of discourse analysis, excerpts are analyzed as they occur in the main text and in relation to other pieces of discourse surrounding them. Again, in discourse analysis, an excerpt can be used more than once to make scholarly debates on various issues, but this is not possible in the case of content or thematic analysis.

For the detail discourse analysis of the current study, one JS was transcribed in its entirety whereas the other two were summarized in detail. Before I started the analysis in this study, I repeatedly listened and read through the whole transcript of the selected JSs to identify excerpts which have relevance to the target issues under investigation. Text sites which were believed to help answer the research questions were identified in the transcript and highlighted with different colors using Font Color Icon from Microsoft Word window. Again each line of the transcript was numbered by using Line Number Icon from the same window. To refer readers to the body of the transcript during analysis, I used the line numbers put in the parenthesis (eg L-20- *line twenty*) at the end of the excerpt. However, I used different strategy to indicate the sites of excerpts taken from the summarized JSs during analysis. I first gave label for the sound file indicating the case number, the cassette number, the side of the cassette and the minute at which the excerpt is located. These pieces of information are put in the parenthesis at the end of the excerpt. For example, in the abbreviations (C1-Ca 1- S1- 20'), **C1** – stands for *Case one*, **Ca 1-** for *Cassette one*, **S1-** for *Side one*, **20'** – to mean *uttered around the twentieth minute*. During analysis, the selected extracts were regarded as part of the whole and they were analyzed in relation to texts surrounding them because during discourse analysis, an excerpt from a large body of interaction may not convey relevant meaning if analyzed in isolation.

The size and type of excerpts selected for analysis also varies in lie with the research question they were meant to answer. For instance in the analysis of the schematic structure of JD, longer excerpts were utilized whereas during the analysis of power

relationship sometimes a single word or phrase is selected. In order not to risk any possible meaning loss in the translation process, I included both versions of the excerpts during analysis. A detail explanation of the analytic procedures used in answering the first three major research questions of the current study is given below.

5.5.5 Data Analysis

As I indicated in my detail discussion in Chapter three, so far there is no single readymade method of CDA with specific set of tools for linguistic and contextual analysis. According to Rogers (2004:7-8), “there are no formulas to conducting CDA. Deciding which set of analytic procedures to use depends on the practical research situations you are in, the texts you are studying, and your research questions.” Some scholars even claim that a researcher has the right to develop his own conceptual and analytical tool in the way that fit “the specificity and complexities of the objects under investigation” (Zotzmann, 2007:53).

CDA is often conceived as a multidisciplinary approach which draws its theoretical foundation and its analytical tools from various disciplines (Huckin, 2002; van Dijk, 2002; Bazzi, 2009). As a result, researchers who conduct CDA research often utilize diverse methods of analysis in their attempt to critically examine a text from different perspectives. Thus, to address the issues raised in the major research questions of the current study, I have used multiple analytical methods which have their own theoretical foundations, but share some common features. The methods include *rhetorical move analysis* (for genre structure analysis), *persuasive appeals analysis* (to examine

persuasion strategies of the elders), *positioning theory*, and other tools of textual analysis subsumed under systemic functional linguistics (to examine power relationship).

Though they directly or indirectly trace their theoretical foundation in the broader fields of functional linguistics, psycholinguistics, communication, and rhetorical theories, these methods have several common features. To start with, they all integrate textual analysis with contextual analysis. In views of these methods also, JD is considered as an aspect of social practice which is realized mainly linguistically. Implied in all these analytical methods is also the issue of power relationship. For instance, *move analysis* help identify the powerful group in charge of regulating the communication dynamics in JD genre. Similarly, *persuasive appeals analysis* reveals who persuades whom and how the persuader legitimizes his/her persuasion. Likewise, positioning theory helps uncover how people use language in constructing their own social identities and that of their audiences and this in turn reveals the nature of power relationship between the two. Therefore, in this regard, all these methods work towards achieving the major goal of CDA, i.e. uncovering hidden discursive power relationship. In general, the major goal of analysis in all the three analytical methods is to see what people do with words.

As I mentioned in my discussion in Chapter three, in the current study, I have predominantly utilized a three-stage analytical procedure of Fairclough (2003) which systematically links textual analysis with the analysis of the broader socio –cultural context that gave rise to the text. First, I described textual meanings in JD by drawing up on various linguistic resources such as lexicalization, syntactic structures (the use of

passive and active), metaphors, mood and modality, and others. Then, I interpreted the textual meaning by drawing upon pragmatic features such as presuppositions, assumptions, implicative and other resources in the immediate context. At the third stage, I have tried to explain how meaning construction and the communication pattern in JD have been shaped by socio-cultural norms and beliefs of the target society. In other words, I tried to explain what made the speakers in JD to speak or act the way s/he did. For instance, in the analysis of power relationship in JD, I first described the power relationship as revealed in the interaction of the recorded JSs. Then I took some texts from main stream discourses and explained how the power relationship reflected in JD is framed by established socio-cultural norms and beliefs of the target society. In other words, in the current study texts from other discourse genres such as marriage discourse, and cultural proverbs and sayings, metaphors and interview responses were analyzed to examine their interdiscursivity and itertextuality with JD. Bazzi, (2009:73) conceives the explanation stage of Fairclough's CDA analytical framework as "interpretation where meanings are rationalized and reproduced according to what has already been naturalized by a particular society". The following table summarizes the major tools and focuses of textual and contextual analysis of JD.

Table 5.1. Focuses of textual and contextual analysis in the current study.

Types of Analysis	Tools of Analysis	Objects of Analysis
Textual Analysis (Descriptions)	- Transitivity - Mood ad Modality - Lexicalization - Pronoun use - Metaphors - Politeness (face saving) - Turn-taking & Topic control - Speech acts - Rhetorical moves - Persuasive Appeals	<i>Jaarsummaa</i> Text
Contextual Analysis (Interpretation & Explanation) i. Situational Context ii. Broader socio-cultural context	- pragmatic meanings (logical implication, presupposition, - Interdiscursivity	- <i>Jaarsummaa</i> Text + commonsense-assumptions²⁵ regarding context factors (purpose of text, participants) -Texts from mainstream discourse or Broader socio-cultural context. - Cultural Proverbs and sayings about elders and women - Interview texts - Marriage discourse - Literatures on established cultural norms and practices of Arsi Oromo

In the current study, I have used this framework as a general procedure that guides the analysis. Within this general analytical framework are other analytical methods that I

²⁵ *Common sense* ,according to Gramsci, is a folklore of philosophy or popular culture rigidly accepted as common popular knowledge at a given time and place. It is Individual's conceptions imposed and passively accepted from the past without being critically examined (Bazzi, 2007:48).

utilized to address the different research questions posed in Chapter one of the present study. The detail description of these methods is given in the subsequent sections.

5.5.5.1 Genre Structure Analysis

As I explained in the preceding sections, *Jaarsummaa* is a social practice that is accomplished by the institution of *Jaarsa Biyyaaa* ‘community elders’. It is a goal oriented discursive process which involves a number of participants and which has beginning, middle and end. It is a routine cultural practice with distinct vocabularies and communication patterns. Therefore, considering these features, one can reasonably categorize *jaarsummaa* as a genre on its own right or as a sub-genre of the broader genre of discourse of conflict resolution. Thus, in this section I present a detail account of how I analyzed the genre structure of JD in the present study.

To analyze genre structure or schematic structure of JD in the current study, I employed a multidimensional approach to genre analysis which was developed by Lee (2007) based on Swale’s (1990) conception of move analysis. Based on this new approach, the analysis was conducted at two levels. First, recurrent rhetorical moves of *jaarsummaa* texts were identified by using the ten steps analytical frameworks proposed by Biber et al. (2007) mentioned in Chapter three. This was followed by the analysis of the socio-cultural context of JD which was done based on the data from my field notes, observation, and interview with the local elders.

I have used the following procedures for the analysis of the schematic structure of JD. After attending several sessions of *jaarsummaa* and listening repeatedly to the sessions I audio-recorded, I selected one JS, transcribed it, and conducted pilot-coding of its communicative moves and phases. After I segmented the entire text of the JS into communicative moves, I presented my pilot-coding to some local elders and collected feedbacks on the reliability of my segmentation. The elders also gave me some clarification on the communicative purposes of some moves. Based on the feedbacks of the elders, I refined my coding. In short, I have used the local elders as inter-raters to check or confirm the reliability of my coding.

Scholars confirm that performing such type of *member checks* or *participant verifications* is an important step in checking the accuracy and refining the coding and interpretation of a researcher in qualitative research (Creswell, 2003; Nunan & Bailey, 2009 as cited in J.J Lee, 2011). Some researchers who conducted corpus-based move analysis of written and spoken academic discourse genres used the same procedure. For example, after identifying the rhetorical moves in grant proposal writing, Connor & Mauranen (1999) checked the reliability of their analysis by interviewing specialist informants who frequently write the target proposals (Biber et. al., 2007:7). Lee (2011) also applied the same procedure in his analysis of the genre structure of classroom discourse.

In the analysis of genre structure of a given discourse genre, identifying the boundaries of moves and phases is often challenging. However, I faced little difficulty in identifying the boundaries of the major phases and moves of JD among the target society because the boundaries of these phases and moves are often marked by the dialogue of the two

facilitators and the shift in the speakers and communication style. Sometimes the move from one phase to the next is also directly announced by the middle elder.

To check the preferred patterns and possible variations in the patterns of the moves and phases of JD, and to check whether a particular move type is obligatory or merely optional, I analyzed ten additional JSs in line with the coding I developed. In corpus based genre analysis, using large data serves to check validity of the linguistic or move patterns of a genre (Baker, 2006). After I completed the move analysis, I examined the linguistic features of each phase and move and how these linguistic realizations are affected by mainstream socio-cultural and political discourses. In doing so, I utilized my field notes, interview results and other literatures written about the target society. I did most of the analysis of text-external factors by embedding it in the analysis of the text. For instance, while analyzing the linguistic feature of the moves and steps in *jaarsummaa*, I utilized excerpts from interview and my field notes to explain why participants of the session behave the way they behaved.

5.5.5.2 Analysis of Discourse Strategies of Persuasion

The discourse of mediation often begins with conflict stories in which disputants blame each other, make claim and position themselves as victims and the other side as villain. So, the major duty of the third party or the mediators will be to help the disputants detach themselves from this blame stories and lead them to reconciliation. To bring this change, the mediators use various persuasive discourse strategies.

In this study, another top-down approach to discourse analysis, *Persuasive appeals analysis*, has been employed to identify the common discourse strategies or appeal types that community elders in JD utilize to bring reconciliation between disputants. To this end, I first analyzed the turns of the elders in the reconciliation phases of the first four successful JSs I audio recorded. Though I focused mainly on the reconciliation phase, I also tried to look at the appeal types used in some of the moves in other phases of JD. In general, more of a *heuristic approach* ²⁶to discourse analysis has been employed to identify persuasive appeals that the elders used in JD. I listened to the speeches of the elders and examined the way they construct their identities and their roles in relation to the disputants. I also examined the way the elders address or position the disputants and their action. In doing so, I managed to identify some appeal types frequently used by the elders. I also identified some common genres of discourse that the elders draw on to legitimize their persuasion.

5.5.5.3 Analysis of Power Relationship

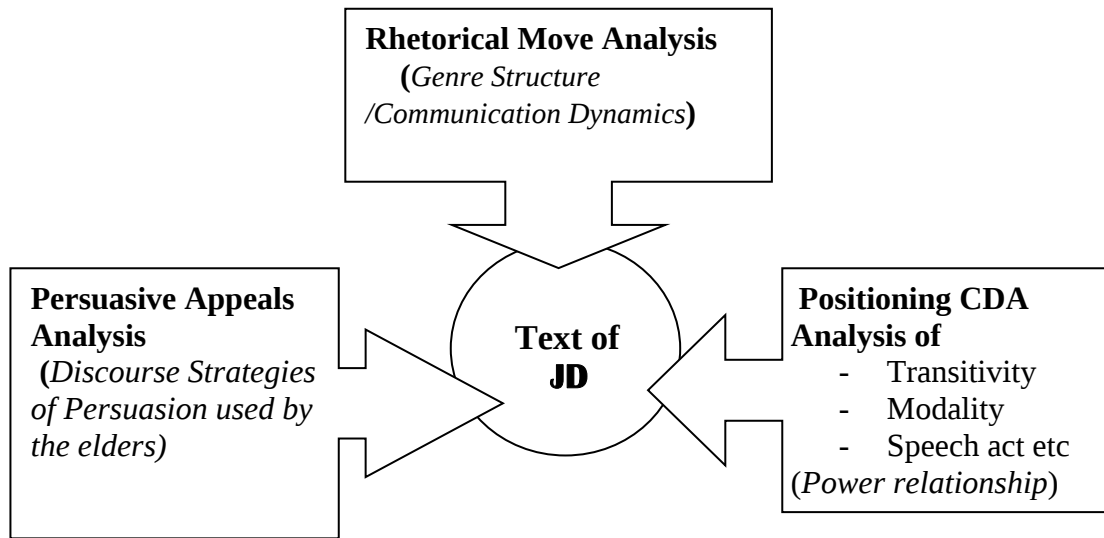
One of the objectives of this study was to analyze social power relationship in JD. This refers to the power relationship between disputants and between disputants and the elders who mediate their dispute. To address this issue, I employed Positioning Theory in tandem with CDA, the two closely related approaches to qualitative data analysis. As discussed in the Chapter three, both approaches help analyze how a person or given social group builds their identity and power in relation to other groups in the interactions that take place in different contexts and to uncover the underpinning socio-cultural

²⁶ *Heuristic approach* is "a way to ground discourse analysis in discourse rather than starting with a pre-chosen theory and using your texts to test or illustrate the theory " (*Johnstone,2008:10*).

factors that gave rise to such power relationship. As I explained elsewhere in Chapter three, CDA is a partisan analytical approach which requires the analysts to take clear stance in favor of the oppressed groups. Thus in the analysis of power relation in JD, it is a must for me to take side with the oppressed group, and criticize some established cultural norms, values and other mainstream discourses which were designed to perpetuate or legitimize social power inequalities.

To examine the discursive power relationships in JD, almost all linguistic, structural, and interactional tools of textual analysis discussed in Chapter three were considered as targets. For the analysis of the power relationship between the elders and disputants, I carefully and repeatedly read through and listened to the turns of the elders to see how they position themselves and the disputants in JD. In other words, I examined how the elders construct their roles, identities and their relationship with the disputants. Similarly I examined the turns of the disputants to examine how they position themselves and each other to analyze the power relationship between the two. In addition to such textual analysis, I also conducted intertextuality analysis to show how the power relationship in JD was shaped by the existing social, cultural, and political factors. To be more specific, intertextuality or interdiscursivity analysis was done to indicate the possible sources of the power of the dominant groups. Texts for such analysis were selected from my field notes and the interview responses. The following diagram summarizes the major analytic methods and their focuses of analysis in JD.

Fig. 5.1 Analytical Methods and Focuses in the present study



5.6 Ethical Issues

In conducting any kind of research that target human subject, anticipating the ethical issues that may arise is among the major responsibilities of a researcher (Creswell, 2003). Accordingly, I this study, I took the following measures in protecting the privacy and the rights of the participants of the study. Before conducting interviews or recording JSs, I explained the purposes of my research to each disputant and the elders of each session privately and obtained their consent. In cases where disputants were suspicious, I abandoned recording and took written notes only. To ensure the anonymity of the participants, I used the first two letters of their names during transcription and analysis.

In addition to protecting the rights and privacy of the participants, I was also cautious of the impact my role as researcher might have on reporting the findings. Actually, I can say that I had double identity as researcher in conducting this study. Though I, being an Oromo, share common native language and some cultural practices with the target

society, I found many of the Arsi Oromo cultural practices, especially the procedures and structures of *Jaarsa Biyyaa* Institution to be somehow different from that of my clan (Tulama Oromo). So, I can say that, as a researcher, I had the identities of both the insider and partial outsider. I believe, having such double identities had positively contributed to my study in two ways. First, sharing same language helped me to collect and analyze my data with little difficulty. At the same time having partial distance from the cultural of the target society helped me to be critical in my observation and analysis. It helped me avoid taking too much for granted or what Eriksen (2002) cited in Mamo (2006:3) calls “home blindness”. I also used some strategies to mitigate possible unwanted researcher bias. One of those strategies was triangulation of data collection and data analysis. I used various types of data gathering tools such as interview, field notes, and observation to increase the credibility of my analysis. Peer review was also the other strategy I employed for validating my findings. I gave the draft of my analysis to two of my colleagues, Waqo Gada and Tufaro Bunkure (Lecturers at Adama Science and Technology University) who are natives to my study area. These individuals gave me valuable comments especially on my analysis of the genre structure of JD and on the translation of some culture specific terminologies.

CHAPTER SIX

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the analysis and discussion of the data collected. The analysis will be presented in six sections. First I present contextually-oriented summaries of the *jaarsummaa* cases I used for detail analysis. Then I give brief description of the general procedure of *jaarsummaa*. Following this summary, I present the analysis of the generic structure or the communication dynamics of JD. Next to this I provide a detail analysis of the persuasive discourse strategies that the elders employed in the JS. I then present the analysis of the power relationships between the elders and the disputants on the one hand and between the disputants themselves. In the analysis of power relationship, I conducted a detailed intertextuality analysis to show how the power relationship in JD is shaped by the surrounding socio-cultural norms and practices. I conclude the chapter with the presentation of the analysis of major approach of mediation used in JD. In this chapter, the analysis of contextual factors is integrated in the analysis of textual elements.

6.2 Summaries of Some Selected *Jaarsummaa* Cases

6.2.1 Case One

This spousal dispute mediation case took place in Arsi Negelle town on 23/04/2003 E.C. The wife is from *Heebanoo* sub-clan whereas the husband is from *Daawwee* sub-clan. The spouses, who are in their late twenties, were leading their life together for nine years

and had four children. The wife had left her home two months ago due to a dispute and was living with her parents. Although the mediation was carried out in the town, the home of the couple is about three hours walk from the town. The couple had quarreled several times before and their cases were mediated by the local elders. During the previous mediations, the husband was found guilty of abusing his wife both verbally and physically. Thus the elders who mediated the cases had fined the husband with *Naqaa* 'preparing drink' and *Qalaa* 'slaughtering of a bull'. They ordered him to prepare food and drink for the elders and neighbors. During their previous conflict, the wife had also appealed to the district women's affairs office and the office had mediated the case and told the husband to buy her clothes and treat her properly. But the immediate cause of the current dispute was the husbands' moving of their cattle to a new site. The husband, against the will of his wife, had moved their cattle including milking cows, to a new site on the pretext of searching for better grazing and water. The wife tried to stop him. However, he refused, and even threatened to kill her and moved the cattle. The wife resisted to the plan of moving the animals because she suspected that her husband had an affair with a woman or with the daughter of a woman who was keeping the cattle. With this, the wife fled to her parents' home. And after two months, with the help of her brother, the wife took the case to the district court. Then the district court referred the case to the community elders for mediation.

In this *jaarsummaa* session, there were nine elders, four from the husband side and another four including the brother of the wife who represented her in the session were from the wife's side. The remaining one was the middle elder who has been serving as manager, judge or counselor. Among the elders were close relatives, fathers and brothers,

of the spouses. The mediation took about four hours and ten minutes including the time of caucusing. Before the actual mediation started, both sides held caucus for about ten minutes. I attended the caucus on the husband's side. During the caucus, the elders were giving direction to the husband regarding what he should say and how he should behave during the session.

The communication was in Afan Oromo. The data was transcribed and then translated into English. The transcription is mainly done using the local accent. The script and its English version are presented in Appendix II and III.

6.2.2 Case Two

This spousal dispute case took place in Arsi Nagelle district. The husband, 39 years old, is from *Edamana* clan. The wife, who is in her late twenty, is from *Baarii* clan and she is a second wife to her husband. Both have elementary education. The couples have stayed in marriage for twelve years, but have no children. The couples have been in dispute repeatedly and their cases have been handled by the elders of their neighbor. The major causes of the dispute were the husband's refusal to take the wife for medical treatment and to give her plots of land. Among Arsis, when a man marries a second or a third wife, he will be expected to give some plots of land for each wife separately to avoid any possible clash over sharing the yield. In this case, also the husband had given half hectare of farmland to each of his two wives. But later he changed his mind and merged all the plots and started to give the wives some amount of grain on ration base. The wife strongly resisted to this action because according to her, the husband could not give her enough amount of grain for food on time, although the husband denied this. In addition to

this the wife couldn't bear a child. For this, repeatedly requested the husband to take her for medical examination, but the husband took her only to the local private clinic. These two factors were mentioned as major causes for their previous and current disputes. But in addition to this, the wife was also complaining that the husband has been repeatedly engaged in adultery. She accused him of having sexual affair with another third woman in the neighborhood.

According to the wife, she has been repeatedly requesting the husband's family either to stop him from such actions and to give her the plot of land or to give her their blessing and allow her to file a divorce. However, the husband's family failed to do both. As a result, the wife left for her family and then took her case to court. The court referred the case back to the local elders' mediation.

The elders were selected by the couples. Each of them has chosen four elders respectively from their respective clan. The mediation was held for three days in three weeks time and a different number of elders handled the case each day. On the first day, ten elders, four from the wife side and six from the husband side, took part in the first day session. The elders are close relatives and neighbors of the couples. Age wise, six of them are above 42, whereas the remaining four are between 28 and 37. A young man who led the *jaarsummaa* session during all the days is from the husband's clan. Although there were other elders who are older than him, he was chosen as "jaarsa jiddu" 'middle elder' or "Murtii" 'decision maker' because he is a descent of the elder clan. According to him, his father had the same role (*see section 6.3 for a detail description of the role of Murtii*).

On the first day, the session was started a dialogue of *qora lamii* (hereafter QL) ‘the two facilitators’ in unusual manner without being requested by the middle elder (hereafter ME). Of course, the ME was not known until a debate arose between the facilitators later at the end of the hearing phase (see section 6.3 for the detail of *jaarsummaa* procedure). The facilitators checked the attendance by asking the couples whether elders of their side had arrived or not. Then, the facilitators started the hearing session again without asking permission from the ME. They allowed both sides to present their cases. Having completed the first session, the facilitators started debating over whether to move to the next step or not. The debate continued for relatively long time with some confusion for the ME was a bit reluctant to come in. As I was told by one the elders, the confusion occurred because of the presence of two elders with the same status of ME on both sides. The two were inviting each other to lead the session. But later the ME of the husband clan came in and settled the confusion (Ca 1- S1, 42’). Then the session took its normal procedure. With the decision of the ME, the couples were sent away for *fincaan* ‘stay away from the session’ and the elders started the second, discussion phase of the session with mass prayer/blessing. During the discussion phase, elders of the wife side took the first three turns and requested for clarification on the accusations and claims made by the couples especially the issue of giving plots of land and the case of medical treatment of the wife. The elders of the husband side gave some clarification. However, being dissatisfied with the clarification, the elders of the husband side requested for postponement of the session. These elders also requested for another elder who better knows the issue from the husband side to come for the next session. With this, the case was postponed to someday, the following week.

On the second day, nine elders, three from the wife side and six from the husband side handled the session. One elder from the wife side and two on the husband's side were not present at the previous session. The elders started the session with a prayer and the ME revised the discussion of the previous session and allowed the facilitators to start the session by sending away the couples from the session for a short while. The major focuses of the elders' discussion were the issue of giving a plot of land to the wife and her request for medical treatment. After they held the discussion for half an hour, the elders of the husband side asked for a caucus with the husband who was sitting at about two hundred meter from the session. In the meantime, one elder from the wife side left the session because of personal reason. After holding the caucus for twenty five minutes the elders of the husband side came back to the session. They told the session that they had convinced the husband to give one 'teepha' (1/4 hectare) of farmland to his wife. They also requested the elders of the wife side to persuade the wife to go back to her house. But the elders of the wife side were reluctant to persuade the wife because they were not happy with the size of the plot of land. Eventually, one of the elders of the wife side requested for a third appointment stating that the two alone couldn't decide on behalf of the wife. With this, the elders fixed a date for a third appointment, eight days after.

Eight days later, the session resumed at the same place. Thirteen elders, five from the wife side, and nine from the husband side, were in session. Three elders from the wife side, and one from the husband side were new. Their age ranges 28- 75. Two of the elders of the wife's side seem to be strongly religious as they were citing words from the Quran. The session resumed with a prayer as usual and the couples were once again asked to

leave the session for a while. The ME summarized the discussions of the previous day and opened the session for discussion. The elders of the husband side again requested the elders of the wife side to return the wife, promising the same plot of land. The elders of the wife side, however, strongly criticized the husband side for reducing the size of the plot they had given the wife before and told the elders of the husband side to reconsider the offer. They also openly told that they are ready to return the wife if the elders of the husband side agree to give the plot of land and take the wife for better medical treatment. With this, the elders of the husband side requested for a caucus. They held the caucus with the husband for about twenty minutes. Back from the caucus, the elders told the session that they had convinced the husband to increase the size of the plot to its previous size. They also promised the elders of the wife side that they can take the responsibility of taking the wife for better medical treatment. Then, the elders of the wife side accepted the session and agreed to summon the wife to tell her the decision. But one of the elders of the wife's side requested to hold a caucus with the wife before telling her the decision. Three elders held the caucus with the wife and came back to the session together with her. Next, the ME summoned the husband and told him the decision to the session and officially requested the wife to accept the decision. The wife agreed to accept the decision. The elders gave their blessing for the wife and concluded the session with a prayer. After that, the elders were invited to dinner by the husband. During dinner, the ME opened a bottle of Pepsi and made the couples to take sips from the same bottle, first the husband and then the wife. During dinner, the wife sat next to the husband's uncle.

To summarize, the three days session took about five hours. Although the wife raised three factors as cause for their dispute: the land issue, medical treatment, and adultery, the elders discussion focused on only the first two. Nobody from among the elders of both sides raised the issue of adultery. Being surprised by the situation, I had coffee with the middle elder and informally asked him after dinner why they ignored the issue of adultery. The elderly openly told me that the husband had been told several times before to stop his relation with the third woman, but he refused to do so. So he told me the issue was intentionally avoided for the elders knew that they could not convince him to stop cheating on his wife. This elderly also told me that he suspects that the husband has problem of sterility although the elders insisted on the treatment of the wife. The story that the husband told me also strengthens this doubt. During the talk I had with him after the end of the first day mediation, the husband told me that he married this wife twelve years ago because his first wife could not bear him children. But right after he married this wife, his first wife started to give birth and now she had three children. Among Arsis, sterility is not considered a male problem, according to this elderly.

6.2.4 Case Three

This is a mediation of land dispute between a son and his father/step mother. The session was held in Arsi Negelle district at a place called Doolee. According to the son, his mother, who was the first wife of his father died twenty years back. Following her death, the man married her younger sister. This type of marriage locally called *Bidhaa* 'replacement' is allowed with the intention of protecting the children of the deceased from mistreatment of a step mother and to managing the property of the deceased.

Unfortunately, when the children of the former wife, three daughters, and a son, who is now in dispute with his father, grew up, they started to claim their share from their mother's land. After repeated mediation by the local elders, the father gave the children their share. He gave five *timadas*, one to each of the three daughters and two to the son. He also agreed to give additional plot of land to the son for residential purpose. The children used the plots for three years under the supervision of the son. But later when the government started to register the size of land of each farmer and give ownership right, the father included all the plots under his own ownership. This led the father into a serious conflict with the son and the three daughters. The elders handled this case in this session.

The case was brought to the elders by the son. Eleven elders, nine from the neighborhood and two from another place handled the session. The ages of the elders range 35-69. The two elders were brother-in-laws of the father. The mediation took about three hours and was completed in one day. In this session, the elders gave the first chance to the son. Then they asked the father to give his response. The father first denied the charge. But later he admitted that he had included the three daughters' plot not that of the son. After they finished gathering information from both sides, the elders sent away both parties for '*fincaan*' 'stay away from the session for a short while'. Then the elders discussed the issue in detail and finally equivocally decided that the son deserves *dhugaa* 'truth'. In other words, they all agreed that the father was wrong. Next the elders first summoned the father and told him to return all the plots back to the children. In the meantime, the elders summoned the wife and requested her to accept the decision. The father first objected to the decision, but when the wife accepted the decision blaming her husband

for causing trouble between her children and the children of her elder sister. However, in the meantime, she accused the son of refusing to greet her and give her proper respect. Having heard the position of his wife, the father also accepted the decision of the elders. He agreed to give back the plots of land to the children, but he also accused the son for insulting him and threatening to even kill him. Hence, the elders persuaded the father to forgive his son. After strong persuasion, he accepted the elders' decision. Then the elders gave him their blessing and summoned the son and made him apologize to his father and his aunt by kissing their shoulder. In return, the latter spat on the palms of the son, as a sign of acceptance of apology and offer of forgiveness. With this, the mediation ended.

Table-6.1 Total list of Jaarsummaa Cases Recorded for the current Study.

Case No	Case Type	Status	Outcome
1	Spousal	Complete	Reconciled
2	Spousal	Complete	Reconciled
3	Father –son (land dispute)	Complete	Reconciled
4	Spousal	Partial	Failed
5	Spousal	Partial	Reconciled
6	Neighbors dispute	Complete	Reconciled
7	Two families (deflowering)	Partial	Reconciled
8	Two families (suspected physical attack	partial	Reconciled
9	Two Niece (land related)	Complete	Reconciled
10	Abduction	Partial	Reconciled
11	Father-Son (Land dispute)	partial	Failed
12	Abduction	partial	Reconciled

6.3 A Brief Description of *Jaarsummaa* Procedures

Jaarsummaa among Arsi Oromo clans of my study area is a ritualized and institutionalized social practice. It involves communicative events which usually occur in a predictable manner. It has its own registers and participants with more or less fixed roles. The elders usually carry out *jaarsummaa* under *gaaddisa* ‘shade’ of a big tree, sitting in a circle which is wide enough to accommodate all the participants. A particular JS as a whole is also called *Gaddisa*. The elders or mediators are collectively named *yaa’a* or *bayii* ‘gathering’. The number of elders in a session varies based on the seriousness of a case, but the following are crucial members of any *jaarsummaa* session: *murtii* or “decision maker” or *jaarsa walttajii* ‘the middle elder’ (ME) who is appointed (permanently) from among the *elder clan*²⁷ of the locality, and *qora lamii* ‘the two facilitators’ also called “speakers” (Mamo, 2006) of the JS. In my study area, the facilitators are chosen from the two major clans of the area: *Utaa* ‘the elder clan’ and *Waayyuu* ‘the younger clan’ often based on their rhetorical skill. They are referred to as *Qora Utaa* (Qu) and *Qora Waayyuu* (Qw) or simply *Utaa* and *Waayyuu*. In *Guma* cases, the facilitators are also referred to as *qora mataa* ‘senior facilitator’ and *qora miilaa* ‘junior facilitator’.

Jaarsummaa sessions begin by appointing the two facilitators of the session by the ‘middle elder’ of the session. Usually MEs have their own facilitators who work with

²⁷ *Elder clan*- Among Oromo people age seniority is “a queuing device which applies to not only brothers but also lineage, clan, moieties” (Asmarom, 2000:217). The people classify themselves into two contrasting but complementary subdivision of moieties as Boran and Barentu (the two major moieties of Oromo), Siko and Mando of Arsi) (Jeilan, 2005:26). In the subdivision, always the elder clan is put first (Borana and Siko in this case). Following the same pattern, the Arsi Oromos of my study area divide themselves into *Utaa* and *Waayyuu* subclans. At every public gathering, priority of speech and making decision is given to individuals from the elder moiety, clan and lineage.

them relatively permanently. The facilitators have several responsibilities. They introduce cases of the day, allocate turns, scrutinize and approve the decisions of the middle elder at various stages of the session with the help of the other elders in a session. In short, the facilitators help the middle elder manage the interaction of the mediation session. In his description of the structural set up of the institution of *jaarsa Biyyaaa*, Mamo (2006) discussed the roles of the facilitators, but he did not mention about the role of *jaarsa waltajjii* 'the middle elder'. However, in my study area, *jaarsummaa* does not take place without the presence of a middle elder who guides the interaction of the session and propose decision by summarizing the opinions of the elders of the session. In a *jaarsummaa* session, the middle elder is usually referred to or addressed as *abbaa* literally means 'father' (see section 6.3 of this chapter).

Disputants are separately referred to as *himataa* 'complainant' and *dachaafataa* 'defendant'. The disputants together with the elders of their side are usually referred to by their collective name *dhama*. During *jaarsummaa* session, the first turn is given to the complainant. The interaction of the *jaarsummaa* session is managed by the middle elder and the facilitators. The turn-taking process is carefully managed and everybody is expected to talk only when she/he is given a chance from the ME or the facilitators. The elders ask for turns by saying *na gumgumsiisaa* 'allow me to talk' or *gunguma naa kennaa* 'give me the chance to speak'. In response to these, the ME says *koottaa* 'come please'.

Any kind of turn interruption by the disputants is punishable. The punishment is called *Yaatu*. When a ME wants to fine a disputant for violating turns his/her opponents, he says, “Yaatuun si yaate” or “kormaa goromsi si yaate” 'you are fined a bull and a heifer'. In the past, a fined person brings a bull and a heifer and the animals would be slaughtered for the elders who conduct the mediation. However, now-a-days, the payment in animals has been replaced by cash, ten to fifty Birr. The fine is usually done right on the spot. The details of the communication dynamics of JS is presented in the next chapter.

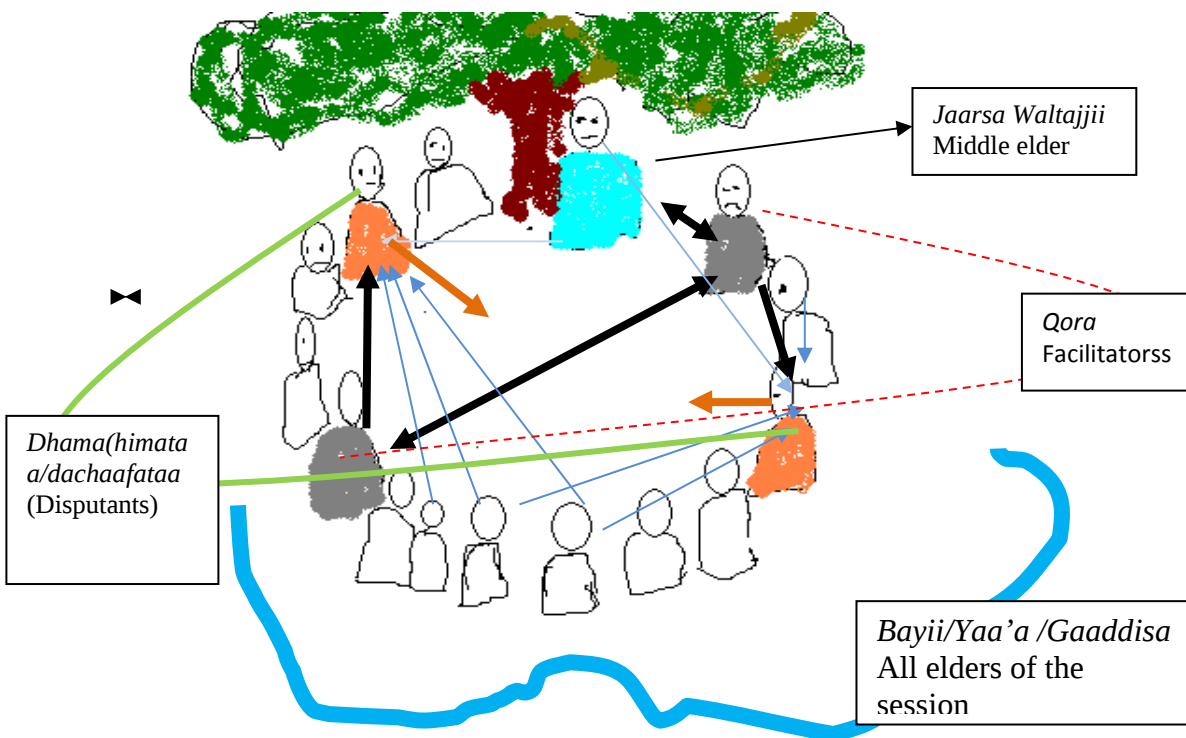
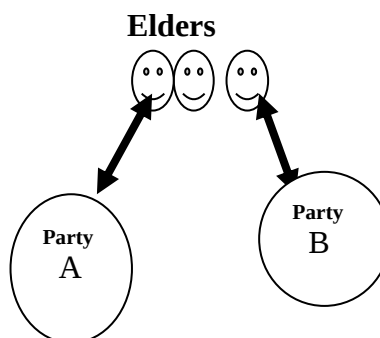


Figure 6.1 Direction of flow of communication in Jaarsummaa session.



6.4 Analysis of Generic Structure of *Jaarsummaa* Discourse

The discussion in this section focuses on a detailed analysis of the dynamics of communication in JD by focusing on its major communicative purpose and linguistic features. The analysis was done by integrating the textual and contextual aspects of JD. Analysis of the rhetorical moves of the recorded JD corpus revealed that *Jaarsummaa* among Arsi Oromo has four major phases: *Opening* (Dubbii kaasuu), *Hearing* (Coka), *Discussion* (Gunguma), and *Reconciliation* (Araara) which appears in almost predictable sequence. These phases consist of several structural moves some of which are further expressed through steps. Each of these phases is presented in the subsequent sections in their sequence to make their communicative purpose and linguistic features more identifiable. The moves and steps in each phase are also summarized in tables and diagrams.

6.4.1 The Opening Phase

The opening phase of JD has several important moves which help clear the ground for the mediation process. Table 5.1. summarizes recurrent moves and steps of this phase:

Table 6.1. Recurring Moves in the Opening Phase of JD corpus.

Speakers	Moves/Steps
ME/EI	Move 1- Prayer/Blessing
	Move 2- Getting Started
ME	Step 1- Ordering QL to start
QL	Step 2- Describing the case
QL	Step 3- Taking Attendance
QL	Step 4- Debating over beginning of the session
	Move 3- Reconciling facilitators (QL)
ME	Step 1- Calling for reconciliation
QL	Step 2- Accepting the call for reconciliation
ME	Step 3- Giving reconciliatory decision
QL	Step 4- Scrutinizing/approving the decision of ME
	Move 4- Transiting to the hearing phase
QL	Step 1- Getting permission of ME to start
ME	Step 2- Ordering facilitators to start
QL	Step 3- Debating over who starts the next phase
QL	Step 4- Requesting disputant to start

Note: ME- Meddle elder, QL- Qora Lamii ‘The two facilitators’, EI- Unidentified elder.

Among Arsis, the Opening Phase of *Jaarsummaa* sessions often begins with the elders *Eebba/Kadhaa* ‘ **blessing and prayer**’ move. This move take place in most of the *jaarsummaa* cases I have audio-recorded for this study. However, it is difficult to consider this move as obligatory for it was not practiced in some cases. Prayer and blessing, of course, is a common cultural practice that Oromo people and other traditional societies often use to begin communal cultural practices. The prayer/blessing used in the recorded JSs varies in length and internal linguistic features, but the common traditional Arsi Oromo prayer, as used in most of the cases and recited to me by some local elders, runs as follows:

1	El : Faatee Waaqni dhagahi,	<i>God listen to our prayer,</i>
2	Els: Dhagayi,	<i>Listen</i>
3	El : Lafti dhagahi,	<i>You Earth, listen,</i>
4	Els: Dhagayi,	<i>Listen</i>
5	El: Dhibbi ²⁸ dhagahi,	<i>The whole community listen</i>
6	Els: Dhagayi,	<i>Listen,</i>
7	El: Dhibaayyuun dhagahi,	<i>The spirit (elders/seniors) listen,</i>
8	Els: Dhagayi	<i>Listen,</i>
9	El: Ka dhageette nagaan oolchi.	<i>Keep us in peace the whole day,</i>
10	Els: Oolchi	<i>Keep us in peace</i>
11	El: Nagaan bulchi.	<i>Keep us in peace the whole night,</i>
12	Els: Bulchi	<i>(Keep us in peace) the whole day</i>
13	El: Araara Nagaa godhi,	<i>May you make reconciliation,</i>
14	Els: Godhi	<i>May you make it,</i>
15	El: Afaan keenna wal-beessisi	<i>Help us understand each other,</i>
16	Els: Beessisi	<i>Help us understand each other</i>
17	El: Afaan nagayaa haadubbannu.	<i>May we speak peacefully,</i>
18	Els: Haadubbannu	<i>May we speak,</i>
19	El: Dhugaan haa mootu.	<i>May the “truth” win,</i>
20	Els: Haamootu	<i>May it win</i>
21	El : Tun toltuu	<i>This useful.(2)</i>
22	Els: Haaqabattu	<i>May this (prayer) be realized. (2)</i>

As can be seen in the above excerpt, the elders pray to *Waaqa* “Sky God” and *Lafa* “the Earth” to help them speak the truth, understand each other, and arrive at reconciliation. In the recitation of this prayer, the elders also showed their commitment to speak the truth and the fact that reconciliation could be achieved with the help of *Waaqa* ‘God’. In the expression “Dhugaan haa mootu” (L-19), the concept *dhugaa* ‘truth’ was positioned as animate body which struggles with other contenders, (implied here is ‘falsehood’) and win over it. The notion *dhugaa* also assumed the subject position in the utterance. This may show emphasis that the elders gave to the notion and their readiness or commitment

²⁸ *Dhibba* literally mean ‘hundred’ has various meanings in different context in Oromo culture. *Dhibba* in the discourse of *jaarsumma* of homicide cases (Guma) refers to the number of animals an offender should pay for killing an Oromo man. Again, according to *Abba Ggada* of Arsi Nagelle district, the word *dhibba* in the context of traditional Oromo prayer refers to *the whole community*.

to speak the truth and make fair decisions. Through this move, the elders also express their wish for the *araara* ‘reconciliation’ to come (L-13).

The use of prayer and blessing may indirectly help the elders legitimize their practice and gain credibility of disputants. The *Prayer/blessing* move could also help soothe the temper of disputants and psychologically prepare them for reconciliation (see section 6.5.8 for the detail on the role of prayer/blessing). Asked about the importance of this move in *JD*, some local elders told me that it helps for “*milkaa’ina dubbii* ‘the success of the mediation’ or “*gargaarsa Waaqaa argachuufi*” ‘to get the support of God’. In short, this move creates favorable environment for successful and peaceful execution of the *jaarsummaa* process. *Prayer/blessing* move often comes at the beginning of the JS, but unusually it appeared at the beginning of the discussion phase in Case 2 (C2- **Ca3-s2 6’**) .This moves is also used at the beginning of both the newly started and the postponed *jaarsummaa* sessions.

Getting Started is the next move of the opening phase of *JD*. This move is obligatory which occurred in all audio-recorded session. The move involves four distinct steps. It starts with the move of *ordering the facilitators to call each other*. The communication in this move is dominated by the ME and the facilitators. The ME orders the facilitators to start the session as follows:

ME: (Mee) Qorti wol waamaa *Facilitators, (please) call each other (start the session)*
: Mee Qorti woldubbisaa *(You) Facilitators, talk to each other (please)*

The above utterances are commands, which show the powerful position of the ME. At any stage in the course of *jaarsummaa*, when the ME wants to communicate some

information to the session, he gives similar order to the facilitators to communicate his message through their dialogue. The next step is *Introducing the Case type*. This and its subsequent steps are realized in the form of questions and answers by the facilitators:

1 Qu : Koottaa/ Koottu,	<You Come>[honorific]
2 Qw: Koottaa (Dhufe)	<Come> (Here I am)
3 Qu: Maaf akkana baye?	Why did I [the elders] come out here?
4 Qw: Dubbii ²⁹	To talk [mediate]
5 Qu: Dubbii dayaa,	To talk, you are right
6 Qw: Waa tolo gayaa.	May you achieve the right [blessing]
7 Qu: Kaaya moo Kaawoo?	Is it new or postponed one? [the case]
8 Qw: Kaaya/ Kaawoo.	Postponed/New one
9 Qu: Kaayaallee/Kaawoollee dhugaa.	Postponed/New, you are right
10 Qw: Dhugee nagaan isinitti haa haagalu	May all [your family/animals] drink and come home in peace [blessing]
11 Qu: Maaltu Kaaya?	What is postponed?(if it is postponed)
12 Qw: Bayitu Kaaya....	The gathering is postponed
13 Qu: Eee,	Yeah?
14 Qw: Baatu dhugaa dubbadhutu kaaya.	Finding the truth is postponed
15 Qu: Eee	<Yeah>
16 Qw: Eee	<Yeah>
17 Qu: Koottaa	<Come>
18 Qw: Koottaa (Dhufe)	<Come /Here I come>
19 Qu: Bayitu Kaayaa, yoo baate dhugaa dubbadhulleen kaayaa, siigaluu... siigaluu sii galaa?	The gathering is postponed, finding the truth is postponed. Shall I approve ...Shall I approve this?
20 Qw: Dhugee nagaan isinitti haagalu.	May all [your family/animals] come home in peace

In the above dialogue, the facilitators first indicated the reason why the elders gathered there (L-3-5) “Maaf akkana baye” ‘*Why did I [the elders] come out here?*’ and to this question of the senior facilitator the junior one responded “Dubbii” ‘*To talk/mediate*’.

²⁹ *Dubbii* has several meanings or interpretations. Literally it mean ‘talk or speech’ as in “*Inni dubbii hinbeeku* (he is not good at speech). It could mean triggering someone for dispute when it is used in “*Inni dubbii nabarbaade*” (He wanted to quarrel with me). However *dubbii* in the current study refers to the *jaarsummaa* process or the *jaarsummaa* case.

Then, they described the type of the case at hand through a question and answer dialogue. In *jaarsummaa* session, the dialogue always starts with *Qora utaa (Qu)* ‘the facilitator from Utaa ‘the elder clan’. This facilitator asks *Qora Waayyuu (Qw)* ‘facilitator from Waayyuu’, the younger clan’, to tell the type of case at hand (L- 6-20), “Kaaya moo Kaawoo?” ‘Is it a postponed case or a new one?’ and the other side tells the type of case of the day by saying either “Kaayaa” ‘the postponed one’ or “Kaawoo” ‘a new case’. In this case, both facilitators know why they came out there and the type of case they were going to handle, although in their dialogue one asked the other as if he doesn’t know about the case. This question-answer dialogue is used as a strategy to officially introduce the case of the day to the gathering and some individuals who might have not been informed about the day’s case. Such dialogue may also have the communicative purpose of drawing the elders’ attention.

The facilitators used dialogue as a major style of communication at various stages of *jaarsummaa* to communicate some information to the gathering, to move the session from one phase to the next and to approve the decision of the middle elder. In such dialogue, always *Qu* ‘facilitator from the elder clan’ starts the dialogue by saying “Koottu” ‘Come’ or “Koottaa” Come” (*aa*-honorific). Then *Qw* responds “dhufe” ‘here I come’ or simply repeat “koottuu”. Culturally the first response “dhufe” is correct because it depicts the social status of the junior clan. Again in their question-answer dialogue (L- 5-6, 9-10, 19-20), always *Qu* asks question and *Qw* gives answers. Then *Qu* approves the answer/response of the junior by saying “dhugaa” ‘it is true’ and in return, the younger facilitator gives his blessing to the former (L-6,10,20). The common expressions of the blessing are: *alaa gala* ‘may you come home safely’, “*waatolo dayaa* ‘may you come to

good fortune’, *dhugee nagaan isini haa galu* ‘May your cattle/ family drink and come home safely’. The identities that the facilitators assume in the dialogue clearly show the role that genealogical seniority plays in shaping social interaction among the target society. According to the social norm of Arsis Oromo, which of course could be true to other traditional societies, *hangafa* ‘ones elder’ is considered *wayyuu* ‘highly respected’ (see Chapter 4 for details of this concept). Therefore, in public places priorities are given to this social group.

The facilitators’ use of dialogue instead of monologue here may also help participants to curiously follow the talk of the facilitators and get the necessary information. Once they finish describing the case, the facilitators move on to next step, *Taking Attendance*. The dialogue at this step runs as follows:

21 Qu: Sii Bayee?	<i>Have all elders of your side come out?</i>
22 Qu: Hintoo’adha... Isinii bayee?	<i>Let me check... Have they come out [to the elders of the wife side]</i>
23 DS1: Eee Baye	<i>Yes they have come out.</i>
24 Qu: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
25 Qw: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
26 Qu: Kanaan dubbadha moo gara dhaqu qaba?	<i>Shall I start with this or check the other side as well?</i>
27 Qw: Gara dhaqu qaba.	<i>I shall check the other side.</i>
28 Qu: Gara dhaqu qabaallee sii gala.	<i>I approve that you shall check.</i>
29 Qw: Dhugee nagaan isinii haagalu.	<i>May all [community] come home in peace [blessing]</i>
30 Qu: Isinii Bayee? (gamana)	<i>Have your elders arrived [to husband]</i>
31 DS2: Ee baye.	<i>Yes they have come out.</i>
32 Qu: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
33 Qw: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
34 Qu: Gara lachiiyyuu baye jedhe	<i>I have checked both sides.</i>
35 Qw:Eee ...	<i>Yeah...</i>

First the senior facilitator asked the younger “Sii bayee?” ‘Have all elders of your side come out?’. The younger answered, “Hintoo’adha” ‘let me check’. Then the facilitators asked the disputants one by one and checked whether the elders of their side had come or not. Here the facilitators’ dialogue shows the authority or sense of ownership that the elders have over the session. Having completed the *Taking Attendance* step, the facilitators start the next step, *Debating over the beginning of the talk/mediation*. Linguistically the debate is realized as follows:

36	Qu: Hindubbadha moo ree hinbulfadha?	<i>So shall I talk [start the mediation] or postpone it?</i>
37	Qw: Hinbulfadha.	<i>I shall postpone it.</i>
38	Qu: Maaf?	<i>Why?</i>
39	Qw: Dubbi Arsiiti bulaa bayaafi.	<i>It is natural that truth is revealed gradually.</i>
40	Qu: Hindubbadha.	<i>I shall talk.</i>
41	Qw: Maaf?	<i>Why?</i>
42	Qu: Dubbachuuf bayeera. Araarsuuf baye.	<i>I came out to talk, to reconcile.</i>
43	Qw: Eee	<i>Yeah</i>
44	Qu: Eee	<i>Yeah</i>
45	Qw: Hima bulfadha.	<i>I insist I shall postpone.</i>
46	Qu: Maaf?	<i>Why?</i>
47	Qw: Jaarsillee baldhatee natti hinbaanee... Dubbiin Arsiillee kalee bulaa baatii... Kanumaafi	<i>I did not get sufficient number of elders...The truth is also revealed gradually.</i>
48	Qu: Ima dubbadha...	<i>I still insist that I shall talk...</i>

The debate between the facilitators continued for a while until the ME intervened for reconciliation. In the debate, one of the facilitators, the younger (Qw) argued for the postponement of the mediation (L-35,48) whereas the senior one insisted on starting it (L-45, 49). The facilitators also tried to justify their positions (L-37 and L-49). This step appeared as a compulsory step in the ***Getting Started*** move of JD corpus.

The debate of the facilitators has several communicative purposes, according to the local elders. First, it helps to identify the middle elder and his role in the session. Asked about the purpose of the debate, one of the local elders at Arsi Nagelle, Obbo Xiinqamoo, gave me the following response: “wanti qorti lamaan walmormituufii, abba murtiititu askeessa dhalata. Abbaa murtii argatuuf wal waamuu qaba. Eega isaan araarsee booda abba murtii ta’a” ‘the facilitators’ debate leads to the birth of the decision maker. So the facilitators debate to get a decision maker. A person will be recognized as a decision maker after he reconciles the facilitators’. According to the same informant, the debate also symbolizes the procedures of the *jaarsummaa*. The debate symbolizes the dispute whereas the reconciliation of the facilitators symbolizes the reconciliation of the disputants. To use the words of the same informant, “mormiin qoraa waldhabbiin jirachuu, waldhabbii kana boodallee araarri akka jiru muldhisa” ‘the debate symbolizes the presence of the dispute and the reconciliation that follows’. In expressing the importance of the facilitators debate, another respondent, Obbo Tufa Daraaso, also said “yoo walmormiin hinjirre, yoo qorti lamaan walii galte, dubbiinuu hinjiru. Wanti araarsan maaltu jira ree?” ‘If there is no debate/disagreement between the facilitators, if the facilitators agree, there is nothing to talk about. There is nothing to be reconciled.’

After the facilitators continued their debate for some minutes (2-3), the ME requested them for *araara* ‘reconciliation’ (L- 49) marking the beginning of the third move of the Opening Phase, *Reconciliation of the Facilitators*. This move appeared in all the recorded JSs and thus could be considered as an obligatory move. As shown in *Table 6.1*, this move was realized through four steps: *Calling for Reconciliation, Accepting the Call,*

Giving Reconciliatory Decision and Scrutinizing/approving the ME's decision. The following excerpt illustrates the linguistic realization of this move:

49 ME: Amma ka kuun hindubbadha jedhe, ka kuun hinbulfadha jedhe, Araara,	<i>Now one opted for talk and the other for postponement, here is my call for reconciliation.</i>
50 Qu: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
51 Qw: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
52 Qu: Ka ati hinbulfadha jette, ka ani hindubbadha jedhe, araara jedhan.	<i>As you insisted on postponement and I insisted on talk, his honor called for reconciliation.</i>
53 Qw: Haa caqafnu/ Haa dhageenyu	<i>Ok , let us listen to it [ME's decision]</i>
54 ME: Araara sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. (Toltuu sii haakennuu jedhe jechuu argadhu (in C-5, 6)). Tokko hindubbadha jedhe jechuu argadhu. Tokko hinbulfadha jedhe jechuu argadhu. Hinbulfadhaanillee uumee isiiti jedhe jechuu argadhu. Hindubbadhaanillee uumema jedhe jechuu argadhu. Amma ka hinbulfadha jedhe wayaa irraa argadhu. Ka hindubbadha jedhe dubbi dhiisanii. Qori.	<i>I give you reconciliatory decision, hear what I say. [may He give you the better one]. One has opted for talking, hear what I say. The other opted for postponement [of the mediation], hear what I say. It is natural to postpone, hear what I say. It is also natural to insist for talking, hear what I say. Now the one who opted for postponement will cool down, hear what I say. The one who opt for talking is allowed. Scrutinize and approve it!</i>
55 Qu: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
56 Qw: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
57 Qu: Hinqora moo hinqopha (murtii)?	<i>Shall I go to approving or shall I stop it [the decision]</i>
58 Qw: Hinqora.	<i>I shall approve it</i>
59 Qu: Hinqoraa siigala (Qora galuu... galuu...siigalaa? (C6-Ca1-S1)).	<i>Shall I approve...I approve it... I approve it.</i>
60 Qw: Alaa gala/ Dhugee nagaan isini haa galu.	<i>May you go home safely/May all your family cattle come home safely</i>

(Taken from Case 1+ C6)

As indicated in the above excerpt, this move starts with *Calling for Reconciliation* (L-49) as its first step. Following the request of the ME, the facilitators stopped their debate and *Accepting the Call* step (L-50-53) followed soon. The two steps are very short and often take one to three utterances. Following the facilitators' accepting of the call, comes the step for *Giving Reconciliatory Decision* (L-54). The reconciliation was accomplished by

the ME in a polite manner. First, he gave his blessing to both sides “Toltuu sii haakennuu jedhe jechuu argadhu” ‘May He gives you the good things’ and confirm that the opinions of both sides are natural and normal, “Hinbulfadhaanillee uumee isiiti” ‘Arguing for postponement is norm’, “Hindubbadhaanillee uumema” ‘Arguing to talk/start the *jaarsummaa* is also normal’. This could be considered as a face saving strategy of the ME. After saving the faces of both sides, the ME requested one of the facilitators to drop his intention and accept the others idea.

As observed in the recorded JSs, usually the ME decides in favor of the facilitator who insists on resuming the *jaarsummaa*. In almost all cases, the facilitators and the other participants accepted the reconciliatory decision of the ME. Here the expression “sii kenne” ‘I gave you’ positions the ME as an authority in charge of making decisions which in turn positions the other side as recipient. However, after proposing decisions at every stage, the ME orders the facilitators to scrutinize and approve his decisions by saying “Qori” ‘scrutinize/approve it’. This ensures the participation other elders in the decision making process.

In the above excerpt, the facilitators scrutinized and approved the ME’s decision (L-55-60). In the *Scrutinizing/ approving Decisions* step, the senior facilitator asks “Hinqora moo hinqopha” ‘Shall I approve or reject it?’. To this question, the younger one responds either by saying “Hinqora” ‘I shall accept or approve it’ or “Hinqopha” ‘I shall stop/reject it’. Then the facilitators approve the decisions.

The process of scrutinizing or approving is done by involving the *taa'aa* 'the other elders in the session'. For instance, the expression "Qoraa galuu...galuu ...siigalaa?" uttered by Qu (59) was meant to announce the decision of the ME to the other audience. The facilitator utters the term slowly using short pauses in between the words and by looking around for any possible objection to or comment on the ME's decision from the other participants. According to the local elders, at this point, if one of the participants of the session disagrees with the decision, he stops the facilitator by saying "qophe" 'I stopped it' or "dachaase" or "itiche" 'I do not accept it'. Sometimes the opposer may also say "qora jala" 'here me before approving'. Then the facilitators stop and ask the person to justify his opposition or give his comment. After listening to the person's idea, the facilitators decide whether his idea should be considered or not.

In one of the recorded *jaarsummaa* sessions (C6-Ca1-S2- 27-28'), when the ME decided to fine the offender, one of the elders expressed his objection through this procedure before the decision was approved. He requested the ME to give him a chance for short caucus with the offender before the decision was approved. He was given the chance and eventually succeeded in averting the decision of the ME by convincing the offender to officially apologize to the elders for his offence. This holds true at every stage of *jaarsummaa* where the ME passes a decision. Every decision that MEs gives in the recorded JSs were realized only after they were announced to the session for comments of the participants and unanimously approved by the elders of the sessions. This could be mentioned as evidence of fairness or impartial nature of the *jaarsummaa* procedures.

Having approved the decision of the ME, the facilitators proceeded to the next move. The final move in the Opening Phase of JD is *Transiting to the Hearing Phase*. This move was also obligatory which occurred in almost all cases. It was articulated in four steps: *Getting Permission of ME, Ordering Facilitators to Start, Debating over Who Starts the Next Phase, Requesting Disputants to Start*. Linguistically the move was realized through the dialogue of the facilitators and the ME as shown in the following excerpt:

61 QU: Amma tiyya jedha moo ree abbaa qaba?	<i>Now, shall I proceed by myself or wait for someone {to decide on the next move}?</i>
62 QW: Abbaa qaba	<i>There is someone.</i>
63 QU: Abbaa qaba jedhan.	<i>He {honorific said there is someone.</i>
64 JW: {Abbaa ambaa Rabbi isin haa godhuu argadhu.} Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Toltuu Rabbi sii haa kennuu argadhu {blessing}. Dubbiin kaayaan bultee jedhe jechuu argadhu. kaaya lafa kaayate fuudha jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dhama lamaan dubbiin waldhabdee, qara cotee hinjirtu jedhe jechuu argadhu. Hincokatu jira jedhe jechuu argadhu. Ama ka cokamuu, waan badalamu, abbaa ari'aa jiru cokama jedhe jechuu argadhu. Taraan isa gaafata jaarsi jedhe jechuu argadhu. Taraan isaanii ammaa, warri Heebanoo (niitii) hincokama. Qoraan cotta, qori! >	<i>May God make you a father of your people. Now hear what I gave you. May God give you the best. This case is a postponed one, hear what I say. It shall be started by the one who postponed it. You have not heard the disputants before, hear what I say. Now there will be a hearing. Now the first chance will be given to the defendant, hear what I say. You will ask them in turns. Now the first turn will be given to Hebano {wife side}. It will be done by facilitators. Approve it!</i>
65 QU: koottaa	<i><Come></i>
66 QW: Koottaa	<i><Come></i>
67 QU: Coki jedhe	<i>He (ME) ordered us to start the hearing.</i>
68 QW: Eee jedhe	<i>Yeah, he has said it.</i>
69 QU: Amma itti dhaqaa ree?	<i>Now shall I Proceed?</i>
70 QW: Na yaamtee, hangafaa dhaqaa.	<i>You called me, you are my elder. Go ahead</i>
71 QU: Dhaqaa	<i>You go</i>
72 QW: Ummm	<i>Ummm</i>
73 QU: Erguuf qaraa si waame	<i>I called you to send you.</i>
74 QW: Umm (.)	<i>Ummm (.)</i>
75 Qu: koottaa { gara haadha warraa}	<i>Come please {invited the wife side to start}</i>

(Taken from Case 1)

As shown in the above excerpt, the first step in *Transiting to the Hearing Phase* move is *Getting Permission of the ME*. The facilitators requested the permission of the ME (L-60-62) in an indirect and polite manner. Through their dialogue, they agreed that they cannot begin the next phase on their own and as there was someone “abbaa” ‘father’ the ME there with the authority to start. The term “abbaa” in this case was a polite way of showing the decision making power of the ME. In response to the facilitators’ request and respect, the middle elder gave his blessing (L-63) “Abbaa ambaa rabbi isin haa godhuu...” ‘May God make you father of others’ and then allowed them to start the next phase. He also directed them on how to conduct the next phase. Then the facilitators moved on to the next step, *Debating over Who Starts the Next Phase* (L- 68-73). Though the facilitators invited each other for a while, in all the recorded cases *Qu* took the first turn. So, I can say that the debate was meant just to save the face of the younger facilitator. In return, the younger one politely refuses that the elder has to start “Nawaamtanii, hangafaa dhaqaa” ‘you (plural) called me, you are my senior, go on’.

The dialogue/debate is often accompanied with some sense of humor. Next to the dialogue came the final step of the Opening Phase, *Requesting Disputants to Start*. The senior facilitator requested one of the disputants, “Himataa” ‘complainant/plaintiff’, to start presenting his/her dispute story. With this, the first phase of JD ended. This move occurs only in newly started cases but not in the postponed ones.

To summarize, the communication in the Opening Phase of JD is characterized by question and response dialogue, orders, and debates. The communication in this phase is monopolized the facilitators, and the ME. This phase of *jaarsummaa*, in general can be

considered as a stage where the two parties introduce their roles and identities. Except the first one, the rhetorical moves and their constituent steps of this phase appeared in almost all recorded sessions in almost the same sequence. Yet, there seem to be little variation in the linguistic features or vocabulary choices of the move across different JS. For instance, in their opening dialogue, the junior facilitator (Qw) sometime responds by saying *koottaa* ‘come’ instead of *dhufe* ‘Here I come’. Again, the blessing of the junior facilitator to the senior’s approval (L-10) above varies from person to person. Some say “*alaa gala*” ‘Go home safely’, others say “*Dhugee nagaan isinitti haa galu*” ‘*May all [your family/animals] come home in peace.*’

6.4. 2 Hearing Phase [*Coka*]

So far, I have presented a rather sequential order of the four moves of the Opening Phase of JD. In this section, I present the second phase, which I refer to as **Hearing Phase** in the native language “Coka”. I gave this name for this phase mainly because of the communication pattern I have observed in this phase. The communication in this phase is characterized by narratives of conflict stories, eliciting or inquiring, giving explanations, charging, refuting, justifying accusations. Unlike that of the Opening Phase, the communication in the Hearing Phase of JD is dominated by the disputants. This phase involves six distinct moves which have their own communicative functions. Table 6.2 summarizes these moves and their constituent steps.

Table 6.2. Recurring moves/steps in the Hearing phase of Jaarsummaa Discourse.

Speaker	Moves and Steps
S1	Move 1- Presenting case by <i>Himataa</i> ‘plaintiff’
Els	Move 2- Questioning the plaintiff
Els	Step 1- Requesting for turn
ME	Step 2- Giving Turn
Els	Step 2- Asking questions
DS1	Step 3- Responding to questions
QL	Move 3- Turning to <i>dachaafataa</i> ‘defendant’
DS2	Move 4- Presenting Case by defendant
Els	Move 5- Questioning the defendant
Els	Step 1- Requesting for turn
ME	Step 2- Giving Turn
Els	Step 2- Asking questions
DS2	Step 3- Responding to questions
	Move 6- Transit to Discussion phase
QL	Step 1- Concluding the hearing phase
QL	Step 2- Inviting ME to start the next phase
ME	Step 3- Deciding on the next phase
ME	Step 4- Sending disputants to <i>fincaan</i> ³⁰

As indicated in the above table, the **Hearing Phase** starts with *Presenting the Case* move. First *himataa* 'plaintiff' narrates his/her conflict story to the elders without interruption for reasonably long periods. A polite interruptive utterance “gaabaabsi” ‘make it short’ comes from the middle elder only when the plaintiff starts to repeat what she/he had already said.

