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TALKING MANJO

Linguistic repertoires as means of negotiating marginalization

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Manjo, a marginalized minority of former hunters among the Kafa in southwest Ethiopia, speak *Kafi noono* (Kafa) the same language as the majority population. Despite this, they claim that there is a communicative barrier and that they lack linguistic competence in the interaction with non-Manjo Kafa speakers. The claim is surprising in the African context where multilingualism and spontaneous acquisition of different linguistic codes is common. The boundary inside the Kafa society has also been a linguistic boundary and the emic interpretation states that not having cross-group communicative skills is a key component in marginalization, a subject that has not been studied among minorities that are considered “polluting” by the majority population. This thesis is a socio-ethnographic investigation of how members of this stigmatized group conceptualize and negotiate their marginalized status by means of language ideologies and linguistic behaviour.

The local explanation forms the core of the research and even the topic has emerged empirically. The primary data consists of 50 speeches delivered when members of different Manjo communities asked to speak. All speeches dealt with the relation between the Manjo and the majority. When analyzing the speeches delivered in Kafa (Omotic) and partly Amharic (Semitic), an interactionist perspective was linked with ethnographic tools. When language use was seen as a central form of social action itself, it was possible to address the ways in which social processes unfold, and explain why they do so in this specific social and historical context of production and distribution of symbolic and material resources.

The articulation of “being Manjo” highlighted the importance of social relationships and led to a search for the mechanisms of network formation. The ways in which the existing social networks and domains of practice promote the access to certain registers was reflected with reference to the findings of variationists (Milroy, Eckert), and the components of the repertoires the speakers have utilized were defined through the concept of ‘style’ (Coupland, Mendoza-Denton). The influence the access to different communities of practice has had for different individuals is described in a sample of case studies from among the primary data. Finally, the approach of Bucholtz and Hall, which brings together different research traditions within sociolinguistics anchoring identity in interaction, is used for synthesizing the findings.

The research clearly shows the importance of networks in connecting marginalized minorities to repertoires that can be used for negotiating marginalization in predominantly oral culture. Connections providing access to new repertoires are actively sought for and the language ideologies they represent are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities according to need. The repertoires gained are used for “talking the boundary”, either to demolish it in order to integrate into the majority or to strengthen it in order to gain recognition as a separate group. The linguistic boundary is thus far from being an externally created barrier coming “automatically” with the stigma imposed by the majority. Rather, it is also Manjo-enacted and contributes to identity construction tendencies inside the Manjo group.

Acknowledgments

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Abbreviations

1. Abbreviations for generic conventions in data for the structuring of speeches

- T *tocho*, including telling of stories of past and present, accounts of political and social history and sharing of thoughts
- D/ Do description of circumstances either with or without personal opinion (*asteyaayet*)
- N Personal narrative

2. Abbreviations for the other genres used in speeches

- A showing appreciation (*gallato*),
- H singing *hicho*, a lament for funeral (*hicho*)
- B/C blessing/cursing (*diiro/uppo*)
- G greeting (*diggiyo*)
- I insulting (*naggo*)
- K playing (*kaayo*) discussions, sharing, relaxing talk that includes also joking
- Y bidding defiance (*yaaddo*)

3. Abbreviations for the styles identified in the speeches

- As *Alama* style
- Bss Being strong style
- Bws Being weak style
- Des Defiant style
- Ers Elder rich style
- Oss Others speak style
- +g adding Gomaro style discourse markers
- +ot adding Old Testament stories
- +pc adding Protestant Christian style discourse markers
- +r adding religious registers
- +p adding political registers
- +chee adding ending /-chee/

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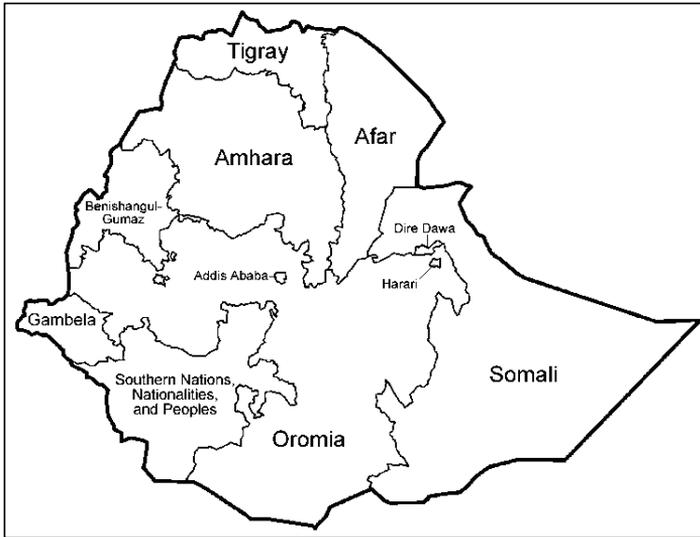
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Table 1. The orthographic symbols used for Kafa with comparison to corresponding symbols as used by the International Phonetic Association, IPA

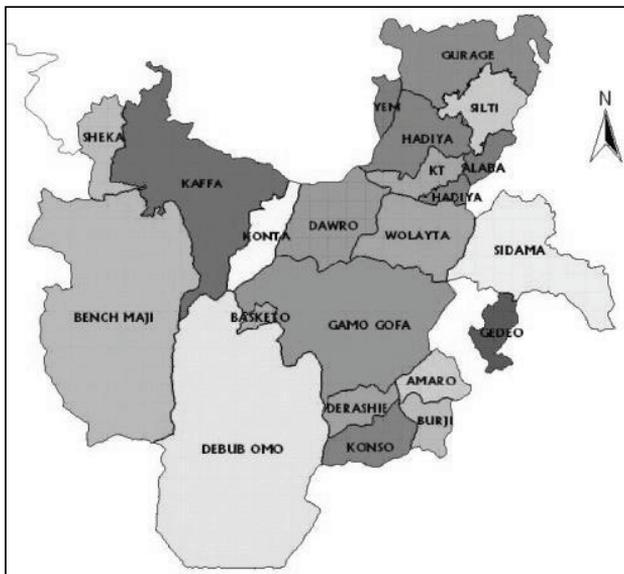
(Theil 2007: 197-200; Bender 2000:100)

		Labials		Dentals		Palatals		Velars		Glottals	
		KAFA	IPA	KAFA	IPA	KAFA	IPA	KAFA	IPA	KAFA	IPA
Stops	Vs	p	p	t	t	ch	ʧ	k	k	'	'
	V	b	b, b̥	d	d, d̥	j	ɕ	g	g, ɣ		
	G	ph	p'	x	t'	c	ʧʷ	q	k'		
Fricatives	Vs	f	ɸ, β	(s)	(s)	sh	ʃ			h	h
	V			z	z	(ž)	ʒ				
	G			ts	ts'						
Nasals	Vs										
	V			l,r	l,r						
Liquids	Vs										
	V	m	m	n	n	(ny)	ɲ				
Semi-Vo:s		w				y					
Those considered as belonging to "Manjo variant" are marked in bold. () marks those used only in borrowed words. Vs = Voiceless, V= Voiced, G = Glottalic											
VOWELS											
Short				Long							
Front rounded		Back rounded				Front rounded		Back rounded			
KAFA	IPA	KAFA	IPA			KAFA	IPA	KAFA	IPA		
i	i	u	u	CLOSE		ii	i:	uu	u:		
e	ɛ	o	ɔ	MID		ee	ɛ:	oo	ɔ:		
a	a			OPEN		aa	a:				

Map 1. The Regions of Ethiopia



Map 2. The Zones of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region



Map 3. The weredas of Kafa Zone



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Talk boundary

In southwest Ethiopia, scattered all over the Kafa Zone¹ and also present in the neighbouring zones, live people called Manjo, a marginalized minority group of former hunters. In the statistics for the Kafa Zone, the members of the Manjo minority are included under the ethnic group of Kafa. The number of the Manjo is estimated to lie between 1.4% and 5% of the total Kafa population in the Kafa Zone, which in 2009 was 712,200.² The majority, the non-Manjo Kafa members, are often referred to as Gomaro.³ The Manjo in the Kafa Zone speak *Kafi noono*, an Omotic language that is considered to be the same as the one the majority speaks. In spite of having this common language a considerable number of members of the Manjo group, at least in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*⁴ where this research was carried out, argue that “we do not know how to speak” and say this is both the reason for and the cause of their being marginalized. The argument is surprising in the Ethiopian context where many people have been able to include into their linguistic repertoires several other languages spoken by neighbouring peoples or used as a lingua franca in the wider area. What is different here compared to other situations? Why has the dialect used not changed to resemble the Gomaro variant more closely if that is the outcome desired? Are the circumstances created externally, i.e., imposed by the majority or are there also internal factors? Although the actual physical separation has had its consequences, the emergence of linguistic variation is not simply an effect of pre-existing non-linguistic conditions. Rather, as I will show in my thesis, the effect is more due to

¹ The Kafa Zone is one of the zones of the Southern Nations and Nationalities People’s Region. There are also Manjo minorities in the Sheka, Benji Maji and Dawro Zones of the SNNPR and in the Oromiya and Gambella Regions.

² Kafa Zone Finance and Economic Office statistical report December 2009.

³ According to Lange, the name “Gomara” is a designation given to languages used by the Kafa, Sheka, Hinario and Boshia by the neighbouring Bench and She and relates to the state of Gomara mentioned in the 17th century literature as closely affiliated with Enarya (Lange 1982: 3). Bekele Woldemariam (2010:28) translates the name as “distinguished people”. According to the Kafa Zone officials, Gomaro is not the appropriate term to use, since it bears some notion of “being above” and they suggested using the word non-Manjo when the distinction was needed. However, since the speakers in the data use it constantly and as the Gomaro in Gesha and Sayilem also use this name for themselves, it is used in this study.

⁴ *Wereda* is an administrative unit below the Zone level. The Kafa Zone consists of 10 *weredas*.

purposely fostered linguistic diversity since the ways of speaking serve as a marker of group identity.

Some expressions of language are valued less than others in relation to some people being valued less than others. The boundary inside the society has also been a linguistic boundary, although the Manjo speak the same language as the majority. The linguistic repertoires they use are stigmatized, thus contributing to boundary maintenance. Already as early as 1969, Barth pointed out that this situation is typical for marginalized minorities: On the one hand their identity gives very little scope for interaction with the majority population, which makes integration difficult; but on the other hand, they do not seem to develop the internal complexity that would lead to them being considered as a full-fledged separate group. Even linguistically this marginalized minority appears to be stuck in dilemma between two positions: The Manjo use the Kafa language as do the Gomaro majority. While there are differences in the Gomaro variety, these are not sufficient to be officially recognized as a separate language; however, the Manjo variety is sufficiently distinct that in the eyes of the Manjo Kafa speakers the very functionality of their own linguistic variety is undermined.

Many Manjo express a sense that their command of Kafa is restricted and insufficient when interacting with the outside majority. One may be tempted to read this as an instance of a rather extreme power asymmetry of dialects/sociolects, where the variety with lesser prestige stigmatizes its users. But this seems not to capture what is going on fully because the Manjo sense of being restrained by the lack of communicative proficiency is not just about different dialectal codes. Rather, it appears to correspond to a very real constraint in everyday communication in terms of interlocutors, different kinds of speech situations, etc. This is at the core of the leading research question that motivates this entire thesis: Is the lack of cross-group communication skills one of the mechanisms contributing to marginalization of the people who are believed to be “polluting”? And if so, how do the different members of the Manjo group conceptualize and negotiate their marginalized status by means of language ideologies and linguistic behaviour? In tackling these questions for the specific case of the Kafa-speaking Manjo, this study aims to contribute to a field of inquiry not so intensively studied by others: the linguistic-communicative repercussions of the marginalized status of submerged communities.

The early travellers at the beginning of the 20th century documented the presence of a Manjo argot, a variant including hunter registers (Bender 2000: 96), which could be used for keeping others from understanding. This purposely fostered variant helped the community survive under oppression. Tedlock and Mannheim (1995) refer to the role 'tacit collusion' plays in forming the discourses of past and present. The participants agree that they are interpreting the social events within the same general framework. This interactional collusion is based on sets of social repositioning in which dominance hierarchies emerge with the collusion of the dominated. The situation might not be agreeable to the dominated, but seen as necessary under the circumstances. The two groups, Manjo and Gomaro, inhabited the same area but lived separately, in a hierarchy of patron-client relationships augmented by the required segregation, since the Manjo were considered to be polluting.

Due to social changes the situation is currently different. My research aims to show how the network connections are actively sought and utilized at present by the members of the Manjo community in order to gain additional resources for linguistic repertoires. Especially in the case of marginalized minorities, the availability of a network connection serves as a gateway to certain ways of speaking. The accessed and practised ways of speaking, registers and styles promote participation in the domain in which they are used. However, the willingness to foster the particular style used depends on how productive it is for gaining what is wanted.

According to my experience, the attitude of the Manjo group towards the majority is multi-voiced, varying from a wish for assimilation to complete separation. During recent years, the movement for being recognized as an ethnic group has gained more supporters. "If there is a boundary, let it be a real boundary then", said one of the leaders of this movement. The general assumption of this research is that variation in the structure of the social network of a person will, for a number of reasons, affect the way he or she uses the different repertoires in the community and that both the availability and unavailability of connecting networks, and through them the access to communicative skills in that specific domain, plays a role not only in segregation, but also in identity construction.

Sociolinguistic resources are not freely available, but are accessed through networks. As the existing social networks and domains of practice promote access to certain available registers and styles (Eckert 2000, Milroy 1980, Gumperz 1982, Granovetter 1983, Fagyal et al. 2010), it was necessary to investigate the network structures of the members of the Manjo community, not only those that exist, both old and new, but also those that do not exist, as the denial of access to certain registers works towards the creation of social boundaries within society. In addition to the existence of the networks, it is also necessary to take into account how the regulatory capacities of networks are shaped by institutional practices embedded in particular networks and the nature of their linkages with the wider society and the state (Meagher 2005, Cooper 2001).

The emic interpretation of social change, stated in all the data I collected from the Sayilem and Gesha *weredas*, crystallizes into two points very frequently mentioned in the data collected: The first is the comment, "Now we have learned to speak a little." Why now? What does "learning to speak" include? The second point mentioned is that this learning is due to "God and Government". Why are God and Government mentioned and why are they so often mentioned together? What has promoted learning of communicative skills, the awareness of social rules, and norms for speaking? And whose rules and norms of speaking are these communicative skills fitting to?

I looked for the answers to the questions raised above through the data I have collected from the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*. When I approached a certain Manjo community for the first time I asked what they wanted to tell me. These recordings of 50 people are what they wanted to share. I first looked for the cultural distinctions and emic categorizations these speeches contain about being Manjo and about their relation to others, how the cultural distinctions are stated, and how the ideas expressed are being produced through different distinctions and classifications. That also helped me understand the research setting and guided the definition of the research problem: the important role of networks in creating connections that can be utilized for gaining communicative skills. These skills provide access to knowledge, as knowledge is seen to be gained either through the joint living experience of being part of certain procedures or through creating close ties that are needed in order to be among those who share the beneficial information.

The first thing that I noticed from the data was that, although the speeches had been presented to me in quite similar circumstances at a certain communicative event and the topic was very much the same in every case, the ways of speaking and styles differed not only between the presenters but also within the respective presentations. This style shifting was very clear – as if the speakers had changed their role in a play. Although the topic was the same, the speakers used different genres, registers and discourse markers to style their speech. To use “Bakhtinian” terms, in many speeches there was true heteroglossia: multiple voices and different styles used in expressions as people try through language to maintain, assume, or subvert positions and control. As Bakhtin points out, styles are never internally uniform, since “the word in language is half someone else’s” (Bakhtin 1981: 293) and all discourse “lives on the boundary between its own context and another, alien context” (Bakhtin 1981: 284). White (1984) describes how Bakhtin considered formal linguistic markers of registers ‘indissociable’ from the intentional dimension of their meaning and describes how Bakhtin “conjures an image of the semiotic value of styles being subtly redefined in on-going interaction, attracting the resisting new connotations and allegiances” (White 1984: 124-126). The multi-voicing of the speeches of the members of the Manjo community can be seen as an outcome of these processes: not only does the possibility of accessing certain styles differ between people, but there are also differences in the willingness to identify with a certain group. Styling can also be initiative when people cross into language usage typically associated with others. Even when speakers operate within a repertoire associated with them, they can use the linguistic resources in creative ways using the old meanings for making new meanings (Rampton 1995, Coupland 2007). This is what the members of the Manjo community are doing in their speeches. It can be seen how the stylistic continuums are widened not only with new styles added, but also by modifying and adding to those that are already present.

But why were they doing this? Was it for the audience, for me or for themselves? Why were there so many differences between speeches with regard to how these styles shift and how different voices were utilized? The multi-voicing of the Manjo community reflects the ideological differences present among the Manjo in relation to the majority Gomaro population. Coupland points out how “individual stylistic configurations are seen as

necessarily espousing ideologies and sociocultural positions that have implications for the identities of the proponents” (Coupland 2001:196) and as stated by Eckert these “identities are in continual construction, continual change, continual refinement” (Eckert 2000: 43). This leads us to focus on the contrasts and relationships between the styles as “the characteristics of a particular style cannot be explained independently of others, attention needs to be directed to relationships among them, to their contrasts, boundaries, and commonalities, to principles and processes of stylistic differentiation within a continuously evolving sociolinguistic system” (Irvine 2001:22).

Sociolinguistic resources are “forms imbued with potential for social meaning, multi-dimensional evaluative constructs that can be used for constructing social context” (Coupland 2007:105). The availability of certain styles and registers and the unavailability of other styles and registers contribute to identity construction (Mendoza-Denton 2008, Schilling-Estes 2002) and this is also relevant inside the Manjo group. However, styles and registers are not closed sets of forms. Although they involve the repertoire of forms, the boundaries of a register depend on social-semiotic processes. Agha refers to “processes of *enregisterment* by which the forms and values of a register become differentiable from the rest of language” for certain speakers. He points out that “at any given phase, or historical stage, a register formation involves a social domain of persons that is acquainted with the model of speech at issue” (Agha 2004: 25, 36-37). He emphasizes the process-like character of register formation by pointing out how, e.g., under globalization local linguistic styles are “re-semioticized in different sorts of performance frames” when new ideological values are given to them (Agha 2006). Large-scale social processes, like nationalism and globalization shape identity in interaction. According to those research traditions within sociocultural linguistics that anchor identity in interaction, identity can be seen as a centrally linguistic phenomenon, the social positioning of self and other constituted through social action, and especially through language. It is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction and is produced intersubjectively rather than individually (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). It is exactly this social positioning of self and other that this ethnography is about.

1.2. The voices of “polluters”

The research question I am dealing with has grown slowly during the past fifteen years. It is an attempt to understand the situation and the mechanisms that contribute to this kind of marginalization, based on beliefs that certain people can be considered “polluting”. The situation and the components included confused me and I looked for methods to grasp the inception of the phenomenon from different fields and disciplines. First I was looking at the issue based on a framework that was familiar to me from the writings of scholars who have studied the Manjo.

The number of scholars engaged in research on the Manjo group is not great. In most cases the Manjo are only mentioned briefly in studies concentrating on the Kafa (Bieber 1920, 1923; Haberland 1964; Huntingford 1955; Orent 1970). Language problems have hindered the research efforts and most of the early work was based on knowledge received from the majority. Even Lange (1982) complained that he could not approach the Manjo as he could not find a translator. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, minority groups started to receive interest as current global discourses brought them into the spotlight as target groups for research and for NGO aid activities, and a considerable amount of valuable information about the Manjo has been gathered (Freeman and Pankhurst 2001; Gezahegn Petros 2001; Mengistu Seyoum 2001; Saiyuri 2008, 2009; Dagmawie Mengistu 2010). As these research studies show, many aspects of the marginalization can be traced to economic, political and historical issues. But still something seemed to be missing and the whole complexity of the issue did not seem to be captured by these approaches, relying mostly on socio-economic explanations and political issues.

The scholarly literature on East Africa includes information about other groups whose marginalization bears similarities with the case of the Manjo. In Ethiopia the Fuga live among the Gurage, the Yem and the Kambaata, the Hadicho among the Sidama and the Weyito among the Amhara (Freeman 2001, Wolde-Selassie 2001, Getachew Fulle 2001). Kassam and Bashuna (2004) suggest that the Waato in Kenya, associated with the Oromo groups, would also be the same group as the Weyito. The Waato have also been referred to using the generic term ‘dorobo’ derived from a Maasai word meaning hunter in general. In

neighbouring Somalia the way the marginalization of the group called the Gaboye is presented bears strikingly many similarities to the Manjo (Eno and Eno 2010). All these groups, associated with the bush rather than domesticated villages, have myths claiming that they fell from grace because of some impure act and the idea of “being pollutive” is essential.

The idea of “pollution” also being the key issue in the caste system in India led me to look for the possible resemblance of the Manjo situation to the situation of the Dalits in South Asia. The question about using the word ‘caste’ in an African context has been a subject of debate for decades. Some scholars use the word ‘caste’ when writing about the marginalized minorities in Ethiopia (Shack 1964, Haberland 1979, Todd 1977) and some oppose the usage (Amborn 1990, Hamer 1987, Pankhurst 2001). Those supporting the usage claim that all the other components defining the caste system except Hinduism are present: endogamy, restrictions on commensality, hierarchical grading, concept of pollution, traditional occupation and ascribed status. Those opposing the use of the term ‘caste’ claim that its use in Ethiopian context is misleading and emphasize that the special character of the concept of purity and pollution in southwest Ethiopia needs to be appreciated. Particularly among the Oromo people the impurity concept is more salient and stressed than that of purity, and transgressions of taboos may also cause farmers to become temporarily impure. Impurity is primarily related to food taboos as dietary proscriptions are crucial status and identity markers. (Pankhurst 2001: 11). However, the International Solitary Network of Dalits and the UN documents shared on their webpage relating to marginalization surveys in Africa also use the word ‘caste’ in African context and, e.g., the Manjo are present in their lists. The Dalit movement has become transnational and at the present time, a criterion for a group to be included in their lists is “being marginalized due to work or descent”. This global movement with its own rhetoric will definitely attract some educated Manjo and provide means for networking.

I did not want to engage in a comparison between the situation of the Manjo and any of the groups mentioned above before my field studies. I was aware of the multi-vocality of the Manjo members, and the complexity of the situation alerted me to keep my eyes and ears open for all that I empirically encounter. I found the analyzing tools of Grounded theory

(Corbin and Strauss 1998) useful in the process of defining the research problem itself: They instruct one to be open to multiple possibilities, to diverge from one's usual ways of thinking and work to get a fresh perspective and trust the process. I began with an area of study and allowed its relation to theory to emerge from data through the process of description and conceptual ordering. This led me to observe the construal of social and cultural reality through linguistic devices.

I had already noticed that learning Amharic, the Semitic lingua franca of Ethiopia, had taught me not only the language, but ways of seeing and experiencing things that were new to me. So in order to widen my perspective I needed to get "inside" the Kafa language, to be able to see things from inside as they were articulated by the people themselves. As you can see from my choice of expressions, it worked for me. I learned to pay attention to inside-outside axes, not only to understand inside and outside as the habitat of things or people or ideas, but also to note the way of using the structures of language showing that something first "gets in" in order to be present, noted or utilized. That as such led me to investigate how things (or people or ideas) actually get in and that highlighted the importance of connecting persons. Somebody who is both in and has the willingness to reach out is needed in order to create the connecting gateway. Another fresh angle came from the usage of the word "say" in the Kafa language. The languages I am used to, like Finnish and English use the forms of "be" or "have" as the main tools for constructing verbal structures and forms, whereas in Kafa the main tool for constructing verbal structures is the word "say" in its multiple forms. Grammatical tool though it may be, it makes one look at the things not so much as "being" or "having", but as "being said" which causes one to approach things from a different perspective.

As I wanted to approach the marginalization through language use, I looked to see if there were other marginalized minorities in East Africa among whom a similar sociolinguistic approach had been used. During the first decade of the 21st century, many languages, including smaller ones, have been studied in Ethiopia both by foreigners and by Ethiopians and sociolinguistic approaches are used for describing, e.g., practices of minority languages in relation to Amharic, but the interaction of the marginalized minorities has not attracted attention, perhaps because most of them speak the same language as the majority.

Since there have not been studies focusing on the actual communication skills and the role they play in marginalization, an important domain in which marginalization is produced and negotiated has been neglected so far. However, I found one trail to follow: While most of the studies done in the first decade of the 21st century usually concentrate on a certain marginalized group, the work of Freeman (2001) takes a wider view. In Ethiopia the situation of marginalized minorities is multiplex. Groups that can be categorized under this label are many and the degree of segregation varies. These groups include craft workers (potters, tanners, smiths, and, to a minor extent, weavers) and former hunters.⁵ When trying to categorize these different minorities, Freeman points out that it is impossible to make correlations between categories if either the occupational group (type of craft) or the form of the majority society has been chosen as the base for categorization and suggests that the categorization should instead be done by including both sides of the equation and further recommends that an interactional approach is called for. She categorizes the minority groups based on how they are stereotyped by the majority farmers. By doing this she also found that some other common features, like forms of origin myths, the existence or lack of their own rituals, and their various roles in the farmers' rituals, showed correlation with these categories.

According to the categories Freeman formulated, the marginalized minorities could be divided into four categories: respected non-polluters, sterile polluters, fertile polluters and dangerous polluters. The initial social distance from farmers also increases in that order. She speculates that in the case of the respected non-polluters, mainly smiths and weavers with northern background, and sterile polluters, the reason for the separation was the craft they had engaged in. The difference between the two groups is that the first ones were craft workers by their own choice, whereas the sterile polluters engaged in craftwork due to loss of the land for some reason. In the case of fertile polluters and the dangerous polluters, in

⁵ Different theories of the origin of these groups have been formulated in different decades: The early speculations in the first half of the 20th century concentrated on their being aboriginal 'remnants' of earlier people who have been submerged by incoming waves of migration (Cerulli 1922, Huntingford 1931). In the 1960s and 70s, the main debate was whether the situation could be referred to as caste (Lewis 1962, Levine 1974, Todd 1977) and in the 1980s and 90s, again shifted to the ideas of Van Zwanenberg (1976) and Chang (1982) who point out that, in the case of hunters, in times of ecological stress, impoverished agriculturalists or pastoralists have turned to hunting and relate to other groups in various kinds of symbioses.

addition to “what they do”, “who they are” is also considered meaningful. (Freeman 2001: 319-325). She includes the Manjo among “fertile polluters” together with Weyto, Hadicho and Fuga.⁶ The word ‘fertile’ refers to the positive role these groups have in the rituals of the farmers. In many cases their input is considered necessary for fertility and healing.

Freeman discusses how wealth, religion and knowledge can be seen as micro-factors that can improve or worsen the situation of the marginalized, but that these aspects work differently in different categories. (Freeman 2001: 349). Why do they work differently? I agree with the categorization of Freeman at least as far as the Manjo are concerned, but my claim is that the communication aspect should be taken into account and that linguistic skills play a greater role than previously thought, at least among the groups considered polluting. Although not yet properly studied, there are some hints in the literature that the notion of “not knowing how to use language (of the majority)” is also associated with some other fertile polluters (see, e.g., Treis 2005). If identity is considered to be the social positioning of self and other, a discursive construct that emerges in interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586-7), what are the components that contribute to the interaction between the Manjo and the Gomaro and are there not differences between individuals with regard to this?

In order to find the answer, I needed to link the interactionist perspective and the ethnographic tools. Social order is considered to be observable in two ways. The first is to understand social order as constituted in the interactional order. By problematizing the language, by seeing it as a central form of social action itself, it is possible to address the ways in which social processes unfold and adequately explain why they do so. Moreover, the interactional orders are to be linked and so methods are needed that can apprehend those linkages. In this respect, social order is understood to be a web of relationships in which what happens in one interaction is constrained by the consequences of others and in turn constrains other interactions separate from it in time and/or space. The final element concerns the ways in which these webs of relationships are fundamentally about the production and distribution of symbolic and material resources, which are contingent upon

⁶ Some Fuga, especially in Kambaata, have started to oppose the use of the name Fuga, considering it derogatory. (Wolde-Selassie 2001: 68). Also, some Oromo friends of mine told me that the name has a negative connotation and that some other name would be preferable. However, they could not suggest another name to be used.

specific social, historical and environmental conditions. This approach is owed to Heller and Martin-Jones (2001), who used it in their studies related to symbolic domination, education and linguistic difference.

The emic interpretation of many of the Manjo community is that “not knowing how to speak” is to be considered as one of the main causes and effects of marginalization. It has created a dead-end situation for them: to be kept from “being part” is extremely influential in the process of marginalization as it prevents gaining the communicative competence that would be needed for “being part”. Strecker, the long-term ethnographer among the Hamar in south Ethiopia notes the connection between oral competence and wealth stating that “In some ways, wealth and oral competence go together, or more exactly, oral competence and the ownership of herds.” He speculates on who can speak and who is listened to and points out how rhetorical skills have a constitutive role in the development of culture and self (Strecker 2010: 152). Oesterraich (2009: 50) notes that people vary in their ability to express themselves and understand others, and it is precisely this difference in communicative skills that motivates and gives life to rhetoric. The importance of knowing “indexing conventions that underlie the specific common understandings that function as sources of everyday arguments” is pointed out by Stecker and Tyler who emphasize the role of communicative skills not only as means of communication with others, but also as an instrument for shaping the self. (Strecker and Tyler 2009:7). Locally grounded conceptualizations of the self generate understandings of difference, and the community’s interpretation of the type of verbal behaviour that speakers assume presents them in the most positive light in that social world are influenced by those understandings of difference (Kulick 1990: 247).

1.3. Discourses shaping the context in which “being Manjo” is articulated

The Manjo are not an official group in the state statistics. Naturally that in itself can be counted as a political choice of not granting them the status of an ethnic group. However, I wanted to be careful not to take anything for granted. So my first main question to deal with was, “Is there a group called Manjo?” and if so, “to whom and when?” Since “being Manjo” was articulated differently at different times and by different individuals, I wanted to

approach “being Manjo” also as a socially constructed categorization, shaped by present and past discourses.

The context in which the members of the Manjo population interact is formulated by discourses, both local and global. As I mentioned earlier, it is only in the last decade that global discourses have now brought up the issues of marginalized minorities in Ethiopia. How are these discourses shaping the identity construction processes that are going on? Although the Sayilem and Gesha *weredas* in the hinterlands of Kafa were only recently connected to the rest of Ethiopia by roads, the lives of individual people have been influenced by global and national issues. Let me highlight those that I consider “emblematic of the contemporary global moment” (Hardt and Negri 2000) in Ethiopia and how they again become localized in the Sayilem and Gesha *weredas* in Kafa.

The contemporary anthropological literature rightly highlights the present national, neoliberal and decolonizing discourses in Africa and describes the effects of the spread of Pentecostal Christianity, aid and development activities, and capitalism. (Piot 2010, Ferguson 2009, Englund 2003, Comaroff and Comaroff 2000, Guyer 2007, Kramsch and Boner 2010, Freeman 2012). These themes discussed are also very much present in Ethiopia, but the context in which they localize differs from other African cases as cited above in some specific ways. There are at least two reasons that make Ethiopia a special case among the African countries: its long history of not being a colonial dominion of European powers and its Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The short period of Italian occupation, although being harsh and bloody, did not have as many long-term effects as was the case in many other parts of Africa. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church, relating back to the fourth century, is truly Ethiopian –or, actually, I should say North Ethiopian. There are many “histories” in Ethiopia being written presently: The best known history is the history of the North, the glorious past of Amhara and Tigre kings and the emperors who “unified” the Ethiopia we know today. Currently, “other histories” are also being constructed and written: by the Oromo, who are by far the biggest ethnic group, and by the ethnic groups in the south and other bordering areas that were incorporated into the kingdom by the military forces of King Menelik II about a hundred years ago. According to some estimates, two-thirds of the Kafa population died during those campaigns (Trimingham 1952: 128, Bieber 1920:167). It is the Amhara and

Tigre that are considered the ones who used to be the colonizers, and the attitudes in relations bear many similarities to those familiar from other African countries relative to the colonizing powers. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church is culturally and traditionally closely engaged in the heritage of the Semitic North, Amharic and Ge'ez. On the other hand, the connection between the North and Kafa is more complex: according to the historians, the ancestors of the population in present day Kafa have become incorporated into the area through different immigration waves from the north. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church has been present in Kafa since the 17th century and the local culture and traditions have shaped its practices. In the Sayilem and Gesha *weredas* there are no Orthodox Manjo. When I asked the local Orthodox pastors the reason for the rejection of the Manjo, the main argument given was that "the Manjo are not able to fast". On the church level, among leaders in Addis Ababa, there has been some discussion to "do something for the Manjo issue": Some of those who have moved away from the areas are often the initiators. I discussed the issue with a young Kafa graduate who had finished his four-year priest training in Addis Ababa. He said that he had organized a campaign to get Manjo members to join the Orthodox Church in Kafa around the Gimbo *wereda*. However, he was literally chased away by the local Orthodox priests before he could even reach the Manjo population.

Until very recently, Ethiopia, compared to other African countries, had not been on the foreign interest priority list for investments, tourism, or even for research. The long reign of the Communist regime (1974-1991) with its controlling mechanisms, the wars and famines, the lack of roads and transportation have all contributed to this lack of interest. Amharic, a Semitic language, has been used as the medium of communication and administration, not any Indo-European languages. And among the many ethnic groups that form the population of Ethiopia, it is only certain people, either those who are educated or those who are engaged in trade or city life, who can express themselves as fluently in Amharic as they could in their vernacular. In southern and western Ethiopia a rich variety of languages are present, representing both Nilo-Saharan languages and the Cushitic, Semitic and Omotic sub-groups of the Afro-Asiatic languages. Only during the last decades has more extensive research started to take place in these areas, both by foreigners and especially by Ethiopians themselves.

Although the differences mentioned above make Ethiopia a special case in Africa, most of the themes discussed in the context of other African countries are very much shaping the present situation in Ethiopia as well. The big famines of each decade have regularly brought Ethiopia into the spotlight. Twenty years ago when I first came to Ethiopia, it was mainly the four-wheel cars of various aid organizations that were filling the main roads and the parking lots of the scarce hotels. In between the relief operations, various NGOs and charity organizations have come and gone. These activities have formulated the concept of አርዳታ /irda:ta/ 'help' and, in addition to the adoption of children, the sponsor relationship, a kind of "partial adoption" itself, has been a relationship sought by both donors and receivers, which again has its connotations of dependency.

Piot (2010) argues that the NGOs and other aid organizations have actually failed to improve the living standards, but, due to their intervention, dramatic shifts are underway "in the biopolitical life" of these communities: in how social and political life is conceived and organized, and in how people imagine their capacities and relationships with one another. The longstanding categories of people and groups have begun to be changed. It is youth, not elderly, and girls rather than boys that have received the attention and the benefits of the latest projects. (Piot 2010: 160). I could add here the marginalized, as opposed to the majority. Emphasis in activities like schooling and microfinance highlight "development today" (Englund 2003), in which an individual is supposed to discipline himself and manage his own affairs (Moore 2005). This contrasts with the way of life that was based on the commitment to relational dependency (Piot 1999).

During the last ten years, opportunities for Ethiopians to travel abroad have increased. In the 1990s I witnessed a steady flow of members of Protestant churches who got an opportunity to go abroad as representatives and stayed there, especially if the meetings took place in America. The first decade of 2000 has been a decade of the "Green Card" and at one point in Addis I noticed that it was difficult to find someone among my middle-class friends who had not applied, and surprisingly many have gone. There is also a constant flow of mainly young girls to Arab countries. I have been close enough to follow a couple of cases: the contact person is typically "someone I know from my part of town" who has succeeded in making money and is now doing business by recruiting and providing the means for others. Girls and

their relatives are ready to take big loans for the process which in some cases prove to be just plots for deception.⁷ Some succeed to the extent that a new social class of wealthy young single women has emerged. In some places young men complain that it is difficult to find a wife since so many girls leave. Guyer (2004) argues that the economic domain in Africa has long been situated at the intersection of various crossroads and within a transcultural space between the local and that which lies beyond: the slave trade, the colonial, and now, a differently globalized postcolonial. This has generated its own scales of value and pricing, and has produced far-reaching networks of debt, rank, and clientage that borrow from and also innovate upon conventional scales of value, price, rank and debt. She also talks about the nonlinear punctuated temporality that resonates not only in Charismatic Christian movements, but also in non-Christian domains, where “luck” or occult manipulation is important to success. It emphasizes the role of connecting incidents when being in the right place in the right time may change one’s whole life. (Guyer 2007). Piot describes how the Pentecostal Christians in Ghana “inhabit a world of post-national sovereignty, of non-state-centric idioms of belonging, of horizontally networked forms of sociality, the nonlinear modes of temporality, of global immanence, of affect and intensity. This is also a world thoroughly saturated by commodity desire and the commodity form –in which proximity to the divine is also measured through the ‘prosperity’ of the believer” (Piot 2010: 75).

The volume of the market economy in the Sayilem and Gesha *weredas* is actually only now reaching the level of other places that have had road connections. The Gesha *wereda* was connected by a year-round road less than ten years ago, and the road to Sayilem is still not yet opened. With the coming of the road, the trade in the main town of the Gesha *wereda* has bloomed: the main road of Dekka is crowded by small Isuzu trucks on market days, owned by both the local Gomaro and neighbouring Oromo traders. The road will definitely also bring migrants to the area in the future. In the last two decades the volume of in-country migration has steadily increased and nowadays it is almost impossible to visit any areas previously considered as frontier without seeing a settlement of Kambaata or some other group. This migration has also intensified the trade activities in those areas. The commercial activities of India and China have increased the variety of items being sold in

⁷At the end of 2013, Saudi-Arabia deported all those Ethiopians who did not have legal documents and work permits. The number of those who returned to Ethiopia was reported to be well over 120,000.

every corner of Ethiopia: attractive products that all have reasonable prices and short lives – from torches and batteries, locks and keys, plastic shoes and boots to cassette players and mobile phones. China is also very much present through its road construction activities: not only do the managers come for work, but the whole organization with its technicians and drivers move too, which also provides contacts with local people of different kinds in the towns and villages near their camps. The narratives of the encounters are many, often relating to linguistic and cultural issues. At least at the leadership level, the influence of the west has diminished as China is a much easier partner who does not ask questions about environmental issues or human rights (Alden 2005; Kopiński, Polus and Taylor 2011). In recent years huge areas have also been given to Indian investors.

With the exception of the very few government workers who depend on their salary for daily food, most of the population in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* is self-supporting. *Ensete*-related food production is based on relationships and commitment. The exceptional level of reciprocity and sharing that it involves is noted by many scholars (Hamer 1994, Brøgger 1986, Shack 1963). All huts are surrounded by *ensete* plants and fields for barley, maize and peas. *Shaano* and *kooyo*, the delicious cabbages that grow in every yard, and are served at every meal with the baked *ensete*, and with peas and cottage cheese, form the main everyday food. Mutton is the favourite meal for those who can afford to slaughter their sheep. Milk and butter are also abundantly available and coffee is drunk with milk, butter and salt. Since coffee is also grown in the area, it leaves only very few items to be bought: salt, batteries and articles of clothing. Even sugar is only rarely purchased since it is honey that satisfies the urge for sweet things. Honey has been the main source of cash. Nowadays the Manjo women are also selling charcoal and firewood to townspeople in places where they live close enough. Most of the Manjo villages have no shops (or kiosks) and no market places and all trading takes place in the bigger villages. In addition to clothes, the main need for cash is for travelling to big towns to get medical treatment and, beginning from 2010, for mobile phones. Although most of the area does not have electricity, one can use the phone when travelling to nearby areas where it is available.

The last but possibly most influential discourse that needs to be mentioned in relation to the Manjo is the discourse of nationalism. To be part of “the imagined communities”,

communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face communication and sharing the happenings of “meanwhile in somewhere else” give rise to deep horizontal comradeship. This “feeling of belonging” is boosted by travelling opportunities, communication technologies, and mass media. In addition, the education system provides access to written standardized language and creates an opportunity to gain knowledge through reading. (Andersson 1992: 115-6, 135,140-1). Nationalist ideas have attracted both the Kafa as whole and the Manjo separately. In the Ethiopian Constitution Article 39.2, declared by the Federal government of Ethiopia in 1995, it is stated that “Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia has a right to speak, to write and develop its own language; to express, to develop and promote its culture and to preserve its history.” This has paved way for the strengthening of the Kafa identity and for the decision to make *Kafi noono* the official language of the Kafa Zone. The same article is again referred to by the representatives of the Manjo movement applying for recognition as an ethnic group who argue that they have a separate history (the glorious past of the Manjo King), culture (with their own traditions); even the language, although technically *Kafi noono*, has its differences.

While globalization in itself is a technological and economic reality, globalist discourses are discursive processes that constitute and attribute value to people and events and shape social relations and identities. These discourses are “strategically motivated” as they disseminate and reproduce ideologies that serve the interests both of the powerful and those who seek to gain power (Fairclough 2006). Through globalization, in addition to “slow-time” relationships of trust with other people in local face-to face networks, there is also participation in fast-moving commercial networks that tend to “instrumentalize relationships” while searching for new trading possibilities. (Kramsch 1998, Kramsch and Boner 2010).

However, these global discourses, like Modernity, Capitalism or Neoliberalism, “easily begin to appear as a kind of gigantic, all-powerful first cause – malevolent forces that cause everything else to happen – and to say that problems are caused by them yields to empty analyses.” (Ferguson 2009:171). So it is important to go further and try to catch the components of the situation in which the members of the Manjo population find themselves; a situation that is a combination of the overall national setting described above

and the local, shaped through the connections and traditions of the past. As was pointed out in the discussion above, global discourses create connections. The connections can turn out to be harmful or beneficial, but either way they are connections. The registers and ways of speaking that the discourses presented above include have brought new features to the repertoires of the Manjo members of the society. There are differences in how the old and the new are combined in the speeches of different individuals. "At any given moment of its historical existence language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the coexistence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth all given in bodily form." (Bakhtin 1981: 291). The multi-voicing of the Manjo community in using different ways of speaking and styles, invites one to look for who uses them, why they are used and how they are used.

1.4. Talking the boundary: to demolish or to strengthen

In my research I found that the network structures of the members of the Manjo community differ and the differences in the network structure are also reflected in their language use. Most often it is those who have created connections outside the Manjo core network that complain about the lack of communicative skills. The Manjo variety and the styles associated with it are recognizable and strong among those whose social networks are dense and multiplex. In those cases the network includes mainly Manjo and if there are majority members included, the communication with them follows the style that clarifies the hierarchy. Although the variety (and the styles associated with it) the Manjo have been using is a Manjo creation, the need to come up with that style is also actively demanded from the Manjo members of the society by conservative majority members and any changes in style that could be considered to make them look more similar to the majority is rejected by the latter.

However, the new contacts and with them the access to new registers and ways of speaking have been and are actively looked for and utilized. The emic interpretation of the present situation is that "By God and Government we have now learned to speak to some extent" referring to registers opened for the Manjo through networks relating to religion and

governmental activities. As far as Protestant churches are concerned, the common feature is that there has been a time of connected networks and domains of practice with the majority members. However at present, the network structures of the people who have joined the church differ from area to area; in some areas congregations are mixed and interaction is frequent including many domains of life. In some areas there are separate Manjo congregations and the networks with Gomaro Protestant Christians connect only in relation to church activities. Through government activities new registers have become available for the Manjo population: The communication in administration and institutional premises differs from the style used before and it is in the institutional premises that most of the communication between these two groups takes place. The language medium at school is *Kafi noono*, which promotes the usage of “standard style”. The networks of present students also include, to some extent majority members. On the other hand, those who had their education outside the area in the Amharic language (the first educated elite) use mainly “Manjo style” dialect. Their networks also sometimes include “passive ties” to NGO workers and researchers and they have access to written material provided by them. Schools and offices create domains in which a certain kind of knowledge can be reached. For the time being, “the standard style” does not have the position of a “prestige style”; it is seen as a style relating to school and learning and knowledge that is limited to that special domain.

In an oral society the role network connections play in introducing styles and registers and through them also the contacts needed to be able to share certain kinds of knowledge, is crucial. The availability of a network connection is a key factor for learning new repertoires and hence directs the choices people can utilize. When engaged in communities of practice, jointly negotiated enterprises where shared repertoire is used by mutually engaged members, social learning that leads to communicative skills can take place. The members of the Manjo community who have regularly been engaged in these activities have not only accessed the new registers and styles relating to them, but are also more accustomed to “Gomaro-style” by being present in arenas that engage them in mutual negotiations or discussions, whether in Protestant churches or in government offices. There is a great deal of knowledge that can only be acquired through participation. What matters is that such

knowledge is the product of a mutual, and often tacit, agreement between participants to play one's part in communal activities (Gosselain 2011).

Naturally, the global discourses some Manjo members of the society have been utilizing for connections, and through them for gaining communicative skills, also have ideological connotations that have affected the society. The shift to a more individualistic approach due to education and the market economy, Protestant Christian religion with its new "spiritual hierarchy" as opposed to traditional Orthodox Christianity in the area, the ideas of nationalism, growing awareness of the ways of the outside world and the rhetoric of different political movements, all shape the identity construction. An individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour to resemble those of the group or groups with whom he wishes to be identified and also to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181).

The concept of "being a Manjo" seems to consist of very different interpretations, whether articulated in different times or by different individuals. It is articulated through different kinds of style and ways of speaking that have been accessed through different network connections. There is the co-existence of seemingly contradictory tendencies in the Manjo community in the present-day Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*: a drive towards cohesion and emancipation of the Manjo as a distinct group as well as tendencies of dissolution and absorption into the Kafa. These tendencies are communicated through different styles and registers. Both the individual identities and the group identities are processed in interactions within these two active discursive stances. Barth (1969) calls for focusing on relationships of cultural differentiation and the sort of 'boundary work' that people do in practice. The members of the Manjo community are engaged in "talking the boundary", in order to either demolish the boundary or strengthen it. Identity emerges in interactions and the interactions take place in social networks. At the time of this study, although some members of the Manjo community have also engaged in communities of practice with the Gomar members of the society, for the majority of Manjo interaction takes place inside the dense core networks that are mainly Manjo. In those networks the styles relating to separated Manjo identity construction are frequent. During the 15 years I have followed the discussion there has been a clear shift towards regarding the Manjo as an ethnic group and in many

recent books and web pages this is how they are referred to. However, their application to get the status of an ethnic group has been denied by the federal government, and the reasons given for that are that they speak the same language as the majority and live in scattered groups. How things will shape up in the future remains to be seen, but it is clear that the construction of network structures, through which the communicative skills required in different domains are gained, will be one of the determining factors contributing to the shaping of the future.

1.5. The outline of the study

It is necessary to elaborate on three themes in order to answer the main research questions of this study: *Is the lack of cross-group communication skills one of the mechanisms contributing to marginalization of the people who are believed to be “polluting”?* *And if so, how do the different members of the Manjo group conceptualize and negotiate their marginalized status by means of language ideologies and linguistic behaviour?* These three themes are the emic interpretations of the mechanisms of the marginalization, the network structures of the individuals, and the styles used by members of the Manjo society in a certain speech event. I will strongly rely on the data collected in the Kafa language (*Kafi noono*) and the chapters follow the line of a hermeneutic interplay between the data and the theoretical points arising from it.

The linguistic structure of the Kafa language has not yet been thoroughly studied⁸ and this lack of linguistic material available for reference was a dilemma for me: Can I work on the language without properly knowing the grammatical structure? Being engaged in learning languages of different families, I have learned to pay attention to crucial grammatical aspects and I have developed a skill in autodidactic second language acquisition by immersion in the respective community, which in my case during the past nine years has

⁸*Kafi noono* has received some overall attention, as a member of the Omotic group (Bender 2000), but it is only relatively recently that studies have started to emerge (Taddese Haile 1999, Theil 2007). The students in the linguistic department of Addis Ababa have started to contribute information about certain aspects of *Kafi noono* (Girma Tesfaye 2010, Teye Kassa 2012) and some sociolinguistic issues (Dawit Bekele 2004, Honelign Abebe 2009). Also, the linguistic work on Anfillo (Asenafi, Tesfaye and Wedekind 1990) and Shinasha (Lamberti 1993) has provided more insight concerning grammatical issues with regard to the Kafaoid language group, of which they all form part (Omotic-Non Aroid-T/N- Kafaoid).

been mainly the Manjo community. Although there might be nuances that have not been accessed, I consider the documenting and presenting of this “Manjo variant”⁹ important, as it opens the way to understanding the present situation.

After discussing the methods used (Chapter 2), I will share the emic interpretation of the situation as the members of the Manjo group wanted them to be expressed in order to show what they considered as issues contributing to marginalization and how they categorized being a member of a group called Manjo, how this was stated and how the ideas expressed were produced through different distinctions and classifications (Chapter 3). It was these distinctions that made me look for new ways of approaching the research problem, ways that I had not thought of earlier and so I consider the description of these emic categorizations, as presented by the speakers in the monologues, necessary for understanding the general setting for this research. In the speeches, most frequently being Manjo is referred to using spatial references; secondly it was approached through classification that included when and to whom the concept of being Manjo was activated. The third aspect is related to “How is it to be Manjo?” including topics like self-esteem and attitudes towards others. I will later discuss the multi-vocality and differences, but in chapter 3, I will concentrate on issues that are common. The categorization presented highlights the importance of relationships not only for connecting people, but also as a means of gaining the communicative skills needed in order to access knowledge of different kinds and leads one to look for the mechanisms of network formation. The local concept of network is defined in Chapter 4 and the different kinds of relationships that are included are described. After collecting the common characteristics in the network structures of individuals the differences are described and analyzed.

Then I proceed to the actual ways of speaking, styles and registers used in the data (Chapter 5). I first describe the styles used as they emerge from the speeches of speakers of different age groups, thereby introducing the components forming the repertoires that the speakers have utilized and also describing some central issues that the speakers relate to the

⁹ The only study dealing with that variant is the MA theses of Teferi Mulugeta (2012). He verifies the existence of the “Manjo variant” and discusses the differences.

“Gomaro way of speaking”. It is the lack of competence in that particular style that is mentioned as a reason contributing to marginalization.

In Chapter 6 the findings of the two previous chapters are brought together, as the network connections available are seen in relation to the styles used. The input that the access to different communities of practice has to different individuals is described through some example case studies. After that in Chapter 7, I summarize and evaluate the findings from the data by looking at the issues from the point of view of identity construction.

In the final chapter I conclude that the talk boundary that has been inside the society is either being “talked away” by engaging in connecting networks that promote access to common communicative practices or the boundary is being “talked into prominence” by emphasizing the differences, strengthening the group identity of the Manjo through the styles used. Both the availability of the network connections and the willingness to participate in the networks available contribute to the choices made by individuals.

CHAPTER 2

THE TALK BOUNDARY IN THE DATA

2.1. Is there a group called Manjo?

Due to the research topic, I found it necessary to use three different ways of collecting data. The first, and the most important data corpus, is the 50 speeches collected in certain kinds of speech events from 15 *qebeles*¹⁰ of the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* during 2009-2012. Second, I made a survey of the network construction of 19 of those who had given their speeches. Third, while being in the field (2-3 week periods four times a year from 2007¹¹ to 2013), I used participant observation and recorded theme discussions. The recordings took place with those members of the community that I had especially close relationships with. All in all, the transcribed data is 10 hours 38 min (6 hours 28 min of speeches and 4 hours 10 min of discussions). Both the speeches and the discussions are mainly in *Kafi noono* 'Kafa language', but in some cases Amharic is also used.

The reason for using such a wide range of material was that I wanted to write about "being Manjo", but I was very hesitant about how to approach the issue of a marginalized minority. I was well aware that my being engaged in such a topic is very much due to the global western discourse of the past two decades: The eagerness to fight for human rights for those who need advocacy is at the heart of what is considered meaningful these days. And there are so many around who want to be engaged in making a difference. On the other hand, there is a certain amount of realism and self-criticism around. Too many mistakes and catastrophes have resulted from the interference of outsiders, being used for political or personal gain. And even if all goes relatively well, the interference shapes the situation and can also start to live a life of its own. There was a student in the area doing research for her MA paper. She did well, spent a lot time with the Manjo, encouraged them and boldly

¹⁰*Qebele* was the smallest administrative unit until a smaller unit, *sil*, was introduced recently. The official English translation for *qebele* is Peasant Association. Usually they consist of one major village, which is considered the centre, and some other smaller villages and homesteads. The borders with neighbouring *qebele* are defined by rivers or big trees. The population in one *qebele* in these areas is between 2,000 and 5,000.

¹¹ Due to my work and language studies, I had also visited the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* regularly during 2004-2006.

challenged those who opposed unity. After she left, one could see two things: the Manjo are positive about the fact that they are the first inhabitants in the area because they have seen that written on paper. They often refer to that fact as a witness to their claims. The other effect is that the administrators of the area, after telling her to be careful about her writing and its effect, are very suspicious about any research going on in the area. The contemporary writings about ethnicity and group identity have helped me be careful. The big question for me in the beginning was do those referred to by others as Manjo identify themselves with that label and if so, do they consider that as a positive or negative designation. Some were very quick to say that they are Manjo, but there were also some, who did not want to discuss the whole topic. One of my co-workers in Addis Ababa discussed his being Manjo with me only after eight years of us knowing each other, and only when some of his relatives were killed by Gomaros.

When starting the research I told the people in Daabina Gemi *qebele* to take me to that part of their *qebele* where I could talk with the Manjo. It was clear to them where they would take me and since this also happened in other *qebeles*, it proved to me that at present both the Gomaros and the Manjo seem to agree that there are people who can clearly be classified as members of a group called Manjo. Moreover, the Manjo themselves, when asked about their *yaro* 'clan', often first clarified that they belong to Manjo-clans and only after that specified their own clan. I was eager to know what it meant to them. Was it something that the others had brought upon them or was there a feeling of belonging together?

2.2. Data collection

When I started my field work, the only road connecting the area to rest of the country had just been finished. It runs through Dekka, the main town of the Gesha *wereda*, connecting it both to Masha (48 km) and to the capital of the Kafa Zone, Bonga (171 km). The Sayilem *wereda* was one of the last *weredas* in Ethiopia not connected by road to other areas. The only way to travel is by horse, mule or on foot, which is actually also the case with most of the *qebeles* in the Gesha *wereda*. The trip from Dekka, the centre of the Gesha *wereda* to Yadota, the central town of the Sayilem *wereda* takes six hours (39 km), if one is ready to

trot and gallop. The long rainy season lasts more or less from April to December making travelling difficult since the red soil turns to slippery mud under the constant flow of horses and cattle. The rivers become difficult to cross and every year accidents happen. The area is mountainous and going around is actually climbing and descending, and the high altitude (2,200-2,900 m) puts some demands on physical fitness. I quickly noticed that if one wants to be taken around it is better not to cause delays: the only way was to try to keep the pace, both when riding and walking. Actually that was fun, although I was often at the limits of my endurance. Other researchers have also noted the difficulties of this special region: Hildebrand, Brandt and Lesur-Gebremariam (2010) mention that there has not been much archaeological research in the area due to its remote location, thick vegetation and humid conditions and state that Kafa's steep terrain and scant roads affected their survey methods since the trips between sites could take multiple days by horse and foot and gear had to be carried across muddy slopes. The area is green and fertile, there is no lack of food and generally people are in good physical condition; however, illnesses like typhoid and tuberculosis are very common, even new cases of leprosy are reported every now and then. My research came to a halt for some time in the middle as I had to stay two months quarantined in hospital in Finland to get cured of TB.

