

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**The Pragmatic Analysis of Arbitration among Relatives of Murderer and Murdered:
With Reference to *Gumaa* Tradition of Tulama Oromo.**

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July 2011

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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With Reference to *Gumaa* Tradition of Tulama Oromo**

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By
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Abstract

This study is an attempt made to analyze Afaan Oromo pragmatic aspects in Arbitration. The purpose of the study is to assess language uses, to examine and distinguish some pragmatic elements and to explore the intended and implied meanings while communication is held in this targeted language during an arbitration processes and performances through *Gumaa* ritual ceremonies. The study is also aimed at providing some information on the pragmatic analysis of the language usage while arbitrating the parties in feud by applying traditional laws. The study is conducted at the selected study areas focusing on Gumaa ritual practices of Tulama Oromo (who are) living in Shewa zones. The research procedures of data collection are participants' observation, targeted group discussion, taking photos for further illustration, and via informal and formal interviews. Some concepts of pragmatics, previous related works, native Afaan Oromo speakers, specifically Tulama dialect are also consulted. Besides, the researcher has participated in *Gumaa* practices and recorded from which he has transcribed the conversation for analysis purposes. To this end, different speech acts such as cursing and blessing, warning, taking pledge or oath, making others promise and different deictic expressions like personal deixis (we, me/I, you, they, he, she, etc), spatial deixis (here, there), temporal deixis (now, then) and so forth have been examined in chapters three and four, especially in the later one, it is discussed in detail. In chapter four, starting from pleading, the first performance, up to the final phase, blessing, of the performance, Gadaa Leader(s) has been leading the stages as a dominant and making a lot of speech acts. The discussion of utterances in relation to arbitration events, politeness and interactions, conversational implicatures, presuppositions, economy principles, adjacency pairs, and others have been attempted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

DAT –Dative	1S –First person singular
CAUS –Causative	2S –Second person singular
VOC –Vocative	1P –First person plural
ABL –Ablative	2P –Second person plural
NOM –Nominative	3P –Third person plural
P- Plural	3SM –Third person masculine
DEF–Definite	PF –Perfect
IMP –Imperfective	DET –Determiner
DIM – Diminutive	RP –Relative pronoun
Pass –Passive	RPP–Relative pronoun plural
NEG –Negative	PF –Present perfect
MID –Middle	M. Father –Murdered’s father
G.Leader – Gadaa Leader	M. Lukoo –Murdered’s lukoo
LOC –Locative	FOC- Focus
REDUP – Reduplication	

Phonemes

p' –bilabial ejective stop	t' –dental ejective stop
d' –voiced alveolar implosive	k' –velar ejective stop
č –voiceless palatal affricate	č' –palatal ejective affricate
ʔ –voiceless glottal stop	ɲ –voiced palatal nasal
š –voiceless palatal affricate	j –voiced palatal approximant
ǰ –voiced palatal affricate	

Note: d' is orthographically written as 'dh'

š	'sh'
p'	'ph'
č	'ch' a
č'	'ch' '
ɲ	'ny'

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Chapter One

Introductory Chapter

1.1. Organization of the Study

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter introduces the background of the study; such as people of the study areas, their language and its dialects, including tables of consonants and vowels, the *Gadaa* system, the people's *waaqeffannaa* 'the indigenous religion', and *Gumaa* 'blood price'. It also contains statement of the problem, general and specific objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, limitations of the study, research methodology, data collection and method of data analysis.

In chapter two I present the conceptual framework, the literature review, the definition of pragmatics including pragmatic analysis through basic principles, conversation analysis, situations and contexts. Further, some common topics in pragmatics such as speech acts, felicity conditions, conversational implicatures, conversational maxims and the cooperative principle and the pragmatics intention in communication are included.

The third Chapter deals with pragmatic discussions and interpretations of *Gumaa* processes of some topics such as reconciliation system through elders, historical background of *Gumaa* and its discussion, its interpretations, significances and some of its types and how to carry out them.

In the fourth chapter, pragmatic discussions and interpretations of *Gumaa* ritual performances were discussed. In addition to this, it contains some topics like *Gumaa* ritual performances, some necessary materials and pets for the supplication performances and their implications, *hant'oo* performance, performance of paying and receiving blood price(s), performance of *buyyaa* ceremony, purification performance, ritual performance at murderer's home and amalgamation performances of both parties are some points which are discussed and interpreted in some ways. Eventually, the last chapter, unit five, comprises summary and conclusion and suggested recommendations.

1.2. The People

Many scholars have been trying to indicate the population size of the Oromo. According to Baxter (1983:135), “the Oromo peoples numbering more than 20 million, are scattered primarily throughout the central and southern parts of Ethiopia and northern Kenya, are clearly one of the most important groups in the Horn of Africa”. A recent study published by Jeylan (2004: 110) indicates that “[t]he Oromo are the largest single ethnonation in Eastern Africa; consisting of at least 40% of Ethiopia’s population”. Further, Gadaa (1988:8) indicates that “[t]he Oromo make up over 23 million out of the 46 million of the then Ethiopian population”. According to the census of population held in 1994 in Ethiopia, the population of Oromo is 17,706,456 (32%) out of the 53, 132, 276 total population of Ethiopia. Later, the 2007 Ethiopian Population and Housing Census Report indicate that the total population of Oromo is 27.1 million out of the 74 million people of Ethiopia.

Much has been said about Oromo by different scholars. The French Catholic missionary Salviac (1901:7-8), states that “[t]he heart of the land they (have) inhabited has the privileges rare in the century in which we are, of having remained free from the contact of the white man. Missionaries not having been there, their way and customs, their laws, their religion still would escape investigations by the terrible children from the north.” This implies that the indigenous land of the Oromo people at the time when Salviac has written the above text was free from the reach of the Europeans. The writer has also revealed that the Oromo had kept their indigenous religion, customs and so on for so long. Warkina (2008:1) adds some points in the following text (written in Afan Oromo).

Sanyiin Kuush, uummattoota dur-durii Calqabanii Afrikaa Keessa Jiran Keessa isa tokko dha. Bara dhaloota Kiristoosiin dura waggaa kuma saddeetii (8000 B.C) irraa eegalee biyya Misiritti (Gibtsi) hanga Galaana Diimatti, naannoo Naayil yookin Abbaa yitti yaa’u, naannoon Kaaba Afrikaa biyya Kuush jedhamuudhaan beekama. Naannoo sana ummatni jiraachaa turee fi lugni (afaan) isaa kuush jedhamaa ture.

The English translation of this is: “The Cush tribe is one of the people who have been living in Africa since ancient time. Since 8000 B.C, starting from Egypt to Red Sea, surrounding Nile or where Nile River flows to, and surrounding North East Africa, all together was known as a Cushitic country. Both the people who have been living in these stated locations and their languages were called Cush” (translation is mine).

Oromo is one of the Cushitic families descending down from Afro-Asiatic language family. Other Cushitic languages are Beja, Agaw, Burji, Sidaama, Afar, Saho, and Somali. Oromo is divided into two main branches, namely *Borana* /bo:ra:na:/angafa (elder) and *Barentu* /ba:rentu:/ quxusuu /k’ut’usu:/(junior). *Borana* is divided into three main divisions: South *Borana* (who live much further to the south of the *Sidaama*); North *Borana* (*Macha* /mač’č’a: / and *Tulama* /tu:lama:/) and Central *Borana* (nowadays- *Guji*) (Tolera and Hundasa 2003:27).

This study focuses on the language usage for arbitrations during *Gumaa* ritual practices of North *Borana* in general and *Tulama* in particular. The oneness of North *Borana* lineage is called *Saglan/Salgan Borana* by metathesis. *Salgan Borana* is classified into *Tulama* and *Macha*. According to Hundasa and Tolera (2003:29), *Tulama* is ?angafa ‘the elder son’ and *Macha* is k’ut’usu: ‘the junior’. Besides, according to the data I get from *Abbaa Bokkuu* namely *Fayera*, one of the presidents of *Tulama Gadaa* Leaders at West Shewa, *Raayyaa* was the father of both and their mothers were sisters of each other. According to his statement, *Raayyaa* first married *Tulama’s* mother called *Siree*. When *Siree* gave birth to a baby, he requested his parents-in-law to send him his wife’s little sister called *Akkituu* to look after her elder sister, i.e. his wife *Siree*, and the baby, i.e. his elder son *Tulama*. While *Akkituu* was staying with them helping her sister in house work and working as babysitter, she also became pregnant. After nine months, she gave birth to *Macha* who is therefore the junior son of *Raayyaa*. In line with this, BATO (1998: 107) states that since *Siree* was offended with that heinous act, she quarreled with her little sister who was told as a main cause for *Tulama’s* and *Macha’s* living away some distances from one another. *Tulama* stayed on his father’s premise since he was the elder son and *Macha* went away to Western since he was the junior son. It is every Oromo’s culture for the most elder to inherit his

father's premise and some ritual objects like *Bokkuu*, a wooden or metal sceptre which is a sign of authority, a shield, a spear, a sword, and other objects. In line with the preceding text, Giday (2000:87) also states as "[i]n Oromo culture [...] the eldest son receives a larger portion of the farmland and more cattle, inherits his father's shield, spear, horse and firearms. The remaining property is equally divided among the remaining family members." Now, to take you back to the preceding point, since then, the *Tulama* and the *Macha* are further divided into other main moieties tree branches. However, since the study focuses on *Tulama* and their *Gumaa* ritual practices in relation to their language usages, I will not discuss *Macha* at all and their *Gumaa practices*.

Tulama is one of the big moieties of Oromo. They are currently living in area generally named Shewa. Their territories are bounded in the South by Guraghe, in the East by Karrayyu and Arsi Oromos, in the West by Macha Oromo, in the North by Amhara, in the North East by Afar, and Addis Ababa is surrounded by Tulama area NATO (2007: 134). The main genealogical branches of the Tulama are:

1. Galan /gala:n/, 2. Liban/li:ban/, 3. Jille/ĵ:lle/, 4. Bacho/baččo/, 5. Soddo/so:ddo/, 6. Gullalle/gullalle:/, 7. Metta /me:tta:/, 8. Jarso /ĵa:rso/, 9. Karrayyu/ka:rrajju:/, 10. Abbichu/?abbiču/, 11. Jirru/ĵirru/, 12. Gumbichu/gumbiču/, 13. Jidda/ĵidda/, 14. Iggu/?iggu/, 15. Uru/?uru/, 16. Ada'a/?ada?a/ and others. According to Tolera and Hundasa /1995:30/, Galan is angafa 'the senior' as also confirmed by Tulama's elders.

1.3. The Language

The Oromo people speak Afan Oromo (mouth of Oromo), which belongs to the Eastern Cushitic family of the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Afan Oromo is one of the most widely spoken languages in Africa; surpassed only by Kisaahili Arabic and Hausa Fulani (sic: Hausa)' (Jeylan 2004). Furthermore, Afan Oromo is one of the two most dominantly spoken languages in Ethiopia (Abebe 2002:1). The language is also spoken in the neighboring countries Kenya and Somalia with a variety of dialects (Baye 1986:8 and Tilahun 1989:1). Afan Oromo is known to non-speakers as Orominya, Oromiffa, Oromo and Oromic. These terms imply either a negative connotation or naming it improperly. The researcher prefers to use the term Afan Oromo /ʔafa:n ʔoromo:/ rather than the suggested alternative names in order to avoid confusion about the language and the people.

1.3.1. Dialects

According to Gragg (1976), Berhanu (2010), and Kebede (2005), Afan Oromo contains five dialects, namely 1. *Raayyaa* /ra:jjɑ:/ (Northern), 2. *Borana* /bo:rana/ (Southern), 3. *Tuulama* /tu:lama/ (Central), 4. *Harar* /harar/ (Eastern), and 5. *Macha* /mač'č'a/ (Western). The dialects spoken outside Ethiopia are: 1. Gabra, 2. Borana 3. Sakuye, 4. Garreh, 5. Orma, 6. Ajuran, 7. Munyo, and 8. Waataa (Heine (1980) cited in Baye (1986:8).

According to Hawine (2007:2), at present, Afan Oromo has different functions in Oromia Regional State and also in Oromia Zone of the Amhara Region. It is a regional official language, medium of instruction in primary schools and in teacher training institutions and major and minor field of study in higher educational institutions. Oromo also serves as language of the court, religion, mass media, films, drama, etc.

1.3.2. Phonemes

The phoneme inventory of the language has the following 20 consonants of which the phonemes /p/, /v/ and /z/ appear in parentheses because they are only found in words which are loaned.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Afan Oromo (taken from Adunyaa 2010:54 and 55)

Manner of Articulation		Place of Articulation				
		Bilabials/ Labiodentals	Alveolar/ Retroflex	Plato-Alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops and Affricates	Voiceless	(p)	T	č	k	ʔ
	Voiced	b	D	ǰ	g	
	Ejective	pʼ	tʼ	čʼ	kʼ	
	Implosive		Ǿ			
Fricatives	Voiceless	f	S	š		h
	Voiced	(v)	(z)			
Nasals		m	N	ñ		
Approximants		w	L	y (j)		
Flap/Trill			R			

Gemination is phonemic in Afan Oromo. Besides, words neither begin nor end in a consonant cluster. In word medial position a cluster of two consonants is allowed. The vowel system of Oromo contains five vowels, which occur either short or long, is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Vowel phonemes of Afan Oromo (taken from Adunyaa 2010:54 and 55)

Front	Central	Back
i, ii		u, uu
E, ee		o, oo
	a, aa	

1.4. The Gadaa system

The Oromo still have a well-developed age-based system up on which the religious, political, economic and social lives of the people are formed. This system is known as Gadaa system. Gadaa refers to form of social organization. Asmerom (1973:8) states that the word Gadaa stands for several related ideas. It is, first of all, the concept standing for the whole way of life. More specifically, however, it refers to any of eight years during which a class stays in power. As an age-based social organization, the *Gadaa* system must have also been developed as a mechanism of motivating and fitting members of the society (particularly men) into the social structure. In the *Gadaa* system, there are five groups or parties called Gadaa. Various socio-political functions and responsibilities are associated with each part. Initiation into and promotion from one *Gadaa* to the next is done after eight years. The structural elevation follows an established procedure. For example, a son is initiated into the first Gadaa only after his father has completed a cycle of fourty years (*Gadaa*) and passed all classes. This means, membership in the Gadaa is not according to the age of a person (Asmarom 1973:130-132); members of an age set are initiated into the next higher set by an elaborated ceremony. The initiation obviously confers a culturally bestowed identity and imposes responsibilities on the elevated groups. The Oromo age set system provides clear structural reference for members of the society, so that they may develop a consistent and stable sense of themselves and others. The spirit of the *Gadaa* sysetem was very strong among every Oromo across Oromia before the conquest of the Abyssinians and the introduction of Christianity and Islam. Yihunbelay (2010: 30) states “[t]he expansion of the Oromo towards different directions, the conquest of Abyssinians over the Oromo land and the introduction of Islam and Christianity are the main factors for the weaking of the *Gadaa* system.” From this point of view, we can infer that before these events had occurred, the Gadaa system had been strong among the Oromo society.

Gadaa is, therefore, the guiding rule and central to the socio-political system of all Oromo tribes in general and Tulama moiety in particular.

1.4.1 The Oromo Calendar

As it is written by Webster (2001), and quoted by Eshetu (2009: 68), the Oromo calendar is stated as follows.

The Oromo calendar is based on astronomical observations of the moon in conjunction with seven or eight particular stars or star groups called 'urjii Dhahaa' (Guiding Stars). Each lunar day has a name: (Areeri Duraa, Areeri Ballo, Aduula Duraa, Aduula Ballo, Garba Duraa, Garba Ballo, Garba Dulacha, Bitaa Duraa, Bitaa Ballo, Sorsa, Algaajima, Arba, Walle, Basaa Duraa, Basaa Ballo, Maganatti Carraa, Maganatti Jaarraa, Maganatti Biriifi, Salbaan Duraa, Salbaan Ballaa, Salbaan Dullachaa, Gardaaduma, Soonse, Uurruma, Lumaasa, Gidaada, and Ruuda). These 27 days of the month are premutated through the twelve months, in such a way that the 11 degree shift is accounted for in the solar cycle. Since the week (7 days) is strictly a religious definition for the days of the week. The 12 months are, with some regional variations, Cikawa, Sadaasa, Afraasa, Amaji, Guraandhala, Bitoteessa, Caamsa, Bufa, Waxabajji, Obora Guddaa, Obora Xiqqaa, and Birraa, which are integrated over the solar year.

Asmarom (1973:180-189) has discussed in detail the Oromo Calendar. He states that it is an African legacy which is not derived from other countries' culture. He also states that "Borana time reckoning is unique in eastern Africa and has been recorded in very few cultures in the history of mankind". From some he has stated as the best-known examples of this type of time reckoning are the Chinese, Mayan and Hindu calendars. Moreover, he revealed that it is very doubtful that the Borana System derives from these cultures. Further, he has added that "the Borana Calendar is based on the lunar rather than the solar system, because the lunar month has 29.5 days, and the Borana year consists of twelve such months, in total 354 days, i.e. eleven days shorter than the solar year."

1.4.2. The Oromo Indigenous Religion

Before the expansion of Islam and Christianity, the Oromo had their own traditional African religion called *waaqeffannaa* /wa:k'effanna:/, the belief in Supreme God (*Waaqaa* /wa:k'a:/). Currently, the major religions of the Oromo are Islam and Christianity. Following their influential socio-political movement in the area, the Oromo had contact with Islam before the 19th century. Later on, when the expansionist pressure from the Christian of Ethiopia become stronger, they adopted the religion as an ideology of resistance against the anticipated disintegration of their social structure and identity (Jeylan 2004). However, in some places of Oromia like Borana, Guji, some parts of Bale, Arsi and Shewa, where the *Gadaa* system escaped demise, thousands of people are still *Waaqeffattootaa* /wa:k'effatto:ta:/ that is followers of *Waaqaa*. From these *Waaqeffattootaa* 'Followers of the supreme God', the Tulama moiety is one even though many of them are at present followers of either Islam or Christianity.

In line with this, Salviac (1901:12) has also explained some points as below.

The Oromo perpetuate their institutions, customs, tainted by superstitions and abuse, from the remotest ages. Their worship, directed to God and legislator, which they call Waaqaa; the subdivision of their nation into familial tribes, are survivors from a patriarchal period. They sustain themselves against the Muslims, outlawed by their customary law, hatred as alive as that of Abyssinians, and crush them on the way of their victorious armies. They have been seen shedding their blood in anguish rather than adhere to the law of Mohammed and desert the Waaqaa.

1.4.3. The Concept of *Gumaa* 'blood price'

According to Dejene (2007:85), "*Gumaa* is a widely practiced traditional way of resolving conflicts of different kinds, ranging from serious bodily injuries to homicide". Tsega (2002: 25) states '*Gumaa* refers to the blood money that is paid to the slain's family.' He also states that Arsi Oromo had also used the term *Gumaa* to refer to the payment made to the seriously injured individuals and to the attempted murder. Besides, these concepts, among the Oromo in general and the *Tulama* moiety in particular, there were and still are indigenous

institutions and practices of dispute settlements. For instance, among Tulama, for some minor disputes, local elders ('*Jaarsoota*'-plural form of *Jaarsaa*) at the level of neighborhood can act as mediators to reconcile the parties in dispute. "Serious cases which local elders have failed to solve or settle, and which from their very nature, call for the involvement of supernatural beings, go to the religious institution" (Knutsson, 1967: 110) cited in Dejene (2007: 86). Similarly, the issue is transferred to knowledgeable elders called 'Hayyoota' (plural form of *Hayyuu*). Hayyuu is the one who covers a large area to manage conflicts because of good knowledge of the people's norms and customary laws like the law of *Gumaa* and of other types of law. For instance, some other offences, particularly heinous acts such as homicide, are dealt with *Gumaa* through these *Hayyoota* (including *Gadaa* Leaders, legislators -*Guula* or *Abbaa Seera*, etc.) Lewis (1984b: 92) reports that the majority of the disputes among Oromo people in general and Tulama in particular were settled through traditional procedures. The Tulama Oromo have been negotiating with the relatives of murderers and murdered through this *Gumaa* tradition practices. Even nowadays, when the bureaucratic law is functioning, the *Gumaa* has high value to settle disputes, especially when serious cases like killing each other have happened. Though much has been said about conflicts and conflict resolution through this *Gumaa* practices, nothing has been said about the pragmatic analysis of linguistic aspects for arbitration in relation to the negotiation. Therefore, the researcher intends to fill this gap.

Generally, much is said about the people, the language, the *Gadaa* system, the Oromo indigenous religion and the *Gumaa*, but as far as I have tried to investigate, nothing has been said about pragmatic analysis of the linguistic aspects for arbitration among clans of murderers and murdered which is the main focusing point of the study. Pragmatics, i.e. the study of social language use, involves different communication skills as it is indicated in Leech (1983: 50-51). These skills are using language for different purposes, changing language according to the needs of the listener or the situation and following the rules of conversation. There are various subtopics under these three major ones which the researcher will focus on during the investigation. When the *Gumaa* arbitration is held by the *Gadaa* Leaders or community elders, these leaders or elders follow certain procedures and conversational rules like turn taking, staying on topic accordingly, rephrasing when there is

a communication gap, using verbal and nonverbal signals for communication, how close to stand to someone when speaking based on the norm or culture of the people, how to use facial expressions and eye contact, how to greet as introduction, how to request, to inform, to promise, to talk differently during the situation, to give background to unfamiliar listener(s), and so forth.

1.5. Statement of the Problem

Traditional African societies apply indigenous laws in their administration of justice. Accordingly, among the Oromo in general and the Tulama moiety in particular, there were and still are indigenous institutions and practices of dispute settlement. For some minor disputes, local elders at the level of neighborhood can act as mediators to reconcile the parties in dispute (Dejene 2007:69). According to Lewis (1984b: 92), the majority of the disputes among Tulama Oromo were and still are settled through traditional procedures. Lewis is quite right in this regard, but he does not discuss the *Gadaa* in general and *Gumaa* in particular (which is the vital practice) through which elders play great role to arbitrate disputants. Besides, he does not deal with the pragmatic analysis of language usage during arbitration to mediate the disputants. However, the latter is the core issue of this study. Furthermore, the researcher addresses the following basic questions which were not dealt with by previous researchers:

- How are the majority of disputes among the Tulama Oromo handled through communication?
- How and when do the concerned mediators communicate to settle the disputants?
- What factors contribute to the continuity of indigenous institutions and practices of handling disputes?
- Are there any conversational rules the mediators follow? Do they take turn during conversation? Who is/are staying more on topic or who is/are not?
- Do the participants change the language according to the needs of the listener or situation? Do they talk differently on that occasion or do they talk like usually?

- What mechanisms do they use to compensate in case of a communication barrier during the arbitration? Do they rephrase or skip over the issue?
- What do elders/agents do if they face some individuals who have pragmatic problems from the dispute parties?

The researcher addresses these and other related questions during his research. He has also been dealing with them and other related statements of the problem in detail while he has been conducting the research.

1.6. Objectives of the Study

The study has the following general and specific objectives.

1.6.1. General Objectives

- To assess the language uses in order to apply the traditional law during the practice of *Gumaa* for arbitration.
- To examine how language is changed according to the listeners need and the occasions of *Gumaa* to settle the disputes.
- To identify what rules to be followed by participants for conversations during *Gumaa* practices for arbitration or dispute settlement.

➤ 1.6.2. Specific Objectives

- To distinguish some pragmatic problems of the participants during *Gumaa* ritual involvements.
- To explore the intended and implied meaning while communication is carried out on *Gumaa*-ritual ceremony.
- To identify and reveal what is expected of the kin groups of the murderer and murdered and who speaks what and how.
- To differentiate whether the conversation is made either by females and males or only by males during that ritual performance.

- To find out whether the *Gumaa* ritual process and the kind of conversation is uniform or different depending on the sex, age, social status and types of offense and blood ties of the victim and offender.

1.7. Research Questions

The following questions are addressed in the research.

- ✓ How are the majority of disputes among Tulama Oromo handled?
- ✓ How is communication conducted to handle different kinds of disputes?
- ✓ How is language applied for traditional law(s) for arbitration through *Gumaa* ritual involvements?
- ✓ Is the pragmatic use of linguistic aspects for the state laws different from that of traditional laws or is it similar?
- ✓ How can social problems like serious conflicts among them be suggested or resolved on particular *Gumaa* ritual practice.

1.8. Significance of the Study

The study of pragmatic analysis of linguistic aspects for arbitration through *Gumaa* practice among the Tulama is important from the following perspectives:

- ❖ The study can be used as a reference for individuals who are interested in studies on related topics;
- ❖ It will serve as an input information on pragmatics to the forthcoming of the linguistic department students;
- ❖ It may also contribute to the understanding of using language for different purposes, changing language according to the needs of a listener or situation and following rules for conversations (i.e., taking turn, introducing topics of conversation, staying on topic, how close to stand to someone when speaking or listening and so forth);

- ❖ The study will be a contribution to the works that have been done on conflict resolution in relation to language usage;
- ❖ It may also contribute to the understanding of the characteristics of these indigenous institutions of negotiation with the concept of linguistic pragmatics.

1.9. Scope of the Study

This study is concentrated on the pragmatic analysis of linguistic aspects used as communication skills for arbitration through *Gumaa* ritual involvement to settle disputes. The intended study areas are the four administrative zones of Shewa; namely North Shewa, West Shewa, South West Shewa and East Shewa. The study focuses on language usage, changing language and following rules for conversations on the occasion of arbitration through *Gumaa* practices.

1.10. Limitation of the study

This study is limited in some ways: firstly, it is limited in scope; i.e. it deals with pragmatic aspects and some of its common components with special focus on *Gumaa* practices. Secondly, the analysis is based on the *Tulama* Oromo *Gumaa* practice in relation with the pragmatic aspects which is limited to the central part of the country where the study is conducted; I have mentioned this already in my first review. It does not, therefore, claim to represent the *Gumaa* practice of all Oromia Zones. Thirdly, due to financial problems, the researcher has failed to follow and attend continuously the *Gumaa* practices while it was on the process at district levels of the study areas even though there was also a problem of getting information of the *Gumaa* practices days at the Zone levels let alone at district levels. The fourth problem is the absence of written documents related to the topic which could have helped me to accomplish my work easily on time. Hence, I have largely discussed and analyzed extensively first hand data that I have gathered from my consultants.

1.11. Methods of the Study

The methods used in the study include the following. First, the literature on the pragmatic aspects of language analysis for arbitration with reference to *Gumaa* practice of Tulama Oromo and related works on the topic are consulted. Secondly, informants, particularly Tulama Oromo *Gadaa* Leaders whose first language is the Tulama dialect are consulted. The data was collected by means of interview, observation, target group discussion, by tape recording and taking photos. During the data collection, the researcher used Afan Oromo for effective communication with interviewees as well as to get reliable first hand data. Besides, the researcher has participated in *Gumaa* practices participant observation and recorded and transcribed the conversation. Meanwhile, the data was gathered from participants and community elders who are knowledgeable about people's norms and different traditional laws including *Gumaa* laws and well experienced in *Gumaa* practice and dispute settlements at the selected study areas. Relevant information for this study has been collected during the fieldworks from primary sources with the following set of methods.