The way plaintiffs narrate their stories varies from individual to individual, yet they share some common features in structuring their stories. In the recorded JSs, most of them started their narration with the description of the broader historical context of the dispute. To magnify the seriousness of the problem, they cited their previous dispute and its

³⁰ The term *Fincaan* literally means ‘urine’ is used metaphorically in the context of jaarsummaa to refer to a short period during which disputants are required to leave the elders in the Discussion Phase.

consequences. Then, the plaintiff moved to the immediate cause of their current dispute. The following excerpts from the conflict stories of the wife in Case 1 may help illustrate this:

Case 1

Wf: Ani rakkoon kiyyaa, gurbichi kuni kalee kiyya dhahee namiidheera kanaan dura. Uffadhee akkuma sanuu akkuma inni jedhu sanuu anii daaraan hinbeekkamu. Daaraan keessaa hinqabu (L- 146-8). ... Deebbee, garuu, horii dhaltii narraa oofee, inni horii dhaltii narraa oofee narraa guuseera (L-151-2)
:My problem is, this boy had beaten me and damage my kidney. I have no clothes to wear as he has said before(L-151-2)..... Again he moved my cows.He moved my milking cows...(L-156-8).

In Case 1, the immediate cause of the dispute was not the issue of clothe or damage to the kidney. The wife raised these issues just to give her conflict story a broader historical context. The story of the immediate cause of the current dispute, moving cows, started at the fifth line of the wife's story. The wife in Case 2, also started telling the cause for the current dispute seven minutes later after she presented the broader historical context of their dispute. The plaintiffs in the other JSs also followed almost the same pattern. The communication in this move was characterized by blames and accusations "*this boy had beaten me and damage my kidney. I have no clothes*". Using narrative approach, the plaintiffs presented the episodes of their conflict story in sequence. The wives Cases 1, 2, 3, the plaintiffs, positioned themselves as victims of the verbal, physical abuse, and economic misuse of their husband.

After the plaintiffs finished their conflict stories, the elders started the *Questioning move*. Although its length varies across cases, this move was obligatory in the Hearing Phase. According to the local elders and my personal observation, all participants of the session

except, *dachaafataa* ‘defendant’ have the right to pose questions. The elders’ frame their questions in such a way that they can elicit further information or explanations on some issues or indirectly remind the disputant of some information that they might have forgotten or intentionally skipped.

In the recorded JSs, the *Questioning move* was realized in four steps. It started with *Requesting for a Turn*. The elders’ first requested for turns by saying “Na ergaa” ‘send me’ or ‘Naa kennaa’ ‘give me a turn’. Then the ME allocated turns by saying “Dhaqaa” or “Itti dhaqa” ‘Go on/go ahead’. The elders posed their questions, and then the plaintiffs responded. The following excerpt from Case 1 (L-242-246) could illustrate the steps in this move:

- 1 EHs: Na ergaa **(Step 1)**
- 2 JW: Dhaqaa **(Step 2)**
- 3 EH: An ammallee isin baradhe. Ammaa (.) daaraa, re’ee gurgure maal kajettan kanaa, inni daara keessaniifi jedha. Gaafuma inni horii gurguruu, daara nabaasi. Horii kana maaf baaftaa gaafattuu? Nmaan geettuu? **(Step 3)**
- 1 : *Send me (horrific)*
- 2 : *Go on*
- 3 : *I want to learn about you again. No you mentioned about clothes and selling of goat. He (husband) say that he sold the goat to buy you clothe. On the day, he sold the goat, did you ask him to buy you clothes? Did you ask him why he sold (the animals)? Have you told this case to others (elders)?*

Although there could be variations in the length of the questions, the elders usually frame their question in almost the same manner. A detail content analysis of the questions of the elders also revealed four micro moves.

- m-**Move 1**- Seeking attention
- m-**Move 2**- Citing disputant’s idea/words
- m-**Move 3**- Posing question
- m-**Move 4**- Rephrasing or explaining the question

The first three are almost obligatory whereas the fourth one is sometimes optional. To seek the attention of a disputant, the elders say: *Anni Sibaradhe* ‘I want to learn about you’, *Ani si/isini{tti} dhufe*, ‘Here I come’. *Wanti si/isin baradhuu* ‘What I want to learn is...’. Then the elders restate and comment on what the disputant has said. Next, they pose questions, based on what the disputant has said. They sometimes rephrase or repeat their questions. The following questions taken from the recorded JSs may help illustrate the presence of these moves. First I look at the third turn of the preceding dialogue:

: I want to learn about you again (m-Move 1). No you mentioned about clothes and selling of goat. He (husband) says that he sold the goat for your clothes (m-Move 2). On the day he sold the goat, did you ask him to buy you clothes? Did you ask him why he sold (the animals)? Have you told this case to others (elders)? (m-Move 3)

The following sample questions from the recorded JSs could also help clarify the sequential occurrences of the micro moves. The questions were posed by participants who took the first turn in the *Questioning Move* of each session.

Case 2

E1: Amma gaafii qaba... Maarree amma ani gaafiin sirraa qabuu (m-MOVE 1) Amma gahee kee kana yoma naa kenni jettu (m-MOVE 2) Waan qara gaafa nikaa sii lakkaayee ka horiillee sii lakkaayee, ka lafaallee sii lakkaayee, isa muluu sirraa hambisee sihoratuu dide moo inuu gaafuma Nikaa³¹ hidhullee wayiinuu sinidhanne ? (m-MOVE 3). Maal akkamitti- Garuu gahee achi keessaa qabdaa kunoo...(m-Move 4) (C2- Ca-1-S2- 17-18')

: Now I have a question...Now the question I want to ask you is (mM-Move 1). Now when you requested for your share (m-Move 2). Are you saying that he had denied you all the properties, the plot of land, the animals that he promised you on your wedding day? Or Are you saying that he did not give you anything for Nikaa?(m-Move 3).What does it mean- I think you also have some share from the property (of the couple)...(m-Move 4).

³¹ *Nikaa* is an Arabic expression which refers to the ceremony in Islamic marriage culture. This is a ceremony which takes place before the wedding day and in which the would-be husband brings gift (usually in kind) for his would-be wife and obtains the promise of the latter.

Case 3

El: Ani sibaradha korma³² kiyya (m-MOVE 1) Amma kunoo kaleellee ardaan kuni bayee qaaqeera. Abbaa kanallee waa gaafanneerra, waayee lafa qonnaa keessaa rakkoon hinjiru jenne lafa keenneera... (m-MOVE 2) Ammaa rakkommaan amma sibaasee kunii, lafattima tana muluma isaa wali{tti} qabee waan kalee sii kennellee shallagatee maqaa ofiitiin cufee jennaan aartee jaarsa kana baafataa jirta **moo** lafa shii karee meetirii gaafa duraa san harkaan sigawuu dideet amma nu baafatee jirta? ...(m-MOVE 3) Amma deebitee waayee lafaa wanti lafa duubatti sideebisee bitaa mirga isaallee wanti sigeessuufii, gonkuma shalagatee maqaa keessan irra dhooggee kadurbaallee wali qabee keellee wali qabee shalagateeti garaa singaattee nubaafte moo ta shii karee meetiriitiif nubaafte? (m-Move 4)

(Ca1-S1- 14')

: I want to learn about you, my hero/son (Move 1). Now as you know that these elders talked about or resolved this issue last time. We have asked your father. We talked and resolved the issue of this farm land... (m-Move 2) Now the problem that you currently face- Is it because he {father} included all the plots he had given you into his part **or** is it because he had refused to give you the thousand square meters plot he agreed to give you last time ? (m-Move 3). What is the reason for you to go back to the issue of land and called us for mediation again? Is it because you have been disappointed with his act of taking back all the plots he had given you to plough **or** is it about the thousand square meters plot?(m-Move 4).

As can be seen in the above excerpts, there was also some similarities among the elders in the way they framed their questions. For instance, in the third micro moves of their questions, they all provided the disputants with some alternative answers. The conjunction **moo** meaning ‘or’, is used to join two options from which the respondent chose to answer. This kind of framing disputants questions may positively contribute to the process and outcome of the *jaarsummaa* as it could ease the disputants’ tension in looking for the appropriate response, a problem they could have faced if they were asked WH-questions. Such type of framing could also position the asker as a person who looks for clarification on some confusions rather than interrogating the respondent. Similarly,

³² *Korma* literally means “bull” has other connotations among Oromo people. It may mean ‘strong’ or ‘courageous’ or ‘wonderful’ as in “Korma ilamaa” ‘A wonderful son’. It may also mean simply ‘a son’ as it was used in the excerpt in the current study.

the phrases in **micro move 1** of the elders' questions could help psychologically prepare the disputant for the response. The expression "sibaradhe" 'I want to learn about you' is a rather polite expression which positions the questioner as someone who intends to learn something he/she doesn't know before, rather than to cross examine or expose the disputant. Scholars affirm that the use of leading questions in mediation serves as a strategy to gear the attention of disputants to core issues and exploring alternatives (Roberts, 2008; Wolski, 2002).

After they finished questioning the plaintiff, the facilitators started the third move of the Hearing Phase, *Turning to dachaafataa 'defendant'*. This move could be considered as obligatory for it occurred in all JSs. The following excerpt illustrates the linguistic realization of this move:

Qu : Koottaa	<Come>
Qw: Koottaa	<Come>
Qu: Amma gamana hincokannee ree?	Now, haven't we finished the hearing of this side?
Qw: Cokanne	Yes, we have finished.
Qu: Amma tanumaan itti seena moo gara dhaqu qaba?	Now, shall I proceed {to next phase} with this or is there another to go to?
Qw: Gara dhaqu qaba.	There is other side to go to.
Qu: Gara dhaqu qabaa sii galaa.	I accept that there is other side to go to.
Qw: Alaa gala... (Sibaranne/ as nuqabaa (Name of defendant))	May you go home in peace. {I want to learn about you. Tell us what you have {to the husband}}

(C3-Ca1- S2- 29')

As shown in the above dialogue of the facilitators, in this move, Qw took the turn of inviting the defendant to the stage. Although there could be slight lexical variations

among the elders, this move was realized through the dialogue of the facilitators (C2- Ca 1-S1- 25', C3-Ca 1-S1-21', C5-Ca 1-S 1- 35').

Like they did with the *plaintiff* in moves 1 and 2 above, the elders gave enough time for the *dachafata*' 'defendant to respond to the charge of the plaintiff and allowed him to tell his story without interruption. However, sometimes the ME interrupted and redirected the defendant to focus on issues raised by the plaintiff. In the case of *jaarsummaa* of spousal disputes, the ME also told both sides to be cautious in their speech. For instance, in Case 2, one of the elders uttered the following before the husband started to responding the wives accusations:

El: ...Insinii, *beetasaba* ...laalladhu gurbaa keessattuu dhiirti hinlaallatti. Rabbi isin haa araarsu dubbii qulqulluu gabaabsii... dubbii isiin himte muluu fashalessa barbaada injedhinii dhugaa calla lafa nuu kaayi. (C2-Ca1-S1- 27').

:You [referring to the clans of the couples] are family members...you have to be cautious. Son, especially males are careful. May God reconcile you. Speak only the truth in short. Do not attempt to disprove all what she said. Tell us only the truth.

Here the speaker told the husband not to be defensive and not to expose everything that should not be told publicly. The expression "Keessattu dhiirti hinlaallatti" 'especially male do not talk everything' has strong influence on the husband for he may not want to lose such positive identity of integrity by talking unwisely. Similarly, the phrase "isin beetasaba" 'you are one family' is used to make the husband care for the future relationship of the couples and their respective clans.

Unlike that of the plaintiff, the stories of the defendants are rhetorically characterized by discourse of *justifying*, *denial*, and *counter accusations*. Defendants start with what the

plaintiff had told and either deny the charges or give justifications. In their speech, both sides often cite the *ardaa* ‘the neighboring elders’ as witness for the claims or charges they make. For instance, in Case1, the wife started her turn as follows:

Wf: Rakkoo kiyya, garuu hinbeettanii, kanuma namni hunduu beennu, sanuma jechuudha. (L-143-144)

: *My problem is what **you all** (the elders of the session) know. It is what we all know. It is the same.*(L- 149)

In the hearing phase of those JSs I recorded, there were no instances of direct face to face dialogue between disputants and neither of them was allowed to intrude in the turns of the other. Both parties addressed their stories directly to the elders. Once the defendant finished his/her story, the elders posed questions to the defendant in the same way they did with the plaintiff. They framed their questions in the same manner and with the same intention. Once they finish, the *Questioning move*, the facilitators started the last move of the Hearing Phase, *Transiting to the Discussion Move*.

There were slight variations across the recorded JSs with regard to the linguistic realization of this move. For instance, in *Case 1*, the move was realized only through the order or direction of the ME. Even though it is relatively short, usually the *Transiting Move* involves four steps: *Concluding the Hearing Phase, Inviting the ME to start the next Phase, Deciding to start the next Phase and Sending Disputants for fincaan’to leave the elders for a shor twile’* which are realized through the dialogue of facilitators and the ME. The following excerpt from Case 3 could help in illustrating the features of this move.

1	Qu: Koottaa	<Come>
2	Qw: Dhufe	<Here I come>
3	Qu: Baradhe	I have learned {finished hearing}
4	Qw: Eee baradhe	Yes, I have learned
5	Qu: Ka ofii itti dhaqu moo ka abbaa itti eegu?	Shall I proceed or wait for right person {ME}
6	Qw: Abbaa itti eega	Wait for the right person.
7	JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Abba qabdaniin isin haa bulchu jechuu argadhu. Cotti dubbii hinfixu jechuu argadhu. Amma cottee gara deeffatteerta jechuu argadhu. Dhamti nurraa fincaantii, ardaan walitti hafa jechuu argadhu. Qori.	Now I gave, hear what I say. May He keep you with your father. The length of hearing does not solve the problem, hear what I say. Now you have got all the information from both sides, hear what I say. The disputants will leave the session for a while and the elders will stay here. Approve it!

(C3-Ca 1-S 2- 5').

In the above excerpt, the facilitators first announced the ending of the hearing phase (L-3-4). The expression *baradhe* 'I have learned' indicates the completion of the phase. It means that the elders have gathered all the information they want from disputants. Then the facilitators invite the ME, "*abbaa*" 'father' or 'the owner' to announce the beginning of the next phase (L-5). Then the ME gave his blessing and decided on what the order should be. In this case, he officially announced the end of *Coka* 'the hearing phase' and ordered the disputants to go for *fincaan* 'urine' meaning to stay away from the session for some time while the elders discuss the issue. After sending the disputants away from the session, the elders move onto the next phase, which I prefer to call the **Discussion Phase (Gunguma)**. The discussion in the following section focuses on the steps and moves of this phase.

6.4.3 The Discussion Phase [Gunguma³³]

The *Discussion Phase* of JD corpus is commonly held in the absence of the disputants and some very close relatives of the disputants such as children. The interaction is led by the ME. Once this phase was commenced, the style of communication and the lexical features of the elders talk changed. For instance, in the Hearing Phase, the elders asked for turns by saying “Na ergaa” ‘send me’. But in the *Discussion* phase, the elders requested for a turn by saying “na gungumsiisaa” or “gunguma nafuudhaa” or simply “nafuudhaa wayyooma” meaning ‘allow me to talk or to express my feeling [honorific]’. Again in the hearing phase, the elders started their turn with the phrase “Ani sibaradhe” ‘I want to learn about you’ or “ani sigaafadhe” ‘I ask you’. But in the *Discussion phase*, the elders started their turn with the expression “Ani gungume” ‘I murmur/talk’ or “Ani sitti gungume” ‘I murmur/ talk to you (to ME)’. The Discussion phase of JD has several moves and steps as summarized in the following table.

Table 6.3. Recurrent moves and Steps in the Discussion Phase of Jaarsummaa session.

Speakers	Moves and Steps
ME	Move 1- Opening the floor for discussion
Els	Move 2- Discussing the issue
Els	Step 1- Requesting for turns
ME	Step 2- Allocating turns
Els	Step 3- Giving opinions
ME	Move 3 – Revising and redirecting the discussion
Els	Move 4 – Requesting for caucus
ME	Move 5- Proposing final decision
QL	Move 6- Approving the decision

³³ *Gunguma* literally means murmuring or expressing ones emotion in a low voice. The term also refers to ‘thunder’. In the current study the term refers to ‘expressing ones feeling’.

As indicated in the above table, the *Discussion Phase* is commenced by the ME after sending the disputants for *fincaan* ‘a short stay away from the session’. In most of the recorded JS, the ME started the *Discussion* phase with *Opening the Floor for Discussion*. This move appeared in all JSs I recorded. Therefore, it could be considered as an obligatory move. The following excerpt from Case 1 illustrates this move:

JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu, Amma qorti deebitee cotee cokaanillee itti dhaxeerti jedhe jechuu argadhu. Eega cokaanillee, bakka gayanii dhiisanu jira jechuu argadhu. Amma gurbaan cokameera, Nu, "Jabbiif dubbii maraa hindhawatan" jedhe. Amma gurbaan eega cokamee, waan firrillee, waan keessillee beekuuf, gara araaraatiif gara dubbii deema jaarsi. (L-520-4).

: *Now I gave you, hear what I say. Now the facilitators had finished the hearing phase, hear what I say. The hearing also shall stop somewhere, hear what I say. Now the boy {husband} had presented his case. We- One shall not complicate the process of mediation by repeating issues as one shall not tie a calf with repeated knots” as the saying goes. Now once the boy has presented his case and since the relatives {the elders} also know the secret, the elders will get to the discussion and the reconciliation...(L-511-516)*

The above excerpt reveals that in *Opening the Floor for Discussion* move, the ME first summarized the themes of the disputants’ stories, announced the completion of the Hearing Phase, and then requested the elders to give their comments. But in some of the recorded JSs, the facilitators revised and approved the final decision that the ME made at the end of the preceding phase and invited the ME to start the *Discussion phase*. The following excerpt from Case 5 illustrates this.

1 Qu: Koottaa	<Come>
2 Qw: Koottaa	<Come>
3 Qu: Maal naa kaaye	What has he put for me {he decided}
4 Qw: Maarree jaarsi wal-argataa naa kaayee,	He decided that the elders meet for discussion.
5 Qu: Umm	Umm (space filler)
6 Qw: Dhamti narraa kaatii naa kaaye.	He decided that the disputants leave the session.
7 Qu: Akkasii sii galuu?...galuu?... Siigalaa.	Shall I approve that...shall I approve.... I approve it.
8 Qw: Alaa gala	Go home safely.
9 Qu: Tiyya moo ree ta aaboti?	Shall I proceed or wait for or the father {the ME} to start?
10 Qw: Ta aaboti	Wait for the father.
11 JW: Amma sii kennee argadhu. Toltuu sii haakennu argadhu. Arsiin kuuwwan homaa garaa hinqabuu argadhu. Dubbiin teetii argadhu. Situ garaa qabaa argadhu. Nama kee situ beekaa argadhu... [El: Nagungumsiisaa], Koottaa.	Now I gave you, hear. May He give you the best. You know the case, hear what I say. You know everything about it. You know your people, hear what I say... [El: Allow me to talk] Come please.

(C5, Ca2-S1, 3-4’).

In the above dialogue, *Qu* asked “Maal naa kaaye?” ‘What did he give me?’, to make *Qw* summarize the decision of the ME. Then, the *Qw* summarized the decision (L- 4, 6). Then as usual *Qu* approved the decision (7), and *Qw* gave his blessing (8). Following this, facilitators invited the ME to start the next Phase (L-9-10). Then, the ME started the *Discussion Phase* by *Opening the Floor for the Discussion* move (11). With this, the second move of the Discussion Phase started.

As indicated in Table 6.3, *Discussing the issue* move involves three steps. The first step is *Requesting for a Turn*. The elders requested for a turn by saying, “Nagungumsiisaa” or “Gunguma nafuudhaa (wayyoom)” ‘Allow me to speak (your honor)’. Then the ME allocated turns by saying “Koottaa” ‘come’ (honrific). *Gunguma* literally mean

‘murmuring or speaking softly’ refers to expressing ones opinion or feelings gently. The term *koottaa* ‘come’ on the other hand, indicates the fact that the idea of the turn taker was directed towards the ME. Sometimes the elders also used the expression “Sitti gungume” ‘I speak to you (ME)’ repeatedly. Such expression positions the ME as an authority in charge of controlling the session and making decisions.

Although there could be some variations among individuals, the speech of the elders at this stage usually involves four micro moves: *Blessing/praying for reconciliation (m-Move 1)*, *Commenting on disputants’ idea/action (m-Move 2)*, *Giving Personal information about the dispute and disputant (m-Move 3)*, *Proposing solutions (m-Move 4)*. First, the elders gave their blessing and prayed to express their wish that the reconciliation of the two sides come real. Next, they commented on the disputants’ ideas. They proved or disproved what the disputants said, and sometimes blamed them. Then they gave some additional personal information about the disputants and the causes for their disputes. Finally, they propose some solutions. The following excerpts from the recorded JSs illustrate the linguistic features of these micro moves.

Case 1

EHs: Rabbi Arsii tana haa araarsu. Nullee dhugaa haa dubbisu (**m-Move 1**). Amma dubbii tana mucattii gaafanneerra. Mucallee gaafanneera. Wanti mucattiin himatte mulummaan isaatuu dhugaa naffakkata, dhugaa. Miidhamnni isiillee dhugaa, daarri isiillee dhugaa (**m-Move 2**).Hinbaafne. Raaddi gurguramuu hafte, boqqollaa geenna je'anii. Boqqollaan suni gurguramee hinbaafne . Gisee eeggadha jedhan isii lamuu duwwama, dhugaa qabdi. () Sa'allee osoo itti iyyinu oofeera(**m-Move 3**). Dhugaa qabdi. Mucattiin dhugaa qabdi achitillee. Anii () Rakinni isii muldhataa jira. Ani gungume. Rakkina kana, amma irraa fooyyessa yoo jedhe, mannillee, garaanillee abbaanillee hindhufaa, ani gungume. Nu akka gara kiyyaatiin, irraa fooyyessinaa. Saanillee ka isiit ta'aa. Daarrillee ka'isiit ta'aa. Bootaa qabataa (**m-Move 4**). (L-529-538).

: May God reconcile these Arsi [disputants]. May God make us speak the truth as well (m-Move 1). Now we have already asked the girl. We have also asked the boy. What the girl has told us all seem to be true. It is true. Her problem is true (m-Move 2). The issue of her clothes is also true. He didn't buy her. He said that he was to sell the maize instead of the heifer. The maize was not sold and her clothes were not bought. He said he was waiting for the raising of the price of the maize, but nothing happened. He also moved the cow against our advice (m-Move 3). The girl deserves the truth there as well. Now her problems have been revealed. I say/murmur, if we have to solve her problem, the whole session, the relatives, the father may come in here. I personally feel her problems will be solved. The cows will be given to her. Everything will take its place. All her rights will be respected. (m-Move 4) (L- 518-527).

In the above excerpt, the speaker (from the husband clan) first started with blessing and prayer. Blessing of course is commonly used in the Reconciliation Phase of JD; in the presence of disputants to persuade them to come to reconciliation. After blessing the disputants, the speaker commented on what the wife had said. He approved that what the wife had said: ‘What the ‘girl’ [wife] told us are all seem to be true. It is true’. Her problem is true.” Following that, the speaker told the session some fact he know about the husband or the issue at hand: “He also moved the cow against our advice.” And finally, he proposed some solution. Here the elder of the husband’s side used expressions “*I personally feel her problems will be solved. The cows will be given to her. Everything will take its place. All her rights will be respected*” in his attempt to make promise on behalf of the husband to solve the wife’s problems. Yet, he used passive construction “will be” to disguise the agency and tactfully refrain from taking responsibility to solve the problem. The above micro moves may sometimes overlap or reappear or another move comes in between. In the speeches they made towards the beginning of the

Discussion phase, the elders of the wife side in Case 2 asked question at the third micro move. The following excerpt illustrates these variations.

El: Ani gungume. Rabbi dubbii kana haa araarsu gungume (**Blessing**)... Amma qaaqa kanaa, tana durallee teennee jirraa. Haa teennuu araarsinnee gallee. Akkuma hardhaa kana himatan gaafa sanillee. Haga lafaa kanallee, haga horii kanallee. Yoo himatanii jedhanii sirreessaa waan kana jennee. Horii wayiillee bichisiisiif jennee itti hinkenninee abbaa Md tti?...(**Giving personal information**).Yoo akka isiin himattuu garaa nunyaateeraa. Beela'ee gaggabe yoo jettu. Kooboona naa qican yoo jettu... Maal ashkaraa? (Ca1-S1-44-45')....Mana haadhaatii wamaa nattiin hingaltu ka jedhu, Qaraa haa inni horatuuf itti kennine (**Commenting on disputants idea/action**)... Amma ardaan waan beettan lafa kaayaa (**Requesting for additional information**)... Yoo isiin balleessaa jiratte, doonii dirmi jennee yoo achitti lolleen hoo. Yoo gurbaan waan akkasii ta'eetiin jedhe. Rakkoon keeti jedhamee itti himameetiin jedhe, boruuf hinsirraa Isiinillee boruuf hinsirroofti" (**Proposing solution**) (Ca1-S2- 1-2').

: Here I murmur/say. May God reconcile this case (m-Move 1)... Now this case, we mediated this same case before. We had resolved this issue. They presented the same thing then, the land, the animals. We had told them to improve all these things. We have told Md's [abbrivation for name] father {EHs} to buy some cattle for her {wife} (m-Move 2). What she told us today has really disappointed us. When she said "I was starved to death". When she said "I was given a ration"> Why? Is she his servant?... He {Hs} said, "She did not bring anything from her mother's home". Was he not supposed to fulfill her needs? (m-Move 3) . Now ardaa (EHs) tell us what you know about this problem, (request for additional information)... If she is causing the problem, what if we advise and warn her not to do the same. Similarly if the boy {husband} is creating the same, and if we will tell him his weakness openly, he will improve for the future. She will also improve herself for the future (m-Move 4)

In the above excerpt, the speaker first gave his blessing. Then he gave personal information about the previous dispute of the couples and the solutions forwarded at that time. Following that, he commented on what the couples said and did. Then he requested the *ardaa* 'the elders of the husband side' to give him additional information. This, of course, is a part of the solution that he finally proposed.

Discussing the issue move continued until all or most of the elders of the session came to agreement. Usually the ME allows the participants of the session to discuss for a reasonable period. Towards the end or somewhere in the middle of the move, the ME inserted *Revising and Redirecting the discussion* move. This move allows the ME summarizes the themes of the speeches of the previous speakers and redirects the discussion towards a common theme. This move is illustrated by the following excerpts from Case 1:

JW: Nu amma garri deemaa jirru, gara araaraa jidduu deemaarra. Daawween mucaa kiyya danda'adhee. Waan amma odeessitan, waan himtan kana muluu irraa deeffadheera. Mucaan asitti dhiisii miti. Ani Daawwee gurraachi danda'ee dhufee. Mucaa kiyya qajeelchee dhufee. Ka addaan nuu baasaa qabeenna keenna mucattiin addaan nuufoowaa jettu, dhoogganneera nu'uu. Qabeenni keenna, ka mucaa keennaa, ka'intala teennaa adda hinbahuu. "Akkana taanee dhufnee jirraa", Daawweerraa caqasa ani. Waan kana balleesse, waan kana hujeen, nuun alaa. Danda'annee dhufneerra. Gabaabamatti dandeennee nu Daawween dhufneerraa, Heebano intala teenna nutti as kennaa... Nu gara araaraa deemna... Garri Heebanollee, yoo waan badii qara uuman. Yoo waan balleessanirraa deebi'ani {dhirsi}, mucattii eessa finna, galchaa jirraa, Isinii galchinaa jedheetii Heebanollee yookiin dubbataa. (L- 790-809).

: *Now we are going to the reconciliation of the two sides. I want Dawwe {husband's side} to say "Ok I can handle my son. I will stop him doing all the things that were mentioned here." That is what I want you to say. You are not required to warn your son here. The request that the girl has presented for the sharing of the properties {of spouses'}, we refused her that. Our properties, the properties of our son and that of our daughter won't be separated. Now what I want to hear from Dawwe is "Here we have come with this solution." Blaming the boy here has no use. I want you to say in short "Here we came here convincing our son to refrain from all what he had been doing. I had already controlled him. I want you to say "So Heebano please give us back our girl {wife}"... Now we are going to the araara 'reconciliation'. The Hebanos {wife's family} also may say "If they can handle their son and stop him from doing those faults, we will give them back the girl" Now I will give chance for Heebano {wife's elders} (L-793-811).*

In the above excerpt, the ME directed the elders to go to the next phase. He politely pushed the elders of both sides to conclude their debate and discussion and move to *araara* ‘reconciliation’. For example, he used expressions of modality and hedging such as “*Now we are going to the reconciliation... what I want to hear from Dawe (husband’s side)...I want you to say...*” to politely redirect the elders of the husband side towards reconciliation. Similarly he used the expression “*The Hebanos [wife’s family] also may say*” to politely persuade the elders of the wife side to accept the reconciliation. Here the ME proposed his solution without threatening the face of both sides.

During spousal dispute mediations, the ME also utilized *Revising and Redirecting* move to balance the turns between the two sides. Scholars suggest reformulating or restating as strategies that can be used by mediators to clean emotionally loaded expressions, emphasize areas of common interest, and put issues according to their order of importance (Haynes, 1992; Roberts, 2008; Wade, 1996). According to the local elders and my observation, if there are some opposite or competing ideas during the discussion, the ME also persuades either of the two sides to accept the other’s idea. He does not propose decisions until the whole session arrives at some consensus. If the competition between the two sides continues for a long time, the ME postpones the discussion for another day. For instance, in Case 3, some of the elders suggested separating the couples as a final solution whereas the other side insisted on reconciling them. After the two sides debated for a long time, the ME postponed the discussion as follows:

ME: Sii kennee argadhu. Toltuu Rabbi sii haa kennuu argadhu. Ijoo qaaqaa amma funyaaniin itti nam’itaniirtan jechuu argadhu... akka wali jiffannu, kana dura gisee sadi, gisee afur araarsee, araarri suni fiixa bayeera. Waa araaruma sanitti deebinee aaarsinaallee yoo ka jettuu, wali haa jiffannuu barabaada jedhe jechuu argadhu. Wa’aa, warri kuni salphinna wayiiti na’oofa, naaf Jawaara jiddu waa galcha, warra

kanaa ani haxirii wayii buusa yoo kajettuu. Dubbiin tanuma lamaani tabiraa hinjirtu jedhe jechuu aragadhu. Isii lamaan tana lafti dhaqan fatoo hintaane, diinni itti dhaqan kasoo hintaane jedhe jechuu ardadhu. Aduu laali. Aduu laali keessummaa narra jirtullee laali... kanaafuu qaba itti qabanneeti ganamaan itti namineetii mala warra kanaa goona. (Ca3-S 2- 9').

: I gave you, hear what I say. May God give you the best. Now you have come straight to the core point, hear what I say. To come to consensus, if you say "I had reconciled them several times before and that was successful, so we will reconcile them again" or if you say, "no I shall separate this couple is taking us to the worst and create trouble between the two clans". These are the two points, hear what I say. Now as the saying goes "the destination is not that close and the enemies are not that weak". Look at the sun. Consider also my guests here... So we will postpone it and solve the problem of this family next time.

When all or the majority of the elders in the session come to similar conclusion, the ME summarizes the proposed solutions and proposes a decision. But again sometimes the elders of one side request for a caucus before the final decision is made to see the opinion of the disputants. *Requesting for a Caucus* move is an optional move which occurs on conditions when there are some disagreements between the elders of the two sides or when a disputant object to the elders decisions.

After making sure that the whole session arrived at same decision, the ME requests the facilitators to summon the disputants and tell them the elders' decisions. With this, the Discussion Phase of JD ends. The ME in Case 3 concluded the discussion phase as follows:

ME:...Amma dubbi argadhu. Dubbii isinuu ansaaddanii jirtanii argadhu. Mucaan kuni ganama hinbooyaa, galgala hinbooyaa ... laftillee tama haadha isaati. Qayeenillee kama haadha isaati...Amma dubbii argadhu. Amma GA asdeebiftaa argadhu. Murtii amma itti himnaa argadhu, amma isa fincaan kaafne itti himna jechuu argadhu. **Gu** (father) as haa deebi'u (Ca1-S2-41').

: Now the discussion, hear what I say. You{the elders of the session} have already digested the issue, hear what I say. This boy is crying day and night. This land also belongs to his mother. This home also belongs to his mother. Now this case, hear what I say. Now you call back GU, hear what I say. We will tell him these decisions, hear what I say. Now we call back those who were sent for urine {short stay away from the session}. Now let GU come back...

In the above excerpt, the ME, summarized what the elders had said, citing the elders word as evidence “dubbii isinuu ansaaddanii jirtan” ‘you have already digested the issue in your discussion’. He also indicated the fact that the son was a victim and deserves what he claimed. After he made such conclusions, he decided to call back first the father and tell him the decision.

To summarize, the communication in the *Discussion ‘Gunguma’ Phase* of JD is often characterized by approving/ disproving what the disputants have said, blaming disputants, requesting for explanation, giving additional information that may help in making decision, proposing solutions, and debating over the solutions. In the case of spousal dispute, the way the elders of the two sides position each other or construct each other in this phase has strong impact on the outcome of the mediation because the elders often speak and decide on behalf of the couples. Sometimes, the last move of this phase overlaps with the opening move of next phase, the reconciliation, especially when elders conduct the discussion in the presence of the disputants. However, the communicative moves of the two phases have different purposes.

6.4.4 The Reconciliation Phase [Araara]

The *Reconciliation Phase* of JD is a very important phase which demands effective communication or persuasion skills on the part of the elders. The mediation skill of the elders is tested at this phase. As shown in Table 6.4 below, this phase involves up to nine moves some of which are optional and cyclical.

Table 6.4. The moves and steps of the Reconciliation Phase of JD.

Speaker	Moves and Steps
ME	Move 1 -Ordering QL to tell the decision to disputant
QL	Move 2 -Conveying the decision to disputants
DS	Move 3 -Accepting or objecting to decisions
DS	Move A1 - Accepting the decision
Els	Move A2- Giving blessing
DS	Move B - Objecting to decision
Els	Move 4 - Persuading the disputants
DS	Move 5 - Accepting decision
Els	Move 6 - Blessing the disputant
ME	Move 7 - Declaring the reconciliation ‘araara’
QL	Move 8 - Approving the reconciliation
Els	Move 9 - Praying and Blessing
Els+DS	Move 10 - Consolidating the reconciliation

As indicated in the above table, the first move in the Reconciliation Phase of JD is *Ordering QL to tell the decision to disputants*. After making final decisions in line with the interest and opinion of all the elders of the session, and summoning disputants, the ME orders the facilitators to convey the decisions to disputants. The proposed decisions are often told to the disputants by one of facilitators. This is illustrated in the following excerpt taken from Case 3:

ME : ...Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Nama eega fincaan kaasanii dhama lamaan cokanii jedhanii, ummee ammbaatti abbaa cokaan san itti himan jechuu argadhu... amma qortuun hinqortii qorumaan waan yaani murteesse jedhe itti himanii argadhu. Humni keenna qortuu lamaan irraa ka'a jechuu argadhu (Ca1-S2-42-43').

: Now I gave you, hear what I say. Now according to the norm of the society, if one is sent for urine from a session, one will be summoned back to the session and be told the decision. Now the facilitators will start and tell the disputants what this session has decided, hear what I say. Our power emanates from the two facilitators, hear what I say.

In the above excerpt, the ME first stated the fact that if one is sent away for *fincaan* 'urine' he/she will be told about the outcome of the elders' discussion. In his expression "*waan yaani murteesse*" 'what has been decided by the session' the speaker wanted to indicate that the fact that the decision was unanimously made by the elders of the session. This could be considered as one strategy that elders employ to convince disputants accept the decision. Once the ME makes the request, the facilitators start to tell the decision in a very polite and persuasive manner. In the case of spousal dispute mediation, usually the elders of the husband side forwards the solution and politely request elders of the wife side to give them back the wife. The following excerpts from Case 1 and Case 2 illustrates this fact.

Case 1

EHs: "Ani gungume [Jw: Gabaabsaa] ani gungume; ani gaafuu gabaasa .Rabbi Arsii kana haa'araarsuu. () Dubbiinii, Heebanollee dhugaa qaba. Namatu bayee. Namatu biraan bayee. Mucattilleen Dhugama qabdi. Amma mucattii naa kennitaa." (L-812-814).

: Now I murmur. [JW: Make it short]. Now I murmur. I always speak in short. May God reconcile these Arsis {spouses}. Now Hebano deserves the truth. Someone has come to him. The girl also deserves the truth. Now you will give me back the girl (L-816-819)

HBr: ... Maarree Rabbi haa araarsu. [[Els: Eee haa araarsu]] Nu dubbii tana- Mucattiin dhugaa qabdi. Heebanollee dhugama qaba... () Amma mucattii naa galchi, Heebano. Dugaa qabdaa. Haaganaa naa kennaa. Waraqata, waan seerri jedhee, amma waliin hojjanna. Gaafa guyyaa beellamaa hingalchina. Mucattii naaf galchi. Mucattii naa galchaa. (L-824-829)

: ...*Ok , May God bring reconciliation. [[Els: May he bring it]] Now, this issue, the girl [wife] deserves the truth. Hebano [wife's clan] also deserves the truth. ...Now give me back the girl. We will control our son. We have controlled him [[El: yes say we have controlled him]]. We had already put him under our control. We will sign the agreement and send it back. Now give me back the girl...(L-815-819).*

In the above excerpts, the elders of the husband side used various strategies to persuade the elders of the wife side to give them back the wife. For instance they clearly admitted that the husband is the victor by giving *dhugaa* 'truth' for the wife and the elders of her side: “*Now Hebano deserves the truth... The girl also deserves the truth*”. The elders also politely requested the elders of the wife side to give them back the wife promising that they will stop the husband from creating the same problem and fulfill the demands of the wife. Giving *dhugaa* ‘truth’ by the elders of the husband seems to have pacified the elders of the wife side as the focuses of their discourse changed right after that.

In response to the provision of *dhugaa* by the husband side, the elders of the wife side stopped their accusation and complaints and started to talk about the reconciliation and future relationship of the spouses. They started giving advice for the couples and expressing how much they care for the wellbeing of the couple. For instance, to express their positive feeling for the betterment of the couple, the father of the wife and her brother in Case 1 stated that they even requested the husband to come to their place and take a plot of land to plough.

WBr: Gisee baay'ee yaaleera. Anuu yaaleera mucaa kana, addatti "koottuu, nuttuu koottu. Qotadhu. Lafa kottaa nu'uu hinkennaarraa koottu keennaa mucaannana qotadhuu" jennee ofi waamnee, dhabnee dhiifneerra. *Baqqaa* Maaliif? Jiruu isaanii haafoyyeffataniif malee haa ka achi qotan san nu nyaachufii miti... (L-904-908)

: *(I have personally tried convincing this boy. I said to him "Come to us. Come and we will give plot of land you plough. We are giving it to many others. Come and plough, you boy" he refused. Why did I call him? I want them to improve their life not to take what they produce... (L-907-910)*

WFa: Nu amma daa'immanirraa isiin haabaatuuf, isa biraa isiin haa deemtuuf hinjaalanne. Akka finna kiyyaatti laala ani. Ilmaan ani qabullee isaani je'ee. Namnni nahoratullee, namni ammaa nagargaarullee; karaa tokkoon namni nagargaaree, ilmaan naata'ee na *daggafullee*, adoo ani rakkadhee, adoon ko'oomee namnni nagargaaru isaani je'ee yaada. Isaanittuu hirkachuu kajeeleeyyu (L-964-969)

: *(Now we didn't want her to run away from her children, we didn't want her to run away from him. I consider them as my children. I felt that they are the children I have. The one who may help me, who support me, who can support me like my children when I face some problem. I wanted to rely on them... (L-963-966).*

The discourse of the elders in the above excerpts also shifted from blaming to shaping the future life of the spouses. They started giving advices to the spouses. For instance, the ME in Case 1 gave the following advice to the spouses concerning the way they should lead their social life and the way they should use their common property.

Jw: ... Atillee warra kee waliin bulta. Isiinillee warra isii waliin bultii. Yoo warra san ka ati jibbituu, akki itti bulan hinjjiru. Hinjibbin. Atillee warra kee ofirraa hindhiibin. Hojja hinjabaatan, hojja hinmisan; "Hojjambeekan" jedhe qaraa jaarsi.(L-1062-5)

:*So you live with your parents, she also lives with her parents. If you hate her parents, it will be difficult for her. Don't hate them. Don't push your parents away. One can't stand alone. One can't develop alone. As the elders say "One can't be knowledgeable without the others".... (L-1068-1071)*

One of the elders of the husband side in Case 2 also made the following appeal to the elders of the wife side:

EHS: Amma gungume. Wanti irra waldhabaa jirru wama lafaa malee want biraa hinjiruu... Ammallee hin argineefii, gungume... guutee hanqatee tilmaama lafaa bakkuma duraa sani gadi dhaabnaafii jedheeraafii, gungume... Amma akka isaanillee hindhaabbanne, akka isinillee indheebonne, tilmaama duraa sanittuu dhaabaafii jedheeraa, gunngume. Kana argineefii, asitti haa araarsinuu... warra keenna akkanaa nuu galchaa... kanaan amma mucattiin araarami gali jedhaa. Nullee mucaa qabnee isinillee isii nuu qabaa (Ca 4-S1-42-44’).

: Now I murmur. The issue of land is the only cause of our dispute... We have found her again, I murmur. He agreed to give her the plots that he had promised to give her, I murmur. In order not to bother himself and you, he agreed to give her the previous amount of land, I murmur. We have found her this. So let us reconcile them... You our family {to Ewf}, please give us the girl with this. Tell her to accept the reconciliation and come back with this. We have convinced the boy. So you also convince the girl please.

The central issue of the debate of the elders of the two sides in Case 2 was the issue of a plot of land that had been given to the wife, but later denied by the husband. Here the elders of the wife side requested the elders of the husband side to return the land and take back the wife. The speaker in the above excerpt, one of the elders from the husband side, was telling this information to the session after holding caucus with the husband. He told the elders that he had convinced the husband to return the plot back to the wife and then requested the elders of the wife side to return the wife. The polite and persuasive expression “warra keenna, nuugalchaa” ‘our family, please give us back the wife’ indicate that the requested elders are in charge of making decision on behalf of the wife. The speaker also used the pronoun ‘our’ to show the solidarity of the two sides and persuade them to accept the decision. In short, like the elders in Case 1 above, the elders

of the wife side in Case 2, shifted their discourse from blaming to advising and strengthening relationship between the two clans.

After they are told the decision, disputants may accept or resist the decisions proposed by the elders. If they accept the decision, a *Blessing Move* starts. The elders of the session will give them their blessing in chorus. But if the disputant resist the decisions, *Persuading move* follows. The elders use different strategies to make disputants accept decisions. They beg them or sometimes warn them with possible negative consequences. A detail discussion of the persuasive discourse strategies that the elders employed in reconciling disputants is given in the next section of the chapter. Most of the time, disputants do not accept the decision immediately. But eventually after long persuasion work, the disputants accept the decision of the elders. Disputants usually express their agreement in words. When a disputant accepts the decision of the elders, the elders of the session give him their blessing. The following excerpts from Case 2 and Case 3 provides the linguistic realization of the *Blessing Move* in JD.

Case 2

Ewf: ...Amma isinillee fudhatteertii. Isinitti gore jetteertii. Baarii bayeefillee, Edamannaafillee, haga fedhe yoo garaa nanyaate, ani isini gore. Isin jalaa garri dhaqu hinjiru jetterti.

: *Now she also accepted the decision. She agreed to accept what we say. “For this Bari {Ewf} for Edamana {EHs} who came out her, no matter how unhappy I am, I accept what you have said. I have nowhere to go,” she said.*

ME: ... Isinillee, isii nutti gortellee haa ulfaattu.

: *May you {Ewf} and the girl also be blessed for accepting our decision.*

Els: Eee haa ulfaattu

: *May She be blessed.*

ME: Waaqni firii kanallee jiddhuu kana haa fidu.

: *May God help this couple bear children.*

Els: Haa fidu

: *May help them (Ca 4-S 2-17")*

Case 3

ME: Ishii jedhe nuu fudhadhu

: *Say "Yes" and accept what we say.*

Ds: Buukiin kuni hinqayyarama jettanii mii?...Maarree xuruudhaa.

: *Are you saying that this document can be changed? ... If that is so, I accept your decision.*

Els:[[Rabbi sii haa kennu... Rabbis sii haa kennu... Rabbi sii ha kennu

: *May God bless you... May God bless you... May god bless you.*

(Ca 2-S 2, 6')

In both cases, the disputants accepted the decision after a long period of persuasion. In Case 2, the wife's consent was reported by one of the elders of her side although she was physically there. Then the elders gave her their blessing in chorus. In Case 3, the father accepted the elders' decision personally. Then several elders including the ME gave him their blessing in overlapped turns.

Once the disputant accepts the decisions and given the elders' blessing, the ME summarizes and announces the outcome of the mediation and orders the facilitators to scrutinize and approve the decisions. In Case 1, the middle elder clearly stated that the case has been resolved. He also indicated that the wife will go back to her husband and the agreement will be signed. Finally he uttered "Kennee laalladhu" 'comment on what I gave you' to request the facilitators approve the decisions made (*see Appendix, 1038-1045, Eng. Vern*). Then in line with the request of the middle elder, the facilitators summarized and approved the decisions (L-1129-1138).

Qu: Koottaa	<i>Come,</i>
Qw: Koottaa {Dhufe}	<i>Come {Here I come}</i>
QU: Waa naa kaa'e moo akkanaa irraa bu'e?	<i>Did he give me something or left the stage without giving me anything?</i>
QW: Waa naa kaaye	<i>He gave me something.</i>
QU: Maal naa kaaye?	<i>What did he give me?</i>
QW: Dubbii araara naa kaaye,	<i>He gave me reconciliation</i>
QU: Umm	<i>Ummm</i>
QW: Araara wili hinalchannii naa Kaaye	<i>He gave me that the agreement for reconciliation will be signed</i>

After they completed approving the decision, one of the facilitators *Qu*, uttered “Itti guutaa amma” (L-1073) ‘make it full/complete” to remind the ME give blessing and prayer. The request ‘make it full’ implies that a JS without the final blessing and prayer is incomplete. Then the ME and one elder from the wife’s side led the final prayer *and Blessing Move* (L-1047-1145). Through their prayer, the elders requested Waaqa 'God' to make the *araara* 'reconciliation' of the spouses last longer: “Araara harka walqabate kana addaan baha dhoowi” (L-1081) 'May God keeps these hands which held each other in reconciliation together forever'. During the prayer, all the participants of the session hold each other's hand in circle as a symbol of *araara* 'reconciliation' between the two parties. In most of the recorded sessions, even in postponed cases, elders conclude the day’s session with prayer and blessing.

The *Prayer/Blessing Move* of the Reconciliation Phase is often followed by *Consolidating the Reconciliation* move, the last move in this phase. Most of the activities in this move are non-verbal rituals or symbolic actions. For instance, in some cases, the elders make disputants to hug or kiss each other’s shoulder. In Case 3, for instance, the son was made to kiss his father’s shoulder and head. The father in return spat on the

palms of the son as a sign of forgiveness. Similarly, in Case 6, a boy who had been accused of insulting his neighbor was made to kiss the heads and shoulders of the neighbor and the neighbor also forgave him by spiting *duuloo* “local drink made from honey and water’ on his palms and armpits. In the case of spousal dispute mediation, however, the couples were not asked to kiss each other. Instead, they were made to drink from the same container through a ritual called *duuloo dhibasuu*. In the traditional process of *duuloo dhibaasuu*, first the drink is filled into a container and given to the senior elder who mediated the case. The elder then pick up the container and spill a little amount on the ground three times. While spilling the *duuloo*, the elderly repeatedly say "Lafti dhagahi" 'You Earth listen '. Then, the elders put the drink in a small container, sip a little amount and spray it out to the sky and say "Waaqni dhagahi" "God hear us". After that, the two parties are made to take sips from the same container turn by turn, first the victim and then the victor. The whole process is called *duuloo dhibaasuu* 'drinking for peace'.

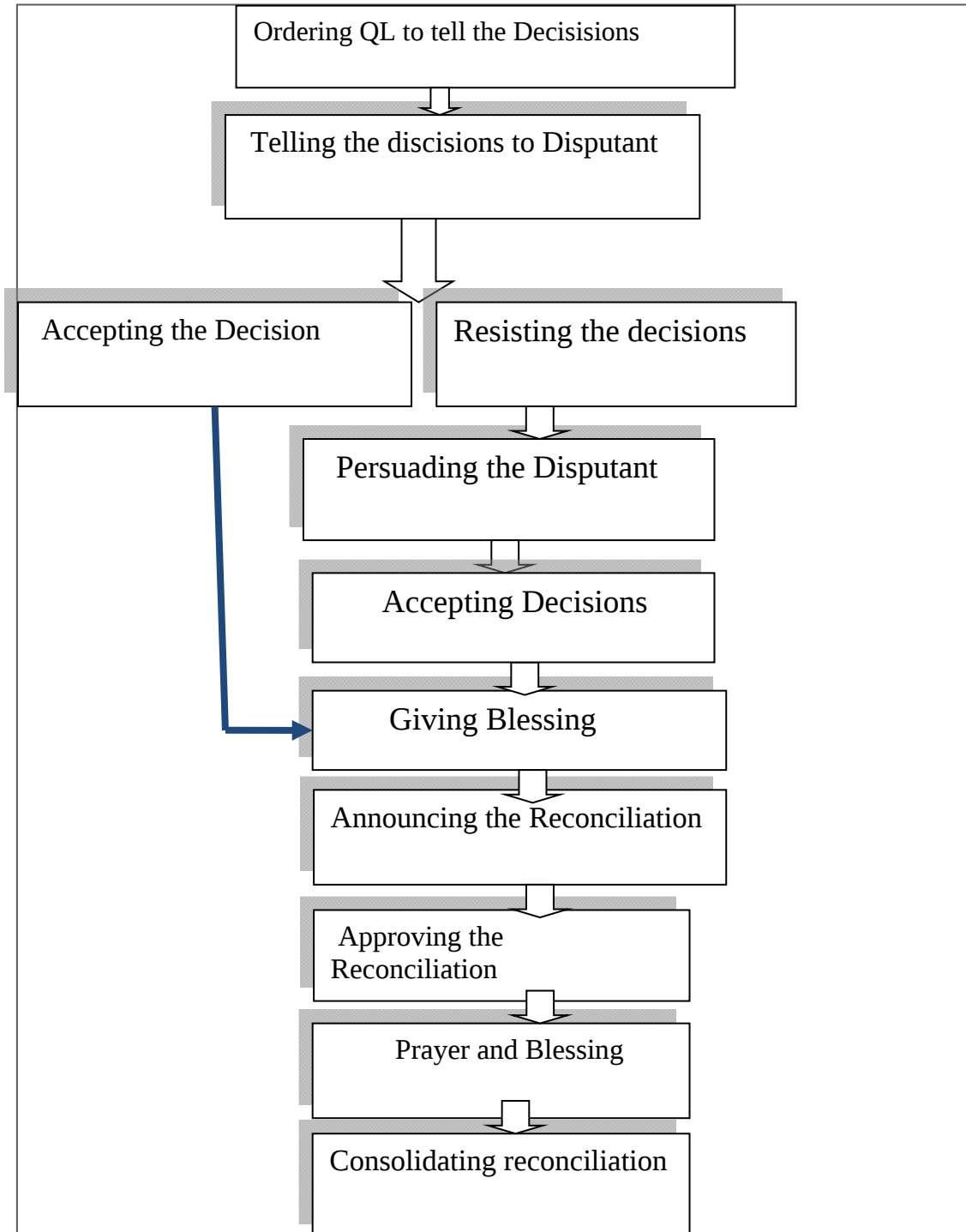
In Case 1, the husband was requested to bring the *duuloo*. Then he gave 100 ETB for *duuloo*. Soft drink was bought for the elders with this money from a nearby grocery. The middle elder picked up a full bottle of soft drink, spilled little amount to the ground and called the spouses one by one, first the wife then the husband, to have sips from the same bottle. Drinking from the same container here symbolizes the reunion of the two according to the local elders.

Similarly, in Case 2, after the session of *Jaarsummaa* was completed, the husband took all the elders to the nearby restaurant and invited them dinner. There one of the elders of

the husband side opened his soft drink and made the couples to take sips from the same bottle. The man was also blessing the couples while doing so. Every person who had been invited to the dinner gave their blessing for the couples, when they left the restaurant after dinner. In short, the whole effort of the elders in the last move of the Reconciliation Phase is to consolidate the reunion of the two sides.

To summarize, the communication in this phase of *jaarsumaa* often emphasizes giving *dhugaa* 'truth' and rebuilding the future relationship of the disputants. The elders reframe the conflict stories to help the two parties understand each other. They focus on the discourse of care and relationship. The discourses of blame and accusation which prevail in the second phase of JD are often discouraged and replaced by the discourse of needs and relationships. The elders began to talk about what the disputants should do for the future. They give advices and persuade the disputants to accept the decisions, and give them blessing.

Fig. 6.1 . The moves in the Reconciliation Phase of JD.



6.4.5 Discussion and Summary

As it is revealed in the preceding analysis, the *jaarsummaa* discourse genre in Arsi Oromo consists of four phases: *opening* “Dubbi kaasuu”, *hearing* “Coka”, *discussion* “Gunguma” and *reconciliation* “araara” which occur in a sequential order. These phases involve several moves some of which are further articulated into some steps. The boundaries of these phases and moves are often marked by change in topic of discussion, the speakers, and sometimes styles of speech.

The Opening phase, which is dominated by question-answer dialogue of the facilitators, involves four moves: *prayer/blessing*, *getting started*, *reconciling facilitators*, and *transiting to hearing phase*. The *prayer/blessing* move, which was sometimes optional, serves for creating a good mood for the *jaarsummaa* process. Through their prayer and blessing, the elders, call for divine intervention in the process of settling the dispute. Such strategy, according to Duke (1990), helps induce feelings of empathy and peace by suppressing anger and resentment. In the *getting started* move, which commences with the order of the middle elder, the facilitators introduce the type of the day’s case, take attendance, and debate over beginning the *jaarsummaa*. The debate of the facilitators mainly serves two communicative purposes: to identify the ME or decision maker of the session and symbolize the presence of a dispute or disagreement.

After the facilitators debate for a while, the middle elder comes in and requests them for reconciliation. Then the facilitators accept the request and listen to the reconciliatory decision of the middle elder. Following this, come the *giving reconciliatory decisions* step which is accomplished by the ME. The facilitators go to the *approving*

reconciliatory decision, a step which concludes the *Reconciling Facilitators* move. The reconciliation of the facilitators has communicative purpose of forecasting and encouraging the reconciliation of the disputants. The next move in the Opening Phase is *transiting to hearing phase* move which is further articulated into four steps: *getting permission of the ME*, *ordering the facilitators to start*, *debating over turns* and *requesting disputant to start* occurring sequentially. To obtain the permission of the ME in the first step, facilitators politely invite the ME to start the day's session. But the ME gives his blessing for the facilitators and orders them to start the hearing session. Then the facilitators debate for a short time over who should take the first turn in the next phase, but usually one of the facilitators from the senior clan (Qu) starts the hearing phase by requesting the plaintiff to present his/her case. With this, the Opening Phase ends and the Hearing phase starts. Rhetorically, the Opening Phase is characterized by question-answer dialogues and debates which is carried out in rhythmical style. The communicative purposes of the moves and the steps in the Opening phase could be summed as clearing the ground or creating positive atmosphere for the next phases of *Jaarsummaa*.

The second phase of JD, the Hearing Phase, is also realized through six moves: *presenting case by plaintiff*, *questioning the plaintiff*, *turning to defendant*, *presenting case by defendant*, *questioning the defendant* and *transiting to the discussion phase*. In the first move, plaintiffs are given sufficient time to narrate his/her conflict stories. Then the elders of the session pose questions which aim at eliciting additional information in a polite manner. In this move, the elders employ leading questions which provide options for disputants. According to Wolski (2002: 16) such type of questions are useful in

“suggesting ideas and possible answers” at a time. The elders categorically avoid cross-examining questions that may trigger disputants. Once they are finished with the plaintiff, the facilitators hold a short dialogue in the *turning to the defendant* move and request the defendant to present his/her case. The *presenting of case by the defendant* move is followed by *questioning the defendant* move.

Having elicited the required information from the defendant in the way they did with the plaintiff, the facilitators take the session to *transiting to discussion phase* move. In this move, the facilitators first announce the end of the hearing phase and politely request the ME to start the discussion session. Then the ME decides on the beginning of the next phase and orders the disputants to leave the session for some time. In two of the recorded cases, the facilitators concluded this phase by approving the decision of the ME, but this step was optimal in the remaining recorded cases. All moves of the Hearing phase appeared in all newly started *Jaarsummaa* sessions. The communication style of this phase is mainly characterized by narration, questioning, blaming, justifying, denying.

Discussion Phase ‘gunguma/ansaaduu’ is the third phase of JD. This phase also involves six moves: *opening the floor for discussion, discussing the issue, revising and redirecting the discussion, requesting for caucus, revising and proposing final decision, approving the decision*. In this phase, the fourth move, *requesting for a caucus*, is optional. The first move, *opening the floor for discussion*, allows the ME to revise the themes of the preceding phase and declare the beginning of the Discussion Phase. Following this move is *Discussing the issue* move which is relatively the longest move in JD. This move allows the elders to express their opinion about disputants and their conflict stories and

propose solutions. This move is often articulated into three steps: *asking for turn, offering turns, and giving opinion*. In my discussion above, I segmented the speech of each speaker in this move into four micro moves. The speakers often begin their turn with *blessing/prayer* for the reconciliation of disputants or for getting God's help in finding the truth. Then they *comment on* what the disputant have presented, approve, or disprove it, by *giving additional information*. Finally they *propose solutions*.

In the middle of *Discussing the issue* move, the ME occasionally inserts *Revising and redirecting* move to lead the elders discussion towards common direction. *Requesting for caucus* is also another optional move in the Discussion Phase. If the elders want to privately discuss some issue with disputant of their side, they request for caucus. When they come back to the session, the elders are requested by the ME to report the result of their caucus. When the elders come to some consensus finally, the ME proposes solutions in line with the suggestions and opinions of the elders. Then the facilitators conclude the Discussion Phase by scrutinizing/approving the decision of ME, yet this final move is missing from some cases.

The final phase in JD is what I prefer to call a *Reconciliation Phase* or 'araara'. This is a very important and discursively complex phase of JD. The phase involves up to ten moves some of which are optional and some of which are further articulated into steps. The Reconciliation phase starts with ordering the facilitators to tell the decisions to one of the disputant. In spousal dispute mediation cases, the reconciliatory decisions are often forwarded by the elders of the disputant who is found to be a victor. For example, during spousal mediations, the elders of the husband side give *dhugaa* 'truth' for the elders of

the wife side and the wife, and request the later to give them back the wife. Then the requested side may accept or resist the decision. If the requested body accepts the decision, the elders give him/her their blessing. But if the party resists the decisions, the elders start the *persuasion* move. In the *persuasion* move, elders use various discourse strategies to change the disputants mind and make him/her accept the decision. The detail discussion of these strategies is given in the next section of the chapter.

When disputants accept the elders' decisions after long persuasion, the elders give them their blessing and proceed to the next move of the phase. Once disputants accept the decision and given blessing, the ME summarizes the decision and officially declares *araara* 'reconciliation'. Then the facilitators summarize the decision and approve it. Finally, they request the ME and other senior elders to conclude the session with mass prayer and blessing. This will be followed by the *peace consolidation* move which involves various non-verbal ritual practices such as hugging, kissing on one's head and shoulder, spitting on ones palm, eating meal and drinking together.

According to Biber et. al., (2007), moves of a given genre can be categorized as obligatory and optional based on their frequency of occurrence across samples texts of the genre. These two types of moves are often common in dynamic and persuasion oriented texts, according to these scholars. Being a persuasive discourse genre, *jaarummaa*, as discussed above, has moves and steps that commonly occur across all recorded sessions. Most of the moves and their constituent steps discussed so far regularly appear in all JSs. However, there are also optional moves which occur at

different phases of *jaarsummaa* when the situation demands. Below are some of these optional moves.

A. Introducing the Case to New Comer “Barnoota”

Among Arsis, Elders of one’s neighborhood have the right to take part in the *jaarsummaa* session that they come across in their localities. When someone joins *jaarsummaa* session after it is commenced, he requests the ME by saying “Nabarsiisaa” ‘introduce me to the case’. In response to such a request, the ME introduces the case to the person by describing the type of case, the disputants and the activities so far accomplished. This move can occur at any stage except the opening phase of a newly starting *jaarsummaa* session.

B. Giving additional information “Haftuu”

This move can come in the middle of the *Discussion phase* of *jaarsummaa* session. It occurs when one of the disputant feel that there are some important information to tell the elders before they arrive at the final decision. The demand for information may also come from the elders themselves as it had been observed in Case 2. On both occasions, the ME orders the facilitators to elicit the information in the same way they did in the hearing phase. In Case 2, the wife was summoned by the elders to give clarification on some issues.

In general, the phases and moves of JD among Arsi Oromos of the study area are almost ritualized and conventionally agreed upon. The phases, moves, and steps have various communicative purposes and styles. Most of them are also obligatory as they appear in

almost all JSs. The sequences and procedures of the phases, moves and steps are governed by *uume* *ambaa* ‘traditional norms’ or *seera* *ambaa* ‘customary laws’. As I observed in the recorded sessions, whenever they observe some kind of irregularities in the process, the elders express their objections by saying “*uume* *ambaatii* *miti*” ‘it is not in line with the norm/law of the society’ or “*jilbi* *ambaa* *sii* *hin* *eeyyammu*” ‘the rule/law of the society doesn’t allow you’. Therefore, the schematic structure of JD discussed above is not something that accidentally emerges on its own. The elders, especially the middle elders and the facilitators draw on these norms and customs to shape and manage the interaction in the JS.

Such procedural control of *jaarsummaa* has its own contribution towards settling the conflict. For example, it helps the elders to save their time by avoiding unnecessary repetitions. It also helps them limit the issues to be threatened in a session. Several scholars in the field of mediation assert that controlling the procedure of mediation through preventing parties from interrupting each other, allocating turns and time fairly has a profound effect on the content and outcome of mediation (Roberts, 2008; Silbey and Merry, 1986; Wolski, 2002). It can help settle dispute by avoiding one party domination and saving time. The following diagram summarizes the moves of the four phases of JD.

Fig 6.3 Summary of Recurring Moves in the Four Phases of JD.



6.5 Analysis of the Elders' Persuasion Strategies

In this section, I discuss the major discourse strategies that were deployed by community elders to reconcile disputants in the recorded *jaarsummaa* sessions. The analysis of the elders' persuasive discourse strategy which was conducted in line with the three basic strategies of Aristotelian persuasion theory reveals that the community elders of Arsi Oromo use various persuasive discourse strategies among which the following are the common ones.

6.5.1 Making Direct Request

The elders in the recorded JSs made direct requests for the disputants to convince them accept the reconciliatory decisions. According to Aristotelian theory of persuasion, making direct request is categorized as strategy of making emotional appeal (Anthony and Glaskov, 2007). The following excerpts are taken from the recorded JSs to illustrate the elders' use of this strategy.