2.2.1. Learning not to ask

While first learning Amharic and then the Kafa language, I encountered a problem related to cultural competence. I knew the words, my grammar was correct when I formulated my questions, and then the confused answer would be "I do not know" because I had asked according to my own background and it did not fit their way of thinking. Like "How many people live here?" or "What do you wish for the future?" I know now that if I want the statistics of the inhabitants of the village I need to ask the names of the people who have a house, with that the names of the children of the particular homestead are called and calculated, and then possibly the elder generation. Babies are not mentioned if not especially asked, nor are poor relatives that are being cared for. The wish for the future is usually answered in a practical way: corrugated iron sheet or sugar, sometimes a school for the area. If something that might happen in the near future is speculated, the discussion ends with *Yeri daaggi gaata* (if God allows).

What is a question in this context? When do people ask questions and why? “Do not say that you want to ask questions in order to collect information”, I was advised by one of the elders who took me around. “That will make them suspicious”. Direct questions are considered dangerous. The more information you give away, the more vulnerable you will be. When asked a question, it is better to say something without giving too much information. I was constantly disciplined by my friends when I gave a true answer to people asking where I was going. You should not even ask “Do you want coffee?” That is rude. It means that you want him to say no. You just pour the coffee and leave it up to a person to drink or not. People relate asking questions to the government, or to somebody who is in a position to make decisions over others. And then one who has been asked has to carefully think what to answer. There are at least two things that have to be taken into account. First, what the one asking wants to hear, and second, how will the answer possibly affect the wellbeing of the one answering.

In addition, the verb “ask” *echahe*, ($m\text{?}\text{t} /t'3j:3k'3/$) is used in the context of visiting people. One is “asking” the sick. Also, the greetings are mainly questioning. In both cases it feels like a drama in which you are supposed to behave in a certain way and say the lines that are expected from you. On the whole, asking questions does not create discussion. One will get a short answer, and that is that. When trying to conduct interviews I encountered many of the same problems as those Briggs refers to as “communicative blunders”. If the interactional goals, the type of the communication event in hand and the social situation in which the discussion takes place are not shared and agreed upon, the interaction just does not work and the risk of misinterpretation becomes considerable (Briggs 1986: 47-50). Bearing all this in mind, I did not want to begin by interviewing individuals. I wanted to have something more collective to start with, the things they themselves wanted to share to me.

2.2.2. Gathering the speeches and the other data

When I was approaching the community, there seemed to be a very clear consensus about how my coming should be handled. After I noticed that there were regularities in proceedings I let the situation unfold as it wanted. There seemed to be a certain kind of

communication event for handling a situation like this: people gathered to hear why I had come and when told that I wanted them to tell about themselves they were ready to proceed. I did not interfere, but let them speak what they had in mind. In the beginning, I tried to restrain the number of people participating in order to be able to get clearer material recorded, but I soon noticed that was not good. To leave some people out was not customary, it created confusion and finally it was not even possible in practice. If the community was small, people gathered in a house of some individual. The grass root huts in Kafa are big and easily accommodate 20-30 people. In bigger communities the gathering took place in the service house of the church or, if even more benches were needed, in the church itself. Government office huts are not situated in Manjo domains, so churches are the only premises for big meetings. The elderly men always spoke first, then elderly women and then proceeding similarly to the other age groups. The youngest were in their twenties. The speakers were fluent and spoke quickly. Usually, the older the speaker, the longer the speech. The longest monologues are over 25 minutes.

I decided to continue in this way in those *qebeles* in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* that have a considerable Manjo population and then analyze the texts acquired within the context of that particular speech event. Later I decided to also include some *qebeles* that have a smaller amount of Manjo population, since I noticed that the size of the Manjo population and the distance to main villages seemed to play a role in access to certain styles and registers. I decided to restrict myself to these two *weredas* as they clearly can be considered as hinterlands of the Kafa Zone, relatively distant and unconnected. They were also considered to be *weredas* in which the “situation of Manjo is not that difficult”. I wanted to see what that statement meant and why they were considered different.

This part of data that I use especially for linguistic analysis includes the speeches of 50 people. Of them, 42 are men (14 elderly, 20 middle aged, 8 young) and 8 women (2 elderly, 5 middle aged, one young). In most cases they were given at gatherings of 10-100 people. The data is from 15 *qebeles*. I did not ask anyone to speak but only waited for them to come forward. The ratio of men and women reflects this procedure. There were a significant number of women present at the gatherings and in each gathering some of them wanted to speak, but not many. I considered it important that all material to be used for linguistic

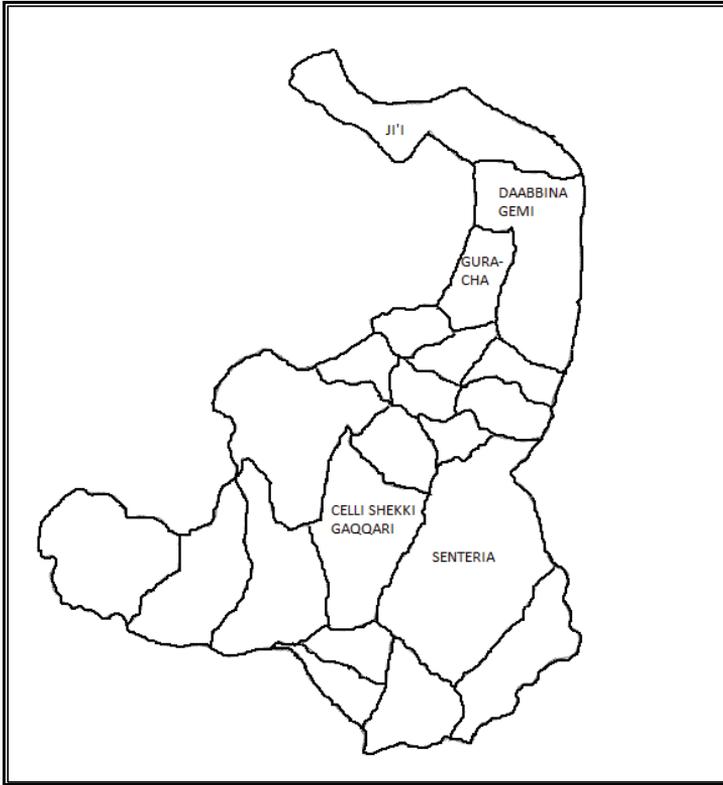
purposes would be from a certain kind of speech event, so I did not want go to “women only” situations to increase their numbers in the data, but rather to see how those who wanted to speak act in a common forum. At the end of the gathering I confirmed that all who wanted to say something had gotten the chance. In some cases that brought up some additional speakers, usually young men. One of the speeches is from a different kind of situation: the local Manjo *allaamo*,¹² spirit mediator, does not come to gatherings due to his special position that requires separation from other people, so I requested an audience from him. He also spoke about the same topic as the others.

Map 4. The Gesha *wereda* and the *qebeles* where the data was collected.



¹²*Allaamo* is a Kafa language name for spirit mediators, shamans, who are possessed by various spirits (*eqqo*) and whom they can consult in order to find answers to the various problems of people. This ability has also brought them wealth and political power, especially during the 20th century. Although their influence in Gesha and Sayilem has decreased, there are several practising *allaamos*, mainly Gomaro but also Manjo.

Map 5. The Sayilem *wereda* and the *qebeles* where the data was collected



Maps 4 and 5 courtesy of the *wereda* officials concerned

While listening and transcribing the material I noticed at a certain point that it was becoming saturated, both regarding the things that were talked about and the ways in which these things were talked about. Also, I started to meet people who knew me already or who had been present on similar occasions. I wanted the speeches collected to be from the first encounter with me, so I restricted the number to 50. I was afraid that knowing me better would affect the presentation, but that seems to have been a wrong assumption: I recorded the speech of one lady twice (in different locations) and the things she included, the structure of her speech, and the words she chose were strikingly identical in both instances.

Among the first of those who presented speeches for me for the record was a charismatic and influential Manjo leader who often was introduced as “a person from whom even the

Gomaro borrow money”. He had now reached the age that “had made him able to see the fifth generation” and he was known and appreciated in both *weredas* in which I was collecting my material. When encountering people whom I did not know before, I quickly learned to turn the discussion to this leader and then to the other people who might be known both by me and the people I was approaching. When common acquaintances or at least their relatives were identified, the discussion flowed more freely and the possibility of accomplishing my intended goals increased. My connections spoke for me and my relationships worked as a guarantee for me.

There are several families with whom I have created close relationships and when the discussion was about a theme that interested me, they became used to me turning the recorder on. In addition, I sometimes introduced some themes for discussions myself. I call these theme discussions, as I wanted to restrict myself from interviewing and just to follow what was said, using only some clarifying questions. I also worked in this manner when two influential Manjo elders stayed with me in Addis Ababa for three weeks. I use this transcribed material as reference material for background information. These discussions are mainly in *Kafi noono*, although sometimes Amharic is used.

Throughout the chapters I present quotations from both the speeches and the theme discussions. If the quotation is from the speeches collected in that special kind of speech event, I use a number for referring to a certain speaker (e.g. 21). If the quotation is from a theme discussion, it is referred with the letter D and the number given to the discussion (e.g. D8). I also clarify whether a speaker is male (M) or female (F) and whether he or she is young (y), middle aged (ma) or elderly (e). The division into these age groups is based on the following: I include to “elders” those who were already adults during the Derg regime, to “middle aged”, those who had been children or youngsters during the Derg regime (30-55), and those born in the 1980’s or 1990’s are referred as “young”. I also give the line numbers. So the abbreviation “34Fy: 21-27.” would indicate that the quotation is from the speeches and the speaker is a young female and “D8Mma: 32-33” clarifies that data is from discussion eight and the speaker is a middle aged man.

When I clarified my research aims to people I was talking with, asking their permission to use the material they were providing to me, there were two kinds of approach to the anonymity issue. Some clearly agreed with my suggestion that it would be better not to mention the names, but some expressed their sadness about not being mentioned by name. “If my name was printed, it would not disappear”, said one of the elders. However, I finally decided not to mention anybody in order to stick to common research practices and if necessary use other forums of writing to fulfil this wish of some people. Using pseudonyms could have been possible for three persons who are quoted more often than others, but it felt like stealing the honour away from the actual people, so I use phrases like “one of the elders” or “a young woman” although they are a bit clumsy.

In order to understand what was said it was also necessary to engage in long-term participant observation. I learned many things through participant observation, including not believing my eyes and ears. Let me share one extreme example from the early years of the research:

I decided to visit one *qebele* in a neighbouring *wereda*, a trip of some four hours from Dekka. I went with a Manjo boy, who had relatives in that village. Before arriving both Gomaro and Manjo members of the society welcomed me since the word of my coming had reached the village. When I reached the village, on the other side of a field I saw many people gathered to do some work around the huts that served as offices and they waved to me. When I reached the house of the relatives of the boy I was travelling with, the coffee was served and to my surprise two Gomaro men also came to visit. They seemed to be good friends with the owner of the house. Later we were invited to a Gomaro house; in this case, the owner was a Pentecostal. I had a very pleasant time in that remote village where there seemed to be no problems between these two groups. The Manjo community was small. Since they did not take up the issue of relationships I did not either.

About a year after this journey, the uncle of the boy I had travelled with came to visit and gave his description of what had happened:

“Already before we reached the village the *qebele* leader came to me and asked where I was taking her. When I said that she is coming to visit us, he said that I should not take her. I answered that what can I do, I cannot leave her on the road as I was asked to take her. He was not happy, but let us go. There is a line we do not cross in the village, near the field. The Gomaro were working near the offices. When they saw her coming they sent two men to see what was happening. These two men would not have come to my house otherwise, they never have. We went to visit x, he has come from another place and the other Gomaro do not accept him as he cooperates with us. Later the leaders of the *qebele* wrote a letter to the officials of the *wereda* asking the explanation for her coming.”¹³

To observe things that are carefully hidden takes some practice. On the other hand at a certain point I noticed that I had to be on my guard not to interpret everything I see in the frame of Manjo-Gomaro relations. For example in Dekka I used to visit a small teahouse. It is a small room, where people sit on benches along three walls, facing each other so everybody is involved in discussion. Once when I entered the room, the group sitting, some five people, rose and walked out. I immediately said to them “No, no, do not go out. If you cannot sit with someone who is eating with Manjo people I can drink my tea in the neighbouring teahouse.” One of them looked at me with surprise and said that the bread is finished here and so they want to have their tea in the neighbouring house.

The actual texts from the speech events guided my selection of the themes for discussions as they emerged from the texts.¹⁴ After I had decided to pay special attention to the speeches, I concentrated on describing the speech events in which the speeches were collected in order to understand the nature of that particular speech event. What was happening at these gatherings? Why did they want it that way?

¹³ However, due to that episode I got some idea of how the situation for Manjo was different in Gesha and Sayilem: in those *weredas* the Manjo were not hesitant to talk.

¹⁴ I did not keep a research diary after the first year. Instead, I relied on the notes I made directly to the texts. There are 37 pads of texts in Kafa and comments on them mainly in Amharic, but I have not typed them.

2.3. The speech events where the data was collected

The speech situation itself became an interesting learning point to be analyzed. What were the discourses that brought us together in this manner? To understand and interpret this focal event it was necessary to look beyond the event itself to other phenomena within which the event was embedded and describe particular background assumptions relevant to the organization of subsequent interactions that features of the talk itself invoked (Gumperz 1992). In order to define the context of that particular speech event, I followed the example of Duranti and Goodwin who advise the analyst to approach context, which they define as a socially constituted, interactively sustained, time-bound phenomenon, from three angles: first, from the perspective of the actor actively operating on the world within which he or she finds him- or herself embedded; second, tying the analysis of context to study of the indigenous activities that participants use to constitute the culturally and historically organized social worlds that they inhabit; and third, recognizing that participants are situated within multiple contexts that are capable of rapid and dynamic change as the events they are engaged in unfold (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 5-6).

These gatherings existed in this special form due to my presence: I had come as a visitor who wanted to hear what they wanted to say. However, I would not consider the speeches to be elicited speech because the speculations brought forward emerged from their own way of addressing the topics they themselves considered worth mentioning. It is in a way natural speech, but in contrived settings. The speakers are not talking only to me, but to the audience, who are predominantly Manjo. The presence of some Gomaro individuals was not restricted by any means, but of course they were people who have a certain kind of stance anyway, as they were inside the Manjo premises. In many cases the first thing expressed was that it is not common that they are heard. The opportunity to talk was surprising to them. Many were ready to speak and did so with enthusiasm, showing eagerness to use the opportunity as it had come. There seemed to be a great need for a forum, and the topic was to a large extent the on-going dispute between Manjo and Gomaro. It is a burning issue and affects many aspects of life and it was this relationship between the Manjo and Gomaro that all speakers used as a frame for presenting the issues relating to the social change that was taking place. Their willingness to talk about this conflict benefited me: as Comaroff and

Roberts have argued “it is in the context of confrontation –when persons negotiate their social universe and enter discourse about it– that the character of that system is revealed (John Comaroff and Roberts 1981:249). On the other hand, I was also worried about the effect of my being willing to listen: Myers and Brenneis (1984) have pointed out that simply gathering people together to talk can signal the creation or re-creation of community and political order. The attempt to construct shared interpretations of past, present, and future events –or contesting attempts to impose unanimity– can shape social memory and social organization as well as impose limits of perception. The apparent outcome of such an event does not matter as much as the fact that the event occurs at all (Brenneis 1996: 49). The conflict between Manjo and Gomaro has been going on for decades, possibly even for centuries. Sometimes it has erupted in violence, sometimes it has had more peaceful periods. At each particular juncture, very different stories may be told, in very different ways, and with very different implications. Narratives can be used to stir up trouble, to promote one’s particular goals, or to try to draw the dispute to a close. Over the course of a dispute, one narrative or another often assumes an authoritative role. Other contending stories are subsequently shaped and evaluated in terms of these valorised versions (Brenneis 1996:43). One of the difficulties posed in analysis of context is describing the socio-historical knowledge that the participant employs in order to act within the environment of the moment. Paying attention to the factors mentioned above helps expand the notions of context and make them more receptive to culture-specific norms and expectations. When defining the context in which these speeches were given, I will describe the most important dimensions of the event on the basis of culturally defined categories.

My coming created the need for a gathering, and when it became clear that I had not come to present my own agenda but to listen, the interpretation was that “she wants to be present when *tochos* are told”. Telling *tocho* can best be described as a tool, a kind of genre of its own that is utilized for different purposes and on different occasions. It is associated with elders who use *tocho* on different occasions where people get together, like at the lament gatherings and when reconciling, and it consists of several components such as stories from the mythical past, from history and from the present and includes descriptions and commentaries about things included in life. However; when I discussed this word with some Gomaro, they argued that only parables and riddles can be called real “*tochos*”. The

Amharic translation for *tocho* (ተረት/tɜɾɜt/) also refers to this Gomaro interpretation of the word.

Some of the speeches delivered were very long – monologues of well over twenty minutes. Some were much shorter and the majority of the speeches of the younger generation were not structured in the same way as the ones delivered by elders, even though they were delivered in this gathering that was for telling *tochos*. The speeches of the younger generation could best be categorized as opinion or viewpoint (አስተያየት /astɜjajɜt/ ‘something caused to be seen’). When I talk about the data in general I speak about speeches given, using the word speech since there is no better alternative to be used. The other possibility would have been “a monologue”, but some are too short to fulfil the criteria usually attached to monologues. Only when the discussion is dealing with the longer speeches do I sometimes use the word monologue for them.

The theme that ran through all the speeches was the relationship between the Manjo and the Gomaro. Because I had come, there was a forum in which the dispute with the Gomaro could be discussed. The event itself had some similarities to the traditional institution of *geeneena’o kotaheete* ‘the elders sit’ referring to the reconciling activities conducted by elders. Traditionally in Kafa, quarrels or disputes that cannot be settled by the people themselves are taken to the *geeneena’o* ‘elders’. The quarrelling parties will both ask some people from the surroundings to be among the elders. Both can suggest whom to choose and both have to agree upon each that is chosen. The elders are chosen separately for each case, but often there are some known people who are considered good, and they are often chosen. The elders will sit and hear both parties separately, then discuss among themselves and finally pass the verdict. One person clarified the procedure of choosing elders in the following way:

Quotation 2.1. (D5Me: 39-45)

<p>¹<i>Ta mooyoon gaawichi shunihe. Ta hini Luqasin ta shunnaa ta geti gaata shaahiyoochena ta mooyoon waayahe. ²Ariacho bi tuna gaata gaawichi gaawa hassaabacho dittaa shaawijji</i></p>	<p>¹He will reconcile my thing well. If I say that I love this Luqas as an example he listens to my thing. ²If he is one with knowledge If he talks nice and well, good thought, tasty things that I chose,</p>	<p>The elder will do his best to reconcile my case. For example, this Luqas here, I know he loves me he is wise and listens properly to what I say. He is a good and convincing</p>
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<p><i>beeto bi tuna gaata hinin ta maraxiyo, ³wotta baala gaara bi tuna gata bi ebiyoomoon maraxi ebiyoomo shuniyacho asho iye geeno gettee beeto.</i></p> <p>⁴<i>Bi qelli giyaanone. Wottoona hame ihato yeshi wobe waaye ishi getaache. ⁵Baale gaareena'o shunnit asheena'o, asheena'o shunnit maraxit asheena'o geeneena'o getteetina'one.</i></p>	<p>³again if this other partner (in quarrel) is there, like that he chooses, that kind of loving person is said to be the thing called elder.</p> <p>⁴By himself he does not get in. Again go, get so and so and come listen like that it is not said.</p> <p>⁵People, who are loved by both in quarrel. People who are the loved chosen people are said to be elders.</p>	<p>speaker, so I choose him. Similarly the other party in the quarrel chooses one person he likes and considers good for him. These kinds of trusted people are called for performing as elders.</p> <p>He needs to be called and nobody can decide on behalf of another who should be called.</p> <p>Both parties in the quarrel need to find someone they like and trust. These people are called elders.</p>
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The quarrelling parties accept the decision because they have chosen the persons who they love. People usually obey elders since disobedience will cause separation from the community, which is very much feared. The main thing is that “the elders love”: because they love they will bring the best possible solution to that particular situation. There were some similarities and traces of those meetings in the speech event organized due to my coming. I was not part of the dispute, but I knew the situation and both parties. My coming itself showed that I had crossed the line to the Manjo side, showed the love.

I was not to interrupt the speeches. There seemed to be a consensus that a person who gets the opportunity to talk can say all that he/she wants to say, like when the elders are sitting. Even in the beginning when I asked for some translation help from others, the speakers got irritated. The testimony would be spoiled; its effectiveness was decreased if a speaker was not able to continue in peace. The same regulations also seemed to apply to the audience. If some people were causing a disturbance while getting in or talking together they were quickly disciplined. People were able to chat freely when there was not a particular monologue going on; the event as such did not require silence. The main point was to give full attendance to a speaker when he spoke. At the end I was expected to give comments on what I had heard and to give advice. One or two influential people again thanked me officially for listening. After the occasion coffee or food was offered to me and the discussion continued in a smaller circle.

Traces of other practices developed under different political systems, could also be recognized: Though not in many of the speeches, the attitude in some was that of the old

tradition of feudal patron-client relationships where subjects would ask landlords or kings to improve a certain situation. The humble obedient subjects asking for a favour and being ready to cooperate in exchange by being loyal to the leaders, praising and blessing them based on the belief that there are certain persons in the world who have the connections to make a difference. If the matter could be brought up and well stated to a certain body, it would be solved. It is the opportunity to clarify that is the most important. If that is achieved, the matter is considered almost finished.

Meetings and discussions were very common in the years the Derg was ruling¹⁵ and people are very used to sitting in the meetings, even for long hours. When meetings were called it was better to participate since being absent could be punished or you could be left out of receiving some benefits. On the other hand the official meetings were more like forums and arenas where things are expressed, but not decided. The actual decisions take place somewhere else by influential people, and since the meeting is just a drama to be played the people are expected to play their part by saying what they are expected to say.

Though the words were addressed to me, those who were speaking were not speaking only to me, but to all that I represent. All the connections I have are to be activated through me. Everybody is linked to something, not representing just him/herself, but as an essential link to other contacts. Because of my western background I represented not only aid organizations, but potentially also possible investors or other gain seekers. I was seen as a person who might help in creating connections to other resources and possibilities. The attitude is twofold; the income opportunities were welcomed, but they were also seen with great mistrust. In Gesha, I used to take my foreign guests to see the waterfall near Didif. I stopped this because the people started to ask me when the building of a hydro-power station would be started.

The only subject that was not critically addressed in any encounter was the ruling government. Most of the Manjo are in favour of the present ruling party because they have achieved many basic things under their governance, but the complete absence of any

¹⁵ In certain minibus taxis people sit on both sides, facing each other. The common joke is that this is because Mengistu Haile Mariam wants people to discuss. The taxis are still called ወይይት (wijij:it), meaning discussion.

criticism hints at least at notions that, from their perspective, this gathering is somehow related to government activities. In a sense it is correct because without government permission it is not possible to go around. I have spent a considerable amount of time in local police stations and administration offices around the Ethiopian countryside in order to explain who I am and why I have come. The local administration needs to be informed and a letter that connects me with a certain known institution or government structure needs to be provided.

2.4. Necessary language skills for processing the texts

I have lived in Ethiopia about twenty years and because I immediately started to learn Amharic, the Semitic lingua franca of Ethiopia, first through a one-year language course and then through practice since I used it as a medium for my work, I feel competent in it. In addition, learning Amharic and the rules and norms of communication attached to using it, was a very eye-opening process for me, as the linguistic structures invited me to look at things from different angles. Although at present some members of the Manjo community can speak Amharic, they are mainly either the educated young, who have happened to live close enough to *wereda* towns in which it is now possible to study up to 10th grade or those who have served longer periods in the military. If I wanted to approach the other members of the society without a translator, it was essential to learn *Kafi noono*. In addition to being able to communicate with people, I just could not proceed without approaching the research question through language use, although I did not have the linguistic background. Starting from the very beginning, the different components in the linguistic repertoires used in the speeches forming the data clearly showed that people were not only telling things, but using the different components of repertoires to advance their claims, and that the means utilized differed between individuals. I find it profitable to describe the language used in all its multiplicity, thereby showing the speakers' changing preferences and choices when negotiating their identities because it opens a way for understanding the components of the present situation in Manjo-Gomaro relations.

My learning is based on socializing with people and discussing the language issues and interpretations with those who know both *Kafi noono* and Amharic. The main focus has been

on understanding what people are saying and how they express themselves. My knowledge of Amharic proved very beneficial for learning *Kafi noono*: those helping me with language questions concerning *Kafi noono* lacked the terminology and analytic skills to point out linguistic facts explicitly but were able, by means of contrasting linguistic phenomena, including grammatical and semantic categories, with those of Amharic could give me either the corresponding form or to explain that there is not one. In addition I have also used primary school books (produced by the Kaficho Zone Education Office) and books provided by the SIM (Sudan Interior Mission) Bible Translation group for getting more familiar with the language. The standardization process of the Latin script orthography is still going on and different textbooks use different spellings. The New Testament has been printed in Amharic script. The tones are not marked in any of them. Having now spent some nine years intensively learning the language I can communicate with it and I would say that I know it well enough to understand and analyze the material I collected. In addition to my stay in the field my nearest neighbour in Addis Ababa, born and raised in the Sayilem *wereda*, has helped me in language learning by consistently being able to give time to this effort during these nine years. He is fluent in Amharic and we discuss the meanings and structures through that. In transcribing we have worked so that I write a phrase as I hear it from the tape, then repeat it according to my writing and he corrects it until my utterance based on spelling is similar to his. I first transcribed all material at the granularity level of narrative. Later I worked again on the speeches and added paralinguistic features like elongation, voice amplitude, stress and intonation in cases when they were emphasized. When transcribing a discussion (Chapter 7), I also include overlapping speech and pauses. The detailed information about the consonants and vowels used in Kafa is found in Table1. In the Kafa language the most frequently appearing differences compared to English text is the usage of /c/ for /tʃ/, /x/ for /t/ and /q/ for /k/. In Kafa, gemination of consonants and lengthening of vowels are phonemic, as is also tone. There are two tones high and low. (Theil 2007: 197-200, Bender 2000:100). In the quotations I mention the tone in those cases in which the similarity of the words can cause misunderstanding.

The variant I am presenting differs in many ways from the *Kafi noono* in schoolbooks. The literate version is based on the variation/dialect used in the surroundings of Bonga. The

speakers in my data belong to the Manjo population and so they more or less use the Manjo variant. The Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* are in the borderlands of the Kafa Zone, and the language contact with the neighbouring Sheka language has brought some elements that are again unfamiliar to those living in the heartlands of Kafa around Bonga. There are also Sheka-speaking Manjo communities in the neighbouring Shekicho Zone and the contacts with Kafa Manjo are frequent since intermarriage also takes place.

From the beginning I have used only transcribed Kafa material, I have not translated the speeches into English and if I did not properly understand the structure or the way of speaking I approached it through Amharic. This worked well for analysis purposes, but the problems arose when I started to translate the texts into English for this ethnography. Naturally, many words (in both languages) that I had learned just by using them in context needed to be defined in order to find an English equivalent, which was time consuming, but the main problem was that I felt that so much disappears in the linguistic structures of English. On one hand I agree that it is good to use “real English” when translating so that “the otherness” is not exaggerated. On the other hand after getting a sentence translated I had a feeling that it had lost its power of expression, especially when the style used by elders was translated. Also, the original text is full of forms of the verb “say”, which all disappear in translation as these words are used mainly for verb formation and structuring the sentences. But in the original text the meaning “say” is not totally absent. Again, the tense system of English did not always offer proper alternatives, or the same form of *Kafi noono* needed to be translated using a different English form in different connections and sometimes the main issue was the probability of something happening and not the time factor. To compensate for these difficulties, I give two kinds of translations of the quotations I present, first a more literal version and then one in normalized English. On one hand, I want to share the actual ways in which matters were discussed, as this in itself opens a new viewpoint. On the other hand, I have to be sure that the message of a speaker is understood. It is also interesting to compare the two translations and see the differences. In the more literal translations I have sometimes changed the word order to make it easier to read and in the proper English translation the main point has been to clarify the message and things like repetition are

omitted. If a word has a customary Amharic translation I will use the English equivalent without questioning the accuracy of the translation (e.g., *taato*/ገዥ ነገሥ /king).

2.5. Analyzing the texts

I coded the data for finding cultural distinctions and emic categorization the speeches contain about “being Manjo” and about their relation to others, how the cultural distinctions were stated, and how the ideas expressed were being produced through different distinctions and classifications. Based on the key words and phrases, I found the following four themes to elaborate on: in-out, language and greeting, wearing clothes, God and government. In this categorization my western mind first led me astray: Although God and government were mentioned together, I separated religion and government into two different themes. It was only when I noticed that they belong together that the whole picture started to open for me.

While doing the analyses I noticed that, although the topic was same, the language used, the ways of speaking, and the styles differed between speakers and there were also style shifts inside the speeches. I also noticed that the emic categorization was heavily based on an inside-outside division, whether dealing with groups of people, things, or ideas. In addition, the emic interpretation was that the lack of communicative skills was one of the main contributors to marginalization. All this led me to look for information about network structures and their relation to language and language change from sociolinguistics and especially from the findings of variationists, and it was at this stage that I defined my research problem in more detail and included the interaction perspective in my approach: There are no ‘unbiased’ statements or speaker positions, there is only situated speech that one can use as data when trying to make sense of social and cultural phenomena. Moreover, text and speech are more than just a means of communication or data that reflect cultural models and world-views (Alasuutari 1995: 86). I saw these speeches as central facets of conflict processes and objects of analysis themselves and wanted to examine their role not only of sustaining and mediating this conflict but also to discover how they contributed to the identity construction processes.

After describing the mechanisms of network constructions and introducing the different ways of speaking, styles, and registers in the speeches, I looked for the relationship between the network structures and the styles and registers used by different individuals. The speeches themselves turned out to be rich material for analyzing the network structures, but I also wanted to see if the information could also be confirmed through case studies and decided to make a small-scale survey of the actual network connections.

It is only recently that the network approach has been used in studies relating to language change in African context, but its potentiality has already been noted. It has proved to be useful when studying both internally motivated and contact-induced language change in predominantly oral communities (Beyer 2010: 136-138,149). The research on network connections, its methods and procedures, form a special field of its own, and I am well aware that to make a thorough survey even among this limited number of people would require a well-planned research project of its own. However, as this was done just in order to crosscheck what was mentioned in the speeches, I did not aim for a large sample size; instead I concentrated on those individuals whose speeches I had recorded earlier and whom I still was able to locate and reach.

After trying some alternative approaches that did not seem to work, I decided to proceed with the following kind of interviewing: The key issue was to find the persons with whom the one who was interviewed had spoken with for more than ten minutes during the preceding two weeks. This was done chronologically, starting from day before the time of the interview. That usually brought up the persons, who cooperate and regularly get together for work (*daado*) and many of those who are included in their “interactional network” such as contacts in the market place, offices, and religious institutions. I asked if they had been participating in funerals or in wider work forces (*dafo*) during the past three months or so (usually the time frames used are related to yearly celebrations or rains) and if so, whose it was and with whom they went and with whom did they talk there. In addition I asked them if there had been other possible encounters that had involved discussions. This approach has its limits; some connections might have been left unmentioned, like possible visits to a Manjo *allaamo*. However, as I was not looking for a detailed account of the network structures, but only crosschecking the findings based on what was said in the speeches and

especially the connections outside Manjo circles, I consider the information found sufficient for that purpose.

I started to visit the *qebeles* again to look for the people I had interviewed, but that was not efficient, as many people I looked for were not around. As I already had noticed through my research that the networks among the Manjo include connections all around the *weredas*, I changed my tactics and told two of my Manjo friends who were from different clans to “send word” that I wanted to meet. As soon as on the second market day after sending the message, I was able to meet some of those whose speeches I had recorded. The message had also reached the faraway areas, which again proved how efficient the networks inside the Manjo community are. I was able to interview 19 of the 50 whose speeches I had recorded earlier.

2.6. My background and biases

I have been working for the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus since 1992, sent by the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission. I lived 11 years in Mettu, Illubabor and worked for Illubabor Bethel Synod. In terms of the church administration, the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* belong to IBS. During my Mettu-years, I visited the Sayilem *wereda* once a year and got to know about the Manjo there. I visited the Gesha *wereda* once through Sayilem by horse, but it was not until 2002, after the road through Gesha was constructed that I started to visit the Gesha *wereda*. Starting in 2005, we, my husband and I, were invited to work in the EECMY Central Office in Addis Ababa. He works as an advisor for outreach work. Half of my work has been in the same office and my field of responsibility has been marginalized minorities and cross-cultural issues relating to contextualization. The other half of my work is supervising a development project¹⁶ that has been going on in the Gesha *wereda*.

However, when approaching the Manjo population in different *qebeles* for this research, it was my first encounter with those particular Manjo. In many places at least some

¹⁶The project includes the usual components like clean water, micro-loans for women, dormitories for students, AIDS prevention, health education, plant nurseries, etc.

community members had heard about me. They knew that I was interested in their situation and they knew that I am a Protestant Christian. The word missionary is not used in the area. Even in the early years the definition was “foreigners working for the Mekane Yesus Church”. They knew that I was aware of the marginalization. They also knew that I had many Gomaro friends. The fact that I was ready to visit all houses regardless of to whom they belonged, quickly spread around.

In anthropological literature the tension between anthropologists and missionaries is clearly visible. The overall picture seems to be that missionaries, blinded by their belief and worldview, cannot understand the local culture however long they stay among the people. In our times, when the objectiveness of any interpretation is questioned, it is a bit easier to combine these two. Since the Protestant churches have been the only institutions that have accepted the Manjo, the majority of the Manjo population in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* are members of Protestant churches, in each *qebele* one or two persons were said not to belong. To what extent these members share the teaching of the church is another question, but my being from the same reference group helped to define my connection. In the years my husband and I were working in the whole area of Illubabor Bethel Synod (1993-2004), our main activity in this particular area was to teach Protestant Gomaro pastors and evangelists about the issues relating to food regulation in the Bible, as their interpretation, based on rules in the Old Testament, had been that the things the Manjo eat make them polluting, a reason given for discrimination.

I would say that it is easier to be on guard for the biases that are due to my Christian faith than to those that are from my western Finnish background in general, such as the individualistic perspective in interpretation, the culture-bound definitions of concepts, or the attitude that emphasizes “doing” rather than talking and the final product instead of the process. With the first one, the individualistic perspective, I had to work hard as it took me astray many times in the beginning, leading me to wrong interpretations of what was meant or what was happening. Some central concepts that required refining were human rights, equality, and freedom. For instance, to understand that in order to claim human rights the first step would be to be recognized as human; or, when defining equality, not to see it as possible equality among individuals, but as being able to be together: only then will people

share the things they have, including their experiences and information. There is no word in the Kafa language for freedom, it is only described as “getting out of something”, like out of slavery or out of some restricting stage or being untied.

There are two other issues to be mentioned: First, the restrictions that are due to my growing up in a predominantly literate culture: my skills related to oral mechanisms and tactics have not been trained enough; second, my having lived and worked many years in the Ethiopian countryside benefitted me in many ways in this research; however, it also caused some problems: When writing for a non-Ethiopian audience I had to be constantly reminded to explain the things I am too familiar with to mention. And although I was able to be part of the academic world by reading literature and articles on my own, I missed the opportunity to participate in discussions and seminars on a regular basis. I was not part of the networks and communities of practice in which tacit knowledge can be shared and the communicative skills and ‘ways of saying’ can be practised.

The approach and the methods described in this chapter were chosen so that they would help me be on guard for possible misinterpretations due to my background. Still, as things are experienced and interpreted through my person, my personal history makes me more sensitive to some issues than others. This ethnography does not try to give a full account of the situation in Manjo-Gomaro relations, but it gives an additional viewpoint to observe the process of marginalization. After having clarified why the methods used were chosen, I will move to the next chapter that tests the relevancy of the research problem by giving background information that shows the important role network connections play for marginalized minorities in gaining communicative skills across linguistic boundaries.

CHAPTER 3

BEING IN A GROUP CALLED THE MANJO

Emic categorization and cultural distinctions

I will first summarize the findings concerning cultural distinctions and emic categorization that the speeches collected at the gatherings contain about being a member of a group called the Manjo: how this was stated and how the ideas expressed were being produced through different distinctions and classifications. I will later discuss the multivocality and the differences between the speeches in detail, but in this chapter I will concentrate on issues that are common. Since it was these distinctions that made me look for new ways of approaching the research problem, ways I had not thought of earlier, I consider the description of these emic categorizations, as presented by the speakers, necessary for the accentuation of the research in this particular setting. This background information also paves the way for later chapters so that the explanations of vocabulary do not interrupt excessively when the main focus is on ways the language is used.

First of all being Manjo was referred to in the speeches with spatial references (3.1) and secondly through classification as to “when and to whom” (3.2). These definitions were not tied to being or not being an ethnic group. The third aspect is related to what it means to be Manjo, including topics like how they relate and communicate with the majority, and how they see themselves and explain the attitude of others (3.3). In this chapter I will concentrate on the first two, which form the background. The third will be introduced in this chapter and then further discussed in the following chapters.

3.1. Where are the Manjo?

Spatial references are used frequently when the speakers tell about their being Manjo. Based on that, I interpreted that there is a strong spatial component in how Manjo identity has been constructed, maintained and understood. The speakers in the monologues described being Manjo from three angles: First of all, and most prominently, through in-out distinction explaining the procedures of exclusion; secondly, from the perspective of near-far, referring both to physical distance and the claimed distance in the culture-nature

continuum. The third categorization was expressed by describing how the imposed hierarchical order between the Manjo and Gomaro group was made visible through various practices. I approach these themes through examples from the speeches, my own experience, and with some reference to related anthropological etc interpretations.

3.1.1. In-out

When I started to ride around in the Kafa countryside, three things made an impression on me: the overwhelming greenness, going either up or down constantly, and the plentitude of fenced areas. The fences are an important part of Kafa living. Normally members of households are engaged in three kinds of activities: in *ensete* cultivation,¹⁷ in farming, and in raising cattle. The area that is reserved for living quarters and *ensete* cultivation is fenced. In addition, the farmlands are also fenced in order to keep the cattle out. In the speeches, making fences is mentioned as one of the main duties: *uxaro uxarehe*, *goro gorehe* ‘fence is fenced’. The first one refers to normal fence and the other to fences around shrines. This involves different kinds of works depending on what material is used for the fence: for live fencing it includes the transplanting and cutting of a cactus-like leafless tree called *gacho* (*Euphorbia candelabrum*) and a thorny tree called *kollacho* (*Erythrina brucei*). In addition, fencing can be made by cutting and twining *shinato* (*Arundinaria alpine*, the mountain bamboo). All of these three are indigenous to Ethiopia. Making fences is time consuming and, especially in the old days, it was an effort expected from the Manjo population. They were also the only ones who could make the fence around the traditional worship places called *guudo*. If the members of the Gomaro group had tried to perform this duty they would either have died or caused the spirit to go away.

¹⁷*Ensete*, also referred as ‘false banana’ because of its resemblance to the banana plant, is the most important source of stable food in southwest Ethiopia. It is propagated vegetatively and has a 6-year growing cycle during which it is transplanted three or four times. A full-grown *ensete*-plant can reach a height of 4-6 metres. The planting and harvesting is done by the men. The plant is pushed over and separated into various parts by men, but the further processing is done by women and girls. The pseudo stem is scraped in order to separate the starchy pulp from the fibre and pulverize the corm. The pulp is fermented and stored in earthen pits. In order to make *ensete* bread, *qoco*, the fermented pulp is squeezed to make it drier and chopped to shorten the fibre (Pijls et al. 1995: 1-4). In Kafa thick loaves of *qoco* are wrapped in *ensete*-leaf and baked between stones buried in ashes. *Qoco* is eaten at every meal, usually with cabbage and cottage cheese. The fibre (*yi’o*) is used for making ropes and the leaves are used on numerous occasions: as plates, wrapping materials, umbrellas, aprons, for sitting on, etc.

The fences are not just markers of boundaries; they are made so that it is difficult to pass through or break them. In the village areas there are usually places left for paths and small roads between the fences. In farmlands, people pass through gates or wooden ladders are provided so that a person can climb over the fence. When trespassing, it is customary to ask for permission, at least through greeting anybody in hearing distance. Trespassing is necessary, especially in the rainy season when the much-used paths and roads turn to such deep mud that is extremely difficult to use them, even on horseback. However, trespassing is not considered as a minor thing and if the trespassing causes damage, long and bitter quarrels and lawsuits can result. Also, quarrels about the boundaries are frequent.

Key concepts in the speeches are the words in (*maac*) and out (*maach*). The words are often in forms where *-och*/is added to them (*maaxooch*, *maachooch*), indicating the place (inside/outside). The word *maac* also means stomach, inside of a person and it is there where feelings and strength are located. *Maac* is often used in connections where, e.g., in English one would use the word heart. In addition to the actual words used, the speeches included some stories in which knowledge and power were found when someone got access to the inside. The places mentioned were a rock and a spring and persons who were able to get in came out with special knowledge and things that helped them gain power over others. Most commonly in the text the inside-outside aspect is visible in the usage of the verbs *giyo* 'get in' and *keyo* 'get out'. They are often used instead of the verbs "come" and "go". Also, when talking about access to different things or ideas, the words chosen clarify that first you have to get in. The causative forms of these two words (*kichiye* 'make to get out', *gijjiye* 'make to get in') are also often used indicating that there are boundaries that can be crossed only when getting assistance. The primary opposition is between inside and outside,¹⁸ as can be verified from the frequent use of the words mentioned above in most of the quotations later in this chapter. This inside-outside aspect was mainly addressed in the speeches in association with three spheres: settlement patterns, commensality, and marriage arrangements. I will now proceed by discussing how this categorization of inside-outside is

¹⁸Jean Comaroff (1980) describing the cosmological categories of Tshidi in South Africa, also speculates that the primary opposition between domestic and wild and between perceptible horizons and the far distance may have been reconstituted, now being between inside and outside (Comaroff 1980: 642) suggesting that there is a shift taking place. In the case of the Manjo, all three primary opposition pairs are relevant, but as can be noted from the language used, inside-outside is the main axis of reference.

reflected in association with the above-mentioned three spheres and also illuminate the emic interpretation of how being inside the group is more than just being a part of the group.

It was frequently stated in the speeches that to enter Gomaro living quarters is forbidden to the Manjo members and that a Gomaro is not supposed to enter the house of a Manjo. The fence is a boundary in both cases. I have seen this many times in practice: a Gomaro health extension worker shouting from the other side of the fence of a Manjo house calling the women of the house to come out or my Manjo travelling companion staying outside the Gomaro house when I have been invited to coffee. There is a word *gayo* for a fenced area where one or several houses form a compound, but usually the living quarters are referred to using a word *mag* (with), which is not only for the buildings and area, but also specifies the people around. *Magee asheena’o* means the people who are with, who share the same premises and therefore are included.

Quotation 3.1 (20Mma: 8-11, 15-19)

<p>¹<i>Eebi aafu no beemo Manjo no gete, maaxooch, “ashi daggooch giyahote” getena, no beemo maaxoochiye, maaxoochiye no beeto aaf. ²Aaf maaxoochena no beeto and abichiyete ? ³Hini Yihadige mengistoochee kechiti gommooa giishacho noon giddii beetalli ... ⁴Ebi aaf Manjo noone. Manjo noone. Aboochane no beeto? Manjeena’o getena maaxooch no beeto ...</i></p> <p>⁵<i>Allaameena’ona abichiyete? Noon maaxooch kichitina’o koni ne, allaameena’one. ⁶No abichiqqina “hini Manjeena’o, kexooch boono giyigaataa...asho qitiyone” iqqina “maaxooch bee beete” iyete ...</i></p>	<p>¹Before this, our living, we being called Manjo (was being) outside, “do not enter among people” being said, our living was outside, outside was our living before.²Before we were outside, how do they do now? ³By the road which was taken out by this Yihadig* government, a little they are getting closer to us ...⁴Before this we are Manjo, we are Manjo. Where are we? Being called Manjo we are outside ...</p> <p>⁵What did the spirit mediators do? Who is the one who put us out, it is spirit mediators. ⁶How (done) we were “these Manjo, if they get into the house, man will die” it was said “live outside” it was said ...</p>	<p>In previous times we who are called the Manjo lived outside. The Gomaro told us not to be among them, so we lived outside.</p> <p>However, now in the times of present EPRD government the Gomaro have come a little closer to us...</p> <p>As we were called Manjo before, we are outside even now as we are (still) called Manjo.</p> <p>The spirit mediators are the ones who have put us outside. They said that if a Manjo gets inside the house someone will die. So they told us to live outside.</p>
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*Yihadig refers to the EPRDF (Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front, የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ድምክራሲያዊ ግንባር [፤itijophija hizbof abijota:wi demokra:sija:wi ginba:r] established in 1989. It has been the ruling party during the past two decades.

Some speakers criticize the Gomaro, saying they are not logical in their thinking: It is typical that a Manjo worker can carry the main pole and assist in building the house, but when it is

finished he cannot enter. So when the people start to use the house it is then that the separation into “in” and “out” becomes meaningful.

Quotation 3.2. (6Me: 15-21)

<p>⁷<i>Amoochiye no beeto? Kexi yinoon, gaawa yinoon hachibeeto Manjoone, gaawa gocon shaaggibeeto Manjoone ne, gaawa gulbetoona shuunabeeto Manjone.</i> ⁸<i>Shuuna qanni kechiqqi ame bootoochaniye no kotaa beeto maach verandoochane.</i> ⁹<i>Arooch bungo nooch waa gaata amiho giye aaco cottiye maahon.</i> ¹⁰<i>Arooch no kotaa beetina qoorooch nooch doocho ufahe dambee cottiye aroona uchahon.</i> ¹¹<i>Akka eebi gondoo nooch immitote” geto hakkaachon, no gettemmo gaata bulla “konna tatiya gabinne gete” cufe aallahon.</i></p>	<p>⁷Where are we? It is Manjo who carves the wood of waterberry*for house, good waterberry, the one who carries the log is Manjo, the one who works with good strength, he is Manjo. ⁸When the work is prepared and you got out of work, in what place are you sitting? Outside on veranda. ⁹If roasted seeds come to us, rain gets into them, water dropping we eat. ¹⁰When we are sitting there, beer is poured for us onto folded leaves, from above it is raining, there we drink. ¹¹“How come you give us bad like this” we cannot say, if we say “with whom you think you are equal?” We are imprisoned and lost.</p>	<p>The Manjo are the ones who carve the wood of waterberry for the house and carry the logs as they are strong. After the work is done they can sit only on veranda. The roasted seeds that are given to them are soaked as the rain gets in.</p> <p>We eat there in the rain. The Gomaro give us beer in a folded leaf and we drink in the rain. We cannot complain; if we do they accuse us of trying to be equal.</p> <p>We are like in prison. We are lost.</p>
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*Yino (*Syzygium guineense*) waterberry-tree

Eating together in Ethiopia really means eating together: Usually people sit close each other around one big tray and, since only the right hand is used when eating as many as six or seven people can comfortably eat from one serving. It is polite to move the best pieces of meat and bones towards the others. To show special attachment to someone a piece or morsel of food is put into the mouth of another person (ጎርጎ /gurjā/ ‘morsel’). Eating together is considered a sign of friendship and alliance and refusing to eat together is sometimes a way of expressing that this union is broken. Abstaining from eating from the same tray can also demonstrate respect between family members, e.g., among Kambaata the women “show respect” to their father-in-law by not eating together, but afterwards (Treis 2005: 313). Imposed withdrawal of commensal privileges is considered an ultimate sanction of rejection (Hamar 1994:135) with many groups of people in southern Ethiopia, especially among the *ensete* cultivators. All in all, in Ethiopia avoidance of food sharing is one indication of social distinction between cultivators and marginalized minorities.

In the data, sharing food is associated with visiting each other, participating in mourning (*eefo*) and providing labour assistance (*daado* and *dafo*). In all of these activities, providing food and eating together are essential parts of the procedure. The food itself was not denied from the Manjo. There is not a single mention in the data that the food on these occasions had not been offered to Manjo participants. Nobody criticizes the Gomaro for not giving food; rather, it is the eating in separation that is constantly brought up. The belief that the Manjo are polluting is very visible in the behaviour of the majority and it is also willingly clarified by words: “The Manjo eat porcupine, wild pig, colobus monkey and animals that are not slaughtered according to the regulations and that is why we do not eat with them” is an often heard statement in Gesha. To eat the meat of the animals mentioned is considered forbidden; usually the regulations of the Old Testament are referred to¹⁹ (Gezahegn Petros 2001: 95-96). However, segregation based on division into pure-polluted was not just with regard to the Manjo; e.g., menstruating women were kept away from food preparation and other activities where only the ritually pure could participate. Actually, the word *qeshahe*, used for describing segregation based on being impure has been taken from that context. In practice the fear is that something from inside a polluted person will get into the food and through that inside another person.²⁰ This fear is sometimes expressed in relation to other activities, like breathing in the same premises, or just being present.

Quotation 3.3. (6Me: 8-13)

<p>¹²<i>Wotta asho noone, and ebi no ditaa beet dittoon ashiichii no ebi no afuuron marzo tuni tsayfiqqina bulla tsayfiqqi no bi beshiti gizo beetone. ¹³Amooch? Manjo busho temhert kexooch bi giyi gaata no noone daaggooch eechiqqi bi ditaa gaata bi noonoochee kechi beeti kasho bi afuuro no bushoon</i></p>	<p>¹²We are also people, now this talk we are talking, as this our breath became like poison to people [= Gomaro] they consider us disgusting*, like this we have been passing the time being considered disgusting. ¹³Why? If a Manjo child gets into school “if he talks among our mouths (near us)</p>	<p>Although we are human beings too, there was a time when our breath was like poison to the Gomaro and they considered us disgusting.</p> <p>It was said that if a Manjo child was present at school among the Gomaro children, his breath</p>
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¹⁹In Ethiopia, different kinds of food regulations associated not only with different religions and groups, but also with individuals in certain positions, play an important role in boundary building and identity construction. The mixture of religious influences (Judaism, Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Indigenous religions), combined with factors related to group distinctiveness, have formed a unique cultural mosaic that very much influences the life of a present day Ethiopian (Simoons 1994).

²⁰Mary Douglas (1966) analyzed the human preoccupation with impurities as an indirect way of thinking about boundaries of society and the nature/culture divide. She claims that the body of a person is in many ways seen as a symbol of society and, as the boundaries of the society are watched and protected so that dangerous impurities should not enter the system, so is the body protected. According to her, all cultures are based on rules that help to keep the standardized categories apart, not letting them mix (Douglas 1966: 123-4). In recent years there has been a growing anthropological interest in the body, linking it with issues of personhood located in society.

<i>wuxehone getena¹⁴ no kashoon wochiqqi marso tuniti zemeene daggoochene no beeto.</i>	the breath that comes out of his mouth will kill our child” being said (by Gomaro) ¹⁴ we are among the times when our breath is poison.	would kill them.
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*The Amharic loan word ተጸየፈ. (tʰsʰʷj:ʃfʷ) includes both the notion of being regarded as impure and the feeling of disgust that arises from that.

Quotation 3.4. (5Me: 13-14)

¹⁵ <i>“Ne achooch kotaa tiyit yaammo no achooch kotemmane” getena ¹⁶deche ebi kubbooch tarihon.</i>	¹⁵ The fly that sits on your body will sit on ours” it was said, ¹⁶ down we went to forest.	The Gomaro complained that the fly that has been sitting on our body can come and sit on theirs. So we went to the forest.
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Quotation 3.5. (20Mma: 143-148)

¹⁷ <i>Maayo maaheete, maayo no goyo beetena bi qanni gaata ciinnahote, maayo ciinnaachon. ¹⁸Aaco aaco waahe. Aacee qiico doollone. Doollonane wonne aaco waa beeto, , ¹⁹ishiyooaba doollo ቅርቃሃ ማለት ነው. ²⁰Doolloona aaco waa gaata, aaco waa gaa no bekkach“eboomoon aashabote” iyeete no aafu uppaqaaqaa bulla eboomoo eechino beetone.</i>	¹⁷ They ate food, when we were plowing for grain, if they were preparing (food) “do not look, do not look at the food”. ¹⁸ Water, the water came. The container for water was <u>doollo</u> *. It was in <u>doollo</u> that the water came in the old days. ¹⁹ At that time it was <u>doollo from bamboo it means</u> .** ²⁰ If water came by bamboo, if water came, “turn there (away) like this hide yourselves” they [= Gomaro] said to us (and) we all covering our eyes like this we were. [shows by covering his eyes with hands]	If the Gomaro prepared food when we were working in their fields they told us not to look at it. If water was brought in <u>doollo</u> , which was <u>made from bamboo</u> as was the custom in the old days, they asked us to cover our eyes and turn away. So we did like that.
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**Dollo* is a long (1.5-2m), wide bamboo stem that was used for carrying water.

**Sometimes the speaker switches to Amharic. In English translations this is shown by underlining.

The examples mentioned above suggest that the pure-impure division would be strictly followed by the Gomaro in all circumstances, but that is not the case: honey handled by the Manjo can be consumed. Honey is the most important source of cash income in the area and the input of the Manjo population is needed for collecting it and delivering it to the market. In the following quotation the speaker indicates by laughter that he sees the division of pure-impure more as a useful tool for the Gomaro for separation than an actual commitment.