1.11.1. Data Collection Instruments

1.11.1.1. Informal Interview

Informal interviews are used as preliminary data collection method to obtain invaluable first hand information. The researcher interviewed informants from the *Gadaa* Leaders (Abbaa Bokkuus), youngsters and adults with different occupation and status. The interviews involved different category of people, i.e. people with formal and informal educations, both adults and young people. The different individuals have been interviewed randomly. Through this method, I was able to identify the key informants and at the same time I obtained the necessary information.

1.11.1.2. Formal Interview

Dispute processing is not a day-to-day activity of the people. Hence, it is often possible to collect invaluable information from a few members of the community who are custodians and knowledgeable about the subject. In this study, therefore, semi-structured or written interview questions were used to conduct in-depth personal interviews with about ten key

informants. These questions were set based on socio-cultural understanding levels of the informants with the intention of guiding them by formulating clear and easily understandable instructions, rather than restricting them to answering what was only asked. Moreover, I kept modifying and developing further questions in the course of the interviews; since some of the answers given by my interviewees gave birth to unexpected or further questions. Later on, these items were translated into English for analysis purposes (See Appendix A). Through this method, valuable information beyond the scope of the questions was collected. This method, therefore, enabled me to explore the change and continuity, symbolic meanings, religious implications and other central ideas of the Oromo traditional institutions and practices of arbitration.

1.11.1.3. Observation

As a participant observer, the researcher has participated and observed various activities carried out during the *Gumaa* ritual practices, so that he has recorded down the required information via the observation method.

1.11.1.4. Target Focus Group Discussion

The researcher discussed with informants, especially with key ones such as Gadaa Leaders of Tulama Oromo, mediator elders and with some experienced young individuals on a topic.

1.11.1.5. Taking Photos

The researcher has also employed photography as a method of documentation and illustration. This methodology proved to be important in representing the setting of the different indigenous conflict management institutions, setting of arbitrators and attendants of arbitration at different steps which I have considered more expressive than words. These photos are obviously expressing the pictures of ritual sacred objects needed for arbitration processes and performances, the structural setting of the Jaarsummaa and others.

1.11.2. Informants of the study

The informants of the study are community elders, participants of *Gumaa* practices and some individual who are experienced on a topic. Since it is difficult to include all

community elders, participants, and all experienced persons of the study areas, the researcher has consulted some informants taken as purposive samples from each zone.

1.11.3. Methods Employed for Data Analysis

The data gathered from ten key informants and others through interviews, observations, and purposive target group discussions is analyzed and interpreted by using the quantitative method of data analysis which means the analysis amount utilizes statistics and the qualitative method. Qualitative data analysis techniques usually deal with linguistic units in written form (description) of non-numerical data.

Chapter Two

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

Different theoretical approaches to pragmatics and its main components have been treated in the following text. In addition to this, various mechanisms of disputant settlements through the role of the *Gumaa* rituals in peace making processes are taken from related works of other scholars reviewed in the second (2.2) part of this unit.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.1.1. Definition of Pragmatics

Several scholars have defined pragmatics differently. According to Crystal (1987:120), “[p]ragmatics studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others.” Human beings use language for different purposes. We ask someone to do something, we order something to eat or drink, we request someone either to give us something or to accept it from us, we negotiate disputants through language, we express our happiness or sorrow, we share our feelings with others, and we speak about past, present and future, via language and so forth. “Speech acts include asking for a glass of beer, promising to drink the beer, threatening to drink more beer, ordering someone else to drink some beer and so on. Some especial people can do extra ordinary things with words, like baptizing a baby, declaring war, awarding a penalty kick to Arsenal FC or sentencing a convict” (Moore 1995:1). Yule (1996:3) defines “pragmatics as it is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by a listener (or reader). It has, consequently, more to do with the analysis of what the words or phrases in those utterances than what the words or phrases in those utterances might mean by themselves. Pragmatics is the study of: speaker meaning, contextual meaning, how more gets communicated than is said, the expression of relative distance and the relationships between linguistic forms and the users of those forms”.

According to these scholars’ definitions of pragmatics, we use language for different purposes, such as expressing our feelings when we want, producing and understanding infinite words and sentences. Pragmatics investigates the meaning beyond the words and

sentences or expressions. Besides, pragmatics helps us to infer the meaning of the speaker/writer as a hearer/reader, to deduce contextual meaning, what more communicated than said. Therefore, the researcher also deals with its some communicative purposes such as for negotiation vis-a-vis *Gumaa* practice in particular.

These scholars have not only defined pragmatics, but also its purposes and some of its components in various ways. Comprehending the concepts of these pragmatic aspects and its components, the researcher may analysis some linguistic aspects for arbitration, context and social language usage (or pragmatics) during that of the *Gumaa* ceremony. So, in order to comprehend various pragmatic aspects and its main components which I consider as essential points cited from works of different scholars will be discussed in the following chapters.

2.1.2. Some Common Topics of Pragmatics

2.1.2.1. Speech Acts

According to Searle (1969:16), “[a]ll linguistic communication involves linguistic acts. The unit of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word or sentence, or even the token of the symbol, word or sentence in the performance of the speech act. To take the token as a message is to take it as a produced or issued token. More precisely, the production or issuance of a sentence taken under certain conditions is a speech act, and speech acts are the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication.” With this definition, Searle tries to give us a general idea of the concept of speech act. Verschueren (1999: 22-23) states “[w]hen Debby says go anywhere today; she does something. What she does is called ‘asking a question’. Interest in this type of act, structurally corresponding to sentences and called speech acts, has been one of the basic ingredients of pragmatics for a long time.” He also paraphrased Austin’s conclusion as all utterances contain both constatives (utterances in which something is said which can be evaluated along a dimension of truth) and performative (utterances in which something is done which cannot be said to be true or false but which can be evaluated along a dimension of ‘felicity’) elements: they are all sayings and doings at the same time. He also adds as to capture the implications of this

intuition, as Austin replaced the constative-performative terminology by a three-fold distinction: 'Locutions' are acts of saying something (the uttering of the string sounds I promise to do something, containing a proposition or the constative aspect of speech act); 'Illocutions' are what is done in saying something (in saying I promise to do something; I make a promise); and 'perlocutions' are/is what is done by saying something (by saying I promise to do something; I make you count on my doing that thing). In addition to what Veschuereen and Austin state in common sense about speech acts, Veschuereen (1999: 24) put orthodox speech act theory into five categories in any language anywhere in the world. These are:

1. Assertives (e.g. statements, such as "I went down to Como"): expressing a belief, making the words fit the world, and committing the speaker to the truth of what is asserted.
2. Directives (e.g. requests, such as "please go down to Como with me", or orders, such as "go down to Como tomorrow"): expressing a wish, making the world fit words, and counting as an attempt to get the hearer to do something.
3. Comissives (e.g. promises, such as I promise to go to Como or offers, such as we offer you the job of official tourist guide for the city of Como): expressing an intention, making the world fit the words and counting as a commitment for the speaker to engage in a future course of action.
4. Expressives (e.g. apologies, such as I'm terribly sorry, or thanks, such as we greatly appreciate what you did for us): expressing a variety of psychological states, having no direction of fit between words and world, and simply counting as expressions of psychological state.
5. Declarations (e.g. baptizing, abdicating, declaring war): not expressing any psychological state, making both the words fit the world and the world fit the words, and the point of which is to bring about a change in institutional reality).

Eventually, Verchueren made two brief remarks about this classification of speech acts about which he has suggested that it is the most influential ever proposed. First, the categories are by no means mutually exclusive. Actual language use contains many types of acts which, taking the classification seriously would have to be called hybrids. Take, for instance, threats of the type: If I ever see you with my sister again, I will kill you; which are at the same time directive (intended to change someone's behavior) and commissive. Second, the classification is entirely based on three dimensions of variation (psychological state, 'direction of fit' and 'illocutionary point'); choosing other dimensions as a starting point (such as relative strength, as between suggesting and insisting; or differences in relations between speaker and hearer, as in the difference between asking and ordering) would lead to different classifications.

Furthermore, Gregerson (1986: 9) cited works of different scholars on the topic, such as from Austin (1962), Searle (1969, 1975), Labov (1972), Frase (1975), and Labov and Fanshel (1977) who have developed the theory of the performative, which joins the factors of linguistics and recognized social conventions to distinguish a mere recitation of a string of words (a locutionary act) from a speech act, in which something is performed (the illocutionary act) which must be dealt with or responded to in some way (the perlocutionary act).

Generally, linguists have developed a theory (called speech act theory) to explain how it works. Some of this rooted in common sense and stating the obvious- like felicity conditions. These explain that merely saying the words does not accomplish the act. For instance, judges (unless they are also referees) cannot award penalty kicks to Arsenal, and football referees; (unless they are also head of state) cannot declare war. As Gregerson (1986: 9) defines "[s]peech act theory is not the whole of pragmatics, but is perhaps currently the most important established part of the study."

2.1.2.2. Felicity Conditions

Searle (1970:50) states “felicity conditions are necessary to the success of speech act. They take their name from the Latin word *felix* ‘happy’.” For the achievement of a performative, in some cases, the speaker must be sincere (as in apologizing or vowing). Besides, external circumstances must be suitable; for example, ‘can you give me a lift’ requires that the hearer has a motor vehicle and is able to drive it somewhere and that the speaker has reason for the request. It may be that the utterance is meant as joke or sarcasm, in which case a current interpretation is in order. Loosely speaking, felicity conditions are of three kinds: preparatory conditions, conditions for execution and sincerity conditions (Moore, 2001: 5). On the other hand, Yule (1996:50-51) states “felicity conditions are certain expected or appropriate circumstances, for the performance of a speech act to be recognized as intended. For some clear cases, (such as ‘I sentence you to six months in prison’), the performance will be infelicitous (inappropriate) if the speaker is not a specific person in a special context.”

2.1.3. Some Principles of Pragmatic Analysis

This study is based on a pragmatic analysis of speech acts. The pragmatic analysis deals with language usage in general and some common components of pragmatics in particular in relation with *Gumaa* tradition in order to negotiate disputants among Tulama Oromo. For instance, the pragmatic analysis of the speech acts deals with some difficulties. It is necessary to distinguish direct and explicit acts and direct and ambiguous acts. A sentence with a performative verb ‘I order you to leave’ expresses a direct and explicit act. They contain a clarification of their pragmatic value in the form of a verb whereas the sentence ‘Leave!’ is a direct attempt which aims at leading the listener to leave, but it is ambiguous considered from the point of view of its pragmatic force. It can be interpreted as advice; command or recommendation, i.e the same utterance can convey different speech acts.

A speech act is also complex simultaneously. Lakov (1999) claims that a sentence does not correspond in a univocal and single way to only one act and can carry out several acts at the same time. Consequently, the writer proposes three distinct hierarchical levels to analyze

each statement. For example, a girl addresses her mother saying ‘Well, when are you planning to come home?’

1-Surface level = a request for information.

2- Indirectly = a request for action (“Come home!”)

3-Deep level = a challenge.

This act may involve a word, a noun phrase, a proposal, a complex sentence, or a nonverbal substitute. The act cannot be connected automatically with any particular level of linguistic units. Neither does it correspond systematically to a proposal, nor to a sentence (Orecchioni 1990). In addition, not all the verbs indicate different types of speech acts. For example, “to insist” and “to suggest” are used to mark the degree of intensity with which the pragmatic value is presented. “To warn”, “to insinuate” and “to entrust” mark the style or the manner of achieving the act. These verbs do not lead to distinct linguistic goals. All these difficulties have encouraged us to seek effective and operational descriptive solutions. Our choice is related to the sentence or autonomous proposal in the following way: are the simple proposals (coordinated or not between them) introduced as one single proposal or sentence with clauses which create problem in fixing the separations. When the separation gives two autonomous proposals, we quantify two proposals or sentences. In other cases, we quantify only one. From our point of view, a grammatical utterance corresponds to only one speech act. The analysis is based on the five basic categories and fundamental of the language uses of (Searle 1979: 66).

1. Representatives: which commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition.
2. Directives: which are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something.
3. Commisives: which commit the speaker to some future course of action.
4. Expressives: which express a psychological state(s).
5. Declarations: which affect immediate changes in the institutional state(s) of affairs and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions?

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We can deduce from the above text as the conversation has taken place during negotiation through *Gumaa* practice. Then, it is analyzed and interpreted in different aspects. Hence, the conversation was done in the form of speech acts and utterances. Those speech acts or utterances were also indirect, direct, or ambiguous, so that the message the speaker wants to convey and the hearer wants to comprehend and decode was somewhat elicited out. Besides, the analysis or interpretation was done by relating it with the above given five basic categories of Searle for whom these are the only fundamental language uses.

2.1.3.1. Situations and Contexts

We experience language not as something separate, but as an essential part of our everyday reality. In social usage of language, a situation or circumstance and context matters. For instance, Widdowson (2007: 19) defines as “[a] situation can be roughly described as meeting of human interactants having a common background and trying to realize a common goal. (However), exactly how common those backgrounds and goals can be the subject of much dispute.” Further, the situation also comprises the various real world circumstances that either have occasioned the meeting or are material in creating its context. Here, Malinowski (1923: 307) cited in Verschueren (1999: 30) as ‘[e]xactly as in the reality of spoken or written languages, a word without linguistic context is mere figment (illusion) and stands for nothing by itself, so in the reality of a spoken living tongue, the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation.’ While we should not accept the implicit message that written language may not have a ‘context of situation’, Malinowski’s observation can be seen as one of the necessary pillars of any theory of pragmatics. Meanwhile, a context or situation have a great role during negotiation via *Gumaa* ritual ceremony that the pragmatic aspects are analyzed and interpreted based on the existing situation, so that the direct, indirect and ambiguous message could be elicited out of the then spoken language.

2.1.3.2. Conversation Analysis

The methodological approach to the analysis of interactive categories has been developed by scholars of ethno-methodological conversation analysis. Those scholars have carefully demonstrated by sequential analysis of interaction that participants display, in their language behavior, systematic orientation to features of the talk and that this systematicity provides a basis for the analysis of interactional categories (Levinson 1983: 294-308).

In addressing these issues Conversation Analysis has maintained a rigorously empirical approach to analysis. First, it has required that any analytic claim about interaction be validated by, tied to, and grounded in the observable behavior of participants in the interaction. Second, it has also insisted on the importance of sequential analysis of interaction. The actions which are embedded in conversation take place in sequences of turns-at-talk, they occupy particular positions within sequences and their sequential position is a crucial determinant how such action are structured, understood and dealt with by co-participants in conversation. The organization of everyday talk is such that proceeds on a negotiated turn-by-turn basis. One consequence of this organization is that any next turn provides an opportunity for its producer to display an understanding or analysis of the prior turn. This is an important resource not only for participants themselves, but also for analysis trying to make sense of how talk is functioning. It is an analytic resource for explicating 'what a turn's talk is occupied with. Conversation Analysis thus has methodological implications the study of spoken language in that it provides an interactionally (Local nd: 3).

According to Local's article indented and discussed above, one central outcome of Conversation Analysis research has been the finding that no order of detail can be dismissed, a priori, as disorderly and accidental or irrelevant. Work on the analysis of everyday talk has demonstrated that this is particularly true in the phonetic domain as Lokal has revealed in his article mentioned above. It provides a resource which speakers use to accomplish social action and guide its interpretation. Besides, he has indicated that situations and context plays

a significant role in interpretation social actions and utterances in our everyday talk and speech acts at particular occasions.

2.1.3.3. Conversational Implicature

Moore (2001:7) states that the conversational implicature is a message that is not found in the plain sense of the sentence. Rather, the speaker implies it. The hearer/reader is able to infer (work out, read between the lines) this message in the utterance by appealing to the rules governing successful conversational interaction. In line with this, Grice (1969) as cited in Moore (2001) and also reveals what Moore has proposed that implicatures like the second sentence can be calculated from the first, by understanding three things:

- (1) The usual linguistic meaning of what is said,
- (2) Contextual information (shared or general knowledge) and
- (3) The assumption that the speaker is obeying what Grice calls the cooperative principle.

2.1.3.4. Conversational Maxims and the Cooperative Principle

The success of a conversation depends upon the various speakers' approach to the interaction. The interaction in which people try to make conversation work is sometimes called the cooperative principle. We can understand it partly by noting those people who are exceptions to the truth and are not capable of making the conversation work (Moore 2001: 7). It is also stated in Blutner (nd: 20) as, "for Griceans, conversational implicatures are those non-truth-functional aspects of utterance interpretation which are conveyed by virtue of the assumption that the speaker and the hearer are obeying the cooperative principle of conversation and, more specifically, various conversational maxims: maxims of quantity, quality, relation, and manner". These cooperative principles may help the researcher as a set (of cooperative principle) to analyze and interpret the data accordingly.

2.1.3.5. Pragmatics: Intentions in communication

Since the work by Austin and Grice (2006), linguistic pragmatics has been mainly focused on the communicative use of language conceived as intentional human action. The study of the agent's beliefs, desires and, particularly, intentions is crucial for understanding what she/he has done. Naturally, then, the analysis of beliefs, desires, and, particularly, intentions is at the center of pragmatic studies. As Grice (1968) explains as most approaches construe intention as a primitive mental state, i.e., non-definable in terms of other mental states such as beliefs and desires. Communicative intentions share, of course, the characteristics of intentions in general, for instance:

- They are the mental causes of actions, i.e., they are what together with some bodily movements constitute an action, as distinct from a mere event.
- Their object is presupposed to be attainable by the agent. You can desire to go to the moon this afternoon, but you cannot intend to go to the moon this afternoon (unless you are a multimillionaire who has made an arrangement with some special agency).

Communicative intentions have also some features of their own:

- They are usually intentions-in-action and not prior intentions (Searle 1983).
- They are social, in the sense of social action, i.e. they are always oriented towards some other agent –the addressee.
- They (communicative intentions) are overt i.e., they are to be recognized by the addressee (Grice 1989:92).

First, communicative intentions are intentions to produce some response on the part of the addressee. The issue has been to define what such a response should exactly be. It seems that what the speaker usually intends by her/his communicative action is to change the mental states of the addressee. But what change should it be for the communicative intention to be successful? The intention of the speaker when a person says, for instance, It is raining - could be to induce the addressee to believe that it is raining or, maybe, to believe that the speaker believes that it is raining. But is any of these beliefs on the part of the addressee

necessary for the communicative action to be successful via a communicative action? Perlocutionary aspects of that sort have been excluded from the content of communicative intentions. It seems that the addressee's only *new* mental state needed is his/her recognition of the speaker's communicative intention; his/her understanding of the speaker's utterance. This is what has been called illocutionary uptake. In support of this point, Searle (1969:47) indicates it as "[i]n the case of illocutionary acts we succeed in doing what we are trying to do by getting our audience to recognize what we are trying to do. But the 'effect' on the hearer is not a belief or a response; it consists simply in the hearer understanding the utterance of the speaker". The topics discussed here seems that it is helpful for the researcher to reach at the communicative intentions of the intended authorities and other participants by observing their conversations which were taking place as arbitration tasks via Gumaa practices at the all selected study areas.

Generally speaking, the researcher compiled different points on pragmatic concepts and its components. These different pragmatic aspects and its components are certainly helpful for data discussion and interpretation. This pragmatic approach provides some techniques that help

- (a) to characterize several types of actions and
- (b) to study argumentation in interaction.

This characterization can form a foundation stone for modeling a discussion in order to specify questions and problems, arguments and criteria to discuss the data. The study can prove that the pragmatic analysis of interactions seem to be emphasized on speech acts and has essential roles in communication.

2.2. Literature Review

This section mainly presents concept of conflicts, negotiation, Oromo traditional laws, *Gumaa* and its interpretation and its historical background and role in human interactions. It aims at orienting the reader about related works which may help the researcher in dispute processing, linguistics analysis and its interpretation. Furthermore it is intended to shade light on *Gumaa* in general and some of its related issues in particular.

2.2.1. On Conflicts

Different scholars define conflicts in different ways; for instance, Yihunbelay (2010: 1) claims that a “[c]onflict is a common phenomenon among human beings. People experience it in their day-to-day life while they are interacting. Hence, it is part of social life that could not be avoided overall. Therefore, different societies have developed their own mechanisms to manage conflict not to throw their existence into danger.” Nevertheless, scholars studying conflict have agreed on the possible ways of conflict management.” Here, we can infer that “conflict management” implies an attempt to prevent and control conflicts from escalating further and to create harmonious relationship between the contestants based on the points stated in this text at the beginning; while conflict resolution (or arbitration) refers to the long term mechanism to eliminate or resolve an underlying long running conflict or serious cases of conflict like murder(s). Upon this point, Pankhurst and Piguet (2004:513) states “[t]he contribution recognizes the importance of indigenous conflict resolution institutions and argues that the empowerment of concerned people is vital to promote peace initiatives and for local people to develop a clear sense of ownership to peace initiatives.” Similarly, Mesfin and Bereket (2004: 524) indicate almost the same idea with Piguet’s as “[a]s Ethiopian Pastoralists Research and Development Association’s (EPaRDA’s) recent experience confirms the acknowledgement of indigenous conflict resolution institutions followed by the empowerment of the concerned to recognize peace feasts by themselves has greatly enhanced the ego and willingness of these people and developed their sense of ownership to the case so as to actively participate in the peace making process.” In line with this, Giday (2000: 5) states the idea of conflict (by citing from the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights; Oslo, 1994: 29) as “--- Local conflicts are in most societies negotiated by a group of

elders who usually follow a general African tradition of giving every involved party a chance to voice their views and interests, and discussing, as long as necessary, to reach a solution with which all parties involved can live. African traditional legal practice is committed not so much to localizing and apportioning guilt and to administering punishment, as to reconstituting peace in the community and re-integrating a deviant into the collective life.” Further, he has explained it in detail by taking the experience of the Amhara *rist* system, the Oromo *Gadaa* system and the Sidama *Uttuba* system, etc as examples (Giday 2000: 6).

2.2.2. On Araara ‘Negotiation’

As Dejene (2007: 69) states “[t]he Oromo culture encourages the disputants to settle their cases on their own through negotiation. Among the Oromo, this sort of negotiation is called ‘*ilaa fi ilaamee*’. Such a negotiation is possible between parties who have no difficulty in communicating and negotiating over the issue at hand, and who really the matter amicably settled.” This implies that two parties who factually want the matter cordially settled by employing ‘*ilaa fi ilaamee*’ by the disputants themselves or through local elders’ negotiation called *Jaarsummaa*. Assefa (2001:23) interpretes the phrase ‘*ilaa fi ilaamee*’ which indicates the procedure of negotiation as *ilaa* ‘look’ or ‘listen’ uttered by one of the parties to start talking. It is used to focus or seek attention of the other or as emphasis. The second or other party or parties use(s) *ilaamee* ‘to respond to the first one’. Here, the suffix *-mee* perhaps means ‘please,’ which simply indicates the politeness principle of pragmatics. Dejene (2007:71) states the controversial issue with Assefa’s point of view claiming that “[t]here is no specific and very strict rule to begin with and proceeds by the negotiators. Rather the first party may start with *ilaamee* or *mee* while the second party possible says *ilaa* or *mee nadhagahi*, ‘please your attention’. In my opinion, the use of the phrase ‘*ilaaf-ilaamee*’ may depend on sociopragmatics which deal with language function in the society and the context or situation rather than the form or order of lexems to be followed. Hence, *ilaa fi ilaamee* may deal with the whole negotiation process which is, of course, more significant. While this arbitration through ‘*ilaaf-ilaamee*’ deals with minor conflicts at local levels when they could deal with their own cases according to these writers, for serious conflicts, it is

obviously known that we need the third parties for the reconciliation of such kind of conflicts. To this point, Dejene (2007:71) [...] reveals that "the role of a third party as a mediator varies in degree from case to case and the nature of the relationships of persons in the dispute." Hence, for the reconciliation of the serious conflicts and murder cases, the third party is obviously wanted between the two parties in feud in order to deal with their issues(s). In relation to this, Giday (200:85) states that "the overwhelming majority of disputes were dealt with by customary procedures either at the local level or by courts maintained and underwritten by the Kallu – the spiritual medium. The usual nature of the arbitration or verdict passed was/is one of striking a balance between the pleading parties". As observed by Knutsson (1967:110), a good solution is said to be one which can be accepted by both parties at a dispute, even if the one who seems to be winning must give way a little for the sake of reconciliation and the one who appears to be losing is partly mitigated to avoid hard feelings. There can be appeals, but as is already discussed, the decision of the Kallu and Gumi Gayo had/have special importance for their implementation.

2.2.3. Oromo Traditional Laws

According to Asmarom (1973:93), "[i]n Borana society among whom *Gadaa* is still fully operational, Gumi Gayo that is the assembly of the representatives of the entire society is a law making body." Among Tulama Oromo, this seems similar with nine members called *Salgan/Saglan Yaa'ii Borana* a 'nine of the Borana Assembly'. According to Girma (1986: 6), "[t]he Abba Bokkus have counsellors and assistants called Hayyus who are delegated from the lower assemblies. There are three levels of the assembly interclan, clan and local chaffes; chaffe being the Oromo version of parliament. The chaffe assembly is held in open air in a meadow under an *odaa* 'sycamore'. The chaffe makes and declares common laws and is source of the accumulated legal knowledge and customs." Therefore, it is from this common Oromo laws that *Seera Gumaa* 'blood price law' (which has been used for long time as a vital law for the people to compensate any injured parties as well as serve them to maintain peace among themselves and others. The Oromo traditional administrative and justice system has been operating within the institutional context of *Gadaa* system. Before the conquest of Oromia, under fully operational *Gadaa* system, disputes including interclan

conflicts had been managed and resolved by *Gadaa* officials in line with the Oromo indigenous laws. Asmarom (1973:70) has confirmed this by stating it as “[o]ne of the functions of *Gadaa* Assembly is the maintenance of peace.” Abera (1998: 44) also states that Oromo indigenous law is embedded in the *Gadaa* system. Upon this issue, the Tulama and Macha had common laws under this *Gadaa* system during the 16th century while they were living together.