EHs: Heebanollee dhugaa qaba. Namatu bayee. Namatu biraan bayee. Mucattiilleen dhugama qabdi. Amma mucattii naa kennitaa. Maraa natu liqimsee fixataa. Ilma kiyya gara badaa jirurraa hindhooggaa. Amma naa kennitaa {mucattii}(L- 813-814).

: Hebano [wife's clan] is also right. Some one has come to him for help. The girl also is right. Now you will give me back the girl. I will handle everything. I will correct my son. Now you will give me back [the wife]...(L-815-818)

EHs: ...Amma mucattii naa galchi, Heebano. Dugaa qabdaa. Haaganaa naa kennaa. Waraqata, waan seerri jedhee, amma waliin hojjanna. Gaafa guyyaa beellamaa hingalchina. Mucattii naaf galchi. Mucattii naa galchaa. Mucaa keenna hin danda'annaa. Danda'anneerraa... (L-827- 830).

: Now give me back the girl, you Hebano [girl's clan]. You are right. You will give me the appointment. We will do all that had been decided by the court. We will take the agreement to court together. Give me back the girl. We will handle our son. We have already controlled him...(L-830-2)

In the above two excerpts taken from Case 1, the elders of the husband side made direct request for the elders of the wife side to give them back the wife. The speakers request was also accompanied by some kind of promises and admission of the wrong doing committed by the husband. For instance, both speakers clearly recognized the wife and the elders of her side as victims and the husband as victor by giving *dhugaa* ‘truth’ for the former. Such strategy of showing understanding of disputants problem can help a mediator gain the trust of disputants (Roberts, 2008). The elders of the husband side in Case 2 also made similar request.

EHs: Amma mucattii nuu qabaa. Oolchaa tokkocha saniin haa kennamuu. Mucattii nuu qabaa, mucattiin haa galtuu ... (C2-Ca 3-S2- 24’).

: *Now give us the girl. Let the plot be given to her. Give us back the girl please. Let her go back to her home.*

EHs: ...Amma as nuu dacha’aa. Ibiddi kuni keennaa. Aarinillee turaatuu deemtii, bu’aatuu deemtii. Intala nuu galchaa. Haa horatuu. As nuudeebi’aa araara goonaa...” (C2-Ca 3-S2-28’).

: *Now come back to us [accept what we have proposed]. This fire {the wife} is ours. The anger and emotion [of the wife] will disappear gradually. Give us back the girl. Let her come back [to her home]. Please accept what we are saying. Let us make reconciliation.*

As indicated in the excerpts, the elders of the husband side made direct request for the return of the wife and in the meantime promised to give a plot of land to the wife. The expressions “nuu qabaa” ‘keep her for us’, “nuu dacha’aa” ‘come back to us’ , “nuu galchaa” ‘give us back’, clearly shows the direct request that elders of the husband side made for the return of the wife. These expressions also indirectly position the elders of the wife side as a powerful body with the authority to decide on the fate of the wife. Implied in the request of the above speakers is also the fact that in spousal dispute

mediation, elders speak and decide on behalf of disputants of their side. In Case 3 also, the elders made direct request for the father to accept the elders' decision.

El: ...Hardha yoo nurra qajeelte, Ilmaan tanteeltee wal hinxuqne, ...Murtii warri kan kee sii murteesse kana, fudhadhu. Jaaladhu! (C3-Ca2-S1- 0-1').

: *If you accept and do what we tell you today, your children will not quarrel [over the plot of land]...Accept this decision which is made by your family. Accept it whole heartedly!*

El ...Amma ee jedhaa. Gosallee hindararinaa. Nullee hindararinaa. Yaada keessan ummataa kennaa. Kana [murtii] ee jedhaa. Jaaladhaa... (C3-Ca2-S1- 20').

: *Now say yes. Do not trouble your clan. Do not trouble us as well. Tell your feeling to the gathering [the elders]. Accept this. Accept it whole heartedly.*

The above two speakers in Case 3, openly requested the father to accept the decisions made by the elders. The first speaker also told the advantage that the disputant could gain by accepting the decisions of the elders. The expressions “fudhu” ‘accept it’, “jaaladhu” or jaaladha ‘like it’, “Ee jedhaa” ‘say yes’ clearly indicate the direct request made by the elders to get the consent of the disputant. Making direct request in JD also imply the fact that the decisions could be enacted only after the disputants’ willingness or consent is obtained. As indicated in the excerpts cited above, the elders request is accompanied by some rationales for the disputants to accept the decisions. The first speaker also threatened the father with negative consequences. According to Wolski (2002) such strategy of mediators’ intervention by telling disputants about the advantages and disadvantages of having a certain position is considered as “reality testing”.

6.5.2 Claiming for Impartiality

Scholars claim that impartiality of mediators is one of the major requirements for the success in mediation (Roberts, 2008; Silbey and Merry, 1986). According to Aristotle,

“the character of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief” (Aristotle, 1932, cited in Anthony and Gladkov, 2007:129). In the recorded JSs, the elders had employed various discourse strategies to directly or indirectly construct their image as credible and trustworthy individuals. One of the major strategies that the elders used to show their impartiality was praying to *Waaqa* “God” to help them speak the truth. The following excerpts from some of the recorded sessions illustrate this:

EHs: Rabbi Arsii tana haa araarsu. Nullee dhugaa haa dubbisu...(L-529).

: *May God reconcile these Arsi [couples]. May He also help us speak the truth...(L-517)*

Ewf: ...Nama dhugaa dubbatee maatii kana araarsu Rabbi nu haa godhu ...namni ganama yoo qaaqaaf bahuu, nama tokkocha. Galgala yoo galu nama lama ta’ee gala. Yoo dhugaa dubbatee dhugaa santu waliin gala. Yoo dhara dubbattee, dhara san fudhatee isii waliin lama ta’ee gala jedhan... (C2-Ca1-S1- [40’-41’]).

: *May God help us speak the truth. “In the morning, when a person go for mediation, he goes alone. But when he comes back to his home after mediation, he becomes two. If he speaks the truth, he will come home together with that truth. If he lies, that lie will go home together with him” it is said [saying].*

ME: Rabbi arraba keenna dhugaa nu haa dubbisu...Mucuca arrabaa Rabbi nuhaa’oolchu ...(C5-Ca1-S 1- 35’).

: *May God help us speak the truth. May God save us from slip of the tongue [lying]...*

Ewf: ...Mee jarana dhugaan haa mootu... (C2 Ca 2- S1 24’)

: *You people, may the truth be the winner...*

The first three speakers prayed to God to help them speak the truth or refrain from lying, or “mucuca arrabaa” ‘slip of tongue’. The second speaker emphasized on speaking the truth, by mentioning the fact that if one makes lies, he will not get mental peace. This strategy can help the elders construct themselves as impartial and good-willed person.

This in turn could help them get the recognition of the disputants as reliable and trustworthy persons.

In the expression of the last speaker, which is often considered as cultural saying, the term *dhugaa* “truth” has been given animate attribute. The saying also presupposes a struggle between ‘truth’ and another entity, most probably its opposite, ‘falsehood’. The speaker expressed his wish for ‘truth’ to win. In addition to showing the impartiality of the speaker, the use of this proverb could help persuade others speak truth. In this case, the speaker used this saying because he had sensed that someone who spoke before him might have refrained from concealing the truth. So the speaker expressed the problem without threatening the face of the previous speaker. In general, the elders’ prayer or their claim for speaking *dhugaa* ‘truth’ and their wish for the reconciliation of the two sides could help them persuade the disputants by making credibility appeals. Roberts (2008) considers such intervention strategy of mediator as indirect way of building credibility. The same scholar claims that mediators can achieve credibility by openly mention their commitment to impartiality at the outset.

In addition to the above indirect strategies, the elders also made direct claim for their impartiality. For example, the elders of the wife side in Case 2, made the following statement in their attempt to prove their impartiality:

Ewf: ...jaala isiiti jennee haga miidhaan kuni irra gahe waliin deemnee mana seeraa san waliin hindhaabanne. Soddaan kuniifii isiilleen nuu qixa jennee akkana qabne (C2-Ca1-S2- 10')

: *We never accompanied her [the wife] when she went to court for appeal. We believed that this in-law [husband] and the girl are equal for us...*

Ewf: Yoo isiin balleessaa qabaatte, doomii dirmi jennee yoo lolleen hoo? Yoo gurbaanillee waan akkasii ta'e, fala wayii argatee rakkoon keeti jedhamee itti himamee jedhe, boruuf hinsirraa'a. Isiinillee boruuf hinsirroofti (C2-Ca1-S2- 2').

: *What if we tell her to correct herself, if she did wrong? Similarly, if the boy did the same, he will correct himself for the future if we tell him openly. She will also correct herself for the future.*

ME: ...Gama kanaallee qixa. Gama kanaallee qixa. Jaarsi taa'e kuni, gama lamaaniiifuu qixa (C2-Ca3-S3- 0-1').

: *...These elders equally serve both sides [they are impartial]...*

The first speaker from the wife side clearly indicated that the elders of the wife side had refrained from backing the wife when she took the case to court. The speakers claim that they did so because of the love they have for their in-laws and because they believed that both the wife and the in-laws are equally important for them. The second speaker also indicated how the elders should behave towards the husband and the wife and what they should do to resolve the dispute and shape the future life of the couple. In his speech, the person refrained from making biased judgments about the couples. The last speaker, the ME in Case 2, directly mentioned that all elders in the session serve both parties equally and impartially. The elders in Case 3 also tried to show their impartiality using various strategies as shown in the following excerpts:

El: ...Mucaa kanaallee Arsiin kuni qixxichaa. Siifillee qixxee. Mucaallee qixxee. Atillee kiyyaa. Ilmi sunillee kiyyaa. Haawwotiin sunillee tiyyaa. Taduutellee tajirtullee tiyyaa. Tiyyuma narraa du'ee. Ibidduma kiyya narraa du'ee. Kama jaaladhu na jalaa du'ee. Murtii warra keennaa kana fudhadhuu. (C3-Ca2-S1- 45').

: *These Arsi [the elders] equally serves this boy and you [the father]. You are mine. This son is also mine. Their mothers are also mine. Both the dead and the living [wives] are mine. The dead [wife] is mine. She was my fire [wife] who died, the one whom I love. Please accept this decision of our family.*

El : Daa'ima kan kee kana, yoo itti dhufnuu, jabaa ta'iif. Abbaa kan kee irra lufi. Si arrabsa jennaanii, muufanneet guddaa lolleen (C3- Ca2-S1-5').

: Whenever we meet this son of yours, we advise him to be good boy, to tolerate his father. When we heard that he insulted you, we became angry and warned him not to do so.

ME: ...Yoo mucaan sirrii malee jiraate, ardaa kanatu, fira kanatu bira jiraa. Yoo isinuu sirrii hinjiraanne, ardaa kanaaf fira kana itti jira ...(C3-Ca2-S1-26')

: If this boy is creating problems, this neighbor, these relatives are here to correct him. If you are not on the right way, these neighbors and relatives are here to correct you.

The first speaker directly told the father that the elders of the session are there to equally serve both sides. Speaking on behalf of the whole session, the first speaker also showed his solidarity with the disputants and the whole family by describing them as his children. He also mentioned his sympathy over the death of the former wife of the disputant. Such description and positive self positioning could help the speakers make both credibility and emotional appeals and persuade the disputant. Showing impartiality can help in making credibility appeal while describing the disputants as children and expressing sympathy about the deceased wife can serve as emotional appeal.

The second and the third speakers also showed their impartiality by telling the father how much they criticized and advised the son to make him respect his father. The speakers made such speech to construct their credibility in the face of the father. The last speaker, the ME of the same JS also indicated the fact that *ardaa* 'the elders of the beighbor' are ready to equally serve both sides. In general, almost every speaker who took turns in the reconciliation phases of the recorded JSs employed various strategies to directly or indirectly reveal their impartiality. Showing empathy and impartiality, according to Lovenheim and Guerin (2004), is a strategy of bulding trust and creating cooperative attitudes among disputants.

6.5.3 Forecasting Negative Consequences

Forecasting the possible negative outcome of a certain action or behavior of audiences helps the speaker make rational appeal and urge the audience to take another action to avert the negative consequences. With regard to this, Roberts (2008) and Wolski (2002) assert that suggesting options for settlement and telling parties about possible negative consequences of opting for litigation by rejecting the proposed solutions is among intervention strategies of mediators. In the recorded JSs, elders utilized such strategy on several occasions. They often threaten disputants with possible negative outcomes if the disputants resist the decisions of the elders. For instance, in the reconciliation phase of Case 1, one of the elders of the wife side threatened the husband as follows:

Ewf: Haalli mootummaallee, sagaagalummaa dhooggeera. Sagaagalummaa qofayyuu mitii, fuudha fuudharraatuu, nudaangessee jira. Akka *pheenxeetitti* hundi keennaa akka bulluutti deebisee jira. Yoo qabeenni namaa gahee, akka durii sanitti, qabeenna jiraaf fuudhan. Olii gadi fiiguun kun ammumaa qabeenna keessan qisaasessee jira. Isa tokko argaa jirta. Nullee argaa jirra. Qabeenni qisaasa'u kuni, uduu finna keessanirratti, jiruu keessanirratti, uffata mucattii tanaa irratti oduu deebi'ee jedhee, nuhuu qaaqa kanaa- nagaa keennaf nutti dhufuu dhabdaniifii- nuhuu hinsoqnuu... (L-888-895)

: *The government also forbids prostitution/ adultery. Not only prostitution, the government forbid us even not to marry more than one wife. It made us live like protestant [followers of Protestantism as monogamous]. One can marry the second wife if one has enough wealth like former times. As you can see yourself, going here and there had already affected your economy. You can see that. We also can see that. If you had used this money for your wife's and your children's clothes, we wouldn't have suffered these much. We do not care whether you visit us or not (L-891-7).*

The speaker in the above excerpt stressed that the adultery that the husband is believed to have committed and which the speaker described as *sagaagalumma* 'prostitution/adultery' or *oliif gadi fiiguu* 'running here and there', is forbidden by the

government. Implied in the excerpt is the fact that the husband may face some legal punishment if he continues committing such practice by ignoring the elders' decision.

The speaker also indicated that such practice had so far caused economic repercussion on the life of the couples. He emphasized that had the husband used the money he wasted on adultery for the clothes of the wife, and for the betterment of his family, the elders would not have suffered in settling the frequent disputes of the couple. Here the speaker attempted to persuade the husband by making appeals to both negative and positive consequences. He indicated the positive outcome that could have been achieved if the husband had not been engaged in such undesirable practice. In the excerpt, the speaker utilized some elements of credibility appeals as well by indicating how much he and other elders of the session had suffered in resolving the frequent disputes of the couple. In doing so, the speaker also indirectly showed how much the other elders and he care for the wellbeing of the couple. The other elder of the husband side in Case 1 also threatened the husband with the possibility of divorce if the husband refuses to accept what the elders proposed and opt to go to court.

EHS: “inni didaa jira, nu waliin hirrakkannu, wanti goonu hinqabnu. Homaa rakkina hinqabu amma hiika *daanya*an, rakkinna hinqabu (L-998-999).
: *he is not listening to what we are saying. We have nothing to do. No problem, the judge will solve it. There is no problem...(L-997-8)*

In Case 2 also, the elders made similar appeals. In the following excerpt, the speakers tried to threaten the elders of the husband side with possible negative consequences if they refuse to tell the truth.

Ewf1: Yoo cottinii qajeeluu diddee, Yoo cotti dhamumarraa qajeeluu didee, dubbiin suni hiikkoon isaallee diqqoo nama dhiba... (C2-Ca1- S2- 44').

: *When the disputant is not on the right track. If a disputant is not willing to give the right information, it will be difficult to come to solution...*

Ewf2: ... Rabbiin bidhachaa haa deemnuufii, gungume. Rabbiin bidhachuun sagaduu bichaa mitii. Duruu Arsiin akkanuma Rabbi sodaataa. Kalee sodaata Rabbiin Arsiin. Walsodaatallee. Kallacha walsodaataa ...(C2-Ca3-S2 11').

: *I just want all of us to have the fear of God. The fear of God is not expressed only through prayer. Naturally the Arsi have the fear of God even before [the introduction of Islam]. They have the fear of God before. They respect each other.*

Ewf3: Elaa waa si argaara Edamannaa. Haqa dubbadhee fuulduree rabbi taa'uu naa caala... (C2-Ca4-S1-32').

: *Look Edamana [husband's clan], I see some problem with you. 'I prefer to speak the truth and sit in front of God [with confidence]*

The first speaker indirectly indicated that the elders of the husband side and the husband were not telling the truth. The expression “yoo cotti dhamumarraa qajeeluu didee,” ‘if a party is not willing to give the right information’ presupposes that the elders of the husband side were not on the right track or were not telling the truth. According to the speaker, such behavior of the elders of the husband may make the reconciliation process difficult or unattainable. The second and the third speakers also mentioned the issue of fear of God, ‘Rabbiin bidhachaa haa deemnu’ ‘let us be afraid of God in the course of our action’, “Haqa dubbadhee, fuulduree Rabbi taa'uu naa caala” ‘I prefer to speak the truth and sit in front of God [with confidence]’. The expressions of the two speakers presuppose that the elders of the husband side have hidden some truth. Implied in the utterances of the speakers is also the fact that lying could be considered sin and may result in God's punishment. The second speaker also stressed that the fear of God is the already established norm of Arsi Oromo even prior to the coming of Islam. In short, the above three speakers tried to persuade the elders of the husband side to tell the truth about

the plot of land the husband had promised to give to the wife, but later denied by threatening them with possible negative consequences.

The speakers in the above excerpts also used polite expressions, ‘unless the information is properly told’, instead of saying ‘you are not telling the correct information’ “let us be afraid of God” and “I prefer ...” to make the elders of the husband side speak the truth without threatening their face. Oetzel and Ting-Toomy (2003:231) stress the importance of such strategy of face saving in resolving conflict in collectivist culture where interdependence or the “we-identity” is given more value. Such kind of passivization might have been used to save the face of the elders of the husband side by eliding the agency. The second and third speakers also used first person pronouns such as “us” and “I” and metaphorical expressions, *some problems, sit in front of God* while they were talking about the negative behavior of their audiences. The speakers refrained from positioning the elders of the husband side as liars or sinful by directly urging them to speak the truth. This could be considered as a strategy that the speakers employed to save the faces of the elders of the husband side. Using such types of discourse strategies could help create positive atmosphere in JS and promote the reconciliation process.

In Case 3 also, some elders employed similar strategies repeatedly to make disputants, especially the father, accept the decisions of the elders. The elders repeatedly raised the death of the former wife of the disputant and the possible conflict that might happen between children of the deceased wife and the current wife in their attempt to persuade the father. The following excerpts illustrate the elders’ strategies:

El 1: Maarree dhufee Abba GM, Rabbi isin haa araarsu..Ijoolleen kuni maraa keetuma. Namni akka sibiilaa hintaa'u. Akka gaaraa hintaa'uu. Gaafa ati duute maatii kan kee kanaaf laaluu qabdaa. Maatii kan kee kana ijaaruu qabdaa. Yoo hardha waldhabe, ati duunaan walfixaa. Hardha ati qajeelchitee, kuni ka ibaluti, kuni ka ibaluti yoo jette, wal hinxuquu ...C3-Ca1-S2-43'-44').

: *Here I come GM's father. May God reconcile you. All these children are yours. Human being does not live longer like iron or like mountain. You have to worry about what may come to your family when you die. You have to build your family now. If they start to disagree today, they will kill each other when you die. If you give them their share today, they will live peacefully.*

El 2: **Daa'imman walnyaachiftaa? Isii hardha Waaqa irraa fudhatee...Rabbi irraa fudhatee. Rabbi mana maraa hinjiraa...**Mucaa garaa hinfudhate Waaqni. Haadha san hinfudhate. Waaqni wayiif isini dhiiseeraa. Waaqa maaf hinbikkinee?...Maatii wali ofuuf taataa. Maatii wali hin'oofiin... Lafa kosii haadhaarraa kenniif. Kanatti nuufillee gosaallee *ishi* jedhi...(C3-.... Yoo gara higgiiitillee dhaqxee, hangafti tan tee, kallachi haadha isaaniitii. Qixxe[tii] sirraa qoodaman lafa tana... gara biraatuu of fiddaa mucaa ofitti hindallansiisinii ... (C3-Ca2-S1- 15'-20')

: *Do you want these children to fight each other? Don't you know that it was God who had taken their mother. This could happen to anyone. His [of the son in dispute] brother had also gone. Their mother had gone. God had left these children with you for some reason. Why don't you be afraid of Him? You are leading these families in conflict. You stop that...Give them their share from their mothers' land. Accept what we and other members are telling you. If you opt to go to court also, you will be forced to give half of the plot of your land to these children. Do not trigger the boy and bring even the worst thing to yourself.*

El 3: Atillee ka garaa keenna, Rabbit bakka kana sikaayee. Hinsagadaa jirtaa masgiinni kunootii. ... Sin martuu hinduutanii. Numarruu hinduuna. Lafa kana kennaafii ...(C3-Ca 2-S2- 17')

: *You our sister also, it is with the will of God that brought you here. You are praying; here is the mosque. You all will die. We all die. Give them this plot.*

The first speaker told the father the fact that all human beings, unlike mountains and iron, is not eternal to politely tell him that he will die and his death is natural and inevitable. Then the speaker openly warned the disputant that unless he accepts the elders' decision and take the corrective action now, his children will kill each other after his death “ati

duunaan walfixaa” ‘they will kill each other after you die”. The speaker attempted to persuade the disputant by forecasting the conflict of the children of the former and the current wives over the plot of their fathers’ land as possible negative consequence if the disputant refuses to accept the elders’ decision.

The second speaker also boldly and emotionally said **“Daa’imman walnyaachiftaa?”** ‘Do you want the children to fight each other?’ and **“Maatii wali oofuuf taata”** ‘you are leading the families into conflict’, to threaten the disputant with possible negative consequences if he refuses to accept the decision of the elders. The speaker also utilized religious discourse by mentioning the fear of God, to persuade the disputant. The expressions: **“Rabbi mana maraa hinjiraa”** ‘God is there in every body’s home’ **“Waaqni wayiif isini dhiiseeraa. Waaqa maaf hinbikkinee?”** ‘ God has kept these children with you for some reason. Why don’t you be afraid of God?’, **“Hinsagadaa jirtaa”** ‘you are praying’, **“Isin martuu hinduutanii. Nu marruu hinduuna”** ‘You both will die. We all will die’, were used by the speaker to threaten the father and his current wife, with the possible punishment of God if they refuse to accept the elders’ decision. In his expressions the speaker directly and indirectly referred to death. He positioned death as punishment one could face for committing wrong.

The second speaker also threatened the father with possible negative consequences if he opts for court by refusing the elders decision. He warned him that he might lose even half of his plot of land. In short, the above speakers made mainly rational appeals by forecasting possible negative consequences in persuading the father to give the plot of land for the son. This was the common type of appeal that the elders in Case 3 utilized to

persuade the father and make him accept the elders' decision. Such strategies help speaker "to urge action on the reader's [listeners] part" by making the audiences "evaluate an event through its described outcomes" (Anthony and Gladkov, 2007:127). But the speaker's reference to the deceased wife, the mother of the son in current dispute, could also be considered as a strategy of making appeal to the emotion of the father and persuading him accept the decision of the elders. The other elder in Case 3 also made the following emotional appeal in his attempt to convince the father.

El: Maali kan keetii mii...Manni kuni haa garaa tokkocha ta'uu, kallattima kan kee ka fuudha itti baratteemii? Ka hardha ati mucaa kana hardha darbitu. Garaan mucaan kuni qabullee ijoollema tanaa mii? Abbaan qabullee simaa mii? Haati qabullee simaa mii...as deebi (Ca-2S1-2'-3').

: *Are they not yours? Although both [wives] belong to the same family, is she [the son's mother] not the one whom you met first? But you are neglecting this son. Are these children not the only brothers that this boy has? Are you not the only father he has? Are you not the only mother this boy has?... come back to us.*

In the above excerpt, the speaker tried to remind the father, the defendant in this case, the fact that the mother of the son is the first woman with whom he experienced marital life. The speaker also emphasized on the fact that the father is the only person that the son considers as father and mother and his half brother as the only brothers that the son has on earth. The speaker made such emotional appeal to make the father sympathize with the son and give him the plots of land that the son claims.

6.5.4 Using Emotive Languages

According to Anthony and Gladkov (2007:131), "Emotions can serve as an impulse to take a certain action, and very often the audience will look at the presented case through the prism of their emotions". In the discourse of the recorded JSs, elders employed

emotive language on several occasions to arouse the relevant emotion of the disputants in their attempt to persuade them to accept the reconciliatory decisions proposed by the elders. The following excerpts show several instances of such attempt of the elders.

EHS: Badaa Biyyaana, warri kiyyaa **qahee namaa bullee hinbeeku. Qa'ee namaallee taa'ee hinbeeku.** Gurbaa kana tokkocha rabbi nu{tti} godhe. Daa'imattii tana mucattiin tana, **ardaa waa hingoone, garaa ambba nyaattee jirtti.** Amma bee gara muufattanillee muufattan muufattaniiraan gurbaa kanatti warri garaa kunillee. **Mucattiin dhugaa waaqaa lafaa qabdi. Ardammaanillee dhugama qaba.** Ofii hinmurannuuf malee nullee bee uguruma geessineerraa. **Horii hagam qallee. Daadhii hagam naqne. Qoreen hagamii nuwaraaneera.** Amma gara lubbuu deemnaani, itti dhiifne caldhifneera. Haa garaa walkutanii. Dhugamaan. Amma hoo, finna qabdi mucattiin tuni, sa'a qabdi, nafsee qabdi. **Garaa nanyaattetti daa'imattiin tuni. Duutuu asi dhiiddeetti,** {sagalee booyaa}, hinbooyinaa cal'aa. **Asi dhiigdeeti, gursummeettii miti** (uuu) waliinboonneera. Waliin booyaniiran. **Hincaldhiseera, caldhiseera amma qaheen keennallee. Eennulle hincaldhiseera (.)** Akka godhu qabaaree amma? Hiyyeessi ofii haqqisee ofii laphee qabata". Ani ammaa, amba keessaallee bahee galeera (641-653)

You people, my family has never spent a night in someone's house [for sexual affair]. This boy is the only exception that God has put among us. This girl {wife}-she does nothing to the family. Everyone is sympathizing with her. Now you know this parent {wife's} have been disappointed by the deed of this boy. Now this girl really deserves all the dhugaa ' the truth". We all have the truth {meaning we suffered due to him} although we can't decide for ourselves. We had fined this boy before. We made him slaughter? We made him to prepare dhadhii "local drink". We suffered a lot because of him. Now when the problem has come to her life, we kept quiet because we wanted them to drop each other, really. How about now? This girl has children, she has cows, and she has life. We really feel sad for her. She is helpless {wife cried}. Don't cry please. She has suffered here. We cried together with her. But now we kept quiet. The whole neighbors kept quiet (.) We could do nothing. As the saying goes "A poor vomits and holds his chest by himself"³⁴ {a poor has no one around to help him}. Now I am about to be isolated from the society (L-629-642).

³⁴ Holding one's chest- is a kind of first aid strategy that someone, a friend, gives to a person suffering from vomite simply by tightly holding the patient's chest. This is considered as a sign of expressing sympathy.

The above excerpt is taken from the speech of one of the elders of the husband side in Case 1. The speaker made his speech in an emotional manner using a raising tone. As shown in the excerpt, the speaker openly criticized the action of the husband while in the meantime praised the personal qualities of the wife. The expressions “warri kiyya qahee namaa bullee hin beeku” ‘my family members have never spent a night in someone’s house [for sexual affair]’ and “Gurbaa kana tokkocha rabbi nutty godhe” ‘this boy is the only exception that God has put among us’, are used to construct the husband’s action as morally unacceptable practice that nobody in the genealogical history of the speaker had done. Constructing the husband’s behavior and action in such a way could help make the husband feel guilty and abandon his action because he realizes that the elders speech in that particular context is meant for the benefit of the husband rather than defaming him. Wolski (2002:14) states that “indicating impatience or disapproval, or even anger, threatening to withdraw from the mediation...” are strategies of mediator self presentation which could persuade disputants to accept resolutions.

On the other hand, the speaker constructed the wife positively indicating how much she cares for others and how much her neighbors sympathize with her. The expressions “Garaa amba nyaattee jirti” ‘everyone sympathizes with her’, “Duutuu” ‘she is dead’ “dhiiddee jirti” ‘she had suffered too much’, “waliin boonneera” ‘we all cried together with her’ position the wife as victim and the speaker as a sympathizer. Although these expressions are charged with negative emotions, they are not meant to trigger the anger of the wife in a negative way, but to win her heart by showing sympathy. The wife was so touched by the speech of the elder and that she even went to the extent of crying. Arousing the emotion of the audiences by addressing their moral values in such a way is

considered as one strategy of making emotional or affective appeal according to Aristotle's theory of persuasion (Biber et al., 2007).

In the above excerpt, by taking side with the disputant of the other side and telling the truth or making fair judgments, the speaker also managed to make credibility appeal. He positioned himself and the elders of his side as caring and good willed people who suffered a lot for the betterment of the life of the couple. The proverb "Hiyyeessi ofii haqqisee ofii laphee qabata" 'A poor holds his chest by himself while vomiting' clearly reveals the attempts that the elders so far made in resolving the spouses' dispute. In the tradition of Oromo people, people hold the chest of a vomiting person to show their sympathy and care. The speaker had used this proverb to show how much he suffered in resolving the previous disputes of the couple without the support of the elders of the wife side. The following emotive expressions of the same speaker show the highest degree of suffering that elders of the husband side faced due to the frequent disputes of the couple.

EHs: Yoo inni achitti iyya lukkuuti halkan amba rafte iyyiti kaatee, **odoo firrifneellee jalaa duunneef taana** warra keenna mee dhagahaa. (Eee) **Uduu firrifneellee jalaa biliq jennee... (L- 671-673).**

: When the screaming sound comes from their house after the whole village goes to bed, we really wish we were dead, my people listen to me. We really wish we were dead...(L-657-9)

In the above excerpt one of the elders of the husband side made emotional appeal by indicating how much they suffered due to the frequent disputes of the couple. This can serve to make the husband feel guilty. In the meantime, the speech can also help construct the speaker's credibility in the face of the wife and elders of her side. In short, the speaker of the above excerpt had made various appeals at a time in his attempt to

arouse the emotion of the disputants and the elders of the wife side and persuade them accept the reconciliation. The following speech of elders of the wife side in Case 2 also shows similar practice.

Ewf: Soddaanii, yoma araarama mishaa. Intalti nyaaphumaaf dhalatti. Womaa bootaa itti dhalatte warra itti dhalatte san hinteessu. Nyaaphumaaf dhalatti. Yoo akka isiin himattuu, nu'uu garaa nu nyaataaraa, garaa nunyaataara. Maaliin garaa nunyaata? Beela'ee ooliif gaggabe yoo jettu. Koophoon naa qican yoo jettu...(C2-Ca1-S1- 45').

: It is good for in-laws to come to reconciliation. A girl is naturally born for non-allies [others]. She never stays with her parents or relatives. She is bon for others. What she has said regarding her problem is what really hurt our feelings, we really felt sad when she said that she had fainted due to hunger, when she said that she had been given grain on ration base.

In the above excerpt, the speaker first indicated the fact that a girl is born for “nyaapha” ‘others/non-allies’ to indirectly show that the wife always belong to the husband and his clan. At the same time, the speaker expressed how much he and the elders of his side had been touched by the suffering of the wife. The speaker used the expression “garaa nu nyaataaraa” ‘we felt sad’ three times. Such comment may the speaker make emotional appeal to the elders of the husband side and push them take action to curb the problem of the wife.

The other speaker from the elders of the wife side in the same session also used the expression “Lafti tun nyaattee gubana nu fixxi amba keenna...” ‘my people, this land finishes us all here’ (C2-Ca1-S2- 4’) to indicate the fact that all human beings die, buried, decay. The speaker used this expression to make emotional appeal and persuade the elders of the husband side to give the plot of land for the wife. The other speaker of the same case also expressed similar intention in the following excerpt:

Ewf: Bada ambana Biyyaana ammallee ardiin tuni nu haa baattu. Ammaa biraa gallaa. Jiloo Dhaqqabootuu, kan goromsi guyyaa tokkotti dhibbi dhale, keessumaa bayee lixe ...(C2-Ca4-S1- 29').

:You people, may this Earth carry us all. We all will go soon [die]. Even Jilo Daqaba, a person whose hundred heifers had given birth in a day [richest person] had gone...

The expression “*amma biraa galla*” ‘we will leave it [land] soon’ is meant to indicate the fact that the material wealth, in this case, a plot of land, is something which we temporarily possess and leave it behind when we die like what Jiloo Dhaqqaboo, the richest person in the locality, did.

The elders in Case 3 also employed various discourse strategies to make emotional appeals. The appeals in this case were made mainly by mentioning the issue of the deceased wife of the disputant.

El: ...Haati suni hardha **guyyaa Waaqa** akka itti deemteef akkaataa isiin tuni as dhuftenillee hinbeetta... Ani akka isiin tuni as dhuftu fedhii hinqabu ture....Akka jaalalaa odoo taatee, intala dhiisii, ilma si gurgurra jedheen...isiin amma maali? Haati isaanii hangafa. **Dhugaa waaqaaf lafaa jala taa'anii**, waan hintaane namni hinqaaqu... (C3-Ca2-S1-12'-14').

: You know how the mother of these children died and how this one [current wife of the addressee] had come here. I didn't want her [current wife] to come here. Had it been for the love we have for you, we would have given you even a boy, let alone a girl. You see now? Their mother is elder than the current wife [the two wives are sisters]. It is not good to deny the truth against the will of God.

In the above excerpt, the speaker mentioned the death of the previous wife and the coming of the current wife who is the sister of the deceased to make emotional appeal to the addressee. He mentioned about the special favor done for the disputant by his parent-in-laws by giving the current wife as replacement. The expression “Akka jaalalaa odoo taatee, intala dhiisii, ilma si gurgurra jedheen” ‘Had it been for the love that we have for

you, we would have given you even a boy as wife let alone a girl’ clearly expresses the love that the speaker has for the disputant [father]. At the same time, the speaker tried to warn the disputant not to behave against the will of God. The other speaker in the same session also made the following speech in his attempt to persuade the father to accept the decision of the elders.

El: Nu godaanuuf taanaa. Qabrii seenuuf taanaa. Wagga 60 booda qabrii jedheera...Nu amma qabrii seenaarraa. Ilmaan teenna wal hin waraansifnuu... (C3-Ca2-S2-11-13’).
: *We are about to go [to die]. We are going to grave. After ninety, there left nothing but grave after ninety. Now since we are about to die, we should not make our children fight each other...*

In his speech, the speaker indicated that he and the father of the son, the defendant in this case, are coming to the end of their life span and thus should care for the wellbeing of their children by refraining from activities which may create conflict between them. In this case, the speaker used a collective pronoun “we” and “our” not to expose the disputant as wrong doer. In other words, the use of the mentioned collective pronouns could help the speaker save the face of the disputant and politely request him to accept the decision of the elders. In doing so, the speaker made an emotional appeal.

6.5.5 The Use of Collective Voices

In the JD of the target community, the elders come to the final decisions after they make through discussions and debates. The decisions are communicated to disputants only after all elders of the session accept and approve them. Once such consensus is reached, all the elders of the session jointly persuade the disputants to accept the decision. The use of collective voices like this could help the elders make credibility appeal. Roberts, (2008)

describes using co-mediators as one strategy that mediators could use to promote the credibility of their decision. The cooperation of the elders could make the disputant accept the decision easily because it reduces the disputant's suspicion about the fairness of the elders' decision. It leaves no or little room for the disputant to justify his/her objection to the elders' decision. The use of collective voice was communicated directly verbally with collective pronouns when the elders communicate the decision to the disputant. The following excerpts illustrate this:

ME: Mucattiinillee as deebitii. Mucattiillee **nu**{ti} Daawweef kenninaa. Wanti amma **nu** asitti teessoon kuni fudhate, wili isaa qaaqanii {dubbataa jiranii}(L-1089-1091)
: The girl [wife] will also come back to us. We will give the girl for Dawe. What we are doing here is just writing the agreement.(L-1098-1100)

El : Amma as **nuu** dacha'aa. Ibiddi kuni keennaa. Aarinillee turaatuu deemtii, bu'aatuu deemtii. Intala **nuu** galchaa. Haa horatuu. As **nuu** deebi'aa araara goonaa..." (C2-Ca 3-S2-28').
: Now you come back to us [accept what we say]. This fire [wife] is ours. The anger will disappear gradually. Give us back the girl. Let him manage her. Come back to us [accept what we say]. We will make reconciliation.

El: ...Amma **ummanni kuni** lafa kana addaan sii baaseeraa. Lafa cinaa mucaa kana gadhiisi siin **jedhaniiranii**...Si{tti] **mmurteessaniiranii**, ...Murtii **warri kan kee** sii murteesse kana, fudhadhu. Jaaladhu! (C3-Ca2-S1- 0-1').
: Now these people had divided the land for you. They asked you to give the plot to the son. They have decided against you. Accept this decisions made by your family. Accept it whole heartedly.

In the first excerpt, the speaker used the expressions *nu* "we" and *teessoon kuni* 'these elders' to indicate that the decision was made unanimously. The speaker in the second excerpt also used similar pronouns *nuu* 'us', *keenna* 'ours'. Similarly, the speaker in Case 3 used collective noun *ummanni kuni* 'these people', *jedhaniiran* '**they** had said', *murteessaniiran* '**they** had decided', *warri kan kee* 'your family' to indicate the fact that

the decision was made collectively. The use of such collective pronouns by the elders could make the disputant feel that the whole session is speaking to him/her and thus convince them accept the decisions with less resistance. It may also serve as a strategy of showing the validity of the decisions made by the elders.

The elders also used overlapping turns/speeches as one strategy of collectively convincing disputants to accept the decisions. Sometimes several speakers request or shout at a disputant simultaneously to stop him/her resisting the decision or make him/her accept it. Such incident was observed in Case 1 (L-846-851) where several voices shout at the husband to stop him from resisting the decision. The elders in Case 3 also did the same to the father towards the end of the session when he refused to forgive the son (C3-Ca2-S2-45').

6.5.6 Telling Anecdotes

In the JD of Arsi Oromo, the elders often tell relevant or related stories from their personal encounters or that of others. The stories often reflect what the narrators or the character in the story did or faced when he/she was in a similar situation with that of the disputant. Scholars consider storytelling as one strategy of legitimizing ones claim or argument. According to van Leeuwen (2008:118), stories serve this function in two ways: by punishing deviant character with unhappy ending and rewarding the good character who behaves in line with the social norms of the society. Lovenheim and Guerin (2004) also claim that anecdotes and humor serve as tools to relieve tensions during mediation session. The following anecdotes by the elder in Case 1 had been used by elders in the recorded *jaarsummaa* sessions.

EHs: Akka gurbaa kanaa ta'e ani. Yoon amma jedhu, araddaan nayyaa'e {natty bahe} . ()
 Ani "wed" jedheen. Tubuluu wayiittuu hindaballee. Oofee oofee, araddaa akaakayyoonni kiyya marti nayyaa'an. "Hindhiifta moo qa'ee warra kanaa, hindidda?" naan jedhan. Hindhiisullee hindhiisallee hinjennee, ani bira hinjiru je'ee waakkadhe ani. Lakki si argaarraa dhiisi naan jedhan. Hindide. Namummaa dide malee bee ofii ani achuma jiraa. Oofaniitii, waayndhi nahambisuuf, waayndhni{Waaqni} nahambisuu, ashaara takkittii halkan manaaba wayii nammul'ise waaqni. Ani guyyama san qahee san dhiise. Uduu qahee san jiraadhee bee ani qaata du'eeraa (L-774-781).

: Once I had faced similar problem this boy faced. Then the whole neighbors came to me. I denied everything. I did not take the point into consideration. Later on, the whole neighbor, my grandfathers came out to me. They warned me to stop. I just denied that I did it [the adultery]. The strongly warned me to stop. But I refused. Eventually I saw a dream [bad dream that implied the danger coming to the speaker]. After that I abandoned that house. Had I had continued doing that adultery, I would have died long time ago. (L- 772-781)

The above anecdote was told by one of the elders of the husband side in Case 1. In Case 1, the husband was accused of committing adultery although he denied the accusation at the beginning. In the above story, the speaker indicated that he had been engaged in similar practice once, but denied it when he was told to stop this action by the local elders. The speaker revealed that he had been saved by miracle from the possible danger that he could have faced for committing such action. Implied in this story is the fact that the husband is denying the truth. The last sentence “Uduu qayee san jiraadhee bee ani qaata du'eeraa” ‘had I had continued that sexual relation, I would have died long ago’ was used by the speaker to warn the husband against the possible danger he may face if he refuses the elders advice and continue his adultery. Through this anecdote, the speaker made rational appeal and persuaded the husband to stop his action. The following anecdote told by one of the elders in Case 2 was also meant to make similar appeal.

EHs: Ambana dur oolchama tokkocha nama gaha...Lafa Dargiin dhufee, nuu qoodanii, qoodamee, hajaa bayee, fuudhe ani niitii. Hoo ani fuudhuu, lafarra ciiftee nadhibde jaartiin ka qara mana jirtu. Abbaan gurbaa kanaa hangafa kiyya. Ambaan nangeenyee, isuma tokkocha himee, jaarsi abbaan kanaa, bayee dawoo dawoollee ulee itti busee, taanumaa dabarsee naa kenneef [addaan qoodeef]. Ani irra fuudhe, lafa kiyyarra fuudhee kabiraa haa soqatu jette ...(C2-Ca 1- S2- 45’).

: You people, a timad³⁵ of land was enough for a family... After the Derg regime had divided land to all of us, I married my second wife. When I married the second wife, my former wife refused to share the land with my second wife. Then I told the case to his father [father of one of the elders of the session], my elder brother. Then he divided all the plots of land I had to my two wives giving the largest share for the senior one. I married the second wife, while I was with the first, but she refused to share the land...

In Case 2, the issue of giving a plot of land for the wife was one of the major focuses of the session. The husband had been accused of taking back a plot of land that he gave for the wife. The elders of the wife side were strongly insisting for the return of the plot back to the wife. In the above story, the speaker revealed that he had once faced similar problem when his wives had raised the issue of sharing farm land. He also mentioned how he resolved the problem with the help of one of his relative. As one could easily deduce from the story, the main intention of the speaker was to persuade the husband take similar action and give the plot of land for the wife. One of the elders in Case 3, also told a short anecdote which could serve similar purpose.

El: Gurbicha kanaaf lafa wayii kenne ta haadhaa wayii ani (mammaaka). Waa ko’oomadhee takkattii naa kenni jedheen. “Tuftee liqimsitaa? Tuftee deebitee arraabdaa?” naan jedhe. Hin dhiise (Ca2-S1- 2’-3’)

: I once gave a plot of land for this boy [speaker’s son] from his mothers share. But after some time I asked him to give me back the plot when he disappointed me. Then

³⁵ *Timad*- is a unit of measurement used for measuring the size of farmland. One *timad* is estimated to be a quarter of a hectare.

he said “How come that you lick the saliva you spat out [change your mind], How come?”. With this I stopped ...

In this anecdote, the speaker mentioned what he had faced when he tried to take back a plot of land that he had given for his son. He also mentioned how he had abandoned his intention being influenced by the word of his son. Like what the elders in Case 1 and Case 2, did in the above excerpts, this speaker also told this anecdote to persuade the disputant follow the same procedure. In general, the above elders tried to persuade the disputants by presenting their personal experiences and actions as models which could be imitated by the disputants. Perelman considers such strategy of persuasion as “the argument of Model” (Perelman, 1982, cited in Biber et al., 2007:123).

6.5.7 The Use of Honorifics

Honorifics are words, titles, or different grammatical forms that communicate respect or status difference. In different dialects of Afan Oromo, plural pronouns are used to address singular entity to show respect for the addressee although whether such pragmatic feature is indigenous to Afan Oromo or not is still doubtful. The following dialogues can best illustrate this reality.

1. A: Abduun yoom dhufe? : *When did Abdu come?*
B: Inni kaleessa dhufe. : *He Came Yesterday.*
2. A: Abbaan Adbduu yoom **dhufan**? : *When did Abdu's father come?*
B: **Isaan** dheengadda **dhufan**. : *He came the day before.*
3. A: Abdo fii Yaasin yoom dhufan? : *When did Abdo and Yasin Come?*
B: **Isaan** hardha dhufan. : *They came today.*

In dialogue 2 above, the plural pronoun *isaan* is used to refer to Abdi's father “he” and in the verb *dhufan* the plural suffix “**an**” is added to the verb *dhufe* to show the respect that

speaker “B” has for the addressee. But in dialogue 3, similar grammatical features are used to convey plurality of the subjects.

In the recorded JD, the elders used honorifics when they addressed the disputants of the other side. For example the wife’s brother begins his question by saying “Ta **isin** baradhu” instead of saying “Ta **si** bradhu”. Here the speaker used plural pronoun “**isin**” meaning ‘you’ (hon³⁶) instead of “**si**” ‘you’ (sing) to show respect for the husband. The following excerpts illustrate a number of similar instances in the recorded JSs.

Ewf: ...amma horiin oof^{tan} kunii, mariin akka hintaane isinuu ibsitaniirtan. Horiin kuni amma,kamuchi isaa aannaniiti moo, ka asiin dura gu'eeru ka oof^{tan}?(L- 470-471).

: (...now the cows you (hon) moved, you told us already that you (plu) moved them without her consent. Now are these cows the milk giving ones or are they those which already stopped giving milk?...)(465-467)

Ewf: ...Wantummaan ishiin lubbuuf isin shakkiteef, hin reeb^{dan} moo, hintum^{tan} moo? ...wanti isiin lubbuuf isin sodaattuuf maalifi? Kanallee odoo nuu ibsitani...(L-569-571)

: (Why is she suspicious of you killing her? Did you beat her, Why is she afraid of you killing her? What if you clearly explain this for us?...)(L-552-555)

The underlined pronouns and verbs in the above excerpts are honorifics and meant to communicate the respect that the speaker has for the husband and vice versa. They said *oof^{tan}* 'you (hon) moved' instead of saying *oof^{te}* 'you moved'; they said *hintum^{tan}* 'you (hon) beat her' instead of saying *hintum^{te}* 'you beat'. The use of honorific in this context reflects the cultural norm of the community which gives highest respect for one’s in-laws.

³⁶ hon- (honorific) next to singular pronouns and other grammatical form to show that they are honorifics.

The elders of the husband side in Case 1 and Case 2 also addressed the wife in a similar manner as illustrated through the following excerpts:

EHS: “hulee inni goodaansisu san waan shakkitanii dhoorgitan gabadan moo (L-184-186)
: *(did you (hon) try to stop him from moving the cows because you (hon) have suspected him of doing something or is there reason...(L-189-191)*

EHS: ...ani ammallee isin baradha. Amma daara re’ee gurgure maal kan jettan inni daara keessaniif jedha... (L-244-246)
: *I want to learn about you (plu) again. Now you (plu) have told us that he sold the goat. He says that it was for your (plu) treatment (L-250-252)*

EHS: ...Dhibee nayaalaa hin jiru jettan. ... nama wayii isinii kaayaniiran. Namoota isinii kaayan sanii dubbiftanii? Waan himattan qabduu (C2-Ca1-S1-23’—24’).
: *You (hon) said (hon) that he is not taking you for treatment. I think somebody had been given the responsibility to take you (hon) for treatment. Have you talked to the person assigned for you (hon) after that?*

In general, showing respect for someone in an interaction can help the speaker create positive self image. It can help persuade the audience by making emotional and credibility appeal. Thus, the proper use of honorifics in the interaction of the *jaarsummaa* session might have helped in creating a smooth and positive communication between the two sides and in facilitating the reconciliation process. The use of honorifics, of course, is the reflection of the established cultural norm of the Oromo people. Among Arsi Oromos of the study area, ones parent-in-laws are considered *wayyuu* “highly respected”.

6.5.8 Blessing and Praying for Araara 'Reconciliation'

In the recorded JSs, the elders repeatedly gave blessings and prayed for *araara* 'reconciliation' to come. As discussed in the preceding section, in most cases, the sessions of *jaarsummaa* commence with prayer and blessing. Again almost every speaker who

took turns in the discussion and reconciliation phases of the recorded JSs started hi/her speech with a prayer for *araara* ‘reconciliation’. Below are sample excerpts from the first four cases recorded for the current study:

Ewf: Ijoollee Rabbi haa araarsu... (L-866)

: *(May God reconcile these children...(L-867)*

EHs: ...AB kiyya, Waaqni isin haa araarsu. Ka ganama wali isin fide isin haa araarsu (C2-Ca 1-s1-33’).

: *My ‘son’ AB [husband], may God bring reconciliation between you [couples]. May He who brought you together [God] from the beginning reconcile you...*

El: Maarree dhufnee abbaa GM³⁷. Rabbi isin haa araarsu...(C3-Ca 1-S 2- 43’).

: *I also come to you GM’s father. May God reconcile you...*

Through their prayer and blessing, the above elders expressed their wish for the reconciliation of the disputants to come true. They repeatedly mentioned the term *araara* ‘reconciliation’. This repeated prayer for reconciliation by the elders of both sides could help pacify the disputants and psychologically influence them to accept the elders’ decisions and come to reconciliation. Implied in the prayer/blessing of the elders is also the fact that reconciliation is something that can be achieved with the will of God. Here the elders constructed their identities as messengers who are there to accomplish the will of God. This type of positive self-presentation could help mediators build their credibility in the face of the disputants (Silbey and Merry, 1986). It could also serve the elders as one way of legitimizing their actions by appealing to supernatural power. According to Aristotle’s persuasion theory also, positioning oneself as fair and helping character could

³⁷ GM- and other similar abbreviations of personal names of speakers are used to hide the identity of the speaker

help the speaker persuade his/her audience by making credibility appeal (Biber et al., 2007).

6.5.9 Affirming the Positive Worth of Disputants

Affirming the good qualities of the disputants was also one of the discourse strategies that the elders used to cool down the emotion of the disputants and lead them to reconciliation. According to Biber and his colleagues, a speaker or a writer can present himself/herself as a person of good intention by making positive comments about his/her audiences. This is true because, according to the same scholars, “it takes good will to notice and appreciate the good deeds of others “ (Biber et al.,2007:131). In the recorded *jaarsummaa* sessions, the elders had made positive comments about the personalities and past deeds of the disputants. For instance one of the elders of the husband side in Case 1 described the behavior of the wife as follows:

EHs: Badii hinqabdu intalti tun. Mucattiin tuni Arsiinnana. Taqooqee geettee; kaquufee geettee; kadhibamee geettee, Yoo mana haadha ofii aseentee buna dhuydu, imawaamti Shawaallee, Arsiin, ibalee, ibalee... (762-764)
:This girl has done nothing wrong. You Arsi, this girl gives to the hungry, to the satisfied one, to the sick. Whenever she drinks coffee, she always calls the Showa {other clan} the Arsi. She invites all, her neighbors'... (758-761)

Here the speaker described the wife as innocent, sympathetic, sociable, and generous person who equally respects all her neighbors and share what she has with them. Similarly, one of the elders on the husband side affirmed the positive qualities of the husband as follows:

EHs: ... GA ille dabeetii miti, hanqina wallaalaa qaba ... Amma GA uumamaanillee, Hormaatanillee, namni isa tare hinjiru. Amma DA illee QA illeen isaa ol lufaniitii miti... (L- 708-709)

:(GA also didn't mean to intentionally cause trouble. He has lack of awareness... Now no one exceeds GA naturally and economically. Now both DA and QA [husband's brothers] are not better than GA...(L-696-698)

The speaker in the above excerpt compared the husband with two of his brothers and positioned him as able and hardworking person who is economically and personally better off than his brothers. The speaker also reformulated the husband's mistakes as something that he committed due to lack of awareness rather than something that he did to intentionally hurt his wife. The wife's father in Case 1 also described the spouses' life positively amidst his complaints and blames talks about the husband.

WFa: ...Eega rabbi hidda isaanii lafa dhaabee, ilmaanillee lafa dhaabee, sa'aanillee lafa dhaabee. Wanti isaanii bade wayiituu hinjiruu... (L-953-955)

:(...If God has given them both children and cattle. They have no problem at all...(L-953-954)

The speaker clearly indicated that the couples have been cherished with children and cattle. This kind of positive positioning can help the disputants develop positive self-image which in turn helps them forget their anger or conflict stories. It may also encourage the disputants to accept the resolutions that the elders propose. In the same way, elders in Case 3, constructed one of the disputants, the father, positively focusing on his good qualities.

El: ...Nu bee, GD lama dubbataa nu qara sitti hinbeennu. Dubbii tanarra amoo si jalataa hinjirru. ...As deebii. Waan siin hinmalle hinhujinii. Waan tole jette ha'a jettee hinbeettu. GD lama qaaqa siin jedhanii hinbeekanii ...(C3-Ca 2-S1-1'- 4').

: We did not know that GD changes his mind. Now we are not appreciating what you are doing. Come back to us. Do not do something that does not fit/go with your personality.

The speaker constructed the disputant (the father) as a person with firm stand and who never breaks his promise. This presupposes that the disputant had broken his promise before. The speaker said so because in this case, the disputant had been accused of changing his mind and taking back a plot of land that he previously gave to his son. So the speaker described the current action or behavior of the disputant as something that contradicts the normal quality or personality of the disputant ‘we have never heard that GD changes his mind.’ “waan siin hin malle hin huiin” ‘Do not do something that does not fit/go with your personality’. Here the speaker was trying to persuade the disputant by addressing his good moral values. In doing so, the speaker was making emotional as well as credibility appeals. Again in the same case, the middle elder described the wife of the disputant as follows:

ME: ...Kaleelle sirraa baafneerra. BR fayyaalettii jedhee, yaa’attillee himeerallee. Kaleelle sirraa baafneerallee... (C3-Ca2-S1-26’).

: I defended you last time as well sayin BR is genuine. I have said this in public...

The speaker here positioned the wife as a trustworthy and genuine person. He told her that he had always been telling this good quality of her to the public. The middle elder stated this to systematically persuade the wife to accept the decision of the elders. She had been summoned to the session in the reconciliation phase because some of the elders felt that she might put pressure on her husband (the father in dispute) to change his mind later. The middle elder made the above comment in response to the question that the wife asked about why she was summoned to the session. So the speaker made the comment to

remove the negative feeling that the wife might have had developed about the elders of the session. Likewise, in Case 5, one of the elders of the husband side described the wife as follow in his attempt to persuade her accept the decision of the elders.

EHs: hardhallee ati teennaa. Darbataa gosaa deettee. Haadha soda soddaatiitii. Finxoo hinqabduu. Amala wayiituu hinqabduu. .. Teenna atii deebii bareeda. Askoottu akka wayyuun si gaafatte (C5- Ca 2- s 2- 18-19).

: ...you are still ours. You gave bore the defender of this clan. You are a mother of a son and of a daughter- in laws. You have done nothing wrong... You are ours. Come back you beautiful [accept what we say], The respected elders have requested you to do so...

In the excerpt, the speaker emphasized on the fact that the wife belongs to them *ati teenna* ‘you are ours’, “*darbataa gosaa deette*” ‘you bore the children who could defend the clan’. He also positioned the wife as a woman of good behavior “*amala wayiituu hinqabdu*” ‘you have no bad behavior’. He also constructed her physically as *bareeda* ‘you beautiful’. Such type of positive positioning of the disputants could help in changing the mind of the disputants by making affective or emotional appeal. Appreciation of the audiences past deeds, according to Aristotle’s persuasion theory, is also one way of making credibility appeal (Biber et al., 2007).

6.5.10 Giving Advice and Expressing Care

In the reconciliation phase of the recorded JSs, the elders also gave advice to the disputants. They expressed how much they care about the wellbeing of the disputants. The following excerpts help illustrate this.

ME: Qabeenni keenna, ka mucaa keennaa, ka intala teennaa addaan hinbahu..(L-795-96

: "Our" property, the property of our son, that of our daughter won't be divided..(L-796-797)

Here the ME used the inclusive pronoun "our" and addresses the couple as children who belongs to the group and their property as the common property of the group. In his speech, the speaker tried to send a message "we care for you" to the disputants. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the use of inclusive pronoun "We" can help preserve good relationship and create positive politeness between a speaker and his audiences. The same speaker also gave the following advice for the couple concerning the way they should utilize their common properties.

ME: ...Qabeenna kana walumaan qaban. Qabeenna kana yoo rakkattani, mariin gurguradhaa. Mariin deemaa. Akka kana deemanii. Atillee achi qabadhu gurbaa. Achi dhiisi dubbii. Lamuu, deebi'aa qaaqni garagaggalchan hintolu. (L-1094-1097).
: *You own these properties jointly. If you face some problem, sell these animals on agreement. Discuss on everything to make decisions. That is how it should be. You boy also accept what is said. Stop it there. Talking over and over again has no use...*(L-1104-06).

In this excerpt, speaker emphasized that both the husband and the wife have equal right over their common properties. He advised them to discuss and make decisions jointly regarding the selling of their common properties. The speaker also advised the husband not to repeat his previous faults. Giving such advice could help the speaker make credibility appeal by constructing himself as positive helpful character. Such strategy of mediators' intervention is general named as norm educating (Deng, 2010; Wolski, 2002; Silbey and Merry, 1986). The elders of the husband side in Case 1 also expressed how much they care for the betterment of the couple's life. For instance the wife's brother and her father said the following regarding the couple.

EWf: ...*Gisee* baay'ee yaaleera. Anuu yaaleera mucaa kana, Addatti "koottuu, nuttuu koottu. Qotadhu. Lafa kottaa nu'uu hinkennaarraa. koottu keennaa mucaannana qotadhuu" jennee ofi/ofitti waamnee, dhabnee dhiifneerra. *Baqqaa* Maaliif? Jiruu isaanii haafoyyeffataniif malee haa kan achitti qotan san nu nyaachufii miti... (L-904-908)

: *(I have personally tried to convince this boy {husband}. I said to him "Come to us. Come and we will give a plot of land you can plough. We are giving it for many others. Come and plough, you boy" he refused. Why did I call him? I want them to improve their life not to take what they produce... (L-907-909)*

WFa: ...Nu amma daa'immanirraa isiin haabaatuuf, isa biraa isiin haa deemtuuf hinjaalanne. Akka finna kiyyaatti laala ani. Ilmaan ani qabullee isaani jedhe. Namni nahoratullee, namnni ammaa nagargaarullee; karaa tokkoon namnin nagargaaree, ilmaan naata'ee *na daggafullee*, adoo ani rakkadhee, adoon ko'oomee namni nagargaaru isaani jedhee yaada. Isaanittuu irkachuu kajeleeeyyu... (L-964-969)

: *(Now we didn't want her to run away from her children, we didn't want her to run away from him. I consider them as my children. I felt that they are the children I have. The one who may help me, who support me, who can support me like my children when I face some problem. I wanted to rely on them... (L-962-965)*

The first speaker in the above excerpts expressed to what extent he was ready to help the couple or the attempt he had made to help the couple improve their life. The father also expressed how much he cares for the couples, the kind of relationship he wanted to create with them and the greater responsibility he expected of them. He indicated that he consider them as his children, his supporters, his care givers. He repeatedly used the phrases “finna kiyya”, “ilmaan ani qabu” “ilmaan naata’ee” to mean ‘my children’ to emphasize on their father child relationship. Similarly the speaker repeatedly used phrases “namnin nagargaaree”, “na *daggafullee*”, “namnni nagargaaru”, all to mean ‘persons who can help me’ “ isaanittuu hirkachuu” ‘ to depend on them’ to emphasize on the helping relationship he wanted to have with the couple. The use of collective noun and pronoun “ilmaan” ‘children’, “isaan” ‘them’ by the second speaker in addressing the

couple could also be considered as an expression of his impartiality. Although they expressed in the form of disappointment, the intention of the above speakers was mainly meant to express their care and good feeling for the couples. They were making credibility appeal by positioning themselves as persons of good intention. The middle elder also gave the following advice for the couple to make them respect each other's parents and live normal social life.

JW:...Atillee worra kee waliin bulta. Isiinillee worra isii waliin bultii. Yoo warra san ka ati jibbituu, akki itti bulan hinjjiru. Hinjibbin. Atillee warra kee ofirraa hindhiibin. Hojja hinjabaatan, hojja hinmisan; "Hojja hinbeekan" jedhe qaraa jaarsi...(L-1062-1064).

(You live with your parents. She also lives with her parents. If you hate her parents, it makes your life difficult. Don't hate them... It is not possible to grow or to develop alone. " One can't be knowledgeable alone" as the elders said already...(L- 1067-1070)

In the above excerpt, the ME, advised the couple to stick to the social norms. He clearly told them the fact that one cannot lead a separate life. The expression “hojja hinbeekan” ‘one can’t be considered knowledgeable on his own” implies that one’s knowledge is meaningful only in the presence of others. It also means that one can’t live a good life without the support of others. The speaker made such a comment to persuade the husband live peacefully with his in-laws and his neighbors. The elders in Case 2 also gave advice and indicated how much they care for the wellbeing of the couple.

EHs: ...waan kullii sii sirreessinaa. Waan ardaan kaaye mara isaatuu siigoonaa, gali jedheen. Sa’aatii tokko dhaqee haga sa’aatii saddeetaa achi ture ... (C2-Ca1- S 2-39’).

: ...we will improve everything for you. We will fulfill everything that had been decided by the elder of the neighbor. I stayed there for about eight hours to convince her come back.

Ewf: ... Soddaan bee yoo waliin nyaate, garaa walnyaataa. Yoo nagaa walgaafate garaa walnyaataa. Yoo booya walii dhufe garaa wal nyaataa. Maal ta'e mucaan kuni jedheera ani...Nu amma yookaa deemnee deemneetii, dhiiga taaneetii, walfuudhuu dhiisaarra (C2-Ca4- S1- 2'-3').

: You know that one's in-laws sympathize with each other when they eat together, if they greet each other, if they pay condolence to each other. I said "what happened to this boy?" We may gradually become blood relatives and even stop intermarriage...

The first speaker in the above excerpts expressed the effort he made to convince the wife to return to her home after she left her home due to the current dispute. He indicated that he had spent the whole day in trying to convince her and promised to fulfill her needs. The second speaker on his part gave advice for the husband concerning the usefulness of strengthening social relation between the in-laws. He emphasized that greeting each other, paying condolence would help strengthen social ties and make people sympathize with each other. The second speaker also indicated that in the future, the two sides may become *dhiiga*³⁸ 'families/closer relatives'. In the above excerpts, both speakers made credibility appeal by constructing their identities positively. The elders in Case 3 also used similar strategy in their attempt to reconcile the father and his son.

EL: Mucaa keenna. Nutuu dhaannata. Nutuu hidha. Mucaa keenna nutuu dhaannata. Mucaa kana situu balleessaaraa. Gadi dhaabbadhu. Ofitti qabi daa'imman tan tee. Nutu keessa jira. Ambatu irra jira (C3-Ca2-S2-15').

³⁸ *Dhiiga* literally means 'blood' has other connotations among Oromo people. It may refer to one's relative with whom one shares genealogy. *Dhiiga* also refers to crime of homicide when used in the discourse of conflict as in "harka dhiigaa" 'a killer hand'. In the current study, the term is used with its first meaning.

: We will punish our son. We will stop him. We will punish our son. It is you who is spoiling this boy. Stop it. Give proper care for your children. We are here to correct them.

In the above excerpt, the speaker indicated that *mucaa* ‘the son’ belongs to the whole group/clan and they are responsible to nurture or to punish him. At the same time the speaker also advised the father to properly treat his children. Here the use of inclusive pronoun “keenna” ‘ours’ nutu ‘we’ could help the speaker build solidarity with the disputant and communicate the positive intention that he has for the addressee. This may help the speaker persuade the disputant by making credibility appeal. The following two elders in the same Case also gave advice for the son:

ME: ...Lakkuu dhanquu. Uduu ati hindhalatin, Odoo abbeetuu hinfuune, dura jara lamaantu waliin dhalatee. Haadha teeti kabajuu qabdaa. Ulfeeffatuu qabdaa. Daa'imman ofitti qabdaa. Ujoolleenillee garaa keetii. **Garaa garaa keessaatii...** (C3-Ca2-S2-19').