Quotation 3.6. (20Mma: 73-81)

²⁰ <i>ishiyooaba eeyo abakki wotta bi waato, no mageenaniye.</i>	²⁰ At that time where did again the honey come from, from our	We are the ones who bring the honey to the market. The Gomaro
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<p>²¹Eeyooch wanna sarategna noone. ²²Eeyo gabiyo giddiyo hakkii beeto noone. ²³Eeyo bizaatona giddii beeto kone? Eeyoon noalli, eeyoon bezatoona daamma giddi no iyyona, are eeyoon yechi no daammiichi kechi ²⁴are eeyooch aacoon ukkichi kechi “xallatone illa giyaachote ittoshi” ii bee [laughter]. ²⁵Eeyoo no aabichiqqina eeyo no hame kechaa beeto noone, ²⁶eeyo bezaat aabichiqqana no kisho beechi giixxaqqana kechiqqana daamma no ito eeyo maddaabarona xaanee hammichi kechi ii beena, ²⁷daammi boonoshi gaanooch geddiqqi kichi ama iyeete? [laughter] ²⁸“Illa ittoshi giyaacheho ittoshi uyaachiho ittoshine..., uyaachiho ittoshine ne giyaachi ittoshine.”</p>	<p>dwelling. ²¹For honey we are the main workers. ²²Honey we can present to the market place. ²³Who is the one presenting the honey? We are the one who hold and took out this honey. ²⁴To this honey they pour water (and) take it out (to be offered) “it is pure, so do not get in” they say [laughter]. ²⁵How do we do, we go taking out honey, ²⁶lot of honey,(this is) how it is done: honey left in hands we rub off, we take that honey (and) load in sacks, ²⁷after going we take it out, we take and put it into their clay pot, when taking it what did they say? [laughter] ²⁸You will not get in, you will not drink you, you do not drink you do not get in.”</p>	<p>pour water into it, give it for sale and say that now it is pure, you cannot come and drink it.</p> <p>When we take out the honey to be sold, we do it with our hands; we rub it from our hands and put it into sacks.</p> <p>After we have put it into their clay pots they say that we cannot come in and drink it.</p>
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As can be verified, the fear of becoming polluted can be compromised when dealing with honey. Why then is this keeping apart considered so important? In the view of one Gomaro elder with whom I raised this subject, entering each other’s houses would lead to shared eating which would constitute social bonds and might possibly lead to marriage. The crucial aim of this is to prevent marriage across the Manjo-Gomaro division. Therefore, according to him, in order to prevent that from happening it is important to prevent even the first steps in this direction. According to Gomaro customs, no individual can marry a member of the Manjo group and there has not been intermarriage between Manjo and Gomaro. A strict spatial segregation of the living quarters and the prohibition of eating together are understood as being connected with this strict rule. Most speeches state, “we are not marrying them (*shaagaachon*) and they do not marry from us (*shaaggiiyaachon*)”. The main aspect in marriages is to create and strengthen alliances and relationships between families and clans. One respected Manjo elder stated that it is good to give daughters to different directions and to different kinds of people in order to have connections. I can corroborate that: Wherever I went around inside the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*, I met his daughters married to different kinds of people from different Manjo clans, even including different Christian denominations and traditional spirit mediators. As can be seen from other African contexts, giving daughters to be married is considered as the highest level of exchange (Piot

1999:61). When marriage ties are not available, it restricts the opportunities for creating relationships and that keeps the Manjo out.

In the marriage arrangements, the *yaro* ‘clan’²¹ of a person plays a significant role. The definition of the word *yaro* is a bit complicated as it can be used for different kind of entities. When I asked people to tell their *yaro*, some gave names like Bedo or Goono, which refer to their lineage, but some answered *Manji yaro* ‘Manjo clan(s)’ as opposed to *ashi yaro* ‘clan(s) of people’. The Amharic translation given for the word *yaro* is ስር /zɜr/, which means seed. The other word occasionally used for common lineage is *cammo* ‘root’.

Beqqele lists 242 names for different *yaro* present in Kafa; the number also includes those not belonging to *Kafi yaro* (Beqqele 2010: 100-101). In the times of Kafa kings, the Manjo clans together with the occupational clans (potters, tanners, and smiths) were called *gondo ashi yaro* ‘clan(s) of bad people’. Manjo clans are estimated to be about fifty. All clans are unilinear and patrilinear. (Dagmawie 2010: 26, 30-31). Inside both Gomaro and Manjo clans there is a hierarchical order among groups of clans. The Manjo group is divided into ‘big hunter clans’ and ‘small hunter clans’ (Lange 1982: 242). Different clans are exogamous. In addition, marriages are not arranged with certain clans that are considered as *miaato yaro* ‘best man clans’. The best man for a marriage arrangement is chosen from among the people belonging to these *miaato yaros* and the relationship with him is a close one and is expected to be lifelong.

Among the Manjo I engaged with during this research, the people of the same *yaro* got together especially at the funerals and mourning gatherings. The wider circle was also expected to participate, but for the *yaro* members it was an absolute must with no excuses. Members of the same *yaro* form the backbone in *daado* and *dafo* workforces. *Daado* is the most common way to work together. The word *daado* would best be described in Amharic as ተባብሩ (tɜbab:ɜru), ‘they cooperate’. At present in the Gesha *wereda* among the Manjo,

²¹As both international and Ethiopian scholars use the word ‘clan’ for the word *yaro* (Lange 1982, Dagmawie 2010, Beqqele 2010), I will also retain that translation, although the word *yaro* is also used for both smaller units (lineage) and bigger units (many clans together). The Kafa officials in the Zonal office translate the word *yaro* as lineage.

daado consists of five or six people who are usually relatives, most often brothers, who are living nearby; but in-laws can also be included if they do not live too far away. In addition to clan members, socialization and cooperation with the in-laws is also considered as a central part of life. Sometimes non-related nearby neighbours can be included in *daado*, but usually it is in practice among relatives and the neighbour is included only if he is “alone”, meaning that he does not have other relatives around. People get together to accomplish certain duties turn by turn at each other’s farms and homesteads. The work is usually for half a day and coffee is prepared. In *daado* the activities that can be handled by a small group are performed.

The other, bigger working force is called *dafo*. That is used for activities like clearing the land for new farming areas, making new fences, and building houses. In these cases the number of people invited will be many; the ones I have participated in had 40-70 people. Again the invitation is mainly to relatives and in-laws, but now they are invited from a larger area and include more distant ones than *daado* and the neighbours will also be included. The Gomaro do not work for the Manjo *dafo*, but in the past the Manjo used to work for the *dafo* of the Gomaro. Nowadays many Manjo in Gesha refuse to go even if invited. If a *dafo* is organized, a feast is expected by the participants. Usually an ox is slaughtered and local beer (*docho*) is prepared. Although accomplishing the work is the main goal, *dafo* also is an important social happening, creating unity and strengthening the relationship ties among the participants. Marriage restrictions have contributed to working arrangements in two ways: as the Manjo population has been endogamous for a long time, most of the Manjo people in the Gesha *wereda* area have common relatives and are connected. On the other hand not having marriage relations with the Gomaro has also led to separation in working arrangements. As is summarized by one of the speakers:

Quotation 3.7. (23Mma: 154-156)

<p>²⁸<i>No haimaanooto Kristiyaano bi tunte bulla and no dafo barone,</i> ²⁹<i>dafa beeto noone, no yarone* ee shaagee beeto no yarone, gaarii beeto no yarone, gaara beeto no yarone.</i></p>	<p>²⁸Even though our religion is Christianity, our <i>dafo</i> is different, ²⁹when doing the <i>dafo</i> it is our group*, when we marry, it is our group, the ones who get married are our group, the ones who organize the wedding are our group, those who share the</p>	<p>Even though we are Christians, whatever we do, we do only among ourselves, whether it is working or getting married. The ones who get married, who organize the wedding and who celebrate, are all from our group.</p>
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	celebration are our group.	
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*As the speaker refers to the Manjo group, the word *yaro* is translated as 'group' instead of 'clan'.

One central part of the indigenous Kafa religion is the exclusion of the Manjo population from social life. This cultural trait has also been contextualized in the practices of the Orthodox Church in the area. The Muslims, present mainly in the towns, have not accepted the members of the Manjo population among them. The Protestant churches have Manjo members, but the Gomaro members do not usually participate in weddings or *dafo* of the Manjo members.²²

In the speeches, although the people are giving their individual accounts, they are speaking for the group. Being inside either group is a much deeper commitment than being just a member. Belonging to a group cannot be partial. You either belong or you do not. Those who do not act in accord with the group cannot be part of the group, as one person can spoil a whole group. Because of the one, the whole is spoiled; for example, within those Protestant churches where there are both Manjo and Gomaro members in the congregation, if among the Gomaro there are those who despise, the whole group is spoiled and the Manjo seek a way out. There is no tolerance on that. In social life in general it is also customary that the Gomaro members of the society segregate the members of their own group if they behave against tradition, for example, by eating with a Manjo.

One middle aged, more individualistically oriented Manjo model farmer and a prize winner for his development activities, complains how a member of a Manjo group cannot be anything other than a group member:

Quotation 3.8. (20Mma: 52-58)

³⁰ <i>Yiichi no beemoochee, yiichi no gonda mooyoochee, yiichi no gonda tahoochee giishachoon qaiyariqqa shaddee no wahona and amo tuniyeete... "eboshi Manjeena'one" ³²ok boono tareehaona eboshi Manjeen'oo amoomo illa no taha gaata bulla</i>	³⁰ (Because) of our yesterday living, of our yesterday bad thing, of our yesterday bad clothes, if we come now a little changed, how they do, people?... ³¹ "those are Manjo", ³² there when they go, whatever (clothes) they wear "those are Manjo" they say.	Because we wore bad clothes and did bad things in the past, although we have changed, whatever clothes we wear, they say that we are the Manjo.
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²² Bekkele (2010) gives the following distribution of religions in Kafa: Ethiopian Orthodox 72%, indigenous religion 13%, Muslims 5.7%, Catholic 8%, and Protestants 2.3%. However, in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* there are no Catholics, and the share of the Protestants is bigger (Bekkele 2010: 94).

<p><i>"eboshi Manjeena'one" iyeete.</i>³³ <i>Wotta nooch ikke irato beete. No yaroon bari beet mooyo gashe hachiyona. Gashe hachiyona.</i></p>	<p>³³Again we have this one problem. The thing that separates our clans...the sharpening of teeth. The sharpening of teeth.</p>	<p>Also, this sharpening of teeth is a problem as it separates our clans from the others.</p>
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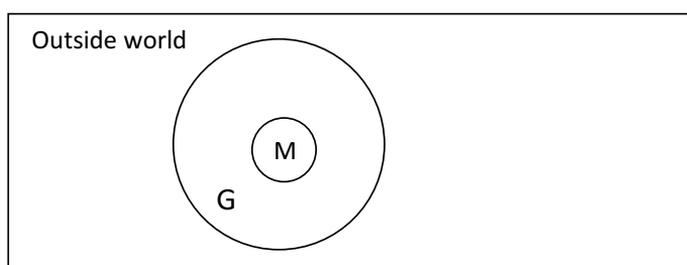
It is true that the sharpening of teeth is more common among the Manjo, but it is also practised among the Gomaro population. I take this statement as his way of expressing the inevitability of the group membership, both in good and bad. Being a part of the Manjo group is not negotiable.

The name Manjo is discussed in several speeches. There are various theories about it, but all agree that the naming has had its effects. It is the name of the group that keeps them outside. Being outside means that they are excluded from the norms that are expected from the community. The normal rules applied in social interaction are not applied to outsiders. I have also experienced hints of this kind of behaviour as a European. There are clearly two different patterns in which I am treated: if I am considered a tourist people talk to me in a different manner, they are hospitable and ready to help, but not that polite. However, if I show that I have stayed a long time, for example by using their language, it is considered that I belong to their group at least to some extent and then I am treated according to the culture. With that comes the privilege of being treated in a polite way, but there will also be expectations that I will behave according to the customs: speak accordingly, serve the men and keep my hair tied back – things that are not expected from a tourist. So the rules are different for insiders and outsiders.

The government policy is that both groups are Kafa, but in the data I collected the word Kafa it is not used for all. Many Manjo, especially those who are more for Manjo independence refer to the Gomaro as Kafa (*Kafacho*), but mainly the words used by both groups are Manjo and Gomaro. One interesting point is that the Amhara or Oromo settlers in the area, who started to behave according to the local custom and refused to accept the Manjo, can also be referred to as Gomaro by the Manjo. *Asheena'o* (sing. *asho*) means people, human beings. This word has been used mainly for Gomaro and also for the neighbouring groups. The elderly Manjo often use the word *asho* when referring to the Gomaro group and the word Manjo about themselves, but nowadays *asho* is also used for the Manjo.

As can be seen from the quotations presented, to be Manjo is not so much to be somebody, as to be somewhere. The societal boundary fences the Manjo population inside the Manjo group. Although the Manjo villages are scattered all over the area, the Manjogroup is seen as an enclave in the surrounding and controlling Gomaro group, which makes it more difficult to create contacts with the world outside. When describing their situation, words like *cuchi* 'imprisoned' and *hici* 'closed' are used.

Figure 1. The Manjo group as an enclave among the Gomaro



It is stated in many speeches that the main cause for trouble is that the population of the Manjo group is so small and this smallness is considered a shameful and dangerous thing: if a group is small it is unprotected and can be oppressed, in worst cases the whole group can be treated as slaves. The minority status of the Manjo group bears many similarities to people discussed as pariah or peripatetic in anthropological literature. They form a special case when inter-ethnic relations are studied. Their situation is often a result of external historical events, e.g., in a time of ecological stress, impoverished groups or clans of agriculturalists or pastorals have turned to hunting and relate to other groups in various kinds of symbiosis (Van Zwanenberg 1976, Chang 1982). On one hand, the host population actively rejects these groups, but on the other hand it also finds them useful in some specific ways. The boundary is strongly maintained. The identity gives very little scope for interaction with the majority population but, even so, they do not seem to develop the internal complexity that would lead to them being considered as a full-fledged ethnic group. They have a special economic niche; their source of subsistence is in relationship to other people through the provision of specialized goods or services (Barth 1969; 1987). Bollig (1987: 210) calls the economy of the peripatetic opportunistic and their adaptation to the social environment highly flexible. The hunters vacillate between different economic strategies and choose

them according to socio-ecological determinants. However, the moral code of the majority society negatively evaluates the strategies left to the peripatetic. Rao compares the host society and the peripatetic with the following pairs: mainstream-marginal, tame-wild, culture-nature, order-disorder, partisan-neutral, authority-power, lawfulness-anomy (Rao: 1987:11). Some of these aspects will be discussed further in the following section.

3.1.2. Near (the people) – Far (in the forest)

In the previous subchapter I introduced when and how “being Manjo” is articulated in the speeches using the inside-outside categorization. In this subchapter I will describe the essence of the references near and far and how they are used in articulating domestic-wild oppositions. Most of the last remaining natural forests in Ethiopia can be found in south-western areas. The population growth and the re-settled highland people’s general attitude, according to which the forest is considered something that should be gotten rid of quickly in order to be “civilized”, have contributed to the fact that the forests are diminishing in spite of the efforts of the government and many NGOs. However, presently, in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* one can still find dense forest areas with a rich variety of species.

The forest is mentioned in all speeches: On one hand, being in the forest is seen problematic since being “in the forest” is strongly used against the Manjo in creating “their otherness”, separating them from being people. On the other hand, the forest is mentioned as a positive place: It has provided a safe haven, food, honey and skins for trading. The forest is a domain “where one feels strong” as the speaker in the following quote clarifies. He mentions both that they were chased away to the forest and also that it was considered good to go.

Quotation 3.9. (10Me: 11, 16-21)

<p>³⁴“<i>Manjottabe! Ne maach beebe. Ne kechi giyaane” iqqi iyeete....</i> ³⁵<i>Ishichi boono immona illa amooch hammaho no ee amooch hammahona saaggado damba no gidda gaata hini asheena’o noon wuxeena’one,</i> ³⁶<i>no ikka aafoomo none no yaro ikka ikka aafi noone gutto noone</i></p>	<p>³⁴ “Be as Manjo should be! You, be outside, You, do not get into house” they said... ³⁵When they were saying like this, where do we go, where do we go? If we go up near the righteous these people kill us, ³⁶ we are like one fruit/seed we are like one seed or two seeds we said where did we</p>	<p>They said that we should be like the Manjo are supposed to be, to be outside and not get into the house. So where could we go? We were few in number and had we gone to be among those who consider themselves pure they would have killed us. So we went deep into the forest to hunt wild</p>
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<p><i>iqqana amo tariihone yoo yookkaqqa dimbaaro daggooch.</i> ³⁷<i>Amooch hammahon, cooxo dabbooch hammahon, sheexxo yookkemmo no waarije yookkemmo no, maho waa gaata maho yookkemmo no</i>³⁸ <i>mahooch anaamo no anaamo no.</i>"</p>	<p>go?" (We were) chased to among the dense forest. ³⁷Where did we go? We went to hunt wild animals to chase a baboon, to chase a monkey, if a leopard come, to chase, ³⁸to leopard (chase) we are men, men (brave, hero).</p>	<p>animals and to chase away baboons and monkeys (from fields). We are the ones who are not afraid to chase away even a leopard.</p>
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While going around visiting different Manjo villages I noticed that after reaching the Gomaro village there was usually some 30-40 minutes' walk to reach the part of the *qebele*, where the homesteads of Manjo could be found. The way was downhill and the forest became denser. The farms of the Manjo were nearest to the forest so that they were the ones who chased the wild animals away, guarding the frontier between forest and civilization; but in the Gomaro view, from outside, belonging to the forest. The forest is the domain of wild animals, so all who are in the forest are considered to be related to them. In many speeches the Gomaro are quoted as referring to Manjo as *cooxo* 'wild animal' or *cooxoomo* 'be like/resemble a wild animal'.

The speakers want to deal with the boundary between the wilderness and society and emphasize that they belong to the society side. The most popular phrases, included in most of the speeches, are *no kisho baraano, no baato baraano* 'our hand does not differ, our foot does not differ' and *Yeerine no hallito* 'God has created us' and *no asho noone* 'we are people, human beings. When the speakers are dealing with this aspect, they usually approach it through quotations from the Gomaro. These serve two purposes: first of all, to convince the listener that claims for equality are right and just, and secondly, that these things said by the Gomaro are used against them, to attack their way of reasoning. Often these things are quoted with laughter.

Quotation 3.10. (10Me: 42-44, 29-31)

<p>³⁹"<i>Ittoshi ame yaro asho ittoshine?</i> <i>Ittoshi amee coochi yaro ittoshine,</i> ⁴⁰<i>ittoshi sheexxeexi ittoshi ee waareje ittosholli" iqqi iyeete Ye Yeero! [calling]</i> ⁴¹<i>Yeer halli halliti asheexi, no baraannone.</i> ⁴²<i>Kishoocho no yabaro uucho ne, ee cero boono</i></p>	<p>³⁹What is your clan (seed)? What wild animal clan (seed) are you? ⁴⁰You are from baboon, from monkey you are really", saying they said. Oh God! [calling] ⁴¹We are among God's created people, we do not differ. ⁴²In hand our fingers are five. Mm "tail their</p>	<p>They asked if our clan is one of the clans of wild animals and said that we are from baboons and monkeys. Oh God! We are created by God, we are not different. We have five fingers in our hand and although they say that we have a tail on our</p>
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<i>binnooch cero beetone iyeete.</i> ⁴³ <i>Abooch no binnooch cero beeho?</i> [laughter]	buttocks tail is there”, they say. ⁴³ Where is the tail on our buttocks? [laughter]	buttocks, there is no tail.
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Other words defining the Manjo domain of existence are *gonda*, *guuda xaa’o* ‘bad, dirty place’, *mandarooch* ‘in the darkness’, *shagaano* ‘not reached’, *wokkacho* ‘person from whom distance is needed, being far’.

The connection with the wild has also given the Manjo a place in Gomaro rituals. One of the elders told about his father, who was serving as a *qaabbacho* (elder, first born).²³ His father was contacted for clearing the path to, and making a fence around *guudo*, the traditional worship place in the forest. These things needed to be performed by Manjo because it is believed that Gomaro members’ lives are in danger if they approach *guudo* on their own. His father’s duties were also to see that the oxen that were to be sacrificed for *guudo* were adequate: if an ox did not give out a bawl when it was slaughtered it meant that it was not accepted by *guudo* and the *qaabbacho* tested this with the tip of his spear. He also decided when it was the right time to circumcise new-born boys. (D7: 1-82)

Kopytoff argues that throughout Africa first-comers to the land are believed to have special ritual powers relating to the land and fertility. He states in his “frontier-theory” that when migrating to new areas, the newcomers either have to chase the previous inhabitants out, or if their existence was recognized, the new comers structurally tamed them by restricting their relationship with them or by putting them into a special niche as providers of specialized services. The new leaders, while keeping their predecessors at a social and political distance, incorporated them into the ritual order by assigning to them a particular ritual role based on their special relationship to the land. It is also common that the previous inhabitants are seen as non-human and ‘pre-civilized’ and so their right to land could be denied. (Kopytoff 1987: 55-57).

The division of domestic-wild is also discussed in the speeches with reference to dressing regulations: the traditional clothes in the Kafa area have been *dubbo*, *wojo* and *shoro*. These

²³ This word is also used as an adjective *qaabbacho busho* (eldest child, first born), *qaabbacho meche* (first wife)

were made of natural materials available in the area. *Dubbo* is a kind of cloak made from a certain grass/rush (*sheekko*). The form of *wojo* resembles *dubbo*, but it was made of *yi'o*, the fibre from *ensete*. Also, the striped leaves of *ensete* were used (*maate kacho*). *Shoro* is made from leather; it can also be from the leather of wild animals. When cotton clothes reached the area, the Manjo population was not supposed to use them, only traditional materials. As late as the 1960s, Manjo women wore the grass *dubbo* to cover their cotton clothing when they went outside their own domain. Bracelets and necklaces were also forbidden to Manjo women.

Quotation 3.11. (32Fma: 28, 30-33, 43-44)

<p>⁴⁴...wonna no indee no indee kaakoon tahataach ... ⁴⁵“itto kaakoon tahiya’ ote, maate kacho eddabot” gettahan. “Maate kacho eddabe” gettahan, “maate kacho taha waa godo giixote” ... ⁴⁶“Anaamena’on itto genja shuuroon kuxote. Hini amo ne, geeciya’ote. Genneen itto kaako kichibote maate kacho eddabot.”... ⁴⁷Manjache aacho ciraash Manjache gedaane aachoon, “no meche tato aachoon geddaane” getena “Gomaro wuxishane” bi getteyo.</p>	<p>⁴⁴Past our mother our mother they did not wear khaki clothes ... ⁴⁵“you, do not wear khaki, wear the split <i>ensete</i> leaf”, was said. “Wear the split <i>ensete</i> leaf” was said to us, “wear the split <i>ensete</i> leaf come and clear the surroundings of the hut.”... ⁴⁶To men “you cut your long trousers. What is this, do not be proud ...” ⁴⁷Manjo women, by no means gold, Manjo woman does not wear gold, “if you wear gold similar to our wives Gomaro shall kill you” is what he [= Gomaro] said.</p>	<p>They did not let our mothers use cotton clothes; instead they told us to use the split <i>ensete</i> leaf. We were told to use that and go and clean the surroundings of their huts.</p> <p>They accused men of being proud as they used long trousers and told the men to cut them short.</p> <p>The Manjo women were not supposed to wear gold and they were warned that if they wore gold similar to the wives of the Gomaro they would be killed.</p>
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Nowadays, people do not use this traditional clothing; however, what one wears is not without meaning. What is worn today is discussed extensively in the speeches. When violence broke out between the Manjo and Gomaro 2002 in Woshero, in the Bitta *wereda*, leading to the death of many people, one thing that was reported as inflaming the incident was a quarrel started when a Manjo man was wearing a baseball cap similar to that of a Gomaro man in the market place (Saiyuri 2008: 54). The culmination is both in being similar-different and above-below in status. The next subchapter, the last of three subchapters relating to spatial references, deals with the pair above-below, also leading to a discussion of how the hierarchy is shown and realized.

3.1.3. Above-below

The hierarchy in the society is not just in relation to Manjo-Gomaro relations. The whole society, starting from the family, is hierarchically organized. The ranking order becomes visible e.g. when seating places are offered, when the hands are being washed before meals and when food is shared. Gender, age, clan, position, wealth, prestige and acquaintance: all have their influence on the hierarchical order. It is interesting to observe how the traditional rules are interpreted in new situations. My age, wealth, prestige and being a guest from afar puts me quite high up in this every-day, practical hierarchical order; but then again gender is crucial and if any man, be he foreign or Ethiopian, goes around with me, he always comes before me. However, when a person belongs to the Manjo group, it overrules all other considerations. Some elderly Manjo men expressed their bitterness that they had to show respect to Gomaro women and children.

With regard to the Manjo, the hierarchical structure of the society is manifested through one's position in the *damba* (above, up) – *desh* (below, down) dimension: in settlement patterns, in seating arrangements, in passing on the road, in washing or taking water from the stream. I have observed many of these in my travels: The Manjo settlements are usually downhill from the Gomaro settlements, in more densely forested areas in the gorges and river valleys. At celebrations and at lament gatherings (*eefo*), the Manjo group sits separately and in the lower position. When an NGO protected some springs in the area, the issue of being upstream/downstream was widely debated. The word pair *damba-desh* is used for showing directions (instead of left and right) and when constructing comparatives and superlatives, where *damba* indicates more and most.

As is common in many hierarchically constructed societies, the inequality of the members of the society is also demonstrated in ways of greeting. The ways of greeting, beginning with who to greet and who to ignore, both manifest the ranking of the people and produce it. As a principle, in the Gesha *wereda*, if there is not a reason not to greet, two people seeing each other will exchange greetings if they are physically in greeting distance. However, age, gender, social status due to birth, and achieved prestige can affect the greeting manners. Irvine (1974), when discussing status manipulation in the Wolof greeting, calls this an

“attenuation rule”, following the thoughts of Goffman (1971: 84). It is not only the status ranking of a person, but also the others present that influence the situation, and every greeting situation forces the two parties into decisions about their relative ranks (Irvine 1974: 168-170).

In the submissive greetings of the past, “down” is emphasized: “*Shawooch qebane*” ‘Let me lie down on the earth’, “*moogooch qebane addiyo*²⁴” ‘let me lie down for prestige, your honour’. Even in the gatherings where the speeches were collected, when quoting the greetings that show submission, many of the elderly speakers automatically also bent their heads. The word *yittiqqi* (going with one’s head down) is used in relation to the Manjo. In the myth that tells about how the Manjo lost their status, “going with one’s head down” has consequences: After being fooled by the Gomaro into doing things that could be used against him so that he lost his position as king, Manjo, because of going with his head down, mistakenly thought that a Gomaro he met was god and greeted him accordingly, the Gomaro response being “If you go with your head down (showing respect to me), let it be so.”

Let me summarize the previous subchapters by referring to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who argue that human understanding of any target domain is structured first and foremost in terms of the human body and its everyday practical interaction with the physical world and this is a pre-eminent source domain of metaphor. Their argument is that a human body standing upright with the head up defines a dimension of up-down, which extends to “more is up and “less is down” and again further “good is up”, “bad is down”. Another *kinaesthetic image schema*, the so-called Container schema, is based on the body itself, providing the idea of inside-outside, including having an interior, a boundary and an exterior and the movement from one container to another, whether talking about the physical world or the non-physical world (Johnson 1987: 451-452).

²⁴ Although I asked numerous members of Manjo society, those asked could not give translation for the word *addiyo*, except mentioning that “it is for honour”. Bekele Woldemariam (2010: 296) gives the word “*aadiyo/aatiyo*” as a title of Kafa Emperors.

The importance of the idea of metaphor to the grammatical organization of a language is highlighted by Foley:

Relativities of understanding are often couched in terms of models constructed in language for constructing sensible experience outside of it. These models are often more than just models, but are the very terms by which we comprehend the phenomena so modeled; this is particularly so for phenomena not immediately visible to our senses...Metaphors are often constructed around the particulars of our embodied experience as we interact with the world, statements in language of beliefs embodied in practical activities. (Foley 1997:191)

But how about the near-far? What about the relation of the body to another body, to somebody? Although not contributing to the *kinaesthetic image schemas* presented above, let me just add some metaphors from that domain as examples of how things are experienced. The words *katino* (*near*) and *woho* (*far*) can also be used for abstract things as in many other languages, but more interesting are the following two: to present something, whether food or ideas, the metaphor used is to “bring near”, *giddihe*. And the word *mag* (whereabouts) is used, e.g., for family members, *kechi mageena’o* ‘the near ones of house, those with house’. Although the dimension of “with” is present, the main emphasis is on being near (for being together, the word *tookki* is used).

In this first subchapter, I have presented the general framework in which “being Manjo” was described in the speeches with reference to these three spatial categories (in-out, far-near, above-down) and how the situation of the Manjo population is discussed mainly with regard to the position of the Gomaro. This background information is needed in order to understand the setting in which the interaction between the members of the groups takes place. In addition to the dimensions discussed above, most of the speakers structure their speech according to the change of governing bodies since the attitude of a governing body has an impact on the overall situation of the Manjo population. The background information on how these different eras were described as having an influence on “being Manjo” will be provided in the next subchapter.

3.2. The group called Manjo –when and to whom?²⁵

3.2.1. Separation

As can be seen from literature concerning the history of the marginalized hunting minorities in Ethiopia, it is difficult even to speculate about the actual happenings and events that have led to the present situation (Pankhurst 2001, Freeman 2001, Lange 1982, Haberland 1964, Jensen 1959, Huntingford 1955, Cerulli 1922, Kassam 2000,²⁶ Brøgger 1986). In the scope of this study I will not enter into the discussion about to what extent the Gomaro and the Manjo are of common origin or whether the Manjo should be seen as an ethnic group of its own; I will just concentrate on the fact that these two groups have a long history together, although in separation.

It is repeatedly mentioned in the monologues that being Manjo started at some time in history. The separation is connected with the story explaining how a Manjo king gave power to the Maatto clan, who are considered Gomaro. The general idea is that the Manjo king named Dallo was advised by a Gomaro to do something (drink beer or marry many wives) and when the Manjo king did that, it was said that he could no longer be in power because of his behaviour. The Manjo king gave power to the Maatto of his own free will since he was fooled. The Gomaro version, which I became familiar with through my interviews among the Gomaro in Waho (2004), indicates that the Manjo king gave power by his own free will after behaving in an inappropriate manner. The role of a Gomaro as an advisor was not mentioned. All this happened in the mythical past. And it is the naming of certain people or clans as Manjo that brought about the separation:

Quotation 3.12. (20Mma: 36-39)

<p>⁴⁸<i>Qatina’oon amo tunihe, “Maawo” iqqi dabbo tippiqqi “doollo dabbabe” iye.</i> ⁴⁹<i>“Manjo” iqqi “yegillo hachi, geendo tifeqqina maaxooch kotabe, maaxooch”,</i> ⁵⁰<i>no shigoon barito...</i></p>	<p>What the half was made to be? Saying “Maawo” net was hung on them, “hunt the antelope”*, he said. Saying “Manjo, gouge wood for beehive, hang up beehive, sit outside, outside.” ⁵⁰ He separated</p>	<p>Half were told to be Maawo, the hunting net was hung on their shoulder and they were told to hunt the antelope. The others were told to be Manjo, to gouge and hang beehives and to stay</p>
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²⁵ My choice of titles here is influenced by Wagner (1974). Based on his research in Papua New Guinea, he warns that instead of defining groups as social or ethnic groups, it would be better to deal with how and when this grouping takes place.

²⁶ Kassam (2000) did his research in Kenya, but deals with the Waata, who are also present in Ethiopia.

<p><i>no Addami hallit ikko no tunahona no barito ama shahiyone? Maxooch kotaa bee ito. ⁵¹Maaxooch kotee shigo amo saiyami? Manjo.</i></p>	<p>our name... we who were created from Adam, being one, what kind of thing separated us? Saying “sit outside”. ⁵¹What name did he give to ones sitting outside? Manjo.</p>	<p>outside. We were separated by name from others to be outside and the name Manjo was given to those who were outside.</p>
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**Doollo with high tone, ‘antelope’; doollo with low tone, ‘bamboo water container’.*

Since the separation, the relationship is described as relating to what the Gomaro do or feel: *ciigaheete, qeshaheete and hoxaheete*. *Ciigo* and the form borrowed from Amharic *tsaiyafo*, ተጸየፈ. /tʰɛtsʰɛj:ʒfɛ/, include despising and a feeling of disgust, *qesho* specifies discrimination and segregation due to impurity, and *hoxo* refers to not being appreciated, “given no respect”, respect being one of the central issues in the society.

The other segregated group²⁷ that is mentioned in the speeches is the group of tanners (Manno). Although strictly segregated, the distance from the Gomaro is considered less than in the Manjo case, perhaps due to living patterns. The Manno are out, but not that far. Members of the Manno and the Manjo groups do not eat together and, like the Manjo group, the Manno group is endogamous.

3.2.2. “Being Manjo” under different rulers

All in all, the marginalization of the Manjo has been a process. Being Manjo has meant different things under different rulers. No wonder; as can be seen from the speakers, the question who is actually ruling the area has been, and is, a burning question to the Manjo population. In order to understand how different types of governments have affected the situation for the Manjo, it is necessary to identify some features commonly mentioned in the Manjo narratives that can then be used to identify relevant differences between rulers and ways of ruling. The following eras are mentioned in the speeches:

²⁷ In many places in Ethiopia the potters form a separate segregated group, but in Kafa it is mainly the women belonging to the Manno-group who engage in pottery. Also, the weavers and smiths had been segregated, but no longer. Gezahegn Petros notes that the change in their status correlates with the change of dependency: “Soon after the monopoly, and hence the potential power of this group was lost, the need to marginalize them faded and they were easily absorbed as commoners” (Gezahegn Petros 2001: 85).

Table 2. Definitions for the eras in the speeches

<i>Manjo taataqqina</i>	When the Manjo was ruling	<i>Wonne</i> (past)	Past
<i>Makkachona gochahooba</i>	When ploughing was by hoe		
<i>Maayo muchahooba</i>	When there was no food/grain		
<i>Gatto gochahooba</i>	When ploughing with ox	<i>Wonne</i> (past) <i>No nihaaniheena'na ...shabattinno</i> (our ancestors ... Further past than seventh generation) <i>No nihaanihona guttinno, kejinno</i> (our grandfathers, second and third generation)	1700-
<i>Kafi taato taataqqina</i>	When Kafa kings ruled		
<i>Atse Menelik gizooba</i>	In the time of Emperor Menelik		
<i>Eqqo waaqqina</i> ²⁸	When the spirit(s) came		
<i>Allaameena'ona</i> <i>Allaamee yemeno</i>	By the spirit mediators		1880-
	The era of spirit mediator(s)		
<i>Asho kemmaa beetona</i> <i>Guuno, gonneee tunaqqina</i> <i>Maddo maddee beet, goro gora beet, baaro baaree beet gizo</i>	When people were sold		1900-
	When we were male slaves and female slaves		
	When work was done, when fences were fenced, when celebrations were celebrated		
<i>Yanhoi gizooba</i>	In the time of Haile Selassie		<i>No niho dittate no waayato</i> (what we have heard from our fathers)
<i>Ferenjo taataqqina</i>	When foreigner (Italian) ruled	1936-40	
<i>Derg waaqqina</i> <i>Mengistu taataqqina</i>	When Committee came (Socialist) When Mengistu Haile Mariam ruled	<i>No nihoona</i> (our fathers)	1974-
<i>Yihadig waaqqina</i> <i>Melles taataqqina</i>	EPRDF (Ethiopian People's Democratic Front) When Melles Zenawi ²⁹ rules	<i>And</i> (now)	1991-

²⁸ "The coming of spirits" refers to possession cults in the early 20th century. Although there had been possession cults starting from the 18th century, this was a time of revival. These spirits are considered different from *qollo*, who is related to nature and approached when hunting, and *buda*, the evil eye that has its connection with craftworkers. Lange speculates that a cult relating to *eqqo* emerged in times when Christianity was spreading (Lange 1982:311).

²⁹ The news of the unexpected death of Melles Zenawi in 2012 was received with great sorrow and anxiety among the Manjo in Gesha.

The era of the Kafa kingdom, from the 15th century to end of the 19th century, was referred to as *Kafi taatoona* 'by Kafa king'. Being a long period, it is described through both myths and narrative. The times of the Kafa kings relate mainly to fighting, guarding and hunting. The Manjo as a group had a special connection to the ruler: both the King and the Manjo were categorized as non-human. Using the terms of Lange: the King was considered supra-human and the Manjo sub-human. According to historians one of the main duties of the Manjo was guarding the king and the narrow alleys that were the "gates" to the Kafa kingdom. In addition, it was customary that the Manjo served as messengers, as state hangmen and castrators of prisoners of war, and watchers of the royal graveyard; they also assisted in royal funerals and were the builders of sacred fences (Bieber 1923: 110, Lange 1979: 202). The Manjo were considered skilful hunters who, by using hunting nets and traps, could provide items needed at court, like leopard skins, civet cat musk and ivory. (Gezahegn Petros 2001: 92; Lange 1979: 203; Lange 1982: 242-3, 266-7). The game hunting, proudly mentioned in many of the speeches, was highly esteemed by kings and nobles. One especially known for that in Gesha was a person called Mootti, a member of the Goono clan.

The concept of "being ruled" needs to be approached in relation to the Kafa cosmology. The verb *taatahe* 'reigned' has a deeper meaning than just political power. The phrase *taato taatahe* could be best translated as 'king manifests his kingship through all his qualities and relations to visible and non-visible'. All aspects of the well-being of the people are connected to the ruler and his will. The same verb is also used in connection with God, *Yeeri taatahe* 'God reigns'. According to Lange (1982) the traditional Kafa religious structure was predominantly characterized by a religious categorization of the whole organic world into four distinct, qualitatively-different entities, with the essence of each entity symbolically personalized by a force carrying a "taato"-title. Each "taato" functioned as the materialization of a particular life force of the animal, plant, human or supernatural world. It was in that frame that the rule of the Kafa king became defined. Within the world of humans there was a hierarchal division of sacred power into two entities. Both of these entities had their visible manifestation in sacred personages intimately associated with a "taato". *Kafi taato* was traditionally for the whole Kafa and *Geppe taato* for his particular clan of these entities. In the speeches both of these kinds of "taato" are mentioned: *kafi taato* (king of Kafa) and *geppe taato* (king of mountains). In the monologues *geppe taato* is associated with

guudo. *Guudo*, in a wider Kafa context, refers either to an individual representing a political officer and imbued with the power of that office or a ceremonial site representing a religious entity and imbued with the power in that entity.³⁰ In Gesha the latter is usually the case. The well-being of a ruler was seen in connection with the well-being of the citizens. One of the speakers included in his speech the story in which the death of a King outside of Kafa caused famine and things got better only when a Manjo went and brought the body of the king back. The word *qeejiye*, often translated as “governed” is a causative form from the verb ‘to spend the night’ (*qeye*) showing that the question is more closely related to sustaining the circumstances so that living is possible.

The wars of Menelik II are mentioned as the starting point of Amhara rule. The Kafa king was arrested in 1897. The main figure representing the Amhara era is Emperor Haile Selassie, *Yanhoi*, as he is called in the monologues. Slave trading inside the country was still going on and the spirit mediators, *allaamos*, had gained considerable political power through their ability to cooperate with spirits. Many elderly people have their own memories of that time and it is this era that is most often referred to as the most problematic time. However, there are two incidents during this period that are mentioned as good ones. Firstly, the deal that ended the slave-trading of Manjo was accomplished by a Manjo leader from Didif and secondly, the Italian occupation is described by the elders as times “when our life/breath returned a bit to us”. The coming of the Italians temporarily decreased the influence of the landlords and *allaamos* and since the Italians were looking for possible groups to ally with, that provided some new connections for the Manjo population.

The time of the Derg³¹ is described as good and bad at the same time. It was a time when old structures were challenged and the old leaders dismissed. Some Manjo got positions in the administration at the *qebele*-level and schools and roads were built. The request for equality was intensified with fines for those who refused to greet and eat with Manjo. One speaker

³⁰ Lange speculates on the dichotomy of “essence” and “appearance” in Kafa thought, the union of two entities with the bond at which the sphere of the religious-sacred and the political-secular meet (Lange 1982: 276). Yohannes Shura, a co-worker of mine in Ethiopia, criticizes in his MA thesis (2005) western scholars writing about Benji traditional religion for not being able to comprehend the combining mechanisms of spirit and human.

³¹ The Amharic word ደርግ (dɜrg), meaning committee, is generally used for the Communist Regime (1974-1991). In English text it is customarily written in this form, the Derg.

explains the new situation of change and the confusion connected to it by saying, “who will now work for whom, who will pay tribute to whom”. Mengistu Haile Mariam is widely considered a good person. However, he is criticized for sending so many men to war. In many places the Manjo were filling the quota for others too and many of those delivering the speeches were in the war. Although the Derg actively opposed all religious activities and there was persecution, it was mentioned in several speeches that “the religion came by Derg” referring to the spread of Protestantism in the 1970s due to the activities of the neighbouring Oromo.

The present government (1991-) and its ruling party, EPRDF, is appreciated for its policy that declares that all discrimination should be eliminated and the present times are seen as good ones compared to the past. Especially the federal government, personified in the late Melles Zenawi, is considered very beneficial to the Manjo. Several speakers mention that if there are problems it is in the lower levels, in the *qebele* and *wereda* administration, where there are those who would not always be so enthusiastic about acting according to the policies. Many members of the Manjo group are involved in politics for the present ruling party. When the leaders are mentioned, the first name is often used. The actual power to accomplish things is related to a person and, for instance, if somebody wanted to get some improvement to the present situation, the main thing would be to go and be allowed to talk with the highest leader.

Quotation 3.13. (25Fma: 38-41)

<p>⁵²<i>Noo kichito, noo qeejito, noo heechito, noo ashochito, shubbooch beeton gaddooch kichito hini mengitto, hini mengitto</i> ⁵³<i>Bi beeti toommooch Mellesi bi beet xaa'ooch ta shaggemmo gaata bi caammoon neettichi beshati dengoon nappeeto taane, hini hinittini mengittooch.</i></p>	<p>⁵²The one who took us out, who makes us to spend the night (who rules us), who makes us to spend the day, who has made us people, who has taken us out from forest to field (stage), this government, this government. ⁵³Where he has been, if I reached a place where Melles has been, the mud that his shoe has stepped I lick, for this, this particular government.</p>	<p>The one who has contributed to all our wellbeing, who has taken us out of the forest and made us people who can participate as others, is this government.</p> <p>If I could be in the place where Melles has been, I could lick his footsteps to show my appreciation to this government</p>
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In this subchapter I have shown how the attitude of the ruler has been influential for the well-being of the Manjo group. I have also clarified how the skills and knowhow that the

members of the Manjo group have about the forest and hunting have been utilized by the Gomaro members and how fighting and work that requires physical endurance has been imposed on members of the Manjo group. This background information is necessary for understanding the special nature of the relations between the members of these groups, which again affects the communication and interaction practices between them. These practices are also influenced by stereotyped images that include both how the Manjo describe the Manjo and how the Gomaro is said to describe the Manjo. So before dealing with the actual relations, it is still necessary to share how the speakers themselves describe issues regarding self- and group esteem and what they consider essential to mention about communication practices in the past and at present.

3.3. How is it to be a Manjo? Interaction with others

In this subchapter I will summarize what was included in the speeches about how the members of Manjo community see themselves and how interaction with others is described. This background information is needed when the speeches of individuals are reflected upon and the changes that have taken place are discussed.

3.3.1. Group esteem

In the early stages of this research, I asked some Gomaro and Manjo “What is a good person like?” Most of them answered that “He belongs to a good (powerful) clan”. Again, a communicative blunder from my side: the question brought up a different dimension than I had in mind, although meaningful as such for understanding. Further discussions both about the issue itself and more precisely, through long-term observation of what is mentioned when certain people have been appreciated, I would list the following: listens to the advice given by the elders, goes to *eefo* ‘funeral/mourning’, helps relatives and neighbours, does not quarrel with them, lends things and money.

However, it is not self-esteem, but group esteem that was mainly discussed in the speeches. The forms used are stereotyped, but actually their being so have an input on the everyday

interaction. Group esteem is first of all approached from inside the Manjo group, concentrating on being Manjo. Naturally this also includes comparison with others, but the standpoint is from inside. The speakers are using qualifiers such as *giidaallo* 'who has no power', *shappo* 'lacking' and *shiishaallo* 'having not many relatives', which all imply to what extent the size of the group one belongs to is meaningful. The other qualifiers all relate to knowing, such as *hakkaano* 'unable', *ariyaano* 'not knowing', *tuusho* 'confused, not knowing', *diq* 'simple, easy to fool', *duuro* 'simple', *tuggacho* 'having no way out'. Interestingly, the word 'not talkative' *dittataano* is also included in this list of qualifiers that are presented as having a negative connotation. Qualifiers presented as positive are *manjo*³² 'strong, hard', *kuppho* 'physically strong', *anaamo* 'brave, hero/man', *kaamo* 'straight'. The second approach is to quote the majority view, the outside view. The following qualifiers are from the quotations that the speakers have used when describing what the Gomaro are saying about the Manjo: *ee'o* 'impure, polluting', *cooxoomo* 'beast-like', *giirihe* 'makes shiver', *aa'o* 'black', *maac shunno* 'led by stomach' (meaning not being able to fast or control ones desires), *yittiqii hammii beeto* 'goes bowed' (referring to inferiority complex). The third way of approaching the issue of group esteem is by discussing this majority view, commenting on it with arguments not only from the traditional Manjo view but also deflecting the accusations with opinions relating to the present situation (see, e.g., quotes 3.8 and 3.10). This history of being together but in separation has shaped the group identity of both Manjo and Gomaro groups as it is in relation to the other that one gets defined. It has also had its effect on communication practices, as will be shown in the next section.

3.3.2. Interaction and gaining knowledge³³

In this last section I will highlight the issues of communication and interaction as they were mentioned in the speeches. The previous sections describing the circumstances can be seen as information about the context in which this main issue is embedded. As communication and interaction will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, I will now just describe

³² The word is not the same as Manjo; the tone difference makes *manjo* a different word.

³³ Including: knowledge gained through sharing experience (*doyo*), knowhow about how to find and proceed (*yawo*) and a kind of knowledge that is reproduced by discussing the past and present together.

how the speakers expressed the lack of communication and the consequences of that as one of the key issues in marginalization.

As in most cultures in Ethiopia, in Kafa sitting together and talking in peace is considered the essence of life. Relationships are strengthened and constantly updated by greetings, visits, drinking coffee and eating together. Although the preparation of food and beverages is important, I would say that talking together (ጩዋታ /ጥገገገwata/, from the verb to play) is the heart of it. When talking together, something happens between you and others and your ties to the community become stronger and multiply. Drinking coffee together, especially, is a forum where this kind of talking takes place. One of my friends advised me: “In order to have a good and long period of enjoying by talking together (ጩዋታ /ጥገገገwata/), offer coffee. To prepare it takes a long time, starting from the roasting of the beans, and you can talk well together and your relationship gets stronger.” Similar notions can be found in the writings of scholars dealing with the coffee ceremony in Ethiopia (e.g., Bartels 1983). The occasions when local beer (*docho*) has been served are also often mentioned as important occasions for relation-building and maintenance. Talking together has a value of its own, even separated from what it can lead to. When one is able to share one’s thoughts and discuss, hear and be heard in company, and when one is included in a circle of discussion, it serves in a manner similar to a gift exchange – one participates in giving and receiving.

Quotation 3.14. (8Me: 23-30)

<p>⁵⁴<i>Michto mashaqqi geto gaata, kaara giye beet gizo, eebi aalla gaata shunaqqi shunona kaachi bee, uchi bee Kafi duubo immi duubo beete Haahoi iqqi duubbaa beet duubo.</i> ⁵⁵<i>Duubbii⁹ bee, kaachii bee, uchii bee, duubbii bee, kaachii bee uchii bee qe’i’iqqi hariqqina yaach shacahete gettehe.</i> ⁵⁶<i>Yaachi ichi illa biich beet betasabon, and hini ta giyo biich beet ebi ta giyo beete, ebiyoomin sabassabe waaqqi ceeqqi ikka xaa’ooch uchaqqa iqqa xaa’ooch maaqqa, ikka xaa’ooch kaacha be’ aqqa sacahone getone.</i> ⁵⁷<i>Arooch no tochaa ii beet tocho beeto, wotta</i></p>	<p>⁵⁴ If there is (this) drinking until satisfied, (there is) time when one gets to quarrel, when that is disappearing, reconciling, in love it is talked, when drinking songs are given in Kafa saying “Haahoi”, songs are sang. ⁵⁵Singing and dancing*, talking, drinking, singing and dancing, talking, drinking spending the night, at dawn they scatter. ⁵⁶For tomorrow with his family, now this neighbour I have and the one he has, like this gathering, coming (being) called, we drank in one place we ate in one place, we talked in one place, after we scattered. ⁵⁷There is also <i>tocho</i> that we are telling; there</p>	<p>There were times when the drinking went on the whole night. Sometimes people quarrelled but after reconciling there was such a good time talking, singing and dancing. People talked, sang “Haahoi” and danced until morning. Then they scattered but on the next day it was agreed that they continue with another neighbour.</p> <p>And so it went on from neighbour to neighbour and we drank, ate and talked together in each place and then scattered. On these occasions we were telling the <i>tochos</i> of our fathers.</p>
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<i>are no niho beet tocho beete.</i>	was also our fathers' tocho.	
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**duubbi bee* includes both singing and dancing

When going around in the Kafa countryside, I usually sleep in huts together with 5-10 people. On some rare occasions, I am offered a separate hut or room to sleep in. But even so, one or two members of the household volunteer to sleep in the same room so that I would feel better. To be alone is considered frightening and unnatural. The same is true for being silent. If one is silent it either means that he or she is sulking, mourning or has depressing thoughts that could be dangerous to all and the duty of all is to make this person talk again. "Play! Talk! Do not be without talking!" These "commandments" are frequently used in most languages in Ethiopia in order to make guests or any accompanying members feel good, to feel "at home" and to encourage people to talk. As in many other African societies talk is considered essential for the well-being of a person. Irvine (1974) notes that among the Wolof in West Africa, mere co-presence requires talk; co-presence is a state which must be formally initiated by verbal means. There is much to talk about in Gesha and Sayilem: the discussion often continues until 2 AM and starts again "before the birds start to sing" (5:30 AM).

Usually when the speakers talk about talking in the speeches I collected, they refer to their speaking –or to their not speaking– with the members of the Gomaro group. The most common comments to describe the circumstances are, "we were not talked with and there was no opportunity to talk". The other viewpoint included in the speeches is that in certain times "it was better not to talk and that there was no point in talking". However, now the emphasis is on "we do not know how to speak". The context they refer to is the lack of opportunities for real conversations that is repeatedly mentioned as a key factor that hinders the Manjo population from being equal to others. The spatial constraints combined with a lack of willingness to have contact on the Gomaro side contribute to not having a "critical mass" of language users within reach. It is described by saying that "we are not reached" and "we are staying where the words cannot be heard".

Quotation 3.15. (17Mma: 11-12)

⁵⁸ <i>Noon ee shaggiyaana'one, noon</i>	⁵⁸ We are not being reached, there	Nobody comes near us, not even
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<i>shaggii beeto aallone.</i> ⁵⁹ <i>Noon yibbaato, "godo neexxaane" gete'ulla, no beeti shawo wohone gete.</i>	is none to reach us. ⁵⁹ To talk to us, even to say "Do not step on veranda", where we are is far.	to tell us that we should not try to come in. So far we are kept.
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At some point in history the majority of the Manjo members seem to have reached a consensus that there is no point in making any statements because their number is so small. One who comes from a small group will not be heard. As one of the elders stated "Being small in number is a shameful thing. It makes you very vulnerable." If somebody tried to present his case when he thought he was treated unjustly, the talking usually only added to the problem. Some of the elderly people were still worried about talking even to me. In the areas where the Manjo were small in number, they were more worried about the consequences of their talking.

Quotation 3.16. (37Mma: 4-6)

⁶⁰ <i>Kello kotahon, maachi gaddafooch no kota ucha beeto.</i> ⁶¹ <i>Tunaballi maatee qooree no kotaa ucha be gaata amone ebino mabto? Appane gizone getone.</i>	⁶⁰ (By) door we sat, on the meadow (outside) we were drinking from folded leaf. ⁶¹ Being so when one sits drinking from a folded leaf, what means are there? 'Cover your mouth'-time (shut up-time) this is called.	If one sits outside and drinks from a folded leaf, what can he do or say? Just keep his mouth shut.
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Quotation 3.17. (D4Me: 21-24)

⁶² <i>Gonda shappa ashi yaro neene iye. Dittaa wochemmi heciyo nooch aalle. No yaro meetaache.</i> ⁶³ <i>Bi yaro shimayee gumeexi xojoomone, hakiyaache iqqana illa no gettahn "qebone" iqqana bi mag qeiyahon.</i>	⁶² "You are bad lacking clans of people", he said. We do not have talking, answering tongue. Our clan is not many. ⁶³ His clan is like the stars of sky, "we cannot" we said, "well let us be (under) your saying", with him we stayed (spent the night).	They consider us as a bad invalid clan. We are not able to answer them. We are not many. They are as many as stars in the sky. As we could not do otherwise, it was better to agree to their way.
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Engaging in conversation was sometimes also seen as an act that should be punished. One person included in his monologue an incident when he and his friends were punished by the local *allaamo* (spirit mediator) because they had been discussing with a Protestant Gomaro and shook his hand. In addition to having to work for the *allaamo*, the punishment included sticking their hands into mud and gargling muddy water:

Quotation 3.18. (21Mma: 25-36)

<p>⁶⁴<i>Booch hajeqqa arooch beehon, beeqqaana iyona illa ittoshiiche ittoshin Gomaroon yeshato ittone itto kishenoona dengooch gedote ceechooch itto kishoon eebichi wotta gedote, itto shuroon guratooche kuxote iye iqqi boo iyona...⁶⁵ikka shiiya Cappo gettaa beet aacooch hammiye ittoshi iche ee aacoon yiixiya kaallo gucahe. Shubbo kuxiye itto qellooon eechi guudi afaalleye⁶⁶arooch hammiyo waaye ittoshi iyona itto shuro no kuxoon macoono kemboon ee maco hajito maco kembe Gomaro kexooch giyito bi kookkoon aaco gucabe.⁶⁷Itto shuroono kemiree key. Dubbo gettaa beeti mooyoon taharee, taa kexoon shuunaree beebote taawo goyo goyote, gattoo no goiyote iye.⁶⁷De'a iqqi gattoo no gochahon hammaqqaana biichoon shawoon no dappahon biicho no geendit geendoon daamma immaqqa no..</i></p>	<p>⁶⁴Being (under) His* (ownership), when we were living he said, “well from you, you have taken hold of Gomaro, you, you put your hand into mud, make it whole like this (up to arm pit), cut your trousers from thigh”, He said...⁶⁵”You go to the water called Cappo, from water you gargle nine times, cut grass/branches and put them around your heads”,⁶⁵ we went there and when coming he said “cut also your trousers, sell your horse, the one owning a horse sell (it) mm the ones who have entered a Gomaro house, you gargle your mouth with water.⁶⁶Sell your trousers, get (them) out, wear this cloth thing called <i>dubbo</i>, make me a house, farm my farm, plough also by ox”, he said.⁶⁷Agreeing we ploughed by ox, we cleared the land, to him our carved beehive we took and gave.</p>	<p>When we were under his surveillance he accused us of shaking hands with a Gomaro. He ordered us to put our hand into mud up to armpit and to cut our trousers. Then he ordered us to go to a water called Cappo, put grass around our heads and he told those who had entered a Gomaro house to gargle the muddy water nine times. We did that. When we came back he asked us to cut the trousers and those who had a horse to sell it. He told us to sell the trousers and instead of using trousers to dress in a cloak made of <i>ensete</i> fibre. He ordered us to come to work for him, to make him a house and plough his field. We agreed to do so, cleared the land and ploughed for him. We also gave him the beehives we had carved.</p>
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*I use the capital letter in English to show the polite form 3.sing. *bi* (he)-*boo* (He).

This restriction has had its effects on Manjo-Gomaro relations: no telling *tochos* together in yearly celebrations or lament gatherings (*eefo*) or when eating and celebrating after working together (*dafo*) and no opportunities for *kaayo* (play) either, which means that common cultural knowledge about the past is not communicated and reproduced. Many scholars have indicated the special importance of interaction in these gatherings in Southern Ethiopia (Data 2000, Freeman 2002).