2.2.4. On *Gumaa* ‘blood price’

The term *Gumaa* can be explained in many ways. For instance, Dejene (2007: 85) explains, “[t]he term *Gumaa* loosely used for different concepts. Taking into account strictly the context in which it is employed, captures a wide range of meanings.” Similar idea has also been explained below in support with the preceded one. For the speaker of Oromo language, the term *Gumaa* has been defined by many scholars as having different meanings. For instance, Tilahun (1989:278) translates the term *Gumaa* as “[r]etaliatio, revenge, vendetta or vengeance.” There is the saying among the people *Gumaan koo hin haftu* (*Gumaa* - blood price; -n - Nom; *koo* –mine; *hin*-negative-not; *haftu* -remain)– ‘my blood price would not remain’ which shows an individual’s readiness to avenge someone in feud with him. Contextually, it means I would avenge him/her/them one day in future and in any circumstances though still I haven’t done anything to him/her/them because of some inconveniences with me now. Moreover, according to Tsega (2002: 25) (cited in Yihunbelay 2010: 87), ‘*Gumaa* refers to the blood money that is paid to the slain’s family.’ Yihunbelay himself also indicates that “Arsi Oromo have used the term *Gumaa* to mean the payment made to the seriously injured individuals and to the attempted murder.” Giday (2000: 93) reveals that the dispute is dealt with in various ways. That is, if the violence resulted in injury, death or in property damage, the settlement of the dispute would thus be resolved by compensation. That is, a heifer/calf and bar(s) of salt ‘Amole Chew’ would be paid to the injured and blood indemnity *Gumaa*, (which did not exceed 40 heifers, as he has stated by citing it from Jabessa, (nd: 78). Here, unlike others, this later scholar has expressed *Gumaa* as the blood indemnity which seems synonym with blood price the researcher prefer to use in this his thesis.

Seera Gumaa 'blood price law' has various roles in the day to day interactions of Oromo in general and among Tulama Oromo moeity in particular. According to Mulugeta (1997: 45). ሲራ ጉማ በሚተገበርበት ማህበረሰብ ውስጥ በሁለት ወይም ከዚያም በላይ በሆኑ ወገኖች መካከል በሚፈጠሩ ግጭቶች ሳይደረግ የሚከሰቱትን የህይወት ህፃናት፣ የሰውነት ጉዳቶች፣ የንብረት መውደም፣ ወዘተ... የሚያስከትሉትን ማህበራዊ ቀውሶች (crisis) ለመፍታት የሚጠቀሙበት ደንብ ነው። በሲሳ ስነገገር በግለሰቦች፣ በቡድኖች፣ በቤተሰቦች፣ በገረቤቶች፣ በገሳዎች፣ ወዘተ... መካከል በህይወት ማስፍና በሰውነት ጉዳቶች ምክንያቶች ቅሪቱ ስየተበዛሰበ ስሸርሰ በሸርሰ ስብረት ስንዳይደረግ በቂም በቀጠ ህዝቡ ተጨርሮ የተናገረ ስላለም ስንዳይፈጠር የሚጠቀሙበት የሰላም ማውረጃ ዘዴ ነው።

The English version of this quote is 'In the society where *Seera Gumaa* is practiced, it is used as a device to avoid murder causes, becoming handicaps, and the destroy of properties which can be caused as a result of conflicts between two individuals or among groups. In other words, it is used as an excellent means to avoid homicides, which will happen because of revenges, spoiled social ties and environments which will be caused as a result of conflicts between individuals, groups, families, neighbours, tribes or races and so forth and as a mechanism of peace restoring' (translation S.T.).

Chapter Three

Pragmatic Discussions and Interpretations of Gumaa Processes

3.1. Nomination of Elders for Reconciliation

Among Tulama Oromo, *Abbootii Gadaa* or *Abbootii Bokkunu* 'Gadaa Leaders - 'Gadaa's president, first vice president and second vice president' or community elders can be nominated and selected to settle the disputes. The *lukoo*s 'Proxies or representatives' from both a slayer and murdered's clans will play a significant role in initiating dispute processing, especially the *lukoo* of the slayer starts to nominate, then select either the community elders or *Gadaa* Leaders and by informing them the case soon as it happened. The criterion for selection is neither based on age nor kinship. One is counted among those of the elders by virtue of his good reputation, his extensive and good knowledge of the custom and traditional law of the Oromo. Individual's talent and experience in dealing with conflict, self-sacrifice and willingness to give his time and effort to reconcile the parties in dispute processing are also very important factors for selection. Here, in case of *Gadaa* Leaders, from the very beginning, for one to be elected as a *Gadaa* Leader, he should be flexible, talent, wise man, must be from the senior clans and knowledgeable - especially about the norms, customs or values and traditional laws of the people. Hence, where there is/are *Gadaa* Leader(s), it is obvious that he/they involve(s) in dispute settlements as their role is crucial, especially if it is serious cases like that of murder cases. Besides, *Guula(s)* in the currently functioning *Gadaa* system and any individuals who are believed to have proven ability to handle disputes are frequently called on to involve in Jaarsummaa 'dispute processings'. *Guulas* are believed to have the knowledge of the Oromo laws and norms, so they are responsible to restore peace and harmony among the people in the community. The other parties are a boy or a girl 'carrying on their backs either a gourd or a sacred *kallachaa*, black smith (around north Shewa), and *jaarti ch'ifiree* 'very old woman whose son enter into *Guula* stage, *waataa* 'who is supposed as God is close to him', *Mallimaa* - *ayyaantuu* 'lucky', *jaarsaa* 'whose age is 80 and above - carrying either sacred materials *bokkuu* 'scepter' or *kallachaa* are all who are needed to be nominated to participate on dispute processing through *Gumaa* ritual ceremony. The boy's and the girl's carrying the gourd on their backs are symbolized as love and purity

as they haven't yet involved in evil doings like those of adolescents or adults. Sometimes the boy carries sacred *Kallacha* where there may be something inconvenience with the *jaarsaa*, so that merely the girl carries the gourd. The gourd also symbolizes something definitely unknown. Yihunbelay (2010:92) has explained this gourd as "*Buqqee duudaa* 'gourd' indicates the free mind of the slayer's family from any type of hatreds and their readiness for negotiations." The black smith is supposed to be a respectful person among the people; because he makes materials which symbolize religious cases as well as which have very important roles in negotiation. So, one of the black smiths and the sacred materials he/they has made should be available during Gumaa ritual performances. *Jaartii ch'ifiree* 'very old woman' is the respected woman who has accumulated worldly knowledge, especially knowledge of people's norms, values and others in a community and who had already ceased everything fleshly or worldly activities. Rather, she prays to *Waaqaa* for her soul, for the good harvest, about the people, environment and country as a whole. *Waataa* has also a good value in restoring peace and harmony among the people; because he/they is/are said to live most of his/their life praying to *Waaqaa*; people also believe as *Waaqaa* hears him sooner, so that even the murderer used to give his/her hands to him/them as soon as he/she had committed the crime of murder though nowadays this merely exists orally since it is completely impossible to do so as any criminal should be taken to the prison by policemen according to the bureaucratic law of the country. Lastly but not a least, *Mallima* is one of the Tulama Oromo sub-branches whose either maledictive (cursing) or benedictive (blessing) is heard to *Waaqaa* sooner like that of *Waataas*; because anyone of them is considered as lucky lineage in the society. They are always called on the dispute processings through *Gumaa* ritual ceremonies from its very beginning to the end of its different steps performances.

From the above text, one can infer that the Gadaa leaders are the recognized chiefs whose authority is vested in their ability to persuade people to do what they want them to other social classes are determined by age and his/their virtue of good knowledge of people's customs, norms, and traditional laws. Old men who co-operate with them in different social acts, knowledgeable persons and sacred objects are very respected among the Oromo, especially in order to perform the people's rituals for specific objectives like *Gumaa* in order to resolve conflict and maintain social ties among the people. There is pragmatic

connection between elders and their responsibility and those sacred objects which is conventionally associated with them within a socioculturally defined community, with those elders and objects. In addition to the semantic meaning of elders, and objects, there are pragmatic meanings of them which communicated in the society linked with them. For instance, *Gadaa* leaders, elders and young knowledgeable are given the higher social position than the resputants and other social classes.

3.2. Reconciliation System through Elders

This *araaraa* 'reconciliation' is solicited through *jaarsa biyyaa* 'country's or community's elders' among the people which is a local mechanism of dipute settlement among the Oromo. Contextually, the term elders do not necessarily show age, but the role or the ability of the person in solving challenges the people face or may face. Any one who can play the role of mediator at a given *araaraa* proceedings is called *jaarsa* regardless of his age. *Jaarsummaa* 'process of negotiation through mediator elders' system is mainly characterized by the presence of neutral third parties who mediate between the disputants. The role of these third parties as a mediator can vary from place to place, case to case and the nature of the relationships of persons in the dispute(s). Where the disputing parties have no serious case(s) in negotiating their cases through face to face, but unable to settle their own case(s) on their own, mediators simply facilitate it, so that the negotiators will try to arrive at a decision at which both parties agree. Mediators often consult disputing parties by referring to norms, values and rules to move them to an acceptable end. By actively participating, analyzing the nature of the conflict and proposing the solution, the third parties can play a pivotal role, especially where the disputants have serious problems of communication as it is mentioned earlier.

In this section, one can deduce that there are social ranks among Oromo which is easily revealed through elders who deal with various degrees of conflicts. For instance, there are cases when the disputants themselves settle their own cases when the nature of their conflict is easy to handle.

However, if it is beyond them to handle it, local elders deal with it. Further, if a case is a serious one like a murder which is certainly beyond of the local elders to deal with, *Gadaa* Leaders, elders and knowledgeable youngsters who are given the higher position of the people's ranking may deal with it and undoubtedly solve it.

3.3. Historical Background of *Gumaa*

Though the *Gadaa* Leaders or community elders have no clear evidence when *Gumaa* had exactly begun, they try to provide some oral narratives or mythical sayings as evidence for its appearance as well as there are different views concerning this. Some informants have stated its appearance as '*Gumaa* had started 8000 years before birth of Christ when *Gadaa* system institution had started functioning'. Whereas, others have stated different causes or reasons for its appearance. For instance, one of my informants namely Mr. Fayera Ango told me as 'once upon a time, son of Mr. Liban was eating fruit of large or thick sycamore like tree *Ija Harbuu/Arbuu* /?iʃa hʌr'bu:/ʌr'bu:/. In line with this, Reverend Moon (1973:74) has called this fruit as "[t]he fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil," which is also stated in the Bible as forbidden fruit to eat for Adam and Eve while they were living in Heaven physically according to the view of Christianity. Meanwhile, the son fell down of that tree and killed someone who was under its shadow. Consequently, the family of the son (the slayer) gave him to the murdered's family to kill him in the same way as a compensation, but the person who was ordered to climb the tree and jump down onto the slayer to kill him as blood price had missed him and instead died himself.

Further, other similar case had happened. That is, someone else killed another person accidentally with spear when he had thrown it to kill *kurphee* 'small gazelle'; 'klipspringer'; 'dik dik'; or 'duiker'. Next, the family of that second murderer had also given him to the murdered's family to kill him in the same way i.e. by throwing the spear and kill him. Again, the spear missed the slayer, but speared into the land. Then, *Hayyuu/Hayyoota* – the knowledgeable elders of the country had discussed over both puzzling issues which forced them to change the types of compensation as a *Gumaa* 'blood price' for the first time according to informants' statements. So, they had changed the blood price from killing the murderer in the same way to paying 100 cattle for the murdered's family or clans by which

the people had been working with for several years since then. Those 100 cattle payment had gradually been decreased later on to 75 cattle; then to 50 cattle, then to 25 cattle, eventually to only some cattle and some amount of money which has been functioning still now though it is completely changed to paying merely money at some places.

3.3.1. *Gumaa* 'Blood Price' and Its Interpretation

As it is revealed in related literature (on page 32-33), Pragmatically, the term *Gumaa* also refers to various senses of meanings such as blood price, feud, *faloo* 'ritual purification', hunk, a spike of grain or crop, substance of something, pupil of the eye, and so forth. From these definitions of the term *Gumaa*, we can infer that it is loosely used for various concepts though the context matters and can capture a wide range of its meanings. Now let me discuss one by one these various meanings of the series of lists above.

Blood price or compensation follows homicide, of serious bodily injures, and murder of humans, domestics and wild animals. Feud - whenever the two parties kill each other, they say *Nuti warra Gumaati*, means we are feud with each other/them. It still refers to *faloo* 'ritual purification' which is carried out to purify an individual when he bloodsheds or from the sin descended down to him/her from one's family or ancestor(s); because of the homicide or hidden crime they committed sometime in the past (while they were alive). According to Oromo views or believes, the father's or ancestors' sin can be descended down to one's family members' upto the seven generations. The term *Gumaa* also refers to hunk, *Foon Gumaa tokko* means a hunk of meat; a spike of grain like *Gumaan qamadii kanaa guddaa dha*, means the spike of this wheat is big; or *Gumaan re'ee kana tokko* 'the testicle of this goat is one'. Furthermore, it refers to substance and pupil *Dubbiin isaa Gumaa hin qabu* 'his speech has no substance' and *Gumaa ija isaatu bade* 'he has lost his eye's pupil' consequently. In this study, I employ the term *Gumaa* as blood price or compensation - whether it be in the form of money, moral, psychological, rewards and others.

3.3.2. Significance of *Seera Gumaa* 'Blood Price Law'

As I have cited from others review related work (on pages 9-11 & 32-34), though *seera Gumaa* is not written as a codified legal system and not used in the court by quoting its article, it has some essential significances. However, it is transferred from generation to generation by the word of mouth, so that it is cultural asset which has its own setting, values, rituals and materials or objects used as religious symbols. It has high significance among the Oromo as they used it to curse, bless, making others take oath or to take oath, make promise and as a device of pleading ('*hofuu*/'*egz'oootaa*') to restore peace and harmony in the communities. It has invaluable significances in handling conflicts between two parties, remaintaining social ties and saving the people from destructions and disperses.

3.3.2.1. *Seera Gumaa* as a Justice

In case of bureaucratic law, the murderer may be set free if there is no witness or tangible evidence, whereas in blood price law, truth has great value, so that no one will lie as he/she fears of its later on consequences. When we say justice, it is giving correct and genuine decision to both parties without any bias. In other words, there is no wasting time, effort and money as well as not to threat the body concerned in *seera Gumaa* like in that of bureaucratic law. In the sense of justice, *seera Gumaa* is uncomparable with that of bureaucratic law. Without any bias, Gadaa Leaders or elders bring together both parties in feud without bored of it after so many ups and downs for the sake of remaintaining social ties and restoring peace without any personal benefit they get for themselves. Their wish is to examine the cause(s) of the conflict, and destruction it may cause and to give decision based solely on truth. In order to achieve their wish of resolving conflicts, they start dispute processing soon before it causes any distruction. During this process, the people give high value for truth above anything else. According to people's belief, if there is truth, there will be right or freedom which they express it by saying, "*Yoo dhugaan jiraate mirgi jira*". In contrary to this, falsehood, and corruption or bribe have no any place as they are supposed to be the cause for conflict between individuals, groups, families, neighbours, tribes or races. These can also agravate the conflicts and hence lead to so much further destructions. Through *seera Gumaa*, youths or the society as a whole also learn to be truth. For instance, anybody who harms or

kills a person, tell truth by himself/herself to Gadaa Leader or elders without being forced by anybody else. He/she tells them truth or confesses it by saying “*Harki koo naxuraahee Gumaa nabitaa*,” ‘my hand is adulterated with someone’s blood’ or by directly summoning on the name of the murdered; so that help me to pay blood price please’. If the murderer is not in prison, he requests them (the mediators) himself by kneeling down on their feet or he requests them through his *lukootaa ykn firoottan dhihoo* ‘representatives’ or ‘close kins’. No one forces the murderer to tell the truth, but the norm, custom and value of his own culture in which he growth forces him to be truth. Therefore, the elders begin to process the reconciliation soon based on the truth information they are told by the perpetrator himself/herself. Then, they start to entreat the harmed parties to compensate them financially, psychologically and morally as well as to request them for mercy or to accept it. As falsehood has no any place, but truth has high value or unique place and to be rely on, everybody deals with the issue via justice in *seera Gumaa*.

3.3.2.2. *Seera Gumaa* in Maintaining Peace

It is obvious that peace is fundamental for individuals or groups or societies at any levels having any degree of status. Where there is no peace, it is unthinkable to maintain stability, to bring sustainable development and to have well-organized social structures. People may be in disagreement, hatred may multiply itself among them; therefore, where there is no agreement, it will be difficult to think about tomorrow’s betterment. Hence, *seera Gumaa* has high significance in dealing with conflicts and other destructions. Meanwhile, it helps to maintain social ties and bring long lasting peace among the people. Through practice of *Gumaa* in negotiating the disputants, the two parties may be completely reintegrated. Through this *Gumaa* ritual ceremony, both the slayer’s and the murdered’s sides will take oath and make promise which will be irreversible. After they are negotiated, no one thinks to avenge one another; rather, they may be united and become like one family or integrated in many ways. Since then, they can marry each other, be bestmen/bridesmaids to one another, be God father/God mother/God son/God daughter, be members of one local association (i.e. ‘iddir’, ‘ik’ub’- ‘money pooling’, ‘drink ‘t’uwa’ together,etc), pray together under the same roof, and others. Once the disputants are in peace through *seera Gumaa*, no case when they will think

about taking revenge latter on whenever the circumstances may allow them to do so. Generally, among the Oromo in general and the Tulama Oromo in particular, *seera Gumaa* has high significance in bringing ever lasting peace.

3.3.2.3. Gumaa as a Source of Knowledge

As *seera Gumaa* passes from generation to generation and has been used in Oromo society as a device of conflict resolution for several years since unmemorable times, the people have been teaching and transferring to the youngsters about it and the knowledge they have been accumulating in their life through its practice and other related issues. The youngsters also learn the skills of solving problems in the society, how to examine the seriousness of the issues and related things to give correct decision, how to start processing diputes, what to do then, how to make disputants take oath or make promise and so forth. Besides, people learn how to respect each other; especially elders, how to value their own culture and how to live keeping to the norm of the society, how to respect their religion and its sacred places and materials symbolize them through these invaluable *Gumaa* ritual practices. Further, youngsters learn the world view, attitude of the people towards the cosmos, philosophy, social structures and life styles of their own people, so that no doubt that *Gumaa* can be an excellent source of knowledge for all categories of the Oromo.

3.3.3. Types of Gumaa and How to Carryout Them

My informants claim that, *Gumaa* 'blood price' is paid when a man, domestic or wild animals or public religious places are harmed or killed. However, since this study is concerned merely with humans, the researcher leaves *Gumaa* for animals and religious places for forthcoming researchers. The informants said that when Gadaa Leaders and Guula(s) make law as blood price, there are some main issues which they have to take into account. These are how the murder happens, how one harms others, the social status of the harmed or killed person(s), etc., are some of the main points to be considered. So, we can divide types of *Gumaas* into different kinds based on this issue and let us see them one by one as follows.

3.3.3.1. *Gumaa* Paid as Compensation

Based on the selected study areas, there are some differences in kinds or amount of blood prices paid to person. For instance, *seera Gumaa dabdee/adii* 'blood price law for maliciously murdering', *seera Gumaa tasaa* 'blood price law for killing by mistake', *seera Gumaa dhibaahummaa* 'blood price law for negligently killing', and *seera Gumaa faloo/falannaa* 'blood price law for purification'. Now, let us see them one by one.

3.3.3.2. *Seera Gumaa Dabdee* 'Blood Price Law for Maliciously Murdering'

This type of blood price is paid to the murdered's families, proxies, or to the murdered's clans. This is more serious than any other types of *seera Gumaa*; because it is carried out when the murderer murdered the person deliberately. Even we can infer its seriousness from the word 'MURDER' which reveals deliberate and malicious killing. This includes killing pregnant, threatening the corpse after murdering, taking a child /children to somewhere by deceiving and murdering it/them and others. As my informants said, the conflict raised in this way between the two parties in feud, will cause more similar murder cases as the clans of the murdered person(s) in this way will avenge against the clans of the murderer. This in turn, can further cause similar consequences unless Gadaa Leaders or elders intervene soon whenever such kind of serious events happen in the society. Even not only Gadaa Leaders or elders, but also from other clans out of the two parties in feud under Gadaa age settings such as '*Qondaalaa*' or '*gaammee gurguddaa*' (from 16-24 years), *Kuusaa* (from 24-32 years), '*Raaba doorii*' (from 32-40 years), etc., are involved in such kinds of dispute settlings. These youngsters chase and arrest the murderer whenever he/she tries to scape and handover him/her to Gadaa Leader, but nowadays to the police men. The informants has also stated that in ancient time when there was neither prison nor police station, but when Gadaa Leader(s) had complete authority over leading the people, arresting criminals and handingover him/her was the responsibility of *Abbaa Duulaa* 'war Leader or the chief in war'. Then Gadaa Leader used to give decision based on truth and seriousness of the crime he has committed and then punishes him either by beating him with whip, throwing him into overflowing river by loading heavy stone on his back, serious physical punishment or even in death, but there is no such a serious punishment nowadays.

Concerning this idea, there are different views according to different informants or discussants. Some say the murderer's hands used to tie in chain, beaten with whip and then thrown into overflowing river to take him far away from all clans because of his heinous action. Whereas, others say, there was no such kind of serious punishment by killing, but the murderer's family or clans had been made pay more or double blood price through *seera Gumaa* ritual ceremony which is similar with its current practices. Upon these different views, Mulugeta (1997:50) argued against the issue of killing the murderer among Oromo people. In my case, though I have no tangible evidence except the oral information I have got from my informants, in Gadaa system, there was/is not any room for the principle of 'eye to eye'. Rather, after examining the crime carefully, the criminal(s) is/are/was/were punished and made pay double blood prices based on the degree of seriousness of the murder case(s).

3.3.3.3. *Seera Gumaa Tasaa* 'Blood Price Law for Killing by Mistake'

This kind of blood price is paid whenever one kills a person suddenly while he is trying to shoot or kill something or someone else. Besides, one may kill the person while self defence (legitimate defence), while playing the people's traditional games like horse riding competition, playing *tapha qillee* 'Christmas game or hockey' (while youngsters play it with hockey sticks by assembling in two rival or opposing groups), folk sports like wrestling as a competition, during hunting, accidentally killing one in a dark, etc., are some for which this type of blood price is paid. In addition to these, the blood price is paid when one harms someone else's body parts such as eye(s), tooth(teeth), hand(s), leg(s), etc., these and other similar cases are categorized and treated under this type of blood prices payment ritual activities. In this case, the killer's clans and the slain's family may not rise or be looking for one another to take revenge as seriously as other types of *harms or kills*. In this text, the killer used to give his/her hand to *waataa* soon after he/she commits the murder cases though nowadays this is completely changed. People obey the words of *Waataa* as they count him as God would easily hear him soon either whenever he curses or blesses as I have already mentioned before. The people used to believe that if the killer gives his hands to *waataa*; there is no as such avenging each other between the two parties in feud in this type of murder cases. Then, *waataa* also used to inform the issue to Gadaa Leader and the Gadaa Leader in

turn informs it to the concerned bodies (murdered's family, lineages and mediator elders) as well as makes them to start dispute processings. Hence, the slayer's family through their *lukoos* and the other elders also cooperate with the mediators in processings the disputes in well, safe and rapid ways. For this type of murder cases, even the blood price is limited in amount than other types of *Gumaa*.

3.3.3.4. *Seera Gumaa Dhibaahummaa* 'Blood Price Law for Negligently Killing'

This type of *seera Gumaa* is carried out when one kills other arbitrarily, because of his own personal carelessness. This kind of crimes can be happened while someone fires a gun as a sign of happiness during wedding parts, Christian baptism ceremonies, public ritual ceremonies, when the gun is suddenly fired and shoots a person, while the gun holder himself fired the gun arbitrarily or the child/children pull(s) the gun on somebody and kill(s) unknowingly, or shooting a person while one is hunting wild animals, etc. Nevertheless, one should pay blood price for the slain's family or proxy as soon as possible as it can be counted as the killer kills the person carelessly by undermining his clans as a whole; which in turn could irretate the harmed party and evoke them to take avenge in turn.

3.3.3.5. *Seera Gumaa Faloo/Falannaa* 'Blood Price Law as Purification'

The Afan Oromo word *faloo* or *falannaa* 'purification ritual ceremony' is performed to purify one and his lineages when he or his father or anyone of his ancestors had killed a person sometime in the past, but now it is forgotten as well as the murdered's family or clans may or may not be known. However, the slayer's family asks *waabeekaa* 'fate teller' and then does this purification. It is intended to purify one from his own sin or from the sin his family or clans or lineages inherited from their ancestors; because they are suffering from it in many ways now. Accordingly, *seera Gumaa* as its whole is employed to be free from sin, moral and psychological tensions, to maintain social ties and restore the ever lasting peace and harmony among people. This type of blood price as a purification is also used to pay blood prices when family members or close kins perhaps kill each other.

Besides, according to the norm and custom of the Oromo society, when an act of killing happens among the family members, they slaughter oxen at the religious places and entreat

their God to give them mercy for such kind of heinous doings and doers, for the kin members as a whole as well as to express their pleasant wish for the dead's soul to rest in peace. The families, proxies, clans, etc., all do this by hugging each other and shedding in tears as a grieving for the dead. They also spread some amount of coins on the road at where this purification ritual ceremony takes place. The Implication of spreading coins is the poor will take it and bless them as well as express their wishes for the dead's soul to rest in peace. Further, if the family members face problems like infertility, early death of their children, poverty and other types of ill-fates, they ask *waabeekaa ykn ekerdubbistuu* 'séance' - or who has the capacity of reading the thin skin stripped from the sacrificed animals's stomach and tell both the future fortune of someone and what happened to him/her in the past'. Then, the pilgrims perform the blood price as a purification to be purified from the sin their ancestors did; if their ancestors didn't pay blood price while they were alive. The past time murderer's son(s) or daughter(s) beg the money they need to pay as a blood price at least by going to nine market places with his/their hands tied in chains. The chain symbolizes the sin the person or the clans inherited from anyone of his/their ancestors as well as of which they have been suffering from, so that he/they is/are expected to beg and pay the blood price (if any family members or clans of the murdered's is/are known) as purification or simply perform the purification activity to be free from that tension. As my informants, this purification is performed for the goodness of *sanyi sadeen*; literally '*the three seeds*'. It is a compound word '*sanyii*' 'the broad term that refers to one's off spring, domestic animals, and any grains or crops he/she sows' and '*sadeen*' the three' or refers to these preceded three basic items. If one does not perform this purification, he/she and all his/her clans will be suffering from infertility, lack of good harvest and difficulty in breeding domestic animals. Even if he/she/they get(s) a child, he/she may not growth and even if growth, he/she may die accidentally at his/her/their early or adolescence ages. The same is also true that their domestic animals and grains or crops may not be good in quality or in quantity until they do the purification performance; according to my informants' statements.