: They are twins. They know each other before you are born, before your father married them [the wives of the disputant], they know each other. She is your mother. You have to respect her. You have to take care of these children. They are your brothers, Children born of two sisters.

El: Mucaannana, nuti daballee hinqabnuu. Beetasabii jalallee dhaabbatuu inqabnuu. Waan nu hinqabne, waan ati godhatteef hinbeeku. Hindhaabbatin haatee jalallee. Hindhaabbatin abbee jalallee. Ilmaan haatetii jalallee. Gosaallee qajeeli. Haateellee qajeeli. (C3-Ca2-S2-20')

: I say to this boy “You boy, we have never acted against our parents. I don’t know where you have acquired the behavior that we do not have. Do not confront your mother. Do not confront your father, your brothers. Do what the clan tells you to do. Obey your mother.

The first speaker, the ME of the session, advised the son to show proper respect to his step-mother who is also his aunt and to take care of his step-brothers. Here the speaker used the expressions “lakkuu dhanquu” ‘twins and branches of a tree,’ “garaa garaa

keessaa” ‘brothers of brothers or sisters of sisters’ to emphasize the relationship of the son and his step-mother and the son and his step-brothers. The speaker made such comment because the son was accused of disrespecting his step-mother and quarreling with his step-brothers. Such advice and comment may help the speaker make emotional appeal by addressing the moral values of the addressee. The second speaker, the uncle of the son, also advised the son to respect his parents and his step-brothers and not to confront them. He also emphasized that confronting parents is something unique to the son or something that had never been done by any member the speaker’s family member. In short, by showing care and giving advice for disputants the elders in the recorded JSs constructed their image positively and made credibility appeal in their attempt to persuade disputants to accept the suggested resolutions. When mediators show compassion to the disputants, the disputants develop trust in the mediators. This in turn can help facilitate the reconciliation process.

6.5.11 Giving *Dhugaa* 'Truth' for the Victim

The term *dhugaa* ‘truth’ as discussed elsewhere in Chapter four, has a broader meaning in the context of *jaarsummaa* among Arsi Oromos. It has the meaning ‘fair justice’ or “proving or disproving someone’s action as just or unjust’. It may also mean ‘recognizing a disputant as victim’. So *dhugaa* is considered as a guiding principle in the course of *jaarsummaa* session. *Dhugaa* is what initiates the elders to conduct the mediation as implied in the cultural saying “ Jaarsi *dhugaa* baasa’ ‘ the elders reveal the truth’. It is also their destination or what they strive to achieve at the end “*dhugaa* kee sii arge’ ‘I found out your truth or the truth is yours’. When a disputant presents his/her case to the

elders, she/ he says "Jaarsi dhugaa kiyya na haabaasu" ' let the elders find out my truth'. So getting *dhugaa* 'truth' often gives satisfaction for the victim. Among Arsi Oromos, getting the 'truth' is often equated with getting compensation or restitution for the wrongs done to someone (Mamo, 2006).

In the recorded JSs among Arsi Oromos, giving *dhugaa* 'the truth' was used as one of the strategies of persuasion. The elders give *dhugaa* 'truth' or give recognition for a disputant as victim or openly tell the wrongs done to the victim. This was clearly observed in Case 1. In this mediation session, the elders of the husband side clearly stated that the wife and her parents deserve *dhugaa* 'truth'.

HBr: Mucattiin dhugaa qabdi. Heebanollee dhugaa qaba...(L- 825)
: *The girl deserves the truth. Heebano { wife's clan} also deserves the truth...(L-827)*

Giving *dhugaa* or recognizing the wife as victim had helped the elders of the husband side make credibility appeal and persuade the wife and the elders on her side to accept the decision. This is evident from the change in the focus of the speech of the elders of the wife side. After they were given *dhugaa*, the elders of the wife side in Case 1 totally changed their discourse of blame and accusation to discourse of care and relationship. They started to pray for the reconciliation of the couple like that of the elders of husband side. They started to give advice to the couple. This is true because getting *dhugaa* "truth" is often considered to be the ultimate goal of mediation among the target community.

WBr: Ijoollee rabbi haa araarsu...(L-866)
: *(May God bring reconciliation between these children...(L-867)*

WFa: ... Isinii, Daawwee rabbi haa kennu. Mucattii tana jiruuf jireennanillee faana jirtanii. (937-8) ... Nu amma daa'immanirraa isiin haabaatuuf, isa biraa isiin haa deemtuuf hinjaalanne. (L- 964-66)

: *(May God bless you, Dawwee (husband's clan) You have been standing by the side of this girl in her whole life...(L-936-7)... Now we didn't want her to leave her children. We didn't want her to run away from him...(L-962-3)*

This shift in the discourse of the elders of the wife side which resulted from getting *dhugaa* 'truth' could be considered as clear indicator for the achievement reconciliation. Though not directly indicated like what happened in Case 1, the elders of the wife side in Case 2 also shifted the focus of their speech after they had been given *dhugaa* by elders of the husband side.

6.5.12 Stressing on the Issue of Children

In spousal dispute mediation, the issue of children is often focused on as area of common interest of the spouses. In such case spouses are often giving priority to the interest of the children rather than their cause of their conflict. "Whatever they may think of each other, parents are presumed to be united in a shared love of their children" (Roberts, 2008:165). In some of the recorded JSs of spousal disputes, the elders repeatedly raise the issue of child care especially when they were trying to convince the wife to accept the resolution. This was repeatedly done by the elders of both sides in Case 1.

EHs: ...*Amma gara lubbuu deemnaani, itti dhiifne caldhifneera. Haa garaa walkutanii. Dhugamaan. Amma hoo, finna qabdi mucattiin tuni, sa'a qabdi...Garaa nu nyaattee jirti daa'imattiin tuni...* (L-649-650)

: *(Now when he came to her life, we abandoned all our effort. We wanted them to drop each other really. How about now? **She has children**. She has cows...We really feel sorry for this children...* (L-636-638)

Ewf: *Nu amma daa'immanirraa isiin haa baatuuf, isa biraa isiin haa deemtuuf hinjaalanne* (L-964-5)

: *(Now we didn't want her to **leave her children**, to run away from him...(L-662)*

EHS: ... Nuqarallee GA off {dhaaf} hindhaqne *firdibeetii* guyyaa lama dhaabadhe. Haaganaa gaafduraa hintaa'e, har'a hintaa'e, shanaffaan amma iftaani boru oollee. Kana wacii **GA** tiin yaabbataa hinjiru. Kiyyaan deemaara. Maaf deemaara? Ati haadha maatiiti. Oduu lubbuu tee tokkottii taatee hagana hindeddeebi'u. Haadha maatiiti baafnee gadi hindhiifnu; maqaa Arsii jennee deemaarra... (L-1068-1073)
 : (...I went to court two times {to take back the case} not for GA {husband}. Now I also fixed another appointment. I am doing all these with my own expense, not GA 's expense. Why am I going so? It is because you are a mother of several children. If it were for your single life, I wouldn't have made all these attempts. We can't let a mother of many children go away like this. It is culturally immoral for these Arsisi {the elders}. ... (L- 1076-1080)

Here the elders stress the child care issue to manipulate the wife's and shift her attention towards the children. The elders know that because of the close attachment that she has with her children, the wife could easily be persuaded to accept the decisions for the sake of her children. In Case 2 the issue of children was raised differently for making emotional appeals. The wife in this case could not bear children in her twelve years of married life. So the elders of the wife side frequently raised the issue of her sterility in their attempt to persuade the elders of the other side and the husband to give the plot of land.

Ewf: Amma wanti ishii busheesse, ilmoo isiin dhabde san *bichaa* [qofa]. Amma nuhuu garaa nunyaate diqqoo...(C2-Ca3-S2-42-43).
 : Now what reduced her value is only her inability to bear children. Now we really start to sympathize with her...

EWf: ...isiin hardha of jalatti waa laalaa hinjirtu. Gadi baatu, dachii kana laalti...(C2-Ca4- S1- 11')
 : As you can see, she has no children to be with now. She could see only this soil when she goes out of her house.

The elders in the above excerpts expressed their sadness over the way the husband and the elders of his side treated the wife because of her inability to bear children. The expression of the second speaker “wanti ishii busheesse” ‘what made her unwanted or useless’, clearly reveal that the wife had been refused the plot only because she could not bear children. The elders constructed the wife’s sterility problem as something natural and something to be sympathized with. The utterance of the last speaker “gadi baatu dachii kana laalti” ‘when she goes outside, she can see nothing but this soil’ is emotionally loaded speech which was meant to appeal to the emotion of the elders of the husband side so that they convince the husband to give the wife the plot of land and treat her properly.

6.5.13 Using Proverbs and Sayings

Proverbs and sayings are often used in the discourse of people in different cultures to communicate messages in clinched and attractive manner. The use of proverbs and sayings are very common among Oromo elders in general. To indicate the emphasis on the use of proverbs among Oromo society, Jeilan (2004:116) quoted the following common Oromo proverb: "Dubbiin mammaaksa malee, Ittoon soogidda malee hinmi'awu" which means 'A speech without proverb is like a stew without salt'. The proverb clearly shows that proverbs are used as spice to give good flavor to someone's speech or “add beauty and strength to their points of view” (Ibid). According to the same scholar, among Oromos, proverbs are used either to open or to conclude someone's speech. In almost all cases, the proverbs used by the elders in the recorded JSs were used to introduce the speakers' idea.

Scholars like Agbaje (2002), Avruch (1998) affirm that cultural sayings and proverbs can serve as a tool in resolving conflicts by changing the behavior or feelings of parties in dispute. In this regard, Agbaje (2002), who conducted a study on the use of proverbs in conflict resolution among Yoruba' society in Africa states the following:

"Any kind of penetrating comment on behavior may be made in the form of a proverb and used to warn or advise or bring someone to his senses. Therefore, whenever the appropriate proverb is presented to the parties in dispute, the tensions that are inherent in such relationships are controlled through the use of elliptical proverbial speech" (2002: 237).

In the recorded JSs, the elders used various proverbs and sayings at different phases of the session to manage the communication among the participants or to lead disputants towards reconciliation. In this section, I present the analysis of the contextual meanings and communicative purposes of some of the proverbs and sayings used by the elders in the recorded JSs.

A. ... Yaa'a ilmoon godaante karaa bulte (90)

(A flock of migrants who journeys taking small children with them spend the night on the road or cannot reach their destination on time (L-92-94)

The wife's brother in Case 1 had used this proverb at the beginning of the presentation of the conflict story on behalf of the wife. According to this proverb, a group of migrant who takes children with them cannot move quickly and arrive at their destination because of the sluggishness of the children. So the children are burdens and obstacles to the group. With this proverb the speaker drew analogy between the couples and the children. Just like what the children did to the group, the spouses had troubled the elders by repeatedly engaging in disputes and calling the elders for *jaarsummaa*. In other words,

the speaker used this proverb to express how much he and the other elders suffered because of the repeated disputes of the couples. This proverb can help the speaker make emotional appeal by making the spouses feel ashamed of their action.

B. *Jabbiif dubbii maraa hindhawatan (L-522)*

(One shall not complicate an issue as one shall not tie a calf with repeated knots (L-512-513)

In this proverb, *jabbii* literally ‘calf’ symbolizes the Case being resolved whereas repeated knots refer to the disputants’ and the elders’ speech. According to this proverb, if one ties a calf with repeated knots, one will face difficulty to unknot the rope and release the calf. While the person is struggling to untie the knot, the calf may hurt itself. Similarly, if disputants talk too many negative things about each other, it makes the reconciliation process very difficult. The ME used this proverb to warn the participants not to complicate the issue by raising unnecessary questions or criticizing each other.

C. *Dubbii gara nyaattee indhabanii, biraa deebi'anii (L-690-1)*

(One has always some more things to say about an issue under discussion, but one needs to stop it somewhere (L-678-680)

The speaker had used this proverb to make the elders stop discussing too much about the disputants problem and gear the discourse of the session towards reconciliation phase. The speaker used this saying because he realized that digging further in to the problem might widen the gap between the two sides and may make the reconciliation process.

D. *Utubaa manaa haga dhiibaniif haga dhiisan qaba (L-994)*

(A pillar of a hut shall be pushed to a certain limit. (L-992-3)

Traditionally when a hut is built, the roof and the wall are built separately. After the construction of the wall is finished, a group of people pick up the roof and put on the

finished wall. To help the people hanging the roof, some people standing inside the wall insert the pillar in to the hole at the center of the cone shaped roof of the hut and pull or push it to the upright position. According to this proverb, if we push the pillar of a hut beyond its limit, the roof of the hut may tilt to one side and the pillar may not support the roof in the required upright position. This proverb was used by the ME to stop the elders of the wife side from blaming the husband further and aggravate the situation.

E. Dammaaf soddaa hinduudhatan (L-1001)

(One shall not strongly tighten the rope that holds a bag of honey on the back of pack animals. Likewise one shall not talk to his in-laws harshly or firmly (L-999-1001)

This proverb has almost the same communicative purpose with the preceding proverbs (C,D, F). The ME used this proverb to advise the elders of the wife side and the husband to respect each other or to talk to each other with some respect like in-laws. He wanted them to stop them from raising too many negative things about each other as this may increase the gap between the two and make the reconciliation process difficult.

F. Abjuu sodaatanii, hirriiba hindhiisan/hindhaban” (L-887-8)

‘One can’t abandon sleeping for fear of [horrible] dream’ (L- 890-1)

This proverb had been used by one of the elders of the wife side in Case 1 to express his intention for the return of the wife to her husband. In this proverb *abjuu* ‘dream [horrible]’ refers to the mounting danger because of the bad behavior of the husband whereas *hirriiba* ‘sleep’ refers to the reconciliation of the spouses. The speaker used this proverb to indirectly persuade the wife to accept the elders’ decision. It was a way of putting psychological pressure up on the wife and makes her accept the resolution in spite of the husband’s abuse.

G. *Madaan huuban hodhan, sirimaa hinfayyuu* (C2-Ca 3-s2-31')
(*A wound stitched with its dirt never heals*)

This proverb was used by one of the elders of the wife side. The proverb conveys a warning message. In this proverb, *madaa* 'wound' symbolizes the dispute whereas *hodduu* 'stitching' and *huuba* 'dirt' symbolizes the mediation process and the wrong information respectively. The speaker used the proverb to indicate that if the mediation is done based on wrong information, it won't last longer. The proverb presupposes that the elders of the husband side had tried to hide some truth. So the speaker used this proverb to persuade the addressee to speak the truth so that a lasting solution could be sought.

H. "Worris keessan wallolaa? Jennaanii, "Ee gaafuu wallollaa, yoma sanuu araarama" jedhe. "Keessan hoo wallolaa?" jennaanii, "wal hin loluu, gaafa wallole walitti hindeebi'uu" jedhe jedhan. (C2- Ca1-S2- 14').

"Do your parents quarrel?" asked the first speaker. "Yes the quarrel every day, but reconcile soon" answered the second speaker. "How about yours?" asked the second speaker. "They do not usually quarrel, but when they quarrel they never reconcile" answered the first speaker.

This proverb was forwarded by one of the elders in Case 2. The proverb which believed to have taken place in the form of question and answer dialogue between two children contains important persuasive message. The first respondent indicated that his parents quarrel almost every day, but reconciles soon. What is implied here is the fact that couples who frequently quarrels easily resolves their disputes. In this case, the speaker attempted to draw analogy between the parents of the first respondent in the proverb and the couples in Case 2. The speaker had used this proverb to tell the couple that even though they quarreled several times before; there is possibility for them to come to

reconciliation. He constructed conflict and reconciliation as collocating natural social phenomena. In short, the proverb presupposes the inevitability of the reconciliation of the couples. In general, the elders used the above mentioned proverbs and sayings to redirect the communication in JS from blame talks to peace talk or reconciliation. The elders also utilized the proverbs to persuade the disputants by making appeals to the common norms of the target society.

6.5.14 Discussion and Summary

As discussed above, the elders in the recorded JSs had used various discourse strategies in their attempt to persuade the disputants to accept the decisions made in the sessions. The discursive strategies used by the elders include: making direct request, forecasting negative consequences, claiming for impartiality, using emotive languages, using collective voice, telling anecdotes, using honorifics, blessing and prayer for reconciliation, affirming positive worth of disputants, giving advice, giving *dhugaa* ‘truth’ which is simply giving recognition for someone as victim, stressing the issue of child care and the use of proverbs and sayings. These discourse strategies are only those which were commonly used by the elders across the analyzed JSs.

Through the above discourse strategies, the elders made one or two appeals at a time. They used the strategies primarily to appeal to the emotion of disputants and persuade them to accept the decisions. They positioned themselves as guardian, as norms educators, as agents of peace, as compassionate or goodwill persons. At the same time, they affirmed the positive qualities or personalities of the disputants. These in turn helped

the elders persuade the disputants by avoiding instances of communication which may threaten the face or public self-image of the disputants. According to Ting-Toomey (1988) cited in Griffin (2000), face saving communication strategies are important tools that mediator in any culture must process in order to carry out their activities effectively. The elders also threatened the disputants with possible negative consequences such as undesirable outcomes of litigation and the punishment of supernatural power. In general, one can reasonably conclude that positive presentation of self and the *jaarsummaa* program is the major intervention strategies of the elders of Arsi Oromo.

In addition to the above discursive strategies, the elders also used procedural intervention strategies such as venting the conflict emotions of disputants by allowing them to narrate their conflict stories without interruptions. Scholars confirm that such strategy could help the disputants let out their conflict emotion or anger smoothly or “get things off their chest” (Roberts, 2008: 166). According to the same scholar, when they are listened to attentively, the disputants may feel that their problems and complains are given recognition and respect. Consequently, they trust the elders and accept the final resolutions forwarded by them.

In the hearing phase, the elders also avoided testifying in the session by siding one party even though they know the truth. They also avoided facial expressions and emotional utterances which may indirectly approve or disapprove what the disputants tell to the session. The elders also avoided cross-examination questions although they knew that a disputant is giving false information or denying the truth. Avoiding such discursive practices might have helped the elders to avoid creating the sense of competition between

the disputants and triggering negative emotion which could have negatively affected the process and the outcome of *jaarsummaa*.

The various ritual practices held at the end of the reconciliation phase could also be mentioned as non-verbal persuasion strategy used by the elders. Most of the JSs recorded for this study were concluded by various ritual practices such as hugging each other, kissing ones shoulders/knees, spitting on ones palms, drinking from same container, eating together. According to, Davidheiser (2006:5), ritual practices which involve “stylized apologies or pleas for forgiveness, the sharing of food or drink, or other symbolically significant activities” are used to conclude the peacemaking or conflict resolution process among many societies.

In general, the elders in the target society employed various discursive and non-discursive strategies in their attempt to persuade disputants to accept the reconciliatory decisions of the elders. To legitimize their persuasion, the elders mainly appeal to three things: the emotions of the disputants, the existing social norms, and practices, religious discourse (Supernatural ‘fear of God’) and government discourse (Law/modern court).

Other strategies of intervention which focus on the substantive aspect of the interaction of mediation such as rephrasing, reformulating, focusing which are commonly used by mediators in the western culture, were less frequently used during *jaarsummaa* sessions. This is true mainly because *jaarsummaa*, unlike the mediation in the western culture, does not allow direct negotiation between disputants. The communication of disputants in *jaarsummaa* session is directed towards the elders.

To summarize, although there are some intervention strategies that they share with mediators in the western liberal culture, the use of intervention strategies with primary purpose of making emotional appeal rather than logic and reason, could make the elders of Arsi Oromo to be different.

6.6 Analysis of Power Relationship in JD

In any social interaction, participants construct their identities and that of their interlocutors in the language they use. The social identities that a speaker assumes in an interaction in one way or another reflect the nature of power relationship between him/her and his/her interlocutor (Locher, 2004). Strengthening this, Wodak (2007:210) states that "texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance." Thus, in the interaction of JS, it is inevitable that the elders and disputants construct their own identities and that of their interlocutors in various ways and this in turn reflects some kind of power relationship between them. In this section, I conduct a critical analysis of JD corpus to see the nature of power relationship between these groups. To put the textual analysis of JD on a firm ground, I also included the interpretation of the broader socio-cultural and political factors which are believed to have contributed their share in shaping the power relationship in JD.

Since there was no instance of direct interaction between disputants during JS, the power relationship between the two was analyzed based on information obtained from the conflict stories they told the session. Disagreement sites were identified as relevant points

which clearly show the way they positioned themselves and each other. Similarly, moments of interaction where the elders communicate decisions and where disputants resist have been selected as best sites which depict the power relationship between the two. The analysis of power relationship was carried out mainly by using the analytical frameworks of positioning theory and CDA as pointed out before.

6.6.1 Power Relationship between the Spouses

As some scholars in the area witness, conflicts often occur between individuals or groups when there is unfair or unequal power relationship between them and when the disadvantaged group refuses to accept such relationship (Locher, 2004). So analyzing the discourse of mediation sessions can help find out the kind of power relationship that has led the disputants in to conflict.

As reflected in the conflict stories of the couples in the recorded JSs, husbands seem to have absolute power over their wives' life in almost all aspects. The wives often positioned their husbands as authoritative, abusive, negligent, adulterer, and even potential threat to their life. Contrary to this, the wives position themselves as helpless victims. For instance, regarding the right to use their common properties, the wife in Case 1 stated the following in her conflict story:

Wf: ...Uffadhee akkuma sanuu akkuma inni jedhu sanuu anii daaraan hinbeekkamu, daaraan keessaa hinqabu. Oduu warri kiyya rakkatee rakkoon keessaa hinqabu. Oduu haati tiyya dhibamtee nibrata kiyya jedhee fudhee ani garuu hindeemuun. Oduu cidhaatii garas fudhadhee hindeemuun... (L-147-150)
:(...I don't have clothes to wear. I have nothing to buy clothes. I have nothing to give to my parents if they face problem. If my mother becomes sick, I can't take

anything as my property to help her. I can't take anything to my parents to attend marriage ceremony (of her brothers or relatives)...(L-151-5)

As indicated in the above extract, the wife complained that she could not make use of their common properties to fulfill her personal as well as social needs. She couldn't buy clothes for herself. She has no money to go and visit her relatives. This may depict the complete power dominance of the husband concerning the right of the wife to use properties which is supposed to be their common. According to the wife's brother, when the husband refused to buy her clothes in their previous conflict, the wife took the case to the women's affairs bureau of the district, but the officers there also tried to convince the husband to buy her the clothes rather than requesting him to give her money to buy clothes. The situation was narrated by the wife's brother as follows:

Ewf: Uffata mataa isiillee hinqabduu, uffata kanas dhimma dubartootatittillee himnee "Uffatas uwwisi (uuu) Rakkoo isiillee baasi. Araaramaa; yoo isin araaramtan fedha qabna," ka jedhu achitti itti kennan...(L- 118-120)

: *She has no clothes. Last time, when we went to the women's affairs office, they told him to buy her clothes and to solve all her problems... (L-122-4)*

The above excerpt shows that the husband has still the right to decide on the type of clothes he should buy for the wife and when to buy them. Therefore, the officers who were supposed to work for the equality of women's right also seem to have given recognition for the husband's dominance. Again the husband moved the cattle against the interest of the wife as she stated below:

Wf: "... Maal irraa qabda? Yoo horiif taatee Ush (abba niitii) sitti haa kadhaabuu "... sanii miti yoo jette, sidhiisii, warrattiin tanteetuu homaa nangootu ... seera dhiisii, Mallasuu homaa nangodu" naan jedhee na dhaadateera ...(L-156-159)

: He threatened me by saying “You have no right over these animals. If you want, you can ask Ush {wife’s father} to give you. Otherwise, let alone you, your parents could bring nothing... Let alone the law, even Melles (prime Minister) could do nothing...(L- 160-5).

In reporting the husband’s abuse as in the above excerpts, the wife employed emphatic expressions “seera dhiisii, Mallasuu homaa nangodhu” ‘let alone the law, even Melles (the Prime Minister) could bring nothing’ to position the husband as an authority with invincible decision making power over their common property. In his response, to most of the above accusations, the husband tried to justify his action rather than denying them. This could also be cited as evidence which proves the husband’s power dominance. The wife in Case 2 also positioned the husband in the same manner. In the following excerpts, the wife positioned herself as victim of her husband’s negligence.

Wf: ka qabeenna adda naaf qoodu achi yaa taa’uu, ka qara yoo ani beela’u naa qicu saniyyuu, qabenna adda naa baasee waan hinjirreef, qicaa, qicaan na horataa gizze maraayyuu...ani midhaan fixadhee. Naa qicaa jedhee yoo kadhaddhu kana, haga torbaan tokkoo, haga torbaan lamaa, odoo naaf hinqicne, *gizze* ani garaa kiyya hidhadhee macaruun kiyya nagogeetin jedhe booda naa qica... (C2-Ca1-S1-9’).
: Let alone giving me my share, he even refused to give me the food grain that he used to give me on ration basis. When I ask him to give me the grain, he gives me, after a week or two. After waiting for so long for the grain, I even sometimes starve to death. He gives me after my stomach is dried and emaciated.

According to the wife in the above excerpt, the husband provided the wife with food grain on a ration basis. Sometimes, he refused to give her the grain on time and as a result she got starved. This clearly indicates the fact that the husband had a sole authority to decide over the right to use the ‘common property’ of the couple. In his response to this

charge, the husband indicated that he had been giving the food grain to the wife on time, yet he did not deny the fact that he is in charge of controlling the resource.

In addition to the above mentioned reported instances of power abuses, the language use of the couples also revealed the power difference between the couples. For instance, the possessive pronouns/adjectives used in the couples' speech indirectly reveal the dominance of the husband. The following excerpt from Case 1 illustrates this:

Wf: ... ani finnuma **isaatiin** guddisa...(L-153)
... *I use only for his children (L-157-8)*

Here the wife says "finnuma isaa" 'his children' rather than saying "finnuma keenya" 'our children'. She talks about the children as if they were the private property of the husband rather than something they commonly own. She linguistically excluded herself from the right to own her children. The husband's word in the following excerpt also strengthens this:

Hs: ...Kadaa'immanii anatu mala dhahaaf jedheen. **Finni kiyyaa.** Eee finni kiyyaa ... "Daa'imman **tiyyaa** anatu mala dhayaa. Qarallee akiinuu guddifadheeraa. Hardhallee mala dhahuufii hindadhabuu" jedheen (L-372-374)
...*I told her that I will have solution for the children. They are my children. Yes, my children. I will give solution for my children. I brought them up any way. Like I did before, I will have solution for them today...(L-370-373)*

Here the husband says "finni kiyya" or "daa'imman tiyya" 'my children' instead of saying "finna keenya" or "daa'imman keenya" 'our children'. He also says "guddifadheera" 'I brought them up' instead of saying "guddifanneera" 'we brought them up'. So the husband's choice of words excludes the wife from the parental right she has over their children. Therefore, both the husband and the wife consciously or

unconsciously reveal the social power dominance of the husband. This could also be considered as an instance which depicts the hegemonic power of male in the target society.

In short, as it is evident from the conflict stories of the wives in the above mentioned cases, husbands seem to have frequently abused their power by denying their wives' of their legal right to decide on or equally benefit from their common properties. The dispute between the spouses seems to have resulted from the wives' resistance to such power abuses. Thus, one of the major goals of the elders in the JSs of spousal disputes was to persuade the husband to stop this power abuse and to readjust the power imbalance. For instance the elders in Case 1 were urging the husband to promise not to take any action on the common properties of the couple without consulting the wife, "Qabeenna isii marii isiitiin malee, mariin ala hinxuqu" (L-860-61) 'I will never touch her property without consulting her'. Here the elders were trying to share the decision-making power between the two. In the following excerpts also the elders clearly stated that the spouses have equal ownership right over their properties.

Ewf: ...Qabeenna **keessani (plu)**. Qabeenni keennaa mitii. Ka keessan lamaaniiti. Isin lamaan jiddutti argama. Yoo walmari'attan, waluu gurguradhaa (L-924-927)

: (... *The property is yours. It is not ours. It belongs to **both of you**. It is what you have in common. If you agree, you can even sell one another {let alone the properties}* (L-923-925).

ME: (...Qabeenna kana walumaan qaban. Qabeenna kana yoo rakkattani, mariin gurguradhaa. Mariin deemaa. Akka kana deemanii (L-1094-1096)

: *You own these properties jointly. You can sell these properties with agreement and use it to solve your problems. Sell them {cows} on agreement. Do things with agreement. That is how it should be...* (L-1104-1106)

The inclusive expressions in the above excerpts "keessan lamaani" 'belongs to both of you[plu]' and "isin lamaan jidduutti argama" 'it is found between you [plu] two' , "walumaan qabdan" 'you own it jointly', clearly shows the elders attempt to convince the husband to accept the equal rights and decision making power that the wife has over their common property. The expressions also presuppose the fact that the husband denied the wife of her rights. So the elders were trying to reposition the wife in the ways that allow her to share power in deciding on spouses' common property. In Case 2 as well, the major target of the elders were to secure the plot of land for the wife. After long discussion that took place over three days, the elders of the wife side managed to secure some plot of land that the wife can privately use. This may help reduce or minimize the wives economic dependence on her husband. This could also help empower the wife psychologically. In short, the claims made by the wives for the equality of decision making power and the power to equally benefit from the common properties of the couples could be mentioned as an indicator of the absence of such rights in the target society.

In addition to economic power abuses discussed above, the wives in the recorded mediation sessions also indicated that their husbands had been engaged in sexual abuse by committing adultery, a practice which could expose the couples to HIV/ AIDS, according to the wives. The following two excerpts indicate how the wives in Case 1 and Case 2 illustrated the situation.

Wf: **"Haala itti deemaartu kana, ziinaa hujaartu kana, dhiisi" jedhee jira.**
Barrillee bara badaa. Sodaachisaa. Dhiisi, nattis mudaa fiddaa, ofittis mudaa fiddaa dhiisi" jedheetiin didee jira (L-197-200).

: "Please stop what you are doing, the sin you are committing," I told him. I said, "The time is bad, threatening. Please stop. You will bring trouble to me and to yourself, please stop." He refused...(L-202-205)

Wf: ...maayessarra sirumaayyuu amala qara irratti hibeennellee amalaa...ani keessallee qaaquu hinbarbaaduu, amala badaa biraallee *cacammaraa* waan deemeef, deebi'eetii wanni akkanaa kuni maal fakkaata? Garuu **bara kanallee hin'argitanii**, Amalli akkanaa kuni, *gizee* akaakayyoota keennaa ka durii lufe malee, amma gizeen kuni waan bushaayee jiruuf, isin itti gatuu hiqabdanii. Yoo *minaalbaata* kadandeettan ta'e, himaatii gorsaa" jedheen (C2-Ca1-S1- 11').

: eventually, he even started to show strange behavior, I do not want to tell everything now, another bad behavior that I did not see him doing. Then I told the neighboring elders. I said, "how do you see this thing {husbands adultery}, you know what is going on these days. This very outdated action had been practiced by our grand fathers. Now since the time is dangerous, why do you let him do this?". I said, "Advise him and try to stop him if you can".

In both cases, the wives indirectly described their husbands' adultery and the potential threat of such practice. The expressions " haala itti deemtu" 'what you are doing', "ziinaa" 'sin' in Case 1 and "amala qara irratti hinbeenne" 'his strange behavior', "amala badaa" 'bad behavior', in Case 2, were meant to indirectly refer to the husbands' adultery. Here, the wives also seem to be more conscious of the potential threat of their husbands' adultery. The expressions "bara badaa, sodachisaa" 'bad time, frightening', "mudaa"³⁹ 'defect' in Case 1 and "bara kanallee hin'argitanii" 'you know what is going on these days', "gizeen kuni waan bushaayee jiruuf" 'since the time is bad' in Case 2 were used by the wives to indirectly refer to the current threat of HIV/AIDS. Although the wives were aware of their husbands practice and the subsequent risk they might face, they did not dare take serious actions, but tried to advise their husbands or told the husbands' parents and the neighboring elders to do so.

³⁹ "mudaa" or also called "mudoo" in some areas is the term which refers to some kind of defect which makes someone or something unacceptable by reducing his/her/its status.

The husbands' adultery, I believe, was the major cause of the spouses' dispute in both cases though it had been camouflaged by other causes. In Case 1, the elders advised the husband to refrain from his adultery, but in Case 2, nothing had been mentioned about the husband's adultery in the course of the mediation, yet the wife accepted the reconciliation.

During informal discussion that I had with the middle elder after the completion of Case 2, I asked why the elders refrained from mentioning the husband's adultery. He told me that the elders intentionally omitted it because they knew from their previous experience that they cannot stop the husband. Among the target society, although polygamy is still acceptable, adultery is an unacceptable social practice. In both cases, the wives accepted the reconciliation in spite of their awareness about danger facing them.

The wives might have their own reasons for doing so, but I believe that the following factors could be mentioned as major reasons. The first one is the persuasion of elders. Once they accept the intervention of the elders, it is usually uncommon for disputants to reject the decision of the elders. The second possible reason could be the lack of options for the wives. Since they are not educated, there is less chance for them to lead an independent life if they refuse the elders decision and opt for divorce. Once they get divorced, there is also rare chance for them to remarry.

6.6.2 Contextual Analysis of Spousal Power Relationship

Among Arsi Oromo, mainstream discourses such as marriage discourses, sayings and proverbs construct the social identities of women in the way that clearly reflect the

existing gender ideology of the society which reflects male power and dominance. This gender ideology could be mentioned as a major factor that shaped the spousal power relationship in JD. Scholars in the field of discourse theory confirm that someone's action towards a certain subject is influenced by the way he thinks and talks about it (Karlberg, 2005). Thus, the discussion in this section focuses on some common cultural discourses which are believed to have shaped the gender power relationship as reflected in the spousal disputes JSs recorded for the current study. The sample texts analyzed here include metaphors and sayings taken from mainstream discourses, the interview made with community elders, and the excerpt from the discourse of cultural marriage among target society. In addition to this, the social representations of women in some cultural practices were also analyzed.

6.6.2.1 Marriage Discourse

As it has been discussed by previous researchers such as Jeilan Hussien (2004:108), the expressions used in the discourse of marriage among Oromo reflect gender ideology. According to this scholar, the two common terms which show marital relationship: *fuudhuu* 'taking a girl in marriage' for a man and *heerumuu* 'being wedded or taken away in marriage' for a woman position the man actively as possessor and the woman as being possessed. The complaint of the husband regarding the issue of signing the final agreement and the debate he made with the elder in Case 1 strengthens Jeilan's claim.

In Case 1, although the husband agreed to accept the resolutions suggested by the elders and to sign the agreement, he did not seem to be happy about his new position or power

status. This is evident from the words he uttered in the form of joke towards the end of the session (1146-49).

Hs: () amma bee isi/{ishiitti} nugurguraartan malee, isii nuggurguraa/{nutti gurguraa} hinjirtanii.(L-1223).

: () *Now do you know that you are **selling** me (giving me in marriage) to her, not selling her to me.*(L-1236)

Els: [[Eee qara bee isii siggurguree . Amma si ijibbaannan isi/{ishitti} sigurguraarraa. Amma isi sifuudhaara. Har'a isi sifuudhaa jira]] (L-1227)

: [[*yes, you know that we sold her to you before. Now because of your behavior, we are 'selling you' to her. Now she is taking you in marriage. Today, she is buying/marrying you.*(L-1238).

The word "gurguruu" literally means 'to sell' is used in the target community to mean "giving away a girl in marriage". When parents give away their daughter in marriage, people say "intala gurguratan" literally mean 'they have sold their daughter'. On the other hand, when parents allow their son to marry, it is called "Ilmatti fuudhan" ' they have picked [a wife] for their son.' The term *gurguruu* which is used in reference to girls position the girls as property that is given away in exchange for money. So, this term could indirectly belittle the personal status and the power of girls. The term *gururuu* 'to sell' in the target society may refer to the money or heads of cattle that the girl's parent take from the husband or his family locally called *gabbara* 'bride price'. On the contrary, the term *fuudhuu* 'to take away' implies that the doer has the power over the subject. So the use of this term for male may indicate the higher social status or the power that a husband has over his wife. This could also reflect the existing hegemonic power of male which constructs male as possessor and female as possessed.

In the above excerpts, the husband described the action of signing the agreement [report written to the court concerning the result of the mediation] as being sold to the wife or being given to the wife in marriage, the action which may affect his social status. The elders clearly told him that because of his bad behavior, he has lost his normal social status of a husband and now given the status of a wife, which is considered as the lower social status whereas the wife is given the status of the husband. "Now because of your behavior, we are *selling you* to her. Now she is taking you. Today, she is buying/marrying you." In short, the debate over lexical choice here reflects the indirect objection of the husband to the elders' decision which forces him to share 'equal' power with his wife.

In addition to the above lexicalization of the spouses social status, the message that a father tells his son-in-law on the spouses' wedding day locally called *dhaamata* or *dhaamannaa abbaa*, could also be mentioned as a factor that shaped the gender power relationship in JD. The following excerpt illustrates the common way of stating such message:

1 Mucattii horadhu	<i>Handle/keep the girl properly</i>
2 Bara jalqabaa naaf horadhu.	<i>During the first year, keep her for the sake of me.</i>
3 Bara itti aanu maqaa gosa tanaaf horadhu.	<i>The following year, keep her for the sake of this clan {girl's clan}</i>
4 Bara kaan maqaa abbeetitiif horadhu	<i>In the other years, keep her for the sake of you father.</i>
5 Takkattiin hindarbin. Dhaanii ofitti qabi.	<i>Do not throw her at first. Beat her but keep her to yourself.</i>
6 Horii leenjisiif	<i>Train animals for her.</i>
7 Meeshaa hanqate guutiif	<i>Buy her all the utensils she need.</i>
8 Yoo gorsitee dadhabde gara kiyya koottu...	<i>If she refuse to accept your advice, come to me.</i>

The expressions in the above excerpt construct the wife as dependent, disobedient, and immature. The utterance on (L-1) constructs the husband as a controller or administrator and the wife as a subject to be administered. The meanings of the utterances (L-2-4) indicate that the husband has to keep the wife not because of her own personality, but for the sake of respecting his father-in-law, the clan of his father-in-law, and his own father. The message of the utterance in (L-5) clearly entrusts the husband with the right to beat his wife. Implied in the expression “takkattiin hindarbin” ‘do not throw her at once’ is also the fact that the husband has the right to drive the wife away from her home. The utterance in (L-6&7) also positions the wife as immature person who needs to be educated on how to manage her home. The utterances on the other hand position the husband as a coach, a trainer. The last line also positions the husband as wiser person who is in charge of advising the wife. On the contrary the wife is constructed as disobedient or a person of bad behavior who needs to be told and be corrected.

6.6.2.2 Interview of the Local Elders

a. *Dubartiin Gaaddisatti Hinbaatu* (Women do not come out to the Shade⁴⁰)

In the traditional culture of Arsi Oromo, which of course is true in other societies in Ethiopia as well (Tarekegn Adebo and Hanan Tsadik ,2008), women do not come out to a shade or appear in a mediation session to present their complaints. They have been represented in the session by their closer relatives: brother or father. The following response of one of the elders in the interview session clearly indicates this.

⁴⁰ **Shade** ‘*gaaddisa*’ in this context is a metaphorical expression used to mean a mediation session. The name is given after the shade of a tree under which it usually takes place.

...Uumee kalee ka Arsoomaa ka Oromoo keessatti yaa'atti hinbaasan, gaaddisatti hinbaasan dubartii. Dubartiin Yaa'atti hinbaatu. Amma *zamana* kana namni rakkatee gaaddisa walbaasa malee, haati manaaf abbaan manaa gaaddisa takkatti hincokaman...Wanta kaleessa Oromoon murtiin hinqabne namatti uumamamaa jira malee (Source: Interview with Members of Abba Gada Elders in Arsi Nagelle district)

:(... In the previous culture and norms of Arsi or Oromo at large, women are not allowed to come to shade or the gathering of elders. Women do not come out to gatherings. These days people (husband and wife) take each other to the shade because there is problem, but a wife and a husband normally are not mediated in one shade ... Something which did not exist in the norms of the Oromo people is happening to us {these days}

Here the speaker stresses that the original norms and culture of Arsihood and Oromo as a whole does not allow an Oromo woman to come out to *jaarsummaa* sessions and other gatherings. But he indicated that these days, women come out to the shade because there is problem "amma *zamana* kana namni rakkatee gaaddisa walbaasa malee" 'these days people (husband and wife) take each other to the *shade* or JSs because there is a problem". It is evident from the above excerpts that women are allowed to come out to shade these days because of some external pressure which the speaker described as 'problem'. This speaker also described the physical presence of women in the JSs as something strange which did not exist in the norms of the society "waan kaleessa Oromoon murtiin hinqabne namatti uumamaa jira malee" ' something which the Oromo people did not have in their custom/traditional law has been made to happen on people'.

This strange rule, which allowed women to come to the shade and equally attend JSs together with their husbands are presumably the introduction of the modern government laws and gender right discourses which emphasizes gender equality. The expression "namatti uumamaa jira" 'happening on people' in the above excerpt indicates that this

new practice is imposed upon the elders by some external force, not a desired change that has come in line with the interest of elders. He described this new phenomenon as something imposed and something which disturbed the established cultural norms of the society. Implied in the elder's expression is also the top-down approach that has been used by the government in the introduction of the new discourse of gender equality

The speaker in the above excerpt refrained from mentioning what this new phenomenon or change is. He also elided the agent, in this case the government, by using passivization. This may be due to the context of the speech and the interlocutor there. The interview was conducted in the compound of Arsi Nagelle culture and tourism bureau. So the interviewee might have refrained from negatively describing the new government law in the presence of me and other elders and in the territory of the government, to avoid any possible risk.

According to the local elders I interviewed, culturally a woman is allowed to come to a 'shade' or *jaarsummaa* sessions to present her complaints only when her husband beats her while she is in her maternity house. When I asked the elders why the personal participation of women in JS is forbidden, they gave me two reasons. First they told me that women are 'highly respected' "dubartiin yaa'atti hinbaatu; Wayyooma qabdi" 'women are highly respected so they do not come out to gatherings'. Secondly, they told me that the causal factors of spousal disputes may involve some top personal secrets which should not be told publicly and may widen the gap between the two if told publicly. So, the physical participation of women in JSs has not been positively welcomed by the elders.

In general, the elders considered denying women the access to JSs as common cultural norm. However, the body who invented the norm is obscured in *aadaa* or norm. Obviously one cannot expect women to be the designers or agents of this norm. So the norms were no doubt developed and promoted by males with the aim of establishing their hegemony or making their life easy at the expense of women's right and interest. According to Mayr (2008: 14), "as a practice of power, hegemony operates largely through language: people consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural groups generating the discourse represent them as 'natural'."

In the JSs I recorded and observed for the current study, the wives were physically present, yet in most of the cases, they did not directly participate in the process. In one of the four spousal disputes JSs that I recorded, the wife was not allowed to utter a word even though she was physically there, sitting at a little distance away from the elders and turning her face away from the elders. But in the remaining three sessions, the wives were pushed by the elders to present their cases personally. However, in these cases as well, the wives did not sit in the circle of the elders at the beginning. They sat out of the circle like the woman in the first case. For instance in Case 1, one of the elders said "Assiqaa haadha AD, ol qajeelaa...(L-86) ' come closer AD's mother, face up [towards the elders]'. So, I feel that the elders pushed the wives to come to the circle may be because they wanted to help me record the session. They might have also considered me as a government body that went there to work for gender right. Once again, although they were physically present in the session, the wives were not given the first turn to present their cases in two of the cases. In Case 1, the wife was represented by her brother. First the brother presented the conflict story of the wife. She was given the second chance only

to tell things which her brother forgot to mention. The last words of the brother in his first turn clearly indicate this. He said "Haftuu hafte mucattiinillee dubbattuu hindandeessi" (L-126) 'the girl also can tell what is left untold'.

Therefore, from what has been discussed above, one could possibly guess that the physical presence of the wives in JSs was nominal. Although the elders allow their physical presence, they don't seem to be happy in allowing the direct participation of wives in the interaction of the session. So, this may imply that in spite of the prevailing government discourse regarding gender rights, the previous cultural discourse about the exclusion of women from JSs still exists in the society with very slight modifications.

- b. **"Dubbiin haadha manaaf abbaa manaa yakka hinqabdu"** (There is no crime in spousal dispute) **"Abba Manaa Hin yakkan"** (A husband is not judged criminal)

According to these expressions, in the *jaarsummaa* of spousal disputes, the husband is not judged as criminal unless the dispute causes death of the wife or serious physical injuries. The following extract taken from one of the elder's interview responses strengthens the saying.

...Haga fedhe haa balleessu. Haguma fe'e yaa *baddalu*. Abbaa warraa isiif jedhanii isa hinyakkan. Uumee kaleessaa keessatti hinjiru. Hiyyakkan. Yaaduu qabda jedhaniin. Hingorsan. Maal godhan? Yoo isiin mitee jiraatte, yoo isiin balleessitee jiraatte, mataa dhungadhu. Luka dhungadhu. kanaan araarsa (*Abba Gadaa Elders of Arsi Nagelle district*)

: (...Whatever mistakes he commits, no matter how much he hurts her. A husband is not judged as criminal or punished for what he did to his wife. He won't be judged as criminal. He will be told to think properly. What is commonly done is that when a wife mistreats her husband, when she hurts him, she will be made to kiss his head or knees and apologize to her husband. That is how they are mediated...).

The speaker claims that what has been mentioned in this quotation is a practice in previous times and he claim that the situation has changed now. But what practically happened in the recorded JSs indicates that the old practice is still there. For example, in Case 1, when the husband openly admitted that he had made mistakes, the elders did not propose any kind of fine on him. They even did not request the husband to verbally apologize to her for his mistakes. They simply advised him and made him sign an agreement not to repeat the same in future. This could be considered as one instance that reflects the prevailing male power dominance in the target society.

6.6.2.3 Metaphors of Women

Barker and Galasinski (2001:33) define *metaphors* as “processes by which one idea comes to stand for a series of associated meanings”. In addition to what has been discussed so far, some metaphorical expressions that are used to refer to a wife or a woman in the JD and in the mainstream discourse of the target society hold thick message about the social status and roles of women in the target society. For instance, the elders used the term ***buqqee*** (gourd) to refer to the wife, as in *buqqeen hingaltii* (L-1029) ‘the gourd [wife] will go back to her home’. *Buqqee* is a type of plant that bears bigger fruit. The fruit of this plant has brittle skin. Locally people make different kinds of house hold utensils out of it after they dry it and empty its seeds. In the previous times, the Oromo people mostly use utensils made of *buqqee* for holding milk, coffee, water and some other solid things. This plant has weak stem and always needs support of other plants to grow and bear fruit. According to the local elders of my study area, a woman, especially before her marriage, is symbolized by *buqqee*.

The use of this metaphor implies several analogies between the features of this material and the roles and natures of women. To begin with, as mentioned above *buqqee* serves several functions in the house. Similarly, a woman accomplishes several social roles and responsibilities in the house. Again *buqqee* is brittle and needs to be handled properly. Once it is broken, it will be of no use. Likewise a woman is considered weak and needs careful handling and once she got married and lost her virginity, she no more wanted by other men in case of divorce. As mentioned before, a *buqqee* plant has weak stem and needs another plant to support it and the use of the metaphor implies that a woman cannot stand on her own unless she gets the support of her husband. A woman has several characteristics or social roles that make her appear like *buqqee*. The metaphor positions women as inanimate objects to be possessed by men and that they can be taken away and be returned. This depicts a complete dependence of women on men. Therefore, the use of this metaphor could bring negative psychological impact upon women by affecting their self-perception. It could make them feel weak and inferior. This could be considered as a strategy used by males to indirectly nurture their dominance.

Again in one of the recorded JSs, the husband refers to his wife as *ibidda* literally 'fire'. He said "ibidda kiyaa naa galchaa" (L-801-02) 'give me back my fire'. *Ibidda* 'fire' is a metaphor used in the target community to refer to a married woman. According to the local elders, a woman is symbolized by fire because a house without a woman is like a house without fire. This reflects the kind of gender stereotyping that exists in the society. Women, according to this metaphor, are born for making fire or cooking food.

According to the local elders, constructing women as fire could also indicate the emotionality of women. They told me that, when a woman turns hostile and becomes aggressive, it is called *ibiddi ka'e* 'a fire has broken out'. On the other hand, when a man is in a similar emotional status, it is called '*bakakkaan bu'e* 'thunder has come down'. Here a glowing fire is something which is likely controllable, but thunder is uncontrollable. Therefore, such symbolic cultural representations reflect some kind gender power difference or male superiority in the society.

Among the target society, a group of women are also referred to as *ganyaa* 'mares'. In this society, mares are mainly used as pack animals and used for breeding purpose. They are less frequently ridden by people and usually confined to homes. This metaphor also constructs women as playing major roles of bearing and rearing children and bound to domestic chores. As I had heard personally on two different occasions, the women themselves use the term *ganyaa* in their speech which means they have accepted the connotations. Refraining from challenging the position assigned to oneself may indicate the acknowledgement or confirmation of that positioning and the moral authority of the position giver (Harre et al. 2009; Tirado & Gálvez, 2007). However, the use of the same term for similar purposes would totally be unacceptable among other Oromo groups. For example among the Tulama Oromo, my own clans, referring to women as *ganyaa*, or *buqqee* is a complete expression of insult and could even incur punishment.

In short, the underlying meanings and philosophies of the above metaphorical expressions position women negatively. They are dehumanizing expressions which construct women as weak and susceptible entities which need to be possessed and cared

for. The metaphors also position women as bodies who serve quite a number of purposes like animal and objects they are compared with.

In general, the dominant cultural discourses about women have manifested themselves in various forms in JSs recorded for the study. Some of these cultural discourses which are claimed to be the original cultural norms of the Oromo people appear to be good on the surface, but their underpinning meanings and philosophies reflect gender bias or hegemonic power of men. First of all almost all, the discourses were produced by male because in the former socio-political system of Oromo people, *Gada System*, only males were/are allowed to propose or to declare the *murtii* or *seera* 'social laws' or *aadaa* 'norm' which regulates the social practice of the society. So there seems to be a clear reason why these norms and social laws work in favor of the males. According to Burr (1995:38), "particular discourses, particular way of representing events and people, enjoy widespread acceptance in the form of common sense or 'truth' because such discourses are in the interests of the relatively powerful groups of society."

6.6.2.4 Other Social Practices

In addition to the above discursive social practices, some other social and cultural practices of the target society also reflect gender power difference in various ways. For instance, in the case of *Guma* 'compensation paid for homicide', the number of animals that the offender pays for the victim varies according to the sex of the victim. The offender will be forced to pay hundred heads of cattle for killing a man, but half of that, 50 heads for killing a woman. Similarly, in the fine that a disputant pays for disrupting

the turn of his opponent in JS, locally called '*kormaa goromsa* (a bull and a heifer), the substitute the offender currently pays in cash if fined with *korma* 'a bull' is 10 birr whereas for that of *goromsa* 'heifer' is 5 birr. Once again, when a woman gives birth, the midwife celebrates the occasion by ululating five times for a baby boy and four times for baby girl. In most the figures mentioned above, women or females are represented by half of the numerical values of male.

The above mentioned numerical variations indirectly depict gender power ideology of the society which gives higher social position for male. It nurtures hegemonic power of the male in the society. Asked about the reasons for such variation, one of Aba Gada elders at Arsi Nagelle district, Obo Waaqo gave me a justification which sounds more like Biblical or Koranic. He said that a woman is believed to have been created out of a part of a man's body. Implied in this is the fact that a woman is naturally inferior to a man because it is a part of his body-part. In general, the above social practices could be considered as strategies of enacting and sustaining the asymmetrical gender power relation in the target society. In general, considering the above social representations of women in the mainstream discourse, one could reasonably say that the male gender power dominance is a well entrenched social reality in Arsi Oromo of study area, a reality which of course is clearly depicted in the discourse of JSs recorded for the study.

6.6.3 Power Relationship between Elders- Disputants

In section 6.5 above, I discussed the major persuasive discourse strategies that elders in the recorded JSs use to persuade the disputants to accept proposed decisions. These strategies could also be considered as a rhetoric power of the elders. However, while

employing those persuasive discourse strategies, the elders also tried to position themselves and their roles in the way that indirectly reflect their power over the disputants. The discussion in the following section focuses on such strategies of self-presentation in the recorded JSs.

6.6.3.1 The Elders as Decision Makers

In the interaction of JSs, several discursive instances depict the elders' power. To begin with, the disputants' speech is directed towards the elders in the same way applicants do in a court. There was no instance of verbal exchange between the disputants. This may indicate that the elders are considered the only source of resolution. Again, the question and answer dialogues and debates of the facilitators in the opening phase of JSs could also be mentioned as discursive instance that shows the power the elders have over the session as a whole (see section 6.4.1). When the facilitators debate over the issue of whether to start or to postpone the mediation session, they speak using the first person point of view *inbulfadha* 'I will postpone', *indubbadha* 'I will talk'. They did not ask the disputants' comment on the issue. This implies the power that the elders have over the session. It positions the elders as powerful body who can decide on the process of the mediation. With regards to the decision making process in JS, one of the elders in Case 1 also stated the following:

EHS: Gamannillee cokameera. Gamnillee cokameera. Hangingilchee dubbii fixuu jaarssa... Jilba jiru hincabsanii. Abbaa dhugaa qabuuf hinkennanii. Diriirsanii kennanii. (L- 542-549)

: *Both sides had been questioned. It is the elder who scrutinize and resolve the case ... the right decision will be made. The 'truth' will be given to the one who deserves it. It will be given straightaway (Case 1- L-529-532)*

The speaker in the above excerpt clearly stated that the elders are in charge of investigating the case and making decision or giving *dhugaa* 'the truth' to the one who deserves it. According to this person, there seems to be no room for the disputants to suggest solutions, but accept what will be given to them. The expressions “hin cabsanii” ‘will be made’, “hinkennanii” ‘will be given’ indicate that making decision is a normal practice of elders. The use of the passive voice also helped the speaker to systematically enact the power of the elders by eliding the agency. “One of the most important ways in which language can represent power is through manipulation of agency at the grammatical level (Mayr, 2008:19). One of the elders of the wife side in Case 2 also expressed the decision making power of the elders as follows:

EWf: Intalti duruu heerumtii, duruu baatillee, duruu walii galchanillee...Jaarsatu waa hiikaa. Ka ‘ujoollee’ lamaanii, homayyuu miti...(C2-Ca 3-S2-15)
: It is natural that a girl marries, leaves for her parents when she quarrels with her husband. It is also natural that one’s parent- in-law bring back ones wife. The elders can play the major role in resolving such problems. The issue of the two ‘children’ {meaning the couples} is not that much difficult.

In the above excerpt, the speaker positioned the elders as key authorities that determine the outcome of the *jaarsummaa*. According to this speaker, what matters is the agreement of the elders of the two sides. Once the elders agree, the couples could do nothing but accept the decision. In his expression, “duruu walii galchanillee” ‘it is normal for ones in-laws to return ones wife’ the speaker also described the practice of returning ones wife as norm of the society. The decision making power of the elders, especially that of the ME was also clearly revealed in the resolutions that they made towards the end of JSs.

ME: ... Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Qorti wali{tti} dachaati jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dubbin har’aa amma *wilii xaaffamaarti*, hinaraaramte jedhe jechuu

argadhu...Atillee tanatti hindeebitu. Ar'aa amma araara. Dubbiin araaramteetti. Buqqeen hingaltii. Wiliin *hinxaaffamaa*. Kennee laalladhu (L-1102-1108).
:(Now hear what I gave you. The facilitators will meet {start dialogue} once again. The case has been resolved and now the agreement is being written, hear what said... You also won't repeat this (to husband). Now it is reconciliation. The case has been resolved. The 'gourd' (the wife) will go back. The agreement will be signed. See what I gave (L-1113-1120).

The expressions "amma sii kenne" 'now I gave you' at the beginning of the above excerpt and of course at the beginning of almost all the turns of the ME and the expression "kennee laalladhu" 'see what I gave' at the end of the above excerpt clearly positions the speaker as authority in charge of making decisions regarding the target *jaarssuma* session. As the session continued in Case 1, the elders of the husband side also started giving *dhugaa* 'truth' for the wife and the elders of her side. The elders' statement illustrates this:

EHs: Heebanollee dhugaa qaba... Mucattilleen Dhugama qabdi. Amma mucattii naa kennitaa. Maraa natu liqimsee fixataa. Ilma kiyya gara badaa jirurraa hindhooggaa. Amma naa kennitaa {mucattii} (L-814-816).
:Hebano (wife's parents/clan) deserves the truth...The girl also deserves the truth. Now you will give me back the girl. I will handle everything. I will stop my son from his wrong doing. Now you will give me {the wife} (L-816-819).

As indicated in the excerpts, the elders also made promise to stop the husband from his bad actions and to fulfill all the demands of the wife. Here the elders of the husband side requested the elders of the wife side to give them back the wife instead of directly requesting the wife to come back. The expressions *naa galchi*, 'give her back to me' and *naa kennita* 'you will give me back', indicate that the power of making decision about the fate of the wife is in the hands of the elders of her side. The expressions also positioned the wife as something that can be taken away or given back. This could be considered as

a clear instance of disempowering the wife or denying her personal right to make decision about her own fate as a grown up woman. The elders of the husband side in Case 2, also made similar requests for the elders of the wife side.

EHs: Amma mucattii nuu qabaa, oolchaa tokkocha saniin haa kennamuu. Mucattii nuu qabaa. Mucattiin ha galtuu...(C2-Ca2-S2-24').
: *Now convince the girl for us, with this one hectare. Convince her for us. Let her come back home.*

In response to the above request of the elders of the husband side, the elders of the wife side made the following statements.

EWf: ... nuu hardhallee. Adoo inni tasgabbaayee, "lakki nibrata isillee hinxuquu, hiwootii isiitifillee," jedhee; asitti jaarsa kanarrattillee, mallattoo kaa'ee; mana murtiitittillee mallattoo kaa'ee yoo inni jedhee, nu waa garaa deeffannaa {intala tana}. Takka nyaaphaaf dhalattee. Intalti qaraa nyaaphaaf dhalatte. Nyaaphaaf halaalaa dhalatte jechuu (L-986-990)
:(*We even today, if he comes down and says "I will not touch her property, her life as well" and sign an agreement here in front of these elders and the court, we don't take her back (the wife) { meaning we will give him back}). We know that a girl is already born for others [to be given away in marriage to someone out of her clan]. She is born for others or a foreign (L-985-8)*

As stated in the excerpt above, the elder of the wife side also agreed to return the wife on condition that the husband signs an agreement not to abuse her or not to kill her. Yet, he did not ask the wife's opinion whether she wants to go back to her husband or not. He was talking or negotiating on behalf of her because he knew that the wife does not stand against their decisions. The speaker used a cultural saying 'intalti qaraa nyaaphaaf halaalaaf dhalatti' 'a girl is born for others or for a foreign'. Here the speaker indicates that a girl is naturally destined to live with others, foreign. He described the wife's going back to her husband as an inevitable cultural norm or fate. The speaker used this cultural

saying as a strategy to manipulate the wife's mind and make her accept the decisions made by the elders. As scholars like van Dijk (1998) indicates, the power of dominant groups could be integrated into rules, norms, laws, habits and consensus of a society and enacted in a disguised manner. The elders on the wife side in Case 2 also gave the following response regarding the return of the wife.

Ewf: Nu qara abbaalle galchine. Ardaallee galchine. Hardha gosaa galchhaa jirra ... (C2-Ca4-S2-15').

: *Before this, we had returned {the wife} to her husband and the elders of the neighbor. Today, we are returning her to the clan {of the husband}.*

The excerpt indicates that the elders of the wife side had returned the wife to her husband and to the husband's neighbor during the previous mediation of the spouses' dispute and that this time they are returning her to the husband's clan. This implies that the elders have a total power over the fate of the wife.

The power of the elders was also reflected in the speech of the disputants themselves. For instance the husband in Case 1 finally admitted his mistakes and requested the elders of the wife side to return his wife.

Hs: ...Intalaa, beetasaba kiyyaa, ibidda kiyyaa naa galchaa. Maatii waatii irraa baatee lixeertuu sani naa galchaa. **Badiin kiyya** (L-860-862)

(... *The girl...return the girl ,my family, my fire to me. There are children and a calf that she left behind ... The fault is mine* (L-861-863))

In the above excerpt, the husband requested the elders to return his wife rather than directly requesting the wife to come back home. This implies that the husband already knows that the wife has no power to decide on the issue. In the same case, the wife also

did the same when she requested for divorce. She directly appealed to the elders of the husband side to allow her to divorce.

Wf: ...GA hindhiisu; hardhas, borus. GA na ajjeesa. Isin maraa mana keessani galtan. Kiyya abbaan nan'eegu. Mana ofiitti gala. Isin mana ofiitti galtan. Lolli GA, halkani (.) Inni na'ajjeesaa, isin Daawwee na'eebbisaa gannadhiisaa. Qaaqa kiyya qaataa qaaqaartanii. Hifattaniirtanii. An Xuuroo isini/{isinitti} ta'aa. Daa'aa daa'imman keessanii kaahattanii, na'eebbisaa gadinadhiisaa isiniin jedhaara ani (L-1046-1051)
:(...GA won't stop {his abuse} today and tomorrow. GA will kill me. You all will go back to your home. My father will not protect me. He will go to his home. You will go back to your home. GA's fight comes in the night. He will kill me. So you Dawwe {Husband's elders/clan} bless me and let me go. You had talked enough about my case for long time. You may regret later. You may take the sin for your children {if you keep me here}, I ask you to give me your blessing and let me go (L-1048-1055).

The wife in this excerpt is begging the elders of the husband side to let her go. She also stated that even it could be sinful for the elders if they refused to accept her request for divorce. This implies that the elders have the power to decide on her fate regarding the issue of divorce. She knew that the divorce may not be easy for her without getting the consent and blessing of the elders of the husband side. The following utterance of the middle elder also strengthens this.

JW:...Amma gosuma sikennaarraa. Asdeebi'i. Gosuma si kennaaranii. Heebanollee hima dhagahaa. Daawwenillee sibira jiraa...(L-1054-1056)
:(...Now we are giving you back to the clan (husband's). Come Back. We are giving you to the clan. Hebano is listening. Dawe is there to protect you (L-1058-1060)

The ME clearly told the wife that they were giving her back to the *Dawe* 'the clan/relative of the husband' not to the husband. Therefore, as it is evident from the above two excerpts, the elders of the husband side seem to have the power to keep the wife or to let her go. The common cultural saying which goes "Niitiin ka gosaati" 'a wife belongs to the clan {of her husband}' in the target society clearly justifies such power of the elders.

According to this saying, the whole family or clan of the husband is responsible for the protection of the wellbeing of the wife and in return the wife is expected to respect the words and needs of the former. The following speech by one of the elders of the husband side in Case 1 also clearly depicts the social power of the elders in the target society.

EHS: ... Arsiin bakka badduu wanti dhiisi namaan jettuuf, ofiifii miti. Abbamaafi. Arsiin bakka badduu dhiisi namaan yoo jette, dhiisuu. Niituma isaa tanaa amma Arsiin “isiin baalagee, dhiisi” yoo jedhaniin, dhiisuu (L-783-5)
 (*The Arsis (the elders) tell someone to refrain from bad actions not for their own sake but for the sake of wrong doer himself/herself. When Arsis (the elders) tell someone to stop bad action, he/she must stop. Even his wife, if the elders tell him "she is bad. Divorce her", he should divorce'* (L-781-5)

Here the speaker positively constructed the social role of the elders to persuade the husband to accept the words of the elders. He indicated that, the elders, referred to here as “Arsi” by the speaker, always tell someone to refrain from bad actions not for their own benefit, but for the benefit of the person himself/herself. According to the speaker, if the elders tell someone to abandon a certain action, even to divorce his wife, he should accept and do that. In this excerpt, the speaker was trying to systematically position the elders as concerned and caring bodies. He legitimized the elders’ social roles as morally justifiable. The inclusive noun “Arsi” also positions the elders as a neutral body that equally represents both sides. He described the social power of the elders as "mutualistic power" (Karlberg, 2005) which is enacted for the benefit of the subjects. The Elders in Case 3 also utilized their power in the middle of their persuasion. For instance, one of the elders stated the following in the reconciliation phase of the session.