The phrase “We did not know the language of the people” (*No ashi noonoon ariyaahone*) is often present in the speeches. This is also a view of many Gomaro I have talked to. What does this actually mean? The Kafa language the Manjo use is different from Gomaro, even now. The differences seem to be mainly in pronunciation. But the actual difference is not so significant that it would prohibit understanding and communicating. The dialect differences in many countries seem to be much more significant than between these two groups. In my opinion, the main issue is communication: how to use the language, what to say with it, to

whom and in what kind of situations. Also, not knowing Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, was, especially in the old days, considered a big hindrance because it separated the Manjo from the outside world.

Quotation 3.19. (20Mma: 13-15)

<p>⁶⁸And amoch iye no niho asho ashi noono ariyaahone ahenaa..and abichiyone..⁶⁹and Yeeri shigoona noonoon ariqaa asho mag giiddaqqaa no beemo ebina ne getone. ⁷⁰Ebi aaf Manjo noone.</p>	<p>⁶⁸Now what (was) said? While our father(s) did not know the language of people... now how is it... ⁶⁹now by the name of God knowing the language, getting nearer to people is our living here, it is said. ⁷⁰Before this we are Manjo.</p>	<p>It is like this. Our fathers did not know the language, but we, now, due to God, have to some extent got to know the way that people speak and got a bit closer to them. Before we were Manjo.</p>
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Quotation 3.20. (6Me: 22-24)

<p>⁷¹And "iinana" immi dittoon no arii beeto, ⁷²hini qaabbo, no ooga ooga gishacho dicatino Yaanhoy daggooch halletino ⁷³Ikka Amaari noonoon "ne niho cammo oo'e" bi gete ariyaanone.</p>	<p>Now to say "saying like this"*- we know, ⁷²this first ones (before us) our great ones (in age) a little grown ones, created in the time of Haile Selassie, ⁷³if one in Amharic language "Let your father's seed be rotten" if (to him) was said he did not know.</p>	<p>The generation of our fathers, those who were born before us in the time when Haile Selassie was ruling, they did not even know how to get into a discussion. If someone insulted them by saying in Amharic "Let your father's seed be rotten", they did not understand.</p>
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*iinana 'saying like this' is a word used for getting into a discussion and getting a turn to speak.

In addition to not knowing language, "not knowing" as such, was also frequently brought up in the speeches. It was made clear that this "not knowing" relates only to domains outside the forest. In the forest, things are known.

Quotation 3.21. (19Mma: 25-27)

<p>⁷⁴Ebi no tuushito aallone. Ikka bushoomo eboomo aroo shabaatta..ashira natti bedo, dabbatina'o ishi maaho be' eqqati. ⁷⁵Kochii beeto, koya beeto kochiqqi dichi beeto ashi yaroo noone.</p>	<p>(In) this (being in forest) there was not our not knowing/confusion. Being child like this seven years up to ten years, I saw when the hunters (by net hunt) leopard.. ⁷⁵The one who is spearing, who is fighting, by spearing makes (it) fall, we are the clans of (those) people.</p>	<p>In the forest we felt confident. When I was seven years old I saw a leopard hunt. We are the real hunter clans; we are the ones who know how to kill with a spear.</p>
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Two dimensions are mentioned in connection with the essence of knowing: the first, “*yawo*” means knowledge about how to go in order to find something. It is a kind of mental map and compass. If one does not have that knowledge, one is confused (*tuushiye*), not knowing where to go or where to find. This aspect is also modified by the adjectives *kaamo* ‘straight’ and *xummo* ‘dark, complicated, tangled’. The other dimension is *doyo*, ‘learning by experience, getting used do something’ – things one learns by being together and doing together. This is the phrase also used for a visitor: *Doiyiti neene?* ‘Have you got used to?’ meaning has a visitor become accustomed to the way things work so that he or she feels at home in the social system. Knowledge from school is referred to with the Amharic loan word *timhirt*, ‘something being taught at school’. Then there is knowledge that only spirit mediators can access. The word used for that is *keemo* ‘to prophesize’ (to explain not only the future but also past and present and also referring to being able to “count lineages”). The Manjo spirit mediators have access to issues relating to the Manjo, but not to the Gomaro.

Quotation 3.22. (10Me: 114-117)

<p>⁷⁶Manjeenaolli, matagee tuggena’olli”, ⁷⁷gijo beemo shiichalli yawo nooch aalli Addis Abeba giixaqqi deqqi waaqqina, ⁷⁸gijee danooch boonooch gomme aalle, ameena Addis Abeen ariheete.”</p>	<p>“Really they are Manjo, those who do not know the way from dead end”, ⁷⁷ not only do we have no money, (but also) we do not have the knowledge of going to Addis Abeba to trade to get and come ⁷⁸“to find money they do not have a way, how they knew Addis Abeba.”</p>	<p>They say that we are ignorant losers who have no way out.</p> <p>It is not only that we do not have money for trade. We do not have knowledge either.</p> <p>They say that we shall not get money as we have no way to get to know Addis Ababa.</p>
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The domain of the Manjo has been hunting. Nowadays there is not much to hunt for, but occasionally Manjo hunting groups are summoned to hunt for hyenas and leopards that are killing cattle. The knowledge that the Manjo group has about this domain is acknowledged and they are still called for that if needed. Gosselain (2000) suggests that more attention should be paid to the “technical identity” that corresponds broadly to an intricate set of boundaries, or social interaction networks experienced by individuals due to their engagement in these practices. He argues that the contexts in which technical behaviour is constructed and reproduced correspond to the same networks of social interaction upon

which identities are themselves constructed and reproduced and so should be taken into account when social boundaries and identity are discussed. (Gosselain 2000: 189, 209). His research in Cameroon refers to potters, who are often marginalized in Africa due to their skill of converting material.

However, now it has also become necessary to access another kind of knowledge. The knowledge that is needed for prospering and gaining power is considered to be with the Gomaro and they are accused of not sharing this knowledge. Another accusation is that the Gomaro use their skill in speaking, a skill that is not shared with the Manjo population, to fool them. This is present also in the myth telling how power was shifted from the Manjo king to the Maatto (Gomaro). The story tells how the Manjo were subordinated and segregated not by force, but by words and discussion. There was no actual fighting involved. One middle-aged man described the past way of living saying, “we were going like the horses that are pulling the carriage.” The eyes of the horses are covered so that they can see only the road they are going; they do not see anything around them. In the speeches the present way is addressed through the concept of *alama*. *Alama* (አላማ /alama/) is an Amharic word meaning goal, but here the meaning is more like “vision, life in this present form, a wider perspective”. It is used as opposite to the old way of living and it is connected with the ways of speaking.

The ongoing change is described through the phrase “By God and government we have now learned to speak a little”. What do they mean by that? Is there a process of language change towards convergence going on now? If so, why now? What has actually changed? The findings of variationist linguistics and ethnographers like Labov, Milroy and Eckert led me to investigate the network structures of the members of the Manjo population to find answers. First it was necessary to outline how the networks are structured and to find the missing connections of the past in order to compare the situation with the present, both in general and in relation to different individuals. Comprehending the connection between language change and network structure also gave me a new viewpoint on a question that had puzzled me: why are God and government frequently mentioned together? And how do they relate to language and communicative skills? I will first approach these questions by looking at the network connections mentioned in the speeches and then further compare those findings

with the actual network connections of some of the speakers. Based on this information it is possible to examine in what way the existing social networks and domains of practice promote access to the registers and styles that are available. All that is to be considered with the points presented in this chapter, in which I have clarified how being in a group called Manjo is expressed and categorized by the speakers in the data collected.

CHAPTER 4 NETWORK STRUCTURES AMONG THE MANJO

In the previous chapter I showed how, in the context of the emic interpretation of the cultural distinctions of being Manjo, “not knowing how to speak” is considered to contribute to being marginalized. The statement of “not knowing how to speak” was somewhat surprising to me. Since many of my Ethiopian friends are able to speak many languages just through acquisition, how come these people state that, although they speak the same language (Kafa), they cannot speak? What do they mean by that? All around the world it is commonly observed that among people who live in the same area the process of language change naturally moves in the direction of convergence. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) see this kind of change as a function of group membership. According to them, the speakers modify their speech to resemble the speech of the members of the group they wish to identify themselves with as much as possible. Many of the speakers in the monologues state the wish of being one with the Gomaros; at least that was the case in past decades. Why did the language change towards convergence not take place? Why is the statement “We do not know the language” relevant even today? In this chapter, I will discuss that statement further by relating it to how the networks of the Manjo members of the society were structured in the past and at present since the findings of variationist linguistics and ethnographers indicate that network structures play an important role in language change.

The essence of network structure, and the reason for its existence, is relationships. The key theme, actually the frame for all the other things discussed in the speeches collected, is relationships. There is not a single speech where relationships were not discussed. The relationships that are needed for organizing daily life within the Manjo group are brought up when talking about hunting, farming, marrying and mourning. In addition, the connections, or the lack of connections, with the Gomaros members of the society are widely discussed. It was often mentioned that it is due to this lack of connection that they are not able to live like they would like to live. In many cases when a speaker describes something he or she feels deprived of, the description ends with a question like, “Who would show us the way, who would introduce us, who would lead us (to that)?” This shows the importance of the

role of the connecting person in accessing different domains. Before beginning to describe the network structures, it is still necessary to briefly discuss the importance of relationships and their significance for the construal of the self. In the process of this research I learned, through experience, to pay more attention to the significant and multidimensional influence of relationships, something that my cultural background had obscured from me.

4.1. Importance of social relationships

While doing the field work in Kafa, I learned through experience that one has to be reciprocal in order to survive and that relationships are necessary for organizing daily life. That could be experienced most clearly in the remote areas, starting from simple things like finding the place where I wanted to go: no transport, no maps clarifying the paths, no restaurants to eat in, no place to sleep; only helpful people to rely on. Having money to buy things did not help if one did not have information about how to find them and from whom, and the contacts that would create willingness for transactions. Also, in many cases money did not buy things: I got things free and then I was supposed to provide something else when needed. By this, I do not mean that money was not being used or that modern things were not available, but, for example, I needed a good relationship with a person working in an office with a generator to get his permission to charge my mobile phone during a six-week electricity break.

Being engaged in complex webs of receiving and giving favours is familiar to many researchers. Piot (1999) gives a good account of how he struggled to find the correct ways of receiving and returning gifts and favours while living among the Kebre in West Africa. The right way and the right timing were important factors and he had to learn to cope with owing debts of gratitude and with feelings of dependency (Piot 1999: 52-62). Also, many times I would have preferred to settle the matter through my own efforts or, if contact with another person was absolutely necessary, finish it with a cash payment, but it was not possible. I simply had to rely on others in order to get things done, a bit of a difficult lesson to learn for a person coming from a culture where asking for help is considered a weakness.

The importance of relationships and their effect on one's existence has been reported in several studies, especially when dealing with non-western societies. As Eriksen summarizes:

Comparative research has indicated that all human groups have a concept of the self or a person (Geertz 1983; Maus 1985[1938]; Fitzgerald 1993), but this concept varies in important ways. In European societies, the self is usually conceived of as undivided (as in the word individual), integrated and sovereign – as an independent agent. In many non-Western societies, however, the self may be seen rather as the sum total of the social relationships of the individual. (Eriksen 2001: 54)

Piot (1999), who struggles to avoid the pitfalls that Eurocentrism possibly creates for research approaches, says that in the cultural context of the Kebre in West Africa, persons are constantly involved in, and defined through, relationships. “If, however, social relationship is presupposed, if the person is always an aspect of various relationships, we should see his person as composed of, or constituted by, relationships, rather than situated in them. Persons here do not ‘have’ relations, they ‘are’ relations”, he argues (Piot 1999: 18). What is even more interesting for my research case is the argument of Dumont (1980) in relation to the Indian caste system, which claimed that Indians saw themselves not as “free individuals” but as actors irretrievably enmeshed in the web of commitments and hierarchical social relationships, subordinated to collectivity, seeing themselves as a part of an organic whole (Dumont 1980). Shweder and Bourne (1984: 188) state that in India, the Oriya ideology holds that a person is a dot in a network of social patterns of hierarchy and exchange, the summation of social roles.

Eriksen reminds us that when most acts are shaped by relationships, the concept of “actor” should be seen in the domain of “interaction” (Eriksen 2001:49). As Gergen (1990) points out, each person is dependent on others; their survival cannot be separated from their relationship with others, and, in turn, relationships depend on the mutual coordination of actions among social actors. Shweder and Bourne (1984) go as far as talking about context-dependent conceptions of personhood. Let me also quote Jean Comaroff who, when discussing “the self” among the Tshidi, includes not only the relation to other people, but also includes the relationships that cover spirits and natural phenomena when she describes the self being, “enmeshed in a web of influences, a field of relations with other people, spirits and natural phenomena, none of which are set apart from the self as static and

objectified states of being and all of which are linked to self in terms of continuous strands of influence.” She also complains that differentiated Western social formations fail to account for cases like this (Comaroff, Jean 1980: 643).

In addition to what is mentioned above, many scholars studying the different population groups in Ethiopia emphasize the special importance of relationships among those who use *ensete* as their main food source. Long-term cooperation is needed in the process of preparation. Brøgger describes how among the Sidama the daily meal is an end-product of a series of operations in which the produce of tribal land and the labour contributed by people in close, multiplex relationships are fused and states that “The consumption of a meal therefore is at the same time the consummation of a complex set of social relationships, which implies an enduring commitment and responsibility” (Brøgger 1986: 81). Especially in the past, surplus wealth was used for building relationships and to buy status by providing feasts (Hamer 2002: 613).

I am aware that the issue of the concept of a person is one of the big issues in cultural anthropology and I do not want to enter into the discussion about the individual and communal self as such, or speculate on the domains of self and person. The main point is that all of this discussion clearly emphasizes the special importance of relationships in certain societies. When I met with people new to me, the main question was not what kind of a person I was, but the emphasis was on with whom I had relationships. That would tell more about me than being with me. Behind this is an assumption that the behaviour of an individual can be accounted for by the characteristics of his/her social network. This indicates that the networks, the linkages of relationships, are precisely a domain that needs to be investigated.

According to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), the network characteristics, such as the number and the character of people with whom an individual has personal relationships of different kinds, and the institutional framework where the links are activated, can constrain the individual’s choice of the reference group that will be taken as a model for his/her linguistic behaviour. The prerequisites for change to take place are that the model group can be identified, there is access to it, there are not conflicting motivations towards other model

groups, and that one has an ability to modify one's linguistic behaviour.³⁴ These two issues, the central role of relationships in constructing one's life and the central position the construction of a network structure has in language change, led me to look for information about the network structures of the members of the Manjo group. However, before getting to that, I first need to define how the concept of network is used in this study.

4.2. Defining the local concept of network

4.2.1. General framework for defining the local concept of network

A primary goal of social network analyses is to depict the structure of a group by examining important relationships reflected in the strength, direction, and complexity (or number) of ties embedded in a network (McKether 2008: 18). Consensus about adequate procedures for analyzing social networks has not yet been reached and the concept is employed for a range of theoretical and practical purposes. Different disciplines emphasize the characteristics relevant to them. Even inside the same field there are disputes about how the concept of network should be utilized. Networks are contextualized within macro level social frameworks and again the approach to this has to be defined. This, on the other hand, promotes accuracy, as the concept is verified in connection with certain particular studies.

The idea of social network (as an analytic concept) was originally introduced by Barnes (1954) to describe the order of social relationships, as he felt that a great deal of social behaviour could not be accounted for using concepts based on status, territorial location, or economic activity. Milroy (1980:178) argues that the network concept is, in principle, capable of universal application and so less ethnocentric than, for example, notions of class or caste. She argues that unlike the concept of socio-economic class, it is not limited by intercultural differences in economic or status systems. Social networks focus on linkages that bind people together and it is these linkages and the way people are bound together that need to be paid attention to.

³⁴Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) points out that the awareness of linguistic differences also needs to be counted as a key component (Bortoni-Ricardo 1985:247).

Many activities in the villages of rural Gesha and Sayilem are organized based on unilineal corporate groups, and the way the society is organized bears many similarities to other African hamlets. Especially in the African context, when talking about relationships, the term social system, instead of network concept, has been used. A social system can be defined as a set of social relationships that are regularly actualized and thus reproduced as a system through interaction, and the focus has been on describing the different sub-systems that have a certain degree of agreement or enforced conformity concerning the oughts and ought-nots of interaction within the limits of the system. In different sub-systems different social statuses are activated and the kinds of relationships engaged in may vary greatly (Eriksen 2001: 74-79). At first glance, it would seem that instead of using the concept of network the concept of social system would better suit this study; even Barnes (1954), the originator of the concept of network, felt the need to introduce the concept of network as a tool for grasping the mechanism of integration only when he moved from the African context to Norway and the term network itself is often used in connection with large-scale societies. However, the idea of social system, based on British structural-functionalistic assumptions of homogeneity of social community, does not fit my research case, in which the multivocality of the members of the society is one of the key issues. In addition, the main point of interest is not in the different sub-systems as such, but rather in the connections between different social sub-systems. Eriksen notes that the boundaries of a system lie at the points where interaction decreases dramatically, yet the boundaries are not absolute, but relative to a kind of social context or a set of activities (Eriksen 2001: 74-79). In this particular research case the main interest is in the ways the network structure can promote or hinder the crossing of these boundaries.

I will use the term network in a holistic way; not differentiating social networks from other areas of life such as economic, political or religious activities. In the Ethiopian context, the social sector of life cannot be seen separately from all the other activities of life. All in all, the social processes emerging from sets of interactional experiences that tie together both people and conditions of their lives are recognizable in the networks. Insofar as the individuals are integrated into local networks they have access to information that allows them to be part of social mechanisms by which local conventions and norms are negotiated and created (Eckert 2000: 210-11). The variety of endeavours in which people engage in is

constantly changing. Eckert uses the concept of *community of practice* for the clusters of networks which are an aggregate of people coming together around some particular enterprise (Eckert 2000: 34-5). The importance of community of practice in learning processes is highlighted by Wenger, who defines it as, “communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly” (Wenger 2006:1). Including this aspect in the concept of network helps to move the focus from egocentric personal networks to network clusters in which members combine and the community is constituted.

Milardo (1989) makes a distinction between psychological networks and interactive networks. The psychological network is defined as “those people who are perceived as significant” and interactive networks as “those individuals with whom interaction occur routinely”. Most commonly, the psychological network include two kinds of people: first there are those who belong to an actual “exchange network”, like members of the family and relatives with whom actual exchange takes place, and second, those “friends and people whose opinions of your personal life are important to you” (Johnsson and Milardo 1984:895) or “closest associates outside the household” (Fischer et al. 1977). Although this distinction can be important when different aspects of network structures are analyzed, I will not make this division in this study. I want to have a holistic view as it is precisely the interaction in its different forms through different network connections that needs to be pointed out. Interaction itself can be considered as a kind of exchange; by getting involved in interaction, one engages in giving and receiving information, constructive negotiations, and gains access to different resources related to speaking and using the language. This constant interaction that is taking place in the “exchange network” is one of the key components for the coherence of these networks. Again, the interactional network was defined as “those individuals with whom the interaction occurs routinely”. In this study, people are engaged in different kinds of relationships, and the way of maintaining these relationships and even the way of talking differ between them. Even though these encounters can be seen as “occurring routinely”, there are differences and changes in the routines and these can play a significant role in the actual outcomes and consequences of these encounters. Milardo himself also notes that seemingly trivial conversations, such as sharing the most commonplace chatter with a bus driver, exchanging greetings with people while knowing little about their lives, or

consulting a merchant for advice and trusting in his judgment because of being an acquaintance for many years, provide very real and tangible sources of aid in the form of information, advice, and social comparison that may not be readily available elsewhere. He concludes that “social interactions with acquaintances provide a psychological sense of community, insulating us from the vagaries of anomie” (Milardo 1989: 173).

From the very holistic viewpoint described above, I will now proceed to discuss the local concept of network in the macro level social frameworks in Kafa. In order to describe the local concept I first need to clarify what kind of relationships are included in the networks of different members of the Manjo community and how these relationships are connected with issues of history, power and, institutional processes under current global influences. I will proceed by introducing how the different kinds of relationships and the behaviours related to them were expressed in the speeches. The relationships were discussed in every speech and in all of them the differences between relationships in the past and present were mentioned. There were a lot of similarities in how the relationships were described, especially when dealing with the past. When dealing with the present there was more variety in how the issues relating to relationships were expressed and interpreted. Naturally the situation in which the speeches were given affects the content of the speeches and some issues are emphasized. However, by paying attention to what is mentioned and how it is expressed, some overall characteristics can be found.

4.2.2. Relationships included in the local concept of network

The relationships that the speakers talked about can be roughly divided into three categories: those relationships that one enters because one has to, those that are entered due into the willingness for mutual assistance, and those that are, at least to some extent, negotiable. When describing the relationships to which one is compelled, the word *giidoona* (by force) was often used in the monologues and when describing close relationships between relatives and friends, the word *shoodoona* (by love) was used. When talking about the negotiable relationships, the ones that you might want or not, a specific title was not given. However, because the concepts relating to words like *hakko* (can) and *qaawi* (want) were often present when they were discussed in the speeches, I will use them as an

indicator for that third category. I will now continue by discussing these three types of relation in more detail with the examples from the speeches.

Relationships that are by force (*giidoona*) are described in the speeches by listing the duties imposed on the Manjo and by introducing the greetings that were used. I had great difficulties in getting an actual meaning for some of the words used, especially in the old days, for greeting the Gomaro. Mainly it was said that they are just for honouring, to give respect and “add to prestige”. When asking about the meaning of an often-mentioned greeting, “*Addiyo adderate, moogooch qebane*”, I got the following answer from a twenty-year-old student who is the son of an appreciated and influential Manjo elder: “My father taught me like this”, he said “if you say to Gomaro *addiyo*, it is like you give him a bite of food, like a breakfast, then if you continue like saying “*adderate*”, it is like you give him lunch, and finally if you add “*moogooch qebane*” he will be properly fed and satisfied.”³⁵ It seemed to me that the words as such and their actual translation were not the main point. The main thing was what the words did. These greetings were used only with those persons to whom it was necessary to show submission in order to maintain the relationships. In many cases my language helper referred to words used in greetings and titles or vocative forms as “they are just words that are used in order to add to the prestige of the person you are talking to or about whom you are talking, the meaning as such is not that important.”

When referring to this kind of situation, some scholars talk about landlord-serf relations (Lange 1982), some prefer to use patron-client relations (Freeman and Pankhurst 2001), and some just use the term marginalized minorities. But whichever the case, all refer to a position that is only relevant in relation to someone else and indicate that the nature of the relationship is somewhat special. In the speeches, this relationship was often described through the work obligation that was a central part of it. The duty of working for superiors and for those who had influence shaped the relationship. The phrase *madda maddahe* (the work that needed to be done for superiors was done) includes different kinds of work such

³⁵ The theme of feeding a person or a spirit well so that he/she does not get angry also comes up in the speeches in relation to food preparation for guests and for spirits and ancestors in various celebrations.

as ploughing, weeding³⁶, making fences, hanging honey containers in trees, bringing firewood, etc. An elder from Didif said that he and his relatives worked two days a week for the landlord and once a week for the local *allaamo*, spirit mediator, until the Derg came in 1974 and he converted to Protestant Christianity at the end of the 1970s. However, it was not only the Manjo who had these obligations; the members of many Gomaro clans also had these obligations and, for example, the members of the Gomaro clan called Hinnigecho continue to perform these duties for their *allaamo*. The Amharic word used for this kind of work is ገበረ /gəb:ɜrɜ/ and nowadays a form derived from it, ግብር /gibir/, is used for tax.

Naturally, these relationships were not unified and there were also differences in approach: in the speeches, some landlords and *allaamos* were mentioned as being exceptionally demanding, which also shows that some others were not that difficult to satisfy. One frequently mentioned cause of trouble was when the superiors asked their subjects to do something that was physically impossible to achieve in a given time or circumstance. It was also stated that because there was no room for negotiation, these kinds of orders often led to punishment.

The main issue mentioned concerning communication was that anything that was said should not irritate the concerned people as that would cause even more problems. Another way was to try to avoid any contact and keep a distance. It was also beneficial to keep a low profile: if one was able to acquire some property, it could be taken away. Some monologues include the punishments for complaining about this. However, this is not to say that there was not any resistance expressed, but it was rare and these events were later to be told as *tochos*, as is the case in an incident told in one by one of the elders. His father was a head man for the Manjo and when one in his group was not coming to work, the father was punished and made to pay an ox:

Quotation 4.1. (D2Me: 40-56)

¹ <i>Yarimmo and yarimmo waa gaata, noochooch batti bat gatto</i>	¹ Farming time, now if the farming time came, to us in the beginning	When it was time to plough before we could plough for
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³⁶ Some scholars state that the Manjo population did not participate in farming activities because they were considered polluting (Dagmawie Mengistu 2010), but in Gesha, it was only the harvesting that they did not participate in.

<p><i>xandaannoone, ts bale abbaatoochooch. ²No gatto daamma gochahon hiya kasho*, shaasha kasho gochahone. Maddone . Maddone . ³Menen gochaqqaa no gatto deebahon. Illa daammi goiyote iye, no hajje gijoon..He? ⁴Ebiche giida mawimmo bee gaata biichooh xandiito uro bee gaata taabbin cuchiti. ⁵Boochooch hanaach xandi heechitone itone gutti hilloo cuchi. Eee. ⁶Cuchi, cuchiqqi aacoon gufiqqi, aacoon wonne qondoona gufiqqi cuchiqqi kische dibbo ukkito. Ukki michoon. Cuchichina. Gatto bi deqqemmooch.</i></p> <p>⁷<i>Immona hami ta gattoon deebate hammi ta gatton deebi ta imbane imiichi biichabane iyone taabbi. ⁸Gatto hambe yaabi wahe, gatto. Kaami ii beet gatto. Wonna shabatta asho ikka gatto gochii beeto. ⁹Ishi gattach taabbi, bo hajito bushittinona, hajitinoona noono and hajoo bechitinona deqqi waaqqi immahon. Mara Maaggi ii beetina'ooch, Ciqa Shuumeenooch. ¹⁰Are gatto immihon, immihone taabbe. Illa biishota gettehe. Aaco gaamiqqi kisho xuuppa iqqi hailoona boo cuchitoich aaco gufiqqi bi ukkitooch qaahibijjiqqinane gattoon sarakka biich iye yittiyona. Eee. ¹¹Miiciyona biich gete Mara Maaggi miiciyone...</i></p>	<p>(of it) we did not yoke an ox (for ourselves), (it was) to fathers of the land (rulers). ²Our ox we took (and) ploughed, twenty steering sticks, thirty steering sticks ploughed*. It is labor (for rulers). It is labour (for rulers). ³To plough that our ox we brought, well “take and plough” he said, our owned cattle. He? ⁴In this, if there was forceful not-doing, a man who yoked for himself, my father was arrested. ⁵“He has spent a day ploughing to Him(self) today” being said two (arms) were tied behind. Eee. ⁶(He) was tied, being tied water was boiled, water was boiled in clay container of past, (him) being tied (water) was poured to arm. It was poured to burn. After being tied. In order to receive the ox.</p> <p>⁷This (being) so “go, bring my ox, go bring my ox, let me give, after I have given let me be untied” said my father. ⁸“ Go for ox ”, being led came the ox. Straight (good) ox. In past seven men were plowing in one ox. ⁹The owner of this ox, my father, He had owned it (since) childhood, owning it, now to us wealth was to reach, to receive he (the ruler) came He (father) gave. To people of Mara Maaggi, those of Ciqa Shuume (refers to position that he held). ¹⁰That ox he gave, gave my father. “Well let him loose “, was said.(As)water was made hot hand was swollen, by force as He was tied, as (it was) the water (that) was boiled (that) was poured it (was) burning, it (was) hurting “give off the ox to him” he said, bending his head. Eee. ¹¹Laughing “untie him” Mara Maaggi was laughing</p>	<p>ourselves we had to plough for the landlords.</p> <p>There were 20-30 pairs of oxen ploughing. It was called labour for rulers.</p> <p>We had to use our own odes for ploughing for him.</p> <p>If someone was refusing to do so and ploughed for oneself, my father was arrested.</p> <p>He was told that the man (for whom he was responsible) had ploughed for himself and so his hands were tied behind his back. Water was boiled in a clay pot and the boiling water was poured on his arm in order to scald it. It was done because they wanted to get the ox.</p> <p>My father asked us to bring the ox so that he would be untied. The ox was brought. It was a strong ox, so strong that seven men could do their daily ploughing before the ox got tired. My father had owned this ox from his childhood and we were to inherit it, but it was given to a ruler Mara Maaggi.</p> <p>My father gave the ox as he was made to do so. His arm was swollen as it was scalded by pouring hot water on it.</p> <p>As it was hurting he told us to give the ox and then asked to be untied. Mara Maaggi laughed and said that he can be untied.</p>
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*Kasho (steering stick) refers to a pair of oxen.

Those Gomaro members to whom submission was to be shown were not in a separate social system as such. For example several elders mention how both they themselves and their relatives participated in the work force of the Gomaro leader of the area and played an

important role in funeral arrangements. The services of the Manjo as weepers and mourners were much sought after. And although the speakers were mainly sharing the stories that clarified the harshness of the situation using expressions like *wanjo qettooch geddaheena* ‘yoke being put on neck’, *cucha bee qopphabeena* ‘being tied/chained and imprisoned’, *coqqanoochona* ‘being oppressed’, this is not to say that there were no differences in the attitude and the way the workers were treated. One elder mentions his grandmother’s comment when being sold into slavery:

Quotation 4.2. (D3Me: 17-20)

<p>¹²<i>Ta indindee and Guumi okki bi kechato. Ta indindee ee ama ii tochi bee bii hammato TSS “aajji be’aanooch ta kemmahine adera, Mara Maaggo. ¹³Aajjii beeggitoch taa kembite. Giro aritooch taa kembite. Shaaco aritooch taa kembite. ¹⁴Aajji be’aani urooch taa kemmahine adere ii beena giyitine.</i></p>	<p>¹²My grandmother, there now, to Guumi she was sold. My grandmother ee saying what did she go..TSS [expression of sorrow]...”please do not sell me to one who has not seen (experienced) labour, Mara Maaggi ¹³Sell me to one who has seen (experienced) labour. Sell me to one who knows poverty; sell me to one who knows hunger. ¹⁴Do not sell me to one who has not seen labour, please” saying she went.</p>	<p>When my grandmother was sold into slavery to Gummi she asked Mara Maaggi to sell her to someone who had experience about work, about poverty and hunger and not to one who has spent his time in leisure</p>
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By this she expressed the belief that those people who have engaged in work themselves are better superiors because they do not ask impossible tasks and are easier to satisfy.

At the other end of the spectrum of relationships from those described above as *giidoona* ‘by force’, are the relations that are described with the word *shoodoona* ‘by/with love’. It is used in the speeches as a definition of certain kinds of relationships that are usually found among family members, relatives³⁷ and close neighbours; these relationships are considered long-lasting and the people not only meet regularly, but also spend time together. Rather

³⁷ For relatives the word *xibe* is used. It is different from the word *yaro* ‘clan, lineage, seed’. Although the *yaro* members are important, the main group that people associate with is the group of *xibe* members. The relatives (*xibeena’o*) include parents and their brothers and sisters and their families, brothers and sisters and children. In general discussion the relatives of the wife can also be included in *xibeena’o*, although the definition *nuucho* ‘in-laws’, is always added. A close friend can be referred as *xibe*.

than being a feeling of love felt, *shoodoona* is better described as a commitment of sharing life together.³⁸

In the speeches, this word is used in association with expressions like *daadona dafona shuunaa beeto*, ‘working in each other’s workforce (*daado* and *dafo*)’, *gaachaa beeto* ‘helping each other’, *tookkina kotaa beeto*, *maa beeto* ‘sitting and eating together’, *tookkina heechii beeto* ‘spending time together’, *tookkina dittaa beeto* ‘talking together’, *tookkina gaaraa beeto*, *eefaa beeto* ‘celebrating wedding together, mourning together’ *tiqqaa beeto* ‘(greeting) by hugging’, and *erattaa beeto* ‘borrowing money’, *erattii beeto* ‘lending money’, *tawushaa*³⁹ *beeto* ‘borrowing things’ and *tawushii beeto* ‘lending things’. When the relation is especially close, a person is called *nuucho*, ‘a friend’. The closeness of friendship is again shown by definitions like *katine nuucho* ‘close friend’ and *kasha nuucho* ‘spirit-friend, heart-friend’. Among friends *mi’aato*⁴⁰ ‘best man’ has a special place; he is considered the closest of all and the friendship is for a lifetime. In addition, the following aspects are related to being a friend: *mistirn qoodiye* ‘shares the secrets’ and *ne maacee mooyoon danaa beetone* ‘finds/knows your inside thing’. Again the aspect of sharing is there, now with regard to the sharing of inner thoughts.

This expression “*shoodoona*” ‘by love’ is especially used in the speeches when the change that has taken place in relations with the Gomaro is evaluated. The division is made between those Gomaro who love the Manjo and those who do not love them. Although I do not know any Gomaro who would have been engaged fully in this kind of relationship, those who greet with a hug, enter the house of the Manjo and eat with them are counted as “loving”. These Gomaro are also excused for not showing this love-relation when other Gomaro are present. This interaction also includes mutual assistance and cooperation, at least in church-related activities, because most of these Gomaro are Protestant Christians.

³⁸ If a person wants to, he can cut all these ties by just going away and starting a new life somewhere else. The words used to describe that are *maxxiye* (escaped) and *gejiye* (faded away, evaporated).

³⁹ Only about things like tools, dishes, clothes and utensils.

⁴⁰ When marriage arrangements are made, the bride cannot be from a clan that is considered a *mi’aato*-clan, with whom the whole clan is considered to have a *shoodo*-relationship and marrying with them would be considered almost like marrying a relative.

The third category for relationships, in addition to “by force” and “by love”, includes those relationships that come into being when wanted or needed (*qaawoona*). These relationships are activated every now and then, at a certain point, at a certain time, or relating to a certain issue. The relationship can be very intense, but meeting does not take place regularly. They can be locally constructed or they can be related to the outside world. Mainly these kinds of relationships are described in the speeches in connection with different institutions. They include those with whom one gets together in meetings and different kinds of offices and institutions. Also, these kinds of relationships can emerge when people are engaged in commercial transactions or when working together by mutual agreement. Whereas the two previously introduced categories were considered stable and the relationships, once entered, were considered non-negotiable by the speakers, the benefit and nature of the relationships in this category –broadly discussed in the speeches– were not completely trusted and speakers questioned to what extent it was beneficial, or even dangerous, to get involved in these kind of relationships. The elderly Manjo, especially, include these notions in their speeches.

The speakers considered the relationships in this category to be complicated since there were two components involved: a person and a position. Actually, the respect that should be shown was combined with the position a person was holding. However, the people in these positions constantly change and the nature of the relationship changes when a person loses his position. So the burning questions are: to what extent is it good to relate, how much information is it good to give and how will getting into this relationship affect one’s life in practice. Data from the voting preferences in the 2005 elections illustrated this clearly. When pondering who to vote for, the main debate among the farmers in the Amhara Region was to determine who will win the election. It would be important to vote for the winner, because you have to continue your everyday life after the elections with that person. (Lefort 2007).

The relationships discussed above are mainly locally constructed and so the relationships are activated constantly because the people share the same location. In addition, there are relationships with outsiders, with those who are not only separated geographically, but also people outside of or above the local hierarchical system. In the speeches, the opportunity to

talk to an outsider is frequently described as an achievement as such; when there was a contact, the issue could be addressed and that could lead to finding a way or a solution. The most popular case mentioned is the story of one Manjo from a Beedo clan who went to the Bonga king and succeeded in getting a deal that the Manjo are no longer sold for slavery from Gesha. Even when the Italians were occupying the country the Manjo were not afraid of making contacts. In local history, there was an episode when some Italian soldiers were taking heavy casualties and some of them were lost in the forest. Some Manjo are said to have taken them through paths only they know to safety. This story was told in several speeches. Some speakers even speculated that this is why I now have come to the Manjo. The Manjo helped the Italians at that time and, since I belong to the network of *ferenjjs* ‘foreigners’, I now came to be with them due to that incident.

Quotation 4.3. (24Mma: 24-29)

<p>¹⁵<i>Manjeena'one ferenjeena'on daammiiqqi kichi gedena. Qaaro daammi kichiiqqi wodiiqqi boonoshin immona, ¹⁶and wotta amoona boono beeto mm "boono mag ... ittoshin and no mag itto waa beeton¹⁷"boonoshi arooba boonoshi kasho echiiqqi boono beshitoche iqqina and boonoshi kexo waaqqi boonoshina ditaaqqi boonoshin xiba boono beeto ee gijoo boono immii beeto, boonoshi boono mag shagg beeto" gettaa beeto noone ¹⁸E? And ishichee beetonone getone</i></p>	<p>¹⁵It was the Manjo who took and made the foreigners get out. As (they) took them to Qaaro, took out, saved ¹⁶and now by what are they mm ¹⁷with them ... you now, your coming to us "As they at that time were passed staying alive, now to their house she came, with them she talks, they are relatives with them and they give money, they are reaching with her" it is being said. ¹⁸ E? Even now it is said like that.</p>	<p>It was a Manjo who helped the foreigners out of the forest to Qaaro and saved their lives.</p> <p>Now it is said that this is the reason for your being here with us.</p> <p>Some Gomaro say that because this Manjo saved those foreigners, you now go to Manjo houses and talk with them, you are their relative and they give money and they visit you. You got it? Even now it is said like that.</p>
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The other connections mentioned are researchers, aid workers, representatives of the federal government, and representatives of various religious organizations. Based on my other discussions with members of the Manjo community, I have also noticed that one of the most desirable professions mentioned by both fathers and sons is the profession of driver because they know many people and they have access to many places.

All these three differently constructed relationships described in this chapter contribute to the networks of members of Manjo communities in Gesha and Sayilem. However, it seems

that it is not always easy to create and maintain relationships across the Manjo-Gomaro boundary. In the following examples, the hints of scorn and disdain from the Gomaro side, and the mistrust, suspiciousness and bitterness from the Manjo side can make the encounters complicated. Recently some people from the Manjo community agreed to help one Gomaro man in his wedding preparations, thinking that it would strengthen the relationship. When the work was done and the in-laws started to arrive, the man who had received the help asked if the Manjo who had come to help him could say the greeting that shows submission *Shawooch qebane* 'Let me lie down on the earth for you' to the in-laws. The Manjo got angry and went away. In another example, there was a meeting in Addis Ababa where two Manjo were invited. Since they had not travelled to Addis Ababa before, those who had organized the meeting contacted the protestant Gomaro pastor in the area and it was agreed that he would come with them in order to show them the way. When hearing this, the Manjo who had been invited decided to leave another day and go by another road in order to make sure that this pastor would not hinder them from reaching Addis Ababa.

Despite some occasional difficulties in orientation, like the ones mentioned above, there are individuals whose networks include both Manjo and Gomaro members of society. Which individuals have cross-group relationships and which do not have them? In order to understand the special circumstances required for those relationships to exist, it is first necessary to look for the common characteristics of network structuring that provide a framework in which this network formation takes place.

4.3. Some characteristics of network structures among the Manjo

4.3.1. Common characteristics of Manjo networks in Gesha and Sayilem

In the previous subchapter I have shed light on the different kinds of relationships included in the networks of members of the Manjo community in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*. I will now proceed by discussing the nature and characteristics of the ties of these relationships. The core of the network of most of the people of the Manjo community is

formed by those people that belong to same *daado*⁴¹ 'cooperation'. All are more or less engaged in *ensete* cultivation, farming, and cattle breeding, which create a need for working together. These days *daado* includes a father and his grown-up sons who live nearby. Sometimes the husband of a daughter or a non-related neighbour can be included. Wives and daughters are also engaged in work activities and their main duty is to provide food and coffee. All members live close to each other and they drink coffee together daily. It is inside this network that important matters are discussed. When I went to visit any members belonging to that network, most of the people belonging to the core of the network were quickly summoned to the place and I was usually able to meet almost all of them before I had finished drinking the coffee served. The next larger network includes those participating in each other's *dafo*. *Dafo*, a broader workforce used only occasionally, is more flexible in its formation. When a person is called, he is expected to come and by not coming he will be in danger of missing the needed work force when he himself might need it. But nowadays big *dafos* are seldom summoned. There is not that much land to be cleared and most often the *dafos* heard about were for building a house. These people also occasionally visit each other and eat together. At the time of a funeral, the close relatives, like *daado* members, concentrate on mourning and the arrangements are by the people who belong to the same *iddr* 'self-help association', whose main task is to organize the funerals and the mourning. Usually an *iddr* is formed of people living in the same neighbourhood. It includes clan members, but the input of the other neighbours is also important.

Using the well-established terminology of the categorization of networks, these networks are clearly strong, being both dense and multiple. A dense network indicates to what extent the persons who are connected to ego are also connected to each other. Multiplex ties in comparison to uniplex ties are related to the content of the network ties. In a multiplex network the individual is linked to others in more than one capacity, in a uniplex in a single capacity only (Milroy 1980: 16-21). In current literature, the networks that are considered both dense and multiplex are referred to as having strong ties, and correspondingly, not dense and uniplex networks are described as having weak ties. In both workforces, *daado*

⁴¹ The word *daado* comes from the word *daadahe* 'to work in cooperation'. *Dafo* relates to the Amharic word ጸበ/ጸቦ/ meaning communal labour. Both words refer to cooperating; the main differences are in group formation, the length of the work project, and what is supposed to be offered to the participants.

and *dafo*, the network of people was dense: the one relating to a certain person also related to other persons in his network. In addition, the network was multiplex: the same people related in different capacities being friends, relatives, neighbours, elders and co-workers. These networks comprised only the Manjo. When I asked some individuals who had exceptionally close relations to some Gomaro, to the extent that they called them friends, why they were not part of *daado*, the answer was, "They might come secretly in the dark and help sometimes, but we do not ask, as it would mean trouble for them". There had been a time when the Manjo had participated in the *dafos* of the Gomaro and then accepted the food offered to them, but no longer. In the past, participating was an obligation, now it is refused because there is no reciprocity: "If the Gomaro will not come to our *dafo*, we will not go to theirs, if they do not eat our food, we will not eat theirs" is the present consensus among many Manjo.⁴² It has not been customary for the Gomaro to participate in the *dafos* arranged by the members of the Manjo community and this seems to be the case even now. When I participated in the *dafo* of a progressive-minded wealthy man whose son was the first Manjo in the Gesha *wereda* to be admitted to training as a nurse, I was surprised to see that even in his case, there was not a single Gomaro among the 50 participants from the neighbourhood.

Visiting all relatives and in-laws is very common. The matchmakers actively look for and suggest new possible candidates for marriage even from faraway villages and the network of relatives is very widespread. Many, both women and men, travel great distances in order to visit the sick, to attend funerals or just to see each other. In most cases, when I visited a certain village there were one or two visitors from other areas, even from very far away. When travelling, the Manjo rely on the hospitality of other Manjo communities, as they are not allowed to spend the night in local inns, which again strengthens the cohesion in the Manjo and information about things happening in other areas travels quickly. Even if the women and elderly people might not themselves move around that much, they are included

⁴² Ganguly (2009), commenting on a Dalit narrative titled *Joothan* 'Leftovers' (Valmiki 1997 in Hindi), suggests that starting to refuse accepting food that was not given in a reciprocal manner can be seen as a step in transformation "to a battler against the scourge of untouchability" as the 'leftovers from another's plate' becomes a metaphor for the sub-human status that the members of the scavenger castes are reduced to in Indian villages. (Ganguly 2009: 435-436)

in these networks through the visitors who come to any of the houses of their primary network.

All Manjo people I became acquainted with during my stay in the area belong to these kinds of networks, even those very few who are living in the town. This network structure forms a base for living. On one hand, it is very local and most relationships are with people nearby, but the constant need for visiting relatives and in-laws also make the connections to the other Manjo communities strong. The difference between the network structures of different individuals is related to what kind of additional people, if any, are included then in their networks. There are many for whom there are no additional connections outside this tightly-tied network. Specifically, some elderly Manjo women whom I met in Manjo communities seemed to have very few connections outside these networks. This also seemed to be the case with some devoted farmers living a bit further away from the main villages. These farmers relied on certain Manjo middlemen for their connections outside this core network. There are some key members in the community and usually they are the ones who have “connections” and they are relied upon when issues that need outside contacts arise. It was also customary in the old days to have a foreman who represented and communicated on behalf of the others. When workforces for landlords or *allaamos*, ‘spirit mediators’ were arranged, it was the foreman who had the contacts with the servants of the masters and if somebody in the workforce group disobeyed, it was the Manjo foreman who was blamed and punished, as mentioned in some speeches.

Limitations of interconnections and the specificity of the structures can influence the network construction process (Cooper 2001:198) and this has also been the case with the Manjo. The dichotomy is in the Manjo-Gomaro division.⁴³ The majority of the Manjo members have been engaged in insulated networks. The term insulated network, introduced by Bortoni-Ricardo (1985) in her research on immigration and language change in Brazil, refers to a network that consists largely of kinsfolk and neighbours. However, at present

⁴³ Inside both the Manjo group and the Gomaro group different clans (*yaro*) are recognized and counted, and although the hierarchy of different clans is activated in marriage arrangements, the cooperation with people belonging to other *yaros* is common and members of many different clans inhabit the same villages. Similarly, Hamer (2002) reports from neighbouring Sidama that individuals are free to circulate between clans on the basis of affinal connections and in search of more fertile land for cultivation and pasture. But the line that is not crossed is the line between Sidama farmers and Hadicho potters (Hamer 2002: 602, 610).

many members of the Manjo community have relations in addition to the networks mentioned above. Most of the speeches deal with the relationships that have been created through contacts with people outside these Manjo networks. According to Bortoni-Ricardo, their networks are integrated, as the links are built in a wider range of social context. In what kind of social context have the additional links been created? Do they differ between individuals?

4.3.2. Differences in network structures of individuals of the Manjo community

The variety in the network structures of people in Manjo communities is to be seen as additional relationships to the core structure introduced in the previous subchapter. I will now proceed to discuss the differences in network connections between different individuals and also to relate it to the different institutional influences in the area. The key statement that guided my research is the phrase that is present in so many monologues: “by God and by Government”. There has been something that was added, that was changed and it was described by those words. Clearly these statements indicate that these new things had come through two instances. What does this mean in practice? What did each of these two bring? And why are they so often mentioned together? “By God and Government they [Gomaro] have now started to become a little bit near to us”, is stated in many speeches. Does that bring additional links to networks? And how do these networks operate? Networks cannot be seen only in terms of abstract models of solidarity and connectivity. There are specific processes and structures of networks that relate people to each other (Amin and Thrift 2000). Networks are shaped by the nature of their relationship with the state at the local as well as the national level (Evans 1996). As Sayer (2001:699) describes: “Networks are as much about power as they are about solidarity”. In the following section I will discuss what is included in the notion of “by God and Government” and how social networks are deployed in the process of social change and in changing power relationships.

4.3.2.1. Relationships “By God”, referring to the influence of Protestant Christianity

As mentioned earlier, Protestant Christianity⁴⁴ gained followers in the area starting from the 1970s, in the time of the Derg. This was the first time that the Manjo in Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* were not categorically excluded. The novelty of the idea and the feelings that arose were well described by one of the elders in his monologue:

Quotation 4.4. (10Me:44-57)

<p>¹⁹<i>Ye Yeero! Islaame haimaano giye immona islaami haimaano gijaache.</i> ²⁰<i>Baaree kexooch* hammiqqi kittinno baare kexooch mag giya no immona, no giijaach.</i> ²¹<i>Yeeri amooche no giyemmo shawon shimayoon halliti Yeeri ibaaro no hallaanneenee? Koni no hallit iqqana Yeeroon qollahon.</i></p> <p>²²<i>No qollati saatooch Penxe haimaanoto, Manja getaano, Manno getaano, ashi yaro keemaan, Greek yaro getaano, Gojam geto getaano, Tigrai yaro getaano ee Oromi, Galli yaro getaano Amaree yaron getaano ashi yaron abinenee ne bara yaro neenee, ne bara yaro neenee okki giddabe getaano Yeeri halle hallit ashoon qabbaliqqi beeti haimaanoto geto coroote Penxe haimaanootone iyeete.</i></p> <p>²³<i>Yaaye! Ishi ga Manjo noon deqqiyeete”, deqqi. Ishi ga iqqana abichiyon? Tariyon illa are xaa’ooch.Hamma, kosha koshaikki ikkoo tareii, ikko hammi shaggiichine, hammi shaggi.</i> ²⁴<i>”Akka wanne?” ” Akka ta waata ammaniba ta gaata ittoshi mag gibane ta giijehote? iye.</i> ²⁵<i>”Woo, deqqahon! Hach wob, hach wob, hach wob” beegga Penxe</i></p>	<p>¹⁹Oh God! When we say “we are about to get into Islam religion”, Islam religion is not putting/letting us in. ²⁰To go to house of <i>tabot*</i>, to <i>tabot</i> house of Christians, we are about to get in with them when we say, we are not let in.</p> <p>²¹ “God where shall we get in, God, you who created earth and sky, did you really not create us? Who has created us?” saying we prayed to God.</p> <p>²²At the time when we were praying, Protestant religion, it is not said (that you are) Manjo, it is not said Manno (tanner), without estimating the clan of a person, it is not said Greek clan, the Gojam clan is not said, Tigrai clan is not said, Oromo clan is not said, Galli (Oromo) clan is not said, Amhara clan is not said, a man’s clan what is, “you are different from him, you are different from him go there” is not said. “The religion that receives people whom God has created is Praying Protestant religion”, they said.</p> <p>²³Really! “If it is so are they receiving also Manjo?”They receive. “If it is so, what shall we do?” We went to that place. Went slowly (carefully), one went, after one had gone and reached, went and reached. ²⁴“Why did you</p>	<p>Oh Lord, we were rejected by all religions. We could not join Islam, they said no. When we said we would like to join the Orthodox church they said no. We prayed to God asking whom shall we join. We asked God, did he who created heaven and earth not create us also? If not, who was the one who created us?</p> <p>When we were praying like this we heard that in Protestant Christianity there is no Greek no Manjo, no Manno, there is no ranking of clans. There is no Gojam, no Tigre, no Oromo or Amhara; people are not differentiated by descent.</p> <p>The religion that receives all God’s created people is this Protestant religion in which they pray a lot.</p> <p>We doubted if they were also receiving the Mano, but we heard that they did. Still hesitating we approached them. They asked why we had come and we told them that we were wondering would they receive us if we believed. They said that they</p>
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⁴⁴ The speakers make a clear distinction between Orthodox Christianity and Protestant Christianity, considering them as different religions. The Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity emphasizes the fasting activities, and, especially in Kafa, the central role of the pure-impure division plays a role in the exclusion of Manjo members. The word used for all Protestant denominations is *Penxe* Religion, although the word *penxe* actually comes from the word Pentecostals.

<p><i>Haimaano qabbali deqqi.</i> ²⁶<i>Wotta amone iye? “Kaata waa hambe, ta deqqitono, kaata waa hambe, no busho tiijje hambe” iye.</i></p>	<p>come?” “How about if I believed, with you will you put/let me in?” he said. ²⁵“Woo, we receive. Come here, come here” the Protestant religion received received. ²⁶Again what did he [=Manjo] say? “Quickly come go! Making haste come and go, take our children and go, I was received” he said.</p>	<p>would receive us with joy and told us to come quickly.</p> <p>Those who had been received by Protestant religion told the others to make haste and quickly join with all their children.</p>
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*The Orthodox churches in the area are called *Baaree kexo*, the house of *tabot*. As in other parts of Ethiopia, the churches have a special shape and the innermost part is where the *tabot* is kept.

However, after some time things started to be more complicated again. The Protestants were a minority group and the pressure from majority society was felt. The acceptance of Manjo members made the situation even more difficult. Also, the protestant Gomaro members differed from each other with regard to “how equal” they could actually be with the Manjo, and, understandably, the new Manjo believers were also sensitive regarding any kind of behaviour that could be interpreted as disregard or reluctance to treat them as equals. After some years the disputes and quarrels started to be common in many congregations of different denominations. The *qebeles* I visited differed from each other in the actual outcome of these quarrels. In most cases the Manjo had finally decided to be on their own and build their own church building. One of the elders describes the events in his monologue like this:

Quotation 4.5. (10Me: 57-70)

<p>²⁷<i>Ishichibee ishichibee ishichibee ishichibee koo mag hamma giya’one? Kafacho yaro ammani shiichiqqi ammanito Kafacho yaro yaro mag ..</i> ²⁸Others: <i>Gomaro AY: Gomare yaro mag Gomaro yaro mag hamma giyahon.</i> ²⁹<i>Macee giyaqqana kecha no immona are daggoochena ikko yechiqqi Yeeri wotta are daggooch Yeeri wotta aree daggooch Yeeri ariyaane asho wotta are daggooch beete. Noon ciigaheete.</i></p> <p>³⁰<i>Boono ciigammona ishigaataa “Asheena’ote! Hini asheena’o noo ciiga beet noonna boono kasho allo’eena itte waate noonna</i></p>	<p>²⁷Saying like that, saying like that saying like that with whom did we go? To be with Kafa clan, those who had believed, those Kafa clans clans, who had believed first.</p> <p>²⁸Others: Gomaro. AY: to be with Gomaro clan, to be with Gomaro we went and got in. ²⁹We gathered, got in and after being out (to be seen there) among there God again., among them God again., among there also among there were people who did know God. They considered us disgusting. ³⁰If it is said like that that they consider us disgusting “You people! These people are despising us, between us and them our life will be lost, you</p>	<p>We went to be with those Kafa clans who had converted to Protestantism.</p> <p>Others [correcting]: Gomaro</p> <p>AY: To be with the Gomaro. But after a while we noticed that among them there were also people who did not know God.</p> <p>They considered us disgusting.</p> <p>Because some considered us disgusting we saw no future in staying with them and started to talk about building a hut of our</p>
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<p><i>noonno gommoochi ikka basho haggiye, arooch Yeerin qollabon” iqqa iyon. ³¹“Yee?” “Wobon”, “wobot” “ishi gaata no daamme no haggi beeto haimaano kexo no haggi, beta kristiyaano haggi gaataa no dufiree wocci ham kaadaachenne?” “Kaadaache.” ³²“kubbo wocci hammi giyaachenne?” “Giyaache.” ³³“Yiichichoomoon hamiree guunoochoomoo giyaache?” “Giyaache.” ³⁴ “Ashiqarittoonon giyaachinne?” “Giyaache.” ³⁵ “Moogo shawooch giyaachenne?” “Giyaache.” ³⁶Wogahon, woga kechaqqana haimaanoto kexon haggahon.</i></p>	<p>come and by the way of ourselves let us build a hut and pray to God there. ³¹“Yee?” (Should this be?) “Let’s go”, “let you go”, “we take and we build a religion house, if a church is build let us run quickly”. “You will not slide back?” “I do not backslide.” ³² “You will not run to get into forest?” “I do not get into forest. ³³“There is no going to things that are like (things of) yesterday, to being slave there is no getting in?” “No getting in.” ³⁴“You will not get into being soldiers (guards)?” “I do not get in.” ³⁵ “(To say) let me for your prestige to ground you do not get in?” “I do not get in.” ³⁶We made an oath, vowing, we got out and built a religion house.</p>	<p>own for worshipping God there.</p> <p>We decided to do so and convinced each other that we would not slide back to old things. We would not stay in the forest, not to go back to the slavery of the past, to being guards or to saying the old greetings.</p> <p>We made an oath and build a church.</p>
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As can be seen from the process described in the quotation, the framework of Protestant Christianity gave a tool for claiming equality and also served as a reassurance for those claims.⁴⁵ I happened to be present when one elderly Manjo man rose up at a church programme in Yeki, mentioning in his testimony that he is sure now that Manjo also belong to the group of human beings, a thing that he himself had started to doubt. The outcome of the claims for equality depended on how the Gomaro believers of the congregation were able to handle these claims. In many cases, it led to separation and when the quarrels were severe this could also include changing denominations. There are several denominations in the area competing for members and the Manjo issue plays a role in two ways: those Manjo who have split away are eagerly received by some other denomination or, in the opposite case, those congregations that do not have Manjo members use that as an allurement for possible Gomaro members.