3.4. *Gumaa* Ritual Activities

According to my informants and discussants, *Gumaa* ritual ceremony is performed by giving cattle, money, slaughtering cattle and feeding the attendants, and even used to giving a person from slayer's family to the murdered's family or proxy. My key informants have also added that during ancient time whenever the murder cases happened, the family or proxy of the murderer had been paying 100 cattle based on the traditional law made as a blood price, but currently the existing situation of the people can not permit them to pay these much cattle, so that it is gradually decreased from 100 to 75 then to 50 then to 25 and so forth. Currently, the cattle's payment is almost changed to money as blood price law made during *Tulama Gadaa* Leaders' Assembly at *Oda Nabi* in 2000. Further, they have added that in addition to money, there is also an act of giving a person from the murderer's family to the family of the murdered person. The murdered's family may not take the person though it is the norm of the people to do so, especially in East *Shewa*. There is slight difference in *Gumaa* ritual activities among the study areas though most of the activities are the same. Further, there are other expenditures to be paid for the murdered's family or proxy. These are the money the injured has finished during the burying ceremony and some amount of money as per expenditure of the injured family has finished relating to that activities. For instance, 4,000 Birr (North *Shewa*), 10,000 to 20,000 Birr (West *Shewa*) and 5,000 to 8,000 Birr (East *Shewa*) is paid to them currently based on the law made as a blood price without other expenditures. These differences are based on the locations or lineages within the *Tulama Oromo* moiety. For instance, within the East *Shewa*, according to *Jillee Oromo*, it is 8,000 thousand Birr while the other lineages within the same zone pay 5,000 Birr as blood price. Informants have stated that the money paid as a blood price does not be used for anything else except for the purpose of the *Gumaa* ritual activities; because the people believe as the same event could happen to them if one/they use(s) the money for his/their own personal affairs except for that purposes. The money is divided among the activities and some are given to the clan members of the murdered while all clan members of the murderer are expected to contribute or it is a norm to contribute as much as they can; i.e. even upto cents level to collect money and buy cattle which are used as blood price plus as an additional expenditures. Either contributing the money by the murderer's family members or clans as well as its being given to the

murdered family and clans has its own implicatures. Contributing indicates they are lineages or show their togetherness during any circumstances; i.e. for their happy and sorrow times. Whatever its amount, giving money to the murdered's family or clans implies inculcating it in their mind as the blood price is paid for them based on *seera Gumaa* (which is a common ruling law), so that no one will avenge the murderer or anyone of his proxy any time in the future. On the other hand, the payment of the blood price for them is depending on the status of the murdered which he/she had while alive in the society. To explain this explicitly, let me discuss about some social classes in *Tulama Oromo* who will be given special focus according to statements of my informants and discussants.

3.4.1. The *Kura Jiddaa* Elders

The *Kura Jiddaa* are considered as elders of sub-branches of *Tulama Oromo* moiety, so that people give them high value or respectation, because of their seniority according to people's genealogy. For this reason, they lead any ritual performances of *Tulama Oromo Gadaa* system. They make any traditional laws to be ruled with in this system, including law of blood price. Thus, they bless first at places where public ceremony is held and during any ritual activities. Hence, let alone trying to hit them, no one is allowed to touch their clothes as *ch'affee* 'assembly' said or made laws. Even when these *Kura Jiddaa* commit crime accidentally (as they are human, so can make mistake(s)), they are not beat or punished like others. However, if someone harms anyone's of their ear(s), eye(s), leg(s), hand(s), or any part(s) of their body, he is made pay full blood price like he pays for anyone when he kills him/her. Further, if anyone kills anyone of them (*Kura Jiddaa*), firstly, the blood price is paid just like it is paid for anyone else. Then, it is must to give one person from the slayer's family to the murdered's family or clans. As my key informants, this is done not to widen differences among the people, but it is done to focus on the needs/wishes of the people they themselves have to keep the Gadaa system and preserve it to the new generations.

3.4.2. Gadaa Leader

The Gadaa Leader, based on his position, intelligence, wiseness, wisdom of solving problems of the people - whatsoever they face, etc., he is the respected man and so called 'hayyuu' or 'beekaa' 'knowledgeable'. *Tulama Oromo* rely on him to solve their common problems as well as give him responsibility to lead them properly for eight years. He advises, arbitrates the parts who will be/are in feud, proclaims to the people laws which is made and make the *Guulas* amend the already existing laws being together with others or assembly courts. He also makes people respect their norms, customs and values to preserve it. Therefore, rather than respecting him, no one tries to harm him. Nevertheless, if one may harm him or any parts of his body, he pays full blood price as if he killed him. If one kills him, he is expected to pay the blood price in a special way and aslo must give one person for his family according to the traditional laws of the people.

3.4.3. The *Mallima* /ma:llima:/

Mallima is also one of the sub-branches of *Tulama Oromo* moiety. According to *Tulama's* view, Mallima is knowledgeable and lucky, so that he teaches, advises, prays to God and then God in turn hears him well quickly. According to elders' statements, once upon a time, God came to the home of *Horaa* and *Hortuu* (first man and woman respectively as Oromo's view – like Adam and Eve of Chritians) as guests in three elders' resemblance (this may reveal similar issues with Christian's Trinity – the union of Father, Son and Holy Spirit as one God). Then, the host and the hostess had accepted and treated them well in a good hospitality. After that, the Guests had known their faith and asked them to slaughter one of their sons, so that they had provided them Mallima without any protesting. However, when 'Horaa' had taken out a knife and was ready to slaughter his son, he heard a fearful sound which said "dear Horaa" don't slaughter the son; rather slaught this sheep,' and the sheep was dropped down soon. Then, Horaa untie the scarf he had tied onto his son (Mallima's) eyes and the eyes became brighten. Since then, Mallima has become lucky; since he had received the blessing from God. Therefore, people respect him; even fear to let him irritate; because if he curses, one who is cursed is considered to die soon or (if perhaps not die) suffers from serious diseases. Besides, if he blesses, the one whom he blesses is believed to become lucky

person, so gets easily and swiftly whatsoever he/she wishes; because God hears Mallima in a better way as He had already blessed him. Mallima is said to open the eyes of the blind by praying to God. People let Mallima pray to God whenever there is lack of rain, pandemic diseases spread in villages or in the country wide, disagreement exists widely among the people, and so on. Since the high status or respect is given to Mallima in this way, no one dares to harm him; because harming him is counted as quarreling even with the God which is believed in turn to bring calamity (catastrophe) upon both the doer of the action and the entire society. So if one kills this prestigious man or saintly man, he is expected to pay blood price in a special way and also give to his family or proxy some cattle additionally.

3.4.4. The *K'aalluu* /*k'allu*:/

According to my key informants, *k'allu* is a prophet who has the capacity of foretelling what will happen in the future. They said the supreme God has given him this capacity or wisdom, so that he can tell either bad or good fortunes to the society. They (informants) have also underlined as *k'allu* is quite different from *k'allicha* – ‘witch/witchcraft/witchdoctor’ whose work is magic like and unlikelyhood among the people. *K'allicha* is the means to collect money from others by deceiving them which has no any linkage with *k'allu* definitely. In a society, *K'allicha* is an evil spirit descends down on a person while *k'allu* is a man who has witness through blessing from *Waaqaa* in Oromo views. The semantic analysis of the word *k'allicha* can be the man, *k'allitti* the woman, or suffixes “-cha” or “-tti” indicates the definite article “the” to means the one who is already known or mentioned before. Pragmatically, it has a message beyond of unsaid (i.e., which can be inferred contextually). According to the informants’ views and the researcher as an Afan Oromo native speaker, it is used to call the aged or experienced elders (male - *k'allichaa*; female - *k'alittii*) when people do not call on the name of the addressee(s); maybe when they forget or do not want to call the name(s). *K'allu* is a knowledgeable or witty man and has got the knowledge of telling what is going to happen to his people. Whereas, the deceiver one (currently known as *k'allicha*) take others property by using the power of evil spirit called *K'allicha* or witchcraft. However, the term is known as aged person among Oromo people, especially around *Arsi*, *Bale*, *Borana*, *Guji*, *Harar*, etc. On the other hand, in Gadaa system, the role of *k'allu* is to

pray to one *Waaqaa* about the people, their cattle, good harvest, environment, health, wealth and so forth. For this and other reasons, let alone killing him, hitting him is considered as the same with quarrelling with *Waaqaa*. However, if one makes him handicap or harms anyone of his body parts, he/she should pay blood price as even hitting him or harming any one of his body parts is counted as killing him. If perhaps one kills him, he should pay blood price and also is expected to slaughter an ox every year to his family or proxy. Besides, the murderer is expected to give them money every year depending on his income or accordingly.

Finally, if one harms any part of others' body like eyes, hands, legs, ears, fingers, teeth as well as, sexual scandal with someone else's wife, abducting one's fiancée, act of appalling, and so forth should be paid as half blood price (*Gumaa dhikkee/walakkaa*) in general. Most of the time, this half payment of compensation depends on the amount of money paid as a full blood price. So, as it is mentioned before, at north *Shewa* it is about 2000 Birr, west *Shewa* 5000 to 10000 Birr and in east *Shewa* 2500 to 4000 Birr are half payments for the physical harms. Nevertheless, if someone intentionally fires a gun or throws a spear at someone but missed as a matter of chance, is counted as a crime of killing, so that the perpetrator is made pay full blood price. Yet, what makes the latter different from *Gumaa* ritual ceremony is there won't be *hoofuu* 'supplication' and much expenditure like that of *Gumaa* practices through its different step processes whenever the crime of murder happens.

Chapter Four

Pragmatic Discussions and Interpretations of Gumaa Ritual Performances

4.1. Gumaa Ritual Performances

At the selected study areas North *Shewa*, West *Shewa*, and East *Shewa*, *Tulama Oromo* have their own mechanisms of conflict resolving performances whenever they or their members are in feud with each other or with others out of their clans. In this section, as there is reaction for action as a natural law, it is natural for human beings to be in conflict while interacting with each other in their day-to-day activities. Upon this, Fisher (1982:567) cited in Mulugeta (1997:29) states '[c]onflict is usually defined as social in which incompatible goals and activities occur between two or more parties who hold antagonistic feelings toward each other and attempt to control each other.' Besides, Bartos and Wehr (2002:1) have added similar ideas as "Homo Sapiens have been learning about conflict throughout their development. That knowledge is spread across humanity, residing wherever humans live, work and play." These texts generally reveal that since unmemorable times, people have been learning about conflict and be in it with one another whenever they perform different activities since it naturally exists with them wherever they live and any time. Nevertheless, *Tulama Oromo* employ their own means of settling disputants whenever two parties are in feud. Further, they have their own traditional laws to be ruled under, so that if a murder happens, the Gadaa Leaders or elders arbitrate the proxies of the murderer(s) and the murdered through their customs, norms, values and different steps of arbitration performances. That is, they employ different reliable peace making mechanisms based on their norms and customs, in order to avoid sense of revenge or grudge, to negotiate disputants, and to restore peace and harmony among the parties in feud. In this section, I will discuss the kind of performances, who will be the attendants of the arbitration, their roles, the setting of the performances, necessary materials which symbolize religious cases and the narratives or communications the Gadaa Leaders and elders perform in order to negotiate. The types of performances to conduct negotiation processes are *sagada* 'supplication', *sangaa qalmaa* 'bull for public slaughtering', *jila buyyaa/faloo/agadaayi* 'purification ceremony betewen two parties in feud', purification ceremony directly

between the murderer's and the murdered's families or proxies and amalgamation of both parties. Next, the researcher may discuss about necessary materials, speech act performances and different ceremonies mentioned above one by one.

4.1.1. *Sagada* 'Supplication'

In this section, all the attendants entreat the murdered's family and all their clans for three to nine days by saying *igzoo/hoofoo* by making one line or group together and another group in an opposite line utter out as *abeet* together taking from each other turn by turn. Standing some meters on the distance away from the murdered's house(s) (which implies respectation for the injured party), they perform these utterances loudly as much as they can or to the top of their voices having in their mind an intention of making their sounds reach to the murdered's family or clans. Besides, while they utter out being in groups of two lines, undoubtedly their voices transmit clearly the requesting as one can easily infer from its tone.

This is the first performance in the process of the negotiation among disputants. It is used as a means of asking for apologize the family or clans of the being killed person by the sense of linguistic expression of repentance of the murderer's family or clans for the malicious or heinous action the perpetrator had committed. In other words, it is used as a device to calm down the matter or the injured by pleading them not to avenge them (slayer's family) or anyone of their clans being led by his/their emotions as well as use(s) it as a moral compensation to them (murdered's family or clans). The family of the slayer pleads them for excuse for the heinous action the slayer commits. They do that in the name of *Waaqaa* and entreat them to receive blood price from them which is the only means to restore an ever lasting peace and harmony among both parties in feud. This activity starts soon after the murderer handover himself to *waataa* 'the supposed lucky classes of the Oromo', the slayer's father or one of his proxies goes to Gadaa Leader and says "[h]arki keenya nuxuraahee gumaa nubitaa/nubaasisaa," literally 'our hand is impured, so may you make us pay blood price'. Then, the Gadaa Leader informs it to *Guula* to solicit the murdered's family to accept the reconciliation requests. Next, Gadaa Leader, *guula* and murdered's *luukoos* make the following bodies of the society available on the *sagada* 'supplication' performances.

These are *Gadaa* Leaders, *Guulas*, *waataa* or *Mallimaa*, *beera ch'ifiree* 'very old woman', *durba guduruu* 'a little girl' and a boy (whose hearts are yet not ready to do any evil activities), and *lukoos* 'proxies or representatives of both parties in feud' and other *waltajiiwwaan* 'non-relative persons or elders for both parties'.

To discuss them one by one, *Gadaa* Leader is obviously leading the people according to the norm, value and custom of the society under the *Gadaa* system. One of his duties is to bring disputants together and solve their conflicts based on the traditional law which was already made for blood price. He checks whether the murderer's *lukoos* provide all necessary objects and things starting from its initial stage upto the blood price payment. He also solicits the murdered's family and clans to accept the negotiation and then to receive blood price. His role is important in doing this and in restoring peace. *Abbaa seera or guula* is a good knowledgeable in making the laws or memorizing it and letting others make different seeras 'laws' based on the norms, values and customs of the society. He is also responsible in making others obeying these laws or rules of the society. Therefore, based on the law of that blood price, he makes the murderer's proxies pay the blood price properly and the murdered's proxies receive it accordingly under the general rule of *Gadaa* Leader. Because of this his good responsibilities and roles in arbitration, he is needed to be available during supplication performances.

Besides, *waataa* or *Mallimaa* also plays a significant role in the negotiation, so that the people have given them a high status since they are said to play an important role in between *Waaqaa* and human beings in religious senses. Therefore, their existence on the pleading performance is also believed as it can create positive implication among the murdered's family or clans in persuading them. To refuse them is believed as the same case may happen to the murdered's family or proxies, so that their existence helps attendants and slayer's family or clans in many ways. Hence, at least one of them should be available on the performance(s).

Beera ch'ifiree –Afan Oromo phrase literally means very old woman who has a lot of experience of norms, values and customs. She can also be either *guula*'s mother or a previous *Gadaa* Leader's wife. She is counted as a one who has passed through many ups

and downs of life; whose husband works as a Gadaa Leader and whose son works as a guula. She is also a woman who has been serving the people in several ways. Obviously, she has already stopped many of the worldly or fleshly activities and who has started praying for the people and for her own wrong doings she had been committing previously in her life either intentionally or unintentionally. So, now, she is counted as free of sin and as a representative mother of all. Therefore, refusing the issue(s) at her existence may be considered as annoying God and underestimating one's own mother. Hence, in order to convince the injured family or proxy; her existence at the supplication's performance is believed as to play a significant role(s) too.

Durba guduruu 'a little girl' or *much'aa guduruu* 'a little boy'-symbolize love, purity, honesty and fertility, so everybody believes as she or he symbolizes a good or an attractive side of the people's life. In other words, her or his mind is not yet ready to involve in any kinds of sinful worldly activities. As her or his mind is free from any evil doings, she/he shares smiles and loves with everybody else heartily. People believe as God is close to them because of their purity, free of sin and other evil thinkings and doings. Therefore, they are made available during/on the supplication's performances. Their existence has the significance of changing hatred to love; sense of evil, grudge and revenge to agreement, resolving conflict and negotiating parts in feud and restoring peace among them. Both the boy and the girl carry *buqqee duudaa* 'a vergin gourd' on their backs which symbolizes the dumb of life generally and its internal part or fruit symbolizes bitterness of the event particularly. Eventually, both these children are made available on the ritual performances which symbolizes love, fertility, etc., so that it is counted as a good means of inculcating positive attitudes or implications in the mind of the murdered's family.

Waltajjii 'common judges for both parties – they are nominated or elected elders to evaluate the correctness of the processes and to check genuinely the fulfilment of all necessary things during dispute processings. They are also responsible for correcting if anything goes wrong and work towards justice between two parties in feud. So, they are made available during the supplication processes and keep the balance of all necessary activities and payments of a blood price between both accordingly through justice. In addition to these, all the bodies

mentioned above make all the murderer's family or clans plea being at the back of these attendants holding *dhagaa* 'stones' and *qoree* 'horn of plants' on their head (some standing and some kneeling down).

As it is already discussed in chapter three (Page: 47-48), possessing the highest position, The Gadaa Leader(s) makes start both the process and performance of arbitration by leading it as fronter. Guula also cooperate with him by acting as a traditional lawyer. Then, the selected mediators let the slayer's family and proxies start pleading as an appologize for the murder action(s). Next, the slayer's family and proxies are expected to express their repentance by themselves in the name of sacred objects, and through people who are from different social status and come there to attend the supplication with them. Based on the degree of seriousness of the murder case(s), the slayer's family or clans plead for a couple of days as a norm, custom or traditional laws of the people permit them.

4.1.1.1. Necessary Materials for Supplication Performance(s) and Their Implications

There are some materials which symbolize religious cases and should be available during the supplication performances according to norm or traditional laws of the people. Now, let me discuss these materials one by one as below.

4.1.1.1.1. *Bokkuu* 'the wooden or metal sceptre/scepter'

It is a sign of authority kept by *Abbaa Bokkuu* 'the president' which symbolizes both power and its transition from one Leader to the next in every eight year under an umbrella term called Gadaa system. Some elders from my interviewees and discussants also believe that *Bokkuu* was descended down from the sky. According to them, God had dropped it onto the earth for Oromo People to lead each other with it peacefully, genuinely and to tranfer a power it symbolizes through it to the next *Gadaa* Leader at the end of every eight years. They have also stated that it symbolizes religious cases, so that used as a means of peace restoring device. It is preserved by *Abbaa Bokkuu* at his house and is taken out whenever some serious cases happen in the society or during power transitions. It is the respected sacred device among the people; so that it is counted as something calamity (catastrophe) will happen to the refusals if they refuse to accept the arbitration issues at its existance. If one

refuses to accept reconciliation at its existence and continues to avenge, he/she is considered to be killed rather than killing as *his/her Gumaa* (for the dead). It is also believed that he/she cannot be successful in anything he/she does or wishes, so it is made available during plea. Either the Gadaa Leader or one of the elders who is *Jaarsaa* age level is made stand up by holding it during supplication performance(s).

4.1. 1.1. 2 *Kallacha*

According to informants, this metal or hornlike religious device (which has polysemous) is also said to have been dropped down from the sky in the form of thunder. Then, an Oromo person (specifically one from Mallima lineages) had poured milk upon it and took it to his home. Pouring milk on it implies two meanings. Firstly, one who holds it is said to die of touching it as it is sacred object, so it helps to save him. Secondly, it used as a means of keeping it from being vanished itself from him/her. Hence, it is not made to be seen or touched by every ordinary people or by females whenever they are on menstruation period, but *nama qulqulluu* 'a pure person' or *ayyantuu* 'lucky' is allowed to see, touch and preserve/keep it as it is a sacred object. Since then, it has been serving as a sacred material which God had given to this people to gather under one umbrella of religion called *Waaqeffannaa*. It also symbolizes male's sex organ which is said to be the most essential part of the body for the continuity of generations according to philosophy of Oromo. It is also said to be the sacred material that God anointed on His Holy spirit and had given to Oromo. Further, it symbolizes love and peace, as well as represents the sky, so that Oromo in general and Tulama Oromo in particular use it as a device of restoring peace and maintaining love among themselves when in need and among other parties whenever they are in feud. Therefore, if one undermines it and refuses the reconciliation issues at its presence, it is counted as he/she quarrels with God and annoys Him. So in order to convince the murdered's family or proxy to accept the reconciliation, it is taken to the supplication performance place(s) being carried either by *jaarsaa* or carried on the back of *much'aa guduruu* 'a little boy'.

4.1.1.1.3. *Ch'aach'uu*

My informants also stated that this device is also believed to have come out of the earth's core through the center of both the river and the mountain. It is also counted as both *kallacha's* and Oromo girls' ornament. As my interviewees' statements, both *kallacha* and its ornament *ch'aach'uu* are the respected or sacred materials among the society. *Ch'aach'uu* symbolizes female's sex organ as well as represents the earth at the opposite tip of the sky. Therefore, *ch'ach'uu* is also made available on the entreaty's performance like that of *kallachaa*.

4.1.1.1.4. *Farda 'horse'*

A horse is counted as *ayyantuu* 'lucky'. The Oromo believe as it has *ayyanaa* 'Holy Spirit', so that they call it *ch'ollee* literally 'alert' which implies the meaning beyond of the ordinary term horse. At all, horse is given unique value among the people; so it is said to be not merely belong to the owner; rather to the society. As a result, people take intensive care for the horse. Hence, they harnessed the *ch'ollee* horse and made it available on the supplication performance(s) in order to create positive implication among the injured parties. Tying its mouth in chain of harness implies that the slayer's family or proxies are worry very much with the heinous action or wrong doings of the murderer; so that they tie the mouth of the *ch'ollee*- means the horse which anointed on Holy Spirit. For this reason, the slayer's family or clans could be convinced to accept the reconcilliation issues in order to not revenge them in return.

4.1.1.1.5. *Sangoota/K'otiyyoota 'oxen'*

A pair of oxen is taken to the supplication's place and yoked together. However, there are slight differences among the selected study areas concerning this issue. In North and West Shewa boys are yoked together whereas in East Shewa oxen are yoked. Nevertheless, whether either oxen or boys are yoked, it implies the seriousness of the issue(s).

In this text, some sacred objects and two pet animals are used as means to avoid the possible destruction which will happen among parties in feud. It is done by requesting the injured through the listed sacred objects, horse which is believed by the people as is anointed on with

the Holy Spirit and by yoking oxen to each other. In this context, slayer's clans and mediators use them in order to facilitate the reconciliation processes by making the injured parties fear of God and accept the request of negotiation, so that the peace can be restored soon and the social tie can be remaintained.

Next, after providing all necessary objects or things to perform the supplication, all attendants are also expected to exist in the open air in a meadow under either Oda Tree (sycamore) or any ordinary big tree exist on some meters far away from the murdered's family or proxies. Then, they pray or entreat their *Waaqaa* hoping that He will help them for the peaceful achievement of the reconciliation. This entreaty or supplication is carried out after the Gadaa Leader or a senior elder gives order. When either of these tells them to start, three elders bless turn by turn beginning from the most senior while the attendants sometimes simply listening and sometimes repeating some phrases together by taking from the mouths of the elders. Before they start the blessing straight away, one of the elders or Gadaa Leader as a starter says "tokko koottu" literally 'one of you come on,' taking from his mouth, the second elder says "beenu," means 'go ahead' and then continue as follows.

GadaaLeader/Elder/Guula	Attendants
1. <i>hajje:!</i> <i>hajje:!</i> <i>hajje:!</i> -----	(Simply Attending)
Oh Almighty! Oh Almighty! Oh Almighty! -----	„
2. <i>wa:k'a</i> <i>?u:ma:</i> <i>wa:k'a</i> <i>?u:mama:!</i> -----	„
God-VOC Creator God Creature	
Creator God! Creator of the creatures! -----	„
3. <i>wa:k'a</i> <i>burk'a:</i> <i>haro:</i> <i>wala:bu:!</i> -----	„
God-VOC stream lake Walabu	
God of Walabu's stream lake! (Who create it) -----	„
4. <i>wa:k'a</i> <u><i>salg-an/sagl-an</i></u> ¹ <i>ja:?i:</i> <i>bo:rana:!</i> -----	„
God-VOC nine-ABL assembly Borana	
God of nine Borana's Assembly! -----	„

¹ *salg-an/sagl-an* -lg- and -gl- used as metathesis

5. *wa: k'a šanan gadaa: (butta:)² ?oromo:!* ----- „
 God-VOC five Gadaa Oromo
 God of Five Oromo Gadaa parts! ----- „
6. *wa:k'a ?oda: nabi:!* ----- „
 God-VOC tree nabi
 God of Nabi's Oda³ Tree! ----- „
7. *kan naga: -n nu - bul-či-te, naga: -n*
 RP peace-DET us -make spend night-2S-PF peace-DET
nu-?o:l-či! ----- nu-?o:l-či!
 us make spend day-2S us make spend day-2S
 May You make us spend this day peacefully too as You made us spend peacefully the previous night! -
 ----- May it be
8. *?irra: gora nu -?o:l-či! ----- nu-?o: l-či*
 mistake us-safe-2S us-safe-2S
 May you safe us from wrong doings or making mistakes! ----- May it be
9. *nu -?o:fkal-či! ----- ?o:fkal-či!*
 us make fortunate-2S make fortunate-2S
 May You make us fortunate enough (to be successful). ----- May it be
10. *kan wald'ab- e nu: -f ?ara:r-si! ----- nu:-f ?ara:r-si*
 RP be in feud-PF us -DAT conciliate-2S us-DAT conciliate-2S
 May You conciliate (for us) these parties who have been in feud!
 ----- May it be
11. *lubbu: bad-e nu:-f ka:s-i! ----- nu:-f ka:-si*
 soul annihilate-PF us-DAT compensate-2S us-DAT compensate-2S
 May You compensate (for us) the annihilate soul! ----- May it be

² Five Gadaa parties are called Buttaa as their common name

³ Odaa 'type of sycamore' is a symbolical tree for the Oromo.

12. *tola: nu -tti k'ab-i!* ----- *nu-tti k'ab-i*
 worth us-LOC make-2S us-LOC make-2S
 May You make worth fortunate with us! ----- May it be
13. *hamma:t-a: nu-(i)rra: k'ab-i!* ----- *nu-(i)rra: k'ab-i*
 cruel/evil-3SM us-LOC make-2S us-LOC make-2S
 May You safe us from evils or evil doers! ----- May it be
14. *lubbu: bad-de:-f guma: nu: -f ba:s-i!* ----- *nu:-f ba:s-i*
 soul annihilate-PF-DAT blood price us-DAT pay-2S us-DAT pay-2S
 May You pay blood price (for us) for the annihilated soul!-- ----- May it be
15. *d'uga:-f de:m-na: d'uga-(i)rra: nu -n -ka:č -is -i: n!*
 true-DAT seek-1P true--LOC us-NEG-mislead-Caus-2S
 ----- *nu-n -ka:č -is -i:n*

us-NEG-mislead-CAUS-2S

We are seeking truth, so may You safe us from missing it; hence, misleading others! -----
 ----- May it be

In this section, the Afan Oromo word *nu* 'we' is not limited to merely those three elders. It is an inclusive term which refers to those attendants, slayer's(s') and murdered's families or clans and other mediators. Similarly, *Waaqaa* and *dhugaa* 'God' and 'true' respectively are on the tip of their tongue which is given unique places among the people. These and others are some speech utterances uttered during that of ritual performances. They beg their *Waaqaa* for mercy for the bloodshed, for compensation for the dead's family or proxies, and to help them in success of reconciliation peacefully both parties in feud. All attendants also repeat some of the phrases right after the elders by stretching their hands forwards with widely opening their palms turning their inside up as well as staring upward as if they were looking at their *Waaqaa* physically in the sky. They are doing it to plea God for the shocking actions against the natural laws, to chase away any heinous actions from them and from the society as a whole and for the restoration of peace among the people in feud.