El: Qaxxi godhii [qajeelchii] lafa sanii, **haa dhaaltu nutu jedhe**, irmijjaa digdamii shan shan, qixxetti qoodiif. Lafa qonnaallee, oolchaa shanii kenniif...Yoo mucaan

kuni irra lufee sillee xuqee, waaqnillee, gofti tunillee asuu Jirtii... (C3-Ca2- S1-16'-17').

: *Now I order you to strictly divide this land equally for both {children of the two wives}. It was with our permission that she {second wife} inherited this land. Give him five oolchaa {about one hector and a quarter} for farming as well. If this boy goes beyond this limit and attempt to confront you, the God and this clan {the elders in the neighboring} are here to judge him...*

The speaker in the above excerpt is a brother-in-law of the addressee. The speaker used his relationship as power to push the father give the plot of land to the son. He said “haa dhaaltu nutu jedhe” ‘it was we who allowed her to inherit [this land]’ to indicate the fact that the speaker’s family had allowed the addressee to marry his current wife who is also the younger sister of his deceased wife. Because of such relationship, the speaker gave a kind of order to the father to equally distribute the land between the children of the two wives. The speaker also tried to assure the father that in case the son causes any problem to him, the elders of the session will take the necessary measure. This also indirectly reflects the power of the elders. When the father tried to justify his claim by referring to *seera* or *higgii* ‘the government law’ this same speaker also described the elders of the session as follows:

El: ..Akka higgiiin jedhetti bulla ka jedhamuu, firri kuni higgii higgii taretu amma sitti yaa’eera. Namni kuni higgii higgii taru, daanyaa daanyaa tare si yaa’eera. Daanyaa firaa kanatti daanya’ami. Asuma deebi. Asumatti daanya’ami...(C3-Ca2-S1- 30’-31’)

: *You have said that you will live up to the government law. These relatives are far better than the law. These people are judges better than the judges of {the government}. Please accept the decision of these judges of your relatives. Come back to us. Accept the decisions of your relatives..*

The speaker used expressions “higgii higgii taru, daanyaa daanyaa taru” ‘a law better than a law or a judge better than judges’ to position the elders as a more powerful body who can decide on the fate of the disputant. This could also be considered as indirect way of legitimizing the elders’ action. Similarly the other elder in the same session described the power of the elders as follows:

EL: Mucaa keenna nutu dhaannattaa. Nutu hidhaa. Nutu irra jiraa. Ambatu irra jiraa...(C3-Ca2-S2-15’)

: *We will punish our son. We will control him. We are here to do so. The whole family is here to shape him..*

In this case, the speaker indicated the responsibility that the elders have concerning the issue of nurturing the son. But at the same time the speaker positioned the elders as powerful bodies in charge of establishing social order. In Case 1 also, one of the elders of the wife side stated the following regarding the wife:

Ewf: ...Oduu isii toltee,intala tana golba isiitii baafnee, golba abbaatti deebifnee, ofbira keennaa mi'ooftuu jennee yaanneeti miti. Namni ima namaa galchaa...(L-867-9)

: *(Had she been in good condition, we wouldn't have developed the intention to **take this ‘girl’ away** from her home and **bring her back** to her father's home. We didn't mean that she is sweet to **keep** with us. It is normal that (one's-in-law) return a daughter to her husband...(L-868-871)*

Action verbs in the above excerpt (*take away, bring back, return, keep*) position the elders as doers of the action and the wife as entity that can be taken away or given back or as a “done to” to use Barker and Galasinski s’(2001:73) expression. This could be considered as evidence that indicates the absolute power of the elders in deciding on the

fate of the wife though she is a grown up woman. The expression “we didn’t mean she is sweet to keep” also positions the wife as “unwanted parasite which the host does not like to keep”. Implied in this expression is also the fact that in the target society women depend on their parents and become burden on them when they get divorced.

6.6.3.2 Elders as Managers of the Interaction in JD

As it has been discussed in section 6.4 above, the interaction of the JD among the Arsi Oromo of the study area is totally controlled by the elders especially the facilitators and the middle elders. The MEs with the support of the facilitators start the session and move it from one phase to the next. They allocate turns and manage changes in topics of discussion at each phase. For instance, in the *hearing* phase, disputants narrate their conflict stories without interrupting one another. According to the norms of JD in the target society, if a disputant interrupts the turns of the opponents, he/she is fined (see section 6.5.14 for details). The elders are also not allowed to interrupt disputants for question in the middle of their narration.

Again, once the present their cases in the hearing phase, disputants are not allowed to present a new claims or charges neither do the elders pose questions in the *reconciliation* phase. In general, the interaction in JD is so strictly controlled that, the elders and the disputants are allowed to behave or speak according to the norms of the phase they are in. Such control of the interaction process could be considered as evidence for the power of the elders in JD. According to Barker and Galasinski (2001:79), “the rights to introduce

agenda during an interaction or the right to shift topic are not merely rights to communicate but rights to exercise power through the control of discursive interaction.”

In general, in the JD of the target society, the elders made decisions and employed various persuasive discourse strategies to persuade disputants to accept the decisions. They taught or preached the disputants to act and behave in line with the social norms of the society. At the same time, the elders employed their social power which works behind the discourse. The elders were speaking and deciding on behalf of the disputants. They strictly controlled turn-takings and topic change in the interaction of JD. However, the elders did not enact their power by directly imposing on the disputants. They rather employed various discourse strategies that can help them control the procedures and the emotions of disputants. They manipulated the disputants’ mind to make them accept the decisions. Mamo Hebo (2006:122) described the power of *jaarsa Biyyaa* institution as power which “is not stated but implied”. According to Karlberg’s (2005) classification of power relationship, the power relationship between disputants and the elders could be categorized as "mutualistic" especially when it is seen from the husbands’ point of view. The husbands were better beneficiaries of this power relationship because the reconciliation met their interest or demand. They were not fined or even verbally condemned for the abuses they committed on their wives. They were not asked to apologize to their wives. They were simply told not to repeat the same in the future.

However, when it is seen from the wives’ point of view, the power relationship could be considered as rather "adversarial". The wives were discursively coerced to accept the

decisions of the elders in spite of all the abuses their husbands had done to them and in spite of the fear they had about the future abuses from their husbands.

As it is evident from the above analysis, the wives in the recorded spousal disputes JSs had been subjected to their husbands' economic and sexual abuses. However, the wives did not get any kind of compensation, even verbal apology for the harms done to them. In Case 1, the wife was given *dhugaa* 'truth'. Giving *dhugaa* 'truth' in this context was simply considered as recognizing the wife as victim of the husband's abuse. The elders didn't ask the husband to apologize to her even after he openly admitted his guilt. They rather tried to persuade him not to repeat the same problem in future. Similarly the elders in Case 2 also ignored the issue of adultery of the husband.

6.6.4 Sources of the Elders Power behind the Discourse

Scholars like Pennycook (2001), Luke (2002), Fairclough (2003) affirm that meaning in a text could be explained fully by analyzing not only textual elements but also broader socio-cultural contexts in which the text is produced. For instance Luke (2002:101) states "a linguistic and text analytic metalanguage no matter how comprehensive cannot 'do' CDA in and of itself. It requires the overlay of a social theoretic discourse for explaining and explicating the social, contexts concomitants....". Therefore, to put the above textual analysis of power relationship on a firm ground, I explain some socio-cultural factors which are believed to have shaped the power relationship between the elders and the disputants as reflected in the analyzed JSs.

As discussed above, the elders utilized their social power in their attempt to make disputants accept the decisions they made. The power that the elders employed in such situations seems to be the reflection of their social power behind the discourse. In other words, their power emanates mainly from the cultural norms of the target society. In the traditional communal Oromo culture, local elders or seniors are considered as sources of knowledge and wisdom which they accumulated through experience and the challenges they had gone through. As discussed elsewhere in Chapter 4, an old man is one of those social groups who are given the position of *wayyuu* 'higher social respect'. As a result, the elders are considered *dhugaa* 'truth' speaker and 'truth' giver. So, rejecting their decisions is less likely to happen. If someone unreasonably rejects or undermines the elders' decisions, he/she may face social isolation called *muukuu*⁴¹. In previous times, the punishment goes to the extent of *sideessu* depriving someone his/her Oromumma 'the identity of being an Oromo' and sending him/her out of territory of the community. So this could be mentioned as the social power of the elders behind the discourse of *jaarsummaa*.

In the mainstream discourse of the target society, several sayings and proverbs also construct local elders positively. The following are few of those proverbs I could capture during my field work.

- a. Gaarri hinjaaruu, jaarsi hin'aaru
(*As a mountain does not get older, an old man does not get angry*)
- b. Namni jaarsatti bu'e, nama Waaqatti bu'e.
(*Quarreling with an old man is like quarreling with God*)
- c. Jaarsi eebbisu hingeessaa, abaaru hinballeessa.
(*An old man's blessing can heal, similarly his curse can destroy*)

⁴¹ **Muukuu** is a kind of punishment in which a person is denied all kinds of social interaction and supports.

- d. Waaqa gaditti jaarsa
(*There is no body next to God, but an old man*)
- e. Jaarsi gara hinqabu
(*An old man belongs to no one {none of the two parties in dispute}*)

The first proverb is used to describe the personality of the elders. The analogy drawn between the attribute of a mountain and an old man indicates that the elders have patience in handling difficult cases and the feeling of anger is uncommon to old men. The second and the third traditional sayings show the spiritual power of the elders. The second equates quarreling with an old man with quarreling with God. Hence quarreling with them is totally unacceptable and punishable. The third one is also used to persuade people not to act against the will of elders. It reflects the spirituality of elders. The fourth saying also clearly positions the power and status of elders' decisions. The saying also implies the credibility of the elders. The last saying is used to justify the 'impartiality' of the elders during mediation.

In addition to what have been mentioned so far, Arsi Oromo culture, elders play a big role in the formation of a new family. For instance, they serve as go-between in creating relation between the families of the bride and the bridegroom. On top of this, those elders who are the closest relatives of the groom also contribute heads of cattle which the groom has to give to the wife's family as *gabbara'* bride price'. Most of the time, the elders who mediate spousal disputes are among those closer relatives. Thus, because of such relations, spouses, especially husband, could be morally obliged to accept the decisions of the elders. The elders also directly or indirectly employ such power to coerce

disputants. According to the conflict stories of the wife in Case 2, the elders of the husband side overtly mentioned the favor they did for the husband as follows:

Wf: "Intala Arsii gabbarree seeraan fuunee ati horatuu diddee, eebbifnee galchinaa?"
jedhanii itti ka'an.(C2-Ca1-S1- 11').

: *They quarreled with him by saying, "How come that we bless and return an Arsi girl that we brought here paying the bride price only because you could not keep her properly".*

Here in the excerpt, the wife was reporting what the elders of the husband side said to the husband during *jaarsummaa* of a previous dispute. The elders criticized the husband for not properly handling the wife which he married with their support. Implied in this excerpt is the fact that the elders have the right to take the wife back to her family if the husband fails to properly handle her. In short, the elders have moral power to coerce disputants accept the decision they propose. Again, due to the intimacy and physical proximity that they have with disputants, the elders often have detail knowledge about the disputants' personalities and the causes of their dispute as well. This in turn gives information power for the elders to coerce the disputants to accept their decision.

In some of the recorded spousal dispute mediation sessions, the elders also possess the power given to them by the court. The cases were referred to them by district courts. Since the elders report the results of their *jaarsummaa* back to the court, disputants may consider the elders as agents of the court. So, the disputants are less likely to resist the elders' decision because they may feel that if they do so the elders negatively describe them and spoil their image in the court. As discussed in the preceding sections the elders

in some of the recorded JSs tried to threaten the disputants with negative consequence such as killing time, incurring more expense for bribing the judges, total loss of former relationship that disputants may incur if they object to the elders decision and opt for litigation. Therefore, this could be mentioned as additional power that the elders employed to enact their decisions. In general, among Arsi Oromo of the study area, which could be true among other traditional societies of Africa, elders are considered cultural elites whose power is perceived as legitimate. So, they often exercise control over social discourses without having clear political power.

6.6.5 Discussion and Summary

The analysis of the discourse of the target JSs shows that husbands have complete power dominance over their wives in all aspects. The husbands have all right to decide on the common properties of the couples. They often sell animals and other properties without the consent of their wives and misuse the money. The wives, on the other hand, have been deprived of their legal and moral right to decide on or equally benefit from their common properties. In two of the spousal dispute cases discussed above, the wives also mentioned the issue of their husbands' adultery as potential threat to their life. They indirectly indicated that such sexual behavior of their husbands could lead them to HIV/AIDS. Nevertheless, the wives did not say anything about the issue of adultery from a legal or personal rights point of view. They also accepted the elders' decision in spite of the threat they mentioned. This may indirectly reflect the powerlessness of the wives to protect their personal rights and interests.

The analysis of JD revealed that the power dominance of the husbands and the wives' resistance to it was the major cause of the spousal disputes recorded for the study. During the JSs of the spousal disputes, all what the elders did was try to convince the husbands not to repeat their abuses and respect the equal right that the wives have over properties of the spouses. The elders' attempt also indirectly presupposes the existence of the power dominance of the husbands.

What has been reflected in JD with regard to male power dominance has also been reflected in mainstream cultural discourses. These cultural discourses, which exists in the form of sayings, proverbs, and other social practice reflect and nurture the hegemonic male power dominance in the society. Hence, the husbands' power dominance in the JD could be considered as best instance which reflects the prevailing gender power asymmetry in the target community. This confirms what Gunning (1995) states about disputants power relation in mediation. According to this scholar, the power relation between disputants in a mediation session reflects the realities in the existing socio-cultural context of the mediation.

The other focus of the analysis in this study was disputants-elders power relationship. The analysis shows that the elders seem to have complete power over the whole course of JS. From the very beginning, the elders position themselves and are positioned by the disputants as the ultimate source of solution. In addition to this, the elders control the procedural and substantive aspects of *jaarsummaa* communication. They make decisions

and promises on behalf of the disputants, mainly the husbands. Yet, the promises are usually not realizable as the wives clearly stated in their conflict stories.

For instance, one of the elder of the husband's side in Case 2 made the following promise on behalf of the husband: "... I personally feel her problems will be solved. The cows will be given to her. Everything will take its right place. All her rights will be respected" (L-518-527). The elder used passive construction "will be" to disguise the agency and tactfully refrain from taking direct responsibility in solving the wife's problems. Hence, it is less likely that such promise is realized. Such strategy of manipulating peoples' mind by disguising agency according to Mayr (2008:19) is "one of the most important ways in which language can represent power."

In addition to their rhetoric power, the elders also exercise the power given to them by the disputants, the society, and the court. According to van Dijk (1998:9), "people are not mere influenced, persuaded or manipulated by properties of discourse, but also by those of speakers or writers such as their power authority and credibility." Among Oromos, community elders are highly respected and trusted. They are believed to be *dhuga* 'truth' giver and truth speaker. This is the fact that the disputants themselves reflected in JD. As indicated by the brother of the wife (L-104-105) in Case 1, even the court believes that the elders are trustworthy even though their practices during spousal dispute mediations do not seem to prove this. As a result, disputants are less likely to reject decisions made by the elders.

Again, the cases in spousal mediation were referred to the elders by the court. The wives took their case to courts because they seem to recognize that the elders can't avert their husbands' abuse. Unfortunately, the courts referred their cases back to the elders and indirectly empowered the elders to even further coerce both sides to accept their decisions. The elder directly and indirectly threaten them with the reports that they write to the court regarding the outcome of the *jaarsummaa* session. Hence, the disputants accept the elders' decision because they don't want to be negatively positioned in the report.

To make the wives accept their decisions in spite of the abuses committed on them, the elders employed several persuasion and coercion strategies. For example, they appeal to the wives' emotions by using various strategies of positive self-presentation. They tell them how much they sympathize with them. The elders also mention the positive qualities or personalities of the wives. They also tactfully ignore the major concern of the wives such as their husbands' adultery by shifting their attention to other material issues such as a plot of land. In addition to the strategies of the elders mentioned above, there are other socio-cultural and economic realities on the ground, which coerced the wives to accept the decisions, in spite of the atrocities committed on them.

To start with, Arsi Ormos are patriarchal society which established their geographical settlement based on paternal clan. As a result, married women always leave their clan and live in an environment surrounded by their husband's clan. If they want to divorce, they have to leave their place and go back to their clan or live where they are with no chance of remarriage. This is true because once they got divorced; no body from their husbands'

clan or from other clan can marry them if they stay in the territory of their former husband. Again, if they opt for leaving, they will have almost no property to take with them because this day the common asset of the people is farmland and they cannot share their part and sell it for it has been forbidden by the government. Since they are not educated, there will also be no chance for the wives to get job and lead independent life. Going back to their parents with no asset at hand is also less acceptable as it has been implied by the elders of the wife side in Case 1. Therefore, being tightened with such social and economic challenges, it is less likely that the women will refuse the elders' decisions.

In short, the elders' persuasion strategies, the existing gender ideology in mainstream discourse, the economic dependence all join hands in coercing the wives to accept the elders' decision in spite of their husbands' abuses.

6.7 The Approach of Mediation used in *Jaarsummaa*

As scholars in the area confirm, dispute mediation varies from culture to culture. With regard to this Bagshaw (2003:5) states "Mediation is not a uniform activity. There are many models and approaches which traverse many domains and cultures". In this section I examine the target mediation session with reference to mediation models and approaches discussed in Chapter two above.

As I indicated in the analysis of the discourse of JS in the preceding sections of this chapter, during *jaarsummaa*, the elders first allow disputants to present their case or

conflict stories. Then they dig into the case through the questions that they frame in a polite and non-confrontational manner. Then the elders propose resolutions for reconciliation and persuade the disputants accept them. They give little room for the disputants to determine the resolution for themselves. Such roles of the elders may categorize the *jaarsummaa* under the problem-solving approaches of mediation (see Chapter one: section 2.2.3.2).

However, the elders did not focus only on solving the immediate problems of the disputants which is the case in problem solving approach to mediation. They rather emphasized on shaping the future relationship of the disputants. The elders give advices to disputants concerning what they should do and should not do in order to lead a peaceful life. These features are typical of the therapeutic approaches of mediation. Therefore, in the analyzed *jaarsummaa* session, the elders used both therapeutic and problem-solving approaches. They started with a problem-solving approach and gradually moved to a therapeutic one. This of course is a natural phenomenon in the process of mediation. According to Douglas and Field (2006), the approaches of mediation may change in the course of the process based on what the situation requires.

The critical analysis of its discourse also reveals that the procedures of *jaarsummaa* reflect the features of mediation rather than that of adjudication or arbitration. For instance, the term “jurisdiction” has powerful connotations like authority, control, command, and rule. This may partly describe the action of elders in the Gada Court, but the community elders do not conduct their *jaarsummaa* with such a sense. First, elders are not authorities to be feared, but guardians, educators or councilors to be respected.

They do not control or command, but rather persuade and convince. As their very name *jaarsa araaraa* ‘elders of reconciliation’ implies, they reconcile people taking as much time and energy as the process needs. They give *dhugaa* ‘truth’ to the victim simply by saying *dhugaan keeti* ‘the truth is yours’, but they do not address the wrong doer as a criminal. However, the elders sometimes punish the wrong doers by making him/her prepare food and drink for the neighboring elders or giving restitutions for the victim. Such measures are referred to as *naqaa* ‘preparing local drink’ and *qalaa* ‘slaughtering/preparing food’ and *maraa* ‘buying clothes to victim’. The elders often do these not with the primary intention of punishing or hurting the offender, but healing the broken relationship. Unlike that of adjudication, the offender who pays compensation gets something in return. He/she is granted forgiveness of the victim through verbal apologies and various ritual practices such as spitting on one’s palms, hugging, drinking from the same container at a time and these gives him/her mental peace. Besides, once the offender pays the restitution, and is given forgiveness, he/she doesn’t worry about any kind of subsequent revenge from the other side. Therefore, *jaarsummaa* can be described as best approach of mediation which functions on win-win principle except that in spousal mediation the elders’ indirectly perpetuate the existing gender power imbalance or male dominance.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study, the discourse of *jaarsummaa* has been analyzed from both textual and contextual perspectives using various methods of discourse analysis. The study emphasized on the *jaarsummaa* of interpersonal conflicts in general and spousal disputes in particular. To be specific, the current study attempted to examine (a) the genre structure or communication dynamics of JD that makes it potentially a distinct genre; (b) the major persuasive discourse strategies employed by the elders; (c) the nature of power relationship in JD; and (d) the dominant approach of mediation employed by the elders. In this chapter, I provide a brief summary of the major findings of the study in line with these major focuses of the research. I then discuss some implications that the study might have for various bodies. I conclude the chapter by discussing the limitations of the study and some possible directions for further research in the area.

7.1 Summary and Conclusions

7.1.1 Genre Structure

The textual analysis of the actual JSs of Arsi Oromo of the study area revealed that JD has four major phases: *opening*, *hearing*, *discussion*, and *reconciliation*. Each phase consists of several moves most of which are realized through some steps. The boundaries of these phases, moves, and steps are often marked by change in topics, communication styles, and the speakers. However, sometimes the last steps of a move reappear in the opening step of its subsequent move and this blurs the boundaries of the phases and the moves.

The Opening phase of JD is dominated or orchestrated by the question-answer dialogue of the facilitators and the decisions of MEs. This phase consists of four moves: blessing/prayer, getting started, reconciling facilitators, and transiting to the hearing phase. These moves have various communicative purposes among which checking attendance, introducing the type of the case at hand, and preparing the disputants psychologically for reconciliation or creating positive ground for reconciliation are the major ones. Except the first move, blessing/prayer which is sometimes optional, all the moves of the opening phase of JD sequentially appeared as obligatory moves in all JSs. Linguistically, this phase is characterized by question-answer dialogue, giving blessing, giving orders. The linguistic realization of this phase indirectly indicates the roles and power of the elders, especially that of the facilitators and the ME. It positions these elders as managers of the interaction of JD and as authorities in charge of making decisions.

Following the *opening* is the *hearing* phase. Unlike the preceding phase, the communication in the hearing phase of JD is dominated by disputants. Disputants narrate their conflict stories one by one, first *himata* (plaintiff) and then *dachaafataa* (defendant). Following the narration of each are questions posed by the elders. The elders frame their questions using polite expressions and various face saving strategies. The elders usually ask questions with the intentions of reminding disputants to tell some information that they either intentionally or unintentionally skipped. This phase ends with sending the disputant for *fincaan* meaning ‘a stay away from the session for a short while’.

After sending the disputants away from the session, the elders start the *discussion* phase. This phase is usually led by MEs who allocates turns and manages the interaction. Then

the elders take turns and give their comments on what the disputants had said. They also tell what they know about the case to the session and propose solutions or decisions. The ME occasionally takes turns and summarizes and redirects the discussion of the elders towards the common points. According to the local elders and my personal observation, the discussion phase continues until the elders arrive at some consensus. Then the ME proposes decisions which are based on the common interest of the majority of the elders. Once such decisions are approved by the facilitators and the whole session, the elders call back the disputants and start the *reconciliation* phase. The communication in the discussion phase is characterized by debates, criticisms, informing, approving or disapproving and proposing solutions.

In the *reconciliation* phase, the elders first tell the decisions to disputants. This process is referred to as *dhugaa kennuu* ‘giving the truth’. Giving the truth often involves giving recognition to a disputant as victim, proposing compensatory fines, promoting forgiveness, and reconciliation. The elders employ various persuasive discourse strategies to make the disputants accept the decision. After the disputants accept the reconciliatory decisions, they are given blessings. Various ritual practices such as kissing each other’s shoulder, spitting cleansing saliva on palms, eating, and drinking are also carried out as part of the reconciliation phase.

Based on the above analysis, it is possible to reasonably conclude that JD has a rather stable macrostructures with distinct communication styles and purposes. It has four major phases and several moves and steps which appear in almost a ritualized sequence. Most

of the moves and steps are also obligatory moves which regularly appear in all JSs. As I had been told by the local elders and as I had personally observed, the sequential occurrence of the phases, moves, and steps of JD is regulated by *uume/seera ambaa* ‘established norms and traditional laws’ of *jaarsummaa*. However, the elders sometimes skip few of the moves, and they clearly admit the omission of these moves during interviews, yet they give no justification for such omissions. Again, although the linguistic features of the moves (and component steps) in JD tend to show slight variations across cases, each move and step serves similar communicative purposes across JSs. According to my personal observation, sometimes the linguistic variation occurs due to speaker’s lack of knowledge of the jargons of JD and its specific communication patterns. This problem was found to be common among the younger generation of the elders.

In general, JD among Arsi Oromo is a genre with its own predictable macrostructure. Reflected in such structure are also the power relationships between disputants and between disputants and the elders. The analysis of the schematic structure of JD also revealed that the dynamics of the communication in JD is managed by the elders by ensuring equal participation of the participants of a JS. In short, the genre analysis revealed that JD of Arsi Oromo has a predictable schematic structure that the participants easily recognize and apply in almost ritualized manner.

7.1.2 Persuasive Discourse Strategies

The second focus of analysis in this study was the persuasive discourse strategies that the elders use in their attempt to bring reconciliation in JD. The analysis of the persuasive discourse strategies was conducted in line with the three persuasive appeals types: *ethos*, *logos*, and *pathos*, conceived by Aristotle. Although there were some variations across cases, these three appeal types were commonly used in the analyzed JSs. The analysis of the recorded JSs revealed that the elders have used various persuasive discourse strategies in persuading or manipulating the disputants mind and bringing them to reconciliation. Among these major discourse strategies are making direct request, claiming for neutrality, forecasting negative consequences, using emotive languages, using collective voice, telling anecdotes, using honorifics, blessing and prayer for reconciliation, affirming positive worth of disputants, giving advice, giving *dhugaa* 'fair decision', stressing the issue of child care and the use of proverbs and sayings. The elders also used various face saving strategies such as the use of honorifics and inclusive pronouns to create positive communication atmosphere which in turn contributed a lot in bringing reconciliation between disputants. The elders used the above strategies of intervention primarily to appeal to disputants' emotion through positive self-presentation.

In addition to the above listed discourse strategies, the elders have also used procedural intervention strategies. They strictly managed turn-taking and controlled topics. Every participant of the session was allowed to talk only after he/she was given turns by the ME or the facilitators. Sometimes when there is chaotic overlapping of turns, the ME orders the facilitators to control the situation by opening dialogue. Once the facilitators start

dialogue, the other participants stop their talk. If the disputants' violate each other's turn, they are fined with heads of cattle or cash which amounts up to 100 birr. The elders also employed non-verbal strategies such as ventilating the conflict emotion of disputants by giving them sufficient time to narrate their stories, avoiding testimonies and cross-examining questions and conducting rituals.

In general, the elders in the recorded JSs tried to legitimize their persuasion by making appeals to three things: (a) to the emotions and moral values of disputants, (b) to cultural norms and practices (c) to authorities (Supernatural 'fear of God) and law or government discourse. They aggressively persuaded disputants to return to their proper social life by preaching them the proper social norms of the society. Unlike that of mediators in the western context who appeal to logic and reason, the elders of Arsi Oromo primary appeal to the emotion of the disputants to persuade them. Among Arsi Oromos, as it is the case among other traditional societies of Africa where social bond is highly valued (Malan, 1997), promoting the attitude of reconciliation is considered as the major focus of the discourse of *jaarsummaa*.

7.1.3 The Power Relationship in JD

The analysis of the power relationship in JD was also the other major focus of analysis in the study. The analysis of the conflict stories of the disputants in the recorded spousal disputes mediations reveals that husbands have absolute power over their wives in all aspects. According to the conflict stories of the wives, the husbands abused their wives economically, physically and psychologically. The wives had been deprived of their right to equally benefit from or equally decide on their common properties. In the recorded

JSs, the wives directly or indirectly demanded for these rights. They also resisted their husbands' adultery by indirectly indicating that such sexual behavior could expose them to HIV/AIDS. However, none of the wives had raised this issue from legal or personal rights point of view. This implies that had it not been for the problem of HIV/AIDS, the wives wouldn't have raised their husband adultery as a problem. The husbands on their part were usually trying to justify or sometimes deny such accusations of power abuses. In short, one can reasonably say that the wives' resistance to the power abuses of their husbands was the major cause of the couples' dispute.

The analysis of the mainstream discourse of Arsi Oromo clearly indicates that male power dominance has been legitimized by the existing socio cultural norms and practices of the society. For instance, the discourse of cultural marriage among Arsi Oromos positions a husband as a powerful body who is in charge of administering, shaping, or educating his wife. Contrary to this, the wife is positioned as weak, ignorant body that needs to be educated or nurtured. Similarly, some cultural metaphors of women in the target society construct women as weak and dependent body that needs to be taken care of. The metaphors also reflect gender stereotype by constructing women as persons fit only for bearing children and doing household chores. According to the local elders, it is abnormal or unnatural for women to appear on sessions of *jaarsummaa*. In their attempt to justify such banning, the elders claim that women are *laaftuu* (soft) or *wayyuu* (have high social respect) and cannot or should not confront the elders eyes. In general, the gender ideology in mainstream discourse helped in sustaining and legitimizing male power dominance in the society.

The analysis of JD also shows that the elders seem to have complete power over disputants. From the very beginning, the elders positioned themselves and were positioned by the disputants as the ultimate source of solution or as decision makers. In spousal dispute mediations, the elders often make decisions and give promises on behalf of the disputants especially the wives. When they request for the return of the wife, the elders of the husband side often present their request to the elders of the wife side rather than requesting the wife directly. This indicates that the elders of the wife side have total power to decide on the fate of the wife. Likewise, the wives present their request for divorce to the elders of the husband side. In general, the analysis shows that the spousal dispute mediation often takes place between the elders of the two sides rather than the spouses.

The elders also controlled turn-taking and topic change at each phase of JD. Such control could also be mentioned as evidence that reveals the elders power in JD. Van Dijk (1998) describes such type of control over turn-taking or topics as one strategy of enacting power. In short, the elders employed both discursive and non discursive strategies to enact their power. The elders' social power is believed to have emanated from various socio-cultural factors.

Among Arsi Oromos and which could be true among other traditional societies, old people are given higher social status and respect. The cultural sayings and proverbs of the Arsi Oromo construct the elders as trustworthy and agents of God. Such positioning could help the elders enact their power in a polite manner in JD. According to van Dijk

(1998:9), “people are not merely influenced, persuaded or manipulated by properties of discourse, but also by their power, authority and credibility [of the speaker]”

The local elders also play roles in the establishment of a new family among Arsi Oromos. They serve as go between and create relation between families of brides and bridegrooms. Besides, during marriage, those elders who have closer relation with the bridegroom contribute some animals that the later gives as bride price to the brides’ parents and her closer relatives. These same elders often mediate spousal disputes. Therefore, such roles and intimacies could serve as moral power for the elders during spousal dispute mediation. In other words, the spouses could be morally obliged to trust and accept the decisions of the elders because of the social roles that the elders play in creating the link between the spouses. The detail information that the elders have about the causes of the spouses’ disputes also give informational power for the elders. Once again, in the case of court referred spousal dispute mediation cases, the elders also use the power given to them by the court as one strategy to coerce disputants. In general, the elders in the recorded JSs enacted their power indirectly through manipulation of the disputants mind. In short, the major power that the elders employed in JD can be summarized as moral power, social or status power, rhetoric power, and informational power and state power.

Based on Karlberg's (2005) taxonomy of social power relationship, the power relationship between disputants and the elders in spousal disputes mediation can be considered “mutualistic” from the husbands’ point of view. In the recorded spousal dispute JSs, the elders’ decision directly or indirectly favored the husbands better than the

wives. But when it is seen from the wives' point of view, the power relationship is rather "adversarial". Although the physical presence of the wives in the JSs could be considered as a positive advancement in the process of establishing gender power balance in *jaarsummaa*, the wives still do not seem to have equally benefited from the process. For instance, even though they were given recognition as victims of their husband's economic, physical and psychological abuses, the wives did not receive any kind of moral or material compensation for the harm committed on them. The husbands were not asked to even verbally apologize to their wives. The elders simply advised the husbands not to repeat their abuse in the future. Again even though the wives described their husbands' adultery as serious problem which could cost their lives, the elders either mitigated the issue by focusing on other material issues or totally ignoring it. In short, the wives were forced to accept the decisions in spite of all the abuses their husbands had done to them and in spite of the fear they had about the future abuses from their husbands.

7. 2 Implications of the study

I could reasonably say that this study is a first attempt at applying various approaches of critical discourse analysis in investigating power relationship and the genre structure of actual JD genre. So, it can make small methodological contribution to the field of discourse analysis in general and mediation discourse analysis in particular. In addition to such contribution, the results of the study may have implications for various bodies.

The findings of the current study also revealed that the primary goal of the elders in JD is to repair the broken relationship between disputants. Although they propose decisions

unlike the role of mediators in the Western culture, the elders do not directly impose the decisions on disputants. They rather employ various persuasive discourse strategies to manipulate and convince disputants. They utilize their social, moral, and informational power in a polite and face saving manner and make disputants accept the decision. The elders often draw on cultural norms and religious values (fear of God) in their attempt of legitimizing their power or persuasion. Though they sometimes punish the offender, the punishment which is enacted in the form of preparing food and drink for the local elders or buying clothes for the victim is passed on the offender not with the primary intention of punishing or avenging, but rather healing the broken relationship between the two parties. Considering all these positive features, I can say that *jaarsummaa* is a valuable cultural tool that should be nurtured.

However, when it comes to resolving spousal disputes, the elders seem to be biased. As revealed in the analysis of the recorded JSs of spousal disputes, the elders were seen ignoring and mitigating some of the major concerns of the wives. They were also making impractical promises on behalf of husbands to make the wives accept the decisions. In Case1 and Case 2, for instance, the wives raised the issue of their husband's adultery as one cause for their conflict, but the elders mentioned nothing about this issue in the course of the mediation. Similarly, the wife in Case 1, insisted for divorce describing the husband as potential threat to her life, yet the elders mitigated the issue. Once again, although the husbands abused their wives physically, economically and psychologically, they were not asked to apologize for what they had done. In other words, the wives did not receive any kind of psychological or moral compensations for the harms committed

on them. In spite of all these, the wives were made to accept the decision. Therefore, one can reasonably say that the wives accepted the decision not only because of the elders' persuasion, but also the fear of possible social crisis they may face if they refuse the proposed decisions and opt for divorce. The implication of this finding is that some government bodies such as women's affairs office need to invest a lot on giving awareness raising trainings on issues of gender rights and equalities for the elders and the society at large. Having female mediators as representative in the *jaarsummaa* may also to some extent curb the problem. However, as to me, what is more important in resolving such problem is educating and economically empowering women so that they can stand on equal footing with men and say no to their husbands abuse.

The findings of analysis of JD and other mainstream discourses also reveal that the elders' power mainly emanates from the social, moral, and informational power that they acquire due to the social bond they share with the disputants. They also draw on social norms and practices to legitimize their persuasion and power. Considering these facts, one can easily conclude that *jaarsummaa* as a method of tradition conflict resolution best functions in collectivist culture where people share common cultural values and norms. It may not work as effectively in modern, educated, and rather individualistic societies as it does in collectivist culture. Nevertheless, I still believe that there are a lot to learn for mediators in modern society from the discourse strategies or rhetoric skill of the elders in JD.

Although the issues treated in this study go beyond the wall of academic discourse, I believe that this kind of discourse analytic work may also have some pedagogical contribution in the field of discourse and communication studies. It could help in teaching

students on how communicative behaviors of people in various contexts determine the nature of relationship they want to establish with their audiences and the communicative purpose they aim at.

In general, in spite of the weakness discussed above, I still believe that the advantages or positive qualities of *jaarsummaa* largely outweigh its weakness. So, with little polishing work done to it, this cultural resource could serve as best indigenous tool in resolving conflict.

7.3 Limitations and further research

In this study, I tried to examine JD from three broader perspectives by using multiple methods of discourse analysis which share social constructionist theory as their common foundation. I analyzed the genre structure of JD by using a top-down discourse analysis approach called move analysis. I also utilized another top-down discourse analysis method called persuasive appeals analysis to identify the major persuasive discourse strategies used by the elders. Again, I drew on positioning theory and CDA (SFL) to analyze the nature of power relationship in JD. These three issues, I believe, are rather broader issues that should be treated separately. Though I feel that treating the three at a time might help gain better understanding of this cultural discourse genre, I still would like to admit that the breadth of my research questions, to some extent, has affected the depth of my analysis.

Once again, in spite of all my attempts in making my analysis rigorous and critical, I still can't claim that my analysis is absolute and immune from criticism as no researcher who employed qualitative data analysis in general and CDA in particular dared to make such claim. As I clearly stated in Chapter Three, under the discussion of theoretical underpinnings of CDA, looking for objective knowledge is not the major aim of discourse analysis in the social constructionist approach. CDA is rather all about making logical and plausible argument based on some evidences. With regard to this, Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 279) affirm that "CDA is foremost an interpretative and explanatory exercise that is "never finished and authoritative [...] [but] dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information." Strengthening this van Dijk also state that "complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text or talk is therefore totally out of question" (van Dijk, 2002:99).

To add one more possible limitation, in spite of all my attempts, I still feel that there could be some artificiality in the behaviour of the participants in the recorded JSs. To minimize such artificiality, I stayed in the field for more than three months and made close connection with the culture and tourism bureau personnel and socialized myself with the target societies. By staying with people from culture and tourism bureau, I managed to make the local elders perceive my study from the point of view of preserving cultural heritage.

Having the above limitations in mind, I conclude my discussion by suggesting further studies that could warrant the results of this study. First, though I tried to include some cases from other districts for cross checking, the corpus for the current study was taken

mainly from Arsi Nagelle District. I believe that similar studies with larger corpus from various districts could help refine the findings of this study. A comparative study of cases from urban and rural areas, and court referred and directly handled *jaarsummaa* cases, analysis of the discourse of *Gada* court, which handles cases of homicide, could also be taken as potential area for further research. I also believe that research works which focus on evaluating disputants' level of satisfaction and the prevailing attitude of the elders towards giving such social service could help in improving this social practice.

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Appendix I

Transcription Symbols

- () non- transcribable segments of the talk
- < text > slow speech
- > text < fast speech
- Uuu/eee space filler or turn moving glottal sound
- [text] overlap of two speakers' turn
- [[text]] overlapping of more than two peoples turns
- (.) short pause
- (...) long pause
- ?, rhetorical questions
- - unfinished speech or an abrupt cut off
- { } explanation inserted by the transcriber
- *Italics* Non-Afan Oromo terms
- **Bold text** - Emotional speech
- C – Case
- Ca – Cassette
- S – Side (of a cassette)

APPENDIX II
Transcript of Case 1

- 1 ME: {eega qora lamaan filatamanii booda} Qorti walwaamaa ()
2 Qu: <Koottaa>
3 QW: Dhufe.
4 QU: Maaf akkana baye {jaarsonni kuni}?
5 QW: Dubbii.
6 QU: Dubbii dayaa.
7 QW: Waa tolo gayaa.
8 QU: Kaaya moo kaawoo?
9 QW: kaaya.
10 QU: kaayaalee dayaa.
11 QW: Waatolo gayaa
12 QU: Maaltu kaaya?
13 QW: Bayitu kaaya
14 QU: eee.
15 QW: Gaddisatu kaaya.
16 QU: Eee. Bayitu kaayalleen dhugaa.
17 QW: Eee
18 QU: Bayitti waa dubbadhaalleen dhugaa.
19 QW: Uuu
20 QU: Sii bahee ree? {jaarsi waammatte sii argamee?}
21 QW: Intoo'adha.
22 QU: Eee
23 QW: Siibahee? {garee hadha manaatin}
24 Ewf [Br]: Gara keennaa?
25 QW: Eee
26 Ewf: Eee baheera. Kuunillee dhufaa jira; as gahe jedhe.
27 QW: Siibahee gurbaa? {dirsaan}
28 Hs: Eee
29 QW: Umm
30 Hs: Bahe garuu ()
31 QU: Koottaa
32 QW: Dhufe
33 QU: Baradhe
34 QW: Baradhe
35 QU: Naa bahe jedhe
36 QW: Eee ()
37 QU: Hin bulfadha moo ree hindubbadha?
38 QW: Hin bulfadha.
39 QU: maaf?
40 QW: Jaarsa najalaa hafee ()
41 QU: <Eee>
42 QW: Jaarsa ani lakkaayetu narraa hafe.
43 QU: <Eee>
44 QW: Kanaafin bulfadha.
45 QU: Hin dubbadha.
46 QW: Maaf?

47 QU: () kabahe jaarsillee dhugaa dubbata,
 48 QW: Eee
 49 QU: Eee
 50 QW: kabulfadhu
 51 QU: Maaf?
 52 ME: Amma ka kuun hinbulfadha jedhu, ka kuun hindubbadha jedhu, araara.
 53 QU: koottaa
 54 QW: koottaa
 55 QU: (Eega) Qorti walqabdee,
 56 QW: Eee
 57 QU: Arara jedhan.
 58 QW: Eee haa caqafnuu.
 59W ME: <Araara sii kennee jedhe jechuu argadhu. Tokko hinbulfadha jedhe jechuu argadu.
 60 Tokko hin dubbadha jedhe jechuu argadhu. Hin bulfadhaanillee uumee isiiti jedhe
 61 jechuu argadhu. Hin dubbadhaanillee uumema jedhe jechuu argadhu. Ka
 62 hinbulfadha jedhe wayaa irraa argadhu. Ka hin dubbadha jedhe dubbi dhiisanii
 63 qori.>
 64 QU: koottaa
 65 QW: Koottaa
 66 QU: Hinqora moo hinqopha?
 67 QW: Hin qora.
 68 QU: Hin qoraa sii gala.
 69 Qw: Alaa gala
 70 QU: Amma tiyya jedha moo ree abbaa qaba?
 71 QW: Abbaa qaba
 72 QU: Abbaa qaba jedhan.
 73 ME: < Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dubbiin kaayaan buldee jedhe jechuu
 74 argadhu. kaaya ka lafa kaayate fuudha jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dhama lamaan
 75 dubbiin waldhabdee, qara cotee hinjirtu jedhe jechuu argadhu. Hincokatu jira jedhe
 76 jechuu argadhu. Ama ka cokamuu, waan badalamu, abbaa ari'aa jirutu cokama
 77 jedhe jechuu argadhu. *Taraan* isa gaafata jaarsi jedhe jechuu argadhu. Taraan
 78 isaanii ammaa,warri Heebanoo (niitii) hincokama. Qoraan cotta qori! >
 79 QU: koottaa
 80 QW: Koottaa
 81 QU: Coki jedhe
 82 QW: Eee jedhe
 83 QU: Amma itti dhaqaa ree?
 84 QW: Nayaamtee hangafaa dhaqi?
 85 QU: Dhaqaa
 86 QW: Ummm
 87 QU: Erguuf qaraa siwaame
 88 QW: Umm (...)
 89 koottaa { gara obboleessa intalaa}
 90 Ewf {WBr}: Nudhfnee maarree. Nu'ii (.) "*Yaa'a ilmoon godaante karaa bulde*," jedhanii.
 91 Nuti rakkoon ijoollee kanaa, rakkoon mucattii tanaa jabaannan nullee rakkoo san
 92 faana buunee [El: Assiqaa haadha Aadam, ol qajeelaa {haadha manaatiin}].

93 Mucattiin tuniifii mucaan kuni, afaaniinis, harkaanis qara walibbahanii {walitti
 94 bahanii}, obsitee obsitee obsitee, **kanaan dura kalee nadhahee, kalee sanillee isinii**
 95 **Heebanootittillee osoo hin himatin, Daawwematti himadhee, Daawwen bahe**
 96 **sunillee naa laalee, yaali jedhee, yaala naaf kaayee, achumatti nayaalaaf osoo**
 97 **eegadhu taa'ee.** Akkasuma odoo jiru, afaan keenna walitti hingaluu, horii wayii
 98 guyyaa Jimaataa, haa namni deemuu eegeeti gurbaanii horii kana naan
 99 hinmari'annee, aanessa daa'immanii elmee obaasu ijoollee isaatiin guddisa
 100 naharkaa oofee, horii kana hinooftu jedhee afoo baanaan, "Horii, maal irraa qabda?
 101 **Nafsee teetuu sibaasaa**" naan jedhee. Achirratti, lakki amma namni nadhufheetii horii
 102 kana... "Lubbuu **tan teetiin dura nagaa bahii**, horiin uguruu hingahuu, bakkuma
 103 seeraatiif bakkuma jaarsaat gayaa" naan jennaani, asirratti narra lufheetii, nadhiisuu
 104 dinnaan, itti iyyeeti haga ganda haqaqaatitti, horii kana booda hinoofanii, horii kana
 105 **Arsiin biraa** deebi naan jennaan, biraa deedi'e. **An kadeebi'e, lubbuu kiyyaafuu**
 106 **waan nadhaadataniif/{natti dhaadataniif}, lubbuu kiyyaan baraaramuuf, nagaa**
 107 **bahuuf, gara firaa baduu qaba jedhee, gara keessan dhufe nuun jette.** Nutti haga
 108 isiin dhufte qorannee maali rakkoon kee jennee, asiin durallee rakkoo kana ilaallee
 109 isin wajjinillee waan (deebinee) argineefi, **rakkoon kuni amma gra lubbuutitti waan**
 110 **deemaaru waan taa'efi, rakkoon nafsee deemaaru kuni mishaa hinta'u jenneeti gara**
 111 **seeraa dhaqne.** Gara seeraatiin yoo dhaqnu, manni murtiillee yaa'ii firaa itti
 112 lakkaayee, jaarsa kanaan haa laallamu. **Jaarsi kuni argee, xiinxalee, eenyu akka**
 113 **dhuggaa qabu, dhugaa san laalee, dhugaa san haa gabaasa nuuf godhu jaarsi kun**
 114 **jedhe.** () rakkoon kunii, horiillee, mucattiin tani dhibamtee, hin yaalamne. Fira
 115 hindhaxxu, du'ee ajjeefattee fira hindhaxxu. Booya hindhaxxu. **Garatti hindhaxxu.**
 116 **Uffata ufii hinqabdu. (.) > baqqaa akka namnii, walfuudhuun aadaa. Eega**
 117 **wafuudhee ammo, walqananiisee, wal'uwwisee, beelas walbaasee namni wal**
 118 **horata. Uffata mataa isiillee hinqabduu, uffata kanas (manni murti) dhimma**
 119 **dubartootattillee himnee. "Uffatas uwwisi (uuu) Rakkoo isiillee baasi.**
 120 **Araaramaa. Yoo isin araaramtan fedha qabna," ka jedhu achitti itti kennan. Uffata**
 121 **isiillee hinqabduu.** Cidhas hidhuftu, (dhibamnu). Nu hingaafattu. Rakkoo
 122 hammaataa keessa waan jirtuuf, nurraa dhalate waan taateef, () rakkoon kuni
 123 waan hammaataa ta'eef nutti ulfaatee, ulfinna kana amma isin wajin arginaa mee
 124 Daawweenillee gaafduraa dubbatullee, dhugaa mucattii tanatu rakkoo qaba yoo
 125 jedhe, saaxilee haa himu. Hin gorsina. Nurraa dhalatte waan taateef. Aayi gurbaatu
 126 rakkoo qaba yoo jenne, rakkoo sanirratti dubbannee, rakkoon kuni akkuma asii
 127 jedhamu san ijoollee tana walitti aarii isaan lamaaniitiin ta addaan balleessu odoo
 128 hin taane, ka araarsu, ka walitti fidu, kaboruuf ammo, **rakkoon kuni gama**
 129 **seeraatiinillee**, gama jaarsa kannatinillee hindeebine akka ta'u barbaanneeti ().
 130 Ijoollee tanaa addaan balleessinaaf yaada jedhuun **mucattii tana faana fiiguu odoo**
 131 **hintane,** rakkoon gara lubbuullee waan deemaaruuf, lubbuu kanarraa gara
 132 nagaatitti yoo kandeebi'u taate yaadeebi'u. Yoo ammoo hintane jedhan, nabseen
 133 warqii waaqaati waan taateef, nabsee isii (tasa) haa godhuu hinbarbannuu. **Seerri**
 134 **ammo,** gara jirutti addaan baasee gara jirutti haahiiku jennee kanumaaf gara seeraa
 135 deemame. Kana kiyya (). Haftuu hafte mucattiinillee dubbattuu hindandeessi.
 136 Waannan *indawum* isii. Haftuu hafte, mucattiinillee haadubbattu,
 137 JW: < Eee amma ko'oo kee qoraan gaafadhaa. Haa himattuu. Qoraan gaafadhaa. Dubbii
 138 Gabaabsitii- [[Els: Gabaabduma himadhu, Gaggabaabsaa, eee]]

139 QU: Koottaa raaddii [El:Mataa dubbii nullee qara himabeennaa. *Garuu hinbeennaaf*
140 *namatti hinmuranii. Abbaan waa dubbataa*] (...)
141 Wf: (.hhh){sagalee qarattu} Nagaafattanii?
142 Els: [[Ummm, Eee, himadhu, Cokamaa]]
143 Wf: < Rakkoo kiyya, garuu hinbeettanii, kanuma namni hunduu beennu, sanuma
144 jechuudha>
145 ME: kana kana jedhii himadhu, Eee, ol qabadhu
146 Wf: Ani rakkoon kiyyaa, gurbichi kuni kalee kiyya dhahee namiidheera kanaan dura.
147 Uffadhee akkuma sanuu akkuma inni jedhu sanuu anii daaraan hinbeekkamu,
148 daaraan keessaa hinqabu. Oduu warri kiyya rakkatee rakkoon keessaa hinqabu.
149 Oduu haati tiyya dhibamtee nibrata kiyya jedhee fudhee ani garuu hindeemuun.
150 Oduu cidhaatii garas fudhadhee hindeemuun. Hin beettan isiniillee. Ani, gurbichi
151 kuni, **ciniinnadhee, obese, bulee, jira, ciniinnadhee obese bulee jira**. Deebée,
152 garuu, horii dhaltii narraa oofee. Inni horii dhaltii narraa oofee narraa guuseera. Ani
153 finnuma isaatiin guddisuuf malee ani karaa biraatiin dhaquufiis miti. **Narraa oofee**
154 **garuu karaa inni fidaa jiru garuu naan marii hinqabu, marii walii hinqabnu.**
155 **Garana oofaara wayiituu naan hinjenne.** Narraa oofe. Maaf oofta jennaani,
156 "Maal irraa qabda? Yoo horiif taate, **Ush** {abbaa intalaa} sitti haa kadhaabu" naan
157 jedhe. "Sanii miti yoo jette, sidhiisiitii, warrattiin tanteetuu homaa nangootu, homaa
158 nangootu. Ka xoroshoo ofiituu akka itti godhattu hinbeenne" (.) naan jedhe. "**Si**
159 **dhiisii, seera dhiisiitii, Mallasuu homaa nangodhu,**" jedhee na[tii] dhaadateera
160 gurbichi kuni (.) "**Wanti ati nagootu hinjiruu. Warrattiin teellee wanti nagootu**
161 **hinjiru. > Warrattiin tantee yoo taatee, ka akka itti xoroshattuu, akka itti**
162 **bultuu hinbeenne**"< naan jedhe(.) **Kanaafii, ani daara kiyyaanillee keessaa**
163 **hinqabuu. Lubbuu kiya () na bichaa mitti, garuu, Arsiin isin maraa nawaliin**
164 **bushooftaniirtanii. > Qarallee qaaxxanii/{dubbattanii}, itti murtanii, irraa**
165 **qaltanii, ijibbaattanii jirtan**< gurbicha kana, **Ammaali?, Allubbuu [ani lubbuu]**
166 **kiyyaa ka nabaasu irra, raada gaalee ta'uu irra, an seeraan nibrata kiyya naa**
167 **qoodee gadi nahaadhiisu jedheera** ani jarana isinit himaa(.) Waan biraatiifii miti
168 [El:kiyya ko'oon kanuma] kiyya **ko'oon kanuma** (...)
169 ME: Abbaan hafte hingaafata
170 EHs: Na ergaa mee.
171 ME: Dhaqaa.
172 EHs: Amaa () amma isin baranne; ta isin barannuu, rakkoon keessan garuu akkuma
173 feetanittillee bultan, qarallee badadanii, isinillee wliin bultanii mii? Loowwan
174 isinirraa oofeera jettan. Ammaa, lamuu haga isin wal loltani, haga bakka seeraa
175 lubbuu keessanillee amma na haa'eegan jettanii, karaa amma jaarsummaa dhufanii
176 amma ree askennaa jedhanii. Isiniinillee **bakka seeraatiyillee** jaarsi kuni fuudhee.
177 Ammaa, naa qoodaa moo isinii karaa jaarssi jedhettii nuddeebitanii? Moo maali
178 keessan maali.[El: me narra buusaa... mee diqoo isii, himidhaassaafi. Anillee hin
179 hedeeyyu dhaqaa mee kaa.
180 EHs: Naadhiiftanii? Na'ergitanii?
181 ME: Eee dhaqaa mee
182 EHs: Anii maarree mucatti isin baradhee. Isin araarsuu durallee, akka isin araarsinu
183 hinbeenna... Loon kana hin godaansisa jedhee haa oofuu inni, waldhabdan.
184 Godaannuma loonii kana, mee aanessallee haa oofuu, hulee inni itti godaansisu san

185 waan shakkitanii dhooggartan qabdan moo, rakkomaa aanessaa kanaaf
 186 dhoorgaartan/{dhoorgaa jirtan}?
 187 Wf: Eee shakkii qaba. Qaraa qaaqee jira, kanaan duraa (.) "Haala deemaartu kana
 188 dhiisii" jedhee jira, kunoo isaanuu hinbeekanii [EHs: ee babbaksa dubbadhaa]
 189 Haala itti deemaartu kana dhiisii jedheeraan. **Jennaanii, "hardha diisii boruu**
 190 **hindhiisu**" naan jedhee jira. [EHs : Haala inni itti deemaru kaa maali] **Haalli itti**
 191 **deemu, haala bilginnaa biraatiin deemaara** [EL : Inni?] Eee (). **Qabeenya**
 192 **kana odoo wayiin naa waan ta'een gurguree- Re'ee mangistiin nuu kenne**
 193 **gurguree, ammisaaantimii tana hinargine, ammisaaantibii tana hinaggine ani.**
 194 Nibrata kiyya qisaasessee fixaara. Ka natti hin oolle, kan yookin naa dirra
 195 kiyyaan qullaa deemu, ka finni kiyya qullaa deemu, akka dhalateen, akka loonii,
 196 ka yookin yoo rakkadhe rakkoo kiyyaan keessaa hinqabne, ka du'aan keessaa
 197 hinqabne, ka cidhaan keessaa hinqabne, "Haala itti deemaartu kana, **ziinaa**
 198 **hujaartu [hojjachaa jirtu] kana, dhiisi" jedhee jira.**" Barrillee bara badaa;
 199 **Sodaachisaa. Dhiisi, nattis mudaa fiddaa, ofittis mudaa fiddaa, dhiisi"**
 200 jedheettiin didee jira. Horii kana, hingodaansisin jedheen. Irra darbee amma horii
 201 dhaltii narraa oofee. **"Horii kana narra hin'oofin. Ka ofii achi deemaartuu**
 202 **hingayaa dhiis," jedheen.** Na dide. **"Horii yoo taate, USH na [natti] qadhaabi**
 203 **jedhiin. Homaa irraa hinqabdu nibrata kana"** naan jedhe () Inni naan jennaani,
 204 qaraa inni bakka sanitti qaraa isa shakkeetii. Dhaltii kiyyallee narraa oofnaani,
 205 hinoofin jennan, na didee jennaani, ani inni lubbuu kiyya nabaasuuf taanaani gara
 206 mana seeraatittiin iyyannoo kiyyan deemeera ani. (...)
 207 ME: Irraa fixattanii? {gaafii} (.)
 208 EL: Namni irraa qabdan hinjirtanii?
 209 EHs: Mee waa dhaqa.
 210 ME: Dhaqaa
 211 EHs: Ta isin baradhu, Gaafa loon oofu kanaa, biyyi maal jedhe? Ka baye maal jedha
 212 biyyi?
 213 Wf: Hinbayee garuu-
 214 EHs: Maal jedhan? Ardaan baye, ka biyya jiru maal jedhe?
 215 Wf: Ardaan bayee,
 216 EHs: eee
 217 Wf: <Ardaan bayee [**HF**a: ani garuu achi hinjiru] Isin achi hinjirtan eee. Aradaan bayee,
 218 garuu namni ka biyya jiru hinjiru, "hin oofinii horii kana. Maaf ooftaa? Yoo ka
 219 ooftuullee, duranuma haa ta'uu. Rakkoo ooftuufillee hinhimataa hinoofin"
 220 jedhaniin (.) Jennaani, halkan ... guyyaa gaafa Jimaataa san bulee, sanbata diqqaa
 221 oofe horii.>
 222 EHs: Loon san?
 223 Wf: Loon san.
 224 HFa: Loon san atta ta'e ree lamuu?
 225 Wf: Oofee foonaa warraa fidee naqe.
 226 HFa: Fidee naqe.
 227 Wf: Fidee dachaase ani biraa lixee dachaase naan jedhan.
 228 HFa: Loon san.
 229 Wf: Eee
 230 HBr: Isa qayee warraa fidee. San achuma dhiisaa [HFa: achuma/{achumatti dhiisaa]

231 kabiraa gaafadhaa isin
 232 JW: <Ani gaafiin sigaafadhu, amma kunoo (.) wanti isin waldhabdaniif, hojii akkanaa,
 233 bultii tiyyas hinballeessaaraa, seerallee cabsaa jiraa. Akka inni itti bulu eega kana
 234 ta'uu baateetti, amma dubimaafille, waan baduufillee, nibratii kiyya naaqoodee
 235 biraa deema jechaarta>
 236 Wf: Eee
 237 Jw: Akki *kassastuuf* (himattuuf)
 238 Wf: Eee
 239 JW: <kunoo tanaan durallee isin araarsanii, itti deebiin isaa kuni garaa sihanqateet akka
 240 kana dhufte moo akkami ? >
 241 Wf: Eee dedeebii isaa kana (.)
 242 HBr: Na ergaa diqqoo.
 243 JW: Dhaqaa.
 244 HBr: An ammallee isin baradhe. Ammaa (.) daaraa, re'ee gurgure maal ka jettan kanaa,
 245 inni daara keessaniifi jedha. Gaafuma inni horii gurguru daara nabaasi. Horii kana
 246 maaf baaftaa gaafattuu? Nmaan geettuu?
 247 Wf: Ani moo?
 248 HBr: umm
 249 Wf: < Eee gaheera >
 250 HBr: umm
 251 Wf: Gahee jennaanii,
 252 HBr: umm
 253 Wf: Akkuma fedhe yaa godhuu itti dhiisi "waliin hinqaaqinii caldhaa bulaa" naan
 254 jennaan caldhisee bulee (...)
 255 HBr: Wantummaan isinii laallamee isinii hiikkame hinjiruu?
 256 Wf: Hiikkaa garuu, isaan ittuma himanii. Gorsa isaan itti himan san inni hinfudhatuu.
 257 Yeroo san bakka sanitti ishii hinjedha. **Eega tole jedhe booda wanta san garuu naaf**
 258 **mijeessee, "hoo tana daaraan bahi" jedhee natti hinkennu. Fixeet gala, nibratattii**
 259 **gurguree waan gurgure san fixeet gala garuu.**
 260 JW: **Gaafii isii kanaa odoo irraa [WBr: Odoo gahee] () waa gaafacuu barbaaddanii?**
 261 EWf: Eee waa gaafadha. Anillee mucattii ka si baradhuu, kanaan dura irraa naqanii. Irraa
 262 qalanii jiranii. uuu, Garuu namni waa balleesseti loluma keessan kanaaf
 263 godhaniiran. Wanti dura sigodhe sunii, kama amma himataartu kana moo? Kanaan
 264 dura maal sigodheetii irraa naqee irraa qaleera jaarsi?
 265 Wf: Inni moo?
 266 EWf: eee
 267 Wf: <Garuu loluma kanarraa kan ka'e, inni gara *zarii* kiyyaa tankaaffatee [tarkaanfatee],
 268 soddaa kiyyaa abbaa isaaniitin maqaa kiyya xureessee inni jennaanii, lakkii
 269 balleessaa qabdaa qalii naqii jedhaniin> (...)
 270 HBr: Achi dhiisaa kana keessa dubbii kanaallee waan beennuuf. Kana durallee waan
 271 keessa turreef. kana hinbeenna. Yoo isaan deebisanii hajaa bahan, isii san
 272 *minaalbaata* innillee odoo qulqulleessee.
 273 Els: [[Isii tana haa qulqulleessan, qulqulleessaa]] ()
 274 WBr: Mee asitti hinqulqulleessaafi naa eyyamtanii?
 275 JW: Eee dhaqaa waan walqabatu yoo ta'ee.