The following quotation tells how the Manjo members decided to get away from Qale Hiiwat congregation (Baptist) and were then received by Mulu Wangel Church (Pentecostals).

⁴⁵ An interesting comparison from India is the mass conversion of 400 000 Dalit from Hinduism to Buddhism (1957) inspired by the conversion of Dr Ambedkar the ‘father of the Dalit movement’, who felt that in the framework of Buddhism the moral force that can reconfigure the human experience of pain and oppression in ways that inspire admiration and awe could be found. It provided him new genres, rhetoric and linguistic registers in which the marginalization of the “untouchables” could be negotiated (Ganjuly 2005:155-159).

Quotation 4.6. (10Me: 74-94)

<p>³⁷... no mag koni waaha wotta Dammi Axibee gettaa beet, axibee, Mula Wangele, nooch hai..nooch bete kristiyaneech haimaanoteechi dirijito amone? Mulu Wangele. Mule Wangele. Mule Wangele oogichiqqa bi beeto deqqa. Mule Wangele ³⁸ee qaale Hiiwote Beta Kristayaaneech ciigo beete. Tsaiyo beete. And Mekane Yesus tsa'iyawo beete ...³⁹Isha daggooch tsaiyafi beet asho Manjoon xaiyafi beete. ⁴⁰Mulu wangle tilliqqaiqqa, koppha deqqa tiqqahan, bi meche damba tiyi bi busho damba tiyiqqi tiqqaa beeti haimaaneto geto Yeesusina Yeesusina qabbaliqqa Yeesus tsaggoona ceennati haimaanoto geto ee aabine Mulu Wangel, Mulu Wangel</p>	<p>³⁷... who came to us? The one called Daammi outreach, outreach, Full Gospel (Pentecostals) for us..rel..for us for church for religious institution what it is? Full Gospel. Full Gospel. Full Gospel by giving respect (making great) received (us). Full Gospel. ³⁸Ee now in Qale Hiiwat (The Word of Life, Baptist) there is disregard, there is despise in Mekane Yesus there is despise... ³⁹Among them there are people who are despising, who are despising Manjo. ⁴⁰Full Gospel giving respect embraced received and hugged. His (their) wife got up and hugged, the religion in which his (their) child gets up and hugs, by Jesus, by Jesus receiving, the religion that is filled with grace what is it called? Full Gospel, Full Gospel.</p>	<p>The one that is good for us is Full Gospel, the people from Daammi outreach place.</p> <p>Full Gospel people respected us.</p> <p>In <i>Qale Hiiwat</i> Church (Baptist) there are people who despise Manjo and also in <i>Mekane Yesus</i> Church (Lutheran).</p> <p>But the members of Full Gospel respect us, they hug us. Their wives hug us and their children hug us. This is a religion that receives us by Jesus. The religion that is filled with grace is Full Gospel.</p>
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The congregation the quotation refers to is about a three-hour ride from the road. The Gomaro evangelist, who belongs to a high hierarchy clan of Minjo, happened to come to visit on the same day that I was there. He stayed several days, preaching, teaching, and having discussions with people and sharing their meals. However, due to living far away from other believers, there is not that much communication and interaction with them. The connections were mainly through certain influential individuals and these connections do not relate that much to things outside religious matters. This also seemed to be the case in other churches where this separation of the Manjo congregation and the Gomaro congregation had taken place. The church leaders, evangelists and pastors visited each other's congregations and, although in most cases it was the Gomaro that did the teaching and preaching, in some cases the Manjo visitors were also delivering their sermons to the Gomaro congregations. Quite often I met Protestant Gomaro visitors on the church premises, both in the church building itself and in the service hut, where coffee and food were offered to those in charge of the programme, where the visitors spent the night, and where the belongings of the

congregation were stored. Many Protestant Gomaro, who would not have entered Manjo houses were not reluctant to enter these premises.

There are also some congregations where this division did not take place and both groups continued together. The other quotation clarifying the relation that has emerged “by God” is from a member of Ata Awdit Mekane Yesus congregation (Lutheran) in which the Manjo and the Gomaro are together. In the churches where the two groups have stayed together there are also some other activities that brought the people together: Members participated in meetings and discussions, shared various kinds of committees, worked for church construction and maintenance, participated in income generating activities, and sang in the church choir. In many cases it was the members of these congregations that were most positive about religion fostering unity, as can be seen from the following quotation:

Quotation 4.7. (17: 12-15)

<p>⁴¹<i>Ebichi daggoocheena, andi no andi bekkati gommo no andi bekkato gaawa beggaqqana and gaawa gommo hammaqqana</i> ⁴²<i>tookkiina and ikkottaqqa, ikka xaa’ooch ee dafaqqana, ikka xaa’ooch ee limaato shuunaqqana, ikkottaqqa qeiyato noone.</i></p>	<p>⁴¹ Among this, now what is the road that is seen, now what is seen, we see as good, now we are going on good road ⁴²together, in unity, we spend the day in one place, we work (<i>dafo</i>) in one place, in one place we do the development work, together we spend the night (we are under same administration, in one system).</p>	<p>We think that this new road that we now have seen and taken is good. We go together, we spent time and work together and together we work for development. Now we belong to the same administrative system.</p>
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Afterwards I was told that in church-related programmes everyone, even the Gomaro women, eat together with them and that sometimes the Manjo members go and assist in the Gomaro *daado*, but secretly, “in the night”. In many of these congregations the number of the Manjo communicants is considerable, but not exceeding one-third. Although they live in separate villages, their living quarters are not very distant; often the distance is a 20-30 minute walk. Sometimes certain Manjo members were introduced to me by government officials as “cooperative and good people”. In most cases, these particular individuals were members of this kind of congregations and it was often their children who were among the first ones to reach higher levels of education and some of them are now being recruited for government work.

Usually this kind of case was due both to the commitment of the Gomaro church leaders to continue together regardless of the pressure from outside, to the extent that those members who would not accept the Manjo were the ones who were to leave, and on the Manjo part, readiness to accept some patronizing behaviour from the Gomaro in order to be able to be together.

Quotation 4.8. (33Mma: 33-37, 44-45)

<p>⁴³<i>Are noo tiqqati Gumareena’o ammaniti Kristiyaana’o ama iyeete?</i> ⁴⁴<i>Ittoshi amo tunaqqa ebin tiqqahote iqqi Manjenoona iqqina wochi boono yaroon wochi qeshaaheete.</i> ⁴⁵<i>Tunaballi are boono yaroon wochi boono qeshaa beetina boonoshi kechiqqi qaaloona ceenniqqi macaafoon nabbabi beqqi iqqina hiniyoshi boonoshi dubaachone. ...</i> ⁴⁶<i>ikka qaale no waaye toommona ikka xaa’oochee no maayemmo ikka xaa’oochee no uchemmo iqqina wotta ciici boono beetena ...</i></p>	<p>⁴³Now what did they say to those Gomaro who hugged us, to those who believed? ⁴⁴“What have you become, do not hug them” was said, “you (have become) Manjo”, was said, their clans again segregated them. ⁴⁵ But even when their clans were segregating them, they came out being filled by word, reading the book “we will not abandon them”... ⁴⁶ we hear the one word, it is one place we eat from, it is one place we drink from” by saying again they were advising us...</p>	<p>Some of those Gomaro who had believed greeted us by hugging. The other Gomaro did not like them to do so and started to segregate them saying that now you yourselves have become Manjo. But as they read the Bible they were filled by the word and refused to abandon us. They said that as we hear the word together we also eat and drink together and they stayed with us and advised us.</p>
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The other connections and relations that came “by God” were the institutional contacts to Protestant Christians from other ethnic groups. Most of the denominations in the area are connected to wider structures that also include other ethnic groups and at that level, whether through visits, meetings or Bible School training, contacts with representatives of other ethnic groups are available. In addition, international mission activities bring visitors to the area, create connections and add new links to networks. However, the possibility of being connected with the Gomaro through religion seems to be the most highly valued. In the Tello *wereda*, where Protestant Christianity does not have followers among the Gomaro, the members of the Manjo population are less eager to join the church.

In addition to the efforts of Christians, Muslims have also strengthened their activities in the area during recent years. Traditionally, certain clans in Kafa have been called *neggade*, an Amharic word for “trader” (ነጋዴ /nɜːgːade/), a term that has been synonymous with Muslim. They have lived mainly in the towns and larger villages and most of the trading activities that

require travelling have been performed by them. There is a mosque in most of the *qebeles*, but in the past, Manjo members were not accepted. However, recently, especially in the bordering areas with the predominantly Muslim Oromo, activities for recruiting the Manjo to be members of more radical Islam groups have been occurring. In the border areas there are also mixed marriages among the Oromo and the Kafa Gomar, and in some rare cases, Oromo-Manjo marriages. In addition, although the Muslims are also very strict about their food regulations, entering a Manjo house is less feared and, in many cases it is “their coming to sit and talk” that has influenced those who were previously Protestant Christians to become Muslims. The reluctance of Protestant Christians to do that is mentioned in several monologues and this issue seems to play a role here.

Quotation 4.9. (50Fy: 14, 21-23)

<p>⁴⁷<i>Boono mano amoo bulla salaamoono imaanna’one. He? Tunaballi duppaqqanane no beeto...</i></p> <p>⁴⁸<i>Xumo no tsallai beeto aalle, araddoo no tsallai beeto aallone. Magdasooch no waa gaata waachane qaalo no waayaa beeto, ebiye gub no ciinnii beet aallone.</i></p>	<p>⁴⁷They, brothers even they are, do not even give greeting. He? But we are abandoned...</p> <p>⁴⁸There is none to pray for us in the dark (evening), in the day there is none to pray for us. It is only if we come to Holy Church when we hear the word, after that nobody sees us.</p>	<p>Although they are supposed to be our brothers they do not visit us. We are abandoned.</p> <p>They do not even come to pray with us whether it is day or evening. It is only in the church we hear the word, after that nobody sees us.</p>
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Also, to be a Muslim might promote access to commercial activities. During the past decades there have been some conflicts between the Muslim Oromo and the Christian Kafa and in those cases the Manjo have been fighting for the Christian Kafa. Until now, the number of Muslim Manjo has been very limited, but clearly the networks have been connected and among the very cohesive Manjo communities the ideas spread quickly, which was also the case with Protestant conversions.

4.3.2.2. Relationships “By Government”

Although certain things had changed already in the time of the Derg, in the speeches the new contacts are said to belong to the time of the present government (1991-), commonly called the Yihadig government. The name Yihadig refers to the name of the leading party,

EPRDF, and comes from the abbreviation based on its Amharic form (የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ድምክራሲያዊ ግንባር (jəitijophija hizbof abijota:wi demokra:sija:wi ġinba:r). The phrase *Yeerina mengistona* “by God and by Government” is also presented many times in the form *Yeerina Yihadigoona*, “by God and by Yihadig”. Interestingly, it is mainly only two components that are mentioned in connection with government: one is that now the Manjo representatives can more often participate in meetings and training and in view of that no longer hesitate to go to the offices. The other one is the better access to schools. But health care, for example, also provided at least to some extent, is not mentioned in any of the speeches collected.

What then has changed, compared to the past, concerning the connections with government offices and workers? The elderly speakers mention their not knowing the Amharic language as one reason for being afraid to contact government officials. One widespread legend, also mentioned in one speech, is the story about a Manjo to whom an open letter was given from an office to be taken to another office. When he delivered the letter he was imprisoned because that was the message in the letter. This situation already started to change in the time of the Derg since many young men, including the Manjo, were sent to serve in the army. When they returned they were able to speak Amharic. This has also continued during the present regime, although on a smaller scale. There are several army veterans among those who presented their speeches and although the hardship, losses and suffering are described and are not to be underestimated, the opportunity to visit places where this kind of marginalization was not experienced is also clearly stated. In the Manjo case, in addition to language skills and the experience of living together with others, service in the army also brought a new opportunity: those who were able to return were given a plot of land, and some from town areas, which again helped in getting accustomed to the ways and procedures of the society. In many cases, these are still the persons on whom others rely when there is a need to visit the offices.

In some speeches it is mentioned that, in the past, approaching government institutions was considered something to be avoided. There was an assumption that even if one might get a chance to address one’s question, one could not achieve anything; instead, there could be a risk that it might create more problems, even being arrested. Secondly, it is stated that this

fear was used by the Gomaro to discourage the Manjo from even trying to create connections in order to keep them ignorant and prevent them from getting new ideas, as is presented in the following quotation. In order to help the reader I have written in bold what the Gomaro was quoted as saying.

Quotation 4.10. (23Mma: 149-151)

<p>⁴⁹ <i>Woradooch hammee</i>” <i>geti gaata</i> “hammayine” <i>ii neechinane</i>, ⁵⁰ <i>worado neen qapphemmone neen cuchemmone, ebom ditto kaachaachemmone</i>” ⁵¹ <i>beeto</i> “hammi tamari woyemmone” <i>ii beet ditto bulla and bulla beetone. Ando baraanone.</i></p>	<p>⁴⁹ If it was said “I will go to <i>wereda</i>” “Do not go” by saying one was stopped (from going) ⁵⁰ “Wereda will finish you, it will arrest you, this talk (with them) will not solve/put to order” ⁵¹ this (saying) being (because there was) this kind of talk: “If he goes he comes back learned”. Even now this is not different.</p>	<p>If one plans to go to the <i>wereda</i> to talk, the Gomaro tell him not to go. They say that you will only get into trouble and talking will not solve any problem.</p> <p>They said like this as they want to keep us from learning things. Even now it has not changed.</p>
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Now, even officially, *Kafi noono* is a language of administration at the *wereda* and zone level, which makes it easier for those Manjo who do not know Amharic to present their cases. However, knowing Amharic is essential when dealing with issues relating to the Federal Government.

According to the policy of the present government, discrimination is forbidden and all members of the community have equal rights. This policy is very much appreciated in the speeches and many speakers expressed their gratitude to late Prime Minister Melles Zenawi. The manner in which the prime minister is addressed in the monologues creates the feeling that there is a direct connection between him and the speaker:

Quotation 4.11. (1Me: 115-118)

<p>⁵² <i>Wonne biich ta giido beeto gaata kooma bee ta beeto, Mellesa mago, Yeeri qaaqqoo be’a!</i> ⁵³ <i>Wonne ta giido gaata, aiyarona tariree, hini meeti noon irriteetti chiggeroo kotaree bi aafooch kotaa ta bi ditaa beeto.</i></p>	<p>⁵² If I had strength as before, if I was standing straight, (I would go) to be with Melles, look at God’s fire! ⁵³ If I had the strength of past, I would go by air, these many problems that are bothering us I would tell him, sitting, by sitting in front of him I would tell.</p>	<p>If I was still standing straight and if I was as strong as I used to be, I would go to meet Melles.</p> <p>If I had the strength I would go by plane and sit in front of him and tell him all these things that bother us.</p>
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The speaker uses the image of sitting together, talking about things, which is very much different from standing in the office and presenting one's case. Many Manjo in Gesha and Sayilem are members of the Yihadig party. Before the last election (2010), many of them expressed their anxiety about the outcome because the opposition was to some extent using the Manjo issue against them in their campaign. Some educated Manjo are assigned to work for the party and there are also a few of them in government positions both in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*.

In addition to giving praise to the present government, the thing that is constantly brought forward in the speeches is the phrase “*and no mengistona tookki taggaa beeto none*” ‘we are now in dispute-solving discussions with the government’. To translate the verb *taggiye* is a bit complicated. It could be translated as having a dispute, but this actual word is usually used about the process in which elders are already starting to try to reconcile those who quarrel. However, with regard to the government, it is used without this third party or perhaps it is kind of a reconciliation in which the part of the third party (elders) is seen in the light of laws and policies. To translate it as ‘negotiate’ is also misleading. As Briggs points out (1996: 12), using “negotiation” and other metaphors that are used in characterizing conflict discussions raise difficult epistemological and political issues because participants seldom enjoy equal access to the discursive resources that shape who can talk when, in what ways and with what effect. There is a risk of ratifying images that give the sense that all participants have equal access to modes of waging conflict. However, in this particular case, the main point to be noted is that now there is at least the connection and that both parties are engaged in this activity of talking about the issues together.

When the different stages of administration are compared in the monologues, it is the nearest one where most of the problems are said to be – at the *qebele*⁴⁶ level:

Quotation 4.12. (20Mma: 115-118)

⁵⁴ <i>and baro qayiche mangiste sibsabo amo illa ceegaataa noon</i>	⁵⁴ Now let other things go, if the government meeting is called,	They do not want to take us even to those meetings that are called
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⁴⁶ At present there are seven members in the administration of the *qebele*. The positions are for a Chairperson, Vice Chairperson, Public Relations Coordinator, Community Organizer, Rural Development Coordinator, Education Development Coordinator, and Health Development Coordinator.

<p><i>daamo hakkaachena..</i></p> <p>⁵⁵"<i>Mengistooch daammi mistiroon getteena'one ashiina'o hammi no iraton getti</i>" <i>beet tunati qoodooch amo iyeete,</i> ⁵⁶<i>mengisto noon "wobe" iyoona hachachina'o no hamoon shunaache.</i></p>	<p>they will not take us ...⁵⁵"(If they are) taken to government they will tell the secret, as people will go and tell our problem" what they say, ⁵⁶when government says to us "come", those who are here do not like our going.</p>	<p>by government.</p> <p>Those who are here do not want us to come because they are afraid that we would get the opportunity to talk about the problems.</p>
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As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, presently the other instance mentioned in relation to government activities as a provider of new connections is the education system. One of the elders reflected that when he was a young boy, his father bribed the officials with the offer of one sheep to take the name of his son away from the list of those who were to be sent to school. There was a rumour that the education part is only bluffing and actually the Manjo children would be killed. Nowadays, many Manjo children go to school in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*. The language of instruction now is *Kafi noono* and the government policy of having grades 1-4 in each *qebele* has made it possible to learn the basics without leaving their home village; to continue further requires moving away from home.

Although most of the speeches were given by elderly and middle-aged people who had not been engaged in education, the members of the younger generation were also given an opportunity to share their thoughts after the others had spoken. In most of the villages I visited, there was usually one educated Manjo youngster among those who gave their speeches. They had either had their education outside the area or, if they were a bit younger, they had learned in newly established High Schools in Gesha and Sayilem. It had been difficult for the Manjo to reach the high school level for several reasons, including the pressure of discrimination, lack of experience and skills needed for classroom learning, deprivation of the opportunity to learn in nearby towns relying on food supplies from the home village since rental housing was not available for them in these nearby towns, etc. In order to provide a better learning environment for the Manjo (and also for members of other groups of people from southern parts of Ethiopia who are considered to be in special need for various reasons), the government, in cooperation with some NGOs, provided an opportunity for them to study in Arba Minch, in a school that concentrated on training these students. It takes a minimum of four days to reach Arba Minch from Gesha and Sayilem by

busses. Most Manjo High School graduates in Gesha and Sayilem have received their training there. In addition, some gained a place in a special hostel at Bonga and were able to study in Bonga High School. In recent years, high schools were also opened in Sayilem and Gesha, providing the opportunity for students to study in their own *wereda*.

Those who have studied outside their area know each other and keep in contact with each other. Many of them are involved in committees that are dealing with the Manjo issues with the Federal Government. Especially if they are not involved in government work, they do not have much contact with other high school graduates in the area. Because their studies took place in areas where Amharic was used, they are fluent in it and eagerly use it. Due to their fluency in Amharic, these students have also been the ones to cooperate with NGOs and researchers, which has provided them new connections, ties that Milroy and Li Wei (1995) call passive ties. Passive ties entail an absence of regular contact, but are valued as a source of influence and moral support. The younger Manjo students, those who obtained their education in Gesha or Sayilem High Schools, have relations with their fellow Gomaros students, at least when at school. Some of them mention that they still, after graduating, keep on greeting and exchanging some words when they meet on the road.

As can be seen from the discussion in this chapter, members of the Manjo society belong to networks that seem to cover most facets of life. There are common characteristics, all being part of a predominantly Manjo core network, and there are also differences in the network structures of individuals, relating mainly to Protestant Christianity or to the institutions of government. So what are the connections that are said to be missing?

4.4. Missing network connections

Four points were frequently raised about the network connections that are still not available to the Manjo population: not having any relatives among the Gomaros due to marriage regulations, not having connections needed in commercial affairs, not being able to live in towns and not being able to get membership in the Orthodox Church. The religious issues were already discussed in the previous subchapter (section 4.3.2.1). With regard to marriage, as was discussed before, there are two tendencies mentioned in the speeches:

one stating that mixed marriages could take place in the future and another that does not expect this to happen, and, what is more, some do not consider it recommendable but instead promote the idea of strengthening the Manjo group as a separate group. Since working arrangements, weddings, other celebrations and visiting are all relative centred, not having marriage bonds affects many areas.

The lack of needed connections for acquiring information about trading is clarified in the next quotation. The speaker quotes the Gomaro (marked in bold) for expressing the situation:

Quotation 4.13. (10Mma: 113-125)

<p>⁵⁷ <i>...matageeno ariyaanna'one. Yimmi Gommin amooch ariyeete ariyaanna'one, no shiichi taho giixaa beeto noon, ee carqo (am) giixaa beeo noone, sheqexasheqexo giixaa beeto noone, maa'on giixaa beeto noone, nooch Yeeri angona No kexo.."</i></p> <p>⁵⁸ <i>Boonochi haimaato kexo wubo, wubo, wubo hinjoona shuuniheete. Amone shuuniheete, boonoshi amona ne ishi boono shuunito ishi, ⁵⁹Yimma hammi taho giixaheeha, maa'o giixaheete, Ciira gettaa beet katamo beete hailenya maa'o kemmaa beet xaa'o, arooch daammieete. ⁶⁰Maa'oon ang(yo)mooch yawo ariyo boonoshich beete. Maa'oon angimooch silto boonoshiich beete. No silto aalle, yiich kubbooch hammii beet doyyitona maadda yoohe qabari yookkahe hammat tuushitonone.</i></p>	<p>⁵⁷ ...those worthless do not know. By what they know Jimma and Gommi, they do not know, we are the ones to trade (readymade) clothes, we are trading clothes, we are retail traders, we are trading oxen, we, by the strength of God."</p> <p>⁵⁸ Their religious house is beautiful, beautiful, beautiful, they made it as construction. By what did they do, by what did they do? ⁵⁹ They went to Jimma and traded (readymade) clothes, they traded oxen, there is a town called Ciira, powerful/good place for trading oxen, they take there, to make to be fat the knowhow/system, the knowledge they have. ⁶⁰ To make an ox to be fat they have ways (means). We do not have means, yesterday by getting used to go going to forest, being chased before, being hastily ousted we went and we are ignorant.</p>	<p>The Gomaro are saying that we are ignorant and worthless as we do not know Jimma and Gommi towns so that we could trade clothes as they do. They say that they are the ones who can trade clothes and oxen by the strength of God.</p> <p>Their church is so beautiful because it was made of cement and stones and iron sheeting. They got money from trading clothes and oxen. They know how to fatten an ox and trade it in Ciira, which is the main market town for ox trading. They have knowhow for that.</p> <p>We do not know how to fatten an ox like they do. We do not have knowhow.</p> <p>In the past we were chased to the forest, our experience is from there, but that has made us ignorant about other things.</p>
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The importance the network plays in introducing new things and procedures can be seen from these comments. Since there is no connection to those having information, the information is considered unavailable. There should be at least a middleman to create the contact. In many cases the verb *yaabbiye* (to lead by the hand) is used, as in this example:

Quotation 4.14. (20Mma: 110-114)

<p>⁶¹And ikkeikkeena'olla, tiqqataanna'one noon boonoshi mag giddiqqina tiqqataanna'one. ⁶²Boono boono mag giddi mistirooch qoodaana'one. Mistiroon nooch immaanna'o. ⁶³No abichinane wotta no qiicaana no beeto, no illa yiichoomoon dihiyoo beetona ⁶⁴ureena'ona tatabona iqqa qiice toommoochalli no beeto, asheena'o noon giyi yaabaanna'one.</p>	<p>⁶¹Now not even few do not hug us, getting near to them, they do not hug. ⁶²Getting near to them they do not share the secrets. They do not give us secrets. ⁶³How are we doing? We are wrestling (struggling) we have fallen to (things that are) like in yesterday. ⁶⁴Let us be equal with people we are (still) wrestling, people do not get (let) us in leading by hand.</p>	<p>It is only very few who come close to us, many of them are not coming close. They are not sharing their secrets. Because of that we are living like we used to live in the past. We would like to be equal, but we are struggling as they do not help us to learn what they know.</p>
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Referring to terms like speech economies and “marketplace” repertoires (Gumperz 1982), Heller (1995: 160-1) points out that the groups that control valued resources also control the “marketplace” where they are exchanged, the set of social relations in which the value of resources is defined. It is necessary to display appropriate linguistic and cultural knowledge in order to gain access to the game and playing it well requires, in turn, mastery of the kinds of linguistic and cultural knowledge that constitute its rules. It is this kind of cultural knowledge that the speakers say is missing. The importance of having access to ways of speaking is also reported by Pietilä (2007) from Tanzania. The female traders stated that being present in the market place helped them access the information and ways of speaking needed for being a trader.

4.5. Evaluating the statements about network connections

I will summarize this chapter by relating it to some findings about the actual networks of various individuals based on material I collected when I went back to look for specific information on the network structure of those individuals who had delivered their speeches for recording. The research on network connections and its methods and procedures forms a special field of its own. I am well aware that to make a thorough survey, even among a limited number of people, would require a well-planned study of its own and the variety of procedures developed to identify network members differs according to what kind of networks are being studied. As my main aim was to collect material for the case studies with which I could compare the network connections of a person and the styles and ways of

speaking he or she used in the speeches, I was interested only in a small number of people and wanted to find, especially, those with whom they had talked. The information that was shared is to be seen as a means of evaluation only.

This survey confirmed that in all cases the relatives, in-laws and close Manjo neighbours – those who again are engaged in the same “*daado*” – form the core of the network structure. In addition, the network contacts among the Manjo community stretch to the other Manjo communities and the connections are many and frequent. Some members of the Manjo communities are more or less engaged in networks that also include Gomaro members. When this is the case, the contacts mentioned were either to Protestant Christians, government officials or people who were connected due to education. Some shop owners were mentioned as “those giving loans also to the Manjo” and some persons who did not belong to the Gomaro or the Manjo groups were also mentioned. Usually they related to Protestant churches, NGOs and academic research activities. All in all, this small survey confirmed the trends discussed in this chapter. More detailed information about the network construction of the different individuals will be presented when I compare the styles used in a speech delivered by individuals and the networks they are engaged in through the case studies in Chapter 6.

In this chapter I have highlighted some characteristics of the network structures of the members of Manjo communities in Gesha and Sayilem. As my main interest is in their statement “we do not know the language” I will now concentrate on to what extent these network structures contribute to their exposure to language change and also to their access to different styles and registers. Have the network connections now created by some members of Manjo communities brought anything new as far as communicative competence is concerned? What does the statement “By God and Government we have now learned to talk a little” refer to? Are there now some new elements that can be traced from the speeches?

Even when I first studied the collected speeches, I noticed that the language used differs between different speeches. It was quite easy for me to follow the way the students presented their points, but the speeches of the elderly Manjo required much more

pondering even though the words they used were familiar to me. The way things were expressed was different, and although I had to struggle with the speeches presented by the elders, they actually opened up to me a fascinating way of expressing things, a way that is no longer present in the speeches of the educated younger generation. In addition to the way of presenting things, there were also differences within the speeches. The style changes are noticeable: code-switching and code-mixing are used, some speeches include registers not used in others, etc. In the next chapter I will study the speeches in relation to these differences and speculate to what extent these differences are due to the present network connections using the findings of the variationists and other sociolinguists as a framework for the discussion.

CHAPTER 5

WAYS OF SPEAKING USED IN THE SPEECHES

In this chapter I will focus on the use of language in the speeches collected in order to determine what kinds of resources the linguistic repertoires of the speakers are formed of. My intent is to investigate different “ways of speaking” included in the variations used in order to see how and to what extent the speakers utilize the resources available to them and how they modify the styles in their repertoire according to the social changes that are taking place at present. I will give explicit examples of the different styles and the components they were built from. It is necessary to recognize them in order to be able to compare whether the use of a certain style, or some of its features, can be related to a particular kind of network structure. I will first briefly sketch the language ecology, including the other languages and variants present in Sayilem and Gesha. After highlighting some differences between the “Manjo variant” and other major variants in the area, I will proceed to discussing the diversity and individual skills in the speeches collected.

5.1. Language ecology in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*

Due to marriages, trading, or other work related activities there are also some other languages present in Sayilem and Gesha, mainly in the *wereda* towns or in bordering areas. Sheka (Omoti) resembles *Kafi noono* to the extent that both groups understand each other, and Oromo (Cushitic) has been the language of trade with the people of the neighbouring Oromo Region. Amharic (Semitic) has been the medium for administration and formal education up to the 1990s. Many Gomaros are multilingual, also using Amharic and Oromo in their daily communication. Amharic words have been adopted into *Kafi noono* in great numbers, but the same is not true for the Oromo language, which, so far, has not been considered as having prestige value despite being spoken by more than 30 million people. In my data, the only apparent loan from Oromo is the word *egaa* (“wait”, an expression used for breaking into a discussion). The migration of Kambaata speakers (Cushitic) to the area is

also increasing.⁴⁷ The big groups of re-settlers, so common in other areas in Ethiopia, have not yet entered. Some Kambaata planned to come, but the lack of roads and the thick forest made the re-settlers look for other areas. Now that the road is finally finished, language contacts through trade and migration will increase. In addition to the different languages the language ecology includes the different variants of *Kafi noono*, the main differentiation being between the “Manjo variant” and the “Gomaro variant”. The following discussion presents the Gomaro interpretation of the differences between these two.

While sitting and talking one night in Waho, one of the Gomaro villages in the Gesha *wereda*, I raised the issue of how the Gomaro and the Manjo are different. The group of four was sitting together in the grass-roofed service hut of a Mekane Yesus Church. As darkness falls at 7 PM, there is time for endless discussions while waiting for the late night dinner (often served after midnight). All present were Gomaro: a local farmer (Z), the pastor of the church (Q) and one visitor from the Sayilem *wereda* (W). For my (K) sake the discussion was in Amharic, in which all three were fluent.

Quotation 5.1. (July 15, 2004)

<p>Z: ባካጋገሩም ይለያል; በአካባቢአችን በአካጋገሩ ይልያል; በአፈጣጠሩም ይለያል; በሽታው ይለያል።</p> <p>Q: ሽታውን ተው። ሽታው ራሱ ከኛ ጎማሮ በላይ አለ።</p> <p>Z: አፎንቻ ራሱ በጣም ሰፊ ነው።</p> <p>Q: የነሱን የሱን በአፎንቻ አተለይም; ብትለይ በአካባቢአችን በቋንቋ ብቻ ነው። ትንሽ በአካጋገሩ ላይ ነው። በምላስ ላይ ይታያል።</p> <p>W: ኮልታፎች ናቸው።</p> <p>K: ይህም ምን ማለት ነው?</p> <p>W: አንዳንድ ቃላት መፍታት አይቻሉም;አሁን አንቺ አማራኛ ስትናገሪ ያበላሽሽ ነው አይደለም የምትናገሪው። ይህም ማለት ነው።</p>	<p>Z: They (Manjo) differ by their speech, in our area they differ by their speech and also by their features. And by smell they differ.</p> <p>Q: Leave the smell out! We Gomaro can stink more.</p> <p>Z: The nose itself is very wide.</p> <p>Q: Do not separate them by nose...In our surroundings, if we separate it is only by language. Small difference in speaking. It is seen in tongue (language)</p> <p>W: They speak thickly, they are stammerers.*</p> <p>K: What does that mean?</p> <p>W: They cannot cut to pieces some words. Now, when you speak Amhara you speak it spoiling, isn't it? That it is.</p>
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⁴⁷ The in-country migration inside Ethiopia has been very extensive during the first decades of the 21st century. The Hararge Oromo have moved in large groups from the drier Eastern parts of the country to Wollega where the land is more fertile. Kambaata settlements are nowadays found in numerous locations that were earlier considered “frontiers”, inhabited mainly by semi-nomadic groups. Migration takes place on such a large scale that the demography of the area can change remarkably in a short time.

<p>K: ይህም ጥሩ ምሳሌ ነው!</p> <p>W: ቋንቋውን ይችላሉ ግን ሰባብሮ ነው የሚናገሩት። በዛ እንለያልን። ከአፋቸው ካፊኛ ቋንቋውን በደምብ አደርገው...ቀን ከ፡ን ለይተው...እዚህ ጋር ችግር አለው በዚህ[shows his tongue]</p> <p>K: ግን የተለመደ ቋንቋ ከሆነ ለምን እንደዚህ ነው? የራሳቸው ቋንቋ ከሆነ?</p> <p>Q: የራሳቸው ቋንቋ ሆኖ...ምላስ ነው።</p> <p>W:ቀን ከ፡ን ኤ፡ን በደንብ ፈትተው አይናገሩም።</p> <p>K: ስለዚህ ተከክከል እንደ እኔ።</p> <p>W: አዎን፣አንቺ ነሽ ተሰበሪው፣ ማንኛ ነሽ።</p>	<p>K: That is a good example!</p> <p>W: They know the language, but they break it when they talk. In that we separate. They do not do well the Kafa language from their mouth... (they speak) without separating properly q's k's and g's. They have problem here [shows the tongue]</p> <p>K: But if that is the language they are used to, why it is so? If it is their own language?</p> <p>Q: being their language... it is tongue.</p> <p>W: They speak without letting out q:n, k:n, e:n properly.</p> <p>K: So they are like me.</p> <p>W: Yes you are a breaker, you are Manjo.</p>
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* The speaker uses only one word, ኮልታፎገ/ kolta:fɔf /, but the interpretation given for the word includes both stammering and mumbling.

Those taking part in the discussion related the differences mainly to phonetics. The farmer and the pastor defined the problem to be with the tongue and the third person (W) made the point about the pronunciation of different phonemes. He does not mention the actual phonemes that are different with the Manjo, but uses the ones I pronounce differently and confusingly as an example in order to make the point. Although the members of the Gomaro group often mention the differences in pronunciation, in the Manjo monologues the differences in pronunciation are not mentioned, which made me wonder why. Many of those whose speeches were collected for this research are illiterate, especially the elderly and middle aged, who are the ones that took up the language issue in their speeches. Duranti (1997:126) points out that some experiments seem to suggest that familiarity with a writing system and particularly the practice of reading might be crucial for being able to segment speech into separate sounds (phonemes) and quotes Scholes and Willis (1991: 220) for “In short, we know about phonemes, because we know about letters.” However, Storch (2013), who bases her notion on examples from various languages in Africa, emphasizes that people who do not read and write do know about the differences and have no problem in discussing them (Storch 2013: 224). Those members of the Gomaro group engaged in the discussion quoted above, mentioning the different names of the phonemes, are literate (in Amharic). But again, none of the educated Manjo youngsters brought up the idea either.

Maybe the key in this case was my asking how the language is different, the western approach of slicing things into components instead of concentrating on the whole.

It would also be interesting to approach this issue the other way round: If being accustomed to read and write is considered to have an impact on speakers' ability to segment speech into separate and meaningful sounds, the interesting issue would be that are we, who are so tied to working through writing, capable of catching the differences of oral speech, things that make a case for those more familiar with the components of oral culture. My dependency on my pencil irritated my language advisor: "You don't learn to hear if you do not let it go", he said.

And as in many other issues concerning integration and separation between the Manjo and Gomaro population, the viewpoint presented about linguistic differences is multi-vocal among the members of the Manjo community: Some state that there was a Manjo language in the past. Others emphasize that the language of the Manjo has always been Kafa. Some are not that much aware about the difference at all. In the monologues the statement "we do not know the language" is more often in the speeches of those who are in contact with people outside their core Manjo network and therefore better placed to make a comparison. The difference in speaking was most often explained by the contrast *duuro* 'simple'-*haco* 'clever' relating the differences to how people use the language. If this adjective *haco* is used for describing somebody, it indicates that that person can manipulate people and situations by clever use of language for his/her benefit and that also includes that someone '*duuro*', one who is not equally equipped and skilful in using linguistic skills in order to retaliate or even to understand what is actually taking place, ends up being manipulated, whether for good or bad.

My first impression was that the Manjo have a special accent in their speech and that accent was to be heard in any language they spoke in a similar way as my being a Finnish speaker can be heard from my English and Amharic. In addition to differences in pronunciation and intonation I also noticed lexical and semantic differences: Sometimes when I have asked for an Amharic translation of certain Kafa words I have not understood, the answer was "those are Manjo words, you better ask them" or with some longer sentences "he should not have

said that, it is not correct, he should have said this". The way of using pronouns, especially he/she-they was mentioned by some. Bender (2000: 100) gives the following differences for what he calls a Manjo variant: /d, ɓ, ɔ/ where Kafa as used by Gomaro speakers would have /d, b, g/. Mulugeta Teferi (2012) did his MA thesis for Linguistics at Addis Ababa University on language variation between Manjo and Gomaro, a task perhaps not easy even for an experienced linguist and the scope and accuracy of his study leaves some questions about the findings. He identified as Manjo variant the tendency to use a voiced bilabial approximant /β/ for /f/ and a voiced dental/alveolar ingressive phoneme /d/ for /t/. In lexical variants he mentions the differences in words for stepfather/mother/child, some body parts, some animals and some things relating to farming. For morphological differences he gives as a Manjo variant the past tense marker /b/ as an alternative for /t/, which is used by both groups (Teferi Mulugeta 2012: 101-107). In my opinion when referring to past tense markers he compares two different forms: *hammaa beena* 'while still going', *hammat(o)ah)eena* 'while having gone'.

In addition to the "Manjo-variant", there are also geographical dialectal differences in Kafa among the Gomaro themselves to the extent that when the first written material was produced based on the variant used around Bonga, in the heartland of Kafa, those involved in evaluation committees in Gesha and Sayilem strongly expressed their dissatisfaction concerning the translation and suggested that another version should be provided to them. However; although the Manjo population is scattered practically all over the Kafa area, the variant the members of the Manjo used all over is considered to be the "Manjo way".

Again, the emerging "standard variant", now being used at schools, is clearly a different variant, even when compared with the Gomaro variation used around Bonga. This "standard variant" is a product of adapting the Kafa language to written form, and that process itself has changed the structure of how things are said. New words of "proper Kafa" have also been introduced to replace the often-used loan words from Amharic. This variant can frequently be noted in the speech of the younger generation, those who have attended school and have received their education in the Kafa language and so have been exposed to the Kafa language in written form, whether being from the Manjo or Gomaro group. However, at least for the time being, this is mainly used in situations related to school

activities. It is not considered as a “prestige variant”, the mastering of which would be beneficial in social activities, but as a necessary means for a student to score good points in tests of *Kafi noono*. The office or meeting variant is again different: the variant used can be described as a combination of registers and styles connected with political or religious discourses and ideologies combined with linguistic resources that a speaker has in his/her repertoire. Those who “know how to speak” are those who cleverly combine the new elements with the old ones. Naturally, with the Gomaro members of the society the elements are added to the Gomaro variant⁴⁸ and as also most of those having a position in administration are Gomaro, the variant used in the offices bears many features of the Gomaro variants.

The ways of speaking used by the marginalized minority of the tanners, the members of Manno clans, are not considered much different from Gomaro, neither by the Gomaro nor by themselves, although Manno ways of speaking include a specialized vocabulary relating to tanning activities. The members of Manno clans are not considered as *duuro*, ‘simple’ or ‘not knowing how to use the language’. The stereotyped description for the Manno by the Gomaro includes two things: “having light skin complexion as opposed to the Manjo being black” and “the connection to evil eye.”⁴⁹ When I discussed the difference between the situation of the Manjo and the Manno with several Gomaro friends of mine, the “distance” was an issue brought up: Manno are not living that far away (although strictly separated) and they are not so far, referring to the belief that they do not differ as much (as Manjo) from Gomaro. Traditionally the Manjo refuse to eat with the Manno and vice versa.

What about inside the Manjo group? Are all using the Manjo variant with no differences among themselves? Have the connections mentioned in the previous chapter contributed to language change within the Manjo variant and if so, is the change towards the other variants mentioned? When I listened to the monologues, I noticed that there were moments when the speaker clearly changed the way of speaking. In some cases the changes were very clear ones; it was almost like the speaker had suddenly taken another “role to play”. In

⁴⁸I will discuss the features of the Gomaro variant in section 5.4.

⁴⁹Evil eye (ጥ-ዳ /buda/) is associated with craftworkers in general, referring to the ability to produce different things. A person who has *buda* can cause problems by just a look and has the ability to turn into a hyena.

other cases the changes were not as clear, but still recognizable. My next question to tackle was what caused this effect and which of the speakers included it in their speeches.

5.2. Repertoires in the Manjo variant, diversity and individual skills

5.2.1. Focusing on styles

The “ways of speaking” that emerged from the data included different types of changes: In some cases the genre seemed to change, sometimes the change was more related to registers. In some cases the changes were on the formal-casual axis or to highlight some part of the performance itself. There were differences in intonation, in prosody and in posture. Sometimes what was said was accompanied with laughter or with a sound expressing sorrow. Schilling-Estes (2002) summarizes the different components of intra speaker variation to include any level of language organization, from phonological and morphosyntactic to the lexical and pragmatic, interactional and discoursal. The features she lists include shifts into more or less formal speech, in and out of registers, dialects and highly performative genres. She also adds that non-linguistic elements of style, like clothing, body position and use of space also contribute in making the distinction. (Schilling-Estes 2002: 376-377).

In order to be able to devote attention to all these aspects I found the concept of ‘style’ most useful. It not only encompasses all these elements, but also directs the attention to its process-like character. My main point of interest is not the specific features of these “ways of speaking” in the monologues as such, but on contrasts and relationships between them—focusing on the process that is going on. As described by Irvine “The characteristics of a particular style cannot be explained independently of others; attention needs to be directed to relationships among them, to their contrasts, boundaries, and commonalities, to principles and processes of stylistic differentiation within a continuously evolving sociolinguistic system.” (Irvine 2001:22). Styles have a complex history of “dialectal interplay” (Hebdige 1979:57) and it is this process I want to observe through the relationships of the varying styles in the monologues.

Mendoza-Denton defines linguistic style as “an implementation, at any given time, of a combination of features from the many varieties, registers, and performance genres at the speaker’s disposal” and notes that style is a “context-sensitive interaction between speakers’ balance of innovative and conventional elements in their repertoires and hearers’ expectations, together with the resultant attributions and interpretations that may or may not be intended by or known to the speaker”. She also includes in her definition that style is continuously modulated as it is accomplished and so cannot be considered as a static product, but a relentless process (Mendoza-Denton 2001: 235). This definition includes some components that are especially relevant for my research case: style is a combination of features from different sources. These sources are at the speaker’s disposal. The innovative and conventional elements are used in interaction and this is done context sensitively.

Even when talking about linguistic styles only, the “concept of style” is criticized for its ambiguity and its context is debated not only among sociolinguistics in general, but also among variationists in a narrower sense. In this study the concept is used in a broad sense, in the same frame that Hymes uses the expression “ways of speaking”. He notes that style should be seen as “a way or model of doing something” and that a speech community should initially be viewed as comprising a set of styles, the linguistic means that actually obtain in a community. In that way, dialect styles⁵⁰ are also seen as a subset of a community’s culturally imbued ways of speaking and need to be analyzed in relation to other (non-dialectical) dimensions (Hymes 1974: 433). Coupland points out that “ways of speaking include style choices that are patterns of ideational selection –what we choose to mean, to whom, when and where” and reminds that style is to be understood as intra- and inter-personally motivated and so to be seen inside the realm of discursive social action. (Coupland 2001: 193).

⁵⁰ One of the main topics among variationists at the beginning of the 21st century when defining the concept of style was related to the tension between those investigating the patterning of stylistic, especially phonological and morphosyntactic, variation according to some pre-imposed social factors and speech situations and those who were applying a more holistic approach that would include wider range of features and cross-disciplinary connections to anthropological and psychological linguistics. According to the latter view, “style is at its foundation ideological, and the stylistic form of propositions is very much part of their meaning” (Eckert: 2012: 98).

My aim is to focus on style in action, following the view of Schilling-Estes, who states that speakers do not shift style merely, or primarily, in reaction to elements of the speech situation, but rather are quite active and highly creative in their use of stylistic resources. She says that “not only are speakers *not* bound to elements of the external situation as they shape their speech, but they use their speech to help shape and re-shape the external situation”. (Schilling-Estes 2002: 377). The use of the different styles is to be seen as “dynamic presentations of the self through a strategic use of variables.” (Eckert and Rickford 2001:4). Lüpke and Storch (2013) point out the linguistic creativity, especially in Africa, in the use of different languages in multilingual communities and emphasize the speakers’ agency in making choices when using the repertoires of registers related to different language ideologies associated with different ways of speaking. Although only very few in the Manjo community are actually multilingual, the different kind of new style components required for linguistic repertoires are combined and put into use when it is felt they are needed.

When discussing the different styles that emerge from the data, I will base my notions mainly on the structuring of the speech (e.g., quoted direct speech-indirect speech), lexical differences, the use of crossing and shift to different registers and genres, the appearance of different discourse markers, and the use of intonation and prosodic means in marking the difference between the styles utilized. I will also pay attention to how honorific forms are used or not used and how the speaker chooses to identify through pronoun usage in relation to the different styles. As the main aim of this study is not the styles themselves, but the point that they exist and are utilized by some (those who have had enough connections to become familiar with them), I consider the features mentioned above to be sufficient to verify this.

5.2.2. Generic conventions and styles in the speeches

In order to be able to determine whether styles used in different speeches co-occur in relation to certain kinds of network structures, I first had to identify the speech styles used and see how they are distributed in the speakers' texts. I started by dividing the texts according to the age of the speakers, hoping that the differences between the generations would help me to recognize the different elements used for a certain style. Although I noted that there were some differences between the speeches of women and men, the data on the women was too small to permit comments about special female ways of saying things, and those few women who wanted to speak at the these *tocho*-telling gatherings were purposely modifying their style to accord with this particular speech event.

The division into age groups helped me observe some generic conventions, culturally recognized patterned ways of speaking and structured cognitive frameworks for engaging in discourse. These "socially constructed event-types of which the participants have some significant awareness as part of their cultural and communicative competence" (Coupland 2007: 15) can be referred to as genres, if genre is seen in a broad sense, not restricting it only to institutionalized use, but also including speech situations like discussing, advising, etc. In this study the concept of genre is used in an ethnographic perspective, which stresses cultural specificity and the importance of building on local classification and experience rather than outsider's categories (Finnegan 1992: 138). I will start by discussing the genres embedded in the data, as it provides a framework in which the styles can be introduced.

The speeches include regularities and continuities that can be approached through local categories. The categorization presented here is relevant for the data collected and helps in analyzing the material. But that is also what it is restricted to – it is not meant to be an overall description of speech situations in Manjo society. The categorization that emerges from the data reflects two perspectives: first, in relation to different speech situations, and second, with regard to how the actual speech delivered was structured. I will discuss both angles with some clarifying examples. The different speech situations that were mentioned in the data include the following:

Table 3. Speech situations mentioned in the data

<i>Tocho tochahe</i>	Telling of <i>tocho</i> , (used especially in reconciliation duties of elders)
<i>shuniyo</i>	Reconciling
<i>kaayo</i>	Playing (discussions, sharing, relaxing talk that also includes joking)
<i>ooniyo</i>	Gossiping
<i>goggiyo</i>	Comforting (e.g., in times of mourning)
<i>ciico</i>	Advising
<i>giidoona qoppho</i>	Giving instructions that are to be obeyed
<i>taggo</i>	Debating in the reconciliation process in the presence of a mediator
<i>kaaro</i>	Quarrelling
<i>biisho</i>	Untying (translating, interpreting)
<i>diiro</i>	Blessing
<i>uppo</i>	Cursing
<i>qollo</i>	Begging/Praying
<i>keemo</i>	Prophesizing, telling past, present and future
<i>diggiyo</i>	Greeting
<i>naggo</i>	Insulting
<i>hicho</i>	Singing <i>hicho</i> , a lament for a funeral
<i>yuubbo/dubbo</i>	Singing and dancing
<i>yaaddo</i>	Bidding defiance

The ones used (or quoted) in the speeches were only eight of them: *tocho*, appreciating, greeting, insulting, playing, blessing, cursing, giving instructions. At the gatherings where the speeches were collected, the most extensively used was *tocho*. The concept of *tocho tochahe* (*tochos* are told) is actually also the definition the participants gave for what was taking place at the gathering where the speeches were recorded. Especially the speeches that were delivered by elders were categorized under that label. Usually *tochos* are told when elders are reconciling and also on various occasions where people get together, like at lament gatherings.⁵¹ The essence of *tocho* was described by one of the middle-aged men as follows:

Quotation 5.1. (D6Mma: 1-16)

¹ <i>Tocho gettee beet mooyo wonnee beshet asheena'ooch taarikoona</i>	² The thing called <i>tocho</i> , <i>tocho</i> tells the story of by-gone people, one.	First, <i>tocho</i> includes the stories of the past, the history of the
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⁵¹The Gomar concept of what is included in "*tocho tochahe*" is different, relating it mainly to clever usage of language in which the actual message is hidden, but accessible to a clever listener. However, in his book of Kafa folklore, Marqoos Gebre Maariyami Waane (2006) also uses the term "*tocho*" for short stories.

<p><i>gettee beet tocho, ikkon.</i> ²<i>Guttinnoochee wotta ashoona ashoono kaara gaata are tocho tochi gaata, are tocho bi wust (am) daggooch giyoona are tochoon ii kechiina</i> ³<i>maadda ippha shuutaa beetolla wochiqqina maadda shawee geeno bi tochtitoyich qebbiqqi illa maadda bi ipphooch wochi beet mooyo tocho gettaa beeto ishine.</i></p> <p>⁴<i>Tochee mooyo echee beeto, tocho boono tochii beeto, gutteena'o geeno kottaqqi weim taggaheete weiye taate gommoo tunabe ikka ditto dittee beeto booto.</i> ⁵<i>Ikka uro, tocho tochibe bi geti gaata are tochoona bi dittat dittoona ikko bi tari gaata, ashi wust daggooch giye garrasehe</i>^a. ⁶<i>Ashi wust daggoochee giyiqqi ikka uro tocho tochiyoona waiy kaaraa beetina'ona tunabeete, taate gommoo dittee beeti dittee tunabe</i> ⁷<i>are uro tocho tochito damba illa amo tunahe urooch wust daggooch qaaxxaqqina ashichi marlsoo tunaqqi danahe.</i></p>	<p>²For the second, again if people are quarreling with people, if this <i>tocho</i> is told that <i>tocho</i> by getting into him, when this <i>tocho</i> is spoken out ³the one who has previously been angry and sulking returns, (as) he hears what the elders of the land have told. (The thing) that returns (him) from his previous anger is the thing called <i>tocho</i>.</p> <p>⁴Like this telling this <i>tocho</i> thing, they are telling <i>tocho</i>, two (persons) having elders (to) sit or quarrelling or let it be the king's way (legal, official) one discussion is discussed in one place. ⁵One man "let the <i>tocho</i> be told" if he says, if one goes with this <i>tocho</i> that is told, it goes into a person and is recorded^a. ⁶Getting into a person while one man is telling the <i>tocho</i>, whether it is those who are quarreling or talk talked by king's way (law) ⁷this <i>tocho</i> that a man has told, especially what it becomes, it is swallowed into man, it becomes for a man an answer (that is) found.</p>	<p>people.</p> <p>Secondly, <i>tocho</i> is used by the elders for calming down people who are quarrelling.</p> <p><i>Tocho</i> is used both in the government court and in traditional reconciliation by elders.</p> <p>If a person is willing to listen to a <i>tocho</i>, this listening to <i>tocho</i> will affect him.</p> <p>It calms him down as he finds an explanation and answer for himself through it.</p>
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^a*Garrashe*, a loan word from Amharic (መግረስ /mɜgrɜs/), means to circumcise, but it is also used for recording on a tape.

As can be attested by the quotation above, it is not what a *tocho* is, but what it does. It is a good example of how talking is not only talking about things, but talking also does things.

If the concept of *tocho* is approached in relation to structuring the text, it includes three different "sub-genres", which I will introduce with examples from one speaker.⁵² First of all, *tocho* includes telling stories of past and present, and also including what in Amharic is called አጋጠሎው /ag:at':ɜmɜw/ 'what happened to happen (to him)' from the verb translated as 'to encounter, to experience, to meet with, to run across' and anecdotes or exemplary stories of certain situations that have occurred.

⁵² The speaker is quoted at length in section 5.3.1 if longer examples are preferred.

Quotation 5.2. (4Me: 12-14)

<p>⁸<i>"shaasha mechen shaaggitone"</i> <i>"Shaasha mechen shaaggitone"</i> <i>itti gubae'ooche kindiqqi hammi</i> <i>"shaasha mechen shaaggitone" "</i> <i>iqqi hammi ta nuggishooch hammi</i> <i>gettiye.</i></p>	<p>⁸“..he [= Manjo] has married thirty wives” “he has married thirty wives”, saying he [Maatto] went down went to (those gathered to) meeting”he [= Manjo] has married thirty wives” saying went to my Lord went (and) told.</p>	<p>Maatto spread the rumour that Manjo has married thirty wives. He kept on telling that both to those who had gathered and to the Lord.</p>
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In addition, it includes accounts of historical happenings (*shawee tarik*, story of the land) and descriptions of things (clothes, arms, hunting gear). The circumstances are described as related to the different governing powers. In the next quotation the speaker starts to describe life in the reign of Yaanhoi (Emperor Haile Selassie).