Here, the elders bless one after the other as an inclusive expression in the socialization or as an expression of wishing good for all society. Hence, blessing is a mechanism of inclusion

which is a direct opposite of cursing- a form of linguistically, and/or in some cases, extralinguistically expressed wish for exclusion. The fulfilment of standards and expectations desired by the individual, pairs, groups or society at large leads to pride and self gratification and/or actualization, and, hence, to blessing for a greater level of inclusion of the individual and/or groups. Whereas, failure to do so leads to just the opposite, where the individual is doomed of exclusion and banishment and the society lose their inter tie or cohesion and harmony. As one can deduce from the Afan Oromo phrase “[k]an nagaan nu bulchite, nagaan nu oochi” discussed against number (7) above, mean ‘may you make us peaceful during this day too as you let us during the previous night!’, a linguistic form deictic expression of time via temporal deixis is ‘during this day’. The phrases ‘during this day’ and ‘during the previous night’ which are derived from Afan Oromo words ‘oolchite’ and ‘bulchi’ respectively comprise ‘this’ and ‘now’ mean nearer to the speaker (or proximal terms) in space and time respectively. We can also derive ‘then’ from the word ‘bulichite’, which indicates away from the speaker (distal term) temporal deixis of time which this and the previous two, for their interpretation, depend on the speaker and hearer sharing the same context. Indeed, deictic expressions have their most basic uses in face-to-face spoken interaction where utterances such as person deixis ‘we’ and ‘you’ can be inferred from Afan Oromo phrase ‘nu oolchi’ mean ‘may you make us peaceful during this day’ and also are easily understood by all people present there as participants. The inclusive person deixis ‘nu’ mean ‘we’ refers to the speaker plus all attendants present there while person deixis ‘you’ which can be derived from either ‘bulchite’ or ‘oolchi’ refers to God or something abstract which is on the distal in space or does not physically exist there at the ritual activity though He is believed to be there psychologically or spiritually.

To be back to the preceded discussion, soon after they finish praying, all of them set journey to the murdered’s family’s *qeehee* ‘premise’. Then, they stand in some meters distance from that/their premise. The old men and women stand side by side, the boy, the girl, the Gadaa Leader(s) and the guula(s) being side by side according to the norm and custom of the people. All elders and Gadaa Leaders bend up their *gaabii* ‘cloth made up of cotton’ as a sign of showing their respectation for the murdered’s family and clans and how much they are too concerned about the issue. While those supplication attendants standing at the front, the

family members and clans of the murderer stand on some meters at their rear for two reasons. One, they are expected to plea; some of them by standing and some of them by kneeling down according to the norm or traditional laws of the society or as the blood price law permits for that occasion. However, there are some variations among the selected study areas. For instance, in North Shewa all the elders and *lukoos* or close relatives carry stones - everyone holding it in their palms with their hands put above their heads to indicate the heaviness or seriousness of the issues, so to entreat the slain's family or proxies to accept both the blood price as compensation and the reconciliation. The second reason of their (slayer's sides) being at the rear is to defend themselves if perhaps there are some of the murdered's groups who will fight with them by ignoring or undermining those Gadaa Leaders and elders who have higher status among the people and sacred materials which symbolize their common religion. When the standing styles of all attendants are arranged accordingly, the supplication performance can be started. Then, all attendants are ordered either by Gadaa Leader or *guula* to perform it loudly to the top of their voice by saying the follows.

16. ?igzi?o:!
?abe:t!
?igzi?o:!
?abe:t!

igzi'oo abeet igzi'oo abeet

Pleading by shouting out as 'Igzi'oo'! 'Abeet'! voices ('Igzi'oo' and 'Abeet' are maybe Ge'ez or Amharic loan words)!

17. ?ara:r ja: -lammi: ko:

Conciliate VOC -lineage my

You my lineage, may it be your will to accept this reconciliation!

18. Ma:lo: gara: wal-itti hin fāba:n-nu: mala

please abdomen to each other -LOC NEG being cruel-IMP means

wali: -f him-na male:

to one another-DAT tell-1P rather/without

Please let us not be cruel to each other; rather, let us find the solution to our problems.

19. wa:k'a ?u:ma: wa:k'a ?u:mama:

God Creator God Creature

In the name of God; Creator of creature!

20. *wa:k'a kallača: fi č'a:č'č'u:*
God Sacred object and Sacred object
In the name of sacred 'kallacha' and ch'ach'ch'u

21. *wa:k'a čaffe: tu:lama:*
God Assembly Tulama
In the name of Tulama's Assembly's God

22. *wa:k'a ?oda: nabi:*
God symbolical tree Nabi
In the name of God of Nabi's Oda Tree

23. *wa:k'a šan-an jidda:*
God five-ABL sub-branch of Tulama
In the name of the five Jiddaa's⁴ God

24. *wa:k'a sade:-n ?obori:*
God three-DEF sub-branch of Tulama
In the name of God of three Obori⁵.

25. *wa:k'a ?afra-n/?arfa-n⁶ ?abbičču:⁷*
God four-DEF sub-branch of Tulama
In the name of God of four *Abbichus*.

26. *wa:k'a salga-n/sagla-n⁸ ?iggu: ?a:bbu:*
God nine-DEF sub-branch of Tulama
In the name of God of nine *Iggu Abbus*.

⁴ *Jiddaa is the elder clan to all other sub- branches of Tulama Oromo moiety.*

⁵ *Obori⁵ sub-branch of Tulama.*

⁶ *?afra-n/?arfa-n⁶ metathesis*

⁷ *?abbičču: tu:lama: ?oromo: 's sub-branch*

⁸ *salga-n/sagla-n metathesis*

27. *wa:k'a ?ula: bubbe:*
 God ulaa bubbee
 In the name of God of Ulaa(i.e,-gate) Bubbe (i.e,- air) (name of sacred place).
28. *wa:k'a du:messa ro:ba god'-u:*
 God cloud rain make-3SM-IMP
 In the name of God Who can make cloud the rain.
29. *wa:k'a dačče: d'isa: male: diri:-rs-e:*
 God earth tan without spread-2S-PF
 In the name of God Who had spreaded the earth without tanning.
30. *wa:k'a sami: ?utuba: male: d'a:b-e*
 God sky pillar without still sanding-2S-PF
 In the name of God Who had made the sky still standing without any pillar to hold it up.
31. *wa:k'a t'ik'a: fi gudda:*
 God small and big
 In the name of God of small and big (all category of people)
32. *ho:fu: jen-na! ?igzi?o: jen-na! ?abe:t jen-na!*
 hofuu say-1P igzi'oo say-1P abeet say-1P
 We say (shout out) Hoofuu, Igzi'oo and Abeet to entreat you
33. *balle:ssa: k'ab-na: ?a:g-i: nu:f god'-a:*
 mistake have-1P excuse-DET us-DAT make-2P/honorific
 We have fault; may you excuse us (it for us)!
34. *hark-i nu-t'ura:h-e: ?ato:msa nu: -f god'-a:*
 hand-NOM us- impure-PF purify us -DAT make-2P/honorific
 Our hand is adulterated (in bloodshed); please permit us to purify it!
35. *guma: ba:s-na: gumaa: nu -(i)rra: fud'-a: jen-na*
 blood price pay-1P blood price us -LOC take-2P/honorific say-1P
 We request you to receive a blood price (which we wish to pay you) from us.
36. *?igzi?o: ! ?abe:t! ?igzi?o: ?abe:t!*
 igzi'oo abeet igzi'oo abeet

Pleading by shouting out as Igzi'oo! Abeet! voices!

37. *fard-i* *č'anč'ala:-n* *ĵir-a:* *marga:-n* *nu: -f* *ga-ha:*
horse-NOM harness-DET exist-IMP grass-DET us-DAT let-2P/honorific

The horse exists in harness, may you let it free (for us) to graze grass!

38. *k'otijjo:-n-ni* *wa:nĵo:-n* *ĵir-ti:* *marga: -n* *nu: -f* *ga-ha:*
oxen-NOM-PL yoke-DET exist-DIM grass-DET us-DAT let-2P/honorific

The oxen are in yoke, may you let them free (for us) to graze grass!

39. *kallač-i:* *fi* *č'a:č'č'u:-n* *baha-ni:* *dirre:* *ĵir-u:*
sacred object-NOM and sacred object-NOM out-P field exist-P
galma:-n *nu:f* *ga-ha:*
hall-DET us-DAT let-2P/honorific

The sacred Kallacha and Ch'achu exist in the field; would you let them return to their sacred place (hall) for us?

40. *?iĵĵ'o:lle:-n* *buk'k'e:* *du:da: ba:t* *-t-e:* *akkasumas* *wa:nĵo:-n*
children-NOM gourd virgin carry-DIM-IMP as well as yoke -DET
č'amad-am-t-e: *d'a:bba-tti:* *laŋa:-n* *nu: -f* *ga -ha:*
yoke-Pass-DIM-IMP stand-DIM land-DET us-DAT let- 2P/honorific

The children are still standing by carrying gourd as well as yoked together, so would you permit us to unload them and let them free!

41. *ĵa:rs-oli:-n* *fi* *be:rr-i* *č'ifire:-n* *baha:-ni:*
old men-3P-NOM and old women-NOM very old-DET out- 3P
k'orra-(i)rra *ĵir-u:* *mana: -n* *nu:-f* *ga-ha:*
cold-LOC exist-3P-IMP house-DET us-DAT let- 2P/honorific

The old men and the very old women exist in/on the cold, would you permit them (for us) to go home!

42. *d'aga:* *ba:n-ne:* *d'a:bba-ne:* *akkasumas* *ĵilbi:f-fan-ne:*
stone carry-1P stand-1P as well as kneel-1P
ĵir-ra: *nu -(i)rra:* *bu:s-a:*
exist-1P us -DAT unload-2P

We are carrying stones; some of us standing up and some of us kneeling down, so would you be so kind to unload it from us!

43. ?igzi?o:!
igzi'oo
- ?abe:t!
abeet
- ?igzi?o:!
igzi'oo
- ?abe:t!
abeet

Pleading by shouting out as Igzi'oo! Abeet voices!

44. ?abboo -ti: gadaa: fi ?abbo:-tii se:ra-tu baha-ni: ?as ĵir-u:
elders-DEF gadaa and elders-DEF law-DET out-3P here exist-3P-IMP
Gadaa Leaders and Guulas are here (to entreat you)

45. naga: bu:su:-f wara:na č'i:b-si-ne: -rra:
peace restore-DAT spear lay-1P-PF-LOC

To restore peace, we had laid spear here.

46. ho:fu: ĵen-na!
hoofuu say-1P-IMP
- ?igzi?o: ĵen-na
igzi'oo say-1P-IMP

We say *Hoofuu* or Igzi'oo to plead you.

The mediators and other participants plead the injured parties in the name of sacred objects and by referring to the people who are given higher status in the society specifically to some lineage of their own (i.e. Tulama branches) and to the fearable God Who has unmeasurable ability to do His will; for instance, spreading the earth without tanning, changing cloud to rain, making the sky still standing without any pillar to hold it up, and others. The extra-linguistic expressions concern to the Gadaa Leaders, the Guula and the very old woman which convey metamessage or message beyond of unwritten or unspoken such as the responsibilities they are given or shouldered and the status they maintain or are given in the society. Besides, the spatial deixis such as 'as' mean 'here' and 'dirree' mean 'field' are discussed which refer to the same space nearer to the speaker plus the attendants of the ritual performance as a whole. Further, the following terms convey message both in and out of the context; for instance, 'wanjoo' mean 'yoke' symbolizing the heaviness of the event or slavery; 'buqqee duudaa' mean 'vergin gourd' reveals doom of life or extreme illiteracy; 'qorra' mean 'cold' which refers to the weather condition of that time or difficult aspect of life; 'eeboo ciibsuu' mean 'laying spear' shows heaviness of the issue or means to solve

serious issue(s); and '*jilbiinfachuu*' mean 'kneeling' which reveals entreating as a request for the most serious heinous action done to the injured and then admitting it and now repenting for that action upset the injured.

All attendants supplicate by shouting out the preceded phrases to the top of their voices led by either Gadaa Leader or guula turn by turn. As I mentioned (on pages 47-50; 62) of this paper, the attendants do this to attain their oral report to the injured through all prestigious classes of the people and sacred materials (which symbolize their common religion) and also which should be available on that supplication performance. It implies the slayer's family or his/her immediate relatives' respectation for the murdered's family or clans and to indicate how much they feel grief or their repentance for the bloodshed. In addition to this, the slayer's family or clans show their respecting and grieve for the heinous action by not shaving their bread and hair for the long time, by do not recreating at anywhere until things get to the right track, not cutting their nails, not wearing new or neat clothes, by do not go to the same markets, streams and other places with the murdered's family or clans, and by leaving the road away to anyone of them whenever they come across each other accidentally on the same way anywhere. The attendants continue the pleading holding the sacred materials though there may be no response from the injured family or clans for some times. Holding those sacred materials implies that great attention is given to that murder issue(s). It is obviously known that on the first supplication day, there is no response from the murdered's family or clans. However, that doesn't imply as there is no resolution for the conflict happened; rather, it is custom that the supplication is expected to continue for some couple of days without any response from the injured. The minimum and maximum days of the supplication are three and nine respectively. If there is no willingness to accept the entreaty from the killed person's family or clans during these nine supplication days, the murderer's lukooos report the refutation to Abbaa *Fajji* 'who is authoritative to hold Tulama Oromo's Gadaa system's Flag and who is responsible to erect that flag at the supplication place as a sign of cursing refusals. This Abbaa *Fajji* is a respected person among Tulama Oromo as he is counted as a father of Tulama Oromo's Flag which symbolizes the sovereignty of the people. The terms Abbaa means 'father' and *Fajjii* means 'flag'. He is expected to have a good personality and behavior, ought to be free from taking any evilful

actions, etc, so that people consider him as pure hearted, free of sin and as a good representative of them.

Hence, *Abbaa Fajjii* erects the flag at that supplication place to imply that unless that dispute is resolved, there will never be rain throughout the country, people and cattle will die of hunger or pandemic diseases, the families or clans of the murdered face the same case or even the severe cases until/unless they accept positively that entreaty. The injured also said to be “*Nama keessaa bahu ykn ni jibbamu*” means ‘they may be ostracized or are hatred in the society’. As my key informants, there is the saying “*Kan ajjeessee Gumaa hin baafne, kan namni jalaa du’ee Gumaa hin nyaannes ilma Tuulamaatii miti,*” means ‘who kill a person yet not pay blood price as well as who does not receive blood price whenever his/her/their kin(s) is/are murdered is not Tulama’s son(s)’! They have also stated that in their life, they had never come across anyone who has completely refused to accept blood price, because Gadaa Leaders, guula(s), and *Abbaa Fajji* have provided them oral information about what has been happening to some families whose ancestors had refused to accept blood price or issues of compensation some times in the past. They provide some convincing reasons as such even by calling on the names of the families they personally know whose children looking likes gourd –without hands, legs, eyes, ears, and so on up to seven descending down generations. Pragmatically, such kinds of issues raise in order to make the murdered’s family or clans scare or morally and psychologically terrified and then let them accept the issue(s) though there may be no tangible evidence they had personally come across in their life. Therefore, the families or clans of being murdered person(s) does not/do not dare to refuse to accept the issue of compensation/blood price as they scare its worst consequences. However, the flag is taken back or off by *Abbaa fajjii* after nine days whenever the murdered’s family or clans are willing to accept the blood price. Then, it is said that the *Waak’aa* also withdraw the *ma’aatii* ‘calamity’ He would have intended to pour/water down upon the people, so that He saves them from hitting them by His sword of calamity. Then, the attendants, mediators and murderer’s family or clans go back and start their supplication like that of their previous one. Then, the *lukoos* from the killed person’s families come to the prayers and raise some questions as below for which they certainly get response for, according to the existing custom or traditional laws of the people.

47. M. Lukoos: *ja: ŷama: sagada ma:li:-f/ma:-f⁹ sagad-du?*

VOC people supplication why-DAT supplicate-2P-IMP

You people, why do you supplicate the supplication?

48. G. Leader : *?ilma ke:ña dad'ab-duu-n sammu: ?ululle:¹⁰, ja:da d'abdi-tti:-n*

boy our weak-DAT-NOM mind empty thought less-DIM-DET

?ilma ke:ss-an qulqul-lu:, bare:da:, be:ka: fi

son your-2P-ABL sainty-3SM handsome knowledgeable and

ŷa:lat-am-a: kan ta?-e wa:n aŷŷe:s-e:-f? as d'a:bban-ne:

beloved-pass-3SM RP , be-3SM since kill-3SM-PF-DAT here stand-1P

ga:bi: mart'ifan-n-e:, d'aga: fi k'ore: mata:-tti

cotton cloth wrap-1P-IMP stone and horn of plant head-LOC

ba:n-ne:, ŷil-bi:f-fan-ne: kan sagan-nu:-f gumaa: du:d'a:

carry-1P kneel—CAUS-CAUS-1P RP plead-1P-DAT blood price norm

nu-(i)rra: fud'a:-ti: a:gi: nu:-f god'-a: ŷenn-e:-ti

us-LOC receive-FOC excuse us-DAT make-2P thought-FOC

Since our empty minded, weak and thoughtless son has killed your sainty, handsome, knowledgeable and beloved son, we are pleading here by kneeling and bow down, bending up our *gaabii* 'wearing cloth made of cotton', carrying *dhagaa* 'stones' and *qoree* 'horn of plant' on our heads, in order to entreat you to receive blood price from us and give us your leniency.

49. M. Lukoos: *mak'a:-n muč'a: ke:ssa-ni: dad'ab-du: muč'a: ke:ña*

name-NOM boy your-2P-DET weak-DIM boy our

⁹ Whether syllable '-li-' is inserted or deleted, there is no meaning change of the ma:li:-f/ma:-f

¹⁰ *?ululle: literally 'piccolo', musical instrument of the woodwind group, but in this text, it contextually used as an adjective to modify sammuu 'mind' to mean empty mind*

ja:lat-am-a: aŋŋe:s-e: fi kan ke:ña kan aŋŋe:f-am-e: ?e:ñu ?

beloved-Pass-3SM kill-3SM-PF and RP our RP kill-Pass-3SM-PF who

What is the name of your thoughtless boy who had killed our beloved

Boy? And the name of ours who was killed?

50. G. Leader: *mak'a:-n muč'i-čča dad'ab-a: ke:ñña: ?ida?a: jo: jed'-am-u*

name-NOM boy-DEF weak-2SM our Ida'a while call-Pass-3SM

kan ke:ss-an ja:latama:-n ?immo: obbo dink'u jed'-am-u

RP your-3SM-ABL beloved-DET and Mr.Dink'u call-3SM-Pass/honorific

The name of the murderer – our weak son is called Ida'a; while yours – the beloved one is called Mr. Dink'u. (The word 'Jedhamu' is used both as plural or honoric form of 'jed'ama'. It is a verb to mean 'called' or 'said'. In this text, it is used to indicate honorific, but not as plural formation).

In this instance, the Gadaa Leader(s) and elders tell the names of both the killer and the killed person genuinely without hiding the names of the killer as falsehood has no room among all attendants of the entreaty and whole society. They are expected to admit everything truly without mixing it with any lie. Gadaa Leader(s) and elders underline as it is impossible to settle the conflict unless they admit everything genuinely and speak truth directly during that pleading performance(s); however, the case(s) may be harsh. Next to this, the *lukoos* raise some questions which enable them to know the causes of murder and its degree of seriousness. According to the customs and norms of the Oromo people, the response(s) is/are expected to be genuine and truth when the murdered's *lukoos* ask them any questions; whether the murderer has murdered the person maliciously or killed him accidentally. Based on the genuine information they get from them for their raised questions, *lukoos* and elders from the murdered's side, they assure their willingness to accept the blood price accordingly. After the completion of the processes, the harness(es) is/are taken out of the horse's mouth and the horses are let graze grass, attendants are permitted to wear their *gabi* like usually, either boys or oxen are unyoked and made free, *kallacha* and *ch'ach'u* are unload from either the back of the boy or the *jaarsaa* will be made free of holding it, the gourd is unload of girl's back, the sacred religious materials - *kallacha* and *ch'ach'u* is/are anointed/rubbed on with butter by *beera ch'ifiree* for its/their respect as well as it is a custom or a norm of the

people to do so. Then, the murderer's family members or clans are permitted to put down the stones and horns of plant they have been carrying as well as to rise from their kneeling.

The Gadaa Leader(s), guula(s) and other mediator elders who are authoritative to lead the performance(s) being as fronters, make the father or (if not) anyone of the proxies of the murdered's and the murderer's come out to the front of the attendants *kakaaf/kakuuf/kakachuuf* 'to take oath'. Taking oath is given high value among Oromo as a whole as a means of excluding the maliciouse ones and including the others who are free from against the nature, people's norms, customs, and breaking their traditional laws or to employ it as a means of correcting the criminals among the society. Taking oath infront of the Gadaa Leaders and elders, but then withdraw it later on when he/she/they get(s) suitable sitautions to do so is counted as being out of the people's customs and norms, and as an intentionally subjecting oneself to calamity.

Therefore, taking oath is counted as a very significant means of conflict resolution and restoring peace through law of the blood price. Taking oath also comprises different issues of psychological and moral implications which appeal to the people's attitudes or feelings. Hence, the *lukoos* of both sides are made turn apart their faces and take oath by repeating after the authoritative ones utter it out. Turning away from each other is deliberately done in order to avoid the possibly raising conflicts between those oath takers, especially to avoid the avenge the injured may take forced by his internal emotions because of the bloodshed; and this in turn certainly could become the impediment on the dispute processing. Next, they are made take the oath by either Gadaa Leader or Guula as follows.

51. G.Leader: *kan du?e:-f gumaa: ŋa:čču:¹¹ male: halo: hin ku:ft -an*

RP dead-DAT blood price receive without revenge NEG nurse-2P-ABL

You won't hoard/nurse revenge without receiving blood price of/for the dead person

52. M. Proxy: *halo: hin ku:s -nu:*

revenge NEG nurse-1P-IMP

¹¹ *ŋa:čču:* literally 'eating', but here used contextually as to mean receiving.

We won't nurse/hoard revenge

53. G. Leader: *hanga ?ara:ri bu?u-tti halo: ba:fan-na jetta:-ni:*
until conciliate restore-FOC revenge avenge-1P-IMP say-1P

?itti hin ga:dd -an

to NEG think hunt-2P-ABL

You'll never think of hunting towards them to take revenge until peace will be restored.

54. M. Proxy: *halo: ba:fan-na jen-ne: itti hin ga:d-nu*

revenge take-1P-IMP say-1P-IMP to NEG think hunt-1P-IMP

We will never think of hunting them to take revenge (here, they also never insult each other verbally; if the harmed emotionally insult the murderer or anyone of his/her clans,).

55. G. Leader: *kun wa:da d'a!*

this promise is

This is a promise!

56. M. Proxy: *?e:jje: wa:da d'a*

yes promise is

Yes, it is a promise!

57. G. Leader: *wa:da: gal-le kana hin jik-si-nu d'uga:*
promise make-1P-PF this NEG withdraw-CAUS-1P-IMP true

wa:k'a ?oda: nabi:, wa:k'a lafa: fi sami:,

God symbolical tree Nabi God earth and sky

wa:k'a si:da: nabi:, wa:k'a šan-an gadaa: jed'-i

God tomb Nabi God five-ABL gadaa say-2S-VOC

Say, we will never withdraw this promise (you made) in the name of

God of: Nabi's Odaa Tree, his Tomb, sky, earth and five Gadaa parts!

58. M. Proxy: *wa:da d'a hin jik-si-nu*

promise is NEG withdraw-CAUS-1P-IMP

It is promise, we will never withdraw it!

59. G. Leader: *jo: wa:da kana jiksi-ne lubbu:-n ke:ña*

if promise this withdraw-1P soul-DET our

ha: jigu; wa:k'-ni gadaa: šan-an-i: sañi: ke:ña: lafa-(i)rra:

let destroy God-DET gadaa five-ABL-DEF lineage our earth-LOC

ha: balle:s-su fed'-i

let destroy-2SM-IMP say-2S-VOC

Say 'let our soul be destroyed and let God of five Gadaa Parts exterminate our lineages if we withdraw this promise (the promise we've already made').

60. M. Proxy: *ha: balle:s-su*

let destroy-3SM-IMP

Let Him exterminate!

In the above text, Gadaa Leader acts as directive who assert the utterance of making the addressee (i.e., murdered's representative) to make promise and then obey it accordingly. Gadaa Leader makes the addressee say some extra-linguistic expressions as in the above text right after him as an authoritative person to do so. He is the right person to make others take oath or make promise, curse in order to exclude deviant(s) from the society either temporarily as correction or permanently depending on his/their fault(s) with regard to standards and expectations desired by the society in general and by those mediators and injured party in particular.

To discuss broadly, one of the murdered's proxies is made take oath not to avenge the murderer and any of his proxy by saying some patterns of expressions. When he is made taking oath, there are sacred materials laid there. Such materials are *alangaa Roobii* 'whip(s) made up of hippopotamus skin', *eeboo* 'spears', *qabdoo fi marraajaa* 'pliers and mallet', are laid down on land in between oath takers while *kallacha*, *ch'ach'u*, gourd and *Bokkuu* are carried either on boy's back or hold up by *jaarsaa*, on girl's back and hold up by Gadaa Leader or president respectively. Similarly, based on the people's law of blood price, Gadaa Leader(s) and elders make the murderer's family or proxies take oath not to take any similar action(s) again and to pay the blood price properly and accordingly. In addition to this, some elders are selected from *waltajjiwwan* 'the mediators' to take responsibility to carry out the dispute processings properly from its beginning to its ending. These elders are also made take

oath to make murderer's families pay blood price and the being murdered families receive it without making any bias between them. These elders are selected from the supplication's performance attendants or mediators i.e. three elders from each side of the two parties in feud- six elders together. They are responsible to initiate and to carry out the dispute processes properly by examining the murder cases, and how it is/was happened 'whether maliciously or accidentally'. They facilitate things to make the murderer's family or proxy pay blood price properly according to *seera Gumaa* and the being murdered family or proxies to receive it based on the law already made as a blood price law. One elder from each side is solicited to come to the front of the attendants and made by Gadaa Leader take oath to take responsibility of leading the dispute processings on the behalf of themselves and others. Based on the norm or custom of the society, the Gadaa Leader orders them to go down onto their knees and take oath as below.

61. G. Leader: *warra du?-e: -f gumaa: d'ug-a:n ba:-sif-tu: ?*

family dead-DAT blood price truly-ABL make-2P-IMP

"Do you make the blood price paid properly/truly for the murdered's family?"