276 WBr: Eee dubbiiin sirriidha. Akkuma maqaa dubbii hintaaneen namni wallolaa. Yoo
 277 wallolu, abbaan itti dhaqa. Garaan, obboleessi itti dhaqa. Waan namni namaan
 278 hinjenne namaan jedha {dhirsi} akkuma mucattiin himattu kana. Kana bira lufamee
 279 seera dhaqame *gisee* {yeroo} sanillee. Mana murtii dhaqne. Mana murtii
 280 dhaqneetii, galmeen sunis jiraa, amma mana murtii sana *kissi chaarjii* kana
 281 himannaa yoo nu{ti} kenninuu, himannaa kana hanqisaniit, Daawwen bahee, nullee
 282 mucattiillee nuuqabaa jedheet, nuqaban. Asirratti dubbatanii cokane, balleessaa
 283 gara jiru gara gurbaati qabaniit amma, naqaa qalaa kana gaafa kana muraniitii.
 284 Akkasitti garaa kana fayyisuuf araaraf waan san godhan. (...)
 285 QU: Irraa baatanii? [JW: amma gara mucaa] Koottaa
 286 QW: Dhufe.
 287 Qu: Amma mucattii cokannee barannee, amma gara gurbaatti godaanna
 288 Qw: Dhaqaa.
 289 Qu: Koottuun Gurbaa.
 290 HBr: Waan isiin si himatte agartee. Keeti moo keetii miti?]
 291 Hs: Eee ammaa, ta amma (.) loonii kajedhanirraa, achii jalqaba.() Amma loon
 292 je'ame/{jedhame} kanaa, loowwanii marima tokkoon oofneerra (...) Loonii (.)
 293 amma shakkii amma isiin jettu kanaa, sirrii, shakkii kana nagaafatuunillee sirrii.
 294 Nama gaafateetillee {gaafatee jirtillee}. Hinqaaqeera jaarsillee. Jaarsa yaasissee
 295 qaassee jirallee. Ammaa, oduu, hinfuudhe {niitii biraa} naan jettee sirrii. **Waan**
 296 **kanaan nahimuun kankee, jilba malee irraa deebi jedheeran. Kunooti amma isiini,**
 297 **kunooti. Hinkakadheeraafillee(.) isitu waan biraa nu qaassee.** Addatti anaa halkan
 298 galeeru, kama ani gale, oluma kaatee, na qabatte. Dubbiin kuni, oduma beekadhu
 299 dhufee isii bira gahe. Ijoollema ani waliin oolutuu waan kanaa, durbichummaan isii
 300 *naxaraaxxaree* nagaafate. Yoo inni *xaraaxxaree* nagaafatu, lakki namana abbaa
 301 **JA** je'een {jedheen}. Dubii kana seera malee naan jedhaartaa, namni kuni waan
 302 naanillee maluu mitii, jaartiin tuni jaartii toora haadha tiyyaatii mitii; *macarrashaa*
 303 ta ani fuudhu dhiisitii, akkawoo tiyya malee haadha tiyyaanuu qixxee hindhuftuu,
 304 dhiisi dubbii kana asumatti jedheen. Qunnamtiin ani isaan irraa fayyadamaaru yoo
 305 taatee, waggaan kudha afur jedheen. Ka isaanillee naxaqqamaaran, ka anillee irraa
 306 xaqqamataarulle. Amma haga intalti tuni dhufte kanatti waggaan sagal barana.
 307 Waggaa sagal baranaa kana yoo taatee, *danbanyinatiin* kiyyaafii kajaartii sanii odoo
 308 wali jiru dhufteetti. Rakkoo jirullee isima waliin, yoo ani fakkeenaa amma
 309 saantibii dhabuu danda'a, isiin *danbanyaa* kiyya; dhaqee isirraa waan qabdu irraa
 310 fudhee, karaa isiitinillee rakkoo baasee, karaa kiyyallee rakkoo baasee, jidduu kana
 311 sa'aatii waa argadhetti deebiseeti saantimii isaaniif kafalaaf(.) Waan kana
 312 ammootuu, danbanyinatiin kiyya ka waggaa tureeru. Amma deebi'ee bubbulee ka'ee
 313 amma yoo aaddisii gootee isiin amma barana naqabduu- "Abbaa **JA**, dubbiiin kuni
 314 oofee oofee kijibni kuni *beetasaba* kiyya gahee, *beetasabaan* wal nukuchisiisaa,
 315 dubbii kana asuma dhiisaa," je'een. Sixaraxxaree naan jedhe. Hinkakadheef abbaa
 316 **JA** sanii. Intala tiyya gaheenjiru yoo san dubbiiin. Oofee oofee intala tiyya gahe
 317 dubbiiin, akkuma ani beekkadhe. *Xiqimima* aniif isiin wali{rraa} *xaqqamataaru*
 318 kanaaf, nu{tti} qoxxisanii, jidduu kana amma seexana ta'anii, addaan nukutuuf,
 319 oofanii amma intal tiyya geessan {gahan}. Haa ani galuu eeddee, halkanii,
 320 waldhabnee intala tiyyaan guyyaa lama ooleeraa; guyyaa san amma jaarsillee laga
 321 jiraa, tasoddaa keenyaa kuni. Jaartiin faallee gadi jiran. Isaanirra waldhabneetii,

322 nu'araarsanii galteerti gaafas amma. Guyyama gaafasii, galteeti. Guyyama gaafasii
 323 qaaqni kuni na ka'ellee (.) **Yoo nakka'u, amma intala tanaa hikakadheef. Bakka itti**
 324 **amantu wayii nageeffadhuu, hinkakadhaa jedheen. Kunootii mii ibidda kiyyaa.**
 325 **Gudeeda gaafa duraa san dhahee kakadheef intala tanaaf. “Inni natti haa**
 326 **argu” jedheen, si saaxila nabaasee (.)** Dhiifnee, achi waliigallee araaramnee,
 327 guyyaa torbaan tokocha geennee kaaneetii, *addisii* wantummaan kuni na ddeebi'e.
 328 Yoo na ddeebi'uu, halkanuma naddeebi'ellee. "Gaafa duraa sii kakadhee, hardha
 329 *aaddisii* maal jettee *nazoorssiftee* naddeebiftee?" jedheen. **"Qaaqa kankeetu**
 330 **dhaabatuu didee. Hasasaa keetu dhaabatuu didee.** Waa ati hingoone namni qaaqaa,
 331 Wama ati irra jirtu taanaan qaaqanii. Kanaaf deebisee *aaddisii* godhee sikkaase"
 332 naan jette."Maarree nama san hin himtaa. Anillee akkana sidhiisaa hijiruu.
 333 Daawwee jetteettaa. Gamboo jetteettaa. Bitaa mirga, dhiiraafii haawwota waan kee
 334 qaaqaara jetteettaa. Adii nama kana naaf baaftaa" jedheen. Dhiira ta'u ka
 335 Gambootuu, waan biraaf si{tti} dhufeera sirimaa" jedheen. Achirra waldhabneetii,
 336 halkan lafti sa'aatii torba keessaa, najalaa baatee, mana **DA** dhaxxe . Achirra kunoo
 337 jaarsa yaasee, jaarsa keenaa waamee. Abbaa **JA** kadurbicha isii waameetii, waan
 338 akkanaatiin naraddee. Abbaa **QA** sanillee waameeti, gara nama jahaa moo meeqa
 339 baaseeti, waan akkanaatiin naraddee, isinillee garuu waan kana hinbeettanii. Ati
 340 jaarssi keenaa jaartiin tuni siin obbolaa jettii, jaartiin jaartii teennaan obblee jettii.
 341 Mikinaata garuu isin obbolaa obbole waliin jettaniif isin himbeettanii soddaa.
 342 Jaartiin naa haadhaa. Waan naan malee mitillee. Waan isimmaan waan akkanaa
 343 ammallee nadeebifteef maali? **Gaafa duraa isiin nakkaafnanii, kakadheefi.**
 344 **Ardhallee lammaffaa wanni kuni naddeebi'ee (.)** Kunooti isintu na/anatu hube naan
 345 jettanii. Ofii deebiftee qaaqa na ddeebisaa jirti. Isin argaa; baasaa kunoo. Yoo nallee
 346 **kakachiiftan, mirmaaraa, kamirmaaraa** isiin amma isiin jettuu kunii, duuba yoo
 347 kaanii dhiinni kee *nustuma*{qulqulluma} jedha, yookaanii *bashitama* qabda jedha.
 348 Bakka *nustuu* jedhamettii, yoo waan sanitti jiraadhee, nadaangessee hindanda'u.
 349 Bakki nadaangessu maalii?, Kakuu. Nakakachiisaa je'een. **Achirra Abbaan JA, isiin**
 350 **kicha jettee, waan biraa taatee naa maraammaramu malee jettee ijjibaachiftee**
 351 **jennaannii, Abbaa JA fii isii achi baasanii maqoo kennananii, Abbaan JA kakateef.**
 352 **Na'amanii dhiisi je'een() Hin kakateefii, hindhiifte.** Deebi'ee amma loowwan kana
 353 amma haguma dhiifnu dhiifnee kaanee, amma rakkoma akkuma qara wali
 354 fayyadamaarru wali fayyadamne. Macarrashaa isimmaanuu {haadha manaa} *birrii*
 355 wayii ko'ommattee, isirra {jaartii itti shakkame} dhaqii naa fuudhi jettee birrii
 356 wayiituu dhaqee fuudheef, isima tanaafuu {haadha manaa isaatiif}. Isii amma,
 357 **rakkoo amma loowwan godaannaa kanarratti, loowwan hin godaansifadhaa**
 358 **jedheen. Isimaan** mari'adheetiin. Gaafa kana godaansifadhallee; loon kunillee loon
 359 rimeessallee. Bisaan naahaadhuguu, haa naa jijjiiratu. Marxoon ganaa bayaa
 360 jedhee mari'adheenii jira () jedhee mari'adheen. Garuu namni, ani amma isirrallee
 361 waan hinjirre qaaquun naafis hintolu. Isinillee waan narra hinjirre narra kaawuun
 362 hintolu. Yoo dhuga dhugaa qaaqnee, gabaabsanii qaaqne mishaa malee. Ishii horii
 363 aanessa narraa oofteettaa- Horii qara aaneessi horii sadi. Horiin lamaa, gara gu'aa
 364 deemeera. Horiin tokkottiin wayii, isiin sunuu firrisa looniitii. Ka gu'e kana qara
 365 fuuteettii; tola fuutee, ji'a afurii. Ka amma isiin qaaqa irra kaaftu kunii. "Horiin kuni
 366 rimeessa. Haga tola fudhatteettu jiini afuri. Ji'a afur keessa jira. Inni gara gu'aa
 367 deemeera.Horimmaan waggaa tokko guutuu odoo dhunnu waa nuu hingoonee,

368 amma torbaan tokkochaa dhuddeef homaa siingodhuu, horiin kuni haa godaanuu.
 369 Rima'aa amma gara ulfinaa deemaa jiraa. Hoo bisaan dhuge namaa jijjiirataa"
 370 jedheenii mari'adheen. Hoo mari'adhuun, "Daa'imman tiyya atta godha ree
 371 hagasifuu? Haguma inni gu'ufuu itti hirkifadhaa" naan jette. "**Kadaa'immanii anatu**
 372 **mala dhahaaf"** jedheen. **Finni kiyyaa. Eee finni kiyyaa. Mee asgaragari isa dhiisii (**
 373 **).** " **Daa'imman tiyyaa anatu mala dhayaa. Qarallee akiinuu guddifadheeraa.**
 374 **Hardhallee mala dhahuufii hindadhabuu"** jedheen. "Maarree haguma mala
 375 dhooftufittuu [ME: gabaabsi] haa dhaabbattuu, sa'ooleen asuma haa dhaabbattuu"
 376 jette. Maarree kanuma mala dhahuf ta'u san mala dhaheef. Mala dhaheefii, birrii
 377 isiin nagaafattullee "sii fuudhaa. Sa'oolee hingodaansifadhaa" je'een. **Malallee**
 378 **walumaan dhoofneetuu jirra. Ka isiin rakkoo isiin daa'immanii birrii isiin**
 379 **daa'immanii ishiroo bituuffillee, godheefiituma jira.** Godheefii loowwani, boru
 380 oofadha jedhee ka itti *aqqadee* jiru, boruun sunii Sanbataa diqqaa, ka'ooffe
 381 ammootuu Jimaata. Ka itti walii gallee jirrullee Sambata diqqaa, oofinsa loon
 382 kanaa. Haga marxoonis bahuu, haga makkoonis bahuufi, achi oloofetii, dinichaa
 383 wayii masinoo wayii namni lafa wayii naakenneeraa. Ani amma astaa'ee loon kana
 384 waan naanneffadhee hindandeenneefii, karaarra godaansifadhee, loon kana
 385 tiffachaatii, dinnichaa san dhaabadha dhaqee. () <Ammaa, kaa amma, kaloonii,
 386 kaloonii bakka isiin itti *xaraxxartellee* fiduun anuma. Sanii, eega isiin bakka wayii
 387 shakkitee silaa dhiisuun anuma ture. Diisellee, gaafa lolaa san gin hin oofnee.
 388 Gaafa lolaa loon hinooffamnee guyyaa sadi ooleet oofame loowwan.> Ta isiin
 389 loowwan hindeemu jettee jete, loowwan an hindachaase loowan. Dachaa'ee, guyyaan
 390 ani oofe Jimaata gara sa'aatii shaniitii. Ta isiin loon hindeemu jettee irratti rabshaa
 391 galchitee, an loon hindachaase. Loon dachaaseetii, Sanbata guddaa [El: eega
 392 deebitee ooftee, oofteejirta dhiisi]. **Mee tagaafasii akka amma gaafas oofeera**
 393 **je'aa jiraniifi. Waan naa hinjirre tokko diduu qaba kaa anillee.** Sanbata guddaa
 394 oofe. Isiin galittiif eegaa tureetii, guyyaa sadi'iin booda oofe loon ani. Sun dhaqeera
 395 eega dhaqee. Sun amma dhaqeera. **Amma karaa aama issin dhibee amma nayaaluu**
 396 **dide jedhaartu, Kalee nayaaluu dide ta isiin je'aartuu (.)** Re'ee, akkuma je'an re'ee
 397 nuuf bitan hingurgurre re'ee. Wanti gurgurreefii, yaaluma isiitiif gurgurre. Kalema
 398 isiin himattu kanaaf baasee gurgure. Baasee gurgureetii, <birrii dhibbaaf
 399 torbaatamaa> fuudhee matama isiititti kenne haakimaan dhaqi jedhee. Waan waan
 400 na hinjirre na rageessituuf hinqabdu. Fuudhee itti kenne qabee. Isiin isii.
 401 Hakimiillee dhaxxee galteetuma jirti. Ka amma daaraa, ka amma je'aartuu, maraa
 402 isinumaa fixaa, Ka daaraa (.), qara daara baasatuma jira. Bara dheengaddaallee,
 403 birrii asii kenneefii yeroo isiin asii godaantu birrii kenneefii, carqii bitattee asii
 404 godaantee jirti. Ka baranaa ammo hoo?, Nuufuu reef birraan bari'aara. Haga
 405 bari'utti, boqollaa wayii barana arganne. Boqollaa arganne sanii, yeroo boqqollaa
 406 kana- yoo duraa horii wayii baafnee gurgurree qabdii kennina je'aa turre. **Haga**
 407 **boqqollaannu nuu gahee jedhee, baqqaa eeguma boqqollan nuu gahee waan kokkee**
 408 **nuu ta'ee, raada tana baasii gurguradhuu, baranumallee yoo numaraa kaa**
 409 **gammannee yoo ka atillee gammadee ka daaraan baatu taate, hoo qara gadadoollee**
 410 **ka si{tti} kennaa jiruu, barana hoo'u raada tana baasii gururadhu je'een. Sii**
 411 **gurguraa daaran bahi je'een. kunooti haatuu.(.)** "Amma Waadhinuu/{Waaqnuu} isii
 412 {raada} oolchuufii boqollaa kana nuu geessee, eeguma Waadhi/{Waaqni} boqollaa
 413 kana nuugeessee, boqqollama kana keessaa- raaddillee akka hinxuqamne haa

414 teettuu. Boqqollama kana keessaa, kuntaala lamaa naaf daa'immanii gurgurii daara
 415 nabaasi" jetteetti haati kunoo(.) <Isii maarree, isii daaraa boqqollaa kana
 416 haami'aawuuf odoo wal eeggannu qaaqqni kuni nuugale (.)> Ta isiillee achi. Waan
 417 anii, daara isii baasuu dadhabee dide wayiillee hinqabu. Kadhibeellee achi. kanuma
 418 kiyya. Kanumaa mii garuu? (...)
 419 JW: < Gaafii sirraa qaba. Amma kunoo isiin {haati manaa} ija ija himatteetti {himattee
 420 jirti}. Daara nanbaasu. Yoo rakkadhe rakkoo hinbahuu jettee jirti. Homa homaan
 421 dhaqee hindanda'u jetteetti. Kana situ dhoogge moo? Gara firaallee rakkina akkanaa
 422 kana qabdi moo hinqabdu?>
 423 Hs: Eee, **Ka karaa amma fira dhaqiinsa dhooggisaa, ani waan dhoogge hinqabu, humna**
 424 **keenna nudhoorge. Yoo baajanni jiraate namni akka fira ofiillee dhaqallee.** Namni
 425 du'ee ammoo, waan du'a oolleerruuf hinqabu. Isiinis waan ooltetu hiqabdu. Anis
 426 waan ooleeru hiqabu (...)
 427 EBs: Mee na ergaa.
 428 JW: Dhaqaa.
 429 HBr : Ani waa sibaradha, Ka amma kalee dhahaa isiin jechaa jirtu kana hoo maal jettan?
 430 Hs: Kalee, Eee, kalee, **Kalee amma isiin himattuu kana, qaruma itti himee diddeerti.**
 431 **Ibiddaaf je'aa gabba'a {gadi baatee}, gufuu buxulti, muka faasii doomaan. Faasii**
 432 **doomaan muka buxulaa ka'aatii, madaabaraa matoo kana itti guutaa ittanaa fuudhaa**
 433 **ofirra keetti. "Dhiisi munni kuni fayyaa sidhoowwaa. Faasiin ati muka kanaan**
 434 **tumaartullee waan fayya sidhoorgaatii,muka mukaan tumaartaa, dhiisi," jedhee itti**
 435 **himeera. "Lamuu muka kana sababattee ciiftaa. Ani hakima sinfidu" je'eeraan.**
 436 **"Sihimee eeguma muka kanarraa dhaabatuu diddee, an haakimii siffidu" je'een.**
 437 WBr: Gabaabsaa. Dhahaa namaati moo dhukkuba?
 438 Hs: **Dhahaan kiyyaa miti. Waan sani, eee (...)**
 439 JW: Kanaa, akka dhawaan kee hintaane, warrillee hinbeeka?
 440 Hs: Martinuu hinbeeka.
 441 JW: Akka odeessan cidhallee wama hagamte akka ati hindhoorgine martinuu hinbeeka?
 442 Hs: San martinuu **hin beeka. Waan humni nudhoorgee acchi{tti}.**
 443 HBr: Mee nallee na ergaa.
 444 JW: Dhaqaa mee.
 445 HBr: Na ergitanii?
 446 JW: Eee
 447 HBr: Maarree ani sigaafadha. Dubbii tokko, dhugaa dubbataniitii, "**Harka dhiqatan**
 448 **garaan jaalata**" jedhan. Dhugaa dubbatan waaqnis jaalata. Ati amma nu keessa
 449 teessee yoo dubbii kana waan jirrullee ofi{tti} maxxansuuf taate, Arsinillee si'arga
 450 {sitti). Jaarsi taa'e kun [Hs: abbaa kiyya kana dhahee kakadha] mee laa gara kakuu
 451 nusiffinnee laali. [Hus: **maaf hinkakanne waan naan hinjirre tokko naan hinjiru**
 452 **je'ee kakataa deema malee]** Amma caqasi [WBr: waan sin dhossitan ardaan kuni
 453 baasuu hidanda'a]. Eee baasuu hindanda'an. At ammaa, waan jiru yoo dubbatte
 454 mishaa. Mucattiin si himatteettii. Ati amma ofirraa deebisuudha. Yoo deebisuu
 455 dadhabde, waan sii goonu hinqabnu. Nuhuu hinbeenna garii. Dhugaa ati qabdus, ta
 456 isiin qabdus maraa hima beenna. Dubbii kana ka daaraalle hinqabdi yoo jette, lafa
 457 kaayi. Hinbaasaara, amma harkarra nahatee hinbaasuun kankeeti. Amma dubbiin
 458 mucattiin himatte, ka warra tuxxu kana; kasoddaa kasoddaatii, keeti moo keetii
 459 miti?

460 Hs: Kiyyaa miti
 461 El: Soddaa soddaatiillee?
 462 Hs: Eee waan xuqeeru hinqabu. (...)
 463 WBr: Mee yeroo tokko, waa gaafadha.
 464 ME: Dhaqaa.
 465 WBr: Mee ammaa waan guddoollee an isin hingaafadhu. Ka nu tuqxaan, tuqxanii, tuquu
 466 baattanii, womaa nungodhu suni. **Uduu ofiiyyuu walbulchitanii, waan guddaadha**
 467 **nuuf. Bu'aan keenna guddaan, isin walbulchuu, walhorachuu.** Yoo nu kunoo nama
 468 tuqamullee taane, nuhuu of beenna. Yoo atuu nama nudhufetii, nuxuqullee taatee
 469 jiraatee, Arsiinuu hinbeeka; suni rakkoo wayiituu hinqabu. Tuqaaf hin dubbadhu.
 470 uuu (.) Amma horiin ooftan kunii, mariin akka hintaane isinuu ibsitaniirtan. Horiin
 471 kuni ammaa, kamuchi isaa aannaniiti moo, ka asiin dura gu'eeru ka ooftan?
 472 Hs: Horiin lama gu'eera. Horiin tokkocchi ammoo, ganama dhoowwatee, galgala
 473 dhaabbata. Hoo'aa.
 474 WBr: Lammeessoo, ammaa hulee amma asii jaarsi isin gaafatan san, cidhatu jiraa, du'atu
 475 jiraa. Dubartiin yoo firallee hindhaxxi, du'as hindhaxxi, cidhas hindhaxxi. Guyyaan
 476 dubartiin, guyyaan soddaanillee namatti dhufullee, guyyama lamaani, akka aadaa
 477 keennaatitti. Guyyaa kaan yoo isiin nuttuu dhufte, nuhuu gad ari'uu dandeenya.
 478 **Nuttuu hindhuftu. Maaliif?, Qara nurraa baate waan taateef hajaa nubiraa hinqabdu.**
 479 Guyyaan dubartiin nama{tti} hajamtu, firri nama hajamu, soddattis hajaman,
 480 guyyaa du'aatiif guyyaa cidhaati. Guyyaa kana, obboleettiin mucattii tanaa
 481 hingurgurreeraa, hin heerumteetti, Daawwema keessantu fuudhe. Guyyaa isiin
 482 obboleettii isiitiif cidha dhufuuf taatu kana, baajata dhabaa qabaadhaa, yoo isin
 483 dhabdan, homaa rakkoo hinqabu. Nuhuu odoo nudhuftanii daadhii keenyanillee
 484 akkuma soddaan soddaa kafanu isin kafanuu dandeenya; suni rakkoo hinqabu. ka
 485 baajataatii miti () haalataa [Els: dubbadhaa isin] haalataa keessatitu nama *qoca'a*
 486 malee. Gaafa mucattiin tuni gurguramtu, mucattiin tuni nutti dhufteetti? Cidha
 487 dhufteetti? Nu ammoo rakkoo isii san dhagahuu hindhabne. Qotuu hinbarbaanne.
 488 Akkuma qara jenne, isin haa walhorataniif dubbii san irra lufneerra dubbii san.
 489 Waan dhossitaniif hiqabdanii. Yoo isin dhossitan biyyi kuni hinbeekaa. Hulee
 490 sanittillee gaaf cidha san dhufu akkamiin akka fiddan, hinbeettan. Hindu'e
 491 daa'imnni wayii, obboleessuma isiiti. Gaafa daa'imnni suni du'uu, booya san
 492 hindhaqu jettaniiti isiinillee *saantibii massaafaraa makiinaallee* dhoowwattanii
 493 lukaan hindhufnee mucattiin tuni? Nutti hin himamnee? Nu irra lufnee
 494 hincaldhifnee? Fira ee gammaddee hindhaxxi ka jettan san, bajanni isin haa
 495 dhoowwuu kabajataatiif rakko hinqabnuu. Hulee kanniin adima baaftanii, nullee
 496 waan qara isiin himannaan haa isiin bultuu; oduu hafuura isii kana fuudhuu waan
 497 hinbarbaannef, gadi isinitti ittisuuf, haala kana irra lufnee waan jirru waan taateefi,
 498 hulee kanallee ardaan kunillee beekuu danda'a odoo qulqulleessitanii. Dhimma
 499 kaleeti, Kadaaraallee isinuu asiiwuu jedhameera. Dhimma kaleeti. Kalee kana, yoo
 500 akka jettan rakkoo mukaa, kabisaaniillee ta'e, ardaan keessan kunillee ima beekuu
 501 danda'a. Yookiin himattee ardaan keessan kunillee dubbii ugur haa oolchuufi, haa
 502 ardaa kanaa badduu, haa isiniif badduu, addaytee lafa teettee jirti. Hulee tanallee
 503 mee adima baaftanii yoo isin dhugaa baastan, nuun fira bitaa mirgaa kunillee,
 504 dhugaa sanirra hundoofnee isin araarsuu dandeenya. Falas uumuu dandeenya. Yoo
 505 isin ammo dubbii gamaaf gamanaa akka qolattoo shimala namni walirra qabuu kaan

506 gamaaf gamanaa illee fixiree qolatoon dhooggadhaatti deemtan, qolatoon sun araara
507 keennallee nuu hinkennu. Dubbii kanniin qulqulleessitanii, waan Daawweenillee
508 isini beekuu danda'u ifa gootanii odoo lafa keettanii maal qaba? Eee nu hidhuu
509 odoontaane hiikuu barbaanna. [[Els: mee dacha'aa ambana dubbiiin tuni bittinaawaa
510 jirti, hinbittina'aa jirti eee, ammaa amma ofii itti qajeelaaree]]
511 JW: Eee qajeeli
512 El: Namichi naa qajeeluu didee
513 Els: [[qajeeli, itti qajeeli, dhqaa]]
514 Hs: Mee laalaa amma, waan nama gaafatan *malsii* deebisan [Els: Eee likkima
515 ardamatuu qajeelchaa]
516 JW: [Gabaabsituma deebisi]
517 Hs: **[waan gaafatan, waan nugaafatan ofirraa deebifna malee waan nuhinjirre haa**
518 **fudhannuuf taatan moo?]** (.)
519 Els: [[Mee ammaa nagumgumsiiisaa, gunguma nuukennaa]]
520 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu, Amma qorti deebitee cotee cokaanillee itti
521 dhaxeerti jedhe jechuu argadhu. Eega cokaanillee, bakka gayanii dhiisantu jira
522 jechuu argadhu. Amma gurbaan cokameera, Nuu, "[Jabbiif dubbii maraa](#)
523 [hindhawatan](#)" jedhe jechuu argadhu. Amma gurbaan eega cokamee, waan firrillee,
524 waan keessillee beekuuf, gara araaraatiif gara dubbii deema jaarsi. Cokatteetta, yoo
525 diqqoo isin haftee, itti dhaqi. Ka amma inni {dhirsi} hambisee maandhaa kuni
526 {obboleessi intalaa} gaafatellee, jaarsuma qoma jirti. [El: isaanis na'aansaa] Ka inni
527 amma waakkatellee, jaarsa garaa jirtii. Amma coka isaa irraa deebitee, dubbitti haa
528 deebinu. Koottaa.
529 EHs: Rabbi Arsii tana haa araarsu. Nullee dhugaa haa dubbisu. Amma dubbii tana
530 muchattii gaafanneerra. Mucallee gaafanneera. [Wanti mucattiin himatte](#)
531 [mulummaan isaatuu dhugaa naffakkata, dhugaa. Miidhamnni isiillee dhugaa, daarri](#)
532 [isiillee dhugaa](#). Hinbaafne. Raaddi gurguramuu hafte, boqqollaa geenna je'anii.
533 Boqqollaan suni gurguramee hinbaafne. Gisee eeggadha jedhan isii lamuu
534 duwwama, dhugaa qabdi. () Sa'allee osoo itti iyyinu oofeera. Dhugaa qabdi.
535 Mucattiin dhugaa qabdi achittillee. Anii () Rakkinni isii muldhataa jira. Ani
536 gungume. Rakkina kana, amma irraa fooyyessa yoo jedhe, mannillee, garaanillee
537 abbaanillee hindhufaa, ani gungume. Nu akka gara kiyyaatiin, irraa fooyyessinaa.
538 [Saanillee ka isiit ta'aa. Daarrillee ka'isiit ta'aa. Bootaa qabataa. Seerri isii muluun](#)
539 [hin eegamaa. Seerri isii muluunuu hin'eegamaa.](#) [El: Isaani na'aansaa, JW: Koottaa]
540 Araara jaarsaaf ta'u [El: coka je'aaan] Dubbadhuu kennadhu [Barsiisa dhiisaa] ()
541 HFa: Mee diqoo isii. Ani gumgume. Rabbi dubbii tana haafixu. [Els: Haa fixu]
542 Gamannillee cokameera. Gamnillee cokameera. Han gingilchee dubbii fixuu,
543 jaarssa. Amma mucaanifii mucattiin nurraa fincaantii. Jilaba jiru, hindeemsifnaa.
544 Abbaa dhugaa qabuufii, cabsineetii. Mucattiin yoo qabaatte "kee kana". Kan kee
545 ta'u, kee kana" jenneetii, jaarssi gingilcheetii, dhama irratti dubbii hinmuranii. Jilba
546 jiru hindeemaan. Cokameera. Cotti dubbii hinfixxuu. Amma nurraa ficaanaa
547 (gurbaan). Mucattiiniifi, abbaanille hin fincaanaanii. Abbaan mucattiillee
548 hinficaanaa. Fincaananii yoo waaman hindachaasaa. Jilba jiru hincabsanii. Abbaa
549 dhugaa qabuuf hinkennanii. Diriirsanii kennanii. Dubbadhuu kennadhu.
550 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Amma fincaan jettaniittu jedhe jechuu
551 argadhu. Fincaanillee abbaa kennutu jira jedhe jechuu argadhu. Atiinii "[Ilkaan](#)

552 farada kanaa akka tokko jiraa" jedhe jechuu argadhu. Ati abbaa jedhe jechuu
553 argadhu. Cottinuu sidhufti jedhe jechuu argadhu. Fincaan yoo dhufee, jaarssa
554 battalaa fincaan dhufa jedhe jechuu argadhu. Yoo dhugaa baafna asirti jedhan,
555 wanti dhossitee maqoo keettuf maaltu jira jedhe jechuu argadhu. Intaltii- "intala
556 dhugaa qaba. Ilmatu dhugaa qaba," yoo jettee wanti sifuuneef at abbaa jara lachiit.
557 Asuma battala himta jedhe jechuu argadhu. Maqoon waan sobanii nama araarsan
558 maqoo godhanii. Waan battala lafa keessan ilmaan haadhallee as qopheessineefii.
559 Ati ka fincaan jette diqoo nurraa itittaa. Ati ka waa gaafadha jette itti dhaqi.

560 EWf: Anillee waa gaafadha. Ani waa diqqoo gaafadhaafi. Ammaa, eee jarri kunii
561 dhirsaafti niitii. Dubbii isaanii garuu taan Rabbi beekaa, taan ardaatu beekaa.()
562 Isarrattii ammaa jaarsi isaan araarsuuf dhufellee, waan isaan araarsaa. Ammoo yoo
563 wal waakkataa dubbiinii waan garaa hanqoo qaban garaa baafatanii "Himatuun
564 fixatuu" jedhan. Ardaa kanatti, nama kanatti yoo garaa gadi baafatanii
565 hinhimannee,(uuu) araari isaanillee irrana irrana ta'uu danda'a. Amma akkuma
566 jedhame wanti jaarsaa jaartii baay'ee wallolsiisaa gaa'ela isaaniillee diiguutti
567 deemuu, tokkoo walshakkiin jiraachuu. Maal shakkite amma mucattiin tun?,
568 "Qabeenyallee mitii, ani qabeenya waliin qabnullee mitii, lubbuu na'ajeesaa," jetti.
569 Amma dubbii asii isaanii kaleellee ani hindhoofnee jedhan. Wantummaan ishiin
570 lubbuuf isin shakkiteefii, hin reebdan moo? Hintumtan moo? ka ardaan kuni beeku,
571 garuu nama tumanii lolanii nama hinhoratanii, wanti isiin lubbuuf isiin isin
572 sodaattuuf maalifi? Kanallee odoo nuu ibsitanii. Kabiraa ammo, beera wayiin
573 shakkii qabaa jetti isiin. Niitii isiin waliin isin shakkitu kanaan danbanyaa jettan.
574 Danbaynatiin keessan kamaaliiti? Garuu niitiiniifii abbaan warraa qabeenya
575 isaanii tokko, yaanni isaanii tokkoo. *Danbanya*an isii kan keeti. Maaluma
576 *danbanyinnatiin* isii ka ammaa isiin irra sishakkitu? Ifa gootanii odoo nutti
577 himtanii. Ammaa "Dhibee dhossanii qorsi dhokataa" jedhan. Dhugaa waan jiru yoo
578 ardaa kanatti hinhimnee, dubbiin keessan shakkii ta'aara. Gara hintaanetti deemuu
579 danda'allee. Kanaaf waan jirtu dubbii taanillee waan beennuf waan jiru odoo ifa
580 gootanii ()

581 WBr: Amma mee gaafii takkittima wali makattanii, *dhimmuma lubbuu kanarratti. Akkaa*
582 *mucattii Keetaa duutee wayii, akkas sigodha waan jettaniin qabduu?*

583 Hs: Wa'a. Hinqabu. [Els: Olfuudhaa sagalee] Maarree mee ta isaan nagaafatan tana
584 deebisaa. Maarree ammaa ta nabsee gara deemichaattittii ani shakkii qaba ka isiin
585 jettuufii, waluma{tti} qoxxee nu yeroo maraa wali qoxxifnu kanaafi. Waluma
586 qoxxee nuti gisee maraa warreebaati, gisee maraa jaarssi wali nu'araarsaa waan
587 tureef gara lubbuu shakkisiisaa deeme malee...

588 HBr: Mee ani asi waa sidhufa/{sitti dhufa} ani. Gaafima isaan sigaafatan kana sii
589 qulqulleessa. Gaafiin amma isaan sigaafataaranii, Intalti shakkii irraa qaba jettee
590 lafaan geette. [Hs: san amma sii dhufaara] Qooyi sii dhufaara, waanujalaa
591 dimimmisa hingodhin.[Hs: San itti hindhufne tanagaafatan tanafsee baassiissaa..]
592 Itti dhiis tanabsee hinbaaftaf hinbaaftuu kee nu'uu hinbeenna san itti dhiisi nuu
593 cokamuufillee hindeemin. Yoo kabaafuullee yoo kambaafneellee itti dhiisi. Amma
594 huleen ijoon isaan sigaafataaran, mucattiilleen si himattu shakkii irraa qabaa jette.
595 Tokko mucattii fuudhuf taata siin je'an, mucattii jaartii sanii. Lama isii waliin
596 jiraataara siin jedhan. Eega isin nuqaassitanii hinqaana.[Hs: eee] Dubbii kana
597 lamaan ifa godhii addaan baasi siin je'an. Loon kiyya wanti oofaniif mucattii san

598 ta'ii haadha ta'ii, jidduu sani dhukkuba jiraa.Kun kanaa je'anii lafaan gahaniiran.
 599 Mucattiin Arsii keessatti ifa godhuu dadhabbaarti malee [Hs: Eee] Karaan ta'u
 600 lamaan kana adda baasi.
 601 Hs: Eee amma [HBr: fuudhuf ta'a waan akkanaa rakkoon jedhii qulqulleessi] Eee ani ka
 602 isiin nashakkiteen jaartii. Bakka jaarti nashakkitetti. "**Osoo haga jaartiin nashakkite,**
 603 **mucattii san fuudhuuf taataa, hinfuuteettaa, odoo naanjettee fayyaa turee**" jedheen
 604 **isiin.(.)** Isiirratti ani ammallee mucattii, jaartii waliin silaa waan nashakkitu
 605 wayiituu hinqabu, "Mucattii fuudhuuf ta'aa odoo naa geettee" je'een *baqaa*.
 606 HFa: Mucatti?
 607 Hs: "**Eee mucattii san fuudhuuf ta'aa, odoo naa geettee**" je'een.
 608 HFa: Eee amma kunoo uleen geetteetta. Nafuudhaa ammaa wayyooma.
 609 JW: Koottaa
 610 HFa: Maarree akkanaa. Nu wanti fincaan gara laachuu jenneefii, namni, uuu.
 611 Gaaddifnni kuni wayyooma qaba. Arsiin kuni wali{tti} nam'eera. Dubbiin tokko,
 612 yoo jaarssi- () Nuu tolaara akki amma isin jettan kuni. Yoo badii isiinillee
 613 qabaatte, namni mureetuma badii hagonaa qabda. Yoo inni murtii qabaate jaarssi
 614 gingilchee laaleetti, murtii kennaaf ture. **Eega qaaqaa jettanii, hinqaaqna amma.**
 615 **Achuu hinkeennu. Kalee fincaantu jiraafii Kalee uumee isii gaaddifni cokatee**
 616 **fincaansiseeti abba ati maal beeta?** Shakkii akkanaa beettaa? Yoo jedhan irra
 617 gattaa'an. Wanti bobaa jalatti suuqqannu takkattiin hinjirtu. Amma eega
 618 wayyoomnii lolla'ee amma qajeelchee, hindubbannaa amma nudubbisaa.
 619 Hindubbadha amma wanta achi kaawu wayiitii hinjiru. [JW: Dhaqaa] **Wanti achi**
 620 **kaawu wayiituu hinjiru, () maarree nu amma hindubbannaa. " Haakimii**
 621 **qarallee yoo dhaqan marfee nama waraanani qorsi yoo san fayyan ()** Dubbii amma
 622 shakkii mucattiin jettuu sanii, amma innuu gangalatee hulee gahee. Karaa haadhaa
 623 maaf deeman, jaartii dullattii? **shakkii intalarraa eennullee ardaan keenna**
 624 **hinqaba. Shakkii intala sanii.** Qara wanti caldhisee deemuuf intala tana
 625 hinfuudhaara moo intala tana achitti galeera jettetti dubbiin. Innuu gangalatee amma
 626 hulee gahate. Gara jaartii dullachaa maaf deeman? Gurbaan wannummaan badiin
 627 galee badiin dhalateefii, Kaleellee dhaabbadhu. Karaa Gamboo kana dhiisi. Sa'a kee
 628 tiffadhu. Qahee kee godhadhadhu. **Diisi mucattii tanallee. Halkanuu hinlolin,**
 629 halkan lolaaraa. Amba raftee, erbee bal'attee, rufanee baldhatee, Arsii hiikkatee,
 630 Arsiin walhillolu. Wanti bariisaa walloluuf hoo?, Tokko iyya dhagayee haa
 631 dhufuufi. Tokko kaqayeerra dhufe nama haa araarsuufi. Dhiisi jeneen. Lolli isaanii
 632 guyyaa miti halkani. Lola halkanii kanatu deemee deemee bariisaan bahe. Dhiisi
 633 jenneen gurbaan. Dhiisi jette muchattiinillee. Hindide gurbaan kuni (.) Shakkii gara
 634 intala amma inni *zooruu* kana odoo naa geettee jedhuu, (yoooo){sagalee
 635 harkifamaa} guddoo gahanii, diqqaa gahanii, kadhalatee gahanii geettee bultii
 636 geette, fuudhan kalamuu kanjedhan kanallee. Raasa fiigee namatti hindhufu. Yoo
 637 uffata gahee, bultii gahe. Mucattii fuudheeraa jedhee Gamboon muluun. Gara
 638 mucattii sanii maal fuudha ree achi itti galeera jetti dubbiin. Loon jedhan kana,
 639 hama dhageenyeera loon kana achi godaansisaa. Qofa loon kana akka hin'oofne
 640 jedha anuu gallaaleetiin.Loon kana akka karaa makiinaa hinoofne. Loon karaa
 641 makiinaa eennullee Daawwen ka'oofatu nu hin'agarre. Ka isaatii achii. Badaa
 642 biyyana, warri kiyyaa **qahee namaa bullee hinbeeku. Qa'ee namaallee taa'ee**
 643 **hinbeeku.** Gurbaa kana tokkocha rabbi nuggodhe. Daa'imattii tana mucattiin tana,

644 **ardaa waa hingoone, garaa ambba nyaattee jirtti.** Amma bee gara muufattanillee
 645 muufattan muufattaniiraan gurbaa kanatti warri garaa kunillee. **Mucattiin dhugaa**
 646 **waaqaa lafaa qabdi. Ardammaanillee dhugama qaba.** Ofii hin murannuuf
 647 malee, nullee bee uguruma geessineerraa. Horii hagam qallee? Daadhii hagam
 648 naqne? Qoreen hagamii nuwaraaneera. Amma gara lubbuu deemnaani, itti dhiifne
 649 caldhifneera. Haa garaa walkutanii. Dhugamaan. Amma hoo, finna qabdi mucattiin
 650 tuni, sa'a qabdi, nafsee qabdi. **Garaa na nyaattetti daa'imattiin tuni. Duutuu asi**
 651 **dhiigdeetti,** {sagalee booyaa}, hinbooyinaa cal'aa. **Asi dhiigdeeti, qursummeettii**
 652 **miti** (uuuh) waliin boonneera. Waliin booyaniiran. **Hincaldhiseera, caldhiseera**
 653 **amma qaheen keennallee. Eennullee hincaldhiseera (.)** Akka godhu qabaaree
 654 amma? "Hiyyeessi ofii haqqisee ofii laphee qabata" jedhan. Ani ammaa, amba
 655 keessaallee bahee galeera. Deemee deemee deemee maal jedhee, Hammeessoo
 656 Badhaasoo "kataaraa haraa galee, bitaa galee, horoo gaabiin mare dubbima amba
 657 hiiku muka dhaquun kaayeeti warra kiyya ol aseenaara moo, warra kiyya
 658 nawwallaaleera moo natu warra kiyya wallaaleera?" jedhee mii Hammeessoo
 659 Badhaasoo, giseen du'ee. Aniin, ambuma hiika. Daa'imni tunii {niitiin gurbaa} yoo
 660 anuu qooqe, ija nalaaltee narraa baafti. **Gurbaa dhaabbadhu. Garana gadi laalii**
 661 **hajaa baafadhu. Garana gaddeebi'i irraa gadi.** Gurbaa kana moonaa tana
 662 gadhaabadhu. Nagorra'anillee qa'ee kanarraa hinhafu jedhee mii? Muldhifateemii
 663 laalaa. Haadha dullacha maali, intala fuudhaaraa lafaan gahaara. Gamboon karra
 664 sanii. Haadha maali ka dhagahaa deemnullee. Gurbaan maal ta'ee karaa kana
 665 dhiisuu dida. Uduu karaa kana dhiisee, idaa bara dheengaddaa gahee, adeemaa
 666 loonii gurguraa idaa san dheengadda olkenne. (.) Mucattiin **dhugaa waaqaa lafaa**
 667 **qabdi. Uduu soddaan dhufee, achitti saalfatee, hincaldhisu. Udoo soddaatiin**
 668 **dhuftee, achitti hincaldhifu.** Jalaa du'uuf- Jaarssa tokkodu yoo namni garanaa
 669 qofa'u "odoo firrisanii asi jalaa du'anii" jedhe jaarsi wasiila kiyya wayii. Bada
 670 warrana "yoo namni achi qofa'uu, uduu gamanuma jalaa du'anii, fayyaan jalaa
 671 du'anii" jedhe Bariisoo Waarituu jedhan. Yoo inni achitti iyya lukkuuti halkan
 672 amba rafte iyyiti kaatee, **odoo firrifneellee jalaa duunneef taana** warra keenna
 673 mee dhagahaa. (Eee) **Uduu firrifneellee jalaa biliq jennee** [daaddaa mee yeroo
 674 tokko (El)]. Mucattiin dhugaa qabdi (.) Warrarra dhaanamte. Warri odoo as jiru
 675 dhahe. Warrarra *baddale*. Garuu wantummaan tokkottiin ta amma mucattiin "ta
 676 warra akkanaa, ta akkanaa, ta amma mucattiin jedhe jettu, wantummaan takkattiin
 677 gurra kiyya galee hinbeeku. Obbolaa kiyya. Ani ofii hindhageenye. Hinjiraa ree?
 678 [Wf: isin hinjirtan] Hinjiru. Dhagayaa hindhossu ani oduu sanillee gurri
 679 nafudhatee, hidhossu. **Dhugaa qabdi mucattiin. Yoo danda'an hoo, karaa inni**
 680 **itti deemu kana danda'an irraa haakutan. Badiin wanti** nudhalatteef san irraa
 681 haa dhaabbatu. Wanni inni horii gara san godaansiseefii-. Karaa loowwan
 682 dheengadda itti godaansifate san, maal godaansifate ree, haa elmataniif oofee fidee
 683 achi. Intalti fuudhan suni haa elmattuufi. Kadhalfatee qadhaabde dhabdee, isiin haa
 684 dhugduufi. Eentu finnarraa loowwan oofee dhageesse? Kunoo ammaa sa'oolee
 685 lamaan hora dhiifnee biraa deemnee jaartattii dullattiin bunatti haa buufattuuf,
 686 inninii daa'imman afurii shan qabu dhiisitoo. **Dhugaa qabdi {intalti}. Ardaanillee**
 687 **dhugaa qabaa. Gurbaan wawuu nahambisee hinjiruu. ka akkanaati. ()**

688 EHs: Mee nugumgumsiisaa

689 JW: Gaggabaabsii koottu.

EHs: Elaa biyya keennaa amma dubbiin dhumatte. "Dubbii garanyaattee hindhabanii biraa galanii" jedhe Arsiin. Amma qaaqa amma qaaqaa jirtan kana, qaaqni wama jiru. Odoo guyyaa hundallee qaaqanii wama nama qaassaa. Maaliif, amma dubbii amma Gamboo kaje'aartan kanaa, Mucaa kanaanuu haati teenna. Amma horii kana gadi hingodaansisinii, as naggodaansifadhuu jedheen. Adaa waan kana garaa jiraa, laki gubataa kana godaansifadhaa naan jedhe. "Lutti kan kee si haagubatu. Gubadhu atii. Odoo ani asnu'oofadhu {nutti as oofdhu} jedhu Gubata reebootti godaansiftaa? Gubadhu" jedheen. Wallolle. Maaliif? Arsiinii rimaa garaa jiru beeka. Ilmaan ta'uu mitii. Maalii? dubbii dhugaa jirtan. Amma **GA** mishaa ta'eefii miti. Isa wajjin kunoo dubbii guddaa qaaqneera. Kunoo isa waliin dubbii guddaa qaaqneera. Maaliif? Isumarra{tti} waa argina malee, mucattiiira homaa hinarginu. Araddama kunoo garuma isaanii kanaan waa argina malee, wanti arginu hinjiru. Uduu araddaan kunuu miidhee amma **MA** fii **AB** gartummaa irra muldhisanii, **GA** hi'ajjefna jedhanii, aniin eessumaatuu itti hindhiisu. Seeraan ala itti deemaartanii irraa dhaabadhaa jedhaan. Gama seeraatinillee, gama Arsoomaatinillee. Maaliif, balleessama isaa arginaa. Mucattiin amma daara qabaa jette. Eee dhugaa daara qabdi. **GA illee dabeetii miti. Hanqina wallaalla qaba.** Warri kunillee bultii- ammaa Saani tokkochi kuni yoo waliigalteen jiraate, booyallee cidhallee nama fida. **Amma GA uumamaanillee, hormaatanillee namni isa tare hinjiru. Amma DA lee QA llee isaa ol lufaniitii miti. Maaliif? Amala isaati dhiqqaa. Amala gabaabaa qaba. Namni amala diqqaa, dureessallee namuma biraa hafa. Namnni amala diqqaa, yoo gootaraa sadii afurillee galche, namuma dura beela'a.** Maaliif balleesan kun hundinuu kama **GA** tii. Mucattiin tani balleessitee hinjirtu. Mucattii tana takkattii tana yoo isiin narakkifte jedhee natti himatee, mucattii tanaa loluu danda'a. Dhaqee "maaltu sirakkise mucattii? Maaf badaa qaaqaarta? Maaf badaa ta'aarta?" jedhee nama dhooguu danda'a () Maaltu ree na dhoorge? Hanqina isiiti nadhoorge. **Eessimoo kana haga kiyatti hima loladhaan.** Hima gorfadhaan. "Gurba himaaxarin. Gurabaa hinsaratin. Gurbaa hinwallaaliin. Lakki amala kana dhiisi" hima jedhee lolaan. Eegaa " **Amalli abbaa dhiba**" jedhanii. **Amalliin kuniin bifa abbaa tara.** Bifa abbaa kana bee yoo qalanii qanani'anillee hin baafatanii. Aamala kana of keessaa ciranii baasuuf, gaafa gaafaan yoo baasan malee, nama keessaa hin bahu. Maaliif? Amma mucattiin tani dhugaa qabdi. Yoo mucattii tanallee qorree, isallee qoraa oollee, asuma oolla. Maaliif amma tarree qabeennaatti deebinee barreessinee, lamuu waa akkanaatti hindeebi'u yoo jedhe fudhannee, yoo inni dide haganama itti qabanna bee ammallee. Amma isaan nutti gori as. Amala kana dhiiftaa? Gambboo dhxxu dhiiftaa? (). Amma odoo Gamboo fidee, amma odoo loon kana Gamboo fidee, hindhiisu **GA** anillee. Akka warri **NA** lolu odoo loon Gamboo fidee, hindhiisu **GA** anillee. Maaliif? Horii kanatuu kiyya. Amma waadhi oofee gara keenna deebise. Maaliif? Eega oofee loon kana gara kana deebisee () Amma hafneerra bar jarana. **Aannan guchuma luffichaa haga dhaqqaban olqaban**" je'an. Hafne. Amma odoo **GA** loon kanaa Gamboo fideetii gabaa baasee haxaayee waa namnni har'a **GA** ajjeesu jiraa? Seerrillee bee ajjeesaa hinjedhuu. Amma hafneeraa. Qara namnni gara hafe qaaqa. Amma bakka san hindhiifta moo hindidda? Hindhiisa. Mucattii tana hinxuxxa moo hinxuxxu? Hinxuqu. Arsii kana nagahaan waliin bulta moo hin bulttu" Himbula. Yoo tana sadeen nuu fudhatee, numaal goona? Homa sadeen tana *bichaa* yoo nuu fudhate : niitii tiyya hinxuqu, Warra

736 kiyyallee hinxuqu, sa'allee hinxuqu, yoo jedhee kana caalaa GA hin fannifnuu bee.
737 [JW: bu'aa amma] Afaan tana bichaa. Bu'e ani.
738 HFa: Wayyooma nafuudhaa.
739 JW: Mee koottaa
740 HFa: Eee andhufee. Ka loon amma oofee deeman suni. Loon lamaa gu'ee jira () loon
741 lamaa hin gu'ee ka inni je'u. Uduma aanessaa gu'e loon kuni. Uduma aanessaa
742 uduma mucattiin tunii, Arsiinnana, dhallee qabna, uumannee qabna. **Qanima**
743 **tokkocha kana loon kana nama adda ittisu dhabaaf, abbaa dhabaaf jabbileen gaafa**
744 **dhalatte jala oolti. Arsiin adduma ittifata. Baddullee jabbileen ofuma baddeetini**
745 **soqaa fuudhan. Loon isaanii namuma adda ittisu dhabaaf gu'e. Inni dhimma**
746 **biraatiif deemuu. Qanima tokkocha sammuu ofii kana irra kaa'atuu dadhabe.**
747 Yoo oofan ka qara maali oolaaru loowwan? Loowwan qara waatileen jala oolu.
748 Loowwanii odoo dhalee dhabanii dhiisan. Mucattii jabbilee gataa. Loon yookaani
749 gataa. Jabbilee tana muka hidhaa. " Nama narraa oofu dhabee". Loon haa bineessi
750 fixaa, haa walumaan deemtu. Ilaa daa'imman takkaa xuuxanii hinliqimsan. Yoo
751 loon namaa dhalee haa finni qabbaneeffatuufi. **Yoo loon namaa dhalee, ofii**
752 **qabbaneeffatanii dhuguufi. Akki loon kana itti kadhaabaniif kana(.)** Uduma
753 achi jiru gu'e loowwan isiitiillee. Gurbaa, **badii irraa yoo kadeebituu taate. Badii**
754 **karaa Gamboo yoo kadhiiftu taate. Yoo inni arramamee kana irraa**
755 **deebi'eetiin jedhe, Asitti nu haaqarraxan. Asitti gaqqabee, irraa dhaabadha.**
756 **Hindhiisa intala ambaa ka ittigalu sanillee jedhee.** Inninuu xuqeeraa jaartii
757 dullacha atta godha, intala san biraa dhaabadhaa. Qabeenni ka'isiitii jedhe.
758 Qabeenni isii san ardaa kanarratti, warrarratti yoo inni seera wayii ciniinee
759 dhaabateetiin jedhee, badii wanti galaaruuf. **Nu amma Ganboo Saniin waraanaan**
760 **walibahuuf taana.** Wanti ilmi kiyyaafii isiin waldhabaartuuf- **Nu qa'ee ambaati**
761 **gallee hinbeenu. Matamara qa'ee ambaatti galee hibeennu. Zariin zarii**
762 **teennaatuu, hinbeennu. Badii hinqabdu intalti tun. Mucattiin tuni Arsiinnana**
763 **taqooqee keettee; kaquufee geettee; kadhibamee geettee,** Yoo mana haadha ofii
764 aseentee buna dhuydu, imawaamti Shawaallee, Arsiin, ibalee, ibalee. Gurbaan isii
765 dhiisii Arsii bulfataarruu jalaa yaasaara () Haadhaabatu maqaa fiixaa warra
766 Heebanooraa illee. Haa dhaabatu mucattii tanarra illee. Xoroshoo itti kennitu haa
767 nyaatu. Isiinuu hindabduufii. **Qabeenna isaatiin hindabduufi. Qa'ee warra NU**
768 **ka Gamboo hindhiifta siin jedhan. Hindhiisa jedhi. [ME: Bu'aa bu'aa amma]**
769 **[[Hs: Nafuudhaa takka asirra, El: narra buusaa wayyooma]]**
770 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu [[El: mee wayyooma, Hs: anillee waadaa
771 wayii isin seensisa () mee jettanii garuu hinfuudheeraa intala Warra NU [[El: atuu
772 ciniinte, Hs: Oduu namaatiinii, oduu namaatiin isinillee hinfuute jettanii, El:
773 waatakkattii, gurbaa taa'i]]()
774 EHs: Mee waan takka isini qaaqa. Akka gurbaa kanaa ta'e ani. Yoon amma jedhu,
775 araddaan nayyaa'e . () Ani "wad" jedheen. Tubuluu wayiittuu hindaballee. Oofee
776 oofee, araddaa akaakayyoonni kiyya marti nayyaa'an. "Hindhiifta moo qa'ee warra
777 kanaa, hindidda?" naan jedhan. Hindhiisullee hindhiisallee hinjennee, ani bira
778 hinjiru je'ee waakkadhe ani. Lakki si argaarraa dhiisi naan jedhan. Hindide.
779 Namummaa dide malee bee ofii ani achuma jiraa. Oofaniitii, waayndhi
780 nahambisuuf, waayndhni {Waaqni} nahambisuu, ashaara takkittii halkan manaaba
781 wayii nammul'ise waaqni. Ani guyyama san qahee san dhiise. Uduu qahee san

782 jiraadhee bee ani qaata du'eeraa. Maaliif? Arsiin bakka badduu wanti dhiisi namaan
783 jettuuf, ofiifii miti, abbamaafi. Arsiin bakka badduu dhiisi namaan yoo jette,
784 dhiisuu. Niituma isaa tanaa amma Arsiin isiin baalagee dhiisi yoo jedhaniin,
785 dhiisuu. [[Els: Gunguma nullee fuudhaa]]

786 JW: Buutee?
787 El: Eee bu'e ani.

788 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dubbiin gabaabaa. Maali? Haga kana
789 saabaallee haa qaaxxaniifii miti, abbaanillee ka ani asuma dubbadhaa jedheef. Eee
790 balleessaan ilma kiyya kana bira jirti. Intala tana bira jirti, gabaabamma
791 haajettaniifi. Mucaa kee gorfachuun, loluun, ammaa miti. Nu amma garri deemaa
792 jirru, gara araaraa jidduu deemaarra. Daawween mucaa kiyya danda'adhee. Waan
793 amma odeessitan, waan himtan kana muluu irraa deeffadheera. Mucaan asitti dhiisii
794 miti. Ani Daawwee gurraachi dhufe, danda'ee dhufee. Mucaa kiyya qajeelchee
795 dhufee. Ka addaan nuu baasaa qabeenna keenaa mucattiin addaan nuu foowaa jettu,
796 dhoogganneera nu'uu. Qabeenni keenaa, ka mucaa keennaa, ka'intala teennaa adda
797 hinbahuu. Akkana taanee dhufneerraa Daawweerraa caqasa ani. Waan kana
798 balleesse, waan kana hujeen, nuun alaa. Danda'annee dhufneerra, gabaabamatti
799 dandeennee nu Daawween dhufneerraa, Heebano intala teenna nutti as kennaa.
800 Dubbii qarallee dhoorgineerra jedhan. Maarree akka dhoowwitan kana, amma
801 qaboon nuuf haa qabamuu jenneeti. Nuuf isinillee qaboo qabanneetii, qabo gara
802 seerattiin deemanaa. Kaanii, situ liqimsee dhoowwa. Yoo ka hidhoogginee asi
803 narratti dhooguu hidandeettu. Isii qomarra godhatta. Yoo maqotti deebi'ee maqoon
804 amma bahadhee mucaa kiyyallee danda'adha jette, hindandeetta. Yoo taanii ()
805 danda'e jetteetuma *malsii* as himta. Nu gara araaraa deemna. () [[El: Wantin ani
806 fincaa kadheefuu tana] Garri Heebanollee [El: dubbii mataa gabaabsaa.]] Garri
807 Heebanollee, yoo waan badii qara uuman. Yoo waan balleessanirraa deebi'ani {
808 dhirsi}, mucattii eessa finna, galchaa jirraa, isinii galchina jedheetii Heebanollee
809 yookiin dubbataa. Amma Heebanoon fuunaa. Isin dubbattaniittu. Ka mee abbaan
810 dubbatu tana qomarra gootaniitii, jaalanee calla. ()

811 JW: Koottaa.

812 EHs: Ani gungume [Jw: Gabaabsaa] ani gungume; ani gaafuu gabaasa .Rabbi Arsii kana
813 haa'araarsuu. () Dubbiinii, Heebanollee dhugaa qaba. Namatu bayee. Namatu
814 biraan bayee. Mucattilleen Dhugama qabdi. Amma mucattii naa kennitaa. Maraa
815 natu liqimsee fixataa. Ilma kiyya gara badaa jirurraa hindhooggaa. Amma naa
816 kennitaa {mucattii}. Dhugaa qaba Heebano. Abbaan dhugaa qaba, Mucattiinillee
817 dhugaa qabdi. Ani amma nama kiyya natuu qajeelchaa. Seera ammaa tana itti
818 naagalaa. Anillee akka atillee dhageettu innillee itti naa gala. Horii isii, tarree isii
819 amma naaf tarreessanii. Ati naa kennitaa. Waan seera asiillee walumaan itti
820 fixannaa. Waan seera badiillee fudhadheen galaanii. Kiyyaa, amma naa kennitaa.
821 Atis naa deebitaa. Mucattiiniis naa deebitii. Dubbadhuu kennadhu.

822 HBr: Nafuudhaa.

823 JW: Koottaa

824 HBr: Naa kennitanii? Maarree rabbi haa araarsu. [[Els: Eee haa araarsu]] Nu dubbii
825 tana- Mucattiin dhugaa qabdi. Heebanollee dhugama qaba. Ammaa, qarallee wanni
826 mucattiillee mucaallee dhaqneefii, diqqoma haa dubbataniif malee, hagana gaaddisa
827 nu haa oolchaniifii miti () Amma mucattii naa galchi, Heebano. Dugaa qabdaa.

828 Haaganaa naa kennaa. Waraqata, waan seerri jedhee, amma waliin hojjanna. Gaafa
829 guyyaa beellamaa hingalchina. Mucattii naaf galchi. Mucattii naa galchaa. Mucaa
830 keenna hindanda'annaa. Danda'anneerraa. [[Els: Ee akka jedhaa, akkas eee, qabanne
831 eee qabannee jira]] Qabanneerraa. Harka qabanneerraa. Harkaa qabnaa. Ka *wilii*,
832 araaraa, isin waliin galchinaa. Mucattii naa galchi. Mucattii naa galchitanii, taan
833 Daawwen walargadhee (isini himaa.) (.)

834 JW: Buutanii?

835 HBr: Eee

836 JW: Amma koottaa, Eenyu?

837 EWf: Eee natuu isin kadhate. Maarree nullee dhufnee. Dubbii huleen nu eegaarru amma
838 dhufaniin. Nullee amma, hafteef hinqaaqnnu. Mucattii nuu galchaa. Gurbaa
839 keennallee danda'anneerra. Mucattiin dhugaallee hinqabdhi. Dhugaa isiillee ka
840 Arsiinuu lafa kaa'eera. Nu amma garri isin eegaarruu garuma ammaa mucattii nuu
841 galchaa, haadeebitanii nuu galchitaniifi. Ji'aan bu'ee hoo'aa.