Quotation 5. 3. (4Me: 30-33)

<p>⁹<i>libee, iibee, libee, iibee hammi</i> <i>hammi taato Ciinni mag beddiqqi</i> <i>taato Ciinni mage, Yaanhoi mage</i> <i>giyiqiqina</i></p> <p>¹⁰<i>ashi hajo woje tajo, shore eddo,</i> <i>dubbe taho, bi naddo tahe, bi</i> <i>wojoon, dubboon, minji naddo,</i> <i>dubbo, wojjo qeejaha dubboon</i> <i>tahehe. Naddo taaha qeye.</i></p>	<p>⁹saying (being), saying saying, saying went went reaching to (be with) King Ciinni, from being with King Ciinni got in to being with Yaanhoi. ¹⁰Man owned <i>ensete</i> fibre cloak, wore leather cloak, wearing (of) grass cloak, he wore leather, his <i>ensete</i> fibre cloak, grass cloak. He was made to spend the night (live) wearing leather of cow, grass cloak, <i>ensete</i> fibre cloak, he wore grass cloak. Wearing leather he spent the night (lived).</p>	<p>After some time came the time of King Ciinni and after King Ciinni Haile Selassie started to rule.</p> <p>During those times people were wearing cloaks made from leather, grass or <i>ensete</i> fibre. They lived wearing those cloaks.</p>
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Tocho telling also includes sharing thoughts resembling discussions between close relatives and friends (*kaayo*), but here the listener or audience is not expected to engage in discussion.

Quotation 5.4. (4Me: 160-163)

<p>¹¹<i>And gizooch hichaache and</i> <i>gizooch and gizooch</i> <i>qaji. ¹²Eefaachi, and gizooch asho</i> <i>qito waddahe. Aaf gizooch qito bi</i> <i>waa beeto, bi waa beeto ikka</i> <i>bootoochalli qito qitemmo qito</i> <i>aalle. And qito beete...</i></p>	<p>¹¹At present time the lament songs are not sung, at present time, at present time it become absent. ¹²It is not cried, at present the death of people become many. At previous times the death it was coming, it was coming to one place, death dying</p>	<p>Lament songs are no longer sung. There is no time for that as so many people are dying. Before it was not like that...</p>
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	death there was not...	
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Especially in this sub-genre, the contact with the audience is very intense, and a silent response (eye contact or gestures) are sought. Sometimes a short question He? is also added to confirm that the point is taken, as can be verified from quotations presented in the next section (5.3.1.)

The middle aged and young did not deliver their speeches as often in this three-component form of *tocho* telling as the elders did, but in a way continuing the same line: as *tocho* was used “to make a point” by the elders, the younger now “gave their point” through what is usually referred to with the word *asteyaayet*, which is borrowed from Amharic (አስተያየት /astɓajɓt/⁵³ ‘something caused to be seen’). It does not include stories heard from ancestors, but is a description, a kind of spoken ethnography about the situation, with or without personal opinion. Some again presented their thoughts merely in relation to their personal lives, connecting the description of the situation with their life story. So when approaching the categorization from the angle of how the speeches were structured the following emerged from the data:

Table 4. Generic conventions in the data for the structuring of speeches

T	<i>Tocho</i>	Including telling of stories of past and present, accounts of political and social history, and sharing of thoughts
D/Do	<i>Asteyaayet</i>	Description of circumstances either with or without personal opinion
N	Personal Narrative	Description linked to personal life

In some cases these three structures are also mixed. They are not fixed and definitive but overlap and are utilized differently by different speakers as they modify and combine them for their purposes. As Finnegan says:

The traditional labeling of genres or of other differentiations, whether by ourselves or others, only represents one aspect of reality. The target, furthermore, is sometimes a moving one:

⁵³In Amharic context the word is usually used for public commenting on what other people have said, adding, agreeing or opposing, even though it can also be quite lengthy.

new genres arise, old ones are developed, manipulated, or reinterpreted, and, whether explicitly or imperceptibly, new practices become established under old names. (Finnegan 1992:157)

Table 5. Distribution of genres in data

Age		Length	Speech structure	Other genres
< 65	M	21.09	T	A, B, G, I
	M	11.03	T	H
	M	6.44	T	
55-65	M	21.27	T	A, K
	M	3.10	T, N	A, B
	M	2.21	T, D	
	M	5.19	T	
	M	26.33	T	
	M	21.52	T	B, C, I
	M	12.13	T	G, K
	M	6.03	D	A, B
	M	7.46	T	B
	M	1.03	Do	
	M	4.39	T, D	A
	F	3.20	T, Do	G, A
	F	3.06	T	
	45-55	M	5.36	T
M		8.52	T, Do	A
M		11.04	T	
M		23.17	Do	K
M		4.48	T	
M		2.58	D	
M		31.28	Do	
M		7.25	T	
F		6.30	Do	A
F		6.12	T	
F		4.04	T	A
M		7.00	T	
M		3.12	Do	
M		4.22	Do	

Abbreviations	
T	Tocho
D/Do	Description/with opinion
N	Personal Narrative
A	Appreciating
H	Hicho
B/C	Blessing/Cursing
Y	Bidding defiance
G	Greeting
I	Insulting
K	Playing

	M	4.07	T	A
30-45	F	5.52	T, N	A
	M	6.25	D	
	M	3.10	T,N	
	M	3.04	D	
	M	3.21	D	A
	M	5.12	Do,N	
	F	2.10	D	
	M	2.43	T,D	G
	M	4.07	N	A
	M	3.28	D	A
20-30	M	11.13	D,N	
	M	11.04	N,D	
	M	5.13	D	
	M	7.43	Do,N	
	M	10.49	Do, N, T	
	M	3.16	T	A
	M	4.58	D	
	M	3.31	Do	
	F	2.44	D	

As can be seen from the table, appreciating (A) is included in many speeches. At many of the gatherings, it is expected that all parties express their appreciation to each other at some time during the gathering. Often it is at the end, but can also be else where if the speaker has an opportunity to connect it with a certain topic. The changes in the way things are said and the manner of speaking indicate that this is now “appreciation talk”. It is something that can be said directly to a person, but it is also meant to be heard by the others present, as it kind of adds to the social prestige of the person appreciated. The way of presenting it also changes according to the styles used. In the speeches, greeting, blessing, and cursing were mainly quoted for clarifying the situation in Manjo-Gomaro relations. Since they are closely interwoven with the styles used, I will give examples of them with the styles used.

As was mentioned earlier, my main interest with styles is in distinction, how a style contrasts with other possible styles, to their contrasts and boundaries, and I will take note of the structuring of the speech (e.g. quoted direct speech-indirect speech), lexical differences, the

use of crossing and shift to different registers, the appearance of different discourse markers and the use of intonation and prosodic means in marking the difference between the styles utilized. When doing that, I started to recognize certain similarities attached to particular ways of speaking and I was able to make some categorization. As there are no local names for styles I have to rely on the descriptive names I have attached to them. The description of the styles is so dependent on the illuminating help of the examples that I will now first give only the summary of the styles identified and leave the detailed description to the part of this chapter that includes examples. The following seven styles were identified:

Table 6. The styles identified in the speeches.

Elder rich style	Ers
Others speak style	Oss
Being strong style ⁵⁴	Bss
Defiant style	Des
Being weak style	Bws
<i>Alama</i> style	As
New standard style	Nss

In addition there were some elements that were added to different styles. They were the following: Gomaro style discourse markers (+g), Old Testament stories (+ot), Protestant Christian style discourse markers (+pc), religious registers (+r), political registers (+p), and adding the ending /-chee/ to certain words (+chee), which was used by young Manjo.

I will introduce the styles through examples from different age groups. I have divided the data according to the approximate age of the speakers and formed three categories: First “the elders”, in which I include those who were already adults during the Derg regime (>55), then “the middle aged”, those who had been children or youngsters during the Derg regime (30-55) and “the young”, born in the 1980s or 1990s (18-30). My data includes the speeches

⁵⁴ Although Being Strong style is associated mainly with the male speakers, the speeches of the women also included some hints about the feminine, different kind of “being strongstyle”, a confident way of speaking about certain things like knowhow relating to forest and food.

of 16 elders, 25 middle aged and 9 young. From the eight women two belong to the eldergroup, five to middleaged and one to youngsters.

5.3. Features and examples of styles identified

In order to describe the styles used in the data I will now continue to discuss each age group separately. However, this is not to say that those ways of speaking that are present in one group would not be recognizable in the monologues of the other groups. The diversity in how the individuals used different styles to express themselves was wide inside each group. This categorization by age group serves as an introduction of the different styles present.

5.3.1. The eloquence of the speeches of the elders

I found the presentations of the elders most fascinating as their ways of speaking included a wide range of eloquent usages. The speeches of the elders were also the most difficult to translate and not just for me: When I asked a young Gomaro learning computer science at Addis Ababa University to translate one speech to Amharic to see if his translation agreed with mine, he complained that he had difficulties in following the structure of the speech and in finding equivalent forms of expressing things in his standard Amharic.

For purposes of analysis I needed to render the meaning in glosses that are not natural-sounding, but reflect more of the original structure and its ways of expressing ideas. The risk then is that these translations, which are analytic tools, not translations in a more common understanding other than by users of Kafa, renders them more different from the expectations of the writer and readers of this piece. There is no fully adequate way out of this dilemma, and when analyzing indepth, some “clinical dissection” cannot be avoided. The quotations are lengthy as I want to illustrate how the features of different styles are embedded and also share the overall tone and mood of the presentations. However, as reading the quotation is time consuming, I have also explained the points in the text so that if wanted, the quotations can be skipped. The following styles are to be introduced in this subchapter: **Elder rich style**, **Being weak style**, **Others speak style**, **Being strong style**. The first four quotations are from the same person. He uses predominantly **Elder rich style**, but

also switches briefly to Being weak style, Others speak style and Being strong style. These quotations serve mainly to explain the features of Elder rich style, but I will also introduce the other styles as they emerge.

In Elder rich style the happenings are told through discussions given in direct speech. The discussion starts by a person calling for the attention of the person with whom he or she will get into discussion. After that, the dialogue is continued without mentioning who is talking, the turns are enough to clarify that. However, the turn, a viewpoint through which the matter is seen and the expression uttered, can change very suddenly, even more than once within one sentence. The pronouns are naturally also used according to the viewpoint taken. The voice is usually not changed when speaking in the “voices” of different persons. I frequently had to check “says who?” in order to find out what was actually meant, a thing clear to others, but not to me, as I was not accustomed and skilled in catching the nuances of oral expression. As in the following example: “Woo, he advised me it was his advising, I will marry a child I (was) not saying, by saying he got down from his chair and while he ran, he inherited the chair”. In the following the quotation is underlined and who is referred to by the pronouns is clarified: “Woo, he [= Maatto] advised me [=Manjo] it was his advising, I [=Manjo] will marry a child I (was) not saying”, by saying he [=Manjo] got down from his [=Manjo] chair and while he [=Manjo] ran, he [=Maatto] inherited the chair”.

Another typical feature of Elder rich style is the repetition of a verb to express that the action is continued for a certain time; the frequency of the words is according to time: the longer the time, the more often the verb is repeated: “Getting into the forest, going to forest saying ‘God’ **going bowing bowing bowing bowing** ‘My Lord, find that man’ he said where did he vanish, **lookedfor, looked for, looked for, looked for, looked for** while being looking for like this stayed bowing stayed being bowing.” Elder rich style also includes exclamations and changes in volume and tempo are utilized in presentation. The flow of the narrative is every now and then stopped in order to add convincing phrases, which in Elder rich style are often “this is what I have heard from my fathers and grandfathers” or “my father told (*tochahe*)”.

The points mentioned above can be found as follows: Direct speech (17-20, 22-25), repetition of a verb (22-23, 28), exclamation (20), convincing (21).

Quotation 5.5. (4Me:1-24)

<p>¹³ <i>And ishiyoche yammariqqina, no yaro abichiyena beeto? No yaro ne qaabbo. Qaabbone, No yaro..</i> ¹⁴ <i>noon Manjo ito, asho ne, asho kone? Maattone. Maatto.. Maatto ne.</i> ¹⁵ <i>No no nihoochi aro qaabbo tunammona aro bi manoone aheena Yeeri aafooche Yeeri Yeerina tookkiqqina ne, Yeeri gettito mooyoon bi nallito, aafu aro Yeeri gettiti mooyoon bi nallimona</i> ¹⁶ <i>aro bi wotta aro bi qeeno deqqa iqqina bi qeeno deqqa iqqina hammi ta nuggishooch</i> ¹⁷ <i>shaasha mechen shaaggitone</i> "Shaasha mechen shaaggitone" <i>itti gubae'ooche kindiiqqi hammi "shaasha mechen shaaggitone" "iqqi hammi ta nuggishooch hammi gettiye.</i> ¹⁸ <i>Ta nuggisho, ta nuggusho malsone Yeerich qaaloone bi nalli beeto aheena bi qaabbittinoona, nalli iqqi bi immona, aabichiyee iichi waana</i> ¹⁹ <i>"ta nuggisho neen uppitone" hamo iqqina "Ta nuggisho neen uppiqqina bi qeenooche kindiye maach keye" iqqina gettitone koota mooyona gettiye.</i></p>	<p>¹³ Now starting from that...how our clan has been doing? It is our clan that is the first. It is the first. Our clan... ¹⁴ the one (that) said us Manjo, is man. Which man? Maatto...It is Maatto. ¹⁵ Our our father he being first, he and him being brothers in front of God, God, together with God, judging the thing that God said, before he [=Maatto] judging thing that God said, ¹⁶ he [= Manjo] again he [Maatto] his [= Manjo] chair to be taken, his chair to be taken went to my Lord ¹⁷ "he [= Manjo] has married thirty wives" "he has married thirty wives", saying he [=Manjo] descended (he) [Maatto] went to (those gathered to) meeting "he [= Manjo] has married thirty wives" saying went to my Lord went (and) told. ¹⁸ My Lord, My Lord the answer it is (given) when he was judging by God's word, (he) being first. When he [=Manjo] was judging, saying how did he [Maatto] come? ¹⁹ "My Lord has cursed you" (he) went saying "my Lord has cursed you, stepping down from his chair, get out it is said" by telling a thing (that was) a lie.</p>	<p>Our clans were the first ones in this area, but members of Maatto-clans made us submit to be Manjo. Maatto and Manjo (-clans) were brothers and lived in peace and Manjo was ruling because he was the first born.</p> <p>But Maatto wanted to take his position and spread the rumour that Manjo had married thirty wives. He kept on telling that both to those who had gathered and to the Lord. And finally he told Manjo that the Lord has cursed him because he had married thirty wives and he should not rule. That was a lie.</p>
<p>²⁰ Woo, <i>taan boyabe, boyabe nealli gettato ta busho shaage getaanoon gettaqqana</i> "kindi bi qenooch kindiiqqina bi woccemmona qeeno worashi. Maatto. ²¹ <i>No niho gete no qebbammoona. Maatto. Woraashiiqqina bi immona aro kubbooch giyi.</i> ²² <i>Kubbooch giyiqqina, kubbooch hammiqqi Yeero iqqina yittiqqi yittiqqi yittiqqi yittiqqi</i> "ta nuggisho, ara uro qaawibe" iye ²³ <i>qaawibe amooch aallahe, qaawi, qaawi, qaawi, qaawi, qaawi qaawi bi hammiyahe hinibe, yittichi echi</i></p>	<p>²⁰ Woo, he advised me it was his [=Maatto] advising, "I will marry a child" I (was) not saying", by saying he [=Manjo] got down from his chair and while he [=Manjo] ran, he [=Maatto] inherited the chair. Maatto. ²¹ The saying of our father (when) we heard. Maatto. When he had inherited he [=Manjo] went to the forest. ²² Getting into the forest, going to forest saying "God" going bowing bowing bowing "My Lord, find that man" he said where did he vanish, ²³ looked for, looked for,</p>	<p>Manjo was confused and said that he had not wanted to marry anyone, but he had married as Maatto had advised him to do so.</p> <p>He gave up the power and Maatto inherited the position. That is what we have heard from our fathers.</p> <p>Having lost his position Manjo went to forest and prayed (bowing) the God that he could find the man who had given him wrong advice. For a long time he was searching and as he was</p>

<p>yitti echi yittibeeti . ²⁴Yitti beeto"Ta nuggishone" iqqina aaf taa nugishoon bi salamito bi immi beeti "ta nuggusho" iqqina are urooch "shawooch (qe)bane" yitti iye. ²⁵Kubbi beechina taato kindiaqqi taato kindiaqqina shawooch (qe) bane iqqina nobito ne.</p> <p>²⁶"Ishi gaata kubbottabe... ishigaata kubbi tunabe" iqqi biitooche Manjone", iqqi bi gettito ²⁷"kubbi wottaree eello mame. Hammi kubbottaree hammi, ukko mame" iqqi bi wassanitochiye. ²⁸Bekka aro tunaqqina tuushiye illa tuushiye. Aroon woraashiye, woraashiqqina hammiqqina aro wotta yechiibe, yechibe wotta...</p>	<p>looked for, looked for,looked for while being looking for like this stayed bowing stayed being bowing. ²⁴ Being bowing "you, my Lord", saying by giving the greeting that was to my Lord saying my Lord to that man"Let me lay on earth" being bowing he said. ²⁵Being in the forest, being brought down from being king, being brought down from being king saying "let me lie on earth saying 'Is (that) what he is saying to us [=Gomaro]?"</p> <p>²⁵If it is so let him be in the forest, for him he is Manjo" it was what he told ²⁷"by returning to forest eat colobus monkey, by going, being in forest going eat manguus" was what he had decided ²⁸suddenly he being so he was confused, really confused. That was what he inherited, by inheriting he went again holding holding again...</p>	<p>praying he stayed bowing.</p> <p>While bowing and being distressed about what had happened he met someone and thought it was the Lord and greeted him submissively.</p> <p>The man he had greeted said that if Manjo greets him (Gomaro/Maatto) like he was Lord let it be so. He told Manjo to stay in the forest and to eat colobus monkey and manguus.</p> <p>This happened because he was so confused.</p>
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As was mentioned previously, the voices of the participants of the discussions in direct speech are not imitative, but if the style in which the utterance is given changes, the voice changes. That is the case when using **Being weak style**, as is done in this quotation: "Being bowing '**you, my Lord**', saying by giving the greeting that was to my Lord saying my Lord to that man '**Let me lie on earth**' being bowing he said." The intonation of the words is different, the volume of the voice is agreeing and soft, not to irritate, and addressing "My Lord" is used. The things said mainly consist of customary phrases that are expected; often the submissive greetings of the past are quoted. The speaker bends down, makes small bows when speaking in this style. In Being weak style the words used are very descriptive and the tone is emotional. The speech is often accompanied by additional utterances of distress and sorrow and addressing God for explanations and help. Sometimes the head is covered by the hands, which is also a sign of being confused and lost. This style is often present when harsh circumstances are described, not only when dealing with the past, but also when a speaker wants to emphasize himself/herself or a certain group to be in a position that calls for help.

In the following quotation the speaker moves on to tell about historical events and to describe things. In **Elder rich style** the chronological order of the happenings and time frame for them is presented by relating them to the rulers of the time concerned. Rhetorical questions are frequently used for structuring the speech and include mainly who, what and when, as in the following quotation “...again **who received?** Hiyo, Hiyo received” and “**where did he sit** (stay)? Among the *ororo*-trees in **Deeji** near the river Daadati. The intonation of the word Deeji not only includes the exaggerated vocalic lengthening but also a special wave-like intonation pattern, which is used in Elder rich style to emphasize the word that kind of “summarizes the point”. Elder rich style also includes gestures, some practical showing or acting out of things in the narrative.

In the following text these features can be found as follows: Rhetorical questions (29, 40-41, 42-43), repetition of verb (32, 34, 38-39, 42), wave-intonation (38), showing (36).

Quotation 5.6. (4Me: 25-48)

<p>²⁹<i>Wotta bi mage deqqiye wotta bi mage koni deqqiye ? Hiyo, Hiyo deqqiye.</i> ³⁰<i>Hiyo mag</i></p> <p><i>Hiyon koni deqqiye wotta ikko wotta Maatto mage Hiyo deqqi.</i></p> <p>³¹<i>Hiyo mage mm Minjo deqqiye.</i></p> <p>³²<i>iibee, iibee, iibee, iibee hammi hammi taato Ciinni mag beddiqqi taato Ciinni mage, Yaanhoi mage giyiqqina</i></p> <p>³³<i>ashi hajo woje tajo, shore eddo, dubbe taho, bi naddo tahe, bi wojoon, dubboon, minji naddo, dubbo, wojo qeejahe dubboon tahehe. Naddo taaha qeye.</i></p> <p>³⁴<i>Eebina iibe iibe iibe iibe bi beetena ferenjo waaqqina, ferenjo waaqqina kichiqqina, biin kichiqqina biin gondoon bin...</i></p> <p>³⁵<i>guunooch giyiton Manjooch giyitoon kichiqqi ferenjo shuroon, wonne xaaqe shuroon, xaaqe neche xaaqe shuroon bi waato.</i></p> <p>³⁶<i>Yifaaree kitto</i></p> <p><i>ebichi wotto, taheeto. Ee taheeto ebichi wotto. Ebin tahaqqi wotta qurifachi shuro, qurifachi shuro,</i></p>	<p>²⁹Again from being with him it was received, again who received?</p> <p>³⁰Hiyo, Hiyo received. With Hiyo Who received Hiyo again one again from (being with) Maatto Hiyo received. ³¹From (being) with Hiyo mm Minjo received. ³²Saying (being), saying, saying, saying went went reaching to (be with) King Ciinni, from being with King Ciinni got in to being with Yaanhoi</p> <p>³³Man owned <i>ensete</i> fibre cloak, wore leather cloak, wearing (of) grass cloak, he wore leather, his <i>ensete</i> fibre cloak, grass cloak. He was made to spend the night (live) wearing leather of cow, grass cloak, <i>ensete</i> fibre cloak, he wore grass cloak. Wearing leather he spent the night (lived) ³⁴Like that saying/being, being being being as he was foreigner coming, foreigner coming taking out taking him out him being bad... ³⁵the one who had got into being a slave, who had got into being Manjo he took out (and) came (with) the foreigner trousers, the cotton trousers of past, the cotton white cotton trousers was what came.</p>	<p>After Maatto (clans) Hiyo (clans) took the power and then Miyo (clans). After some time came the Minjo. Then came the time of King Ciinni and after King Ciinni Haile Selassie started to rule.</p> <p>During those times people wore cloaks made from leather, grass or <i>ensete</i> fibre. They lived wearing those cloaks.</p> <p>When they were living like that the foreigners (Italians) came and freed the slaves and let the Manjo free from being subservient.</p> <p>These foreigners brought with them white cotton trousers. They were wearing long coats and they had trousers that had buttons.</p>
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<p><i>caammo gambello [showing] ebiye damba hiniich aallo, ebye damba gambello ebin ferenjo deqqii waaqqina,</i></p> <p>³⁷<i>bi waa beeti boocho ee.. hini, ee.. G: Shantariyo? AH: Shantariyoon toonoo, Shantariyon toonoone, Shantariyon toonoone, bi waa beet boocho oroore maaco G: Duppi kello ? AH: ³⁸Duppi kello waaqqina waa waaqqina waa amoo kotahe? orooro maacoona Deeeji, Daadaati aachooch. Tocii beeti xa' ooch. ³⁹Waahe, waahe, waahe waa wotta amooch amo shaggiye? Gad. Gade wotta koyaqqina boono hammichi shawo koya bee koya bee, koya, koya, koya hammi. ⁴⁰Amooch shaggiyeete? Hammiaqqina Shudda keye. Shudda daammi du'iqqina ferenjo kochi. Batti du'iqqi ferenjo kochi.</i></p> <p>⁴¹<i>Bi kochimmona ame gommoon yechiye gommo biich aallammona du'iqqi demba Shudda kichichi du'i bi immona amona hambine bi hammee boocho aallahe. Qato ciirah. ⁴²Aroon amo kichi? Hallee andi gettiti Manjo bi kubbo beet bi yawo be'qqi dammi, dammi Gawaattin Gawattiin desheen deqqi tariqqi daammi, Shantariyooch maaca aro duukkaano, xoogiqqi arooch tiijiqqi deqqi daammi. ⁴²Amooch? Wushooch kichichi waato Manjone. And bi gettit Manjone.</i></p> <p>⁴⁴<i>Aroo bee bi uppiti, bicaro hini shawooch aalle, bicaro, baakko, emmisho bulla ferenjone deebito.</i></p> <p>⁴⁵<i>Ashoon asochito ferenjone. Ashoon ashoochito ferenjo. Ashoon ashoo tuniito ashoo tuniqqi guunoochee kechito gonneech kichiqqina ashoo tuniito ferenjo. Guunooche kichito</i></p>	<p>³⁶The long coat staring from that it was worn, ee was worn from that. Wearing that also the trousers with buttons trousers with buttons, the shoes were gaiters, [showing] from here up, here was nothing, up from here gaiters that the foreigner had (and) came,</p> <p>³⁷the road he came was... ee this, ee Other person: Shantariyo? AH: Not Shantariyo, not Shantariyo, not Shantariyo, not Shantariyo, the road he came was among the <i>ororo</i>-trees. Other person: ³⁸on Dubbi gate? AH: Coming from Dubbi gate come come coming came where did he sit (stay)? Among the <i>ororo</i>-trees in Deeeji near the river Daadati. The camping place. ³⁹Came came came came again where where did he reach? Gad. Again after fighting in Gad in the land where he went fighting fighting fighting fighting went. ⁴⁰Where did he reach? By going he got into Shudda. Took in Shudda suffering he fought. Yet suffering he fought. ⁴¹When fighting, which road to take, the road being lost for him he was suffering. After taking out up to Shudda while he was suffering by what way to go, the road to go was lost. Half (of them) were finished. ⁴²Him (them) what took out? The one who was told (to be) Manjo being in forest showed the way took to Gaawati Gaawati (from) down received went took, inside Shantariyo he is buried, pulling getting them up received and took. ⁴³Where? To Wush(wush) it is Manjo by taking out who came. The one who is talked (about) now is Manjo.</p> <p>⁴⁴At that time (there) was curse, there was no mule in this country, mule, chicken, goat all this it was the foreigner who brought ⁴⁵The one who made a man (human being) a man (human being). The one who made man a man. The one who made man a man, made to be man getting out from being male slave taking out from being</p>	<p>And they had gaiters.</p> <p>Which way did they come?</p> <p>Other person: "Shantariyo?"</p> <p>No it was not Shantariyo, they came through the <i>ororo</i>-trees.</p> <p>Other person: "Was it through Dubbi gate?"</p> <p>That is where they came through. Then they camped among the <i>ororo</i>-trees. It was in Deeeji that they camped, on the banks of Daadati river. After that they went to Gad, fighting their way they reached Shudda, but there they encountered problems.</p> <p>Fighting was fierce and the soldiers lost their way in the forest. They were suffering and half of the soldiers died.</p> <p>When they were hiding in the forest one Manjo who knew the way through the forest came and showed them the way out. He took them to Gaawati and then to Wushwush. The grave of this Manjo is in Shantariyo. It was a Manjo who took them out.</p> <p>Those times were cursed times. There were no mules or chicken or goats.</p> <p>When the foreigners came things started to change. Slaves were freed and all men were considered as people.</p>
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<p><i>ferenjo.</i> <i>Ishi genjoon eddiito ferenjo.</i> ⁴⁶<i>Arooba dubbo, wojo, shoro,</i> <i>naddo, ebi ne iye ta niho. Ta niho</i> <i>gettetone ta getteto. Ta ebiich</i> <i>wotta be'aantaane.</i></p>	<p>female slave making to be a human being it was foreigner. The one who took out from being male slave it was foreigner. The one who made to wear this long one it was foreigner. ⁴⁶ At that time grass cloak, ensete fibre cloak, leather cloak, leather, that it was my father told, the thing that my father told I am telling I again that I did not see.</p>	<p>People started to use long trousers instead of cloaks made of grass, leather or ensete fibre.</p> <p>I did not see this myself, but I heard it from my father.</p>
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In Elder rich style, when appreciation is given it is directed to those present. In the following the speaker points out my being a foreigner and connects me with the Italians and says the following for appreciation: “The one who made a man (human being) a man (human being). The one who made man a man. The one who made man a man, made to be man getting out from being male slave taking out from being female slave making to be a human being it was foreigner...” (45).

The last quotation of this *tocho*-teller includes features of Elder rich style such as the usage of direct speech for describing not only happenings from the past, but as a way of explaining circumstances: “Saying ‘I will marry’, (before saying) ‘I married’ he has died” and using very descriptive language like “Death means by getting old, all hair growing white, tooth getting broken finished in eating with inner gums died, being known by this”. It also includes showing how cheeks were scratched to bleed when mourning.

Quotation 5.7. (4: 132-137)

<p>⁴⁷<i>Aaf gizooba and gizo hichiaache,</i> <i>aaf gizooba hichiqqina maadda</i> <i>yaa’ooch kechito “ebi ne bi giye</i> <i>beeto ,eebi gaat giyito” eebi gaat</i> <i>iqqina eeppiqqina eebi gaat</i> <i>hechiiqqina qellon qochiye, hinin</i> <i>maaciqqiye [showing] hichiye,</i> <i>hichiiqqina, maaciyo baddi,</i> <i>hewaniyo baddi, addaamiyo</i> <i>baddi, hichiiqqina bi ginoona</i> <i>qelloon kochii beeto bi ginoona</i> <i>yaaddebeena aro ichiqqi qochiqqi</i> <i>eeppiqqi ebi gaata tiye.</i> ⁴⁸<i>Ehe...eebi gaat erigito halla ee bi</i> <i>gaat bi tiyo.</i> ⁴⁹<i>Aaf gizooch. And gizooch</i></p>	<p>⁴⁷In previous time, at present time the songs for lament is not sang, in previous times in the morning in sunrise “this is what it gets in, if it is mourned, if it is got into mourning” saying crying in mourning spending the day scratching himself, cutting this [showing cheeks] sang the lament song, singing the women reached, Eves reached, Adams (men) reached singing hitting by spear himself, bidding defiance with his spear. If mourning was mourned this rose. ⁴⁸Ehen.. if this was really if it rose. In previous time. ⁴⁹At present time the lament</p>	<p>Nowadays the lament songs are no longer sung. In the past, if people heard that there is mourning they got out early at sunrise and cried. They spent the day crying and scratched their cheeks, cut them so that they bled. Both women and men went to mourning. The men hit themselves with the spears and bid defiance. That is what it was like, in the past.</p> <p>Nowadays lament songs are no</p>
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<p><i>hichaache and gizooch and gizooch qaji. Eefaachi, and gizooch asho qito woddahe.</i> ⁵⁰<i>Aaf gizooch qito bi waa beeto, bi waa beeto ikka bootoochalli qito qitemmo qito aalle. And qito beete. Aaf qito aalle.</i> ⁵¹<i>Qito geenataane busho hin geenataan busho qitiye geenataano.</i> ⁵²<i>Bi meche hinooch geddiche and shaaggaqqi deebiye "shaagemmitaane" iqqi "deebemmotaane" qitiye. Busho "shaaggemmitaane" iqqina "shaaggahe" qititone.</i> ⁵³<i>And alli qito waato, aaf qito aalle. Qito geto geenaaqqi bullo bukko kochiqqi gasho tiichi qapphaqqi maacii iriyoona maaqqi qitiye, ebina arihona, ebin taa ariho. Ta bulli ariho.</i> ⁵⁴<i>Ta niho ta niho inde ta niho ta niho bulla gasho tiichi qapphaqqina hini qapphiqqina iqqi duppi gashe diinoona mayo mayo mayo be, bi busha bushooch "abine hini busho?" ii bee qitito.</i> ⁵⁵<i>"Abine bushone hini?" ii be qitiye, and hiniich hiniich qito bi aaji beet makinyaato daggoochena bi giita beet makinyaato daggaochena taahiqqi qitiye, taahiqqi qitiye.</i></p>	<p>songs are not sung, at present time, at present time it became absent. It is not cried, at present the death of people become many. ⁵⁰At previous times the death it was coming, it was coming to one place, death dying death there was not. Now there is death. Before there was no death. ⁵¹The death died by getting old, that is not said (to be) death. ⁵²Now a child that has not got old now this not-grown-old child die without getting old. His wife brought here, now getting married and bring, saying "I will marry I will bring" he died. Saying "I will marry", (before saying) "I married" he has died. ⁵³It is now that the death has come, before it was not. Death means by getting old, all hair growing white, tooth getting broken finished in eating with inner gums died, being known by this. I know this. I know all (this). ⁵⁴My father, my father, my mother, my father, my grandfather all teeth broken and finished this being finished by gums eating eating eating to his grandchild "how is this child" saying he died, ⁵⁵"How is this child? "like this saying. Now here here death, reason being he is working hard, the reason being engaged in commercial activities gets tired and dies, gets tired and dies.</p>	<p>longer sung. There is no time for that as so many people are dying. Before it was not like that.</p> <p>In the past people grew old and died. Now it is not like that. To grow old and die is natural that is how it goes, but now it is not like that.</p> <p>Now the young ones, those yet preparing to get married die before even being able to get married.</p> <p>Before it was not like that. Before one grew old, his hair became white, he lost his teeth and ate with inner gums and then died.</p> <p>I myself know that it was like that before. My father, my grandfather and my mother, they all lost their teeth and ate with inner gums and got to know their grand(grand)children before they died.</p> <p>Now people are working so hard and they are busy trading. That is why they get tired and die.</p>
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Within his **Elder rich style** in this last quotation he utilizes the style I call **Others speaks tyle**: It is used when quoting people from outside the Manjo group. These quotations are given in the imperative form of short commands or questions that require yes/no answers like "come to one place and eat!" or "kiss!" and are not to create discussion. The phrasing is pithy and terse. The group is addressed as one. The commands can be for good or bad, but it is always something that is expected to be done. The style can also include registers and styles related to the particular ideology they are presenting, whether political or religious or Gomaro commandments or insults.

Quotation 5.8. (4Me: 167-174)

<p>⁵⁶<i>Mengisto Haile Mariam</i> <i>Mengitto Haile Mariam shixxato bushishoon bulli kacaqqina deqqi hammiti getena waachena bi shixxto.</i> ⁵⁷<i>Ashoon waaqqina “ikka bootooch wobote, ikka bootooch waa mamote ikka wotto bashiqqina ikka bootooch mado geechiqqina no shikkoona mayo mamote” iqqina “manjibote” gete.</i> ⁵⁸<i>“Shumebote” iqqina, “kittinno tijjibe” iqqina Qeesoon hammiqqi kishoona geechiqqina deebi “shum” iqqina Ee deebi “shum” iqqina, “ne bi kishoon shumb, biichoon shumb, ne biichoon shumb” iqqi shummiqqi Mengitto Haile Mariam, andinno.</i></p> <p>⁵⁹<i>Ashi shig dookko gondone, taato anaamo gijoon bi danato anamittinone. Gine koyo anaamittino, gine koyo no ninihoochoni no ninihooch beet gine koyone.</i></p>	<p>⁵⁶Mengist Haile Mariam, (the reason) Mengist Haile was hated (because) all children he picked received went, (for this) only he is hated. ⁵⁷By coming to man “come to one place, come to one place and eat, again slaughtering being one, to one place, pull the tray eat food by our [=Manjo] knife” saying “feed” was said. ⁵⁸“Kiss” saying, “ get up (in) Christianity” saying going to priest pulling him by hand ee brought saying “kiss”, “you kiss his hand, kiss his, you kiss his” saying by making to kiss, Mengist Haile Mariam, the first.</p> <p>⁵⁹It is bad to spoil man’s name, king, male finds money/cattle through maleness. The hit with spear (war) is maleness, (it is) the hit with spear (war) for our grandfathers’ our fathers’ (it) was war.</p>	<p>The only reason why people hated Mengistu Haile Mariam was that he took the young ones to war. Otherwise he was liked as he tried to promote unity. He told people to be together, slaughter together, use the same knives and eat together on one tray. He tried to force the Orthodox pastors to let also us to kiss their hands and become Christians and told them to kiss our hands. Mengistu Haile Mariam was the first one to say so.</p> <p>It is not good to speak only bad things about him. To be a man or king is to fight in war, to kill. That is how he gets his property. To be a man is to fight. Fighting has been the way of our fathers and grandfathers.</p>
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In the last sentences (59) he changes to **Being strong style**. When this style is used one gets the feeling that the authority and knowhow is with the speaker. The word *anaamo* (man, male) is often in different forms. Sometimes the language used can be very rough and threatening. Words relating to fighting, hunting and tracking are used. The style is in relation to the activity called threatening (*yaaddiye*), to show that one is not afraid to challenge. In dancing (*yuubbiye*) it is shown by imitating attacking with a spear. Youngsters sometimes showed these feelings through imitating the firing of a gun.

With the quotations above, all from the same person, I have introduced all five styles: Elder rich style, Being weak style, Submissive style, Others speak style and Being strong style. The styles mentioned above are also recognizable in the speeches of the other elders. In addition to the styles mentioned, some speeches include discourse markers from certain other styles or registers. The speeches of the elders include Gomaro discourse markers, Old Testament stories, and Protestant Christian discourse markers.

The next quotation is in Elder rich style with a Gomaro discourse marker *Ne niho wuxibe* ‘Let your father be killed’. It is a form used by the Gomaro especially in past decades, a discourse marker associated with that particular style. *Ne niho wuxibe* is an expression of commitment and sincerity that well captures the essence of Gomaro style: What is meant is actually very different from the literal meaning. In order to show commitment the speaker refers to himself as a close relative of the one addressed and then emphasizes that he would rather see himself being killed than leave something undone or tell a lie. The phrase is modified according to the situation, the one who is to die is according to the speaker: *ne niho* ‘your father’, *ne shijjo* ‘the one who gave birth to you’ *ne mano* ‘your brother’, *ne shiyito* ‘the one who was given birth by you’, *ne guuno* ‘your slave’, *ne hajjo* ‘your wealth, belongings’. The relationship mentioned does not need to be actual, but the form selected is mainly according to the age relationship and the last two refer to ownership. Sometimes, but not very often, the pronoun used is *itti*, the polite form of ‘you’ for men and women. In this quotation it is in the plural, *itto*, a shortened form from *ittoshi*, ‘you’ plural. Although the verb most often is *wuxibe*, be killed, other verbs are also used: This speaker uses the expression “*Ne niho cammo kuxibe*” which can either be interpreted as “Let your father’s root (meaning line, clan) be cut” or in a more straightforward way referring to cutting off the genitals (e.g., in D7: 27).

In the following quotation The Gomaro discourse marker ‘let your father be killed’ is connected to the question requiring the well-being of the soldiers: “Where are you? **Let your father be killed**, have you been finished by death?” said.” The same quotation also serves as a good example of Being weak style. Elder rich style is changed to Being weak style when describing how bad the situation was for the Italian soldiers who were lost in the forest (53-54). The first word that marks the change in style is emphasized by making a vowel /o/ very long in the word *cooxo* ‘wild animal’: “They became like wild animals they hit forest antelope whatever they hit they ate. They got dandruff you see how come they could have got blades. Having dandruff they were, again, “have you perished where are you, are you dead, are you troubled, have you survived?”

Quotation 5.9. (1Me: 10-26)

⁶⁰ <i>Guuno tunaqqi bi qei beete</i>	⁶⁰ While they were living being	The Italians came and took the
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<p><i>ferenjo waaqina ferenjo taataaqina eboo ishin bulli Amaare taatonalli ciichiqqina Yaadiyo Harabo shawooch boo naacho wan beshatinone.</i></p> <p>⁶¹<i>Boo besheten, waa, ferenjo taate. Ferenjo taataten gishacho no kasho wottahe</i></p> <p><i>wottaqaa gonnee guunoo kichiqqi beeqqii uucha nato ferenjo taatato.</i> ⁶²<i>Uucha natooba</i></p> <p><i>men waati halla wotaddero bulla ferenjo mag giyemmo, shuppooch giyemmo aroo beehe.</i></p> <p>⁶³<i>And ebi silikochoomoon silikochoon silikochoomoon wotta wochachooch gufto ukaaqqina^a "amooch itto beeto, itto niho wuxibote ? Qitit ciiraat itto ittoshina?" iye. "Halla beet ittona" iqqi⁶⁴ Haraabo shawoo boo naacho mag beechina men silikochoon wochihone. ⁶⁵Men guftoon ukaaqqina cikki illa hammi ebichi Gomma beeto, hiniich eebommoon Jimma beetooch , Gomma beetooch ee Shekka beetooch bi shawoo shawoona beetooch Addiyooch beetooch amoochi beetooch woroon bechi. ⁶⁶Woroon bi bechemmoona uuchaqqi bekka Tentoon massaaron bekkach, uuchaqqi shekkooch, aashiraqqi sheekooch, ara uuchaqqi sheekooch hammiqqi cooxo tunaqqi cooxo yexxa shubbeeti doolloon amo yexxiqqi maaqqii be. Cindo tunaqqina illa ame arfo deqqi. ⁶⁷<i>Cindo tunaqqi bee'ote "Wotta aalle amooch ittoshi beeto qiti, irate ittoona wodiich ciirato ittoshina" iqqi wotta hach deejjiyone.</i> ⁶⁸<i>Wotta qatiree qatiree waahete silikooch gettii bee gettii bee getti bee ciichi. Jimma beeto yexo yammari, Gomma beeto yexo yammari, bi shawo shawoona, Addi'oocho beeto yexo yammari.</i></i></p>	<p>slaves the foreigner came and he ruled and as all this Amhara rule was put to end, Yaanhoi passed to Arab country to be with his in-laws. ⁶¹When He had passed came the foreigner, ruled. While foreigner was ruling our life came back (got break). As we got it back female slaves and male slaves were taken out and living, five year time that foreigner ruled ⁶²During five years all soldiers who came got to be with the foreigner, the ones who got into forest were there. ⁶³Now like that phone, phone, like a phone, like a phone again to answer putting on a hat* "Where are you? Let your (pl) father be killed, have you been finished by death?" said. "Are you all?" saying ⁶⁴being in Arab country with his in-laws this he this phoning sent. ⁶⁵Wearing that hat, immediately it went those who were in Gomma, like this also to those who were in Jimma, to those who were in Gomma, ee in Shekkato each to the country they were, to those who were in Addiyo, wherever they were the message was passed. ⁶⁶While the message was passed in group of five immediately the Tendo guns, in group of five went to rush being ten they went among rush, being 15 they went to rushes becoming like wild animals, they hit forest antelope whatever they hit they ate. They got dandruff you see how come they could have got blades. ⁶⁷Having dandruff they were"Again have you perished where are you, are you dead, are you troubled, have you survived?" saying again here he sent. ⁶⁸Again quickly quickly they came, talked to phone saying, saying, saying finished. Those in Jimma started to hit, those in Gomma started to hit, all in their countries like those in Addi'o they started to hit.</p>	<p>power from the Amhara. Haile Selassie went to Arab countries to be with his in-laws.</p> <p>The five-year time of Italian rule was a good break for us. They freed the slaves.</p> <p>During those five years most of the soldiers were with Italians, others were in the forest.</p> <p>At that time Haile Selassie sent a radio message from Arab countries to his soldiers asking how they were doing. The radio message went to those who were in Gomma, in Jimma in Shekkato and in Addiyo, wherever the men were they got the message.</p> <p>After hearing the message the soldiers formed groups of five or fifteen and went to the forest with their Tendo guns. They went among the rushes and became like wild animals. They had to eat what they could kill, such as antelopes. They got dandruff in their hair as they had no blades for shaving. Suffering like that they again received a message from Haile Selassie. He asked how they were doing and ordered them to start fighting. First those who were in Jimma, then those who were in Gomma, then also those who were in Addiyo. Like that all started to fight.</p>
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*describing the headphones used when sending a telegram

In the Elder rich style appreciation, blessing and cursing are used frequently. In the following quotation the speaker gives appreciation for Prime Minister Melles, he also blesses him and later also gives his blessings to me:

Quotation 5.10. (1Me: 120-122, 173-175)

<p>⁶⁹<i>Ebina be'eqqana no beete and waaqqina Mellesi Zeeni giishoon, maaceen, anaamon bull illa kichiye.</i> ⁷⁰<i>Bi edmo kattaleeba and bulli xuree gumboon neexemmoon, tach no toommooch beeba bushoo toommooch beeba no meche toommoocho beeba, bi bushee bushoo taatoоче kuxaaya...</i></p> <p>⁷¹<i>...Ebi ne ta genneene, ebin arii beete. Ariyo muchiyahote, mama yagibote, beemo yagibote, geenaaree beebote.</i></p>	<p>⁶⁹When we were living like this now Melles Zenawi came and small one(s), female(s) and male(s) all he took out. ⁷⁰Let his age continue, now again let stand like an iron stick, let him be above us, above children, above our wives, let his rule not be cut to his grandsons.</p> <p>⁷¹...This is (it), my Lady, this is what I know. Let the knowledge not be not-found, let the food stay, let the life stay, let you live getting old.</p>	<p>When Melles Zenawi came to power he made all equal. May he grow old, may he be strong, may he and his sons and grandsons continue to rule upon us all.</p> <p>This is it, my Lady, this is what I know. May you learn all things you need, may you live long and have enough to eat.</p>
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The next example also includes blessings and cursing, now being quoted, but the main reason for presenting the next quotation is that it is a good example of how the Old Testament stories are utilized in Elder rich style: It is not only certain words or concepts that are used, but the stories themselves serve as concepts that can be used when making a point. This is also very common in normal discussions: Many things are discussed by telling what has happened to somebody (አጋጠመው /ag:at':ጌጌw/) and then discussing the reasons and consequences and relating them to the situation in which the speaker finds him/herself. To those who know the stories of the Bible, the people in these stories serve as “common acquaintances”, what happened to them is known and that can be used as common ground for discussing things that are related.

The following person uses Elder rich style in his *tocho* and tells first the story of a woman, who gives birth to 10 children: When God asks to see those children that she has given birth to, she is afraid that God might kill them and brings only five hiding the other five. This makes God angry and he curses the hidden five: they are to become Manjo, Manno (clans of leather workers and potters) and Mawo (who can change into a leopard). In some other versions some became sicknesses like *wogabo* (typhoid) or small pox. The ones who were

brought when asked were blessed and became Gomaro traders (in some other versions, Gomaro farmers, traders and Orthodox Christians). Continuing with the same style the speaker approaches the same issue of some being blessed and some not, through the story of Jacob and Esau "...My father!'Abeet'Are you?'I am, father.'Who are you?'I am really Esau.'AHA Who before (morning) gave me meat? Fed now received (took) came fed went?'When did I come, it is only now that I am coming', said. 'TS! VOI! Blessing really is finished, **let the one who gave birth to you be killed.**'" As can be seen, exclamations are frequently used in Elder rich style for expressing feelings. At the end the speaker uses blessing and cursing to clarify the situation for the Manjo including that now it is better to be in separation, but this does not mean death and is only temporary: "...Until the time come back eat, sit (stay) in gorge, blessing is finished. Let the spirit of the nature not look hard on your child, walk naked you child, let the spirit of the nature not look hard on you, Let the evil eye sitting on the rock not eat you, afterwards let the time be found for you..." (74- 79).

Quotation 5.11. (9Me: 24-59)

<p>⁷²"Hino", iye. "Abeeta", iye. "Ne qaaro amo bariye? Eesai qaaro tuniyaache amone qaaro?" Taalli, ne shimo wuxibe, illa ta akkitota, taalli ne qaatit meeno deebato", iye.⁷³"Hachi giddabe ne shafabe'ane", iye. Emmishe eexo qooggoon eexachone, xefooch wochi tahaqqi. ⁷⁴"Ebi ta ebite ebi ta acho yeshite ne shimoon wuxibe, ebi be'e" ite. Hini ne waate ne eexo shafabane" wokki be ciita bi iyona kisheen gijji bechiyahe eexo tunahe. Eexo yechi beqqiqqi illa gawukkiye.</p> <p>⁷⁵Kaatiqqi maayoon inde bekka kaatiqqa deqqa waa shaggahan. Kaatiqqa bi deqqi waa shagena woddi qooxaano gutta qooxa qooxxiye. ⁷⁶"Ai! Bi maaco nii' aa bee bi maato. Ammanaanone. Maaqqi diiri, diiriqqi bi iyona inde daachiyay, ohi waa shaggi.⁷⁷"Taabbo!"</p>	<p>⁷²"You!" said. "Abeta", said. "Your voice what made different? Esau's voice is not what is (this) voice?" "It is really me, let the one to whom you gave birth be killed, I nothing became, it is really me your wanted meat I brought." said. ⁷³"Here get near, let me touch you." Hairy leather of a goat, it is hairy, to his front side (torso) again dressed. ⁷⁴ Like this I like this this, take hold of by body, let the one you gave birth to be killed, see this" said. "This, you come you feel hair" going away (when) stretching his (pol) hand put (forward) when stretching, before reaching, it was hair.Hair (he) took hold, saw and let go.</p> <p>⁷⁵Quickly immediately mother quickly received food came (and) reached. Quickly when she received, came and reached, a lot he did not swallow, two mouthfuls swallowed. ⁷⁶Ai, he nm nm said (doubt) inside, he did not believe. (He) ate and to bless. (When he was to) bless mother sent, that one came, reached. ⁷⁷"My father!"</p>	<p>Isaac said that the voice was not Esau's voice, but Jacob convinced that he truly was Esau and had brought the meat his father had asked for.</p> <p>Isaac asked him to come near so that he could feel if his chest was hairy. Jacob let him briefly touch and feel the goatskin he was wearing to prove that he truly was Esau.</p> <p>The mother came and quickly offered the food. Isaac was still doubtful. He did not eat more than two mouthfuls. Then he gave his blessing.</p>
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<p><i>Abeet!" "Beetine?" "Beetine niho!" "Koni neenee?" "Eesay taallahe." ⁷⁸"AHA, kone maanda taachi meeno immito? Manjito, and deqqi waa manji hammito?" "Ta aata waatote battalli ta waa beeto", iye." "TS VOI! Diiroo ciirate ne shiito wuxibe ⁷⁹ Diiroo beshaha, amone" "And abicha ta gettemmo, ne shimo wuxibe!" " Ee beshaila gutta diiro beeta? Ne shiito wutibe.</i></p> <p>⁸⁰<i>Ne gize wottoon mam. Bamba shawoo kotaqqi illa diiroahe ciiratone. Qoollo ne bushoon sheexxiya, xallacho sha'aba. Ne busho qoollo sheexxiya, xaqqee tommoo kotaqqi qooroo ne maayaaya gubbi qachi gizo neech danaba. ⁸¹Ne gochammi maayo collaba, bambooch kotabe, qooroo ne bushoon maayaayo, qoollo ne bushoon sheexxiye. Xallaacho shubbi sha'ab, ne meeno dallaiya. ⁸²Maando shimaach xojo tunabe ne yaro itone maadda Yaicobin diiro. Diiro, shimayee xojo tunabe ne yaro itone. ⁸³Ne busho ne bushebusho shimai xojjottabe itolla and beeree beeree gizo gubbi qach neech wottabe. Ne gizo neech wottabe.</i></p> <p>⁸⁴<i>Zebenooba gizo neech wottabe itone. Gizooba gizo neech wottaba. He? ⁸⁵Oogato giishammi zebenooba, genjato qabinne zebenooba. Michito shaacemmi zebenooba. Ne gizo neech wottabe. Haa'iyachoon tunabote diiro waa ciichito taane, gizoon quiyabe iqqi.</i></p>	<p><i>"Abeet" "Are you?" "I am, father" "Who are you?" "I am really Esau." ⁷⁸" AHA Who before (morning) gave me meat? Fed now received (took) came fed went?" "When did I come, it is only now that I am coming", said. "TS! VOI! Blessing really is finished, let the one who gave birth to you be killed." ⁷⁹ "Blessing was passed, what is it, now how shall I say, let the one you have given birth be killed!" "Ee passed really, is there two blessings, let the one who gave birth to you be killed!</i></p> <p>⁸⁰Until the time comes back eat, sit (stay) in gorge, blessing is finished. Let the spirit of the nature not look hard on your child, walk naked You child, let the spirit of the nature not look hard on you, Let evil eye sitting on the rock not eat you, afterwards let the time be found for you. ⁸¹Let the grain that you farm (plough) sprout sit (stay) in gorge, let the evil-eye-person not eat you. Let the spirit on nature not look hard on you. Naked to forest walk, let your flesh (meat) not get thin. ⁸²Like stars in twilight heaven let your clan be it was said before, by blessing Yaicob. ⁸³Blessing, let your clan be (like) stars of the sky, was said. Your child, your grandchild be like sky star was said (really) now being being time afterwards let come back to you. Let time come back to you.</p> <p>⁸⁴To you let time be back, is said. By time let time be back to you. Got it? ⁸⁵The era (when) one who has been great will be small, the era when long becomes short. Era when satisfied will be hungry. Let your time come back to you. Be enduring! Blessing came I finished, wait the time, he said.</p>	<p>Just as he had given the blessing Esau came and explained that he had come with the food. Isaac was truly sorry when he noticed that he had already given the blessing.</p> <p>Esau was so sorry that he had not got the blessing. Isaac was truly sorry as there was only one blessing to be given.</p> <p>As there was no blessing he advised that for the time being it was better to live in nature and stay away. It would not be too hard. Nothing too bad would happen and there would be enough food.</p> <p>It was said that the blessed clans of Jacob would be powerful and be as many as the stars in heaven. But one day the times would change again and then it would be Esau's turn again.</p> <p>The times will change again. You got it? There will be a time when those who were great will become small, those who were tall will become short, and those who were satisfied will become hungry. Just wait and be enduring. Wait until the times are changing.</p>
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In addition to the use of Old Testament stories, the elders sometimes include discourse markers that are often used by Protestant Christian preachers in their sermons and add the

religious vocabulary from Amharic. In the following quotation, the base of the style of the speaker is Elder rich style, with which he combines Being weak style, but he has added many elements familiar from Protestant Christian preachers: He calls Jesus in between and uses phrases like *Yeeri shunachone*, ‘God is love’, *Yeeri womit mooyo aallone* ‘There is no thing that God could not do’, When Appreciation is given it is to God, not people. Religious words of Amharic origin are included: *ammaniye* (አመነ/ጠ:ጠን/) ‘believed’, *tsallei* (ጸለይ /ts’al:ɜj/) ‘prayed’, *hayimaanooto* (ካይማኖት /hajmanot/) ‘religion’, *amlaako* (አምላክ /amla:k/ ‘god’. These are underlined in the following quotation.