62. Med. Elders: *?e:jje: d'uga:-n ba:sif-na*

yes true-DET make-1P-IMP

"Yes, we will make it to be paid properly/truly".

63. G. Leader: *d'i:g -ni akka hin d'angala:-ne wara:na č'i:b-si -tu:?*

blood-NOM like NEG bloodshed-IMP spear lay-CAUS-2P-IMP

Do you lay spear to avoid bloodshed?

64. Med. Elders: *?e:jje: ni č'i:b-si-na*

yes FOC lay-CAUS-1P-IMP

Yes, we'll lay it!

65. G. Leader: *d'uga: jo: jallift-an, wa:k'a gadaa: šana -ni: -ti:n;*

true if make improper-2P-ABL God gadaa five-DEF-ABL

wa:k'a ?oda nabi: -ti:n ni č'ub-bif-am-tu: ?

God symbolical tree Nabi-ABL FOC be sinful-Pass-2P-IMP

If you make things unproper or mistreat any of the two parties in

feud in an injustice way, may you be sinful by the name of God of Nabi's
Odaa tree and five Gadaa Parts?

66. Med. Elders: ?e:jje: ni č'ub-bif-am -na

yes FOC be sinful-Pass-1P-IMP

Yes, we'll be sinful/Let Him make us sinful.

67. G. Leader: jo: d'uga: jal-lift-an k'e?e:n ke:ss -an

if true make unproper-2P-ABL premise your-2P-ABL

da:ra: botoro: ha: ta?-u

ash type of tree let be-3SM-IMP

If you make things unproper or mistreat anyone of them in an injustice way,
may your premises become ash of *botoroo* 'kind of plant'?

68. Med. Elders: ?e:jje: ha: ta?-u

yes let be-3SM-IMP

Yes, let it be/may it be!

What we can clearly understand from the text above is the Oromo's social hierarchy in which the Gadaa Leader is at the highest position. Besides, he acts as curser who is the right person to declare his wishes by commanding the selected elders to take oath to be true or faithful. In line with this second idea, Baye (1998: 26) expresses as "cursing expressions are either performative or desiderative in their forms. In the performative cases, the curser declares his wishes directly by using the imperative/command form of the verb." Hence, the above linguistic expressions are in the form of performative through which the Gadaa Leader performs the speech acts verbally which is hoped to be followed by those mediator elders will be true to mediate the reputants fairly.

Then, they stand up from where they have been kneeling down and go back to join the other elders soon after they finish taking oath. Next, they, in their turn, arrange appointments to carry out the next phase dispute processings according to the already existing blood price laws. The supplication performances end here though the mediator elders continue to carry out the responsibility they are given to restore peace between the two disputants. Taking this

responsibility, they discuss with one another about the next performance(s) i.e. when, where and how it may be held as well as who should be available on the performance(s) as co-mediators with them in the negotiation.

4.2. *Hant'oo* Performance

This is the second performance next to supplication, carried out by the mediator elders who are already selected to initiate it. After they have examined the issues, they perform this namely *hant'oo* and at some places called *sangaa dhiibuu* literally 'pushing an ox'. This performance is conducted on some distance away from the injured's premise. The family or proxy of the murderer takes the ox there for slaught at the place of that particular performance as a sign of establishing closeness and peace between the two parties in feud though this activity is limited to East Shewa as the researcher couldn't find it at West and North Shewa areas. In this event, proxies of both sides are made available on the performance, especially from the murdered's side at least up to three descending generations or lineages, because they are counted as family members or close kins. Therefore, they are made available by taking into consideration the revenge they may take emotionally by remembering the dead or bloodshed which in turn is feared not to be an impediment on the dispute processings at its early stage. At that selected performance place(s), members of both sides should be there. Then the murderer's side provides the ox which one of them stays keeping it in front of those attendants until its slaughtering. Then all attendants are ordered by Gadaa Leader or one of those selected elders to put down anything they hold at their hands. Next, three of those elders bless one after the other as follows (beginning from the elder clans).

69. Med. Elder: *wa:k' -ni* *oda:* *nabi:*, *wa:k' -ni* *šan-an gadaa:*
 God-NOM symbolical tree Nabi God-DET five-ABL gadaa
naga: -n *nu-bul-čī-te* *naga: -n* *nu-?o:l-čī*
 peace-DET us-spend the night-CAUS-2SM-PF peace-DET us-let spend the day-2SM
 "God of Nabi's Odaa Tree and God of five Gadaa Parts, may You make us
 Spend this day peacefully too as You've made us spend the previous night!"
70. Attendants: *nu - ?o:l-čī*

us-let spend the day-2MS

May You make us spend the day!

71. Med. Elder: *lubbu: bad-de nu: -f ka:-si*

soul destroy-DIM-PF us-DAT compensate-2SM

May it be Your will for the dead's soul to be compensated.

72. Attendants: *nu: -f ka:-si*

us-DAT compensate-2SM

Let You compensate it for us!

73. Med. Elder: *gara: warra du?-e: nu: -f fajji-si*

abdomen RPP dead-3SM-PF us-DAT heal-2SM

God, may it be Your will to heal or compensate (for us) the moral of those dead's family and relatives!

74. Attendants: *nu:-f fajji-si*

us-DAT heal-2SM

May You heal it (their moral) for us!

75. Med. Elder: *ara:ra jalk'-ab-ne kana fi:t'-an nu:-f ba:-si*

reconciliation begin-MID-1P this effective-ABL us-DAT make-2SM

Let You make effective (for us) the reconciliation we have already begun!

76. Attendants: *fi:t'-an nu: -f ba:-si*

effective-ABL us-DAT make-2SM

May You make it effective for us!

While those three elders bless similarly taking turns, all attendants almost half bow down, stretching their hands forwards with widely opening their palms with its inner up side, listen to them attentively and utter out responses taking from the elders. Then, one of the murdered's family or proxy is made slaughter the ox. Then, all attendants eat the beef before they end up the performance by blessing. Next, the elder mediators remind the attendants the next performance.

4.3. The Performances of Paying and Receiving Blood Price

This is performed under a tree exist nearby to the residences of the murdered's family or proxy. This is also one of the blood price activities in dispute processings as well as it is one aspect of the different steps performed to resolve conflict between the parties in feud. Hence, depending on the amount of money determined for blood price, the murderer's family or proxy bring it plus with the expenditure the slain's family or proxy paid during burial ceremony. For instance, at North Shewa 2000 Birr as blood price plus expenditures, West Shewa 10,000 to 20,000 Birr as blood price plus expenditures, and at East Shewa 5000 to 800 Birr as blood price plus expenditures is brought on this performance day. Besides, some cattle are other additional entities which should be taken there as gifts. All clans of the injured, especially proxy one's are expected to present there on the performance. Further, Leaders of five *Gadaa* Parts, *guulas*, *beera ch'ifree*, *dabbaallees*, *foolles*, *k'ondaalas*, and all who had been participating on supplication 'the initial performance' are made exist on the event. Then, they are made be under the tree which is already selected for the performance. Then, they are ordered by *Gadaa* Leader to put down whatever they have on/in their hands to begin the performance. Next, *Gadaa* Leader open the ceremony by first blessing the people and praying to *Waak'aa* for the good harvests, cattle, peace and harmony among the people. Then, he teaches the highlight about *seera Gumaa* and as it is natural for any human to be in conflict with one another; because no one could be free of conflict throughout his/her course of life as it is natural among human beings in their day to day interactions while they are living together sharing the same environment. In line with this, Galung, (2002: 11) cited in Yihunbelay (2010: 1) as "[c]onflict is experienced each day by human beings who have different backgrounds, culture, class, nationality, age and gender."

Next, *Gadaa* Leader has also added as Oromo in general and Tulama Oromo in particular have *seera Gumaa* to resolve conflict, to restore peace and to keep harmony among themselves since unmemorable past times. After he explains some convinceable reasons, especially to make the injured accept the reconciliation, he makes two *lukoos* of both parties to come out to the front and *guula* to stand beside them. In blood price laws, taking oath and making promise are essential devices which have been used as conflict resolution and peace

restoration means, so that the two *lukoos* take oath. First, Gadaa Leader makes *lukoo* of the murdered take oath or makes promise as follows not to take avenge, but rather to accept the arbitration heartily.

77. G. Leader : *guma: ŋa:t-ta-ni: hin ŋa:n-ne ykn hin ?agare*

blood price receive-2P-DET NEG receive-2P or NEG see

jo: ŋet-t-an, wa:k'-ni ?oda: nabi:, wa:k'-ni

if say-2P-ABL God-DET symbolical tree Nabi God-DET

č'affe: tuma: ?is-in ha: č'ub-bi-su

Assembly law you-2P let be sinful-3SM-IMP

If you withdraw/deny receiving this blood price, I (Gadaa Leader) curse

you to be sinful in the name of Nabi's Oda Tree's and Assembly Law's God!

78. M. Lukoos: *?e:je: nu ha: č'ub-bi-su*

yes us let be sinful-3ms-MID-IMP

Yes, let Him make us sinful

79. G. Leader: *guma: ŋa:t-ta-ni: hin ŋa:n-ne jo: ŋet-ta-n,*

blood price receive-2P-DET NEG receive-IMP if say-2P-DET

?ilmo:-n ?isin-i: hin d'al-at-i:n; jo: d'al-at-ell-e:

off spring-DET for you-DET NEG borne-MID-NEG if though-MID- borne

kan ?akka buk'k'e: du:da: kan ?iŋa, mi:la, harka: fi gurra hin k'abne

RP like gourd virgin RP eye leg hand and ear NEG without

?isi -ni: -f ha: d'al-at-u

for you-2P-DAT let borne-MID-3SM-IMP

If you withdraw/deny receiving this blood price, let you not get your off spring; perhaps if you get it/them, let it borne for you looking likes virgin gourd - without eyes, legs, hands, ears, etc!

80. M. Lukoos: *kan akka buk'k'e: du:da: nu: -f ha: d'al-at-u*

RP like gourd virgin us -DAT let borne-MID-3SM-IMP

Let it borne for us being like virgin gourd.

81. G. Leader: *guma: ña:t-ta-ni: halo jo: ku:f-t-an,*

blood price receive-2P-DET revenge if nurse-2P-ABL

?ilmo: -n ?isi-ni:-f hin gudd-at-i:n; jo: gudd-at-e: jilba
child-DEF for you-2P-DAT NEG growth-MID-NEG if growth-MID-3SM knee

hin d'ak'k'-ab-i:n; jilba jo: d'ak'k'-ab-e:-jju: gate:tti: hin d'ak'k'-ab-i:n;
NEG reach-MID-NEG knee if reach-MID-3SM-FOC shoulder Neg reach-MID-NEG

gate:tti: bira darb-e: nam-a:n hin k'it't'a: -ti:n; nu:-f
shoulder level reach-3SM a man-DAT NEG leveller-NEG us-DAT

gud-at-e ?odo: jett-anu: ?isin jala: ha: k'ač'-č'a?-am-u

growth-MID-3SM while say-2P-IMP you-2P let die accidentally-Pass-3SM-IMP

“If you nurse/hoard revenge hereafter you receive this blood price, let not
your offspring(s) growth for you; though it/they may growth, let it/they not
reach knees level; if perhaps it/they reach(es) knees level, let it not reach
shoulder level; further, let it/they not growth above shoulder level and
leveller with normal size of a man; and while you feel it growth for you, let
it/they die accidentally!”

82. M. Lukoos: *nu:-f gudd-at-e ?odo: jen-nu: k'ač'-am-e: ha: du?-u*

us-DAT growth-MID-3SM-IMP while say-1P vanish-Pass-3SM let die-3SM-IMP

Let it/he die and vanish while we feel it/he growth for us.

Right after Gadaa Leader has finished his role of making them take oath,

Guula (Abbaa Seera) made the slayer's Lukoos (representatives) take
oath similarly as follows.

83. Guula: *guma: lubbu: darb-e: kana ?do: hin hir-?is-in*

blood price soul destroy-3SM-PF this without NEG in-complete-NEG

guut-ta-ni: ni d'ihe:ssi-tu:?

fulfill-2P-DET FOC provide-2P-IMP

Do you fulfil all necessary things and provide as a blood price for this bloodshed
without making it incomplete?

84. Slayer's Lukoos: ?e:jje: gu:n -ne: ni d'ihe:s-si-na.

yes fulfil-1P FOC provide-CAUS-1P-IMP

Yes, we will fulfill and provide it.

85. Guula: kan du? -e:-f ni gaddi-tu:? gočča

RP dead-PF-3SM-DAT FOC feel sorrow-2P-IMP action

ra:wwatt-ani:f ni ga:bbi -tu:?

perform-2P-DET-DAT FOC repent-2P-IMP

Do you feel sorrow for the dead? Do you repent for the (heinous) action you have performed?

86. Slayer's Lukoos: ?e:jje: ni gaddi-na; ni ga:bbi -na -s.

yes FOC feel sorrow-2P-IMP FOC repent-2P-IMP-FOC

Yes, we feel sorrow and repent (too)!

87. Guula: se:ra guma: č'ab-si-ta-ni: guma: jo:

law blood price break-CAUS-2P-ABL-DET blood price if

hank'if-t-an, sañi sad -e:n fi jire:-ñi ke:ss-an

in-complete-2P-ABL seed three-DEF and life-DET your-2P-ABL

hank'u: male: gu:tu: hin ta?-in; sañi:-n fača:f-at-t-an

incomplete without full NEG be-NEG seed-DET sow-2P-MID-ABL

?iddi: fard-i ?irra ?ejje-te ha: ta?-u; jire:-ñi

solanaceous fruit horse-DET on step-3SM let be-3SM life-DET

ke:ss-an mana ?obonbolatti:-n di:g-e ha: ta?-u; jir-ra

your-2P-ABL house hurricane-DET destruct-PF let be-3SM alive-2P

?odo: fet-ta-nu: da:ra: botoro: isin ha: god'-u!

while say-2P-IMP ash type of plant You-2P let make-3SM-IMP

If you break the law of blood price and unfulfill all its necessary things, let three basic things for your life such as cattle, grain or crop, and off springs, and your life as a whole be incomplete all the time; let the grain or crop you sow be like *hiddii* 'solanaceous fruit' on which a horse steps – means let it remains in soil; let your life be like the house which is destructed by hurricane; and while you feel you are alive, let the God makes you like *botoroos* ash (the lightest ash which is easily taken away by wind and disappear soon from vision) or let He vanish you accidentally.

88. Slayer's *Lukoos*: *jo: se:ra guma: kana hank'if-ne jire:-ñi ke:ña ha: di:g-am-u*

if law blood price this incomplete-1P life-DET our let distrust-Pass-3SM
If we make this blood price incomplete (by breaking its law), let our life be
destroyed.

In line with the cursing social values indicated in the above text, Baye (1998:2) explains as "[e]very society is identified and defined in terms of a set of hierarchically organized values, which distinguishes it from other societies. The values chain every one of its members to one another through a process of mutual knowledge and constant interaction." The values may be manifested visibly in the daily lives of individuals and groups of the society in their practices, performances and ritual in which verbals and non-verbal means of expressions are used for several purposes. Hence, the Gadaa leader and Guula take turn in making the murdered's representative promise which clearly show the social rank they possess in the society or hierarchy of their position. Both the Gadaa Leader, the first ranked, followed by the Guula who may be the next ranked perform an act of cursing based on existing social values of the people. In other words, the Gadaa Leader is the main agent followed by Guula who is the sub-agent in making the representatives of both parties in feud obeys the people's traditional blood price's law on the behalf of themselves and the people they represent. Both, the Gadaa leader and the Guula employ cursing in the form of imperative or command as a mechanism of valuing of social norms, laws and customs and controlling of shameful practices performed in the society by devaluing the people's values.

Soon after they have finished taking oath, the *lukoos* of both parties in feud return to the mass and join them. Next to that, based on the instruction given by either Gadaa Leader or Guula, the money brought there to give to the murdered's family as a blood price is made count by those *lukoos* at the existence of all attendants. This money is given to old man through whom it is given to them. But there is slight difference on this issue within these different Shewa zones. For instance, while this *jaarsa* does this at East Shewa, the money is simply given to and received from through *lukoos* of both sides at North and West Shewas. Meanwhile, from the money as a blood price, 100 Birr is given to a very aged or weak person at East Shewa; whereas, not at North and West Shewa zones. After that a murdered's family or proxy receives cattle which are brought there as gifts still this activity is done merely at East Shewa,

but there are not such gifts at North and West Shewas. After the attendants accomplish the ritual activities under this phase, Gadaa Leader informs all of them to present on the next performance. Next, he orders three senior elders to bless as an ending of that ceremony's performance. So, turn by turn, elders pray and bless all attendants to go back to their homes peacefully and also wish them all the best by which they end the event.

4.4. *Jila Buyyaa* 'Performance of Buyyaa Ceremony'

This ceremony is the last performance through which both parties in feud give solution for the conflicts between them and end up the grudge by taking oath or by making promise. This has its own style of rituals or customs. In other words, it is the ritual ceremony which is performed in limited setting and has its own definite attendants as well as used as a device to settle the conflicts between the two disputants for the last time. My informants and discussants said that this ritual ceremony can be performed on five days of the week, but mostly on Sundays because this day is taken as Holy and rest day than the other days of the week though this view is taken from the Christianity as Oromo has no the days of the week in their calendar originally; rather Oromo has name for each day of the month (Lunar days) (Eshetu, 2009: 68). The two exceptional days of the week are Wednesday and Friday which are counted as *guyoota Ch'agino* literally unlucky (ill-fated) days. Since people believe as it is unfair to hold the murder case(s) on these two days, it is not held or discussed on either of these days. The performance of this ritual ceremony is held at the murdered's family residence or home. Starting from the early morning of the day before, people set tent(s) which is/are prepared either from tree branches or *Sharaa* 'plastic' which should be enough to hold up all attendants. On the floor of the house(s) and of the tent(s), some chairs are arranged, goatskin or sheepskin mats and green grasses are spread or scattered. Having finished these activities, the following things are provided by the murderer's family. These are ox to slaughter, a black goat (female) or a sheep, food and drink which should be enough to the attendants of both parties, honey to eat in a very small amount and milk to sip which is enough for all attendants. These honey and milk symbolize avoiding grudge and resharing love, heifer namely *goromisa* means heifer (as a reward to murdered's family), enough amount of butter to anoint on the heads of all attendants, *bullukkoo* 'heavy cloth made up of

cotton as a reward for the murdered's father, and *gaabii* 'made up of cotton too which is half size of *bullukkoo* as a reward for murdered's mother. After they assured the fulfilment of all these and other necessary things, all clans of both sides, Gadaa Leaders, guulas, male and female mediators and youths of different age levels under Gadaa system age settings, exist at the home of the murdered's family since lunch time to the afternoon. When all arrive, they make a line - the murderer's clans at rear of the line, clans of the injured at the front line and Gadaa Leaders, elders and Guulas being in between them. Then, Gadaa Leader or Guula assure the existance of murdered's father, mother, brother(s), sister(s), uncle(s), aunt(s) or any other proxies by giving special attention and summoning on their names loudly as much as he can. Then, he orders all to set journey to the place where it is held - some meters far away from the house. While walking to that fixed place, it is forbidden for both clans' members to be integrated; rather, the murderer's clans walk on the left side, clans of the murdered on the right side and mediator elders walk being in between them by carrying sacred materials like *kallacha*, *ch'ach'u*, *Bokkuu* and whip which symbolize their common religion.

4.5. *Harka Baafannaa* ‘Purification Performance’

This purification performance is conducted by slaughtering either an old ewe or goat to shake one another's hand through its stomach as to purification. Murderer and the murdered's father or any proxy does this to purify the bloodshed between them via the blood of that sheep or goat. While shaking hands in the stomach of the sheep or goat, they also take oath or make promise not to avenge each other any time in the future. This performance is also counted as part of the preceded *buyyaa* ceremony. It is performed at the river bank, edge of abyss or on the piece of land which is not used for farming as well as which is found on somewhat far away from the slain's family or proxies' residence. These places are chosen specifically since people believe as the sin of bloodshed washed from the slayer and remains there which is in turn counted as it will bring the same case upon others if they use such kinds of sinful piece of lands for/as farming land as well as for cattle's graze before purification is performed for it too. However, elders suggest that people can use that kind of lands after another purification for the land itself is held by Abbaa *Abdaarii* 'senior elder of that area' with participation of people living around there. To get back to the main issue, the purification performance 'among the slayer and the slain's family' is held at the mentioned place(s) by participation of all attendants. The murderer and the murdered's father or one of their family members are ordered by Gadaa Leader to come out to the front of the attendants. Murderer's clans stand on the left side while the slain's clans stand on the right side with five Gadaa Parts Leaders and other mediators stand in between them. Then, either the sheep or goat is provided to be slaughtered for the purification.

Then, Gadaa Leader permits the murderer to take off the cloth he was wearing on his face to hide himself from the attendants' sight. After that the murderer is made shave his bread and hair. Nevertheless, this purification performance would not be performed unless the slayer personally exists there. Then, either the slaughtered sheep's or goat's stomach is lacerated both for the murderer and for anyone of the murdered's family or proxy to shake one another within it facing away from each other. They perform it merely when Gadaa Leader or guula gives them instruction to do so. According to elders, goat symbolizes restlessness and evil spirit which causes the people to disagree and kill each another. So, it is slaughtered to chase

away that evil spirit and instead to call for Holy Spirit which is believed to avoid restlessness or evil spirit and restore peace among the people. Whereas, sheep symbolizes restness, sustainability, honesty and as beloved by Holy Spirit, so that it helps to call for the Holy Spirit to descend down, come closer and help them to be successful in reconciliation and peace restoration. Both of them will never look at each other until they are allowed to do so; rather, stay turning their backs on each other. Then, Gadaa Leader makes the attendants say the following expressions as their wish of all for the avoidance of such evil events from happening to them again in the future.

89. G. Leader: *nut-i*¹² *hund-i* *ke:-ña* *wali-tti* *mar?im-a:n-i*¹³;

we-NOM all-DET of our to each other-LOC intestine-DET

nut-i *hark-i* *ke:ña* *wali:-f* *tokkičuma/tokkuma*¹⁴

we-NOM hand-DET our to one another-DAT the same

We all are one (to each other); our hands are the same for one another (we are the same).

90. Attendants: *?e:jje: nut-i* *hund-i* *ke:-ña* *tokkičuma/tokkuma*

yes we-NOM all-DET of our the same

Yes, we all are the same.

91. G. Leader: *ham-tu:* *go:mat-tu:-n* *gargar nu hin* *ba:s-tu*

evil-DIM jealous-DIM-DET separate us NEG separate-IMP

An evil doer(s) or jealous person(s) will never separate us.

92. Attendants: *?e:jje: gargar nu hin* *ba:s-tu*

yes separate us NEG separate-DIM

¹² The pronoun *nuti* 'we' seems to have three allophones *nu?i*, *nu* and *nuti*.

¹³ '*mar?ima:ni*' is literally 'intestine', but in this text, it is contextually inferred as mean having strong relationship with one another.

¹⁴ In the word *tokkičuma/tokkuma*, the syllable '-či-' does not bring meaning change if either inserted or deleted.

Yes, he/she will never separate us.

93. G. Leader: *nut-i fo:n-i tokko ka:!*

we-NOM flesh-DET one FOC

We are one flesh (close kins)!

94. Attendants: *?ejje: nut-i fo:n-i tokko!*

yes we-NOM flesh-DET one

Yes, we are one flesh!

95. G. Leader: *wali-tti tiru: d'a ka:?*

to each other-LOC liver is FOC

We are one family (i.e.; liver -very close kins)!

96. Attendants: *?ejje: nut-i tiru: tokko!*

yes us-NOM liver one

Yes, we are one (family)!

97. G. Leader: *wali-tti mar?ima:-ni ka:!*

to each other-LOC intestine-DET FOC

We are one (close kins) with one another!

98. Attendants: *?ejje: mar?ima: -ni!*

yes intestine-DET

Yes, we are very closely related (family or very agree)!

Next to this, it is Guula's turn to make them promise or take oath.

99. Guula: *nu-ti ?e:bo: wali -tti hin dar-ban-nu*

we-NOM spear to each other-LOC NEG throw-1P-IMP

We will never throw spear to each other (to harm)

100. Attendants: *wali-tti hin darb-an-nu*

to each other-FOC NEG throw-DAT-1P-IMP

We will never throw it to each other.

101. Guula: *nu-ti wal hin gan-nu; wal hin*

we-NOM each other NEG betray-1P-IMP each other NEG

?aŋŋe:f-nu/?aŋŋe:s-nu.¹⁵ wal-itti halo: hin ku:f-nu
kill-1P-IMP to each other-LOC revenge NEG nurse -1P-IMP

We will never betray each other, nurse revenge to each other and kill each other.

102. Attendants: ?e:ŋŋe: wal hin gan -nu; wal hin
yes each other NEG betray-1P-IMP each other NEG

?aŋŋe:f-nu/?aŋŋe:s-nu; halo: -s wali -tti hin gu:r-ru
kill-1P-IMP revenge-FOC to each other-LOC NEG nurse-1P-IMP

Yes, we'll never betray each other, nurse/hoard revenge to each other and kill one another.

103. Guula: kun-i afa:n ma:li?
this-NOM word whose

Whose word is this?

104. Attendants: afa:n wa:k'-i
word God-DET

It is God's word.

The Gadaa Leader first utters and creates an expectation of attendants who are in a position of adjacency pairs with him. The Gadaa Leader says something based on which the attendants give response with condensed form of the phrases. From this, we can deduce that the economy principle is employed. In his utterance, Gadaa Leader directs the attendants to do what he believes to be by including himself with them as we can easily infer from the phrase "nuti hundi keenya" mean 'we all'. Besides, the attendants also share the same context with Gadaa Leader or they have background knowledge of the same culture as they could easily give responses for some vague linguistic expressions like "kun afaan maali?" mean 'whose word is this?'; by saying "afaan Waaki"; mean 'it is God's word'. Semantically, the phrase doesn't convey the response given by attendants. It is contextually inferred from what is either unwritten or unspoken (unsaid).

¹⁵ Phonemes '-f-' and '-s-' are free variations in the word ?aŋŋe:f-nu/?aŋŋe:s-nu.

They all make promise in the name of *Waak'aa* to avoid grudge and live together peacefully. This one is the promise made by mass, but the serious one is the promise made by the slayer and slain's proxy who shake each other within either goat's or sheep's stomach. When they take oath or make promise, there are some materials symbolize religious cases such as spears, whips, gun, bullet, stone, gourd, dry leave, tobacco 'made like circular small bread', some maize's grains, green pepper, powder of any grain, ash, thread, *marraajaa fi qabdoo* 'mallet and pliers', etc., are integrated and put between them where they go down on their knees to take oath. Then, starting from the father or any proxy of the murdered family, the Gadaa Leader makes them take oath or make them promise as follows.