842 Hs: Afaan takkattii wayii nafuudhaa

843 Els: [[**Mucaa maal si fuudhan? Maal sifuuna?**]]

844 Hs: **Diqqoma isii**

845 Els: [[**Dhiisaa mee haa dubbatuu. Maal sifuudhan? Dubbiin siwwaamnee**
846 **gacaldhisi, mee inmormin qaraa moromaa kana**]] ()

847 Hs: **Yaboo mee diqqoma meenafuudhaa**

848 Els: [[**Dubbiin siwwaamnee, maal Daawwef heebanoo qara siqaasseera dhaabadhu,**
849 **womaa dhaabadhu, Dhaabbadhu argee**]]

850 Hs: **Wama numaraa tollaatii.**

851 Els: [[**Maal qaaxxa? Itti dhiisaa mee; ittilaalaa haa qaaquu;**

852 Hs: Amma dubbadha wanti gisee biraa qaaquuf hinjiru ()

853 Els: [[**Maal dubbatta; ati giseen qaaxxu gisee biraati, itti dhiisaa , maal qaaxa; itti**
854 **laalaa haa qaaquu dubbadhu**]]

855 JW: Dubbadhu mee maal himuuf taata?

856 Hs: Eee, wanni himuuf ta'uu, [ME: Ofii gabaabsi] Waan ani himuu ta'uu, ani gabaabama
857 dubbatuufi. *An amma ka Arsiinii waliin makkaraaraa jirullee, waliin*
858 *hinmakkaraarin. Intala amma isaan je'an wanti isaan galanii naa beellamaniif*
859 *wayiituu hinjiru. Asirruma dhiise ani. Qa'ee warraa je'aaraniillee, dhiise. Intala ,uuu,*
860 *Intalaa, beetasaba kiyyaa, ibidda kiyyaa naa galchaa. Maatii waatii irraa baatee*
861 *lixxeertuu sani naa galchaa. Ka isaan amma gallee eitti beellamanna je'aranii, wanti*
862 *beellamattan hinjiru. **Badiin kiyya. Kanuma Wanttummaan isin na'ittiftaniif***
863 *maali?*

864 Els: [[Kuni mishaa. mataa dhooftan, kana kabarbaadamu, mataan dubbii tana, mataa
865 dooftan. Dhoqqee laxxaaf sisodaanne]] ()'

866 Ewf: Ijoollee Rabbi haa araarsu.[Els: Eee rabbi haa araarsu] *Intala tana [ME:*
867 *Gabaabsaa] Oduu isii toltee,intala tana golba isiitii baafnee, golba abbaatti*
868 *deebifnee, of bira keennaa, mi'ooftuu jenneetii yaanneeti miti. Namni ima namaa*
869 *galchaa; ima namaa gorsallee. Rakkoo jiru kana ammo, nuti akka seeraatitti, huleen*
870 *nu shakkine guddaanii, hulee lubbuu isii kana. Wantii asii isaan xuqan suni, horiin*
871 *ooftu kuni mariin oofii marii malee oofii, horii mucha aannanii moo gu'eessa jedhee*
872 *wanti gaafadheefii, waa beennaan gaafadhe. Anillee shakkiin gara jaartii jettaniitii*
873 *mitii, gara intalaa sanillee mucattiin natti himteetti. Booda mee ardaan kuni garam*

874 deebisaafi loon mucha aannanii san xuqee caldhise malee, horiin gaafa haadha
 875 elmattu jalaa, haadha bultu harkaa bahee gara biraa deemee, yaanni namaallee gara
 876 biraa deemee, teessonuu laaltee xiinxallatee namatti argiti. **Waan amma Daawween**
 877 **ardaan kuni argeefii. Waan jaarsi kuni argeen ala nus {nutille} waan deemnu**
 878 **wayiituu hinjiru.** Huleen amma nubarbaannuu, kaa nu arrabsullee mucaan kunii,
 879 mucaan kun nuugahee, nuu ta'ee, soddaa bilchaataa ta'ee nu arrabse yoo jenne,
 880 nu'uu ima ofiin jennaa. Gaafni inni nudhufeeruu guyyaa badiiti malee guyyaa
 881 tolaatuu wayiitu nutti hindhufnee. Nuuf mucaanuu ijaaf hadaama wallaala. **Eee**
 882 **,guyyaa nagahaa, guyyaa Arsiin Arsitti dhuftu, guyyaa gaafa intala namaa buqgee**
 883 **namaa fuutu, Arsiin namati dhufte [ME: waan isaa asuma diisaa] hindhufne [Els:**
 884 **gabaabsi] Eee ML mee laali. Guyyaa badii nudhufeera.** Namni guyyaa badii nama
 885 dhufee, nama hinxuquu. Nu dheedhii nuugootee ka mucattii asi{tti} himtee, abbaan
 886 of hin'arrabsuu. Odoo mucattiin dubbachuu baattee dubbii tanaa dubbachuuf
 887 hinta'u. Kana maraa ka amma golba keessanii "**Abjuu jibbaniif {sodaataniif} taa'aa**
 888 **hinbulanii.**" nu{tti} tta'eeraa. Haalli mootummaallee, sagaagalummaa dhooggeera.
 889 Sagaagalummaa qofayyuu mitii, fuudha fuudharraatuu, nudaangessee jira. Akka
 890 pheexetitti hundi keennaa akka bulluutti deebisee jira. Yoo qabeenni namaa
 891 gahee, akka durii sanitti, qabeennaf jiraaf fuudhan. Oliigadi fiiguun kun amnumaa
 892 qabeenna keessan qisaasessee jira. Isa tokko argaa jirta; nullee argaa jirra. Qabeenni
 893 qisaasa'u kuni, uduu finna keessanirratti, jiruu keessanirratti, uffata mucattii tanaa
 894 irratti oduu deebi'ee jedhee, nuhuu qaaqa kanaa nagaa keennaf **nudhufuu**
 895 **dhabdaniifii nussodhnuu/{ hinsoqnuu].** Miidhama isiititu nutucisiisse; nurraa
 896 dhalatte waan taateef. **Ammallee, nabsee isiiti, garri guddaan nu**
 897 **mootummattillee dheessineef,** garri guddaan Daawwee kanallee afnnee jala
 898 buufnee kennineef. Namni halkan lolaan ka isin keettaniirtan. Guyyaa hin
 899 lolamaniin. Ka isin keettaniirtan. Himatteetti. Waan mucattiin himatte waluma bira
 900 nuu keettaniirtan. Yoo ka mucattii tana halkan kaloluu, lolli isaanii gara du'aaf
 901 ajjeechaa yoo kadeemuu, wanti mucaan waakkatee hinjira. Waan qara ibsaa mee
 902 jenne sanii, ifeera nuuyyuu amma. Hinjira **baqqaa.** Lolli halkan deemamu, maal
 903 gaadeeti? Garamii lufameeti? Kanarraalle hindeebi'aa jechuu afaanii odoo
 904 hintaane, wanta baratame waan ta'eefi. **Gisee baay'ee yaaleera. Anuu yaaleera**
 905 **mucaa kana, Addatti "koottuu, nuttuu koottu. Qotadhu. Lafa kottaa nu'uu**
 906 **hinkennaarraa koottu keennaa mucaannana qotadhuu" jennee ofi waamnee, dhabnee**
 907 **dhiifneerra. Baqqaa Maaliif? Jiruu isaanii haafoyyeffataniif malee haa ka achi qotan**
 908 **san nunyaachufii miti.** Ka isaniitti hajamneetii miti (.) Cidha nuudhufuu
 909 haadhabani. Cidhaa mitii, yoo imimmaan ofii isiin dhufte, inni oolee achi jiruu
 910 nagaatiin jiraatan, nuti nu koottuuf wanti mucaa kanallee dirqinuuf wayiituu
 911 hinjiru. Jiruun isaanii ka bade. Afaan isaanii kanjirre {kan hin jirre}. Uffanni
 912 mucattii tanaa kanjirre,(hiii) tuqaa keenna ka xoroshoo godhannee, dheedhii
 913 nuugootee nadheen fuunee ofjalaa qabnaa, ka saniillee keenna wayiituu hinta'u.
 914 Nutu of beeka waan taateef. Kanaafii, **mallateesse,** lubbuu isiitiif, **jaarssi**
 915 **kunillee mallatteessee, seera bira galee,** Kana booda yoo xuqe, **yakki akkuma**
 916 **amma dhibbaaf dhibbatti kamucaati jettan kana, yakki suni olitti**
 917 **nuubeekamee,** kana booda gaa'ila issaaniillee yaa'ii firaa daanyanis wanti
 918 laakayeef, tokko jedheet lama jechuufi. **Isteeppii wayiituu odoo hideemne gaa'ila**
 919 **hindiigu daanyanillee. Kun nuuf xuruu.** Gara mucattiititti komii ta'aa ture. Ka

920 amma inni waakkate waa'een kalee sunillee dhahaa namaati malee, dhibee waaqaati
 921 miti sunillee. Kana maraafuu, mallatteessee, seera amma sagaagalummaa ka
 922 hindeemama jedhamullee mootummaani hinyakka nama. Daangaa qaba sunillee.
 923 Rakkoo wayiituu hinqabu. > **Lubbuu isii hinbaasu. Hinxuqu. Bira hingahu.**
 924 **Qabeenna isii marii isiitiin malee, marii ala hinxuqu <. Mariin waluu**
 925 **gurguradhaa, qabeenna keessani. Qabeenni keennaa mitii. keessan lamaaniiti. Isin**
 926 **lamaan jeddutti argama. Yoo walmari'attan, waluu gurguradhaa. Mariin ala ammoo**
 927 **wanta deemu san hindhiisa yoo jettan hindanda'ama.** Waa takkittii, Nikaa
 928 hidhamteetti mucattiin tuni. Ani hindhaqnee akka abbaanillee natti himetti.
 929 Horimmaan nikaa sunii bee yoo tole aannan yoo walii gale namaa kennaa, akka
 930 seera shari'aatittillee. Yoo hintaane ammoo, horiin nikaa suni, horii gurgubooti. Ka
 931 intala tanaatti. Akka horii gurgubooti lakkaawama. Qabeenna tarree isiin himatte ta
 932 mana seeraatti himatte, isiin hinbeetti. Qabeenni suni amma hinjiraaf hinjiruullee,
 933 nuu mucaan cokamee, qabeenni suni galmaa'ee, kanaan araara nullee waan dinnu
 934 wayiituu hinqabnu. Hinkennina. Gara daanyaatti nuhaadeebi'u.
 935 El: Nugumgumsiisaa
 936 ME: Koottaa
 937 WFa: Maarree anillee dhufee (.) Isinii, Daawwee Rabbi haa kennu. Mucattii tana jiruuf
 938 jireennanillee faana jirtani. Eee ammo isin faana jiraattaniifillee, eega namichi
 939 kaleessa ganama galeen faana hinjiraannee, homaa godhuu hindanda'u. Namuu
 940 manuma manatti gala muluun isaattuu. Ka nama horatuu amala. uuu... Maali?
 941 Mucattii tana adoo bulcheetiin jedhee, adoo horatteetiin jedhee, seeraan horateetiin
 942 jedhee, wantti nurrallee rakkoo uumuuf, isiinillee ofirra rakkoo uumtuufuu hinjiru.
 943 Kanaaf ammo, namni hardha isinillee muluunuu faana jirtan. Maaliini faana
 944 jiraachuun hoo? Qaaqaanillee, sadi irraa qaltanii, afur irraa qaltanii, Yakkitanii,
 945 muluu isaatuu dadhabdanii biraa deemttan. **Lamuu siif jennee gaaddisa kana**
 946 **hinteennulleen keessanumaa. Lamuu dubbii teessaniif asitti hindeebinuu**
 947 **nilleen keessanuma. Mucattii mataa qabdaa, warra qabdaa kajedhullee**
 948 **isinumaa. Dadhabdanii, ijibbattanii jirtan.** Bara inni dhahee, gaggabsee biraa
 949 baqateetiin jedhullee, kunoo eessimoo **QA** fii abbaan kuni "nama ajjeeftee hin
 950 deemttu" je'aniitiin qaban bara sanillee. Isintu irra dhumeefi. Isin laalleeti. Isin
 951 argineeti. Akka isin faana jirtan. Waadhiniif {Waaqnii fii} isinillee akka faana jirtan
 952 argineeti ka caldhisneef. Gaafa duraa, *amalakkannellee*, kanatu harkaa nufuudhe,
 953 **ML** harkaa nufuudhe. Itti dhiifne. Haa bulaniif. Haa horataniif. Eega Rabbi hidda
 954 isaanii lafa dhaabee, ilmaanillee lafa dhaabee, sa'aanillee lafa dhaabee. Wanti
 955 isaanii bade wayiituu hinjiruu. Mataa kana dhaban malee. Hagam gorssee, hagam
 956 eenyu jedhee. Haga amma kuuwwan nabiratti nawaliin jiru, nabira jiraateetiin
 957 jedhee, nabirattuu qotateetiin nyaataara namni narraayyuu. Haga natti maxxaneetiin
 958 jedhee, adoo najala seeneetiin je'e, maaf nagabbaruu didde hinjenne, maaf
 959 nawalgaruu didde hinjenne. Maraa bira lufeteetiin caldhisee liqimseetiin jira. Ani
 960 amma isallee himata hinbarbaadu. Ta inni naan jedhee [Els: Dhiisaa gara san
 961 dhiisaa] eee ka inni naan jedhellee hinhimadhu eee. Amma maarree, inni takka
 962 tokkocha nu'arrabsee, yookaa Daawwee muluunuu nan'arrbsine. Kanaaf himata
 963 dhiisee jira, eee abba of arrabse jechuu. Kanaaf, nu amma jaaladheetii miti
 964 "*Jaaladhee__sindhunganne alaafittii alaaltitti, giddii*" jedhee. **Nu amma**
 965 **daa'immanirraa isiin haabaatuuf, isa biraa isiin haa deemtuuf hinjaalanne. Akka**

966 finna kiyyaatti laala ani. Ilmaan ani qabullee isaani je'ee. Namnni nahoratullee,
 967 namni ammaa nagargaarullee; karaa tokkoon namnin nagargaaree, ilmaan naa ta'ee
 968 na daggafullee, adoo ani rakkadhee, adoon ko'oomee namnni nagargaaru isaani
 969 je'ee yaada. Isaanittuu hirkachuu kajeleeeyyu. Ammoo, isaan dhiisii, ka isaan
 970 hangafaattittuu akka hin hirkanne na godhaaran. Kanaafii, nu haga jirru waliin,
 971 dachaanee wali waan dubbannu dhabnee caldhisaan laalaarra. Amma hoo? Ani
 972 dheengadda wantii gaafa maaf qabattanii? Hidda dubbii kanaa muluma fixxanii
 973 biraa hindeemnee. Qara dubbattanii fixxanii biraa hindeemnee? Qara ijibbaattanii
 974 gadi hindhiifnee? Ijibbaattanii jennaan achii as hindhufnee? Sa'a irraa
 975 hingodaansifnee Arjoo gubataatitti? Nabira godaansise gaafasuu. Jimaata oofee,
 976 Sanbata guddaa deebi'ee, hillikii beera nadhoorgaa ka jedhu oofee lixeen. Itti dhiise.
 977 Nibrata mucattii natu qabee biraa deebise {horii biraa}. Mucattiin mucattii hangafa
 978 isiititu jiraa qabatee biraa deebifte. Nafsema keetii hinduutaa koottu. Yoo seerri
 979 jiraatee, seera amalakkattaa. Seeraan horii kankeellee argattaa. Koottu biraa. "Si
 980 ajjeesaa" inni jedhee jennaan. "Yookaa massafaraa sii kennee Heebano galta,
 981 yookaa ajjeesee asi- " jedhe. Gurra kiyyaan dhaga'e. Ani waan hinjirre itti hin
 982 raguu. An amma hoo, namnii, kiyyaa keetiinis nama namarraa goru. Ani amma
 983 tiyyaanillee dhoosaa jira. Keessaniinillee dhoosaa jira. Maaliifii? namni kuni
 984 nama kana waa godheetii, anaafii Daawwee wali fidaamii. Ka qara qabnu addaan
 985 badaaraa mii, ka jedhu, Arsooma adda citaa mii, kajedhu dhoysaafii ture anuu.
 986 Kanaafii, eee nuu hardhallee adoo inni tasgabbaayee, "lakki nibrata isillee
 987 hinxuquu, hiwootii isiitifillee," jedhee, asitti jaarssa kanarrattillee, mallattoo kaa'ee;
 988 mana murtiitittillee mallattoo kaa'ee yoo inni jedhee, nu waa gara deeffannaa
 989 {intala tana} takka nyaaphaaf dhalattee. Intalti qaraa, nyaaphaaf dhalatte.
 990 Nyaaphaaf halaalaa dhalatte jechuu. Kanaafii, waan isaanii... Daawwen amma
 991 jedheetiin jedhee, nulle garuu Waaqa jalaa dhaqnu hinjiru. Daanyaanillee garri
 992 hiikuun hinjiru. Haga ijibbaata gahuu. Ijibbaata haga gahuu. Kanaafii, eduu kana
 993 lamaan- an bu'ellee. Ka akkanaatii ()
 994 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. eee "Utubaa haga dhiibaniif haga dhiisan
 995 qaba" jedhe jechuu argadhu. Amma maraa Daawwenillee dubbateera jedhe jechuu
 996 argadhu. Heebanollee dubbateera jedhe jechuu argadhu. Ati gurbaa ammallee
 997 xixxiixxaa hindhiifne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Asdeebita jedhe jechuu argadhu. Karaa
 998 worri deebi'e deebita jedhe jechuu argadhu. Nama jechuuni [[Els: inni didaa jira,
 999 nuwaliin hirrakkannu, wanti goonu hinqabnu, homaa rakkina hinqabu amma hiika
 1000 daanyaan, rakkinna hinqabu]] nama jechuunii- () amma maaltu jira? Arsiin qaraa
 1001 qaaqeera. "Dammaaf soddaa hinduudhatan" jedhan. Isin sodda'aa. Wal
 1002 hinduudhattanii. Asdeebitanii. Namni... namnii kabaraa, seera ammaatti buluu
 1003 danda'aa. Seerri Oromoollee, seeraan walqabatee deemaa. Dhagahaa jarana!
 1004 hinwacinaa [[Els: mucaa nurraa dhoorgaa dubbiin cimaa miti]] seeraan walqabatee
 1005 deemaa seerri [Hs: mee adda nudhoowwu nuqofa, an qofaa rakkoo jiru
 1006 hinhimadhu moo maali?] Mee eegi lafa tana himattaa. Nu yoom si dhoogginne.
 1007 Amma hinbulaa, hindhiisaa jetteetta. Yoo dhiisichi dhiisicha ta'ee, nudhiisicha
 1008 sanitti hinfarramtaa. kaanii ammo, [Hs: ka isii ajjeesuu manna, ka ofii du'u wayyaa
 1009 maaf isii ajjeesaa?] Amma kuni homaa sii godhaa hinjiruu dhaabbadhu. Yoo obsite
 1010 amma obsi. Amma wili seentaa. eee, Nullee jaarsi siwaliin wili seenaa.
 1011 Daawwenillee siwaliin wili seenaa. Wiliin keessan, ka qabeenna keessaniillee,

1012 walhixudhuun teessanillee, gara warra seeraa gala.[El: achi gala] Gara *firdibeetii*
 1013 galaa. Gaafa kanarra luftee, yoo nama mataa keessa waa sijiran taa'ee, akka sihubu
 1014 hinbeettaa, sihubaa. Kanarraa hin ittifamtaa. Warrillee si ittifna je'eeraa. Atillee hin
 1015 ittifama jettettaa. Yoo akka afaanii taate, yoo itti deebi'uu baatte. Ammaa, dubbiinii
 1016 gara araaraa haa deemtu. Intalallee Heebano haagalchu, haa galtu. Wiliin gara
 1017 lachiituu haa xaaffamu. Ati amma ka itti wannaa jettu kanaa yoo dhiifte, Horii
 1018 sirraa qalaniiru hinjennee? Simmuranniiru hinjennee? Dhiisuu diddee deebiteetta
 1019 jedhee abbee siddubbataa hinjiruu. Amma ati akkuma Daawween jedhee
 1020 Heebanollee jedhetti, dubbii hindhiiftaa. Isin araarsinaa. Koottaa.
 1021 EWf: Maarre ani... dubbii kana rabbi haa araarsu [Els: Eee Haa araarsu] [JW:
 1022 Gabaabsaa amma] Eee gabaabduma dubbadhaa ani dubbii. Rabbi araara haa fidu.
 1023 Qaataa qaaqa jaarsi jarana dubbii isaa kana. **Warrillee akkanumaa hifateetuma**
 1024 **akkanuma namuma keenna akka goonu hinqabnu jedheetuma waliin deemaara**
 1025 **malee**, wantummaan *Ishii* (tole) jedhee amma asillee dhufe- akkami isaanii *ishii*
 1026 (tole) jedheerillullee ani hinbeeku. **Akkum eessimoon JAR jedhe, wanti muluun**
 1027 **farrameefii mucattii tanaa, nabsee isiitifillee farramee, higgii harka seenee haagaltu**
 1028 **yoo akkasi itti mallatteessinee haa galtu ()**
 1029 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dubbii walii fixeera jaarssi jedhe jechuu
 1030 argadhu. Ati mee amma rakkinna kee maaf na'ittifan ka hinhim adha jette amma
 1031 dubbadhu.
 1032 Hs: Eee mee maarree dhufee ani. Ani amma namnni oduu hojjaa, badii wayiituu homaa
 1033 deemaa hinjiru. Namni malaa hundinuu malaa Waandhi {Waaqni} nutti
 1034 hinmurteessin namni nama murteesseef [[El: waa dubbatte haa dhaxuu, mee achi
 1035 haa fixatanii, gurbaa dhaabbadhu]] . Dhaabbatumaafi. Waa, dhaabatumaafi ani.
 1036 **Naan loltanii, isiilleen lolaanii. Akkuma naan loltan kana [El: mishaa] eee an amma**
 1037 **abbaa tokkocha bichaa tumanii, kaan yoo dhiisan, gaafuu inni dhugama qaba.**
 1038 **Kama badiillee qabu dhugama qaba inni.** [[Els: yoo isiin balleessite rakkoon yoo
 1039 jiraate nattuu himadhu koottutii. Balleessaa odoo qabaattee isillee akkasuma
 1040 tumna.]] ()
 1041 Wf: Mee asirra{tti} dhiqoma isii [Els: amma isa itti dhiisaa, horii keessan haga himaa]
 1042 Wa'aa, laalaa mee [El: wama qaaqan duuba nundeebisinaa] An amaa wanti diqqoo
 1043 isii waa dabaluu, garuu Daawwelleen qarallee anumaa waliin badeera... Nama
 1044 waliin badee garuu. Sababii isaa hagana bulee hinjiru ani. Isaanii, garuu kooluu
 1045 isaanii jala odoo badu yookin *beetasaba* kanallee hagonaa horuu danda'eera. Ani
 1046 haganas taa'uu danda'eera. **GL hindhiisu; hardhas boru. GL na'ajjeesa. Isin**
 1047 **maraa manakeessani galtan. Kiyya abban nan'eegu mana ofiitti gala. Isin**
 1048 **mana ofiitti galtan. Lolli GL, halkani (.) Inni na'ajjeesaa, isin Daawwee**
 1049 **na'eebbisaa gannadhiisaa. Qaaqa kiyya qaataa qaaqaartanii. Hifattaniirtanii.**
 1050 **An Xuuroo isin ta'aa. Daa'aa daa'imman keessanii kaahattanii, na'eebbisaa**
 1051 **gadinadhiisaa isiniin jedhaara ani.**
 1052 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dubbiin atillee (matumcaatee) himataarta
 1053 jedhe jechuu argadhu. **Nafsii namaa ka'eegu Rabbi. Kaanii, mangistiinillee nama**
 1054 **eega. Gofillee mangiftii gaditti nama eeddii.** Amma gosuma sikennaarraa.
 1055 Asdeebi'i. Gosuma si kennaaranii. Heebanollee hima dhagahaa. Daawwenillee
 1056 sibira jiraa. Amma taan, nafsii, ta Waaqaatii. Si ajjeefna jedhaniif nama
 1057 hin'ajjeessan. Wanti amma keessa himattu seerri tokko aadaa Oromootitti, yoo

1058 warra waliin jiraatuu dhoowwe, irraa adabama waan akkasii. Yoo warra isiin
 1059 dhaxxe, yoo intala haadhaatitti isiin dhaxxu, Yoo ilma haadhaati dhaxxu, yoo achi
 1060 hindhaqinaa, gandatti hindeeminaa kajedhee lolu taate, *irraa adabamaa. Waan*
 1061 *akkasi hindhiisa*. Yoo warri amma isiin wallolee, iyya hinbaane, yoo warri itti
 1062 hindhufne, isiinillee akka bultuun hinqabdu. Atillee warra kee waliin bulta.
 1063 Isiinillee warra isii waliin bultii. Yoo warra san kan ati jibbituu, akki itti bulan
 1064 hinjjiru. Hinjibbin. Atillee warra kee ofirraa hindhiibin. Hojja hinjabaatan, hojja
 1065 hinmisan; "Hojjambeekan" jedhe qaraa jaarsi. Akka kanaa; *asdeebitaa*. Atillee
 1066 mucattiin amma kahimatte kana, taan Rabbi jira. *Asdeebita*. [mee eessimoo ()].
 1067 EHs: Dubbadhe, dubbii buutuu fuudhaa namni asaanu. Amma dubbii kana kamucattiin
 1068 jette. Mucatttii aynnuudeebitaa/{as nuuf deebita}. Nu qarallee GA dhaaf hindhaqne
 1069 *firdibeetii* guyyaa lama dhaabadhe. Haaganaa gaafduraa hintaa'e; har'a hintaa'e,
 1070 shanaffaan amma iftaani boru oollee. Kana *wacii GA* tiin yaabbataa hinjiru.
 1071 Kiyyaan deemaara. Maaf deemaara? Ati haadha maatiiti. Oduu lubbuu tee tokkottii
 1072 taatee hagana hindeddeebi'u. Haadha maatii baafnee gadi hindhiifnu. Maqaa Arsii
 1073 jennee deemaarra. *Amma aydeebita ati*. Ka *GA* ka ollaa wliin isin buluu
 1074 dhoogguufii, amma Heebano bira qaaqneefii, gatii nuu hinqabu. Ka mana olla
 1075 waliin cidhaaf maalii isin dhoogguu, asirra qaaqnelle isin hinbaafnu.
 1076 Hindhoogginallee hinjennu. Galaa araddaa keessanitti. Namni ollaa malee hinbuluu,
 1077 warra malee himbuluu. Innuu yoo mataa qabaatee, warra waliin hinbulinaa isiniin
 1078 hinjedhu. Hinjedhu je'aa hinjiruu *GA*, himajedhaa, *abbaan nu'ii galaa qa'etti*.
 1079 *Asdeebi'aa nuu (eee), abbaan nuu asdeebi'aa. Kadubbii sanii nu'u, ka GA isin godhu*
 1080 *sanillee nu'u abbaan. Nu'u kafudhatu. Ka jaarsi keena nu hin'eegu halkan jettanii,*
 1081 *qaraa jaarsi heerumtanii dhufee achi jaarsi wanti isinii godhu wayiituu hinjiru. Ka*
 1082 *rakkoo keessan argu, ka daba keessan, danqama keessan argullee numaa.* Qaraa
 1083 oduma arginu, argaa dhabnee himataartanii. Uduu dandeenee qaraa findhaa.
 1084 Ammallee numa deebi'aa galaa qa'eetti. Dubbiin hingalannaa; isiniin hingalannaa.
 1085 Ta haftellee qa'e qaaqnaa. Hardha qaaqnee fixaara je'aa hinjirruu () [Hs: ee
 1086 ammuma haadhumatu] kama qara qaaqne san ammallee hinqaaqnaa () amma
 1087 dubbii jaarsi kunillee qaatarraa nudeebi'aaraa () amma, amma kanaaf aynnuu
 1088 deebitaa (), [ME:dubbii nuu gaggabaabsitaa]
 1089 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Dubbiin mataan dhumaara. *Mucattiinillee*
 1090 *asdeebitii*. Mucattiillee nu Daawwee kenninaa. Wanti amma nuu asitti teessoon
 1091 kuni fudhate, wiii isaa qaaqanii, *wiii* isaan *farramanii*. Qabeenna isaa, dubbii ama
 1092 qara balleessine itti hindeebinu ka jedhan kana wiii seentee, wiii san calla
 1093 fudhannaa. *Wiii* san bakka seeraa galchinaa. *Amma, Heebanollee, mucattiin*
 1094 *hingaltii*. Qabeenna isii calla amma tarreessitee himataartii. Qabeenna kana
 1095 walumaan qaban. Qabeenna kana yoo rakkattani, mariin gurguradhaa. Mariin
 1096 deemaa. Akka kana deemanii. Atillee achi qabadhu gurbaa. Achi dhiisi
 1097 dubbii. Lamuu, deebi'aa qaaqni garagaggalchan hintolu. Warri keenaa garii haganaa
 1098 hinqaaqanii. Haganaa hinqaaqan [(...)]
 1099 Els: [Waan himatte san himadhu muluu. Waan himatte muluu odoo gurraan
 1100 nudhageenyee waraqatarra galee ganaa isiniin himmorminuu] { Qaboo qabaan
 1101 qabeenya isaanii dhama lamaaniif jaarsa gaafatee tarreesse } ()
 1102 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. Qorti walidachaati jedhe jechuu argadhu.
 1103 Dubbin har'aa amma wiii xaaffamaarti, hinaraaramte jedhe jechuu argadhu. Araara

1104 kana Rabbi haa jaalatu. [[Els: ee haa jaalatu]] jedhe jechuu argadhu. Ammaa,
 1105 namnii, takka waan dhiise jedhe, ilmi namaa hancufa tufee, hin'arraabu jedhe
 1106 jechuu argadhu. Itti deddeebiteet arraabbiin simul'ataara {dhirsa} jedhe jechuu
 1107 argadhu. Atillee tanatti hindeebitu. Ar'aa amma araara, dubbiin araaramteetti.
 1108 Buqqeen hingaltii, wiliin hinxaaffamaa. Kennee laalladhu.
 1109 QU: Koottaa
 1110 QW: Koottaa
 1111 QU: Koottaa
 1112 QW: Dhufe
 1113 JW: Eee qoraan dhaqaa qoreen isin hinwaraaniini.
 1114 QW: Koottaa
 1115 QU: Koottaa { Dhufe}
 1116 QW: Waa naakaa'e moo akkanaa irraa bu'e?
 1117 QU: Waa naa kaaye
 1118 QW: Maal naa kaaye?
 1119 QU: Dubbii araara naa kaaye,
 1120 QW: Umm
 1121 QU: Araara wiliin hingalchannii naa kaaye, ()
 1122 QW: Ummm
 1123 QU: Hin'araarsaa naa kaaye.
 1124 QW: Umm
 1125 QU: Mucattiillee galuu naakaaye
 1126 QW: Umm
 1127 QU: Ta akkanaa abboo.
 1128 QW: Umm
 1129 QU: Koottaa
 1130 QW: Koottaa
 1131 QU: Araara naa kaayee. Jaarsi hintaa'ee,
 1132 QW: Eee
 1133 QU: Dhugaan hinbaatee. Intalli haagaltu jedhee kaayee isinille gala ()
 1134 QW: Naagale ()
 1135 QU: Naakaayeen dhugaa
 1136 QW: Dhuga bulaa
 1137 QU: Amma araari kajaarsaattii () Gara higgsillee naa xaafanii, isiinillee innillee
 1138 hinfarramaa. [lubbulllee] lubullee hinxuquu, [El: Seera Arsii hinlufuu]; Seeruma
 1139 Arsiin itti bulullee [Jw:Aadaa Oromo'ooti (Els)], aadaa Ormoollee hinlufuu isinillee
 1140 hinlufu innillee hinlufuu jettee, harka jaarsaatti, hirqii jaarsaattii hinbaanuu kajedhu
 1141 naa dubbataara Dhugaa.
 1142 QW: Dhuga bulaa,
 1143 QU: Ka akkanaa jaarssi hirqii ka dhufee dubbataarru itti nuuguutanii, innillee isinii gala.
 1144 QW: Alaa galaa
 1145 QU: Itti guutaa amma. { informal chatting of the elders about the agreement and some
 1146 other issues} (...) {Daqiiqaa muraasa booda eebbi itti fufe}
 1147 JW: Faatee waaqni dhagahi
 1148 Els: Dhagahi
 1149 JW: Gadaan dhagahi

1150 Els: Dhagahi
 1151 JW: Gadaamojiin dhagahi
 1152 Els: Dhagahi
 1153 JW: Kadhageette nagaan oolchi
 1154 ELs: Oolchi
 1155 JW: Camcammeessa hamaa oolchi
 1156 Els: Oolchi
 1157 JW: Araara harka walqabate kana addaan baha dhoowwi.
 1158 Els: Dhoowwi
 1159 JW: Tun toltuu
 1160 Els: Toltuu
 1161 JW: Tun toltuu
 1162 Els: Haaqabattu (.)
 1163 JW: Faatee waaqni sii dhagahi
 1164 Els: Dhagahi
 1165 JW: Kadhageesse kana nagaan oolchi
 1166 Els: Oolchi
 1167 JW: Dolool'oo yaasi
 1168 Els: Yaasi
 1169 JW: Yaa'a ambaa gabbissi
 1170 ELs: Gabbisi
 1171 JW: Araara kana cimsi
 1172 Els: Cimsi
 1173 JW: Amma sheexanni jara kana jedduu dhufu haagorra'amu
 1174 Els: Haagorra'amu
 1175 JW: Sheexanni suni jidduu haa badu
 1176 Els: Haabadu
 1177 JW: Amma Wayuutu itti guuta faatessaa
 1178 ()
 1179 EW: Araara kana rabbi nuu haa dhagahu.
 1180 Els: Haa dhagahu
 1181 EW: Ijoollee tana Sheexanni jedduu haa ka'u.
 1182 Els: Haaka'u
 1183 EW: Sheexanni jaarsaa fii jaartii jedduu deemu haa ka'u.
 1184 Els: Haaka'u
 1185 EW: Mucaa kana jinniin irraa haakaatu
 1186 Els: Haakaatu
 1187 EWf: Toltuun () yoo jara lamaan jidduu yoo risqiin guddaan jiraate, Hormanni guddaan
 1188 yoo jiraatee, sheexanni kana beekaaf kaa diiguuf deemu. Sheexana san rabbi yaa
 1189 kaasu.
 1190 Els: Yaa kaasu.
 1191 EW: Afaan isaanii tokko haa ta'u.
 1192 Els: Haa ta'u.
 1193 EW: Camcammeessi yaa oolu
 1194 Els: Haa oolu
 1195 EW: Harka walqabate kana addaan bahuu rabbi haa dhoowwu

1196 Els: Haa dhoowwu.
 1197 EW: Soddaa maanya aadam rabbi isin haagodhu
 1198 Els: Haagodhu
 1199 EW: Allahu Mosollee
 1200 (...) {Informal chatting, jokes, laughter, writing and signing of the agreement,
 1201 reading the agreement loudly for the elders}
 1202 Els: Mee dubbisaa {waliigalteen akka dubbifamu gaafatan./Waliigalteen dubbifame}
 1203 Ewf: Isinii dubbisuu?
 1204 Els: Dubbisaa ee
 1205 Ewf: "Murtii yaa'ii firaa" jedhaa. ...
 1206 1 ffaa- Akka mirga isii akka seera oromootitti, akka aadaa naannottiin mirga isii eegee
 1207 akka horatu murtii dabarsineerra
 1208 2 ffaa: Badii silaa karaawwaturraa akka deebi'u
 1209 3 ffaa: Qabeenya waliin qaban, kan lafaafii, kan horii akka waliin fayyadaman murtii
 1210 dabarsineerra
 1211 4ffa- Sodaa isiin lubbuu isiitiif qabdu san itti deebi'ee akka hinxudhe mootummaa
 1212 qarshii () hagam? Meeqa Haa jennu?
 1213 Els: [[Mee innummaan haa jedhu () , Yoo dubbii amma naa ijaarame kana diige,
 1214 mootummaa hagana qaxxa'ama jedhi {request for the husband} () yoo itti deebi'ee
 1215 kana diige malee kanlubbuutii miti hagana je'i ati abboo. maal adabamta
 1216 mootummaaf? Kuma jettee, kuma lama jettee?]]
 1217 Hs: Dhibba shan
 1218 Els: Dhibba Shanii?
 1219 Hs: Eee
 1220 WBr: Kuma shan, kuma shan. Lubbuu namaatiim bee. Nafsee namaatii. Wili yoo diige
 1221 JW: Wili Yoo diige jedhaa. Gara nafsee hindhaqinaa
 1222 WBr: Kuma shan ()
 1223 Hs: () amma bee isi {ishiitti} nugurguraartan malee, isii nuggurguraa hinjirtanii
 1224 Els: [[Eee qara bee isii siggurgurree . Amma si ijibbaannan isi{tti} sigurguraarraa.
 1225 Amma isi sifuudhaara. Har'a isi sifuudhaa jira]] ()
 1226 Hs: Isillee qaxxaasisaa [akka qoosaa]
 1227 Els: [[Aawotiin maal qaxxa'anti ree? Homaa. Isiin yoo sixuxxee, nuhuu gadi dhiifna
 1228 sicallaa mitii. Baqqaa, eee gallakkisuu. Mi'orraan geenyee, biraa deebinaa
 1229 {qoosaa}[jaraa isini kenninee nu'ii dubbii hin eennuu]] ()
 1230 EHs: {anecdote/story } Wayyooma mee dhagahaa. Intala wayii daanyaan fuudhee jedha.
 1231 Daanyaan fuudheetii, warri daanyaa inquuftii sarraataynaa albeen mana keessa
 1232 waraante. {laughter} Yoo inni dhaddacha oolee galuu, () abbaa seeraa ta'ee niitiin
 1233 tiyyaa nama waraantee? Amma natu sii himata moo na'a jedheetii, asii dhufee
 1234 Ganamoo Turaa waamee.Warra isii yaasanii fidaniitii,warra (ee) fidaniitii, Maal
 1235 godhe hinjettu? "Hiyarattellee hinjennu, hinsarattellee hinjennuu, mee isin bira
 1236 nuhaateettuu" {laughter} Jedhee warra deebise mucattii () Mucattii shandhoo itti
 1237 mura bunaaf shandhoo, [ee haawwoti qaraa sanumaa bee {kolfa} akaataa seera
 1238 Oromootiin shandhoof buna itti murra isii yoo isiin didde (...)
 1239 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu,wanti waldubbisaa jenneefii, uumee
 1240 Oromooti jira jechuu argadhu. Aada jira jechuu argadhu. Aadaan maali? Duloo
 1241 qabdi jedhe jechuu argadhu. Araara duuloo {Duloo araaraa}, amaa asfuuta jedhe

1242 jechuu argadhu. Mana jirtii manattuu itti godaanta yoo jettee, as nahimta. Asittuu
 1243 duuloo harkaa qaba dhibaasi yoo jettee, duuloo sii dhibaasa. Kanaaf si barsiisee
 1244 qorti walideebi'i.
 1245 QU: Koottaa
 1246 QW: Dhufe
 1247 QU: Baradhe naan je'i
 1248 QW: Baradhe
 1249 QU: Jedheera
 1250 QW: jedheera
 1251 QU: Waan seera kiyyaa asken guutuu jedhe.
 1252 QW: eee
 1253 QU: Kajedhuun moo kanjenneen?
 1254 QW: Kajedhuun
 1255 QU: Kajedhuulillee isinii baye
 1256 QW: (Anaasee)
 1257 QU: () warri nubaase lola kana galcuu ()
 1258 JW: Duuloo warrarraa fuudha. Duloon dhuga'aa jettetta akka murtii tateetta irraa fuudhi.
 1259 QU: Duloo aadaa jirtuu
 1260 QW: Eee
 1261 QU: Qara raawwirra walii tufteeti Miidhassiti
 1262 QW: Eee
 1263 QU: Asqab Je'an. Nammul'isi je'an. Lafaan gahi je'an. Daddafi
 1264 Els: [[Siin je'anii bee waan biraa maal eedda? {for husband} GL siin je'anii bee]
 1265 JW: Yoo Nageellee qabaa achi godaansisallee yoo jette, Lakkaa har'a qaballee
 1266 qopheessee jirallee yoo jette]] ()
 1267 Hs: Akkasii miiti [Olka'aa] Nuu hingalle.
 1268 Els: [achi ka'aa, duuloo dhibaayyuu askennaa. Eebbifamtee galtaa. Seexannii kunillee
 1269 akka sirraa ka'u { The husband and his brother left the session for five minutes
 1270 caucus to decide on the amount of money to be given for the elders for duuloo
 1271 (drink) which is served for the elders after a successful mediation}{4}
 1272 Els: walideebi'aa
 1273 HBr: Kunoo duloo teessan {put 100 ETB on the ground infront of the elders} Ijoollee
 1274 nuutufaa. Akka wli hindeebine ()
 1275 Hs: Numaraa Sammuu sirri nuhaadeebisu. Isiif nullee (.6)
 1276 QU: amma hingaya jennee irraa fuunamoo
 1277 QW: Eee hingaya
 1278 Els: Hingaya, haagahu
 1279 JW: Amma sii kenne jedhe jechuu argadhu. "Dammaaf soddaa hiduudhata" jedhe jechuu
 1280 argadhu. Kanummaan dhibaafattaniif jedhe jechuu argadhu (...)
 1281 QU: Koottaa
 1282 QW: Dhufe
 1283 QU: Hinqora moo hinqortan
 1284 QW: Hinqora
 1285 JW: Amma araara jedhe jechuu argadhu [Els: Amma garam nu ooftan? Gara duloo
 1286 nuooftan moo?] Gara duloo nu'ooftanii koottu

1287 Els: Achi tufaafii (jaarsonni gara giroosarii deemanii dhugaatii lallaafaa fudhatan.
1288 Achitti yeroo lallaafaa dhugan jaarsi waltajjii duuloo dhibaasuun, jara lamaan wal
1289 lolte (haadha manaa fii abbaa manaa) lallaafaa eega bane booda lamaanuu qaruuraa
1290 tokko keessaa si'a lama lama akka habuuqatan goosise.

Appendix III
Transcript of Case 1 English version

1 ME: Facilitators call each other please {after appointing the facilitators}
2 QU: <Come> [honorific]
3 QW: Here I come.
4 QU: Why did I {the elders} come out here?
5 QW: To talk/mediate.
6 QU : To talk/mediate is true.
7 QW : May you arrive at good end {blessing}.
8 QU : Is it {the case} new or the postponed one?
9 QW: Postponed one.
10 QU: Postponed one. It is true.
11 QW: May you arrive at good end.
12 QU: What is postponed?
13 QW: The gathering/elders is postponed one;
14 QU: < OK>
15 QW: <The session is postponed one>
16 QU: OK, True that the session is postponed one.
17 Qw: Yes.
18 QU: True that you want to talk to the elders;
19 Qw: Uuu
20 QU: Did your elders come out here?
21 Qw: I will check.
22 Qu: OK.
23 Qw: Have you elder arrived? {to the wife side}
24 WBr: Are you referring to us?
25 Qw:Yes.
26 WBr: Yes, some had arrived and others are on the way to come?
27 Qw: Have you elder arrived,? {to the husband}
28 Hs: Yes.
29 QW: Ummm?
30 Hs: They have come, I think.
31 Qu: <Now come>
32 Qw: <Here I am>
33 QU: I have checked both sides.
34 QW: Yes, I have checked {re-voicing}
35 QU: They told me that their elders had arrived.
36 Qw: Ok ()
37 Qu: Now shall I postpone it or shall I continue the talk {the session}?
38 QW: I will postpone it.
39 QU: Why?
40 Qw: Some of my elders are absent.
41 Qu: <Ok.)
42 Qw: The elders I selected did not come.
43 Qu: <OK>
44 Qw: <That is why I will postpone>
45 Qu: I shall talk {start the mediation}
46 Qw: <Why?>

47 Qu: () I came here to talk {mediate}.The elders who came also speak truth.
 48 Qw: <Ok>
 49 Qu: <Ok>
 50 Qw: < I will postpone it.>
 51 Qu: <Why?>
 52 ME: Now one said I shall start and the other said I shall postpone. Now come to
 53 reconciliation.
 54 Qu: Come {start the talk}
 55 Qw: Come {Here I am}
 56 Qu: Now the facilitators disagreed on the matter,
 57 Qw: ok
 58 Qu: His honor calls us to reconciliation.
 59 Qw: Ok let us listen {to the middle}
 60 Jw: <Now I gave you reconciliation, hear what I say. One opted for starting {the
 61 mediation}, hear what I say. The other opted for postponement, hear what I say.
 62 Postponing is natural, hear what I say. Opting for talk is also natural, hear what I
 63 say. The one who opted for postponement will stop for the moment. Now the one
 64 who opted for talk {start the mediation] will continue, hear what I say. > Approve
 65 it!
 66 Qu: <Come>
 67 Qw: <Come>
 68 Qu: Shall I approve or stop/reject it {the ME's decision}?
 69 Qw: I shall approve it.
 70 QU: I accept that you approve it.
 71 QW: May You go home in Peace.
 72 QU: Now shall I start or wait for my father to start?
 73 QW; Here is my father.
 74 QU: He said our father is here to start {invite ME to start}
 75 JW: < Now I gave you, hear what I say. This is a postponed case, I told you. You didn't
 76 investigate the case/the disputants before, hear what I say. Now there will be an
 77 investigation/*coka*, hear what I say. Now the first person will be the complainants.
 78 The mediation is of a husband and wife, hear. You will investigate both sides. Now
 79 the first turn will me of the *Heebano* side {wife/brother}. You start with
 80 investigation. So start the investigation/hearing.
 81 Qu: <Come>
 82 Qw: Come.
 83 Qu: He ordered me to start the investigation.
 84 Qw: Yes he said it.
 85 Qu: Now Shall I go on?
 86 Qw: You called me, you are my senior. So go on/start.
 87 Qu: You go.
 88 Qw: Ummm
 89 QU: I called you to send you { so you start}
 90 Qw: Umm (.)
 91 QU: Come please {requesting the wife/brother to present their case}

92 WBr: So here we come. We (.) as the saying goes," *A flock of migrants who journeys*
 93 *taking small children with them spend the night on the road or cannot reach their*
 94 *destination on time*". We started to follow up this case when the problem of these
 95 'children' {couple}, the problem of this girl became worse. [El: Please come closer,
 96 face the gathering {to the wife}]. This girl and this boy had been fighting both
 97 verbally and physically. She tolerated, tolerated, and tolerated. She told me that
 98 before this case, he {husband} had hurt her kidney, and she told the problem to
 99 only *Dawwee* {EHs}. She said, "The Daawwee/elders saw my case and decided
 100 that he should take me for medical treatment. While I was waiting for the
 101 treatment, we often do not agree, One Friday morning, after checking that
 102 everyone had left the neighbor, he started to move our cattle to some other place
 103 without consulting me. He was trying to move all the cattle including lactating
 104 cows, which I milk for the children; I use it {milk} to rear his children. Then I tried
 105 to stop the cattle. When I tried to stop him, he said, "What do have with the cattle?
 106 I will even kill you". Then someone came and told me " First, you have to save
 107 your life. The problem of the cattle will go nowhere, but to the law and to the
 108 elders". I tried my best to stop the cattle until he reached *Haqaqa* village. Finally
 109 the Arsi {neighbor} told me to come back and he moved the cattle. After I came
 110 back, I directly came to you to save my life because he had threatened to kill me."
 111 That is what she told me. Since she came to our house, we had asked her and
 112 investigated her problem. Previously we had seen the problem together with you
 113 {EHs}, as you all know. Since this time the problem is going to the life {of the
 114 wife}, we felt that this life threatening problem won't be good. As a result, we took
 115 the case to the court. When we took the case to court, the court referred the case to
 116 family elders so that the elders thoroughly investigate the case, find out who
 117 deserves the truth and report the outcome to the court.(.) This problem, I mean
 118 this girl did not get treatment for her illness. *She can't visit her relatives. She can't*
 119 *go to relatives to pay condolences. She can't pay visit to her parents.* She has no
 120 clothes. **<That is it. Marriage is natural, but once persons marry each other,**
 121 **they are supposed to make each other happy, to buy clothes for each other, to**
 122 **feed each other. She has no clothes. Last time, when we she went to the**
 123 **women's affairs office, they told him to buy her clothes and to solve all her**
 124 **problems. She has no clothes. She can't come when we prepare marriage**
 125 **ceremony. She can't come to visit us when we get sick. She is living in very**
 126 **harsh condition. We sympathies with her, because she is born of us.>** Because
 127 the problem was very harsh, we couldn't bear it as we all will see it together soon.
 128 Let's see what Daawwee {EHs} will say. If this girl is really causing the problem,
 129 let them tell us frankly. We will advise her since she is born if us. Similarly if the
 130 boy is causing the problem, we shall talk on the problem. We shall talk about the
 131 problem so that these children won't fall apart because of their temporary emotion
 132 or anger. We shall suggest {solution} which can bring them together or reconcile
 133 them and that can be confirmed by both the elder and the law that the same
 134 problem won't be repeated. That is what we want. We are not running after this girl
 135 to separate these 'children' apart, but we were afraid of the problem because the
 136 problem is going to life/killing and we want this problem to turn away from
 137 threatening her life and come to the direction of peace. If this is not possible, since

138 the soul {of wife} the gold of God, we don't want him to kill her. We believed that
 139 the law can solve the problem. That was why the case had been taken to the court.
 140 That is what I have. The "girl" {wife} can tell us what is left. She can even tell us
 141 better. (...)

142 JW: <Ok, now you can ask her what is left. Let her tell us through investigation. Make it
 143 short [[El: yes tell us in short, make it short, yes]]

144 Qu: Come my girl [HBr: we know main causes of the problem, but " **One can't judge**
 145 **someone even if one know the person's problem, because still the person may have**
 146 **some facts to tell**" {Saying}].

147 Wf: uhhh {clearing throat} Are you asking me?

148 Els: [[yes, yes, tell us your problems, tell us]]

149 Wf: < My problem is what you all know. It is what we all know. It is all the same>

150 JW: Tell us one by one, yes, speak loudly.

151 Wf: My problem is, this boy had beaten me and hurt my kidney. I have no clothes to
 152 wear as he has said before. I am not known for my clothes. I have no clothes. If my
 153 parents are in trouble, I don't have anything to solve their problem. If my mother
 154 gets sick, I have no property to treat her. I have nothing to take to marriage
 155 ceremonies of my relatives. You all know this. This boy, **I have tolerated him. I**
 156 **have tolerated him for long time.** Again he moved my cows. He moved my
 157 lactating cows away. **I have nowhere to take {the milk} but use it to bring up his**
 158 **children.** He had moved the cows without consulting me. He never told me to where
 159 he was taking the cows. He drove them away. When I asked him why, he said,"
 160 What do you have with the cattle? If you want cattle, let **USh** {wife's father} give
 161 you. If you don't accept this, let alone you, even your parents {feminine to show
 162 disrespect} can bring nothing. They don't even know how to prepare their *Xorosho*
 163 *{thin local bread made of wheat flour on metal sheet}*. He threatened me by saying,
 164 "Forget yourself, even the law, even Melles {prime minister} can do nothing to me.
 165 There is nothing that you can bring up on me. Your parents also can do nothing.
 166 Your parents do not even know how to make their *Xorosho* , even how to lead their
 167 own life". **Therefore, I don't have clothes. My life- (.) not only me, you were**
 168 **also victimized and dishonored. Last time, you had talked enough, you**
 169 **punished him, and you did all you could to correct this boy. Now again, rather**
 170 **than allowing him to kill me, rather than making me *raada gaalee*** ⁴²
 171 {metaphor} I want him to share my property and let me go. That is what I tell you.
 172 [JW: This is all about my problem] This is all about my problem. (...)

173 ME: One can ask what is left.

174 EHs: Send me please [allow me to ask her questions]

175 ME: Go ahead.

176 EHs: Now () Now we want to learn about **you** {plural/honorific}.What we want to
 177 know is that up to now, in one way or another, your problems had been resolved
 178 and you had been living together. You have told us that he moved your cows. Again
 179 you took the case to court because you felt that he was going to kill you. Then the
 180 elders took the case from court to resolve it. Now, are you requesting us to divide
 181 your common property and give you your share or do you want to accept what the

⁴² *raada gaalee*:- meaning a heifer which is offered for the husband as an extra to the other gifts by the girls parent, in return to his material and financial gift for the girls family.

182 elders will decide here? Or What exactly do you want? [HBr: wait wait, allow me
 183 little time your honor , I will correct it for her] I myself did not finish any way go
 184 on.
 185 HBr: Did you allow me? Did you send me?
 186 JW: Yes go ahead.
 187 HBr: I- (.) Girl I want to know something about you {plural/honorific}. Even before we
 188 started the mediation, we knew that we can settle your case. Let's say, he had
 189 decided to move the cattle to that place. Why did you oppose the proposal for
 190 moving the cattle? Did you have something that you suspected in the place where
 191 he is taking the cattle or did you oppose only because you simply didn't want to
 192 send the lactating cows away?
 193 Wf: Yes I do have some suspicion. I had said it before. You all know. I said to him
 194 "Please stop what you are doing." [HBr: yea please make everything very clear.]
 195 Stop what you are doing. When I told him this, he said "Leave alone today, I don't
 196 want to stop even in the future" [HBr: What was he doing] What he was doing
 197 was that he is going for having sexual affair with other woman. [Els: him?] yes (.
 198). Had he had properly managed our property- He had sold the goat that the
 199 government gave us. He didn't give me five cents from this money, even five cents.
 200 He is wasting my property unnecessarily. I didn't benefit out of it. I have no clothes
 201 for my body. My children also go naked like newly born, like animals. I do not use
 202 this property to solve my problems. I can't use it for death {pay condolence}, I
 203 can't use it during marriage {for social life}. I said "Please stop what you are
 204 doing; the sin {adultery} you are committing. The time is bad,
 205 threatening/dangerous. Please stop it. You will bring trouble to me and to yourself"
 206 , but he didn't accept my advice. I told him not to move these cattle. But he even
 207 moved lactating cows. I told him, "Please do not move these cattle. Your going
 208 there would suffice. Stop this", but he refused. He said to me, "If you want cows,
 209 let Ush {wife's father} give you. You have no right over this property" he said to
 210 me. When he told me this, previously I suspected him of {having an affair with the
 211 woman and the daughter of the woman supposed to receive the cattle}. When he
 212 moved my cows, when I told him not to move them and he refused, when he
 213 threatened to kill me, I took my application to the court (...)
 214 JW: Have you finished with her?
 215 El: Is there anyone to ask her?
 216 HFa: Let me ask her something
 217 Jw: Go on.
 218 HFa: What I want to learn about you {plu} is that on the day he {husband} moved the
 219 cattle, what did the neighbor say? What did they say?
 220 Wf: Actually the people {neighbors} came out.
 221 HFa: What did they say? What did the neighbors who were there say?
 222 Wf: The neighbors?
 223 HFa: Yes
 224 Wf: <Our neighbors came out actually [HFa: I was not there actually]. Yes you were not
 225 there. The neighbors who came out, the people who were there actually told him not
 226 to move the cattle. They said, "Why do you move the cattle? If you want to move

227 them, do it later on. You will tell why you are moving the cattle also." With this, he
 228 stopped on Friday and moved the cattle on Saturday. >
 229 HFa: You mean those cattle?
 230 Wf: {Yes} Those cattle.
 231 HFa : What happened to those cattle later on?
 232 Wf : He took them to this parents compound.
 233 HFa: Took them there
 234 Wf: Yes, actually I went away. People told me that he had returned the cattle.
 235 HFa: Those cattle.
 236 Wf: Yes.
 237 HBr: Ok he took them to the parents' {husband's} compound. Leave it there and ask her
 238 if you have any other questions.
 239 JW: < What I want to ask you is that now you have told us that he is destructing your life,
 240 that he is breaking the law and others. These are the main causes of your conflict.
 241 So you are saying that "If he is doing like this, I want to leave him, I want to take
 242 my share and go away?"
 243 Wf: <Yes>
 244 JW: That is why you accuse him?
 245 Wf: <Yes>
 246 JW: < Last time also the elders had mediated your case. But he is repeating the same
 247 thing again. Is that why you came to think this way or is there any other reason?
 248 Wf: <Yes, It is because of this repetition>
 249 HBr: Please send me once.
 250 JW : Go ahead.
 251 HBr: I want to learn about you {plu} again. Now you {plu} have said, "he sold the goat,
 252 but he didn't buy me clothes" though he claims that he sold the goat to buy you
 253 clothes. My question is "Do you ask him to buy you clothes whenever he sells
 254 animals? Do you ask him why he is selling the animals? Do you tell this problem to
 255 others?
 256 Wf: Me?
 257 HBr: Umm
 258 Wf: < yes I told others>
 259 HBr: Ummm
 260 Wf: When I told them,
 261 HBr: umm
 262 Wf: They told me to let him do whatever he wants. They said" don't quarrel with him,
 263 just keep quiet and let him do whatever he want." With this I stopped.
 264 HBr: You mean that nothing has been done for you regarding this problem?
 265 Wf: Well actually, they {neighboring elders} tell him many times, but he never accepts
 266 the advice they give him. He seems to accept what they told him for that moment,
 267 but he does nothing for me. He never gives me money for my clothes. He just
 268 wastes the money for nothing. He finishes up all the money and come home.
 269 JW: I think we have asked her enough question [El: Better to stop here,] () Do you have
 270 some more questions?

271 EWf: Yes I have something to ask her. Girl, what I want to know is that, you have told us
 272 that the elders had punished him with *naqaa* and *qalaa*⁴³ last time. Naturally people
 273 will be punished for their wrong deed. Was he punished for the same reason or why
 274 was he punished before?
 275 Wf: Him? {husband}
 276 Ew: Yes
 277 Wf: Actually it was due to our conflict that he went to the extent of insulting or
 278 defaming my relatives and me. That was why they punished him with *qalaa* and
 279 *naqaa* (...)
 280 HBr: Ok leave this there because we already know enough about this. Leave it there. If
 281 she has finished, I think he {wife's brother} can clarify this better.
 282 Els: [[let him clarify, make it clear]]
 283 WBr: Let me clarify for you here. Did you aloe me?
 284 JW: Yes if it is related with this.
 285 WBr: Yes, it is right, Normally two people may quarrel on different issues. Then the
 286 other relatives, brother, and sisters may come in to resolve it. There he {husband}
 287 insults people disgustingly like what she said. It was due to this that the case had
 288 been taken to the court. When we went to court, the whole *Daawwee* {husband
 289 clan} came out and stopped us. It was after this that the elders mediated the case
 290 and punished him. It was with the aim of healing this wound and bringing
 291 reconciliation that the elders punished him *with naqaa and qalaa*.
 292 Qu: Have you finished with her [El: Now better to move to the boy {husband}... Come
 293 Qw: Here I come
 294 Qu: Now we have investigated and learned enough about the girl. Now we move to the
 295 boy.
 296 Qw: Go ahead.
 297 QU: Come boy {to the husband}.
 298 HBr: You have already heard all what she has accused you with. Is that what you did or
 299 not?
 300 Hs: Yes now I want to start with the cattle case (). What is said about the cattle? The
 301 cattle, we have moved with agreement (...) the cattle. Again about the suspicion
 302 that she raised, yes she had asked me about this issue before. I also took the case to
 303 local elders. Had she had said "You are going to marry {another wife}, she would
 304 have been correct. But I said, "accusing me with this issue {adultery} is wrong.
 305 Please stop this." Here she is now. I swore to her, if she made me talk everything.
 306 As I came home one evening, she just jumped to my neck. This was what I was
 307 worried about. My own friends, her nephew told me that he suspects me of having
 308 an affair with the woman. Then I told him" Please **JA** stop name calling or
 309 defaming me. This woman does not fit me. This old woman is not even equal my
 310 mother, but my grandmother. Please stop this talk here. I started my contact with
 311 this woman as a client fourteen years ago. All these time we have been helping each
 312 other. It has been nine years since I married, but my relationship with the woman

⁴³ *naqaa* and *qalaa* meaning preparing drink and slaughtering respectively are the kind of punishment that are put on someone in the form of punishment. For *naqaa* the victimizer prepares local drink called *daadhii* which is made of honey and water. *Qalaa* in the previous time was slaughtering an animal, but this days the *qalaa* punishment is replaced by preparing food for lunch for elders.

313 had been established long before that. We have got support from her to solve our
 314 problems several times. For example, I may run short of money, when I face such
 315 problem, I go and borrow some money from her, since she is my client. I then use
 316 the money to resolve my immediate problem and give her back later when I get it
 317 from somewhere. We had such relationship for many years. But now when she
 318 {wife} is restarting this issue as if something strange, I told Abba JA {nephew of
 319 wife} to stop this talk. I told him, to stop it here, before the issue reached my wife
 320 and disturb my family life. He told me that he suspects me of having an affair. Then
 321 I swore to confirm for Abba JA. At that time, the case did not reach my wife. But
 322 gradually the issue reached my wife as I feared. Because they {people who defame
 323 him} envy my good relationship with the woman, because they want to play the
 324 role of devil and spoil our relationship, these people took the issue to my wife. After
 325 she had heard of this thing, when I go home one evening, the same day we
 326 quarreled on some other issue and her parents mediated our case, the same day she
 327 {wife} started this issue. When she raised this issue, I swore to her. I told her that I
 328 could swear by the name of anything she believes in. Here she is. She is my fire
 329 "Ibidda kiyya" {metaphor}> I swore by the thigh that I touched the first day (.)
 330 Then we agreed and stopped it there. A week later, she raised the same issue.
 331 When she raised the issue during night time, I asked, "Last time, you raised this
 332 issue and I swore that I am innocent. So why do you raise the same issue again? She
 333 said, "I raised this issue again because everybody is talking about you. They don't
 334 talk out of nothing. It should be what you are doing that they talk about". Then I
 335 said " Ok if you say so, you will tell me who told you this lie. I don't want to leave
 336 you this time. You said that you heard from *Daawwee*, from *Gambo* {names of
 337 sub-clan}. You said everyone is talking about me: the male the female, mothers
 338 everyone. So you will tell me clearly who told you this thing. If a male from
 339 Gambo {clan} told you this, he himself might have an affair with you". While we
 340 were in such dispute, in the middle of the night, at about seven o'clock, she ran
 341 away from home and went to DA's home. There I called the elders in the neighbor,
 342 my father, JA's father, QA's father and told them what she was accusing me of. I
 343 said to my father "You know this woman and you consider each other and call each
 344 other as brother and sister. You know why you call each other like this. This woman
 345 is old enough to be my mother, even to be my grandmother. She can't fit me. Why
 346 is she {wife} nagging me with this lie again? Last time, I swore that I have no
 347 especial affair with this woman. She raised the same issue today. Here you are to
 348 see this. You always accuse me of mistreating her {his wife}. Now she is troubling
 349 me raising the same issue again. So now you all have to judge me. You have to find
 350 the truth. If you want, I can swear again. Regarding the question that she raised
 351 about the blood test, if I go and test my blood, they may say "you have the disease
 352 {HIV/AIDS} or you don't have it." If they [health professionals] tell me that I don't
 353 have the disease, how can she {wife} know whether I had an affair with this woman
 354 or not. So what is better?, To swear. Allow me to swear." I said to the elders. Then
 355 JA's father, her nephew took her aside and swore to her. She stopped it there. Again
 356 about the cattle, as usual I continued our relationship {with the woman}>. We went
 357 on helping each other. Even one day when my wife faced shortage of money, she
 358 requested me to go to the woman and borrow some money for her. Then I went to

359 this woman and brought her the money. Regarding the issue of moving the cattle, I
 360 told her that I will move the cattle. I consulted her. I even told her the day. I told her
 361 that the cattle need grass and water. I told her that the dry season may go longer. I
 362 told her everything. We discussed. You see, it has no use to falsely accuse one
 363 another. It will be good if we speak the truth in short. Previously there were three
 364 lactating cows, but two of them were about to stop. So these four cows which led us
 365 to dispute are all pregnant. The woman had taken other cows for free four months
 366 ago. The cows are about to stop giving milk. So I told her "We drunk the milk of
 367 these cows for about a year now. You may not get too much out of these cows. So
 368 let these cows go. They are pregnant about to give birth." When I told her this, she
 369 said "What can I do about my children until they give birth? I will milk for my
 370 children until they totally stop giving milk." Then I said "Don't worry about the
 371 children. I will find solution for them. They are my children. Yes they are my
 372 children, please listen to me {two of the elders seem to be tired and talking} I will
 373 find solution for my children. In one way or another, I have brought them up and I
 374 can find solution for my children in the future as well. Then she said "Ok until you
 375 come up with the solution, let the cows stay here." Then I came up with the
 376 solution. I gave her money to buy *shiro*⁴⁴ for the children and told her that I am
 377 going to move my cattle. So we have discussed and suggested the solution together.
 378 I gave her the money for *shiro*. After I gave her the money, I had decided to move
 379 the cattle, the next day, on Saturday, but I moved them on Friday. But we agreed to
 380 move the cattle on Saturday. Until the dry season passes, I decided to move the
 381 cattle to the new place. There I can look after my cattle while cultivating potato on
 382 the plot of land that a friend of mine gave me. () anyway now about the cattle, I
 383 made a mistake. I shouldn't have taken them to a place that she was suspicious
 384 about. But I didn't move the cattle on the day the conflict happened. I returned the
 385 animals when she strongly insisted that the animals should not be moved. I returned
 386 the cattle when she disagreed on Friday. [El: leave that please if you have moved
 387 them the next day, it doesn't make a difference]. Wait once. Things are not as
 388 presented by her before. I should not accept what I didn't do. I moved the cattle on
 389 Sunday after waiting for her return for three days. Any way they have gone. The
 390 day doesn't make a difference. They have gone. The other thing is about treatment
 391 of her kidney problem. She accuses me of not taking her for treatment (.) Like what
 392 she said before, I sold the goat that was bought for us. I sold it for the treatment of
 393 the kidney problem she is complaining about. I sold the goat and gave her **<one
 394 hundred seventy birr for herself and told her to go to health center.>** She may
 395 have no reason to blame me about this. I gave her. This is it. She had also gone for
 396 treatment (.) About the clothes that she is talking, let me finish explaining
 397 everything for you. About the clothes, of course I had been buying her clothes. Last
 398 year, when she went with the cattle, I gave her money for clothes and she had
 399 bought it. For this year, the summer season have come recently even for us. Until
 400 the summer season come. This year, we got good product of maize. First we were to
 401 sell a heifer and use it for clothes. When the maize was ripe enough for harvest, I
 402 told her to sell a heifer and buy clothes if at all it could make her and all of us

⁴⁴ *shiro*- this is to mean a simple food locally prepared by cooking beans powder and which is eaten with *ijera*

403 happy. I told her 'take this heifer and sell it and buy your clothes" I mean I told her
 404 "Buy your clothes, I will sell it for you". Here she is. When I told her this, she said
 405 "If the maize is ready for harvest, this means God decided to save this heifer. Since
 406 God had decided to save this heifer, you have to sell some amount from this maize
 407 and buy the clothes for me and for children." Here she is (.) But this problem
 408 happened while I was waiting for the raise in the price of the maize. That is it. I
 409 didn't refuse to buy her the clothes or I didn't say that I am not able to do so. That is
 410 all about her health problem also. This is all I have. Isn't it?
 411 (...)
 412 ME: < I have a question for you. Now she {wife} told us the main points. She said, "He
 413 doesn't buy me clothes. I can't use my property to solve my problems. I can't go to
 414 any where" Are these all what you did or-. Did you stop her from visiting her
 415 relatives or not?
 416 HS: Yeah, About preventing her from visiting relatives. *I didn't stop her; it was due to*
 417 *our capacity. One can visit his relatives when there is enough budget.* But when there
 418 is death of person, we didn't refrain from going.
 419 EHs: Please Send me.
 420 ME: Go ahead.
 421 El: I want to ask you something. What do you say about the kidney problem?
 422 Hs: <About the Kidney> About the kidney that she is complaining about, I already told
 423 her before, but she couldn't listen to me. She struggles with the root of a tree to split
 424 it and use it for fire wood using blunt axe. After she split this root with blunt axe,
 425 she fills it in a sack which weighs 100 k g. and put it on her back with difficulty. I
 426 told her "stop struggling with this root because it causes health problem up on you.
 427 Stop it. The axe you are using is also not good for you. You are almost beating
 428 wood with wood. Stop it" I also told her "Stop this wood. You may complain about
 429 it and sleep later. I won't take you for treatment." I told her "If you refuse to accept
 430 my advice and refuses to stop beating this wood, I won't take you to health center
 431 for treatment".
 432 WBr: Make it short please. Is the problem caused by beating or is it a natural disease?
 433 Hs: I didn't beat her. Yes that is it. (...)
 434 JW: <The family knows that this {kidney problem} is not caused by your beating?>
 435 Hs: All of them know it.
 436 JW: <All know that you didn't stop her from going to her parents for wedding when she
 437 wants?>
 438 Hs : Everybody know that. Unless it is out of our capacity {I didn't try to stop her}
 439 HBr: Please send me too.
 440 JW: Go ahead.
 441 HBr: Did you allow me?
 442 JW: Yes
 443 HBr: Now I ask **you** (sing). When you tell something, you tell the truth. There is a
 444 saying which goes "The stomach become happy when one washes his hands". God
 445 likes if you speak truth. If you try to tell us something that you didn't do, sitting
 446 among us, this Arsi will judge you. These elders [Hs: I swear by the name of my
 447 father] Wait please; we didn't want to take you to oath. [Hs: why don't I swear? I
 448 should swear to free myself from false accusation against me]. Now listen [WBr:

449 This people can reveal what you hid]. Yes, they can do it. Now it is better if you tell
 450 us what is true. The girl had accused you. Now you are requested to respond. If you
 451 can't answer, we can do nothing for you. We also know some of it. We know the
 452 truth you have and the truth she has. Now tell us about the clothes. You can say that
 453 she has clothes or I will buy her or I didn't buy her because I had some problem.
 454 That is your choice. Now, the case is that the girl told us about abusing (insulting)
 455 her parents, your in-laws. Is that what you did or not?
 456 Hs: That is not my deed.
 457 El: Both your mother-in-law and your father-in-laws?
 458 Hs: Yes, I didn't say anything about them.
 459 WBr: Please once, I have something to ask him.
 460 JW: Go ahead.
 461 WBr: Now I am not going to ask you(plu) big thing. Forget what you said about us.
 462 Whether you say it or not, it brings nothing up on us. You even couldn't manage
 463 yourself. Our biggest gain is your ability to manage each other. If we are a kind of
 464 person that you touch {insult}, let it be. If you are a kind of person who can talk
 465 about us, the whole Arsi knows it. That has no problem. I don't want to talk about
 466 that. Uuu, now you {plu} told us already that you moved the cows without her
 467 consent. Now the cows that you moved, are they the one which give milk or the one
 468 which already stopped giving milk?
 469 Hs: Two of the cows had already stopped. One of them is lactates in the evening and
 470 refuses in the morning. That is it.
 471 WBr: Second, about the issue that previously the ME raised. There could be marriage
 472 ceremony or there could be death. Naturally a woman goes to her relatives on these
 473 occasions. These are the two important occasions for a woman or ones in-law to
 474 visit his/her relatives, according to our culture. If she comes to us on other days, we
 475 ourselves can chase her away. She also doesn't come to us because she had already
 476 left us and she has nothing to do with us. The only days that a woman goes to her
 477 relatives or ones in-laws or relatives need each other are on the day of wedding and
 478 on the day of mourning. The other day, her sister got married. We gave her away in
 479 marriage to someone in your clan *Dawwe*. On that day, when she wanted to come to
 480 us to attend the ceremony, whether you have budget or not, it doesn't matter. We
 481 could have served you our own *daadhii* {local drink made of honey}. It had no
 482 problem. Did this girl come on that day, on the day her sister got married? We have
 483 heard about that problem, but we didn't want to dig in to it. As I said before, we
 484 forgot that issue because we didn't want to disturb your life. So you shouldn't have
 485 hidden that issue. Everybody knows it. Again on the other day her brother died. On
 486 that day, didn't you refuse to come to us? Didn't she come on her foot because you
 487 refuse to give her money for transportation? Don't we know this? Yeah, you said
 488 she could visit her relatives happily. It doesn't matter whether you have budget of
 489 not. What if you openly tell us all these? We have abandoned all these because we
 490 want to keep her with you. All your families know about this. So, what if you tell us
 491 openly all these? Again about the kidney, the issue of the clothes is already said.
 492 About the kidney, if the kidney problem was caused by the wood or fetching water
 493 as you said, all your families could know about this. Whether she had told this issue
 494 to your family, whether the family ignored her case. What if you openly tell us

495 about this as well so that we the relatives of both sides can reconcile you based on
 496 that truth, so that we could suggest solutions. But if you try to defend yourself
 497 against all accusation, like a person who protect himself in stick fighting, this won't
 498 lead us to reconciliation. What if you make these issues clear because the *Daawwee*
 499 {boy's clan/family} may also know these things. Yes, we want to loosen the issue
 500 not to tighten it. [[Els: Please come back this case is widening more it is dispersing,
 501 Now I want to go to it]]
 502 JW: Go ahead.
 503 El : He doesn't seem to accept me.
 504 Els: [[go ahead, go to it, go]]
 505 Hs: Look now, one needs to respond to the question raised for him [[Els: yes of course
 506 the family could arrange it...]]
 507 JW: [Answer in short] {to husband}
 508 Hs: [I have to answer what they asked me, Do you want us to accept something that
 509 I{plu} didn't do?]
 510 Els: [[Now allow us to speak, give us turns please]]
 511 JW: Now I give you, hear what I say. Now the facilitators had already investigated the
 512 case, hear what I say. Now the investigation shall stop somewhere, hear what I say.
 513 Now the boy has been examined. As the saying goes, "[One shall not complicate an](#)
 514 [issue as one shall not tie a calf with repeated knots](#)". Since we had already
 515 questioned the boy, the elders will go to the reconciliation talk because the things
 516 are already clear for every one of us. You have done the investigation, but if you
 517 feel that you still have few things to know about, go ahead...)
 518 **EHS:** May God reconcile these Arsis {couple}. May God make us speak the truth as well.
 519 Now we have already asked the girl. We have also asked the boy. What the girl told
 520 us are all seem to be true. It is true. Her problem is true. The issue of her clothes is
 521 also true. He didn't buy her. He said that he was to sell the maize instead of the
 522 heifer. The maize was not sold and her clothes were not bought. He said he was
 523 waiting for the raising of the price of the maize, but nothing happened. The girl
 524 deserves the truth there as well. Now her problems have been revealed. I murmur, if
 525 we have to solve her problem, the whole session, the relatives, the father may come
 526 in here. I personally feel her problems will be curbed. The cows will be given to
 527 her. Everything will take its place. All her rights will be respected. [El: give me the
 528 next turn. **JW:** Come] Tell us what you have [Please leave it BA] ().
 529 **HFa:** Let me say little things please [El: **BA** please leave it] I murmured, May God
 530 resolve this problem [[Els: May he resolve it]] {in chorus}. [Both sides had been](#)
 531 [questioned. It is the elders who scrutinize and resolve the case. We will break the](#)
 532 [knee \(idiomatic\) \(give the right decision\). Dhugaa 'truth' will be given for the one](#)
 533 [who deserves it. It will be given straightaway](#) .Tell us what you have.
 534 **JW:** Now, I gave you hear what I say. Now you asked for Urine, hear what I say. There
 535 is the right person who can ask for urination, hear what I say. As the saying goes
 536 "Teeth of this horse are all similar". You are the father of the boy, hear what I say.
 537 You could even be examined, hear what I say. If we want to reveal the truth here,
 538 why do you want the parties to go for urine, hear what I say. You can say either the
 539 girl deserves the truth or the boy deserves the truth. That is why we gave you
 540 chance to speak. Now you will tell us what you know right here, hear what I say.