The speaker first quotes the Gomaro insult: “their [=Manjo] grandfathers up to the seventh generation, they have collected stones for making stone traps for wild pigs, to trap pigs that is their practice, now getting out from that practice with their stones they are sitting in the gate of the religious house, they came and gathered”. Then he continues:

Quotation 5.12. (10Me: 97-113)

<p>⁸⁶<u>YESUUSO, ne amoocha hambenaniye YESUUSO.</u>⁸⁷ <i>Illla no damona kittahena, no damo kemacho aallahe. Koo(ch) damo kittahon. Dam ebi xaqqoo no giijji no immona no damo kittehone immona no damo deqqacho alle.</i> ⁸⁸<i>No bushooche kembone?</i> ⁸⁹<i>Abraami ta.. shimaayo <u>amlaako</u> Yeerichee Abraham Abraham ne bushoon daammi taan deejjibee iqqi bi iiyooba Yeeri bi Yeeri kokkooche ishin Yeeri gettiyooba Abraham abichine bi ito tarattaraanone</i>⁹⁰<i>baqqa, bi <u>amlaako</u> “Yeriich bushoon dejjibane” iqqina Abraham bi bushoon bi deqqi taryanni bi daammit saatoochane, daammi dech qeejjiiqqi mixo xaaniqqi kure mixo xaanniiqqi daammi</i> <i>qeejjichi guuretaane bi yahena</i> ⁹¹<i>“Abrahami ne busho qettooch shikko qojiyahine” iye Yeeri</i> ⁹²<i>“Amooch” “illa ne deejjo beqqattaane dech ebi kuche kuche daggoo beet bagone, waahe guuribe” iye. <u>Yeeri Taato Yeesus Shimaayo amlaako Yeeri bi</u></i></p>	<p>⁸⁶<u>JESUUS! Where is it that you have gone? JEESUUS.</u>⁸⁷ Really when we are pouring our blood, the one to buy our blood there is not. To whom shall we pour blood? If we put blood to this rock our blood is poured, being given (but) there is none to receive our blood. ⁸⁸“Shall we sell our children?” ⁸⁹Abraham I...From God ,the <u>god</u> of Heaven “Abraham Abraham take your child and sacrifice to me” when he was saying God he God when he said this from his mouth how was it that he [= Abraham] said, without doubt ⁹⁰“enough”(that’s it) to his <u>god</u> “let child be sacrificed to God” saying Abraham his child he took went now at the time he took, took put to lay down, loaded wood on donkey loaded with wood took made (him) lay and then he was to slaughter ⁹¹“Abraham to the throat of your child let the knife not be put to (be ready to) slaughter” said God. ⁹²“Why” “Really I have seen your sacrifice down this bush among the bush there is a sheep come</p>	<p>Jesus, where have you gone (why do you not hear us)? Nobody wants anything from us, not even our blood. Should we sell our children?</p> <p>When God of Heaven asked Abraham to sacrifice his child, Abraham did not hesitate, but decided to sacrifice his son to God. Immediately he loaded wood on a donkey and went to do it. He put his son ready and just when he was about to slaughter, God told him not to touch his son’s throat with the knife.</p> <p>When Abraham asked why, God said that he had already seen that Abraham was ready to do it and so he could take a sheep that was in a nearby bush and slaughter it instead.</p>
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<p><u>getena arooba Abrahamichi busho salamoona waahe ee ⁹³Abrahami busho quuriye qete qaale daqqooch caafiyonone, illa Yesuusi no bushoon no bushoochi no kembane qete, koni koni nooch kememmo.</u></p> <p>⁹⁴<u>YESUUSO, ishi qaataa xaqqee maroon noo aafochee Yesuuso ikka oohee noon alame toommooch noon tiijji damba, baqqa. He? Oohee ne ebi xaqqoon ikke bad noon abichi, shaaggi Yesuus ikkone ebich coroote toommooch be'on ⁹⁵No qa'iche axibee, axibee hanaach bedahe shiicha no haimaanoto no ammaniyooba yammariqqa taato Yesuus qiidona Kristosoona qiido no yaabiti ee axibe hana beddahena.</u></p> <p>⁹⁶<u>Ee ishi corooti erdaaton nooch kabbaad bi immaa beeto e waa makkaree beeto iqqi tsallei waa beehote "Yeeri shunachone Yeeri womit mooyo aallone. ⁹⁷Danielina tookkiye shuunatone, Dawitina tookkiye shuunatone, Eliyaso tookkiye shuunatone, Abrahami tookkiye shuunatone, ⁹⁸bullaa mooyoon Yeeri toommooch waa ciqqi qediche waa qe'ote" iqqana axibeenoon oogati makkari beeti makkari beetona noo coroote toommooch beehone getone.</u></p>	<p>slaughter" said God. <u>King Jesus the god of Heaven God</u> as he said that time Abraham's child in peace came ee ⁹⁵<u>Abraham's child was slaughtered it is not written among the words, really Jesus, our child the one who is our child, sell if it is said, who will buy for us?</u></p> <p>⁹⁴<u>JESUUS! If it is so the sourness of rock from our eyes Jesus! Or us from world us take up up, that's it. He? (Got it?) Or you (from) this rock on the other hand by doing us how? The one who reach is only Jesus, like this we were praying, ⁹⁵we were not left out, congregation, congregation up to today first our religion starting from time when we believed by the strength of King Jesus by Christ strongly led us by hand ee congregation until today.</u></p> <p>⁹⁶<u>Ee this praying help it gave us strongly ee they were coming and advising praying, "God is loving, there is no thing that God not-could-do. ⁹⁷(He has) worked with Daniel, (he has) worked with Dawit, (he has) worked with Elias (he has) worked with Abraham, ⁹⁸all things come and put on Jesus Spend the night (stay)" saying congregation us greatly advising, being advising we stayed in prayer.</u></p>	<p>It is not written that Abraham had to kill his son. If we are told to sell our child, who will buy?</p> <p>We were praying that Jesus would either take this agony away from us or take us ourselves away from the world. You got it? Our only hope was Jesus and we prayed.</p> <p>We were not left out. Starting from the times when we believed up to today, the strength of Christ has led us to the religion of this congregation.</p> <p>They were really helping us a lot by coming to pray for us and to advise us. They told that there is nothing God cannot do. They said that as God has worked with Daniel, with David, with Elias and with Abraham, we too can leave all our things to him.</p> <p>They asked us to stay and pray with them and they advised us.</p>
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Through the speeches of elders I have introduced **Elder rich style, Others speak style, Being strong style and Being weak style**. Again, I also have shown how some elders include certain discourse markers of the Gomaro way of speaking in their speeches and how some include Old Testament stories, concepts of religious Christian registers, and Protestant Christian discourse markers.

5.3.2. Local and Global in the speeches of the middle aged

Many of the ways of speaking and styles mentioned above are also found in the speeches of the middle-aged group. However, there are some differences in the way they expressed themselves through those styles and some other styles are also used. This does not mean that the styles discussed in more detail through the speeches of the middle aged are completely missing from those of the elders; there were at least traces of them present in some, but in the speeches of the middle aged they are more predominant and so also easier to recognize.

Although the topics included in the speeches of this group were very similar to each other, and also to the topics of the elders, including the description of the past in the times of different rulers and the references to the present situation, the styles used in this middle-aged group differed considerably from one person to another to the extent that I could not choose one typical representative to start with. Some used only the same styles already discussed under the group of elders. Some included religious words and concepts, some political, and the way that was done differed from one to the other. Chambers refers to the slowing of the language-learning capacity beyond the critical period and the linguistic reflex of conservatism as features often accompanying aging and thus contributing to linguistic stability in middle and old age and indicating that there is a point when the range of styles and the inventory of socially significant variants are deemed sufficient, at least subconsciously, for all practical purposes in the situations they find themselves in (Chambers 2009:197). Although this is inevitably true in many cases and also relevant to some examples of the speeches of the middle aged in this study, I would still argue that some of the middle aged in this case are actively widening their repertoires. Two things may contribute to this: the way of life that brings all age groups into frequent interaction on a daily basis and the activating power of the possibilities created by social change. In order to show how the styles were modified by using old and new elements of the repertoire, I will start with a speech that includes some of the elements that were present in the styles introduced through the elders, but also includes new elements and modifications of the way of expression so that another style has emerged.

Instead of structuring their speech in the way of *tocho*, so common with elders, the middle aged moved more in the direction of Description with explanation. The actual things mentioned are very much the same as with the elders, but the presentation includes more commenting, examples, experiences and comparison. The use of this structuring of speech often goes with the style that I have characterized as **Alama style**, which I will introduce through the following example.

This word *alama*, borrowed from Amharic (አላማ /alama/) can be considered as a kind of discourse marker. *Alama* can be translated as ‘goal, aim, purpose, target, objective, intent, concern, design, motif, destiny’ (Kane 1990: 1103). In this context it is used for “another world view” or “this way of life”.⁵⁵ As can be observed from the following quotation, many characteristics of Elder rich style are missing: The wave-like intonation for certain words is not used, nor is the repetition of the verb for showing the continuity of the action. If direct speech is used it is in shorter sequences, only one or two pairs. The framework for discussion, register and vocabulary used is mainly socially related, but also includes religious concepts. The rhetorical questions also include why-questions. Convincing phrases are used in much the same way as with elders, but a distinction is made between those things that have been heard and those things that have been seen “by my own eyes”. When blessing is given it is in a more general way: “*Yeri neen diiriba*” ‘Let God bless you’. Appreciation is shortened to one sentence and it is directed to God. Many Amharic words are used (underlined).

Quotation 5.13. (23Mma: 73-82)

<p>⁹⁹<i>Ishi gallato Yeerichi bede.</i> ¹⁰⁰<i>Ta nihoochoo ta waayato ta niho beemo ebi aaf barone. Ooga wodda wodda wodda woho barone</i> ¹⁰¹<i>Bi barito amoochenaniye? Yeeri halloochoa bulla bi ikko tunataa shaahona bi ikko tunataana shuunona kishona baatona Yeeri halliqqi Yeeri halle</i></p>	<p>⁹⁹Let the praise reach God. ¹⁰⁰(As) I have heard from my father the living before was different. Greatly a lot a lot a lot a lot (bigger) distant separation. ¹⁰¹Why had it differed? From God’s creating all being one resembling, being one by work, by hand, by foot being created by God, being created a human</p>	<p>May the Lord be praised. I have heard from my father that before life was different. Very different indeed. The reason for that was that although we all are human beings created by God and similar in every way, we were kept far away and separated from others.</p>
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⁵⁵ Alemu Wodajo, who helped me with the language issues, described the concept of *alama* by referring to an example given by one of the speakers earlier: When a horse in a town is made to pull a carriage, it has these black shades that allow it to see just the road before it, not to see what is going on around it. “Alama” means that those shades are no longer there.

<p><i>asho</i></p> <p><i>tunaqqi Yeeri halli qiico tunaqqi bi ikko tunataana arooba ooga wokkiti woho beete.</i></p> <p>¹⁰²<i>Ooga woho bi beet quddoo amone? Manjeena Gumareena'o beet shige baro beete.</i></p> <p><i>Mmm Manjoona Gumaroonaa ii beet shigo baremmona ishe Manjeena'o boono beeto ee</i></p> <p><i>ashe tagabooch bee beetalli, ashichoomo kexo hagiye, ashichoomo goye, bee beetalli, baro beete.</i> ¹⁰³<i>Bare alaamo, eboomon ashi mage katiniqqi gimo baro beete. Bare alaamo, eboomon ashi mage katiniqqi gimo alle, giijjo alle.</i></p> <p>¹⁰⁴<i>"Moogooch qebane addiyo^a, moogooch qebane" ii beet wonne gazena'on "addiyo moogooche qebane" iqqinane no getta beeto.</i> ¹⁰⁵<i>"Shawooch qebane" iqqi geti gaata bulla yexxaano beet <u>zebeenone</u> iqqina ne taa niho gettito, taanna ikkinnone taa nihone ee ii beet <u>bahilich</u> taa niho beeto,</i> ¹⁰⁶<i>"adiyo moogooch qebane, addarate", keejjinnoo <u>fissaamo</u>, geeno tunemmona shawooch qebane gettee beet gizo beete gettehe.</i> ¹⁰⁷<i>Ebina waddi wokkaqqanane no beeti.</i></p>	<p>being, being God's belonging being one at that time, (now) great(ly) being far distanced.</p> <p>¹⁰²What is the thing for being greatly separated? The name being separate for Manjo and Gomaro. Mm being separated by name saying Manjo and Gomaro, these Manjo (pl) their being they were <u>not near</u> people, even though they built houses like people, even though they farmed like people they were separated.</p> <p>¹⁰³Separate (different) <u>goal</u> (alama), like that with people to get in being close there was separation. Separate <u>goal</u> (alama) like this there was no getting in getting close with people, to be put in there was not.</p> <p>¹⁰⁴"For prestige let me lie down your honour/provider*, "Let me lie down" to past rulers "Provider, for honouring let me lie down" saying were we being saying.</p> <p>¹⁰⁵"To ground let me lie" even if was said without not being hit (being hit) was <u>the era</u>, saying my father has told. For me first (generation) is my father ee for this <u>tradition</u> is my father ¹⁰⁶"Life granter for honouring let me lay down for your keeping" those who <u>fulfil</u> the third (generation), being old "to ground let me lay down" time when was said was there</p> <p>It is said. ¹⁰⁷That time far distanced we were.</p>	<p>This separation is due to naming. We have separate names: Manjo and Gomaro. Being separated with these names, although the Manjo make similar houses and farm like others, they are not let to be near the other people.</p> <p>That was the way of being, there was no vision that people could be close together, and there was none to make that happen.</p> <p>There was a time when although submissive greetings were said to landlords and rulers, they did not keep from hitting us. That is what my father has told me. That is how it was to my grandfathers. We Manjo were completely separated and kept far.</p>
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*I asked several Manjo in Gesha and Sayilem how to translate the word *adiyo*. Most of them said that "it is just for honour". Bekele Woldemariam (2010) introduces it as "a title for Kafa Emperors". Teferi Mulugeta (2013) gives the meaning step-father, but that was not agreed upon in Gesha and Sayilem.

A style modification that can be found in some speeches of the middle aged group is the use of **Being weak style** to ask for help or support either for an individual or for a certain group. This is common in the meetings, both religious and governmental. In the following quotation the speaker wants to present the needs of the community, in this case a grinding mill, as a part of his monologue as he sees me also as a person relating to the government's

implementations: “...We being poor, we being in agony, confusion is what is been given to us... let the grinding mill be left to your care, my government (person). For that we’ll praise for that we glorify...”

Quotation 5.14. (18Mma: 72-79)

<p>¹⁰⁸<i>No giri beeto no cannaqqa tuushono nooch immi beeto.</i> ¹⁰⁹<i>Ishichee bulla no mengisto</i> <i>noon gaachaa gabini boochoon nooch bi immito abooch bi tiyiqqinane, ariyaane noon tuushe noon,</i>¹¹⁰<i>hini taa meche xaqqoona gicabee , yullabe irateebée taqqaalee bee bi iton wofco ikka tarikoon no ciinnammona ta meche hamma uucha birawo kichiqqa keeja kubbaye maahon yiikkiyona.</i>¹¹¹<i>Boono yarooch shilingona yiikkiyeete, boono yarooch birawona yiikkiyeete. Ikka aashira kubbayo maahooch hiya birawona ishina cannaqeeto noone, wofcona adaro tunabe, ta mengistoocho.</i>¹¹²<i>Ishichi no gallatemma ishichi no oogito abooche tiiqqana halla no qelloona qitibona mengisto no qitibebi ito gaata bulla halla qiti allabona halla ishi wurdaatoochee no beemoyeena iqqana..</i></p>	<p>¹⁰⁸We being poor, we being in agony, confusion is what is been given to us. ¹⁰⁹From all this saying, our government to help us wide place to us has given, from what did this rise, us being ignorant us being confused, ¹¹⁰this my wife by stone wrestles, bothers, troubles being wrestling (am), in the grinding mill one thing we saw my wife went three cups of grain to grain five birr (she) took out. ¹¹¹Their clans were grain by schillings. Their clans were grain by birr. For ten cups of grain twenty birr in that we are in agony, let the mill be left to your care (adera), my government (person). ¹¹²For that we’ll praise for that we glorify, risen from what? Let us ourselves die, if government said to us die, let as die and disappear, living in this fall will not be, by saying.</p>	<p>We were poor, ignorant and had no way out of our problems. Then our government started to pay attention to us and help us.</p> <p>This wife of mine, she really struggles as she grinds grain by hand using stone. There is a grinding mill, but they charge five birr for three cups of grain from us. The Gomaro themselves get it cheaper, only one birr is charged from them. We pay twenty birr for ten cups.</p> <p>We would really appreciate and be grateful if the government could provide a mill. Government is our only hope out of this misery into which we have fallen.</p>
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In some other monologues of the middle aged, the way of expressing concern for the present situation of the Manjo is almost the opposite of the attitude chosen for expression above. I call the style **Defiant style**. When dealing with the past, the key phrases are *no kisho baraanone, no baato baraanone* (our hand does not differ, our foot does not differ). What happened is described as having happened to us (*no*), identification with those suffering in the past is clarified. The main issue is not the description of the situation; rather, the speech is an ongoing, almost debate like, discussion in which some quoted Gomaro views are challenged. This is again very different from Elder rich style, where things are described as they were seen, and from *Alama* style, where the main emphasis is on describing and explaining; here challenging is the main issue: “...Our preferable food at that time, as our forefathers say, the food we preferably ate, so what? Why it was not said let us

be one, (by) hand we are not different, (by) foot we are not different, how come being best men we were denied...” In order to clarify the “debating nature” I will underline the comments made about things that Gomaro are said to say.

Quotation 5.15 (33Mma: 11-22)

<p>¹¹³<u>Qeshaqqi kisho baraanna’one, baato baraanna’one, tunaballi amoochee tijiqqinane boono beeto, maatooch,¹¹⁴<u>boono qetto maatoochee tiyiona “no gaawolli no maa beeto” getone,¹¹⁵<u>bariaqqi amoocha boono, desh wotta de’ebooch wokkiqqanane boono beeto getone.</u></u></u></p> <p>¹¹⁶<u>No qettolli maato are zemenooba no nihanihoono qettii bee qaata no qettolli maato halla amooch ikkottano qetaano, kisho baraachon, baato baraachon amoochiye miaa’tiyo no qayaa beeto?¹¹⁷<u>Shaaqqiyo shaaqqiyon halla amooch ebi no shixxaa beeto boono iyona, boonoshi ama iyeete: ittoshi, itto maa beeto barone, no maa beeto barone iyeete.</u> ¹¹⁸<u>Tunaballi baribone itto maaqaanona shi(n)jaa beeto no maana shi(n)jaa beeto, no halla mamonalli illa ashittino baraanone, amoochee no itto qeshaa beeto, kisho baraannone, baato baraannone iyone. Baato baraanone kisho baraanone boono iyone ee</u>¹¹⁹<u> ee ittoshi ameshi ittoshi ame asho ittoshiyahena itto maa beet mamo barone” iye . Itto uchaa beet uyo baroine iqqi boono getena, tunaballi eebi aaf ishina qesheqqa beehon.</u></u></p>	<p>¹¹³<u>Being discriminated (by) hand they do not differ (by) foot they do not differ,</u> but from what it is raised they being, from food,¹¹⁴ the food that is ‘for their throat’ (food preferences) “we are the ones who eat good” is said¹¹⁵ separated where are they, we are down, down there being far, “let them be there”, it is said.¹¹⁶<u>Our preferable food at that time, as our forefathers say, the food we preferably ate, so what? Why It was not said let us be one, (by) hand we are not different, (by) foot we are not different, how come being best men we were denied</u>¹¹⁷<u>To give to be married to marry, how come why they hate us we were saying</u> they what did they say “you, the food you eat is different, the food we eat is different” they said. ¹¹⁸<u>But let us be different, you eat yours and you shit it, we eat and we shit, it is just what we eat, our being human beings is not different, why are you segregating us, by hand we do not differ, by foot we do not differ we said by hand we do not differ, by foot we do not differ we said them ee</u>¹¹⁹“you ee you what kind, you what kind of people you are, the food you are eating is different. The drink that you drink is different” they were saying, however by this we were separated before.</p>	<p>The reason they give for discrimination is not that the Manjo would differ by feature. The issue they give is related to food. They say that because they follow the food regulations and we do not, they want us to be far from them.</p> <p>What does it matter what our forefathers ate? I do not get their point. How can the food separate from being together, from getting married or being a best man? We are not different by feature.</p> <p>They say that it is because we eat different things. But what does it matter what one eats? You eat what you like and we eat what we like and you shit it out and we shit it out. What we eat does not change the fact that we both are human beings.</p> <p>But they keep on arguing that our eating and drinking is the reason for discrimination as it was before.</p>
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From the speeches of the middle aged I have now introduced two styles, the ones that I have named **Alama style** and **Defiant style**.

5.3.3. New ways of speaking from the young

It is again necessary to point out that those styles introduced earlier can also be present in the speeches of the younger ones. As the aim of this chapter is only to introduce the different style components in the speeches, I restrict myself to describing those elements that are different. The following quotation is from a speech of a person who has finished the 10th grade. His basic education was in Amharic and he has learned *Kafi noono* as a subject in later years. I want to start with how he is reflecting on the past. Now the topic is not about the relationship between the Gomaro and the Manjo, but a kind of historical account in which hunting activities are presented as knowhow of the past. The comparison is not so much on Manjo-Gomaro relations as on those who have been to school or not. His monologue starts with an introduction in which he explains that he will talk about two issues, first dealing with the past and then concentrating on his personal issues. The following quotation is the first part.

He clarifies some words and concepts in Amharic to be sure that all understand. Interestingly, he himself gets confused with these two languages, but then corrects it himself: the Kafa words are *wanjo* (ቀንፈር /k'ɛnfɛr/) for yoke and *gindo* (ጥፈር /mofɛr/) for a plough. He also uses some words that are introduced into *Kafi noono* at school, e.g. *dubbi guudo* for *wereda*. The utterances are mainly full sentences. I will call this style **New standard style**. Naturally the situation in which the speech is given affects his choice of style and he uses different styles when he talks with his family. This could be a part of a written essay:

Quotation 5.16. (45My: 2-24)

<p>¹²⁰<i>Ta dubbi guudoona ee Geeshane.</i> ¹²¹<i>Ebi tunammona ta ebiye aaf yammariqqina ee ta</i></p> <p><i>Ee shiijjatoоче ee tiijjiqqa ta bekkat tarikeena'ona ee ta shiijjiyan beehooba beshati</i></p> <p><i>niheena'ooba ta nihiniheena'ooba hallet mooyoona'on ee ta waayatoomona getooch</i></p> <p><i>ta gaawati qoodooch hini hillooch</i></p>	<p>¹²⁰My municipality is Gesha.</p> <p>¹²¹This being, I, starting from before this, hm I hm from me being born the stories that I have seen, (and) when I had not yet been born, in the times of past fathers and grandfathers things that were hm what I have heard, as I want to tell now I continue.</p> <p>¹²²Those who had been born before this my grandfathers they, their experience or what they had</p>	<p>The municipality I live in is Gesha. I want to share with you some things from the past, things that I have heard from my grandparents and also what I have experienced myself during my life.</p> <p>In the times of my forefathers the</p>
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<p>and dabbeho taane.¹²² <i>Ebichi shiijjato ebiye aaf ta nihiniheena'o boonoshi ee boonoshiichi doyo weiyena boonoshichi boono tamari boono qei bet ee guddo geto shawoon boono gochi bee gaataa, makkaachina gochiyete.</i>¹²³ <i>Aro gizooch gatto allone. Are gizooch wanjo geto, ማለት ሞፈር ማለት ነው ee gindo geto ee ቀንበር ማለት ነው ቀምበር geto wanjo geto ሞፈር geto gindo bi tunatoich ishi mooyoona arooba aalleena'one.</i>¹²⁴ <i>Shawoon gochii beeti gaatee maanasho asho geto ihooba aallone. Makkachonabaach uuxoon ee bechiqqina boono kexon qeeji beeto boono tunoon ee ishiichi tiijiqqa arihoye.</i></p> <p>¹²⁵ <i>Arooch dabbiqqana ee and wotta hanaach ta zemene daggooch ee ta ciinnammona ta dicco and arooche yammariqqina are ta nihiniheena'o boono tunagaataa ta niheena'o boon tunagaataa, qalamon tamariqqi ariyaanna'one.</i>¹²⁶ <i>Boono zemenooaba qalame timhirto, ee tamaaro kexo boonoshi ariyaanna'one. Woiyona boonoshi halla waiyaanna'one.</i>¹²⁷ <i>Boono tahaa beeto shoro, boono tahaa beeto dubbo tunahe. Boono cikkiqqina kambo kallaqqina iqqi yubbona duubo duubo waachane boonoshi beet mooyo.</i>¹²⁸ <i>Abich are hilloochena ikka cooxon wuxibone, boono geti gaata dabbo shippiqqina, ይህ ማለት መረብተነር ያማ ለትነው¹²⁹ Ebin shuunaqqina ee gino yechiqqina kubbon cooxon maaciyetina maaciqqi arooche dabbiqqina xiro gettee beet mooyo beete</i> <i>የሚነፋው ማለት ጥፋ ምባይ ባለቤት ማለት ነው¹³⁰</i> <i>Ebin ebi xiron yechiqqina hin xaa'ooch and boono hugi gaataa ee keja giyooch beet asheena'o, keja mahbaro beet ashe are xiro hugga gaataa</i> <i>ማለት ጥፋ መባከተነፋ ይባላል Ebiin huggimmona keeja qabalaoch beet asheena'o bulla sabassabi ikka xaa'o kiceqqina are dabboon mi'aaqqina men cooxoon wuxiyetene.</i>¹³¹ <i>Maayemmi</i></p>	<p>learned, the thing they lived on, if they were ploughing the land, they ploughed by hoe.¹²³ At that time there was no ox. At that time yoke, <u>meaning plough</u>, hm the one called plough ee yoke it is, Yoke <u>means yoke</u>, plough is <u>plough</u> as it is, by this matter at that time they were not.</p> <p>¹²⁴ People who ploughed by ox owned ox at that time there were not. By hoe only by planting <i>ensete</i> they were running their households for this reason it is known.</p> <p>¹²⁵ Following that ee now again, today in my era hm when I see my development we starting from that, my grandfathers if it was, my fathers if it was, they did not know colour/ink learning.¹²⁶ In their time ink learning they did not know school. Or they did not hear.¹²⁷ They were wearing leather, the cloak from grass became worn by them. They being ignorant, carrying traps on their shoulder, the only thing was to sing and dance, sing and dance.</p> <p>¹²⁸ How (was it) following that “one wild animal Let us kill” if they said, by knitting a net, <u>this means making the net</u>,¹²⁹ doing that, holding a spear tracking (mapping) the forest wild animal finding the place where it is, caching, there is a thing called horn, the one you blow, <u>trumpet</u> It is called in Amharic¹³⁰ this holding this horn in that place now if they blow ee people from three settlements, the people of three <i>qebele</i>, if this horn is blown <u>meaning if the trumpet is blown</u>, when it is blown all people being in three <i>qebele</i> gather to one place. Gathering carrying that net they will kill this wild animal.¹³¹ If</p>	<p>ox was not used for ploughing. If they ploughed they used a hoe. They did not know how to use a plough and a yoke.</p> <p>In Amharic a yoke means <u>plough</u> and plough is <u>yoke</u>, I mean yoke is <u>yoke</u>. They did not have them.</p> <p>None of them owned an ox and none of them ploughed with an ox. Their living was based on using the hoe and planting <i>ensete</i>.</p> <p>Following that, in my time, if I compare my growth and development with my grandfather's or father's, they did not learn to read and write.</p> <p>In their days they did not know how to read and they did not know about school. Or they had not heard about it.</p> <p>They were ignorant and wore leather and grass cloaks. They carried hunting traps on their shoulder and the only thing they were interested in was singing and dancing.</p> <p>If they decided to kill a wild animal, a net was knitted –this means a net is made– then they went to the forest with their spears and tracked and chased the animal to be caught. Then the horn was blown – horn is a trumpet in Amharic– this horn was blown and people from three <i>qebeles</i> gathered in one place. They carried that net with them and used it to catch and kill the animal.</p> <p>If it was an edible wild animal, they divided it and took it to be used.</p>
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<i>cooxina'on arooch hakkiiyeete, aroochene qoodeeyeena, daammiiqqina xaqqameetine. Ebi ikkinno tunahe, aaf doye dana beet ebi tunahe.</i>	<p>it is an edible wild animal there they can, there they divide, take and use.</p> <p>This is the first, what is found from past experience...</p>	<p>This is one of the things that is known from the past.</p>
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There was also one interesting phenomenon in the speeches of some of the youngsters: they frequently add -oche or -ochee to their words. In *Kafi noono* there is a morpheme -cho/-che defining a masculine or feminine singular, e.g., Kafacho (Kafa man), Manjoch (Manjo woman), the locative is marked with -che, and -ee is a genitive marker but here it is not used for those purposes. The comment of one elder Gomaro living in Addis Ababa was simply "Why are they doing this?" It does not bring any additional meaning to the translation. The ending was added mainly to various verb forms but also to personal and relative pronouns (no-chee, ebich-ochee) and some nouns. I will indicate this with -chee.

Quotation 5.17. (44My: 35-39)

<p>¹³²<i>Yesus Kristos no tariko shaddato hachochen tamaarocho ee tamaritone getone.</i></p> <p>¹³³<i>Tamaaro tamariqqina aashirinnoo beddaanoche no hakkigaataa, aashirinnoo beddaanochee tamariqqaa tamari cichiqqaanochee shuune yesho beddaana, Yeeus Kristos no tariikoon shaddenocheen ee shuuno yesho beddaanochee tamaaro and hakkitone.</i></p> <p>¹³⁴<i>Yesusona tiyitona ee eebi aafi kex'alli and qorqoro kexo haggito beete.</i></p>	<p>¹³²To this direction (since) Jesus Christ changed our story studying hm we have been studying, is said.</p> <p>¹³³Studies being studied, reaching to tenth (grade), we can reach tenth (grade) being studying, finishing the studying, reaching to hold (get) a work (job), Jesus Christ has changed our story hm we can now study until we reach to hold (get) a job. ¹³⁴Reason being Jesus hm before this we were houseless, now there are those who make corrugated iron sheet houses.</p>	<p>Since Jesus Christ changed the story of our life, we have been studying. We have studied up to tenth grade, we have been able to finish our studies and find work. As Jesus Christ has changed the story of our life we can now study until we find a good job.</p> <p>Because of Jesus now we too can make houses that have corrugated iron sheet roofs. Before we did not have houses.</p>
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In the previous three subsections, I have introduced different styles used in the speeches. They were **Elder rich style**, **Others speak style**, **Being strong style** and **Being weak style**, **Alama style**, **Defiant style** and **New Standard style**. There were also components that some speakers included in the style they used and some did not. The components were Gomaro discourse markers, OT stories, Protestant Christian discourse markers, religious and political registers and the use of additional -chee. Already this small amount of data shows the

multidimensionality of the repertoires used inside the “Manjo variant” and the skills the individuals have in utilizing these repertoires. So why the statement “We do not know how to speak”? Are there some features in Gomaro ways of speaking that create this “not knowing the language”?

5.4. Gomaro way of speaking

As my research is dealing with the ways of speaking in the Manjo community, I will not go into a detailed description of components that are included in the Gomaro way of speaking, but just give some of the main notions that I consider important for understanding the situation from the Manjo point of view. I base these notions on the references made by speakers in the speeches and on my own experiences.

There are two pairs of words usually attached when describing the relationship between Manjo and Gomaro: *Kaama-xummo* and *haco-duuro*. *Kaama* could be translated as straight, clear way of doing things in opposition to *xummo*, which is the opposite, complicated, not clear. The word *xum* is also used for darkness and night. In the speeches these two words are used for describing a way,⁵⁶ a person, administration in a certain geographical area, road, speech and circumstances. The other pair, *haco-duuro*, is even more central: The essence of complaints in the speeches is that the Gomaro way of talking is “*haco*”, clever and that there was no access to it for the Manjo population. “*Haco*” is described as something that had come, that had not always been there. This talking included both the information and experiences shared and the way of using the linguistic skills to gain something – material or immaterial benefits. The opposite, *duuro*, simple, is related in the speeches with life that includes only the basics necessities. It is used for people who are considered to be easily used by the others and who themselves do not, or are not able to, engage in those kinds of activities both because of their linguistic skills and their lack of knowledge.

I was naturally *duuro* in many ways in my first years in Kafa. While working with the Gomaro members of Mekane Yesus Church I repeatedly found myself riding in the darkness

⁵⁶ The Kafa word *gommo* is translated as a way (and not path or road, etc.) as it can be of any kind, the main issue is not what it is like but that “it takes somewhere”.

struggling to see the branches of trees that reach into paths before they hit my head. When asking how much is left the answer was usually “We have already reached”, which means something like an hour to go. I had planned my timetable, even added plenty of extra time knowing that I cannot ride as fast as the others, but still the actual difference between the time required and the amount of time that I was told seemed too large. I was irritated as I felt I had been lied to and offended as I considered many of these people as my friends. During my years in Ethiopia I learned that at the time of the biggest irritations it is good to look to one’s cultural background. Why is it that especially this bothers me? Usually that leads me to see something from another angle: In this case those travelling with me did not lie to me, they just used the language in a way that made me start the journey and then for keeping me in good spirit the whole journey. The actual time required for the journey was not important. The important thing was that I come and reach. Obviously I was to be tired and frustrated in the end, but that would be settled and over as soon as the coffee was served.

I myself saw this as a different game to play, not the one I was used to playing. I got better at it after getting accustomed, but still I kept on missing the nuances and the ways things were said that immediately told the other Gomaros present how and in what frame the things said should be interpreted. I felt kind of “illiterate”. But eventually, time and being together was the key to my learning: At least I have not been riding in the dark for five years now. Knowing that to refer to the usage of language as a game can create some controversy, let me just clarify that I refer to it in the way of Duranti: He reflects on the Wittgenstein (1960) notion of language as a game emphasizing it being above all a working notion, as an instrument for analysis, a heuristic device. We get an understanding of how a word is used by matching it with other words and other contexts and by projecting its impact on future words and utterances. It allows one to deal with different interpretive strategies without giving up on the idea that there is an order (or a logic) behind the statements that at first seem “not fitting” and help to engage in interpretations that show different sides of things, different possibilities of being in the world and being meaningful. (Duranti 1997: 240-43).

In 2009 Maarqoos G/ Maariyami Waane published a booklet “Folklore in the language of Kafa”. It includes 43 short stories, *tochos*, that are told in order “to teach (or accustom), to

protect oneself, to bring back those who do or say things that that are not to be done or said, to make known, to reconcile those who quarrel, to supervise.”⁵⁷ The stories are mainly about animals, but in some people are also included, usually a man, a woman or a couple. In 28 of these stories the clever party gets what he/she wants through talking. In Finnish context the concept used in relation to these activities would be to cheat or deceive, but in this context it feels too harsh. One long time Gomaro friend of mine used the English word “diplomacy” when trying to catch the essence of what “*haco*” is. Although a person might “be deceived” into doing or saying something, he or she should be tactfully persuaded to do so, by agreeing. With the same friend we discussed the issue of responsibility in the discussion. According to him it is the listener who is responsible for the outcome, not the speaker.

In the myth “King descended” the whole transfer of power from Manjo to Gomaro is described as being due to clever usage of language, showing among other things how important this linguistic issue is considered to be: The Manjo king is first tempted either to drink beer or marry many wives. This is done as the king follows the advice of Maatto (Gomaro-clans). After that he is accused of doing so and chased to the forest. In the forest, when looking for the man who advised him, the descended king meets him, but gives a greeting that is for “my lord”. The Gomaro takes advantage of this and says that this is how you need to continue.

How should all this be seen? What are the rules in this game? Sweetser (1987), when discussing cultural models of informational exchange in connection with the concept of lie, calls for directing the examination to folk understandings of knowledge, evidence and proof and to our beliefs about information. It is according to the folk model of language by which we operate from day to day and we base our notions on our cultural model of informational exchange. Our judgment of a lie depends on the extent to which the relevant cultural models are in effect. The basic cultural models of information and truth are shared, but might be evoked under different circumstances. In all cultures lying is a matter of more or

⁵⁷ Translation from Kafa, “*ashoon dojjooch, qellee quiyooch, tuneyaan mooyon shuneebeeto woyee gettiibeeto tunegaara aroochee wochooch, arichiyooch, kaaratetina’on mashaamiyooch/shuniyooch/, dab tunemmona...*” (in that particular book *gaata* and *beeto* are written attached to the preceding word).

less: the usage of exaggerations, oversimplifications and other distortions is common, so is the acceptance of lying to an enemy or to those not belonging to the “group” (Sweetser 1987: 43-44, 48-51, 61). Being polite and amusing, all show that “truth” and “accuracy” and other mappings between what is said and what is referred to are locally occasioned (Moerman 1988: 108). This is naturally also the case in Finnish culture, we suppose that people “can read between the lines” of what we are actually saying or we utter expressions that are not sincere; however, what was new for me was that I was not prepared to include the required information about the length of a journey among those manipulated according to the situation. Again when I return to Finland from Ethiopia I have to adjust myself: Saying pleasant things just to keep the atmosphere nice is not that common: My “So nice to sit down and eat” gets the answer “Yes, lunch is late, I was busy”.

Other cultural issues can also have their input. Sweetser comments on the study of Elinor Ochs Keenan (1975) in the Malagasy community, where the frequency and acceptability of vague and misleading answers to questions raised the question of sincerity and responsibility. Sweetser sees that the difference lies not in agreeing that information-giving is cooperative and useful, but in the idea of when a hearer has a right to such cooperation.

The study of Gilsenan (1996) in a Lebanese village shows many similarities with the case of Kafa: to accuse a person of being a liar is a serious insult and a community member caught lying loses status and honour. However, according to Gilsenan, a Lebanese man can gain status by being able to “lead another man up the garden path” that is by means of language make him believe something and then reveal the deception. These “play-lies” give status, as discernment is a major source of prestige for Lebanese men: A reputation for distinguishing truth from falsehood is valued. Different cultures possess saliently similar understandings both of lying and of the general power and morality dimensions of information exchange, presumably stemming from universal aspects of human communication. It is in *delimitation* of basic “informational exchange” settings and in conventional use of the relevant power parameters that cultures differ (Sweetser 1987: 62).

Clever usage of language also has a central role in Amharic (and Ge’ez) in what is expressed by the image of Wax and Gold (አምና ወርቅ /səmin:a wərək/). In a generic sense, it refers to a

number of poetic figures that embody twofold meaning. It is used very skilfully not only in religious poetry (ቅኔ /k'ine/), but also in everyday life. Levine (1972) points out that actually Wax and Gold is simply a more refined and stylized manifestation of the Amhara's manner of communicating, which is indirect and often secretive. This ambiguity can be created in various ways, but often this double play is created based on words with a similarity in pronunciation (e.g., በሽታ /bɜʃita/ 'sickness' – በሽታ /bɜʃɜt:a/ 'by smell').⁵⁸ It can be used for disguised praise or insults and it is also used for humour and wit in conversations. The speaker says something; however, he cannot be accused of saying that as it is said in hidden form. Those who are able to include these elements to their speech are admired as clever speakers (Levine 1972: 5, 9). Although this is often related to Amharic, it is also widespread among other Ethiopian groups who speak Amharic as their second language (Forslund 1993: 40), especially among those considered as "highland cultures"⁵⁹ in which Kafa is also included.

The other component belonging to "haco" is the information and knowledge of things. It also includes knowing "yawo" the road to that information. In a society that is mainly oral, where formal education and written material are out of the reach of the main population, learning takes place in contacts and interaction with other people. The kind of people one associates with defines the knowledge one is to acquire. In order to be able to access the information one needs to be able to master the communicative rules of the domain where that particular information is available. In order to get access to new groups, to new domains of practice, network connections are needed.

⁵⁸ Levine (1972: 6) provides the following example of the pun-like usage of wax and gold:
 የምን ጥቅም ጠለ፣ የምን ጥቅም ጠጅ።። ጠለቅ ሲሸኙ ቡና አደርገው እንጂ።።
 /jɜmin t'ik'im t'ɜl:a, jɜmin t'ik'im t'ɜdɜ/ what use is beer, of what use is mead,
 /t'ɜlat sifəɲu bun:a adɜrgɜw indɜi/ when seeing an enemy off, make him coffee.

The key is that 'make him coffee' ቡና አደርገው /bun:a adɜrgɜw/ can be pronounced /bun adɜrgɜw/ ቡን አደርገው 'make him vanish into the air (like smoke or dust, Levine's translation is 'reduce to ashes'). The different ways of using 'wax and gold' and especially the religious poetry of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church form a unique art form of its own and include many other aspects not mentioned in this short introduction.
⁵⁹ In addition to the living area, highlanders are associated with farming and town life in opposition to lowlanders who are more related to cattle and nomadic life. The users of Semitic languages, who are mainly Orthodox Christians have formed the core of the highlander group, but nowadays members of other groups (Cushitic Oromo and many Omotic groups from the south) sharing the life style are also referred to as highlanders. Fluency in Amharic (even as a second language) has also been a component.

Pietilä reports that, in her interviews among Chagga female traders in Tanzania, some women referred their experience of being in the market place as “going to school”. By mixing with other people whose domain of life differed from the women’s previous one, they were able to learn the latest news, diverse ways of life, and changing fashions. They also became familiar with the way people talk there. A non-trading woman said that a market woman is like a person who “goes to school” and thus becomes “animated” in contrast to a woman who only stays at home and is in comparison like a “stupid person”. Several market women also compared markets to schools, and they emphasized their need to go to market by saying that nowadays they head for the market each morning as diligently as children going to school. (Pietilä 2007: 65).

Not having access to information that is considered to be present inside the Gomaro group is mentioned repeatedly in speeches. The information is available to those who can enter into discussions, to be in a situation where information is shared. Heller points out that the linguistic resources available affect a person’s or a group’s ability to gain access to other resources, symbolic or material. It is necessary to display appropriate linguistic and cultural knowledge in order to gain access to the game, and playing it well requires in turn mastery of the kinds of linguistic and cultural knowledge that constitutes its rules. (Heller 1995: 161). In the Gomaro way of speaking the usage of honorific expressions is in a very central position. The polite forms are used not only for you, 2nd singular, but also when talking about somebody who is not present. The verbs are conjugated in a special polite form and there are special polite forms for substantives, adding the ending *-eeno* like *niheeno* for father *niho* (father) or *allaameeno* for *allaamo*. When used in face-to-face interaction, honorific expressions are also accompanied by particular forms of physical and material displays, such as prosodic and kinetic activity, bodily comportment, seating arrangements and in the order of rising and sitting down. The use of honorific expressions is not restricted only to face-to-face interaction: when referring to someone not present it is also customary to use the honorific forms in order to “give respect”. Not knowing how to use honorifics properly or at all can contribute to the image of “simple”. As using honorifics is such an important part of the Gomaro way of speaking it is good to return to the data and see to what extent the honorifics were used by the Manjo in the speeches delivered.

I was surprised to note that the usage of honorifics was present in only 15 speeches. Moreover, one person used the honorific in Amharic only, so that the use of Kafa honorifics actually occurred in only fourteen out of 50 speeches. Naturally the form of speech being a monologue contributes, but even in narrative, the usage of polite forms plays an important part in the Kafa language used by the Gomaro. The following persons used honorifics in their speech:

Table 7. The speakers who use honorifics

Age		Styles recognized	Some traces
> 65	M	Ers, Oss, +G, +r	Bws, +p
	M	Ers	+p
55-65	M	Ers,+OT,+G	
	M	Hs	As
	M	As	Ers, Bss
	F	Ers	
45-55	M	Bws, Hs	Des, Oss
	M	Ers, Oss	+r
	M	Ers	+r, +p
	M	As, +r	Ers
	M	As. +r	+p
30-45	M	As, +r, Oss	Ss
20-30	M	As, Hs	Ers, Nss (am)
	M	Nss	
	M	Nss	+pc, switches to am

As can be verified from the table, those who are using the honorifics come from all age groups. The style used does not seem to play a role; more important is the question of whether there has been contact with the Gomaro. Learning asymmetrical address styles requires seeing them modelled by others (Ervin-Tripp 2001:47). All those in this list are either members of a mixed congregation, involved in government meetings, and/or students. The two persons who included Gomaro discourse markers in their speeches are also among them and the only female using honorifics is married to one of them. All this

indicates the familiar phenomena that, when in contact, the items of a variant considered as having more prestige are adopted. Using honorifics is a typical feature of the Gomaro way of speaking, as showing respect is a cornerstone of relationships. Not using honorifics gives the impression that a person is ignorant and/or an outsider. Interestingly, Treis, when discussing how Kambaata woman used to show respect to their in-laws, also mentions that if a woman failed to use correct linguistic forms to her in-laws, she was disciplined by pointing out that she is like the Fuga, who do not use these forms. (Treis 2005: 294). In the categorization of Freeman (2001), discussed in the first chapter, the Fuga belong to the same group of “fertile polluters” as the Manjo and the similarities between these two cases lead one to conclude that indeed both not accessing the repertoire and the image created by not knowing it contribute to maintaining the boundary between the marginalized and the majority.

5.5. Style distribution and its connotations

Already this database serves as a good corpus for recognizing many different linguistic style components of the repertoires and gives a good account of the complexity and multidimensionality of the styles utilized. The styles recognized were distributed among the speakers as follows:

Table 8. Style distribution in the speeches

Age		Length	Structure	Styles recognized	Some traces
> 65	M	21.09	T	Ers, Oss, +g, +r	Bws, +p
	M	11.03	T	Ers	
	M	6.44	T	Bws	+r, Oss
55-65	M	21.27	T	Ers	Oss, Sws, Bss
	M	3.10	T, N	Ers, Oss	Bws
	M	2.21	T, D	As	
	M	5.19	T	Ers	+p
	M	26.33	T	Ers	+p
	M	21.52	T	Ers, +ot, +g	
	M	12.13	T	Ers+ot +pc, Bws, Oss	Bss
	M	6.03	D	Bws	As

	M	7.46	T	As	Ers, Bss
	M	1.03	Do	As	Des
	M	4.39	T, D	Ers	As
	F	3.20	T,Do	As+p+r	Bws
	F	3.06	T	Ers	
45-55	M	5.36	T	As	Bws
	M	8.52	T,Do	Bws	Des, Oss
	M	11.04	T	Ers +pc	Bss
	M	23.17	Do	As+r+p, Bss	Ers, Oss, switches to Am
	M	4.48	T	Ers, Oss	+r
	M	2.58	D	Des	Bws
	M	31.28	Do	As+r+p, Oss	Ers, Des
	M	7.25	T	Ers	+r, +p
	F	6.30	Do	As+ pc, Bws	Ers
	F	6.12	T	Ers+ot	Oss
	F	4.04	T	Ers, Oss	Bss
	M	7.00	T	As+r	Ers
	M	3.12	Do	As+r	+p
	M	4.22	Do	As	Am words
M	4.07	T	Ers, Oss	Bws, +pc	
30-45	F	5.52	T, N	Bws+pc, Oss	Ers
	M	6.25	D	Des, +pc	Bws, Oss, -chee
	M	3.10	T,N	pcs	Bws
	M	3.04	D	Bws+r,	+pc
	M	3.21	D	As+r, Oss	Bws
	M	5.12	Do,N	Des, Bws	+p,+r, Oss
	F	2.10	D	As+r	Des
	M	2.43	T,D	Ers, +r, Oss	
	M	4.07	N	As	
	M	3.28	D	Bws	Oss
20-30	M	11.13	D,N	As +r	Am words
	M	11.04	N,D	As, Bws	Ers, Nss (am)
	M	5.13	D	Nss, +chee	+r
	M	7.43	Do,N	Nss	
	M	10.49	Do, N, T	Nss +g tocho	+pc, swiches to am
	M	3.16	T	Des, Ers, As +p	Oss

	M	4.58	D	Bws, As +p	Des, Bss
	M	3.31	Do	Des	As, (Ers-wave)
	F	2.44	D	As+r	Ers

The most interesting thing from the point of view of this research is that although there are some tendencies that the styles go according to age, that is by far not always the case, for example, *Alama* style is present in the group of elders, Being weak style, which could have been associated with submission in the past, is present in all age groups, and all in all the middle aged and young form a very heterogenic group. Also, there were differences in the extent to which a certain style was utilized. These findings, and the scarcity of Gomaro discourse features, invite looking for the possible co-occurrence of certain styles with certain kinds of network structures.

There are specific dimensions in the repertoire used by the Gomaro population to which there has not been any access for the majority of the Manjo population. If one wants to be "*haco*" one needs to be able to share the domain in which this learning takes place. Ways of speaking that are not available in written form have to be learned and lived in connection with people who know them. There are two components affecting this: the access to a certain style and the possibility of sharing a forum in which that style is practised and modified. Many speakers can recognize the registers but cannot fully use or interpret them (Agha 2001:113). As register is a linguistic *repertoire* that is associated, culture-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices, the knowledge of the register used is, at least in an oral society, connected to how much contact and what kind of contact a person has with the users of that register and to what extent he or she is able to participate in that practice.

As was mentioned earlier, the different kinds of relationships required different kinds of communication and interaction. All these styles required the formation of a wide repertoire that is used as a reserve for either using those actual ways of speaking or modifying them to be suitable for present discourses. In addition, new styles are entering into the repertoires of the individuals, both through education and global discourses. However, there seems to be a twofold division among the speakers in terms of to what extent the components are used:

Some include certain words and phrases, sometimes even wrongly and some are more accustomed to making use of the components of the style utilized. For example some of those who have included stories in their speeches are using the Elder rich style but do so only to some extent: the repetition of a word to show that the time passes in that activity is the only one to be noted from the wide range of components of that style. Or again with certain speakers only some words and phrases are included from the religious or political registers, but they are not further utilized. Both access and practice is needed in order to become familiar with certain ways of speaking. In the following chapter I will discuss through case studies how the network connections of an individual contribute to that.

CHAPTER 6

HOW ACCESS AND PRACTICE CONTRIBUTE TO LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES: case studies

6.1. The special case of marginalized minorities

When discussing the linguistic repertoires of marginalized minorities, the special circumstances in which they find themselves need to be taken into account. Let me illuminate their situation by referring to the research of Judith Irvine, who has studied the ways of talking in the Wolof community. She concludes that, although in the villagers' view the ways of talking were divided into griot style (low) and noble style (high) associated with opposing social groups in Wolof society, actual speech in this Wolof community does not sort into two utterly distinct types, but rather to a stylistic continuum. She mentions that, as in this case most of the people have access to both styles at least to a certain extent, any speaker, no matter what his or her caste, may use either style, depending on circumstances. In short, there is not just one social boundary or distinction that is relevant here, but instead a scheme of sociolinguistic differentiation that semiotically organizes relationships. Two people belonging to one and the same caste would differentiate their speech along the same stylistic axis in order to represent subtler differences of rank or to define an activity. (Irvine 1974: 34, 38-39).

However, this can be practised only if a group is included in the categorization in which these activities take place. Irvine mentions that among the Wolof there were some groups of the society that were not included in this categorization. They were simply ignored. She states that linguistic ideology is a totalizing vision in which some groups (or activities, or varieties) become invisible and inaudible. She refers to "artisan" castes and the descendants of persons of slave status and describes them as those who, in that language ideology, are accorded no voice (Irvine 1974: 39) and notes that many of these people have moved away from such communities.

In the speeches collected from the Manjo members of the community in Kafa, the situation of the past was described as an era of "having your mouth covered with a hand", being no point in talking as there was nobody who would listen, not even reaching to hearing

distance. Social boundaries or distinctions are relevant to linguistic repertoires of any members of the societies contributing to the scheme of sociolinguistic differentiation that semiotically organizes relationships, but in the case of marginal minorities the key issue is the access to the system in which that can take place. Barth (1969) writes about the special situation of marginalized minorities saying that their identity gives very little scope for interaction with the majority population, which makes integration difficult. He continues that although such a system contains several groups, interaction between members of the different groups of this kind takes place entirely within the framework of the dominant, majority group's statuses and institutions (Barth 1969: 31-32).

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the global discourses of socialism and Protestant Christianity have both been present in the area starting from the 1970s. In the data the words and concepts of Christianity and politics were eagerly used, some traces of them are present almost in all monologues. The existence of registers results in the interlinkage of linguistic repertoires and social practices. Both registers are related to the concept of *alama*, the present way of life, in which the main argument is that the system is not the same as it used to be: Some things are worse, some things are better, but the main point is that something has changed compared to the past. Many express the change by comparing the clothes that could be used: The clothes that the Manjo population use was no longer necessarily underlining their not being part of the system. The change was also seen in opportunities to access the language used by the others: Several of the elders mention in their monologues that one thing that changed is that "by God and by government" they have learned to speak a little. According to their interpretation, in this "*alama*" there can be a claim for a voice.

As Agha points out, the existence of registers has an effect on the creation of social boundaries within society. Through differential access to particular registers and the social practices they relate to, language users become divided into distinct groups. Stigmatizing the usage or the users of a certain register can be used as means of creating and maintaining asymmetries of power (Agha 2001: 213-214). By crossing over to a certain register that has a shared domain with another group the social boundary becomes crossable. There is a system in which things can be negotiated and constructed. As one of the elders indicated in

his monologue “we were not even able to say *iinana*”, which is a phrase that people use in order to get into a discussion. Now the access to these registers is seen as a possibility to get into a discussion. The use of these registers can serve as an opening to a linguistic repertoire in which the communication does not necessarily have to be according to the practices and ways of behaviour on which the relationships of the past society were based. However, whatever the arena for these discussions might be, whether religious or political or other, to what extent this actually takes place is another question to be studied.

In this chapter I will concentrate on the issues of access and practice and compare the knowledge I have about the network structures of certain individuals with the styles they have used in their speeches. As could be noticed from the data, the linguistic repertoires present varied: The different styles were not only either used or not used, but in addition the competence in using a particular style differed. I will look at the network structures from the point of accessing the different styles and deal with what kind of networking is required for gaining more competence in a particular style and so be able to be part of the process in which social relationships are negotiated. In addition to the possibility of accessing a certain style there also needs to be a willingness to do so. In this respect the speakers of the monologues also vary, and the multi-vocality of the Manjo community in regard to the attitude concerning in which direction the relationship with the Gomaro population should develop, towards separation or towards integration, is also visible in the choices of the styles accessed and used. How do the network connections of individuals contribute to these components?

6.2. Example speeches of those having insulated networks

As was discussed earlier the daily life of many members of the Manjo community in the past included only a special kind and very limited number of connections to non-Manjo members of the Kafa community and the members of the Manjo group were involved only in certain kinds of communication with the other members of the society. There was a contact, but only submissive behaviour and style of speech was expected. As can be noted from the quotations in Chapter 3, other kind of behaviour often led to punishment. The language barrier was also kept strong by keeping their distance. Among the Manjo there was also a

tendency to use their way of speaking as a means of restricting the Gomaros from understanding. Bender (2000:96) mentions that the dialects of “hunter varieties” can be seen as an argot based on Kafa. Storch (2013) speculates that using special registers could be seen as deliberate alienation, as these group members often occupy no rank or a very low rank in hierarchies and rather identify themselves as outsiders or foreign (Storch 2013: 104,106).⁶⁰

Even today there are members of the Manjo community whose daily life and interaction take place mainly inside the Manjo community. Their networks consist chiefly of strong (dense and multiplex) ties and the people they mostly communicate with are kinsfolk and neighbours. Bortone-Ricardo in her study among immigrants to urban areas refers to this kind of network as an “insulated” network. She observed that when the networks of the members of the society were mainly insulated, as was often the case, e.g., for the elderly women belonging to the first generation immigrants, there was no awareness of the linguistic differences. In these networks the ways of speech in interaction and communication did not differ from what it had been in the home country. Even the second generation immigrants, who used different ways of speaking outside, modified their speech accordingly when meeting with elders. She concludes that the awareness of linguistic differences increases when the change in social structure involves a move from an “insulated” network to an “integrated” urban network where links are less multiplex and comprise a wider range of social context (Bortone-Ricardo 1985: 117, 247). Lüpke (2013) mentions the following strategies that contribute to language acquisition in Africa: “exogenous marriage patterns, language acquisition in peer groups and age classes, fostering, joking relationships and patronymic equivalences beyond ethno-linguistic boundaries, mobility and migration for ritual, religious, economic and educational purposes” (Lüpke 2013:33). Especially in the past, a considerable number of the Manjo were not engaged in any of these activities outside the Manjo communities.