105. G. Leader: *kana:-n bo:da dabde: jo:-n ja:d-e;*

here-NOM after grudge if-1S-DET think-1S

halo:-f jo:-n ka?-e, du:t-i nan-d'ab-in jed'-i!

revenge-DAT if-1S-DET rise-1P-IMP death-DET me-NEG-miss-NEG say-2P

Say, hereafter, if I thought grudge and rise to take avenge, let the death miss me not!

106. M. Father: *dut-i nan-d'ab-in*

death-NOM me-miss-NEG

Let the death not miss me!

107. G. Leader: *jo:-n halo:-f ka?-e, ?e:bo:-n kun*

if-1S-NOM for revenge-DAT rise-1S spear-DET this

darbat-am-e: nan-d'ab-in; kun d'uga: d'a nak'arsa: ?amma

throw-Pass-3SM me-miss-NEG this true is cancer as big as

d'aga: kana: gahu sammu: ko: ke:ssa ha: ka:-u wa:k-ni

stone this be equal mind my in let put-2SM God-DET

?oda: nabi: jed'-i!

symbolical tree Nabi say-2S

Say, if I rise to take revenge, let this spear not miss me whenever it is thrown at me; this is true; and let God of Nabi's sycamore put cancer (sarcoma) as big as this stone in my mind.

108. M. Father: *sammu: ko: ke:ssa ha: ka:ʔ-u*

mind my in let put-3SM-IMP

Let Him put (create) it in my mind.

109. G. Leader: *ʔaʃʃe:s-e: d'iiga sañi:-sa: ʔirra: kan hin d'ik'ne*

kill-3SM blood genetic-his from RP NEG wash

k'urč'č'-umma: male: na ha: kuk-ku-tu; č'itto:

leprosi-ness without me let leprous-3SM-IMP itch

male: hu:k'k'-i-se: na ha: so:fu; me:ša-wwan

without make skinny-3SM me let emaciate-3SM-IMP object-P

kun horda: taʔ-an-i: na wara:nu: -f na-tti ha: warra:k'-an jed'-i!

these Phillips be-3P-DET me pierce-DAT me-LOC let move-3P-ABL say-2S

Let leprosy threats me without having it genetically; let it itch and make me very skinny or 'emaciate' without having any skin disease; let all these materials become *hordaa* 'phillips' – (i.e., flathead metal used to plough - cavernous into the soil) and move toward me to pierce me (as if they were alive and moveable things)!

110. M. Father: *k'urč'č'-umma: male: na ha: kuk-ku-tu; me:ša-wwan*

Leprosiness without me let leprous-2SM-IMP object-P

kun horda: taʔ-an-i: na ha: wara:n-an!

these phillips be-3P-ABL-DET me let pierce-3P-ABL

Let leprosy threats me without having it genetically; let these objects become Phillips and pierce me!

Gadaa Leader brings the murderer and murdered's father at one place based on social norms, customs and traditional laws which may impossible for any other laymen. Then, he orders first the murdered's father to take the pledge or make serious promise not to avenge either the murderer or anyone of his proxies. Having a presupposition or murder case(s) in their minds, the Gadaa Leader, the murderer and the murdered's father utter out turn by turn by the Gadaa Leader as a facilitator of the speech performances. As I have already stated in chapter two (page: 21-22) about felicity conditions, relating to that, here the murder case is a felicity condition for their performance of speech acts they make. The Gadaa Leader asserts his intention to be recognized by the murderer and, especially by the murdered's father (i.e., to

obey the promise he has made). There are two conditions for their performance of speech acts they make in the preceded text. The first one is sincerity condition through which the Gadaa Leader lets the promisees make promise in which he genuinely intends to carry out the future action (i.e., for the promisees to obey the promise they make). The second one is the essential condition which covers the fact that by the act of uttering a promise, the Gadaa Leader hereby intends to create an obligation indirectly upon the promisees to carry out the action of keeping the promise as promised or as they have already promised it.

Having finished taking oath or pledge, both the murderer and the murdered's father are allowed to get back and join the attendants. Next, all clans of both sides are made say the following expressions together being led either by Gadaa Leader or Guula.

111. Guula: *guma:-n* *kun bo:da-tti* *hin* *de:b-i?-u*
 blood price-NOM this back-LOC NEG retreat-3SM-IMP
 “This blood price will never be retreated.”

112. Clans: *bo:da -tti* *hin* *de:bi?-u*
 back-LOC NEG retreat-3SM-IMP
 “It will never be retreated.”

113. Guula: *d'e:ra-n* *hin* *gaba:-ba-tu;* *gaba:-ba-te*
 tall-NOM NEG become short-3SM-IMP if becomes short-3MS
 hin *k'al -at-u :*
 NEG if becomes thin-MID-3MS-IMP
 The tall will never become short; if it becomes short, it will never become thin
 (Oromo's
 saying to mean the natural law will never be changed)

114. Clans: *hin* *gaba:-ba-tu;* *gaba:-ba -te:* *hin* *k'al-?a-tu*
 NEG becomes short-3SM-IMP if becomes short-3SM NEG becomes thin-3SM-IMP
 It will never become short; perhaps even if becomes short, it'll never become thin.

115. Guula: *k'al-?a-te: hin so:f-am-u; so:f-am-e: hin č'it-u*
 if becomes-3SM NEG emaciate-Pass-3SM if emaciates-Pass-3SM NEG cut-3SM-IMP
 If it becomes thin, it will never be emaciated; if it is emaciated, it will never be cut.
116. Clans: *hin so:f-am-u; so:f-am-e: hin č'it-u*
 NEG emaciate-Pass-IMP if emaciate-Pass-PF NEG cut-3SM-IMP
 It will never be emaciated; if it is emaciated, it will never be cut.
117. Guula: *se:rr-i guma: kun se:ra oromo:-n dur*
 law-NOM blood price this law Oromo-DET ancient time
ba:f-at-e; du:d'a: ganama:-ti
 make-MID-PF norm original-LOC
 This law of blood price is the Oromo original law which they had made as part of their norm since ancient time.
118. Clans: *?e:jje: du:d'a: ke:ña ganama:-ti*
 yes norm our original-LOC
 Yes, it is our original norm (or law).
119. Guula: *kana:-n bo:da, warri guma: ba:ft-an-is,*
 here-NOM after RPP blood price pay-2P-ABL-FOC
warri guma: ñat-t -an -is gaba:/mača:ra¹⁶
 RPP blood price receive-2P-ABL-FOC market
tokko-tti dal-dal-t-u; laga tokko č'e:-tu;
 the same-LOC trade-REDUP-2P-IMP river the same cross-2PP-IMP
tokko ta:-t-u; tokko kan bira:f ja:lle:,
 one be-2P-IMP one RP to other-DAT bestman/bridesmaid

¹⁶ The words *gaba:* and *mača:ra* are synonyms which are widely used among native speakers at different places.

sodda: fi kkf ta?-a

parents -in- law and etc become-2S-IMP

Hereafter, you - who pay and receive blood price can trade at the same market, cross the same river together, you become one, one can be bestman/bridesmaid, parents-in-law, so and so forth to one another.

120. Clans: *?e:jje: tokko ta:-na*

yes one become-1P-IMP

Yes, we will become one

121. Guula: *wali:-n ña:t-tu; wali:n d'ug-du-s!*

together-NOM eat-2P-IMP together-DET drink-2P-FOC

You eat and drink together!

122. Clans: *?e:jje: wali:-n ña:-na; wali:-n d'ug-na-s!*

yes together-NOM eat-1P-IMP together-DET drink-1P-FOC

Yes, we eat and drink together!

All clans of both parties in feud utter out 'loudly to the top of their voices' these expressions together right after guula uttered it and feel relief of tensions among them; because it is the last performance of peace restoration through reconciliation. Then, they leave the slaughtered goat or sheep there in the field as it is and all go together to the murderer's house. They leave the slaughtered animal(s) there in the field as eating its meat is an embarrassment. Absolute poor guys may take the hide or eat the meat or merely scavengers may eat it. If one is seen eating it, he/she will be undermined in the society. While attendants set journey, the murderer is made walk in front of all of them by bending down his head as a sign of psychological punishment, because of the heinous action he has done by breaking the people's rule of life (or for his against a natural law).

4.6. The Ritual Performance at Murderer's Home

When the attendants get back to murderer's home (if any) or to his family's home, an ox for slaughter awaits them just on/at the gate. Two sisters of the murderer (if any or from his proxy) also await them similarly by the gate. The first one holding *onkoolaa mijuu* means 'flute or container of ritual drink' full of honeydew melon and the second one holding flute filled up with the mixture of water and something bitter. Then, as soon as those attendants arrive at the gate, the first one spill out that honeydew melon onto/into their faces while saying "*hamtuun badde toltuun galte*;" means '[a] bad fortune is disappeared, a good fortune is remaintained'. This is counted as a reflection of love for one another as well as it is used as a symbole of conflict resolution and peace restoration. The second sister of the murderer also waits for her turn holding water mixed with something bitter and then utters the same phrase and does the same thing. The bitter symbolizes hatred, grudge, threat, ill-fate, malicious and others. Hence, they believe that after that performance, there are never be hatred, grudge, threats, being malicious on each other, etc. Then, the attendants enter into either the tents prepared for them or houses and takes seats 'the goatskin or sheepskin mats' while the slain's family or proxies, mediator elders and who are given high status in the society sit on those mats which are carefully spread on *madabii* 'seat made from mud'. After all take seats, either the slain's father/brother or *lukoo(s)* made slaughter the ox which is made ready for the ceremony.

Then, the meat is cut into many pieces called *Gumaa* 'hunk of meat' depending on the number of people there. Next, the murderer takes that hunks of meat onto his palms full and divide it among the proxies of slain first. They pick up those hunks of meat from his palms with their mouths but not with their hands.

Then, the Gadaa Leader makes clans of both parties uttering the following.

123. G. Leader: *fó:-n tokko ta:-ne-(i)-rra.*

Flesh-NOM one be-1P-LOC-PressPF

We become one flesh.

124. Clans: ?e:yye: tokko ta:-ne-(i)-rra.

yes one become-1P-LOC-PressPF

Yes, we've become one.

125. G. Leader: fo:-n wali -tti ta:-ne-(i)-rra.

Flesh-NOM to each other-LOC become-2P-PresPF

We (have) become flesh (close kin) to each another.

126. Clans: ?e:yye: wali-tti ta:-ne-(i)-rra.

yes to each other -LOC become-1P-PresPF

Yes, we (have) become one flesh.

This implies the reintegration or unification of both clans' members. To assure this, they give handful to one another; eat together, so that they will never think again about hatred, grudge, revenge, and threaten one another any time in the future. This is performed up to the early evening of that day. Then, the murderer is made let slain's parents wear *bulukkoo*. These all activities symbolize as they become like one family members. It also implies as avoiding completely sense of grudge, revenge and so on from the mind of slain's family and clans. This is the performance done in order to create unity, sense of familyhood, and reintegration among those two parties.

The slayer sits in front of the slain's family members to indicate his integration with them and even as a membership of the slain's family. Then, he and all slain's family members grieve once as a memory for the dead. They can show their grief even by weeping even loudly with tears rolling down their cheeks. The slayer also shows his repentance for the heinous action he has done by bitterly weeping with them.

Next to this, all attendants show their grief together for the dead. After they accomplish these activities mentioned above, attendants create fun by raising different jokes, folktales, proverbs, riddles(which is only raised and talked about in the evening according to Oromo views), etc., turn by turn while feasting the food and drink prepared at either slayer's (if any) home or his family's home.

4.2.6. Amalgamation of Both Parties

This is the last integration performance when the murderer is made act to suck the breast of the murdered's mother as a ritual activity. However, this is limited to East Shewa since the researcher hasn't found it practiced in North and West Shewa zones. Nevertheless, this is done at East Shewa in order to show that the slayer is counted as the replaced son for the murdered's mother instead of her own son (who was killed). Since this ritual performance is performed, the slayer is counted as a new son of the injured family rather than being seen as their enemy.

After the slayer accomplishes an act of sucking on the murdered's mother's breast or acting it simply to show his/her being obedient which in turn counted as a symbol of his/her becoming of her new son, either Gadaa Leader or Guula makes both the slayer and murdered's mother take the last step oath as follows.

127. G. Leader: *har?a: č'alk'ab-e:/jalk'ab-e:¹⁷ ?ati ?ilmo: warra du?ee-ti;*
 today Since-IMP you off spring family dead-LOC
?e:ñuma:-n dura ni mirmat-ta:-f;
 anyone-DET before FOC cooperate-2S-DAT
jo: dad'ab - an ?uffata ?irra: mi:č- 'i-ta; gaba: d'ak'-t'a:-f;
 if become weak-3P-ABL cloth from wash-2SM-IMP market go to-2SM-DAT
 Since today on, you are the son of the murderd's family; above anyone else, you should cooperate with them in any circumstances; you ought to wash their clothes, buy and sale goods for them from/at the market whenever they become old/weak or whenever they are in need; fence their home and others.

128. Slayer: *wa:da-d'a hunduma: nan-god'a ykn nan-raawwad'a:*
 Promise-is all I - do or I-perform
 It is promise; I will do/perform these all.

¹⁷ Phonemes '-č-' and '-j-' are free variations in the words *č'alk'ab-e:* and *jalk'ab-e:*

After the slayer is made take an oath like this mentioned above, similarly, the slain's mother is also made take oath in her turn not to discriminate him from her own children from then on.

129. G. Leader: *har?a: č'alk'ab-e: ?inni muč'a: ko:ti; ?an-is ha:d'a*
 today since-IMP he son my I-also mother
?isa:-ti fed'-i
 his -LOC say -2S

Say, 'since today on, he is my son and I am his mother too'.

130. Slain's Mother: *har?a: č'alk'-ab-e: ?inni muč'a: ko:-ti; an-is ha:d'a ?isa:-ti*
 today since-MID-IMP he son my-LOC I-also mother his-LOC
 Since today on, he is my son and I am also his mother.

131. G. Leader: *?akkuma muč'a: ko:-(ti)tti:-n (?i)la:la male: ?ifo:lle:*
 like son my-LOC-DET see-1S-IMP without children
ko:(t):-n gargar ?isa hin ba:s-u; ?akkuma muč'a:
 my-DET discriminate him NEG separate-1S-IMP like son
ko:-(ti)tti jero: na-barba:č-is-e-tti wanta na-barba:č-is-e:-f
 my-LOC when me-in need-CAUS-LOC whatever me-need-Caus-DAT
aŋaŋa-čč-u: male: ?of-(i)rra: hin d'i:b-u fed'-i
 order-REDUP-for oneself without from oneself-LOC NEG push-2S-IMP
 say-2S

Say, 'I will treat him like my son, but I'll never discriminate him from my children; rather I'll order him to do my will like anyone of my children whenever I'll in need!'

132. M. Mother: *?akkuma muč'a: ko:-(ti)tti:-n (?i)la:la male: gargar hin ba:s-u*
 Like son my-DAT-DET see-1S-IMP without separate NEG discriminate-IMP
 I will treat (see) him as my son, but I'll never discriminate him. Furthermore, the attendants also say the following phrases together in their turn.

133. G. Leader: *kana:-n bo:da ati ?ilma ?isa: - ni - ti.*
 here-NOM after you son their-DET-LOC
 Hereafter, you are their son.

134. Slayer: *?e:yye: kan ?isa:-ni-ti.*

yes RP their-DET-LOC

Yes, I belong to them.

135. Attendants: *?isa:n-is muč'a: ke:ña ĵed'a-ni:-ti si (?i)la:lu.*

they-also son our say-3P-DET-LOC you see-3P-IMP

They also see (treat) you as their son.

Next, the attendants express their wishes of peace, heartily reintegration and harmony among the slayer, his family, slain's family and the clans of both parties in general. Then, the heifer is given to slain's mother as a gift which she takes with her to her home. This heifer is given to her to let her forget the previous bad situations by drinking its milk (as it is supposed). It is also said to indicate the thoroughly reintegration between the two parties by becoming like milk and abdomen to each other or "*Aananii (milk) fi (and) garaa (abdomen) walitti (to each other) ta'uu*" (becoming) (i.e. absolute harmony). According to Oromo culture as a whole, any group activities, especially the ritual ones like this is started and ended with blessings of the elders. Therefore, starting from the most senior one, three elders bless turn by turn as follows.

136. Most senior elder: *hayye:!* *hayye:!* *hayye:!*

Oh Almighty! Oh Almighty! Oh Almighty!

137. Most senior elder: *wa:k'a ?u:ma: wa:k'a ?u:mama:*

God Creator God Creature

Oh creator God! Creator of creatures!

138. Most senior elder: *wa:k'a salg-an bo:rana:*

God nine-ABL Borana

God of nine Boranas!

139. Most senior elder: *wa:k'a torb-an ba:rent-umma:*

God seven-ABL Barentu-ness

God of seven Barentus!

140. Most Senior Elder : *wa:k'a šan-an gada: ?oromo:*

God five-ABL Gadaa Oromo

God of five Oromo Gadaas (or commonly called 'Buttaa)

141. Most senior elder: *d'uga: nu-dubb-ačč-i:si*

true us-speak-make-MID-2S

Please make us speak true/truth.

142. Most senior elder: *?ara:ra nu:-f bu:f-t-e:*

conciliation us-DAT remaintain-2S-PF

galan-ni si:-f ha: ta?-u

thanks-DET you-DAT let be-IMP

Thanks belongs to You God for You have remaintained this reconciliation (for us).

143. Most senior elder: *?ara:ra nu:-f bu:f-te kana de:bif-te:*

reconciliation us-DAT remaintain-2S-PF this take back-2S

nu-(i)r-raa hin fud'-at -i:n

us-LOC NEG take back-MID-2S-NEG

Please don't take back this reconciliation you have remaintained for us.

144. Most senior elder: *nu-?ille: k'ehe: naga:-tti nu-gal-či.*

we- also premise peace-LOC us-make go back-2S

Please make us also to go back to peaceful premise (our premise).

145. Most Senior Elder: *gudda: nama ke:ña: nu:-f bul-či*

big a person our us-DAT give a long life-2S

May You give long life to our elders (who are knowledgeable in people's norms, customs, traditional laws, etc.)

146. Most senior elder: *wala:-la: ke:ña be:ka: nu:-f god'-i*

layman-3SM our knowledgeable us-DAT make-2S

May it be Your will to make our laymen knowledgeable!

147. Most senior elder: *be:ka: nama ke:ña: nu:-f bul-či.*

knowledgeable person our us-DAT give a long life-2S

May You give for our knowledgeable person(s) a long life!

148. Most senior elder: *kormi* *čirri:* *ha: ta?-u*
a bull hippopotamus bird let be-3SM-IMP
May a bull(s) be hippopotamus bird(s) (to easily mount a cow
which is needed for good breeding)
149. Most senior elder: *rima:-n* *hap'e:*¹⁸ *ha: ta?-u*
conception-NOM sticky let be-3SM-IMP
May conception be a success (stick at womb of cows)!
150. Most senior elder: *gada:-n* *ro:ba: naga:*
gadaa-NOM rainy peace
May Gadaa (era) be rainy and peaceful!
151. Most senior elder: *barr-i* *k'u:fa:* *gabbina*
year-NOM satisfactory prosperous!
May the year is a prosperous!

In this blessing text, there is a speech exchange between God being as upper hand or subject partner to the elders, the representatives of all participants, being as object partners to Him. However, since there is no response given to the elders from the God who is not there physically, the elders' speech performance followed by 'Amen' responses of the attendants occurs or made by the elders one after the other rather than as part of speech exchange with the God (whom they believe to hear them though does not give responses to their requests soon rather gradually) face-to-face. The elders thank their God, the creator of everything and two main original branches of Oromo (i.e., Borana and Barentu with their further nine and seven sub-branches respectively) and also Who is the supposed to be source of five Gadaa parties, for His will and enabling them to restore peace and maintain reconciliation between those parties who had been in feud. They also entreat Him not to withdraw the peace He has restored for them, to let everyone of them return to their premises peacefully, to give long life to their elders and knowledgeable persons, to give them good breeds and so forth. Eventually,

¹⁸ The ejective p' is equivalent to pair phone 'ph' in Afan Oromo Orthographical writing

like the word *hap'e:* = *haphēe* written in above text.

they summarize the performance of the blessing event by requesting their God to make the Gadaa rainy and peaceful and particularly the year in which they are to be prosperous for all of them and society in general.

All the three elders bless as such one after the other starting from the most elder to the junior one (the age may not matter here; rather seniority of the clans matter). While they are blessing, all attendants say 'Amen' together again and again by stretching out their hands as well as by widely opening their palms (its inner parts upwards to receive bless from the God). Eventually, all elders and attendants go back to their premises after finishing the ritual activities and blessing each other. The arbitration which is the reliable and sustainable is ended up on this phase. It is reliable and sustainable, because every Oromo clan has fear of God in his/her mind that no one will even try to withdraw the oath once he/she has taken and the promise he/she has already made. For this reason, the clan members of the two parties are believed to live with one another for ever peacefully without any retrieval of the situation or the event.

Chapter Five

Summary and Conclusion and Suggested Recommendations

5.1. Summary and Conclusion

In the last two chapters, chapters three and four, the researcher has tried to analyze the language aspects for arbitration through Gumaa ritual practices of Tulama Oromo. Different pragmatic aspects of Afan Oromo are somewhat distinguished in chapter four. Chapter three deals with some processes of Gumaa ritual activities that is communicated by representatives of reputants, Gadaa Leaders and other mediator elders; among whom representative of the slayer plays a significant role in initiating dispute processings. In these processes, Gadaa Leader(s) is found to be the crucial person in solving any aspects of the problems the people face including serious cases like murder(s). Besides, the boy and the girl, waataa, mallima, very old woman and man are some of the social classes who are significant bodies in peace restoring and reconciliation maintaining among reputants. Among them, mallima is supposed to be lucky whose maledictive (cursing) and/or benedictive (blessing) is hurriedly heard to *Waaqaa according to the people's perception*. The boy and the girl symbolize love and purity as they still do not begin to involve in any evil doings like the adults and anybody else. The boy and the girl are also significant in peace restoring and reconciliation maintaining among the parties in feud. Further, the term elder doesn't necessarily show the age; rather, the individual's talence in solving challenges the people face or may face. In this chapter three, the term Gumaa refers to various senses of meanings such as blood price, feud, ritual purification, hunk of meat, spike of grain or crop, substance, pupil of the eye, and others. From these definitions of the term Gumaa, we can infer that it is loosely used for various concepts though the context matters and can capture a wide range of its meanings.

- ❖ Blood price or compensation - follows homicide, serious bodily injures, and murder of humans, domestic and wild animals and so forth.
- ❖ Feud- stands for the grudge between the two parties when they kill each other; they also express it by saying *nuti warra gumaati* mean 'we are in feud with each other/them.

- ❖ Ritual purification (*faloo/falannaa*) - which is carried out to purify one's sin which he believes as descends down to him/her from his/her family members or ancestors or from sin one himself/herself gained because of his/her wrong doings like murdering ,etc.
- ❖ A hunk of meat (*foon gumaa tokko*) - which refers to the very small amount of meat; for instance, the murderer gives hunk of meat for all the murdered's family members at presence of Gadaa Leader(s), elders and all attendants.
- ❖ A spike of grain or crop - for example, *gumaan qamadii kanaa xiqqaa dha* mean 'the spike of this wheat is small'.
- ❖ Testicle- like *gumaan re 'ee kanaa tokko* means 'the testicle of this goat is one'.
- ❖ Substance- *dubbiin isaa gumaa hin qabu* means 'his speech has no substance'.
- ❖ Eye's pupil- *gumaa ija isaatu bade* means 'he has lost his eye's pupil'.

In addition to these various meanings of *Gumaa*, it has its own settings, values, ritual processes, performances and sacred objects used as religious symbols, so that they used as means of peace maintenance. *Gumaa* has high significance among Oromo as they used it as a means to curse, warn, bless, making others promise, taking oath for oneself and as a device of pleading the injured, peace restoring and reconciliation maintenance. It is the only way to bring ever lasting peace among the Oromo as a whole. In *Gumaa* processes, the people stick to truth as falsehood, bribe or corruption has no any room in it unlike that of bureaucratic law. Besides, it comprises, traditional laws which is used as justice and source of knowledge through which youngsters learn different things and skills from their parents, elders and society at large.

Seera gumaa 'blood price law' as a whole is employed to be purified from sin, moral and psychological tensions, to maintain social ties and to restore the ever lasting peace and harmony among people. It is also used to pay blood prices when people kill each other. When family members perhaps kill each other, purification is done according to *Seera Gumaa* by spreading some amount of coins on the road which is intended as the

poor take it and bless them by expressing their wishes for the dead's soul to rest in peace and for the alive to be free from their sins, tensions and to get relief. Here, to gather money for the purification, a perpetrator should put chain on his/her hand and beg for the money by going to nine markets. The chain implies the suffering the perpetrator faces because of the sin and the punishment he/she deserves in front of his/her friends, relatives and others. It also reveals the activity which be done to be free from sins and for the betterment of one's own *sanyi sadeen* literally means 'basic three seeds' i.e., crops or grains, animals and off springs.

Ancient time, the amount of blood price was 100 cattle which are nowadays completely changed to money. Whatever it is, either now or ancient time, the money received as blood price is not used for personal affairs except for its activities; because it is believed to bring upon the user(s) the similar event. This blood price which has some implications is given by the murderer's families and clans. Contributing the money by the murderer's family and clans implies their togetherness not merely during happy times, but also during sorrow circumstances. Similarly, dividing the money even upto cents level to the murdered's clans is a means of inculcating it in their mind which implies that hence they donot avenge the murderer or anyone of them (relatives of perpetrator).

The payment of the blood price is depending on the status of the murdered which he/she had while alive in the society or it is depending on social classes like kura jiddaa (the senior clan of Tulama moeity), Gadaa leader, mallima, k'aalluu and others.

In chapter four, different topics were discussed; such as, as conflict is natural in humans' day to day interactions and performances like supplications, cursings, warnings, blessings and so forth. Under supplication, all the attendants entreat the murdered's family and all their clans for three to nine consecutive days by saying *igzi'oo abeeti* being in two lines. Supplication is the first performance in which murderer's family and relatives loudly express their request to the injured. They do the entreatment in order to avoid the possible action as avenge the injured will take and destruction will happens as a result. On this performance, Gadaa Leaders, Guulas, mediator elders, and murderer's

family and clans participate on the supplication. Here, the murderer's family and proxies are expected to plea at the rear of the mediators holding stones and horn of plants on their head. Their being at the rear, reveals their respect for the injured, their repentance for heinous action and pleading for what is already happened as doing so is merely a means through which peace can be restored.

For the supplication to be successful, there are also some necessary sacred objects (i.e., discussed below) through which reconciliation can be maintained.

Bokkuu 'metal or woody scepter- it is a sign of authority of Gadaa Leader. It also symbolizes the transition of power from one Gadaa leader to the next at the end of every eight years under an umbrella term called Gadaa system.