541 Call for *maqoo* 'staying away of disputants' is needed when there is something to
 542 hide to bring reconciliation. Here all the people here are relatives and there is
 543 nothing to hide. () So, the one who asked for urine will cool down. The one who
 544 want to raise question, go ahead.

545 **EWf:** I also want to ask him something. Now these individuals are husband and wife.
 546 God knows some of their problems and the relatives also know something. Here the
 547 elders who gathered here can reconcile them based on some fact. Now it has no
 548 value to hide the fact. "Telling ones problem is resolving the problem" as the saying
 549 goes. Unless they tell everything openly to this gathering, their reconciliation will
 550 also be shallow. Now as it has been said before, many things can cause spousal
 551 conflict. One of these causes is suspicion. Now what is the suspicion of this girl?
 552 She said "It is not about our common property; rather I am afraid that he will kill
 553 me". Again you (plu) have said that you didn't hurt her kidney. So why is she
 554 suspect you of killing her? Is it because you beat her? What this family may also
 555 know. You know that one cannot keep his wife by beating. Why do you think she is
 556 suspicious of you? What if you clarify this as well? The other thing, she told us that
 557 she suspects you of having an affair with another woman. But you told us that you
 558 have a cliental relationship with the woman. Your client is her client. What is this
 559 cliental relationship that your wife is suspicious of? What if you clearly tell us this?
 560 Now as the saying goes "Hiding the illness will hide the medication." Unless you
 561 tell the truth to this gathering, your case will remain suspicious. It may go to
 562 unwanted direction. Therefore what if you make everything clear? ()

563 **WBr:** Now let me add one more question. You will answer it together. Related to this
 564 killing, Did you say to her that I will make you like the girl who died from *Keetaa*
 565 (clan)? {*this girl is suspected to have been killed by her husband*}

566 **Hs:** No I didn't say that [El: a bit louder please] Now let me answer what they have asked
 567 me. The case of suspicion about killing that she mentioned. She mentioned this
 568 because we often quarrel in the house on various issues and the local elders mediate
 569 us. That is why she is suspicious of her life.

570 **HBr:** Here I have something to ask you. I will clarify the question they have asked you.
 571 Now what they asked you is that the girl has clearly stated that she is suspicious of
 572 you [Hs: I am coming to it] Wait I am coming to it. Don't try to make things blur.
 573 [Hs: I am coming to it. I am talking about the question they asked me regarding the
 574 suspicion of killing] Leave out the issue of killing. Don't try to explain that. We
 575 know if you can kill her or not. Whether you are going to kill her or not, don't try to
 576 tell us this. Now the main issue they raised is that the girl is suspicious of you. First
 577 the people around is saying that you have the plan to marry the daughter of that
 578 woman. Again she suspects you of having an affair with the woman herself. If you
 579 make us talk we will talk {may be the speaker didn't want to reveal this} [Hs: yea]
 580 Make these two issues clear. The girl is saying that the reason why he took my cows
 581 to that place is because he has some affair either with the woman or her daughter.
 582 That is what she wanted to say. May be the girl is afraid of saying it openly in front
 583 of these Arsi. [Hs: yes] clarify these two.

584 **Hs:** Yes now [HBr: Say either I am going to marry or whatever make it clear] Yes, she
 585 suspected me of having affair with the woman. I already told her this ' I would have
 586 been healthy if you had suspected me of planning to marry the daughter rather than

587 suspecting me of having an affair with the old woman" Here again she has no
 588 reason to suspect me of having relation with the old woman. I already told her that I
 589 would marry the daughter if she were mature enough.

590 HFa: You mean the daughter?

591 Hs: yes I already told her that I would marry the daughter if she were mature enough.

592 HFa : Now he himself had rolled down to the point. Now give me turn your honor
 593 {*request for turn from the middle elder*}

594 JW: <Come please>

595 HFa: Now it is like this: The reason why I asked for urination was because this shade has
 596 respect. This Arsi have come together. Now what you say is good for us. If she does
 597 wrongs, she will be told her wrongs. If he has done some wrongs, the elders would
 598 scrutinize that and give decisions. If you ask us to speak {*in the presence of the*
 599 *disputants*} we will speak. There is nothing to leave aside. We thought that
 600 normally the shade/elders investigate the case and send away the disputants for
 601 urine to decide. That was how things should have gone. Now we have nothing to
 602 hide under our armpit. Now if the norms are cleared away, now we will talk. I will
 603 talk. There is nothing I shall put aside. [ME: go on] There is nothing to hide. So
 604 now I will speak {meaning the elderly doesn't seem comfortable with talking
 605 secrets in the presence of the disputants}. Normally, one can get
 606 injection/medication only if he goes to health professional and if the medication-
 607 {fits the disease one will be cured}. The case of the suspicion of the girl, now he
 608 himself had already rolled down to the point. Why should they go to the mother, a
 609 very old lady {the woman}. We all suspect him of having an affair with the
 610 daughter of the woman. The people in the neighbor say that he is going to marry the
 611 daughter of that woman. Now he himself had come to it. Why should they go to the
 612 old woman. The main reason why this chaos had occurred-. I had already told him
 613 to stop going to *Gambo* {the clan of the woman}. I said to him "Stop going there.
 614 Look after your cows. Manage your house. Stop fighting with this girl {wife}
 615 during night time." After the people go to bed, after Arsis spread their leather, after
 616 Arsii uptight {their belt /take of their clothes for sleeping}, Arsis never quarrel with
 617 each other. Why do they quarrel during day time? Because they believe that one
 618 would hear the shouting and come to reconcile the two. I told him to stop. They
 619 fight in the night not in the day time. Now gradually this quarrel in the night has
 620 also come to the day time. We told this boy to stop. The girl also told him to stop.
 621 He refused. The suspicion about the daughter of that woman-. The one that he said
 622 if she were mature enough {I would marry her} now look, one may marry the
 623 second {wife} if one has enough for his children, for his wife, for the big and for
 624 the small, if everything is sufficient. It doesn't happen any time. This may come
 625 {marrying the second wife} if one has enough for clothes or for his life. The whole
 626 *Gammoo* {clan of the woman} say that he is going to marry that daughter. Not
 627 marriage actually, they are saying that he started to live in her house. These cattle, I
 628 have heard that he was planning to move the cattle. I told him not to move the
 629 cattle. I have never seen a *Dawwe* {any one} who moves his cattle to road side, but
 630 only him. You people, my family has never lived in someone's house. This boy is
 631 the only person God has put on me. This girl {wife} she does nothing to the family.
 632 Everyone is sympathizing with her. Now you know this parent {wife's} have been

633 disappointed with the deed of this boy. Now this girl really deserves all the *dhugaa* '
 634 the truth". We all have the truth {meaning we suffered due to him} although we
 635 can't decide for ourselves. We had punished this boy before. We made him
 636 slaughter? We made him to prepare *dhadhii* "local drink". We suffered a lot because
 637 of him. Now when the problem has come to her life, we kept quiet because we
 638 wanted them to drop each other, really. How about now? This girl has children, she
 639 has cows, and she has life. We really feel sorry for her. She is helpless {wife cried}
 640 . Don't cry please. She has suffered here. We cried together with her. But now we
 641 kept quiet. The whole neighbor kept quiet (.) We could do nothing. As the saying
 642 goes "A poor vomits and holds his chest by himself" {a poor has no one around to
 643 help him}. Now I am about to be isolated from the society. You know what Hameso
 644 Badaso said ? "I can solve others problem, but when it comes to me, it seems to me
 645 that there is someone who collects problems from everywhere, wrap it in *gabi* '
 646 traditional clothe' and bring it to my home. Is it my wife who couldn't understand
 647 me or is that me who couldn't understand my wife" said Hameso Badaso. He died
 648 on time {story from experience}. Now I can solve the problems of others. This girl
 649 {wife} looks at my eyes and easily identifies when I am hungry and give me
 650 something to eat. Now you boy, stop. Turn around and look at your home. You boy
 651 stop going to that house {woman's house}. Didn't he say that 'I won't stop even
 652 when someone threatens to slaughter me'? Look he himself has indicated it. Why
 653 do we talk about the old lady, he is saying that he is going to marry the daughter.
 654 Now we say why he couldn't stop going to this place. Had he had stopped going
 655 there, he could have even played back his credit {not clear}. Now the girl deserves
 656 the truth. If his in-laws were there, they won't keep quiet. If I could die- You know
 657 once there was an old man, a friend of mine, whenever someone coughs around
 658 him, he says "I wish I could die here." His name is Bariso Waritu. When they {the
 659 spouses} start shouting in the middle of the night around cook crow, after
 660 everybody is asleep, we really wish to die right then. Yes we really wish we could
 661 die right there [please Dada {father} once]. The girl deserves the truth. She was
 662 beaten in front of her parents. She was beaten while her parents were there. She was
 663 hurt in front of her parents. However, concerning the issue of verbal abuse
 664 {husband accused of insulting his in-laws} that she said her, You my brothers, I had
 665 never heard a single word about that. I have never heard that. Have I? {to the wife}
 666 [Wf: You {plu} were not around.] Yes I was not. I do not hide that as well had I
 667 had heard it. The girl deserves the truth. If it is possible, they have to stop him from
 668 going to that place {woman's house}. He has to refrain from doing that. The reason
 669 why he moved the cows to that place- He took the cows because he wants that
 670 woman to milk them. He wants the daughter he plans to marry, to milk the cows.
 671 He wants her to drink the milk. That is why he moved the cows away from her
 672 {wife}. Have you heard anyone who moves milk cows away from his own
 673 children? {question for husband and gathering}. Look, we ourselves left two cows
 674 for the old lady {not clear} to milk them and put it in coffee and drink. But he
 675 moved the cows away from his own children. The girl deserves the truth. The whole
 676 neighbor also deserves the truth. This boy caused many troubles on me. This is it ()

677 EHs: Now please allow me to talk.

678 JW: Come, but Make it short.

679 EHs: Look our people, now the case has ended. As the saying goes "One has always
 680 some more things to say about an issue under discussion, but one need to stop it
 681 somewhere". Now what you are talking is natural. We can talk over this issue for
 682 many days. You know why? The issue that you raised about *Gambo* {Woman's
 683 clan}. You know the mother of this boy {husband} belongs to my family. I told this
 684 boy {husband} to move his cattle towards my place. You see, he refused and told
 685 me that he would move the cattle to *Gubata* {place where the woman lives}
 686 because he had this thing in his mind. I said to him "May God burn your legs. Do
 687 you insist on moving to Gubata while I am begging you to bring them to my place?
 688 May God burn you {not serious}. We quarreled over this. You know why? This
 689 Arsi {the elders} know a fetus inside its womb {know every secret}. They are
 690 difficult people to cheat. Now you are on the right way. Now I am not saying that
 691 GA {husband} is a good person. Now we had talked enough about him. You know
 692 why? We always find him to be the cause for the problem. The girl has done
 693 nothing wrong. We always see problems on his side . Now if this people {husbands
 694 family} is to hurt GA {husband}, I won't let them do so. If for example MA and AB
 695 {husband's brothers} want to hurt him, I won't let them do. I will tell them to stop it.
 696 Why we always find him as the source of the problems. Now the girl {wife} says
 697 that she has no clothes. GA also didn't mean to intentionally cause trouble, He has
 698 lack of awareness... Now no one exceeds GA naturally, economically. Now both
 699 DA and QA {husband's brothers} are not better than GA. Why? His behavior is not
 700 good. He lacks good behavior {to mean poor or bad behavior}. A person with poor
 701 behavior always lags behind the others. No matter how much he produces, three or
 702 four *gotara* 'traditional store of grain', a person who has poor behavior always get
 703 starved before others. Why? All the problems are caused by GA. This girl didn't
 704 make any mistake. Had she had told me about the problem she might have caused
 705 on him, I would have advised her or warned her not to do so. I would have asked
 706 her " What is your problem you girl?, Why do you say bad things? Why are you
 707 doing bad things?" What stopped me from doing this?" I always advise this uncle of
 708 mine {the husband}. I say to him " You boy, don't be disobedient, don't be stray,
 709 don't be ignorant, Stop this bad behavior" You know "ones behavior affects the
 710 person himself" as the saying goes. Ones behavior is greater than his physical
 711 features. One can easily shape his physical behavior, but it takes long time for
 712 someone to get rid of his behavior. Why? This girl deserves the truth. If you spend
 713 the whole day by questioning the two sides, we won't finish it. Now let us go to
 714 listing their common properties and let him agree not to repeat the same problems.
 715 If he refuses we can do nothing but fix another day. So now let us say to him
 716 "Please come to us. Do you stop this bad behaviors? Do you stop going to that
 717 *Gambo* {the woman or daughter}? If he moves the cows to Gambo, I won't let
 718 him do so. I won't let GA to take the cows to Gambo. Like what NA's family are
 719 saying {wife's family}. Why? Because the cattle are mine as well. Now if he
 720 returned the cattle towards us, now we are saved. "One can rescue only as much
 721 amount of the milk that is spilling out of its container *guchuma*" as the saying goes.
 722 Now we are saved. We could have done nothing had GA had taken the cows to
 723 Gambo market and sold all of them. We don't hung him or kill him after all. The
 724 law also won't say he should be killed. Now we are saved. So we could talk only

725 about what we can do next. Now we will ask him "Will you agree to stop going to
726 that woman or not? I will stop. Will you stop beating this girl or not? I will stop.
727 Will you live peacefully together with this Arsi {wife' parents|} or not? I will do." If
728 he agrees to accept these three things, what else do we want? If he accepts only
729 these three things: I won't touch my wife, I won't touch my in-laws, I won't touch
730 the cows'. What else do we need? We don't hang GA after all. [JW: Now step
731 down} I want to say only this. I stepped down.

732 HFa: Your honor take me once please {allow me to speak}.

733 ME : <Ok come>

734 HFa : Ok here I come. About the cows that he moved, two of them had already stopped
735 giving milk as he said. These cows were made to stop while they could give milk.
736 You Arsi we all have cows, we all have children. These cows have no one to take
737 care of them. Due to the absence of someone who separates them, sometimes the
738 calves stay with the cows the whole day. The Arsi {other people} keep them apart.
739 Sometimes the calves even disappear and later they search for them. Their cows
740 stopped giving milk only because there was no one to keep the calves and the cows
741 apart. He always goes away for some other business. He could not properly think
742 even for one day. It doesn't make a difference whether they {cows} are moved
743 away or not. After all they are not giving any service. I wish they had no cows even.
744 I told her either to throw away the calves or to tight them to a tree. She says, "I have
745 nobody to drive them away" Then I told her that it is better to let the calves stay
746 with the cows otherwise they will be attacked by hyenas. Look one can't swallow
747 his children. When cows give birth, it is good for children to drink the milk and get
748 satisfied. When cows give birth, it is for the owner to drink and get satisfaction.
749 That is why cows are for. Their cows stopped giving milk before they were moved.
750 **You boy, If you are to stop doing all these faults. If you agree to stop going to**
751 **that Gamboo {the woman or her daughter}. If he corrects himself from all his**
752 **faults, let them record us here. If he firmly agrees to abandon the girl with**
753 **whom he is having an affair**, he had already indicated it that he is going to marry
754 the girl because the property belongs to her. Now If he agrees not to touch her
755 {wife's} property and signs an agreement here in front of her parents- this problem
756 is caused- *Now we are going to open war on that Gamboo {clan of the woman}.*
757 *The reason why my son and this girl is quarreling* is- {because of the Gambos} We
758 never go and live in someone's home. We never did so. Even my forefathers didn't
759 do so. This girl has done nothing wrong. **You Arsi, this girl gives help for the**
760 **hungry, for the full, for the sick.** Whenever she drinks coffee, she always calls the
761 Showa {clan} the Arsi. She says you (come) to her neighbors' So this boy is driving
762 this girl { wife} away from the Arsi who is benefiting from her. Now he has to stop
763 insulting the *Hebano* { wife's parent/clan}. He has to stop beating this girl as well.
764 He has to eat the *Xorosh* 'local bread" she makes for him. She won't deny him that.
765 She won't deny him with his money. He has to stop going to the home of NU's
766 family in Gamboo. Say "I will stop all these. [JW: Now step down] [[Hs: please
767 allow me once here, EL: give me one chance]]

768 **JW: Now I give you hear what I say. [[El: please once your honor][Hs: I also want**
769 **you to give me a promise () now you had said that I had married the daughter**
770 **of NU 's family, El: you yourself had already admitted]] [Hs: you also take**

771 **what others say as truth and say I had married, El: please once, you boy stop**
772 **it please]]**

773 **EHS:** Let me tell you what happened to me once. Once I was in a similar situation with
774 this boy {I was accused of adultery}. The elders requested me to stop it. But I
775 denied the accusation orally, though I was practically doing it. Gradually, all the
776 elders of our family came out to me and asked me " Do you stop going to that house
777 { the hose of the woman he was having an affair with} or not?" But I said no- I
778 denied totally. They warned me telling me that they had already seen me. But I
779 denied it, although practically I was there. Then one day, I saw a dream. God had
780 shown me a dream to signal some danger that was coming to me just to save me.
781 Then immediately I quitted it. Had I had continued having that relation after that
782 day, I would have been killed. You know why? *Arsis {the elders} always tell*
783 *someone to stop doing some bad things, not for their own sake, but for the sake of*
784 *the person himself. So if Arsis {the elders} tell you to stop doing something bad,*
785 *you have to stop it. Even your wife, if the elders tell you," she is bad person. You*
786 *have to avoid her" you have to leave her.* [El: now please give me the next chance]

787 **ME:** Did you step down? {to the person who was speaking}

788 **EHS:** Yes, I stepped down.

789 **ME:** Now I gave you, hear what I say. Now the issue has become short. You know why?
790 I didn't want you to reveal all these things, you the father of the boy, when I
791 requested you to tell the truth right here. I just wanted you to say "Yes, the fault is
792 that of the boy or it is that of the girl" in very short term. You can't advise or warn
793 your son here. Now we are going to the reconciliation of the two sides. I want
794 Dawwe {husband's side} to say "Ok I can handle my boy. I will stop him doing all
795 the things that are mentioned here." that is what I want you to say. You are not
796 required to warn the boy here. The request that the girl has made for sharing of the
797 properties {of spouses'}, we refused her that. *Our properties, the properties of our*
798 *son and that of our daughter won't be divided.* Now what I want to hear from
799 Dawwe is "Here we have come with this solution." Blaming the boy here has no
800 use. I want you to say in short "Here we came here convincing my son to refrain
801 from all what he had been doing. I had already controlled him. So Hebanos please
802 give us back our girl {wife}". That is what I want you to say know. You told us that
803 you were trying to stop the boy. Now let us see if you really can do that. Let the
804 agreement be signed. Now both of us will sign the agreement and send it back to the
805 court. The other thing, you handle by yourself {to the clan/family of husband}. If
806 you want to have caucus with your son for short moment, you can have it.
807 Otherwise you just tell me that you have convinced your son and stopped him from
808 his faults. Now we are going to the *araara* 'reconciliation'. {HFa: that was actually
809 why I requested for urine}. The Hebanos {wife's family} also may say "If they can
810 handle their son and stop him from doing those faults, we will give them back the
811 girl" Now I will give chance for Hebanos {wife's elders}. You had already talked
812 enough {elders of husband side}. Now I just want you to listen to what the Hebanos
813 tell you and say only "we have accepted."

814 **ME:** Come please.

815 **EHS:** Now I murmur. [JW: Make it short]. Now I murmur. I always speak in short. May
816 God reconcile these Arsis {spouses}. *Now Hebanos deserves the truth. Someone has*

817 come to him. The girl also deserves the truth. Now you will give me back the girl. I
 818 will manage everything. I will stop my son from his faults. Now you give me back
 819 the girl {the wife}. You deserve the truth. The father deserves the truth. The
 820 daughter also deserves the truth. Now I will correct my son. He {husband} will
 821 accept the proposed agreement. As you will hear soon, he will accept the resolution.
 822 All her cattle will be listed now. Now you will give me back {the wife}. We will
 823 fulfill all her rights together. I accept my faults. Now you will give me back mine
 824 {wife}. You will come back to me {for wife's clan}. The girl will also come back to
 825 me. Now speak and give your idea.
 826 HBr: Take me {Allow me to speak}.
 827 ME: Come
 828 HBr: Did you allow me? Ok , May God bring reconciliation. [[May he bring it]] Now,
 829 this issue, the girl {wife} deserves the truth. Hebano (wife's clan) also deserves the
 830 truth. At the beginning when we started this session, I expected them {couple} to
 831 tell us just in short. I didn't expect them to keep us here this longer. Now give me
 832 back the girl. We will control our son. We have controlled him [[yes say we have
 833 controlled him]]. We had already put him under our control. We will sign the
 834 agreement and send it back. Give me back the girl. We will talk the rest together
 835 with Dawe.
 836 ME: Did you step down?
 837 EHs: Yes.
 838 ME: Now come, who asked for turn?
 839 EWf: Yes I did ask you. Here I also come. Now you came to the point we have been
 840 waiting for. I don't mean that there are more things to say other than what you have
 841 already said. Now we want you to say "Give us back our girl {wife}. We have
 842 corrected our son. The girl deserves the truth." The girl deserves *dhugaa* 'truth' is of
 843 course what the whole Arsi have witnessed. Now what we want to hear from you is
 844 that you come back to request for the return of the girl {wife}. Here I step down on
 845 time.
 846 Hs: Please allow me to say a word.
 847 Els: [[You boy what do you say. Why do we allow you]]
 848 HS: Just a few words
 849 Els: [[Let him speak. Why do we allow him to speak? Now you are not required to speak.
 850 Please don't argue like this. This was what led you to this problem]]
 851 Hs: Allow me please just for few minutes.
 852 Els: [[No you are not requested. Dawwe and Hebano {clans} had already talked to you.
 853 Now stop]]
 854 Hs: I will tell what benefits all of us.
 855 Els: [[What do you want to say? let him speak please, Let us see what he wants to say]]
 856 Hs: I will talk now. Why should I postpone it to some other time?
 857 Els: [[What do you say, now you will talk latter. Leave it please. Let him speak please.]]
 858 ME: OK speak. What are you going to tell us?
 859 Hs: Yeah, what I want to tell you is that, [JW: anyway make it short] What I want to tell
 860 is-, I will make it short. Now I want to tell Arsi {the elders} not to get in to trouble
 861 anymore because of me. I just stop it here. I stop going to the home of the woman
 862 you are talking about. Now give me back my family, my *fire* {my wife}. She has

863 children and calves she left behind. Now I don't want them to fix another
 864 appointment for me. The fault is mine. This is it. So why do you try to stop me to
 865 say this?
 866 Els: [[This is good. Now you come to the point. This is what we want. You come to the
 867 point, we were afraid that you may complicate things]]
 868 WBr: May God reconcile these children. [[Els: Yes May God reconcile them]]. This girl
 869 [JW: Make it short]. We didn't want to take this girl back to her fathers. We don't
 870 mean that she is so sweet to keep, but because of her problems. It is natural that one
 871 {parents} returns a wife for her husband. It is natural that parents give advices ones
 872 wife. But the main problem that made us suspicious and pushed us to go to court is
 873 the problem related to her life. The reason why I previously asked him whether the
 874 cows he had moved were lactating or not was because I was also suspicious of his
 875 {husband's} relation with the daughter of that woman not the woman. I just
 876 mentioned only about the cows because I wanted to see what these elders {of husband
 877 side} would say. Normally if a lactating cow is moved away from its owner and given
 878 to someone else, the mind of the owner will be suspicious of something. Now there
 879 are no more things to say other than what Dawe {elders of husband} said. Now what
 880 we want is- , I don't want to talk about his insults on us. Just let it be if he is a kind of
 881 in-law who is matured enough to insult us or comment on our life, we also can judge
 882 that. Even he didn't come to us on good days. He came to us on bad days. Now the
 883 relationship between this boy and us is like the relationship between cactus and an
 884 eye (like enemy). **Yes, he didn't come to us on the good day, on the day an Arsi**
 885 **comes to an Arsii, on the day that an Arsi marry ones gourd {ones daughter}**
 886 [JW: forget about that please]. He didn't come on those days. [ELs: make it short] **Yes,**
 887 **ML wait please. He came to us on bad days. A person who comes on bad days,**
 888 **never touches/insult others.** Whether our wives could give us the raw {food} we
 889 know ourselves. I didn't want mention this if she had not raised it {the speaker is
 890 expressing his grievance about the husbands insult}. Now for everything, including
 891 what is going on in your area-. Now as the proverb goes "On cannot abandon sleeping
 892 because of fear of dream." The government also forbids adultery. Not only
 893 prostitution, the government forbid us even not to marry more than one wife. It made
 894 us to live like protestant. One can marry the second wife if one has enough wealth
 895 like the former time. As you can see yourself, going here and there had already
 896 affected your economy. You can see that. We also can see that. If you had used this
 897 money for your wife's and your children's clothes, we wouldn't have suffered these
 898 much. We do not care whether you visit us or not. It is the problems that she is facing
 899 that made us angry because she was born of us. Here again, the main thing we want
 900 stress is about the threat to her life. That was the main reason why we went to court.
 901 So the main issue that we tell clearly to this Dawwe {husband's side} is- as you
 902 yourself witnessed it, he quarrel with her during night time, not during day time. You
 903 {husband's elders} have also told us exactly what she told us. If he fights with her in
 904 the night, what is the implication of this? This may indicate that there is a real threat
 905 to her life. Now everything has become clear for us. What is the fight in the night
 906 meant for? Where does it come? Now if he agrees to stop this, not only orally because
 907 this is his habitual action- I have personally tried convincing this boy. I said to him
 908 "Come to us. Come and we will give plot of land you plough. We are giving it for

909 many others. Come and plough, you boy" he refused. Why did I call him? I want
910 them to improve their life not to take what they produce (.) Let them not come to us
911 on wedding days. If she comes, we don't force him to come even for mourning. We
912 just want them to live peacefully there. But now she has no clothes, he over abuse
913 her. Whether we eat *xorosho* 'local bread' or grain we know ourselves. It doesn't
914 matter. This all do not express us. Therefore after he signs for everything including
915 for her life, after these elders also signed and this agreement is taken to court so that if
916 he beats her again all these things could be counted up on his as crime. You know
917 why the court also referred this case to these elders? It didn't want to move to divorce
918 directly. The court wants to take this mediation as the first step. Now this is good for
919 us. There was some complain from the girl. The case of the kidney that he denied
920 before is also not a natural disease. It is the result of beating. If he signs for all these
921 things including the case of having an affair with another woman- the government
922 also forbids it {prostitution}. Everything has a limit. No problem for that. "I don't
923 touch her life {kill her}, never touch her. I never touch her property without her
924 consent" if he says. If you agree, you can even sell one another, that is your property.
925 *The property is yours. It is not ours. It is found between you two. If you agree, you*
926 *can even sell one another.* But he will stop taking any action without her consent. If
927 you say like this, it is possible {meaning we can give you back the girl}. One more
928 thing, this girl have had ring ceremony, as her father told me, actually I was not
929 around. Those cattle given to her on that day are dowry. They are her private property
930 according to *Sherea* Law. Now, the list of property that she mentioned in the court-
931 We just want the boy [husband] to tell us if those properties are really there now. We
932 want these properties also mentioned in the agreement. With this we also accept the
933 reconciliation. We will give her {back to her husband}. The agreement should be
934 taken to court.

935 **El:** Allow me to speak.

936 **JW:** Come please.

937 **WFa :** Now here I also come (.) You Dawwe (husband's elders) *May God bless you. You*
938 *stood by the side of this girl always.* However if the person who took her is not on
939 her side, it doesn't make difference. Everyone goes back to his home. One's live is
940 determined by his behavior. uuu {space filler} You know why? If he had properly
941 administered this girl properly, if he had handled her properly, they would have
942 brought no trouble up on us or up on themselves. Any way now for everything, you
943 had stood by her side. How did you stand by her side? You stood by her side in
944 resolving her problem. You had punished this boy many times. You had made him
945 slaughter many times {because of the problems he caused up on his wife}. You had
946 told him that you never sit to resolve his case. You told him that you never resolve
947 his case again. You had said to these girl "Don't you have a family go?" You had
948 tried all you could. Last time, when he beat her severely till she fainted and tried to
949 run away from her, it was uncle QA and this father {of husband} who told him that
950 he won't escape killing a person and who caught him. You died for her. It is because
951 of you. Because we felt that you stand by her side. Both God and you have been
952 standing by her side. That was why we kept quiet. Last time when we went to court,
953 this man stopped us. ML stopped us. We stopped because we want them {spouses}
954 to live together. If God has given them both children and cattle- They have no

955 problem at all, but only lack of proper thinking. I have personally advised him
 956 several times. If he had come closer to me and took a plot of land and ploughed it
 957 for himself like what the others do, I didn't ask him to pay me bride price. I forgot
 958 everything. Now I don't want to accuse him personally. What he said to me [[Els:
 959 leave out that part please]]. Yes, I don't want to talk about what he said to me
 960 {insulted me}. He is just one person who insulted me, but not the whole Dawwe.
 961 So, I don't want to talk about that. He insulted himself {when he insulted me}. So
 962 now as the saying goes "I didn't kiss you, you ugly because I had to", we didn't like
 963 it. Now, we didn't want her to run away from her children. We didn't want her to
 964 run away from him. I consider them as my children. I felt that they are the children I
 965 have. The one who may help me, who support me, who can support me like my
 966 children when I face some problem. I wanted to rely on them. But now his action is
 967 making me not to rely on even his elder. Therefore, we were simply waiting
 968 because we could say nothing. How about now? Last time I said to them {wife
 969 & her brother} Why did you fix this appointment for mediation? Didn't they try and
 970 fail last time? Didn't she come to us because they couldn't do anything to stop him?
 971 Didn't he move the cows to *Arjo Gubata* {place} without her permission? He
 972 brought to me first, but latter he moved them away on Sunday. He moved them
 973 because he didn't want to be abide by her idea because she is female. I just kept
 974 quiet. It was me who told the girl to leave him and come back {while the wife was
 975 trying to stop the husband}. Her elder sister who was there also stopped her from
 976 fighting with him over the cows. She said to her "please come back and save your
 977 life. The cows won't go anywhere. Either the elders or the law will give you back
 978 your cows. Come back. He may kill you." She said this because he (husband) said
 979 "I will kill you, or I will give you the money for transportation so that you will go to
 980 Heebano {her family}" He said this. I heard him saying it. I don't accuse him
 981 without evidence. How about now? I was trying to hide everything from your son
 982 and my daughter. Why ? Because I was afraid that this person may cause something
 983 up on this girl {wife} and later lead us in to another trouble. I was afraid that we
 984 may lose each other. I thought that this Arsihood relationship would be affected.
 985 That was why I hide everything from both my daughter and your son. Therefore
 986 even today, if he can comes his concious say " No I won't touch her property and
 987 her life" and he sign agreement here in front of these elders and in the court, we
 988 don't swallow her after all {we will give her back to him}. It is clear that a girl is
 989 already born for others. A girl is born for others, for foreign. Therefore, we also
 990 accept what Daawwe (husband side) already said. We have no any other option.
 991 The judges also can do nothing until he exhausts all the possibilities. So it is
 992 between these two things {not clear}. It is like this. I step down now.
 993 **ME:** Now hear I said I gave you. eee {space filler} As the saying goes "*A pillar of a hat*
 994 *shall be pushed to a certain limit*" hear what I say. Now Dawwe had said
 995 everything, hear what I say. Heebano also talked enough, hear what I say. You boy
 996 didn't stop murmuring yet, hear what I say. You will come back, hear what I told
 997 you. You will take your parents route {accept what they said} hear what I say. A
 998 human being [[ELs: I think he is insisting, why do we bother, we could do nothing,
 999 no problem, the judge will solve it]]. A human being- () now there is nothing more
 1000 to talk about. The Arsi already said it" *One shall not strongly tighten the rope that*

1001 holds a sack of honey on the back of pack animals. Likewise, one does not talk to
 1002 his in-laws harshly " (prov). You are in-laws. You don't speak to each other harshly.
 1003 Now you accept what we say. Some people can use the modern law. The Oromo
 1004 custom and law also goes with the modern law. You people please listen. Don't
 1005 shout. [El: Please stop the boy] The Oromo law also goes with the law. [Hs: why
 1006 don't you allow me to tell my problem?] Please wait you will tell us soon. We
 1007 didn't stop you. Now you said I will stop everything. So if you agree to do so, we
 1008 want you to sign an agreement. The remaining is- [Hs: I would rather die than kill
 1009 her, why should I kill her?] Saying this can help you for nothing. Now stop it. Now
 1010 you better have patience. Now you will sign an agreement. Yes. We also sign the
 1011 agreement together with you. The Dawwe {EHs} also will sign the agreement. The
 1012 agreement all about your property, about your agreement not to quarrel again and
 1013 the agreement will be taken to the court. It will be taken to court. If you transgress
 1014 this, if you can think properly, you know that this will hurt you. You will stop this.
 1015 Your parents also promised to stop you. You also will stop this. If you keep your
 1016 promise, if you don't repeat these problems, now we shall go to reconciliation.
 1017 Heebano {elders of wife side} shall return the girl, let her go back. Let the
 1018 agreement of both sides be written. If you stop these- Didn't they make you
 1019 slaughter animals before? {as punishment}, Didn't they punish you before? Still you
 1020 are not in a position to stop. Now like what the Dawwe {husband's elders} and
 1021 Hebano {wife side} said you will stop everything. We will reconcile you. Now
 1022 come.

1023 **EWf:** So I- may God bring reconciliation between these people {spouses} [[Els: Yes
 1024 May he reconcile them]]. [ME: Make it short now] Yes I will make it short. May
 1025 God bring reconciliation between these people. The elders have been talking about
 1026 this issue for long time. I fell even his families are here may be because they
 1027 couldn't abandon their own family member. I even don't know how he volunteered
 1028 for them to come here. Like what uncle JAR said, after he signs the agreement for
 1029 everything including her life, and the agreement is taken to court, let her go back if
 1030 the agreement is written like this.

1031 **ME:** Now I told you I gave you. Now the elders have finished the agreement, hear what I
 1032 told you. Now I want you to speak what you had been insisting about {to the
 1033 husband}.

1034 **Hs:** Yes here I also come. Now people- now I am not going for doing any wrong. People
 1035 'everybody {decides against me} any way it doesn't matter. After all, God didn't
 1036 decide up on me [[Els: you boy stop it please, let him finish]] I am going to stop.
 1037 Now you had warned me, I also want you to warn her as well. Like the way you
 1038 warned me, I also want you to warn her. If you "beat" only one person and leave
 1039 other, that person will be always considered as a person who deserves the truth
 1040 {victim}. Even when he does some crime next time, he will be considered as truth
 1041 speaker. [[Els: Now if she causes any problem, tell us. Had she had caused any
 1042 problem, we would have warned her in the same way]]

1043 **Wf:** Let me say few words here.[El: now stop that and tell us the number of your cattle,
 1044 how many cattle do you have?] No, no, please let me say something [El: please
 1045 don't take us back]. Now what I want to add here, of course Dawwe {husband's
 1046 family} had been suffering a lot because of me. They have been troubled while

1047 protecting me. I could also stay there up to now not because of him {husband} but
 1048 because of the care and protection of these people {husband's parent}. I was able to
 1049 bear all these children under their protection. GA {husband} will not stop forever
 1050 GA will kill me. You all go to your home. My father also goes to his home. He will
 1051 not protect me. You all go to your home. GA quarrels with me in the evening. He
 1052 will kill me. So please you Dawwe {husband's elders} please give me your blessing
 1053 and allow me to go. You had talked enough about me. Now you are tired of it. So
 1054 please let me go. You may regret one day {if you do not let me go}. You may take
 1055 the sin for your children {if you keep me here and let GA kill me}. I ask you to
 1056 bless me and let me go {allow me the divorce}.

1057 **ME:** Now I gave you hear what I say. Now you are also speaking your imagination. Hear
 1058 what I say. It is God who protects ones life. The government also protects ones life.
 1059 Next to the government, ones clan also protects someone. Now we are giving you
 1060 back- They are giving you back to the clan. *Heebano* {EHs} are also listening to
 1061 you here. *Dawwe* is also standing by your side. The human soul is under the
 1062 protection of God. When one threatens to kill someone, it doesn't mean that he
 1063 really mean it. What you have told us now, according to the Oromo culture and
 1064 custom, if someone tries to stop his wife from living with her parents, he will
 1065 refrain from that. If someone warns his wife not to visit her brothers, her sisters and
 1066 her neighbors, he will be punished for that. He will be made to refrain from such
 1067 actions. If she can't respond to someone's call for help, if her parents can't come to
 1068 her, life will be difficult for her. So you live with your parents, she also lives with
 1069 her parents. If you hate her parents, it will be difficult for her. Don't hate them.
 1070 Don't push your parents away. One can't stand alone. One can't develop alone. As
 1071 the elders say "One can't be knowledgeable without the others". This is it. So you
 1072 come back to us {accept what we say}. Now about what you have said now, you
 1073 girl, God is there to protect you. So you come back to me.

1074 **HBr:** I speak now. Normally a person who speaks at the end reveals something that
 1075 others failed to mention. Now the issue that you have mentioned here- Now you
 1076 girl, you will come back to us now. I went to court two times {to take back the
 1077 case} not for GA {husband}. Now I also fixed another appointment. I am doing all
 1078 these with my own expense, not GA 's money. Why am I going? It is because you
 1079 are a mother of several children. If it were for your single life, I wouldn't have
 1080 made all these attempts. We can't let a mother of many children to go away like
 1081 this. It is culturally immoral for these *Arsis* {EHs}. Now you come back to us. The
 1082 issue of GA, the things that he is doing to you, it has no use to talk about it now in
 1083 front of *Heebano* {wife's parents}. Concerning the restriction that he put on you not
 1084 to live with your neighbors and not to go to your relatives wedding ceremony, I
 1085 assure you that we will stop him. Go back to your home. One cannot leave without
 1086 neighbors or without his parents. He himself may not say this again if he can think
 1087 properly. He won't stop you to live with your parents. I can't say that GA may not
 1088 say this, but we will handle that. Come back to us we will take responsibility for
 1089 everything that GA has been doing to you. We take responsibility for what you have
 1090 told us, for what GA did to you. We will take responsibility. You had said "my
 1091 father won't protect me." Your father can do nothing for you. You had already got
 1092 married. It is we who can see your troubles or problems. We also know what he did

1093 to you also we couldn't take action. Still we promise we will take responsibility
1094 about everything. We take you back. We take back your problems. We will talk the
1095 rest at home. We are not saying that we will finish everything today. {Hs: yes it
1096 shall be finished today] We will repeat the same thing that we have said here. Now
1097 the elders have said enough ([]) Now you will come back to us. You will make
1098 things short for us.

1099 **ME:** Now I give you hear what I say. Now the case is coming to the end. The girl will
1100 come back to us {accept what the elders say}. We will give the girl back to
1101 Daawwe. What we have said here will be put on agreement to be signed.
1102 Everything about their property, his promise not to repeat the same fault for
1103 everything that you said here, you will sign and we will take that signature. We will
1104 take that to court. Now Heebano will give back the girl. Now she is telling only the
1105 number and kind of property she has. *You own these properties jointly. You can*
1106 *sell these properties with agreement and use it for your problems. Sell them {cows}*
1107 *with agreement. Do things with agreement. That is how it should be.* You also take
1108 this, you boy {to husband}. Stop there. It won't be good if one issue is told again
1109 and again. Our parents don't spend this much on issues like this. They never talk
1110 this much.

1111 **Els:** [Now you tell us the lists of your belongings. Now we have to hear it before you put
1112 it on the paper so that we won't debate over it latter. {The minute writer is listing
1113 the common properties of the spouses by asking the parties and the elders]

1114 **ME:** Now I told you I gave you. Now the facilitators will talk to each other once again,
1115 hear what I gave you. Now the agreement has been written. The case has been
1116 resolved, hear what I gave you. May God also bless this reconciliation. [[Els: May
1117 he like it]]. Now once a human being promises to do something- as the saying goes
1118 *"A human being doesn't lick the saliva that he spit out"*. Hear what I say. You also
1119 won't come back to this problem(to husband). Now today is reconciliation. The case
1120 has been reconciled/resolved. The 'bout' {the wife} will be returned. The agreement
1121 will be signed. Comment on what I gave.

1122 ()

1123 QU: <Come>

1124 QW: <Come> {Here I come}

1125 ()

1126 QU: Come ...(we are to scrutinize your decision)

1127 QW: Here I come.

1128 JW: Yes go ahead.' May thorn never hurt you (**blessing**).

1129 QU : Come

1130 QW: Come

1131 QU: Did he give me something or did he step down simply?

1132 QW: He gave me something.

1133 QU: What did he give me?

1134 QW: He gave me reconciliation.

1135 QU: umm

1136 QW: He gave me reconciliation and that the agreement will be taken to court.

1137 QU: ummm

1138 QW: He told me that the reconciliation has been achieved.

1139 QU: umm
 1140 QW: He also gave me that the girl {wife} will be returned to me.
 1141 QU: mmm
 1142 QW: This is it.
 1143 QU: umm
 1144 QW: yes
 1145 QU: Come
 1146 QW: Come {here I come}
 1147 QU: Now he gave me reconciliation, the elders have mediated for long time.
 1148 QW: yes
 1149 QU: Now the truth has been revealed.
 1150 QW: I understand
 1151 QU: That he gave me the reconciliation is true.
 1152 QW: May you live with truth.
 1153 QU: Now the reconciliation is of the elders. Now the agreement about everything
 1154 including her live will be signed by both parties. Now both of them agreed not to
 1155 transgress the Arsi or the Oromo law and custom. They both agreed to accept the
 1156 reconciliation of the elders. True that he gave me all these.
 1157 QW: May you live with truth.
 1158 QU: It is like that. The elders talked about the reconciliation. They will also make it
 1159 complete.
 1160 QW: May you go home safely {**blessing**}
 1161 QU: Now make it full (call for ME's blessing/prayer) {informal chatting of elders
 1162 continued for a while regarding the reconciliation and some other issues as well
 1163 (...) Then the final prayer and blessing started.}
 1164 ME: May God hear our prayer. (**Prayer and blessing**)
 1165 Els: May He hear it.
 1166 ME: Gada also hear.
 1167 Els: May he hear it.
 1168 ME: Gadamoji (senior elders) also hear.
 1169 Els: May they hear it.
 1170 ME: Keep us in peace the whole day.
 1171 Els: Keep us in peace.
 1172 ME: May He eliminate this disagreement.
 1173 Els: May He eliminate it.
 1174 ME: Let these hands which hold each other for peace stay together.
 1175 Els: Let them stay together.
 1176 ME: This is good.
 1177 Els: May it be realized {wish of God to be realized}.
 1178 ME: This is good.
 1179 Els: May it {prayer} be realized.(.)
 1180 ME: May God hear our *Fate*,
 1181 Els: Hear us.
 1182 ME: keep us in peace.
 1183 Els: keep us in peace.
 1184 ME: Make all the streams full {let the rain fall}.

1185 Els: Make it full.
 1186 ME: Make the cattle of people fatter.
 1187 Els: make them fat.
 1188 ME: Strengthen this reconciliation.
 1189 Els: Strengthen it.
 1190 ME: May the devil which come in between these people be slaughtered.
 1191 Els: May it be slaughtered.
 1192 ME: Now I want the Wayu { elder from the younger clan } to make it full.
 1193 ()
 1194 El: May God hear this reconciliation.
 1195 Els: May He hear it.
 1196 El: May the devil that come between these elders be slaughtered.
 1197 Els: May it be slaughtered.
 1198 El: May the devil disappear from between these children.
 1199 Els: May it disappear.
 1200 El: May the devil that go between the husband and the wife disappear.
 1201 Els: May it disappear.
 1202 El: The devil knows when there is good relationship between the two {the spouses},
 1203 when there is big prosperity between the two and the he {devil} tries to destroy this.
 1204 May God drive away this devil which came between these spouses.
 1205 Els: May he drive it away.
 1206 El: May God help them speak the same word.
 1207 Els: May he do it
 1208 El: May he avoid unnecessary interaction between them.
 1209 Els: May he avoid it.
 1210 El: May God not separate these hands which hold each other in peace.
 1211 Els: May he not allow that.
 1212 El: May God make your marriage that of *Manya Adem* {take from Koran}
 1213 Els: May he make it.
 1214 El: Allahu Mosele.{ take from Islam religion}
 1215 (...) Informal chatting, jokes, laughter, writing up and singing of the agreement.
 1216 Els: [[would you read it for us, read it please]]
 1217 El: Shall I read it for you?
 1218 Els: Yes please read it. (Reading the agreement loudly for the elders)
 1219 El: It says "The decisions of the family elders"
 1220 **1st.** We had decided that he shall respect her rights and handle her according to the
 1221 custom or culture of Oromo people or according to the culture of the community.
 1222 **2nd.** He shall refrain from his bad practices and behaviors.
 1223 **3rd.** We decided that they shall use their properties, the cattle, and land together.
 1224 **4th.** The fear that she has concerning her life, we decided that he shall refrain from
 1225 threatening her and he agreed to pay (how much birr?) for government if he
 1226 threatens again.
 1227 Els: [[Let him say it . How much money will you be punished if you touch her {threaten
 1228 her} again? If you transgress this agreement, how much will you pay? [Yes the
 1229 agreement should be about transgressing the agreement, not about her life.] Ok say
 1230 it how much will you pay? Hundred? Thousand?]] {Question for the husband}

1231 Hs: Five hundred. {smiling}
 1232 WBr: Five hundred?
 1233 Hs: Yes.
 1234 WBr: Rather five thousand, Five thousand. Don't you know? It is human life.
 1235 ME: Please don't talk about life. Just say "if he transgresses these agreements".
 1236 WBr: Five thousand.
 1237 Hs: () Now do you know that you are" selling" me (giving me away in marriage) to
 1238 her, not selling her to me.
 1239 Els: [[yes, you know that we sold her to you before. Now because of your {poor}
 1240 behavior, we are selling you to her. Now she is taking you for marriage. Today, she
 1241 is buying/marrying you.)) ()
 1242 Hs: Punish her also {kind of joke}
 1243 Els: [[What is the punishment for women? Nothing. If she creates problem up on you, we
 1244 will let her go. Not only you, but we will also send her away. We will take her up to
 1245 Mio {Name of river on the way to home of wife's parents} and leave her there
 1246 (kidding).
 1247 EHs: Your honor, please listen to me. Once a Judge got married. One day the wife of the
 1248 judge stabbed her maid. When he came back from the court, he saw it.() He said
 1249 how come that my wife stab someone yet I am a judge. He asked her " Now am I
 1250 going to accuse you or do you will come to court on your own? Then he called his
 1251 friend GN TU and all her families. Don't you ask me what he did? He said to her
 1252 parents "I don't say that she is bad, or she has become stray dog. Just let me give
 1253 her back to you" {laughter}. With this he returned the woman back to her parents.
 1254 {anecdote} () [[Els: We will punish her by ordering her to prepare *Shandoo* '
 1255 "porridge' and many kittles of coffee. Yeah that is the punishment for women.
 1256 According to the culture of Oromo, she will be forced to prepare coffee and
 1257 porridge. ()
 1258 JW: Now hear what I gave you, the reason why we want the facilitators to call each other
 1259 is, because there is a tradition. According to this tradition of Oromo, there is
 1260 Duuloo⁴⁵ "drink for peace". The Duulo of peace. Now hear what I say. You will
 1261 bring it {the duulo} to me. Tell me whether you have prepared it at your home or
 1262 you have it here. Please give it to me. I will wind it {give you final ritual} for you
 1263 here. That is why I want the facilitators to call each other. So go on.
 1264 QU: <Come>
 1265 QW: Here I come.
 1266 QU: Tell me that I had learned.
 1267 QW: I had learned.
 1268 QU: I said
 1269 QW: I said {**procedure not seem to be correct**}
 1270 QU: He said give me what the tradition gave me.
 1271 QW: <Yes>
 1272 QU: Shall I ask or not.
 1273 QW: I shall ask.
 1274 QU: You said I shall ask.

⁴⁵ *Duloo* is a kind of local drink which is prepared from honey and water. It is usually prepared by men according to the local elders.

1275 QW: (anaase) {not clear}
 1276 QU: People who called me to resolve the case { will give *duuloo*}
 1277 JW: Ask him for *duuloo*.
 1278 QW: Yes, *Duuloo* is what has been in the culture.
 1279 QU: yes
 1280 QW: Normally the elders bless the disputant at the end.
 1281 QU: Yes.
 1282 QW: So his honor says " Bring it, Show it to me" {the drink or *Duuloo*}
 1283 Els: [[They are referring to you. What else are you waiting for? {to husband}. GA don't
 1284 you hear it? They are referring to you.
 1285 JW: If you are saying that "the *Duuloo* is there at Nagelle, then I will take you there, tell
 1286 me that. If you already have it here, bring it.
 1287 Hs: It is not clear for me.
 1288 Els: [[Please go there for caucus and give us what you have for *Duuloo*. You will go
 1289 home being blessed. This devil which sits up on you will also be derived away. {the
 1290 husband and his brother stayed away from the elders and decided up on the amount
 1291 of money for the *duuloo* and the husband's brother gave hundred ETB for the drink]
 1292 HBr: Here is your *Duuloo* { money for drink}
 1293 Hs: May God heal the mind of all of us {referring to the wife's}
 1294 QU: Do we say this is enough.{the money for *duuloo*}
 1295 QW: Yes that is enough
 1296 Els: That is enough
 1297 ME: Now hear what I give you. "One shall not strongly tighten the rope that holds a sack
 1298 of honey on the back of pack animals. Likewise one shall not talk to his in-laws
 1299 harshly or firmly" . Now you will bless him with this.
 1300 QU: Come
 1301 QW: Here I am.
 1302 QU: Shall I approve or I stop it
 1303 QW: I will approve it.
 1304 ME: Now I gave you reconciliation, hear what I say. {Els: Where do you want to take us}
 1305 Take us to the *Duuloo*.
 1306 Els: [[Give them blessing there.]] {The elders went to the nearby cafeteria where all of
 1307 them were invited soft drink. Then the ME opened a bottle of soft drink, spilled
 1308 little amount on the ground first. After that, he summoned the husband and the wife
 1309 one by one and allowed them to have sips from the same bottle, as a sign of
 1310 declaring their reunion. This process is called *duuloo dhibaasuu* 'drinking for
 1311 peace". Then the elders went on chatting for some time.

APPENDIX IV

Interview Questions for the elders

1. How do you describe the role of community elders in your locality?
2. What are the major criteria for choosing local elders for mediation?
3. How many elders shall sit to mediate a given dispute?
4. Could you tell me the structure of the institution of *Jaarsa Biyyaa* in your locality?
5. What are the major strategies that you use to bring disputants into reconciliation?
6. How do you manage disputants who have difficult personalities?
7. What kind of cases do the local elders usually mediate?
8. Is there difference between spousal dispute mediation and other interpersonal disputes?
9. How do you describe the place of women in mediation?
10. How do comment on the current roles that the local elders play in resolving conflicts?

Appendix V

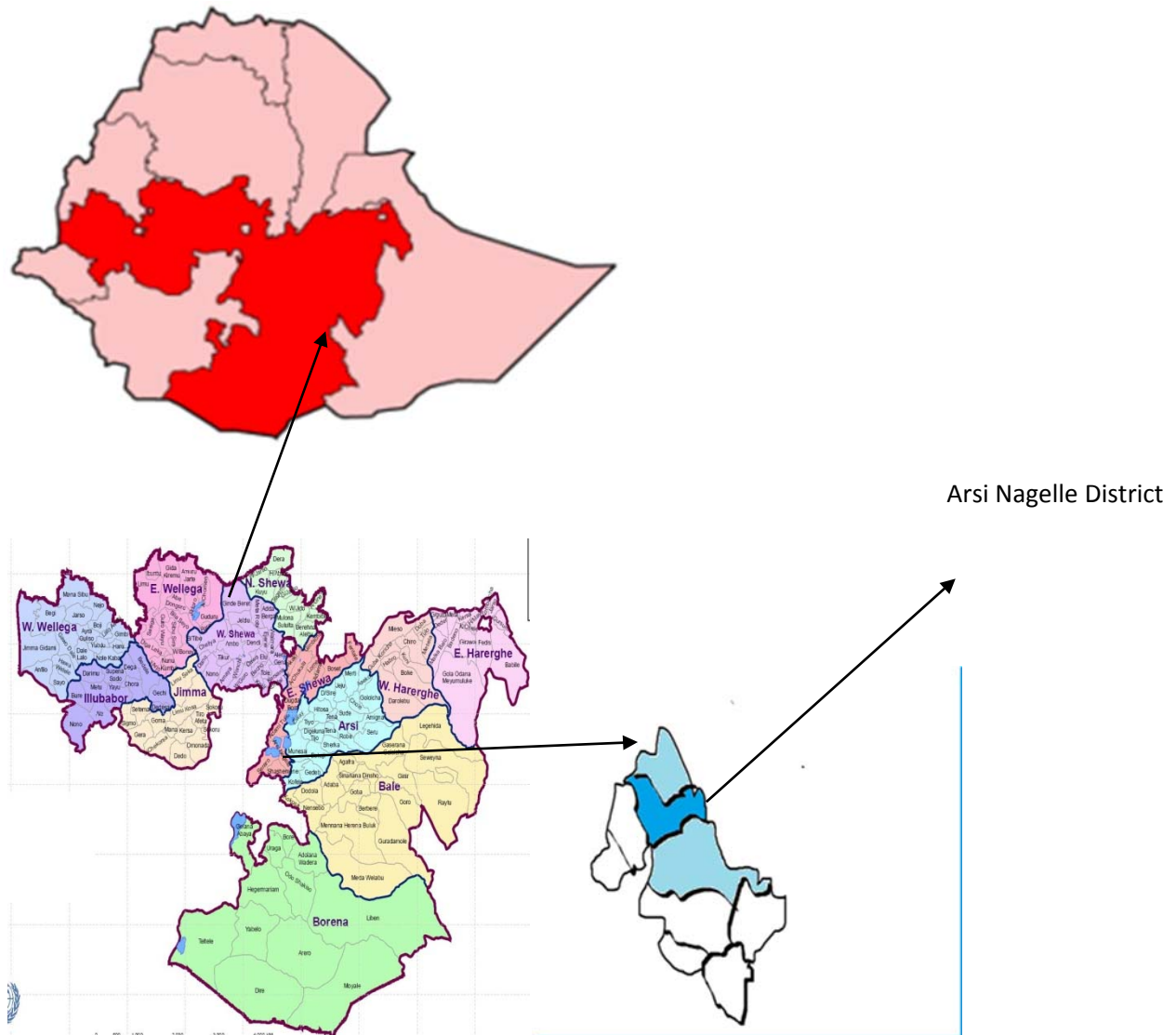


Fig 1 Map of Study Area

Glossary of Afan Oromo Words and Expressions

The way the words and expressions in this glossary are pronounced and the meaning they bear may slightly vary across different Oromo clans. The spelling and the meaning of the words given below characterizes the way they are used in my study area, West Arsi Zone.

- *Ardaa*- the neighborhood *or* the elders of the neighborhood
- *Arsii* - An Oromo clan descended from one of the two moieties of Oromo *the* “Barentu”
- *Arsooma* - Arsihood (having the in group identity of Arsi Oromo)
- *Balbala* - lineage
- *Coka* – the practice of eliciting information from disputants or stage at which such practice is done in *jaarsummaa* session (hearing phase)
- *Dachaafataa* - (defendant) a person accused of causing harm up on someone
- *Dhama* - a disputant together with elders of his/her side
- *Dhugaa* - the truth or justice
- *Dubbii* - a dispute case being mediated or to be mediated
- *Eee* – Yeah/Yes (discourse marker)
- *Eebba* - blessing
- *Faatee* - communal prayer
- *Fixeensa* - closest relatives of a disputant with whom he/she hold caucus
- *Gaaddisa* - shade of a tree (literal), a mediation session
- *Gosa* - to mean *clan* in my study area
- *Gumaa* - blood price paid for victims or victims family in case of conflicts that involve serious injuries or loss of some body parts and homicide
- *Gunguma* - expressing ones opinion, a stage of *jaarsummaa* session at which the elders express their opinion and forward solutions
- *Himataa* - (a complainant/plaintiff) a person who presents his/her complaint to the elders
- *Jaarsa* - an old man (literal), an adult Oromo man playing the role of mediation

- *Jaarsa Araaraa/ Jaarsa Biyyaa*- ‘Elders of reconciliation/elders of the country’ are Oromo elders who give traditional mediation service in their locality
- *Jilba* - knee (literal), the right decision, in accordance with the traditional laws and customs (metaphor)
- *Kaaya* - a postponed case of mediation
- *Kaayoo/kaawoo* - a new dispute case to be mediated
- *Koottaa* - You (plural/ honorific) come/ start the talk
- *Maqoo* - caucus (held between a disputants the elders of his side)
- *Murtii qophe* – I stopped / I don’t accept the decision
- *Murtii qore* – I approve/ accept the decision
- *Qora* - a facilitator
- *Qora lamii* – the two facilitators
- *Qori* - scrutinize and approve it (command)
- *Siinqee* - a 'ritual stick' that married women of Oromo carry during ritual ceremonies
- *Taa’aa* - the elders in *jaarsummaa* session excluding the middle elder and the facilitators
- *Utaa* - one of the two major clans (the younger one) in my study area
- *Uumee ambaa* – traditional Oromo customs
- *Waaqa* - the sky God also mean sky
- *Waayyuu* - the second bigger sub-clan of Arsi in my study area
- *Warra* – family, a hierarchy below lineage
- *Yaa’a* – group of people gathered for certain social purpose
- *Yaatu* – fine for a disputant who violet turns during *jaarsummaa*