Kallachaa – this can also be metal or horn like which is believed as was dropped down onto the earth from the sky in the form of thunder. It also symbolizes male's sex organ which is the essential organ part of the body for the continuity of generations. It also represents love, peace and the sky, so that Oromo in general and Tulama moeity in particular use it as a device of peace maintenance.

Ch'aach'uu- it is a device used to maintain peace which is said to be came out of earth through the centre of the river and the mountain. It is also an ornament of both kallacha and Oromo females. Besides, it symbolizes females' sex organ as well as represents the earth at the opposite tip of the sky which is represented by kallacha.

Harnessed horse- reveals the seriousness of the issue (i.e., the murder case(s)) like that of either yoking oxen or boys. It is used as a device to maintain reconciliation among the relatives of both parties in feud.

Generally, the slayer's clans and mediators employ these sacred objects and other things to facilitate the reconciliation processes by referring to fearable God in order to make the injured parties to accept their requests as well as to receive the blood price.

In starting blessing, one of the elders or the Gadaa Leader says *tokko koottu* means 'one of you come on' as an starter and the second elder gives response to him by saying

beenu means 'go ahead' to show that all the spectators are ready to listen to his (starter's) blessing. During the blessing, the inclusive word 'we' is employed as personal deixis or the pronoun of the attendants, slayer's family and their proxies, murdered's family and their proxies, etc. Meanwhile *Waaqaa* and *dhugaa* means 'God' and 'true'/'truth' respectively are on the tip of their tongues which they emphasize on and say them repetitively. During the blessing, the attendants stare at the sky as if they were looking at their *Waaqaa* physically in the sky to plea Him to give them mercy for the heinous action against the natural law (by killing man, His creature) and to help them in reconciliation achievement. In this context, the elder bless one after the other as an inclusive expression in the socialization or as an expression of wishing good for all society inclusively. Blessing is a mechanism of inclusion which is a direct opposite of cursing - a form of linguistically, and/or in some cases, extra-linguistically expressed wish for exclusion. The fulfilment of standards and expectations desired by the individual, pairs, groups and society at large leads to pride, self gratification and actualization; and, hence, to blessing for a greater level of inclusion of the individual, pairs, and/or groups. Whereas, failure to do so leads to just the opposite, where the individual is doomed of exclusion and banishment and; hence, the society also lose their inter tie or cohesion and harmony. As one can deduce from the Afan Oromo *kan nagaan nu bulchite, nagaan nu oolchi* discussed against number (7) (on page 59) means 'may you make us peaceful during this day too as you let us during the previous night,' a linguistic form deictic expression of time via temporal deixis is during this day. The phrase 'during this day' and 'during the previous night' which are derived from Afan Oromo words *oolchite* and *bulchi* respectively comprise 'this' and 'now' means nearer to the speaker (or proximal terms) in space and time respectively. We can also derive 'then' from the word *bulchite* which indicates time away from the speaker (distal term) temporal deixis of time which this one and this previous two for their interpretation, depend on the speaker and hearer sharing the same context. Indeed, deictic expressions have their most basic uses in face-to-face spoken interaction where utterances such as person deixis 'we' and 'You' can be inferred from Afan Oromo phrase 'nu oolchi' means 'may you make us peaceful during this day' and also are understood easily by all

people present there as participants. The inclusive person deixis *nu* means 'we' refers to the speaker plus all attendants present there while person deixis 'You' which can be derived from the words *bulchite* and *oolchi* refers to God which is on the distal in space or does not physically exist there at that ritual activity though He is believed to be their spiritually (or psychologically).

While pleading, there are extra-linguistic expressions concern to the Gadaa Leaders, the Guulas and very old woman which convey message beyond of unwritten or unspoken; such as the responsibilities they are given or shouldered and the status they maintain or are given in the society, especially the Gadaa Leader(s). Besides, the spatial deixis such as Afan Oromo word '*as*' means 'here' and *dirree* means 'field' are discussed which refer to the same space nearer to the speaker plus the attendants of the ritual performance as a whole. Further, the following terms convey message both in and out of the context. For instance, *waanjoo* means 'yoke' symbolizes the heaviness of the event or slavery; *buqqee duudaa* means 'vergin gourd' reveals doom of life, something not known or extreme illiteracy; *qorra* means 'cold' which implies the weather condition of that time and difficulty aspect of life; *eeboo ciibsuu* means 'laying spear' shows heaviness of the issue or the means to solve such kinds of serious cases; and *jilbiinfachuu* means 'kneeling' which reveals entreating as a request for the most serious heinous action done, so admitting of one's own fault and now repenting for that action which upset the injured parties.

In addition to this, the slayer's family or clans show their respectation for the murdered's family or clans and their sorrow for the murder case, by not shaving their breads and hair for the some times, by not cutting their nails, by not recreating at anywhere, by not going to the same market(s) and stream places with the injured, by leaving a road aside to them whenever they accidentally come across each other with any one of them and so forth which convey the extra-linguistic expression.

The Gadaa Leader acts as directive who asserts the utterance of making the addressee (i.e., murdered's representative) to make promise and obey it accordingly. He is the right person to do so and curse in order to exclude deviant(s) from the society either

temporarily as correction or permanently depending on the degree of mistakes or action the person(s) performs. While Gadaa Leader(s) makes the addressees take pledge, there are sacred materials like whip(s), spear(s), pliers and mallet, kallacha, ch'aach'uu, Bokkuu, and others which are very important in maintaining peace between parties in feud and which also symbolize some extra-linguistic expressions. Further, Gadaa leader is at the highest position even has power over other elders as we can deduce from his act of making the selected elders as mediators take pledge to be fair and faithful in arbitrating the reputatnts. To sum up, in chapter four, there are cursing social values, blessings, taking pledge/oath, making others promise and other activities which are widely communicated in different texts of *Gumaa* ritual performances.

5.2. Suggested Recommendations

In his study, the researcher has found that there are no the case where the traditional laws like blood price laws are integrated in the beaurocratic laws (modern laws), and there are also some researchable topics related to this title which are yet not researched on. So, based on this and other findings, the researcher would like to suggest the following recommendations.

- ❖ The government should consider traditional laws of nation nationalities of this country like blood price laws of the Oromo and integrate them into modern laws; to reserve such indigenous rule under which the people are enthusiastically considered.
- ❖ The researcher haven't seen at all study areas when Gadaa Leaders, mediator elders and other knowledgeable classes of the people while they are given any incentive, working offices, values and so forth by the government though they work hard for the welfare of the people, to restore peace and maintain reconciliation among the people by passing through so many ups and downs without gaining any personal benefits for themselves. For this reason, the government, at least at regional level, should give them recognition, and the government should also consider the situation and create suitable conditions in order to encourage them and strengthen such kinds of people's invaluable assets.
- ❖ Gumaa and its different processes and performances should be duly recorded, trinscribed into written forms without losing its originality and then, should be reserved for the new generations as an invaluable legacy.

Besides, the forthcoming researchers can conduct research in Afan Oromo on the following titles which the researcher feels to be manageable research topics.

- ❖ Afan Oromo Lexical pragmatics of Gumaa Ritual Conversations.
- ❖ A social and Pragmatics of deictic expresions in Afan Oromo (personal, spatial and temporal).

- ❖ Pragmatics and Rhetoric for Discourse Analysis.
- ❖ Pragmatics Analysis of the Functional Context of Utterances.
- ❖ Pragmatic Analysis of Cursing during Gumaa Retual Activities.
- ❖ Pragmatics and Mitigating Conflict in Arbitration Expressions.
- ❖ Analysis of Conversational Implicatures through Formal Pragmatics.
- ❖ The Semantics and Pragmatics of Functional Coherence in Afan Oromo Spoken Discourses Duirng Gumaa Ritual Activities.
- ❖ The Pragmatic Analysis of Blessing during Gumaa Processes and Performances.
- ❖ Pragmatic Analysis of Afan Oromo Usage for the processes and Performances of Gumaa Ritual Activities for Religious places, and Domestic and Wild Animals.

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Appendices

Appendix – A

Structured Formal Interview Questions

1. Do you know when blood price is exactly started? Do you think it has a specific time when it could come to exist?
2. For what purpose do you think this blood price is paid commonly?
3. Are there any sacred objects which are necessarily used to perform blood price ritual activities?
4. Would you explain the meaning these sacred objects have in blood price ritual activities?
5. May you tell me as for what and what this blood price is paid? (i.e. for: killing, harming, doing sex with others wife, abducting other's fiancée, & etc?)
6. Is there any limited period of time or place when these blood price ritual activities are performed or not? Or is it possible to perform it any time and anywhere?
7. Is there any difference between blood prices paid for arbitrarily killing or maliciously murdering?
8. Is there any difference between blood prices paid when relatives and non-relatives kill each other?
9. What makes difference between blood price paid as purification for previous hidden murder case(s) and blood price paid as compensation for recent murder case(s)?
10. Is blood price paid merely for humans or also for other living beings?
11. Who is the leader of blood price payment processes and performances? Who does also make the injured promise not to avenge the murderer and any of his/her relatives in the future?
12. May you tell me as how many days the slayer's relatives and other mediators plead to restore peace and to maintain reconciliation?
13. How often the mediators begin the blood price ritual activities? What they say first? And who say it?
14. While murderer and anyone of the murdered's relative shaking their hands within either goat's or sheep's stomach, what does the promiser says? What do the promisees also say to give responses?
15. Do you think as do the blood price ritual performances have different phases? If so, can you tell me some of them?
16. Is there anything they (the mediators) say at the end of every process and performance of blood price payments as ending points of the ritual ceremony?

Thank You!

Appendix – B

Afgaafii (Interview Questions)

1. Sirni Gumaa hoom eegale jettanii yaaddu? (Jechuun barri sirni kun kallattiin itti eegale ni beekamaa?)
2. Gumaan maaliif raawwatamaa? (Barbaachisummaan ykn faayidaan Gumaa maali?)
3. Meeashaleen sirna Gumaa adeemsisuuf oolu maal (maal) fa'i?
4. Hiika meeshaleen kun sirna Gumaa keessatti qaban naaf ibsuu dandeessuu?
5. Gumaan maaliif bahaa ykn raawwatamaa? (Fkf: ajjeechaaf, miidhaaf, kkf?)
6. Gumaan raawwatamuuf yeroo murtaahe qabamoo yeroo hunda raawwatamaa?
7. Gumaan ajjeechaa tasaa fi ajjeechaa dabdeef bahu tokkumamoo gargarii?
8. Gumaan ajjeechaa firaaf bahuufi kan fira hin taaneef bahu tokkumamoo gargarii?
9. Gumaan ajjeechaa turee ykn dhoksamee daabaa dhiqachuuf bahu isa ajjeechaa kanneeniin (dhihoof) bahuun tokkomoo addaan?
10. Sirni Gumaa kan raawwatamu namaaf qofamoo lubbuu qabeeyyii kan birootiifis?
11. Namni yeroo sirni Gumaa adeemsifamu sana isaan Gumaa nyaachisaniifi nyaatan san waadaa galchuuf sirnicha hoogganu eenyu?
12. Guyyaan firri ajjeesee sunii fi jaarsoliin araaraa kanneen biroo nagaafi araara buusuuf sagadan meeqaa?
13. Yeroo mara jaarsoliin sirna Gumaa akkamiin jalqabuu? Jalqaba eenyutu maali jechuun jalqabaa?
14. Yeroo fallannaaf inni ajjeeseefi aanteen isa du'ee garaacha hoolaa keessatti harka walfuudhan namni isaan waadaa galchisiisu sun maal jedhaa? Warri waadaa galanoo maalifaa jechuun deebii deebisuufii?
15. Sirni Gumaa kun sadarkaalee gara garaa qaba jettanii yaadduu? Yoo qaba jettan, sadarkaalee isaa natti himuu dandeessuu?
16. Yeroo mara xumura adeemsa fi raawwii kafaltii sirna Gumaarratti jaarsoliin wanti jedhan jiraa? Yoo jiraate mee maal (maal) jechuun sirnicha xumuruu?

Galatoomaa!

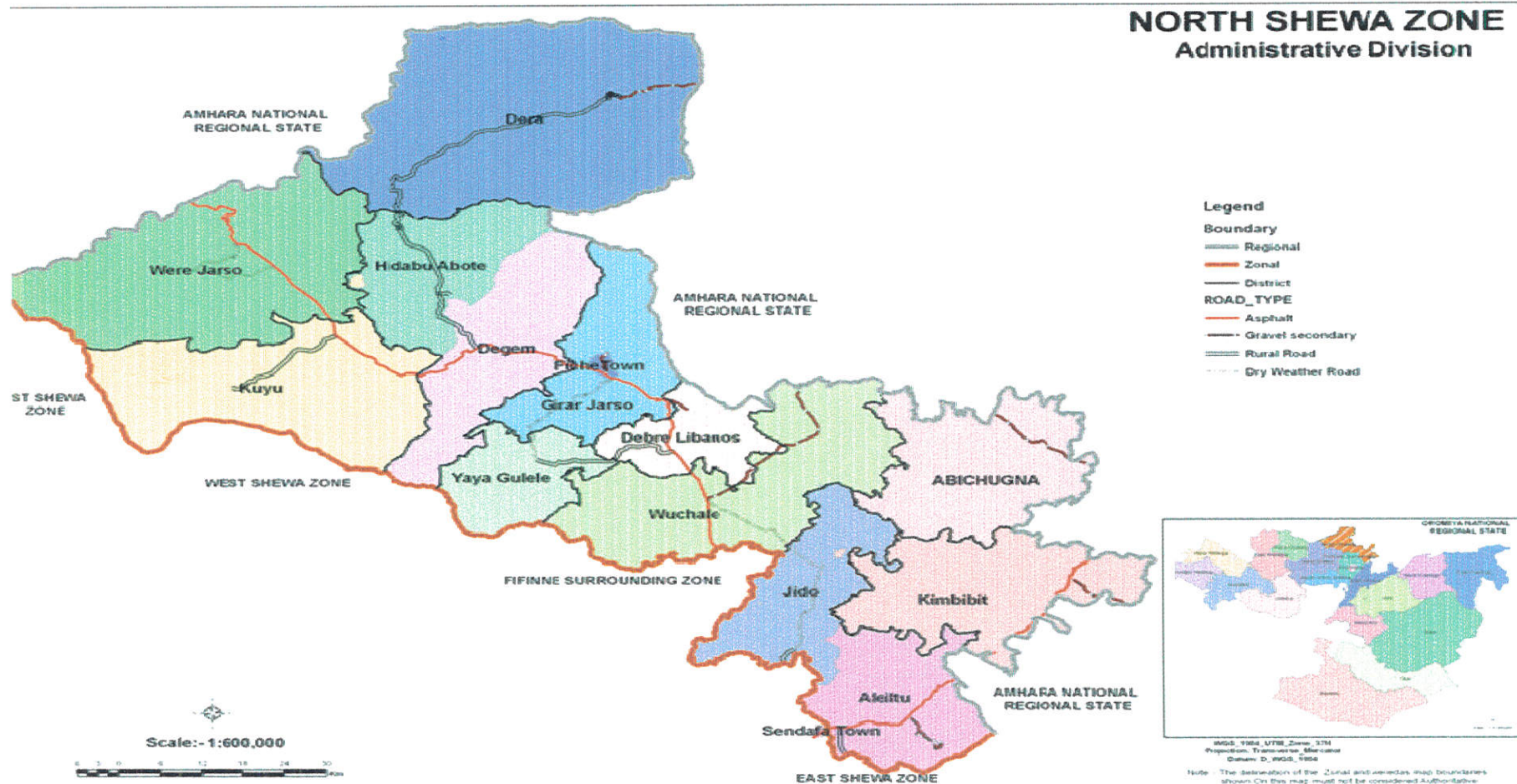
Appendix – C

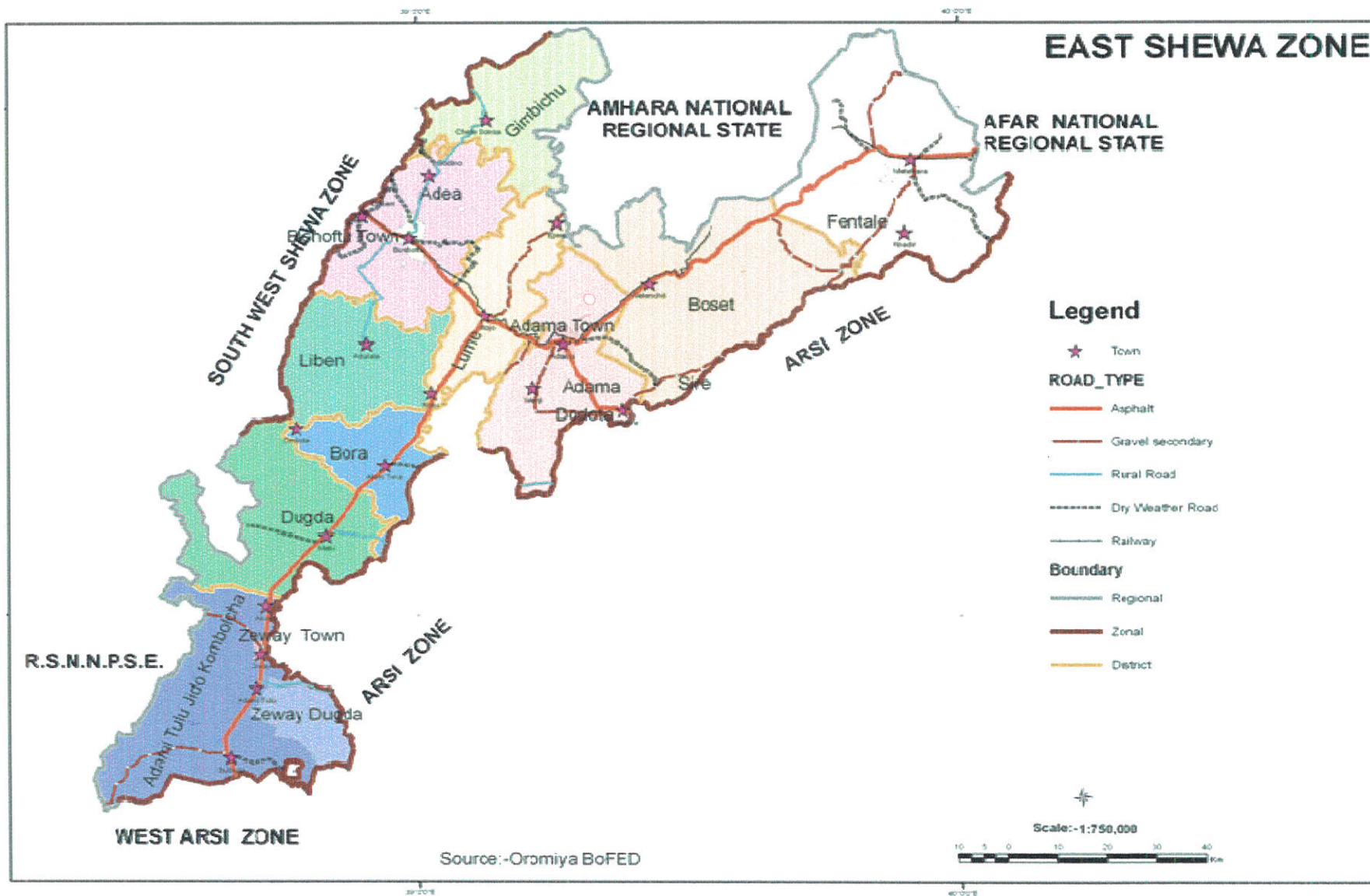
List of Informants

S. No	Full Names	Zones	Districts	Ages	Titles
1	Fayera Ango	West Shewa	K'iba K'ube	75	Gadaa Leader
2	Hailu Bedhadha Kilole	East Shewa	Hiddii	61	Gadaa Leader (2 nd vice)
3	Lammaa Ragaasaa Talila	East Shewa	K'aliti	74	Gadaa Leader (3 rd vice)
4	Bayana Sanbato	East Shewa	Bushooftu	55	Gadaa Leader (1 st president)
5	Dhuguma Kebebew	West Shewa	Ambo Town	45	Office Man
6	Shimelis Tafa	North Shewa	Fitche Town	25	Coordinator of Culture Documentation and Gadaa Restablishment at North Shewa
7	Sisay Tadesse	East Shewa	Adama Town	26	Head of Culture & Tourism of East shewa Zone
8	Sisay Asnake	East Shewa	Bushoftu	23	Head of Culture & Tourism of Ada'a District
9	Habtamu Mako	North Shewa	Fitche Town	50	Worker of Culture & Tourism of North Shewa Zone
10	Negash Hunde	North Shewa	Fitche Town	55	Head of Culture & Tourism of North Shewa Zone
11	Dadhi Assefa	West Shewa	Ambo University	28	Lecturer

Appendix D

Maps of the Study Areas





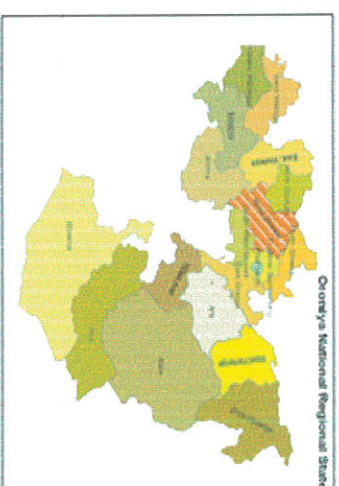
ROAD NETWORK

ROAD NETWORK

- ## Boundary

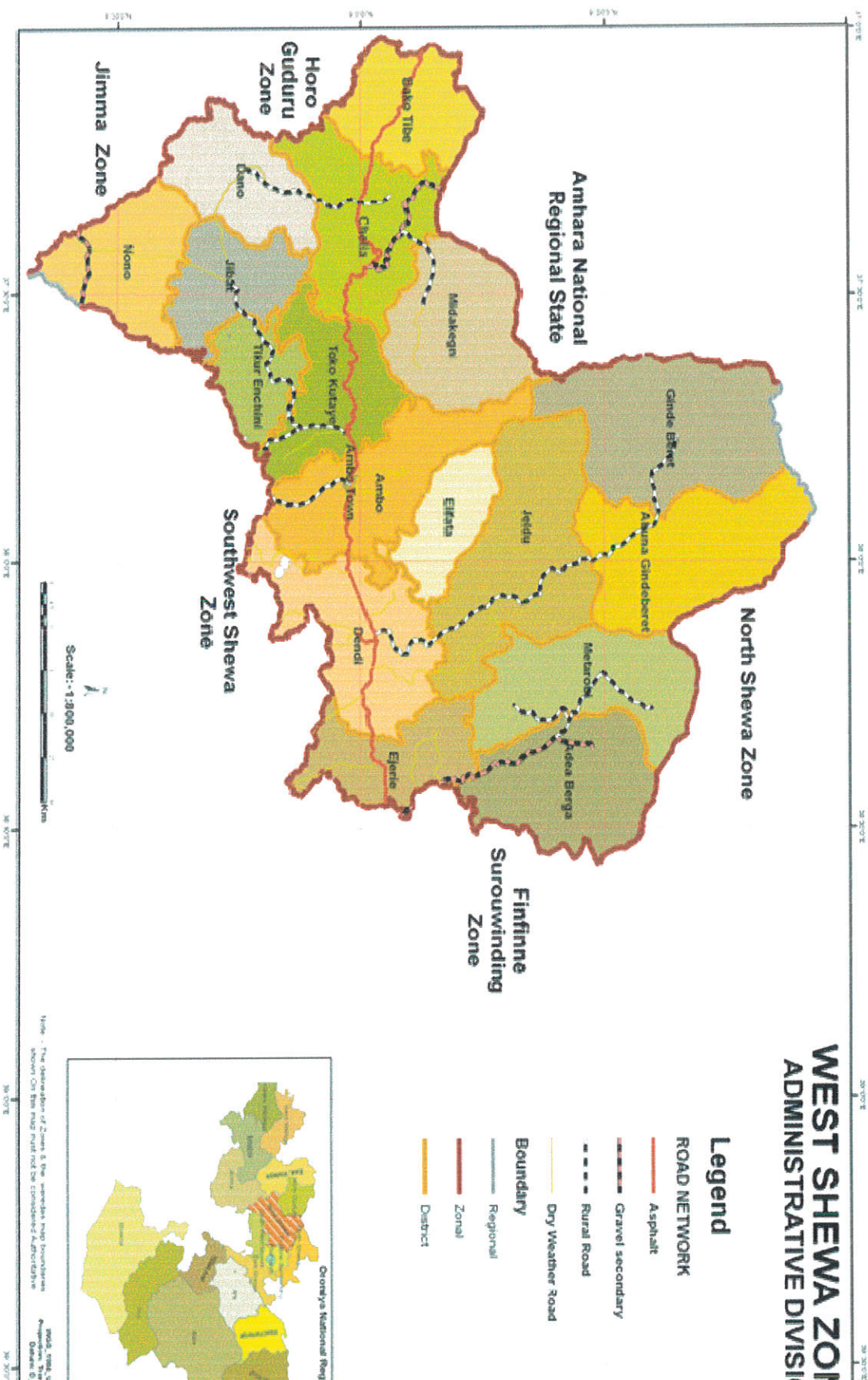
Boundary

- Regional
Zonal
District



Note - The duration of Zones 5, the shortest, may be further shortened. This may not be considered authoritative.

World, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679,



Scale: 1:2000,000

22

Photos of Elders and Some Attendants During Processes and Performances of Gumaa Ritual Activities.



The mediator elders under shadow of the tree while they are discussing how to start the process of the Arbitration and what to do coherently throughout the blood price processes and performances.



Arbitration's attendants and mediator elders from murderer's side while they are supplicating together, being in two groups, and shouting out 'lgz'oo and Abeet' by taking turn.



Mediator elders are carrying stones over their heads and supplicating from nearby of the harmed party.



Mediator elders from both murderer's and murdered's sides when they come together and are discussing over the issues of the necessary fulfilments as a blood price, its processes and performances.



Here are lukooos 'representatives' of both parties in feud while they are shaking each other when mediator elders bring them together right after the supplication of elders who were carrying stones.



Here are two lukoos, one from each party, while they are giving and receiving money as a blood price or compensation.



Here are three lukoos from each party in feud while they are go down on their knees and taking pledge not to avenge one another.



All kinds of Coins to spread on the main road of the place where the purification is conducted for the poor to take it and bless the bodies concerned as purification (as an implication of cleansing one self and his/her lineages from previously existing sin).



While the man is spreading the coins of the purification toward his rear following the order of the elder, the poor are carefully waiting for coins to be spread.



After receiving 50 Birr as a payment and agreed to take its hide, the poor are slaughtering the sheep for the murderer and close kins of the murdered to shake one another through its striped stomach as purification.



The man is saying what the elder order him to say and entreting the God to purify him from the sin already descended down to him from anyone of his ancestors upto seven lineages.



Here are the man's relatives while they are washing away the sin which they have been suffering from for the long time.



The murdered's proxies are taking pledge turn by turn with the murderer not to avenge him and anyone of his proxies sometimes in the future.

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources of material used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Shewa Tafa

Signature: 

Place: Institute of Language Studies

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