⁶⁰ Although Storch discusses mainly the craftworkers, she also includes the hunter registers under “special purpose languages”.

Although many of the speakers who provided data took up the issue of not knowing the language, there were also many who did not. Some people did not interact outside their insulated networks and so the language was not an issue, as the repertoires used in their insulated networks were sufficient for communication. Members of high-density networks, who interact mostly within a defined territory, are generally the ones who use the dialect concerned in its most prominent form (Blom and Gumperz 1972). In my data these people were found in all age groups and included two kinds of people: Those who did not seem to have issues that would have taken them outside their local communities and those who had left these connections to be handled by others, either their children or friends. For example, in Didif the elder who was in the leading position in his community usually sent his educated son to deal with issues in the offices. Similarly, other members of the community were also using the services of this boy.

I will discuss in more detail the monologue of a middle-aged woman whose network can be considered an insulated one. She is a middle-aged woman, the mother of six children, and lives in a *qebele* that is about a three-hour walk from the main road. In the *qebele*, the Manjo community is situated about a forty-minute walk from the *qebele* centre. Her daily life includes interaction with her husband and those children who live at home, with her two sons, who live nearby and their wives, with whom she performs domestic duties and also participates in taking care of the cattle, and approximately once every two weeks she goes to the market place in the *qebele* centre with other Manjo women. She is a member of the local Mekane Yesus congregation (Lutheran), which is predominantly Manjo and goes to Sunday service when it is not her turn to guard the fields (due to baboons, monkeys and wild pigs) and accompanies her husband when going to funerals of relatives and in-laws. The husband of her married daughter was the most recent visitor to the house.

She starts by reciting a *tocho* she has heard from her father and grandfather. She uses Elder rich style and some of the characteristics of that style are present, but not fully utilized: direct speech is used only once, repetition and special wave-like intonation making the point are missing. However, she wants to share this *tocho* and delivers it using Elder rich style and not like some youngsters who make a short summary of the main points. She is familiar with

the stories of the Old Testament and includes them in her speech, not for comparison, but as a part.

Quotation 6.1. (26Fma: 1-21)⁶¹

<p>One woman, all this Adam (human beings) she gave birth to, one women, ee? One woman giving birth gave birth to ten children. Giving birth to ten children five she was hiding, five she took and arrived in front of God. The <i>tocho</i> of past. When she arrived “are only these the children you gave birth to?” said God. “These are the only ones I gave birth to” she said. Ee? “I know, it is not only these, what did you do to the five (others)? Bring those five” said God. My father told <i>tocho</i>, my grandfather told <i>tocho</i>. “Now these you have brought?” “Yes, these are the ones I have brought” “Let one be a trader, from those you brought (the first five) let one be Christian” saying “from clan of man let one be Manjo, that one who is said to be Manjo go to forest, carrying hunting net on shoulder. The one “let be trader/Muslim⁶²” (to) whom was said, holding loading straps to trade. The one “let be Maatto”...Manjo, Maatto, the one to whom was said let be Maatto, baboon, the one (to whom) it was said “be Maawo, Maatto colobus monkey...mm...mm... The one you hid let be small box, let one be typhoid, to kill people. Let one from those you hid be <i>eqqo</i>-spirit, let him hear the things of people and bring to God” saying he cursed. In the morning (before) in times when Adam was created, the created man, before the man to whom God said from his side-bone (rib) one man one woman, one man without wife (he) was. Adam. When he was, from where shall I marry a wife, from where shall I give birth” when saying, “You!” “Yes” “It is your side bone (rib), it is your wife, look at your rib” said (God). From his rib his wife came out. Getting out she got married and gave birth to all Adam (human kind). E? She gave birth and so we were, before this one carrying hunting net going to forest he became Manjo. The one who was tying loading strap went and became trader. The one who milked and carried the cow’s clay pot became Christian. The one who went holding leather became leather worker. Like this separated we stayed.</p>	<p>I will tell you a <i>tocho</i> that I have heard from my grandfather and father.</p> <p>One woman gave birth to all human kind. She gave birth to ten children. She hid five of them from God. When God asked her if she had given birth to other children than the five she had brought with her, she denied it. But God knew the truth and asked her to bring also the other five.</p> <p>God gave assignments to those she had brought first, one was to be a trader with straps to load and one was to be a Christian. The one who was supposed to live in the forest and to carry a hunting net on his shoulder was Manjo. And then one to be Maatto...Manjo... or was it Maawo ... baboon or colobus monkey... [She is not sure about how the story goes.]</p> <p>From those that she had hidden one became typhoid fever that kills people. One he cursed to be <i>eqqo</i>-spirit, who would tell the things of people to God.</p> <p>When Adam was created he was without wife. He was wondering where to find wife so that he could get children. God showed him that from his rib a wife came out for him. They got married and gave birth to all human kind.</p> <p>And so we were, the one who went to forest carrying his hunting net was Manjo. The one who tied a loading strap became trader. The one who milked and had a milk pot became Christian and the one who tanned was Manno. Like this we stayed, in separation from each other.</p>
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⁶¹ The ways of speaking I refer to are found only in the first column (literal translations). I also give the normalized English translation (second column) so that it is easier to follow what is said, but the normalized English translations have lost the nuances that make the styles distinct. All quotations of this chapter are found in *Kafi noono* in Appendix 1.

⁶² The word *neggade* from Amharic word ነጋዴ /nɜːgːade / is used for a trader. It is also used as a synonym for Muslims as they most often are the ones engaged in trade. Some clans (of Muslim traders) in Kafa are also called *neggade*.

She wants to share this story, but it seems that although she has heard it, it is not so familiar that she can remember the whole story. She gets confused about how the story went; she was not sure how it was with Maatto and Maawo in the story and at first does not remember to mention the tanners (Manno). In more complete versions it was that those five who were brought to God become “clans of people”, being traders, farmers and Christians. From among those who were hidden became Manjo, tanners, wild animals and sicknesses. By combining this *tocho* with the creation story in the Old Testament she points out that although all being “from Adam” they have stayed separated. The life is lived inside each group. She concludes the theme relating to *tocho* by saying that like this separated we stayed. Each group lived its own life among themselves and those being subordinated tried to manage with the demands and regulations assigned to them.

She is familiar with Elder rich style, but does not use it as extensively as some men do. This was also the case with some other women who contributed. They have had access to the style as listeners, but not that much practice in the actual telling, since telling *tochos* is considered a male discourse. However, she feels that she has a right to deliver and as the others do not seem to concentrate on her story she turns to Amharic saying “*Abet*, (for attention), in the name of Jesus” (marked in capitals in the next quotation). The phrase ‘in the name of Jesus’ is frequently used in various contexts, especially by Protestant Christians, and she emphasizes that on this particular occasion she considers that she has a right to be listened to. The increased amount of background noise suggests that this might not have been allowed on other occasions.

She structures her speech according to the different governments which is typical of *tocho* telling. The outside influence came first from the Derg; when she mentions the aspect that it took out the oppressors, she uses the popular phrase by which the coming of the Derg was described, using the phrasing of (*yuubbo*) singing: “‘*Haahoi*’, stunter was eradicated” (marked in capitals). By Yihadig the Manjo woman got to wear shoes and cotton clothes and ride a horse. With regard to new connections, she mentions: “Children go to school!” and that new ideas through Protestant Christianity are coming. All influences that come from outside the Manjo domain are described through instructions and commandments of Others speakstyle (underlined). These things were something she experienced while being inside

the Manjo group; it was only what she heard from others or experienced through her children. She mentions all this, but these do not bring new connections or relationships.

Quotation 6.2. (26Fma: 22-45)

<p>Zaanhoi came. In the time of Zaanhoi Yaanhoi who was shaving by glass. <u>“Manjo woman is not to enter this doorside. Tanner is not to enter this doorside.”</u> By putting a bell on the female slave, shaving her head, my grandfather sold, past our clan people, the females of our clan, there are those who were sold and died. When Yaanhoi was ruling Manjo speared and ate colobus monkey, tanner was barking leather, the trader.. listen!..the trader loaded. Being like that...ABET IN THE NAME OF JESUS now after Yanhoi ruled and got out (from) when said to this direction (after that) Manjo was spearing colobus monkey and eating, the bracelets were not worn, when we were like that Manjo women were not wearing bracelets, “I use bracelets” she said, first time Manjo woman took out bracelets (to be seen). It is Manjo woman who taught Gomaro woman to brew beer. When we were like that now the Derg was ruling it sang away Amaaro Amaaro Axan, saying “HAAHOI” STUNTER WAS ERADICATED, from the time (when) it was said that it has been eradicated we were getting out, our living being like that that time (when) the Derg ruled. Yihadig, following it, following the Derg Yihadig. It was yet by Yihadig, joy, Manjo women wear shoes, they wear dresses, they rode by horse. <u>“Manjo, go to school!”</u> Going without (holding) walking stick. Foreigner came to Dekka, it was said. Let the church be made said the people, make walls for church was said, in Dooma Dooma Dooma Dooma landed one woman⁶³ being one, one foreigner female foreigner woman landed in Dooma. That time in Dooma all the Manjo all the Gomaro, we got near became baptized for church all become near Manjo <u>“eat together drink together”</u> it was said I have heard.</p>	<p>Then came the time of Emperor Haile Selassie. He used to have the hair (of slaves) shaved with glass. He ordered that Manjo and Manno (tanners) cannot enter houses. It was a time when a bell was tied on a female slave. In the past some women of our clan were sold as slaves. They died being slaves.</p> <p>When Haile Selassie was ruling the Manjo speared colobus monkeys and ate them, Manno barked the leather and the traders...Listen! The trader loaded. NOW LISTEN IN THE NAME OF JESUS! At that time, when they were doing like that, the bracelets were not worn. But then came a time when the Manjo women started to wear bracelets. It was a time of revolution. The Derg took over the power from Amaaro Axa (landlords). By the way, it was a Manjo woman who taught the Gomaro women to brew beer.</p> <p>After the Derg, the EPRDF came to power. It has been a joy. We were able to wear shoes and dresses and even ride a horse. The Manjo were able to be like others and Manjo children were told to go to school.</p> <p>One foreign woman landed in Dooma (by helicopter) and many Manjo and Gomaro were baptized. The people built a church and at that time all were told to eat and drink together. I have heard that.</p>
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The regulation that it was forbidden for the Manjo women to wear bracelets is often mentioned in the speeches that were from women. It was a regulation that touched their lives and identity. She also mentions the bell tied around the neck of a slave and how the slave trade⁶⁴ affected life inside the Manjo community. The point that it was a Manjo who

⁶³ She is referring to an American Baptist missionary, who landed in the area by helicopter at the beginning of the 1970s

⁶⁴ The slaves were mainly bought by the neighbouring Oromo and Amhara traders mostly to be sold to their own people, but also to Arab countries. Trading of slaves was intensive in the first decades of 20th century and continued up to the 1930s (FERNYHOUGH 2010: 151-155, 159).

taught the Gomaro to brew beer is interesting. It might be mentioned here to show that the inside information about where to find *geesho*, a plant needed for starting the fermentation process for making beer, was originally with the Manjo, who were more familiar with the plants of the forest. Even now, those who provide it to the market place are usually Manjo. The comment shows confidence and knowhow.

In her case, her network structure supports the usage of the ways of speaking and styles present. She uses styles that are present in the Manjo community adding a few notions that have entered into her network domain by becoming part of the language repertoire used in the community. Although she comments on things that are happening around, her life is concentrated on issues inside the Manjo community. She uses the terms Manjo and Gomaro as part of the *tocho*-telling, but does not use the pronouns we-they, nor does she use the Being weak or Defiant style, although there are very assertive statements in what she says. Her group identity is within the Manjo group and her dense and multiplex ties support localized linguistic forms and there has not been real pressure from competing external forms, nor has she had the need to access those external forms. Social change has contributed in some ways: Old Testament stories are being included and there have been fewer opportunities to hear "*tocho*" being told; on the other hand, the opportunity to talk makes her try to tell one herself.

Her situation relating to her network and the styles used can be considered as an example of a person who has an insulated network. At the gatherings where I taped the monologues there were also many who wanted to take part only as the audience. They left the things for others to say, not even considering using the opportunity to speak to an outsider. So even though the speeches include only a very limited number of those who can be classified as having insulated networks, their actual proportion of the Manjo society might be much larger than the ratio in the data would indicate, although there could also be other reasons for choosing to keep quiet.

Another person whose monologue serves as an example of a person having an insulated network is the spirit mediator whose quotations I chose to use as an example when presenting the styles found in the speeches of the elders. The reason for choosing his

monologue as the first to be introduced is that it includes only a very limited number of Amharic words in comparison to others. I take all this as an indication that his way of expressing things might be more based on those resources that have also been available earlier. As I have already discussed the ways of speaking he included in his monologue in detail in section 5.3.1 (Quotations 5.3-5.6) I will now just share some points about his insulated network structure.

The shaman/spirit mediator, *allaamo*, lives and practises in the Gesha *wereda*. He and his family and servants live separately, about a one-hour walk from others deeper in the forest. His compound is surrounded with circles of fences and only the closest ones can enter inside the inner fence. Members of the Manjo community come to ask advice from the spirits for their problems and he listens either from behind a curtain or he gets the information through his “*gabbaracho*”, a servant and contact person. After some days the spirit, *eqqo*, will possess him (*kukkiye*) and he will be able to pass the information on. Although there are different *eqqos* in the area, a certain *allaamo* is usually linked to a certain *eqqo*, but some *allaamos* are also possessed by several turn by turn. It is this ability to enter into contact with the spirits that makes the *allaamos* appreciated. From the viewpoint of my study I would say that the spirits with whom he communicates form an important part in his network. To have contacts with spirits is also beneficial; *allaamos* are often wealthy and can have considerable influence in the society. However, this institution is mainly Gomaro and most influential *allaamos* in the area are from the Gomaro group. The Manjo *allaamos* usually work in submission to Gomaro *allaamos*, handling mainly the issues of the Manjo population, but some work independently, as he does. He said that spirit possession had been in the family for seven generations. Spirits that possessed Manjo *allaamos* are considered to be different from those possessing Gomaro *allaamos* (Lange 1982: 202).

The shaman explained that because of being an *allaamo* he was to be in segregation, not to participate in normal social life. As his main domain of interaction was with the spirit, he refrains from eating with other people and from entering into people’s houses, nor do people come to his house for reasons other than asking for advice from the spirits. He comes to the market place every now and then. Once I met him there and exchanged some customary greetings. After we had parted, the Gomaro passers-by came to me saying,

“Don’t you know who he is?” As it had not been possible for me to meet him at the other gatherings, I asked a high school student and a member of the tanner’s clan living about an hour’s walk from the *allaamo*’s residence to ask if the spirit mediator would be willing to speak with me. That was granted and the monologue was recorded on that occasion.

He was very confident in using the ways of speaking that were present within the Manjo community. The repertoire he used included only a very few references to the usage of other registers and only one or two phrases from Christianity were used. Nor did he use the discourse marker *Ne niho wuxibe* ‘Let your father be killed’ from Gomaro style and he did not use honorific forms of nouns, personal pronouns or verbs in any instances, even when talking about his father, *niho*, he does not use the common polite form *niheeno*. The only respectful form is the one showing submission, the vocative form *ta nuggusho* ‘my Lord’.

6.3. Example speeches of those having integrated networks

6.3.1. Weak ties in the past

In my data there are two men who include the Gomaro discourse markers *ne niho wuxibe* ‘let your father be killed’ in their monologues. What is the difference between them and others? In the past very few members of the Manjo community were in a position that would have allowed them to include Gomaro members in their networks in a manner that would have provided them access to actual Gomaro ways of talking. How is it that these two men are using them? One of them, now well over eighty years of age, was an influential Manjo leader, which had brought him into contact with Gomaro, and in the time of the Derg regime he served in the *qebele* administration. At that time some Gomaro had even visited his house: he had bought special cups from which he served hot milk to non-Manjo visitors. Those cups were kept locked in a wooden box. They were still used when I visited the house in Daabbina Gemi in the Sayilem *wereda*. The other person, living in Gesha *Wereda*, is now in his sixties. He belongs to a clan of Beedo, which is highly ranked among Manjo as it was his grandfather who went to Bonga in the time of the slave trade with a rope in which he had made a knot for every Manjo sold into slavery in Didif. The number of knots was 72 and with this rope he was able to convince the king in Bonga that the Manjo group would become extinct in the area if they were sold into slavery to that extent. The king gave him the status of Manjo *rasho* who then collected the taxes for Bonga from the Manjo

population in the area. After the death of this grandfather his son and after him his grandson, the one who delivered the speech, continued to act as foremen for the Manjo in the area and they were the ones who were called for discussions by the Gomaro leaders when needed.

The two elderly men described above represent persons who have had more contact with the Gomaro than others in general. Due to their high status, both are commonly called to serve as elders, to reconcile people who have not been able to settle their quarrels by themselves, not only among the Manjo, but also in disputes between the Manjo and the Gomaro. Both these men are considered to be “good speakers”. They both have grown sons and although they sometimes accompany their sons, for instance, to meetings or offices, they usually ask them to explain their issue, leaving the talking to them. Both are also members of Mekane Yesus Church and in both cases these congregations are those that are pure Manjo congregations. They are not involved in teaching or preaching, but participate in services.

As can be seen from their speeches presented when introducing the styles concerned (5.3.2), they both use Elder rich style very eloquently using very descriptive language also including the Gomaro discourse markers like *ne niho wuxibe* ‘let your father be killed’. In the next short quotation one of them describes the situation after the Italians were defeated.

Quotation 6.3. (1Me: 76-79)

<p>The heads of people, <u>let the one who gave birth to you die</u>, like the bad (rotten) bamboo by picking (they were) picked, a bed like pile was made, they were collected. There the thrown away guns, where? Without being hidden they stayed, they were left to be found. At that time they were exchanged for a piece of <i>ensete</i> bread.</p>	<p>(After the battle) there were skulls of people everywhere. Believe me, they were many! They looked like rotten bamboo when they were collected into square piles. And the guns, they were left lying around for anybody to pick up. They were so many that one could get one in exchange for a piece of <i>ensete</i> bread.</p>
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The other one of these two included in his speech a kind of *tocho*, which would fulfil the requirements that the Gomaro give to *tocho*. It has a hidden meaning that can be uncovered. He tells about when his father was tortured until he agreed to give an ox as compensation to the landlord, who accused him of letting one Manjo skip work. When the

father finally agrees to give the ox, the landlord laughs and at that point the father says: “When my ox came swinging, Mara Maaggi’s out-sticking teeth laugh.” (9: 49-52) The message includes the points that the ox was very good and big, the way it walks shows it. Sometimes the set of a person’s upper teeth is positioned not straight down but a bit out, which makes the face’s normal expression laughing-like, even though the person does not laugh. By this *tocho* it is expressed that Mara Maaggi had no reason to laugh; it was not his actions but the situation that gave him this achievement.

Both men used Elder rich style, but that does not mean that they did not bring in new metaphors or similes for describing things. In the following quotation, one of them emphasizes the connecting nature of the present times:

Quotation 6.4. (9Me: 74-81)

<p>Those who ate from leaves before being said to be far ones, far ones, Manjo being said. Now we with our brothers, now that one he sits here, this sits here, this sits here from here we eat [showing]. We feed and we eat, that is God to us coming. He? This year is different, from year year is different. Year is different that year is different. He? Water to all people from Shullachi (river) that goes, at health station water gets out like taken by pump, God to us working coming like that. He? God is working to us coming to us. Like the telephone line that comes out from Addis Ababa this Dekka, like that to us God is pulling is said. Pulling, said. Pulling, said. Pulling said. It is being brought.</p>	<p>We were called Manjo and considered outcasts who cannot even use the same plates as the others. But now we are sitting together with these brothers and sisters and eating together. God has done great things for us. You got it? Times are changing. Like the water of the river or the water that is pumped for all people in the health station, like that God is connecting us to the others. Or like the telephone line that is pulled from Addis to Dekka for connection. It is pulled to reach. Like that God is creating connection.</p>
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6.3.2. Example speeches of those having integrated networks at present.

According to Milroy and Gordon (2003) the networks constituted chiefly by strong (dense and multiplex) ties appear to be supportive of localized linguistic norms, especially low-prestige ethnic and status groups perceive their language or dialect as a powerful symbol of group identity resisting pressures from competing external forms. It is the weakening of these ties that produce conditions that are favourable to particular types of language change (Milroy 1980, Milroy and Gordon 2003: 118). Innovations enter via individuals with weak ties to these practices (Labov 1972, Milroy 1980). In regard to weak ties outside the insulated network, the speeches can be divided into two groups: There are those who have “come

out” from their core network and participate in activities outside and those to whom some weak connections are “getting in” to their network domain, either directly through people who actually come (like a Gomaro visitor) or indirectly, by having a “second order” connection, meaning that a person who again has a weak tie to one or more persons outside the Manjo network brings the influence of that connection into the core Manjo network of which he or she is a part (e.g., some Manjo students who studied at Arba Minch). In both cases there again are those to whom the weak tie connections to non-Manjo Kafa speakers have actually become “stronger”, including more than just those activities through which they entered. I will discuss each of these groups by comparing their network structures with the styles used in their speeches.

6.3.2.1. The Non-Manjo registers entering

Under this title I will discuss the following examples: The input of the contact with non-Manjo government workers, political party spokesmen and visiting protestant preachers in providing contact for accessing of certain registers and styles and the influence of some key Manjo figures in bringing in styles from their connections mentioned above or their other connections or agendas.

Some basic assumptions concerning network connections and language change are that the spread of linguistic features depends on social conditions. The factors in this respect are the density of the communication and the relative prestige of the social group (Bloomfield 1933: 345). Individuals central to a group’s practices exert a norm-enforcing influence. Innovations enter via individuals with weak ties to these practices (Labov 1972) as weak ties provide people with access to information and resources beyond those available in their own social circle (Granovetter 1983: 209). When I asked the members of the Manjo community about the contacts that had been taking place in past weeks, they gave two types beyond those available in their own social circles: The connections between relatives or other Manjo and then the occasions on which non- Manjo visitors had been met at the *qebele* meeting hut or at the church. The latter connections were also definitely mentioned by those who had had these encounters. In other instances, the reference group not being marginalized minorities, that kind of connection might have been bypassed as just a public gathering, but in this case

the names of the visitors were mentioned and especially those who were coming regularly were counted as part of the network. Although it was a very weak tie, it was a tie.

These visitors usually came with an agenda they wanted to deal with and the people were summoned for teaching, preaching or discussions and although it is mainly those who came who did the talking the comments of participants were also heard. Some left immediately after that, but with some food and coffee were shared. In that case one or two leading figures of the Manjo community took part. Both those who only participated in the meetings and those sharing the further discussions mentioned these visitors as part of their network connection.

The following speech is an example of how the vocabulary and concepts of religious registers are present in the monologues of people for whom the network connections include contact with these visitors when they come. It was given by a woman in her late 30s. Her network connections include mainly relatives and Manjo neighbours, but she is also an active member of a Pentecostal congregation in which there are only Manjo members. Being the wife of a brother of the leading figure of the village makes her also among those organizing food for the visitors. There are many similarities in the structure of her speech and the speech discussed at the beginning of this chapter in relation to insulated networks. She also starts by telling a *tocho* and then moves on to describe the situation of the Manjo women in the past. The *tocho* she tells is about a person who is able to get inside a rock and finds knowledge that gives him power over other people. However, although clearly engaging in *tocho*-telling, the style she uses is not Elder rich style. The only actual marker present from Elder rich style is the usage of repetition of a verb to show the length of the activity. The description of the situation of the Manjo women is expressed mainly through Others speak style, by quoting the insults or instructions given by the others, such as “You, do not wear khaki, wear *ensete* leaf!” In the next quotation Others speak style quotations are marked in bold and repetitions of verbs are underlined.

Quotation 6.5. (32Fma: 1-34)

I am telling (this). In the era before this, my fathers', stories and tales of their telling, what they told I heard. When I was not yet born Yappo <i>qebele</i> ..I was	I want to tell the story I heard from the elders in Yappo <i>qebele</i> , where I was born. Also there in Yappo the Manjo are now making a big church like this. But
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born in Yappo *qebele*. Now my brothers Manjo they like this (one) they Holy (place for worship) are building they themselves. In that Yappo country in past era the ones called *guudo* were there, the rock. Rock, the one who is the rock is called Maace king. He is called Maace king to people "brew beer he said and also..four (fat) oxen..there is forest. It is in the forest the one said rock(s), it is bigger than these houses. Among there in Yappo *qebele* among there they went and singing, singing, singing, singing fourteen full days stayed there. When they were staying this called Yappo king went to one rock like this, on clay plate mashed cumin on clay plate garlic (and) cumin mashed on clay plate, this (he) took hold took, well, "to *guudos* to rock let as feed" said the man took and went. The one called Yappo king. The one called Yappo king he took and said here singing, singing, singing saying the door shouting "grr" well that man it took hold and why suddenly got in, well into rock he was put in, to rock was put in they said "you people, that Man was put into rock by closing the door, sing" was said again. They were singing, singing, singing, singing, singing, singing, two days again singing singing three nights spent on the third day door opened. Door opening, what did he get out holding? Golden cup, good smelling white grass, smelling grass, smelling grass, in golden cup white smelling grass he hold, got out. Holding getting out (really) that door closed saying their telling I heard.

Getting out from this my mother, my grandmother was living by sweeping the surroundings of the huts of the Gomaro. They did not know how to farm, like this kind small child they took and made them sleep outside they by sweeping the surroundings of the huts of the people they were eating. If a farmland was farmed, if a house was build "**what kind you think you are, what are you, you built a good house**" saying that house they demolished and hit. "**What clan are you, go back you how come the sweeping of the surroundings of the hut is for you really, it is weeding grass for us, sweep surroundings of the hut really**" saying, giving birth to child she took like this took to field burying (left to sleep) by sweeping the surroundings of hut she lived and ate.

Past our mother our mother they did not wear khaki clothes, grass skirt, other thing left out, to wear I being here in Dingarech, getting out being here, "**you, do not wear khaki, wear the split *ensete* leaf**" was said to us. "**Wear the split *ensete* leaf**" was said to us, "**the split *ensete* leaf wear**" was said "**come and clear the surroundings of the hut.**" Splitting the leaf really we were troubled we were wearing under khaki and above it the split *ensete* leaf we swept the surroundings of the hut. To men "**you, you cut your long trousers. What is this, do not be proud.**

this story is about the times when I was not yet born. It was a time when people worshipped *guudo*. In the forest there was a rock, which was bigger than this house. It is a shrine that people called Maace king. He ordered people to brew beer and bring four fat oxen.

The people of Yappo *qebele* went there and stayed there singing and dancing for fourteen days. The one who was called Yappo king decided to go and feed the *guudo*. He mashed and mixed cumin and garlic and put it on the clay plate. When all were singing the door to the rock opened with a creaking sound. The man went in and the door closed behind him.

As the man disappeared inside the rock the people were told to sing again. They kept on singing day and night and on the third day the door opened again. And what did they see? The Yaappo king came out holding a golden cup full of grass that smells good. Then the door closed. This is what I have heard from my forefathers.

My mother and my grandmother got their daily food for sweeping the surroundings of the Gomaro huts. They did not know how to farm. After they gave birth to children they took them, small ones like this one, with them and the children were sleeping there outside on the field while the women were sweeping.

If someone tried to farm or build a good house, the house was demolished by the Gomaro. The ones who tried were hit and insulted by saying who do they think they are and it was insisted that they go back to sweeping. It was really only weeding and sweeping for us at that time.

In the past our mothers did not wear khaki clothes. The grass skirts were used. Even I was told not to wear khaki clothes and to use a split *ensete* leaf instead when I came here to Dingarech (to be married) and I also was asked to sweep the surroundings of Gomaro huts. We put the split *ensete* leaf on our khaki clothes and swept the surroundings. It was troublesome.

The Manjo men were told to cut their long trousers and the Manjo women were told to wear grass skirts. It all was done in order to keep us humble.

<p>Women take off khaki, wear the split ensete leaf. Above split ensete leaf wear, grass skirt, wear grass skirt," it was.</p>	
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After that she stops, takes a deep breath, and enters into a different style. Her pitch of voice is different resembling the style of a preacher, even the posture of her body changed when she started, she straightened her body and leaned forward a bit. This part includes several words and concepts of Protestant Christianity and she is using the style of the Protestant preachers, however, the context and the main style to which these components are added is in clear conformity with what I have labelled as Being weak style. The others present are responding to this part of her speech by agreeing “mmm” and saying “Amen”. In many areas preaching is considered a male discourse, but often women participate in praying and witnessing,⁶⁵ so this is not considered unusual.

Quotation 6.6. (32FMa: 35-62)

<p>Al Christos! This we did not know now if I think this Yesus thing making great now my head above making great it is (to) me (as a) hanging thing. What did Yesus do? From that suffering (he) took us out and from many many anxiety (he) us took out (from) many many many, our owned dog getting to house being (like) dog being me wearing garbage, to us to garbage being thrown away what did Yesus do? Yesus made us great us us made people (really) got out how did he made us to stand in his cover. Like this our mother this kind gold let be, gold she did not do (wear), this cloth she did not wear now by Jesus we are doing gold, now by Jesus I wear shoes, by Jesus this I wear. Manjo women, by no means gold, Manjo woman does not wear gold, “if you wear similar gold as our wives Gomaro shall kill you” [Others: Mmm] A: This how it is done, how it is? Really, to our Lord praise to him let it be. [O: Amen.] A: Came and reached Jesus us from where did he take out, Jesus from darkness bad dirt (who) we had become us he snatched, took out. Let him be glorified. Without giving birth, for his glory for him witness, without giving birth, without giving birth long time I stayed. Without giving birth Christ from a lot of suffering from lot of agony from a lot of suffering he took out. Getting out from that without giving birth I stayed after I had stayed, this really a lot did I was agonized. Jesus what did, child to</p>	<p>I call and praise Christ. The things he has done to me are incomprehensible. He suffered for us and by doing that took us out from our suffering, we who were considered less than the dogs we owned, as the dog can enter the houses of the Gomaro, but we cannot. We are like garbage that is thrown away. It is Jesus who made us human beings and kept us under his protection.</p> <p>Our mother did not wear gold (jewellery), she did not wear this kind of clothes. Now, because of Jesus I wear gold, because of him I wear shoes.</p> <p>By no means could a Manjo woman wear gold before. If she wore similar golden jewellery as the Gomaro women did, she was threatened to be killed. [Others show that they agree on that]. That is the way they used to do. But what happened? Let the praise be to our Lord. Jesus reached us who had become like dirt to others and took us out from darkness. Let him be glorified.</p> <p>Let me witness for his glory. I had stayed a long time without giving birth. Jesus took me out of that agony and suffering by giving me a child. Let people hear about this miracle. This is what he did for me and I hold on to him.</p>
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⁶⁵ In Ethiopia women have been ordained to serve as pastors in the EECMY since the 1990s, but in Kafa there are none yet. It is not uncommon for women to serve in spiritual matters; there have also been some strong female *allaamos* in the Gesha *wereda*.

<p>me, what did to me, gave Jesus. Let this miracle people hear. Now by Jesus holding (this) Jesus to me agreed agreement is what am saying. From before getting out things from before before grandfather like this getting out thing Manjo very very last dirt/waste. Jesus among us among dirt, dirt he came. Now how the coming of Jesus how do I see? Among us dirt, our brothers those great glory who have, to us among us dirt coming they by being dirt themselves us together with Jesus us took out. This how was done it "sanctified" (building) was founded. Those from Damma to us by founding in week two two two two days they come two two day they come to dirt to us to dirt to us to dirt us to us they are coming to us they are coming. Really let other things be left out, our going road, here has Manjo woman passed, here Manjo is passing discriminating they are saying the Gomaro. Let him be glorified, here I have stopped.</p>	<p>In the past, in the times of grandfathers, we Manjo were considered like dirt. But although we were like dirt Jesus came among us. How do I see it? These brothers, who are honoured people, they lowered themselves and came with Jesus to be among us. It is how this church was built. Those brothers from Damma they keep on coming twice a week to us who were nothing but dirt.</p> <p>The Gomaro, they really discriminate against us. Even if we just pass on the road, they show their discriminating attitude. Let Jesus be glorified.</p> <p>I finished (my talking).</p>
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In the case mentioned above, the visitor was a charismatic Gomaro preacher, who, although the communication was not that frequent, was bringing in new components. The influence of a highly visible individual can extend beyond his own personal network. In the study of Eckert (2000), personal styles, tastes in clothing, speech, and posture as well as patterns of consumption can make certain high leader figures especially influential. The woman delivering the monologue not only uses their language style, but also mentions the access to certain kinds of clothes and to certain kinds of buildings that are similar to the reference group as a much sought after achievement.

Eckert and Wenger call those bringing in the innovations "brokers". The argument is that in order to bring innovation into a community of practice, a person must simultaneously have some standing in that community and access to sources of innovation (Eckert and Wenger 2005: 586; Eckert 2000: 187, 207). "Brokers" are people who span structural gaps, mediating loose ties (Boissevain 1974; Kadushin 2004) and they provide reasonably strong links between otherwise separate networks and thus are in a position to spread information or goods between these networks. In order for a person to be a broker, there must be a demand for resources across the structural gap that they span and they must actually deal in those resources. The important thing for them is to maintain sufficiently strong ties across networks in order to be able to purvey "goods" like new lexical items, discourse markers, and new pronunciations. The global trends of religious styles are also very much present in

the speech of this woman in this remote village: the visitor has had contacts with preachers from Addis Ababa, who again have included in their repertoires the influence of American TV preachers, either through contacts or through television.

However, in recent years there has been a new trend concerning these visitors: When these organizations, be it religious or political, have trained members of the Manjo community, it is now often the case that they are the ones sent to approach their communities, which again has diminished the number of Gomaro visitors. This does not mean that there is less access to different registers, but that they will not come contextualized in Gomaro style and the network structure of the Manjo visitors might provide a different kind of second-order connections than those of the Gomaro visitors.

My second example deals with the influence of some key Manjo figures in bringing in styles relating to their connections. In many cases those youngsters who were sent to Arba Minch for their education act as “brokers” of this kind in their communities. The time their studies took place coincided with the government reforms dealing with ethnic autonomy and the issue of sovereignty was very much in the spotlight. The special school they were gathered into provided education especially for the minority members. For some of them, their networks included direct connections with people engaged in “liberation” activities; and some, due to their education that has provided them with a good command of Amharic, have acted as translators or informants for researchers or assistants to NGOs, creating connections both with members of other ethnic groups and with some foreigners who are engaged in issues of ethnicity and marginalized minorities. Through these activities some of them have also accessed related written materials. The persons who belong to the network of those studying in Arba Minch have performed as “brokers” introducing innovations. Certain members of the Manjo community gain access to these innovations when these youngsters visit their relatives regularly and have strong ties to this Manjo community. These relatives are not actual practising members, but close enough, which makes them transitional both in practice and in social space.

The following speeches are from two persons, father and son, living in a smaller Manjo community of six hamlets in a *qebele* in which the presence of the Manjo population is not

that significant –the total number of households does not exceed twenty. The father is in his fifties. His brother’s son was among those who studied in Arba Minch and although he is not living in the area any more he visits regularly. In addition to this nephew, his son, whose speech I will also quote later, has been serving in the military for eight years and is very interested in the autonomy issues. The first quotation is from the father. He is a bit reluctant to talk, but the members of the younger generation present at the gathering urge him to. There was some discussion at the end about whether it was good or bad to talk to me about the problems. However, later the younger ones were not hesitant to share their points of view.

Although not getting into actual debating, the father uses the two words that are often present in Defiant style: *qijico* ‘to wrestle’ and *cekkena* ‘to be harsh’. The latter, from the Amharic word ጩክነት /tʃʷək:ɜnɜ/ has both negative and positive connotations: to be determined, resolute, harsh, severe, pitiless, ruthless and cruel. It is also used for ‘keeping the Christian faith while undergoing persecution’. The speaker does not refer either to Manjo or Gomaro (or Kafacho) but talks about “we” when referring to Manjo and it/he when talking about the Gomaro group. These two markers of Defiant style are underlined in the following quotation

Quotation 6.7. (22Mma: 13-28)

<p>The past road on which we <u>were being harshly</u> (treated) from that our government has taken out. This time it has made us got out. Ee past were <u>were being harshly</u> (treated), we were being tied, from being tied God and our government has taken out, really other other what else is there to talk, those who have taken out grey hair and become old they are the ones who will bring other talk, I am near (in time, too young) really ee in the <u>time of harshness</u> being tied imprisoned for yoke..yoke ..ee yoke being put on throat (neck) ee from <u>harshness</u> taken out our government us to this made to reach, nicely hugging our wives our children ruling upon us (for that) let God be praised. Government has made us to reach to this, for making us to reach to this may God be praised. [M: Reach to the last][M2: Pass (pol) to the last!] Q: Government today has said become equal, be equal it has said, now it is not equal, people saying we are not equal, it has been denied. Eat, eat make eat, do not feed said, do not eat said. Us making to suffer he [= Gomaro] has troubled. He [= Gomaro]</p>	<p>In the past we were treated harshly and we were not free. At this time God and our government have taken us out from that. What else is there to say? Let those who are older than I talk, I am not yet that old.</p> <p>In the past, in the times of harshness, we were like imprisoned; a yoke was put on us.</p> <p>But now the government is ruling over us in a good way, hugging our wives and children. Let the government and God be praised for this.</p> <p>M: Continue to the main thing. M2: Pass to the main point!</p> <p>Q: Government says that we are equal, but we are not. The Gomaro trouble us. We are struggling. Although it is said that we should eat together, we do not eat together. We are suffering and bothered and</p>
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<p>troubling for being bothered, we are being bothered from two. We are <u>wrestling</u>. Again God and government us and him [= Gomaro] and us making one (if) he [= Gomaro] eats ours, his if we eat (that) is becoming equal now we are <u>being (treated) harshly</u> even now from <u>being harsh</u> they [=Gomaro] did not come back. We are being separate even now. We are being separate our government now. We we one one side he [= Gomaro] is <u>wrestling</u>. Again now let him [=Gomaro] and us be equal. We let us ourselves become proud becoming equal. Now we are being <u>harshly treated</u>.</p>	<p>we keep on struggling on this matter. Although the government says that we should be one, the Gomaro continue to treat us harshly and we have stayed separated.</p> <p>Although the Gomaro are resisting we should be proud and work for equality. But so far, we have been harshly treated.</p>
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His son speaks after him. This son tried to go to the local school, but clashed with the teachers and quit. He said that he knows Amharic due to his being in the military, but he did not want to use it on this occasion. His tempo is quick and there are not much break between when he moves from one issue to another, giving the impression that it is important to be able to say everything possible and not to give any chance for interruption. Like his father, he also uses the pronoun “we” when talking about Manjo, even when describing the past which he did not experience himself. Although he uses Being weak style to some extent, the Defiant style gets more play in his speech. The main argument is based on giving comparisons that indicate the differences and echo the ways in which the debates are taking place with the *wereda* officials. He also uses the pronoun “we” with regard to the activities of “quarrelling” although he does not personally take part in actual meetings. He uses many borrowings from Amharic to vitalize his speech, words like: to be oppressed, to whip, to have one’s mouth covered, solution/remedy, change, process (marked in bold). The sentences in which he shows his strong identification with the Manjo group by using the pronoun “we” are underlined.

Quotation 6.8. (37Mma: 1-20, 32-43, 55-62)

<p>D: <u>Before the life we were living</u> and from (about) <u>the life we are living now</u>, from now and the times before, in the <u>past we, being said to be Manjowe were sitting by the door (outside)</u>. (By) <u>door we sat, meadow (outside) we were drinking from fold leaf</u>. Being so, <u>when one sits drinking from fold leaf what means are there? ‘Cover your mouth’-time (shut up-time) this is called</u>. In Time of the Derg I was born in</p>	<p>About the past and present, in the past we Manjo were sitting outside and drinking from a folded leaf. If one sits outside and drinks from a folded leaf, what can he do or say? Just keep his mouth shut.</p> <p>I was born in Qeta in the times when the campaigners</p>
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Qexa. I was born in time of **campaigners** (of revolution)⁶⁶ ...when campaigners were time it was. The Derg here got in. Following that ee give respect being said, give respect, your kind my kind we do not reject with scorn said to people. Giving respect "Let me lie on ground" we saying time era was the past time. From now (present) time again, let it be so (nevertheless) for the time (that) came by God ee by government ee war-field going eight years I had stayed (after) when I came, this here when I came, a lit..a little time has changed. By what is the time being **changed** one **oppressing** another, in time when one was **whipping** another " that one with us will not be equal, on the contrary down there with the door sit really, drink by the door" times when it was saying, now again by time come by God a little, ee joyful thing government bringing down a little, rising from dispute, government "become equal" being said, now a bit we are equal again By God's road we are being equal, again let it be equal being so, for town we.. we Manjo in the town, being one staying being matter there is not. In offices, in offices from thirty there is no fifteen there is not. Even now by what? We are being far, now if one even, (one) going on God's road, if he gets into our house He is said to ee from there one even "this is getting near Manjo" is said he is being (considered) disgusting...

... Let it be again *wereda* in *wereda* we are separated it means. Among *wereda* (officials) let be Manjo on that **process** he holding **the stage**, being equal **process** there is not. Based on what I have seen. Again Church, what is it, in religion way if being Christian Christian ee by Christian, by Orthodox by Manjo they are not living together. There is no single Manjo become Orthodox it means. In the town there is no one Manjo. Ten even filling Manjo. By force, by law, by God, by quarrelling we are now ..quarrelling...on quarrelling now even we are it means. Our government why us equal did not make, now is not being equal, life we are living is different we are saying. Like this also by life we are living, by our being, by our house let us be one saying our past things, our bad things abandoning in peace being one let us be saying in a peaceful way we are hitting (discussing, debating) ee in religion matter church if it is, in praying matter only we are being one...

... Manja, by Manja and Gomaro being one being **process/way** there is no. Being one being drinking way there is not. Being one being eating way there is not. Being one being spending the night (being administrated) way there is not. After we failed to see

were teaching during the communist regime. Before there was a time when we were told to give honour and respect to the Gomaro by submissive greetings, but now people were told to respect each other, not to reject or scorn.

I stayed eight years in the army and when I came back I noticed that things had somewhat changed due to God and government. In the past we were oppressed and beaten and kept outside. But now, because of this dispute the things that have come through God and government have changed the situation a bit.

Government says that we are equal and again through religion it is said that we are equal. However, we are not present in the towns. We are not holding the positions in the offices. Half of the positions are not designated to the Manjo.

Still we are far. Still, if a protestant Christian Gomaro enters our houses the other Gomaro start to discriminate against him and consider him disgusting because he gets near to us.

Based on what I have seen in the government offices in the *wereda*, the Manjo are not equally represented in leadership.

And again, if we take the religion into account, the Orthodox Christians are not living together with the Manjo. There is not a single Orthodox Christian Manjo in their church. In the town there are less than ten Manjo.

But now we quarrel. We quarrel by using law, by using force and we quarrel through religion.

Our government has not yet made us equal, so we challenge it. We are debating and making our case. If we have abandoned the things we were accused of in the past, how come we cannot be equal? And in the church, it is only when we pray that we are one.

There is no process that would make Manjo and Gomaro one. We do not drink together, we do not eat together, we are not administered on similar bases. When we could not get our case heard in the

⁶⁶ዘመቻ /zɜmɜʃa/, the Amharic word for campaigner, raider, is generally used for the high school students sent to the countryside starting in 1975 to introduce rural land reform (Kane 1990: 1617)

<p>this, <u>when we were not able to see this from <i>qebele</i>, to law we passed</u>, the instances of law we passed, poor one your money/cattle take out go to government let this be quarrelled in peaceful way, not going to bad way, bad dispute (leading to punishment) that not become, bad quarrel not become, with government being quarrelling, <u>our own wereda, our own zone get out we saying</u> even now saying like this goal <u>we are holding</u> it is said. By this (from) things (that) came (to) me, I have finished, I thank a lot, Let God be praised.</p>	<p><i>qebele</i> we turned to law. We did not want this matter to go to fighting, we wanted to quarrel in a peaceful way, so everybody, even the poor ones, contributed money for legal processes.</p> <p>We are challenging the government to grant us a <i>wereda</i> of our own, a zone of our own. This is our goal. I have finished my speech, thank you. Let the Lord be praised.</p>
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The influence of the visiting relative on the speeches of the father and the son can be noted in the ways of speaking that have entered to the styles that they are using. Although, especially in the case of the father, the new features are rare, the way of speaking is different from those whose network connections do not include contact with certain Arba Minch students.

6.3.2.2. Non-Manjo registers accessed by “going out”

The two examples above are both from people whose network structures include persons through whom outside linguistic influence is coming in to their core Manjo networks. Then there are those who have themselves “gone out”, being engaged in activities that are outside their Manjo domain.

One representative of this group is a middle-aged man who lives with his two wives and two children in a Manjo community about an hour’s walk from the *wereda* centre. He is a member of the Qale Hiiwat (Baptist) town church in which the Manjo members are a minority. Some twenty years ago he and another person in his community went to Bonga to the offices of the Kafa Zone to complain that the Manjo were not able to get land in the *wereda* town. As a result some 10 persons were provided with land on the outskirts of the town. In the meantime, eight of these have sold the land and two, who still have the land, reside in the neighbouring *qebeles* where their farming lands are situated. He is currently the only one who has decided to pay tax for land for both *qebeles* and so he has the right to participate in the meetings that take place in the town, which he also regularly attends. He has not been at school and does not read or write and he does not communicate in Amharic.

The following quotation shows how being engaged outside his core Manjo domain has influenced his style. Although he is using some elements of Elder rich style, the stylistic features of *Alama* style are gaining ground. He uses many Amharic words and lexical items from religious and political registers in his speech (underlined).

At the end of his monologue he tells about how a group of members of his Manjo community formed a cooperative for farming vegetables under a supervision of an NGO promoting governmental development activities. The group had just decided to split up because of the quarrels that had arisen.

Quotation 6.9. (23Mma: 34-50)

<p>(when there was a need to make a fence or to start guarding the field) <u>starting</u> (from) this <u>time</u> well separation became. Well separation. “I by-pass (am better), I am by-passing” talk is there. I am better, while guarding this “I being here well being hungry is it that I came, is it (by) my coming me making myself small (lowered myself)” saying like <u>proud</u> went, seed (we had) bought planted reaching to sell, selling abandon because it (people) got scattered, a person does not <u>oblige</u> a person, together working is in being reconciled/ agreeing, working is the thing, <u>developmentwork</u> is by agreeing, <u>believing</u> is by agreeing. (What) <u>government</u> wanted/s is agreeing. (What) God wanted/s is really agreeing well person (to) a person goes <u>obliges</u> to do, by <u>police</u> does not <u>oblige</u>, the one who has <u>religion</u> does not <u>oblige</u> to do, in <u>law level</u> <u>learned</u> being even a person he does not <u>oblige</u> to do, who will <u>oblige</u> who to do being said, on that we scattered, the money we hold yet now <u>realcounting</u> being said “<u>audit (English)</u> done we will share” on that we scattered and stopped. Like that again “I have an ox, I have money/cattle, being in Dejo he can live”, among us being <u>by himself/privately</u> big also can live, the one who is not capable/able can live. Among that there is <u>dishonoring</u> talk. (There) being <u>dishonoring</u> talk, if among there is being by self, becoming <u>advising</u> advising, together work is going, rising from that it is we separated. From like this is the <u>character</u> we are, <u>circumstances</u> we are in here.</p>	<p>The separation came when we needed either to start to keep watch or make a fence around our field. When people were supposed to keep watch, the quarrel started. Some said that they are not so hungry that they would disgrace themselves by being guards. And then some got angry for them for putting themselves above others. So we could not get a crop and sell it because people scattered before the things we had planted could be harvested. A person does not force another person; it has to be by agreeing. This is how it should be both for development work and for religion. That is also what government wants. That is what God wants. Not that a person is forced to do something by police. Those who know religion or those who have learned law, they do not oblige. As we did not want to force anybody to work we decided to let it be. We decided that the money should be audited and then shared.</p> <p>Another thing, there was this talk that showed that people did not appreciate each other. One says that he has an ox, so he can manage by himself. The poor one can manage by himself. There is this dishonouring talk. As it was like that the work could not go on and so we agreed to separate. This is the character of the circumstances we are in.</p>
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Like other Kafa speakers, he uses well-established cultural borrowings for certain things and concepts like *gizo* (ጊዜ /gize/) for ‘time’, *yammariye* (ጀመረ /dʒɜm:ɜrɜ/) for ‘started’,⁶⁷ *haimaanooto* (ሃይማኖት /hajmanot/) for religion, but he also includes many words of the registers of present discourses relating to society and religion like *emneto* (እምነት /imnet/) ‘belief’, and *limaato* (ልማት /lima:t/) ‘development work’. He chooses to use core borrowings from Amharic for some words although there may be a Kafa alternative. In some cases he uses both together, the Amharic borrowing *makkari* (ምክር /mikir/) *beeto* and then the Kafa word *boyaa beeto* ‘advising’. It is not just to get another additional word to use; there is also another word in Kafa (*ciico*) for advising. The English word from the register of economics, ‘audit’, is also familiar and used with the Amharic counterpart *quxixiro* from the word to count መቆጣጠር /mɜk’ot’a:t’ɜr/. The borrowings are phonologically and morphologically integrated. In some cases it is really difficult to figure out what the origin of a word is, as the actual form used has undergone many changes, but this is not the case with this person.

The main reason for using core borrowings is the cultural pressure to use certain languages in public discourse especially if it is considered as a status-raising discourse (Myers-Scotton 2006: 215-16). Here the speaker takes the religious words from Amharic and the one relating to monetary economy from English. The language used in religious activities relating to Christianity, whether in Orthodox or Protestant is predominately Kafa in Sayilem and Gesha, but certain core borrowings, as the ones mentioned here, are often used. In the case of this speaker, I would rather take the core borrowing as a sign of expressing the speaker’s complex social role and ambiguous status, associating himself both with being in the Manjo group and also among integrated activities (church and government) with those Gomaro who also would use these words in their repertoire. Although this kind of usage of words from another language is not “crossing”, I still would say that it functions for the same purpose, as the speaker crosses to the variant used by Protestant Christian Gomaro. As there is no further knowledge of structures used, the only option to show their willingness to “cross” is to use the words.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ There is no word for ‘to start’ in Kafa, the verb *qaxiriye* refers only to starting to move/starting a journey. So the borrowing (*yammariye*) from Amharic is widely used.

⁶⁸ Sometimes children in the countryside want to show their eagerness to associate to my language. As they do not know words or expressions, they have to limit themselves to imitating the intonation, the sound of the language, which they presume to be English. In the same way, an Oromo driver who does not know Kafa

He not only mentions the words, but uses them for debating his case. He told me that he is not just listening in church or *qebele* meetings, but he also talks and gives his opinion. But beyond that there is not much interaction or discussion with the other (Gomaro). In his case, the participation in meetings in the town has not brought other additional connections to his network structure. When telling about the connections he had had during the past two weeks, he mentioned one *qebele* meeting with 24 participants and once he had gone to the *wereda* offices in Dekka, “for quarrel”, about some unclear matters about payments. He had also talked with a nurse when taking his younger wife to the clinic. Beyond that, all other connections are with his family, with whom he does the farming, and his relatives and in-laws. He had made two journeys to other *qebeles* to participate in a big *dafo* (some 45 people, all Manjo) and to visit his in-laws.

There are also those who “came out” from their own core networks and their own area to join the wars. These include members of all age groups, the older ones were fighting in the army of the Derg and the younger ones in the conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Linguistically it provided them an opportunity to learn Amharic and also they have gained “*yawo*” (to know how to go and where to find) outside Kafa.

The biggest group of those involved in connections outside their core Manjo network are the ones who have participated in formal education; in my data they all belong to the group of youngsters. As was mentioned earlier, the first generation of the educated Manjo got their basic training in Amharic and those following them in *Kafi noono*. The network connections of these two groups differ and so does the linguistic repertoire they are using: The first group eagerly changes to Amharic, in which they are fluent, but use the “Manjo way” when talking in *Kafi noono*. They have learned to read and write in Amharic script. Those who have attended the school in the Kafa Zone are more familiar with the new standard version and they have learned to read and write in Latin script. Some of those who had learned at Arba Minch had gone for further studies (nursing, teaching) and it is yet to be seen if they

answered “in Kafa” to a Kafa-speaking person who persistently required a place in the car. The driver used only the intonation patterns attached to words he had invented. Ervin-Tripp describes this kind of borrowing as “mimicked phonetic features in nonsense words” (Erwin-Tripp 2001: 46).

return their to home areas. In both *weredas* two are engaged in working in government activities: they work as youth or women coordinators or in political party work. In most of the villages I also met one or two who had finished their studies at Arba Minch, but whose points on the final exam were not enough for further education or getting a government job, although the points required from the Manjo students has been less than from the majority. Their network structures included again mainly Manjo. The biggest difference from others was that they were not hesitant to travel to Addis Ababa or other towns, both due to their experience and fluent Amharic. The other group, those learning in their *weredas*, will be the first one engaged in learning with the newly written standardized *Kafi noono*. The number of youngsters in my data is too small for a detailed approach; however, there is a difference between the speeches of those who read and write and have been engaged in formal education and those who have not. Whether this is due to moving from oral to more written communication or to being at school as such is another question. These students had some contact with Gomaro students; the discussions usually took place at the school compound or on journeys to school and back. Usually the topics were related to school issues. Being in a classroom day after day means that the ways of speaking of that domain are not only accessed but possibly also practised.⁶⁹ This leads to another important issue that needs to be discussed in relation to networks and “ways of speaking”: In addition to access, practice plays a role. One can include lexical items and discourse markers, even copy some components of style by just hearing what is said, but it is only by actually speaking and living that style that one is skilled enough to partake in interactions according to the customs of that particular style or register.

⁶⁹ Although being present provides an opportunity to participate fully, this does not always happen in practice. Roberts and Sarangi (2001: 174-176) point out that children whose communicative style and ways of speaking differ from majority groups do not fully participate in interaction in classrooms, as the legitimate ways of using language are those of the dominant group.

6.4. The influence of practice

Although an individual becomes acquainted with different kinds of registers and styles through a process of socialization that continues throughout life, members of a language community differ not only in identifying these registers and styles, but also in how fluently they can use them. Such differences depend on the particular life-course and trajectory of socialization of the individual speaker. Two members of a language community may both be acquainted with a linguistic register, but not have the same degree of competence to use and interpret it (Agha 2004: 23-24, 29). Not having practised the actual communication in which that register is needed affects participation.

I was observing a situation in which some women were summoned up to be asked some questions by a worker of an NGO collecting base-line information for a possible development project in the village. The speaker (Oromo) was using Amharic, which was translated to Kafa. In the group of six women there was one Manjo. Two of the Gomaro women did most of the talking. The Manjo woman participated eagerly, replying to most of the questions, but she did it silently, talking to herself, not even trying to be heard. To get a turn to be heard would actually have been very difficult as the two Gomaro women were very quick to respond. The only time she got her voice heard was when the question was about domestic violence. The Gomaro women kept quiet, as the topic is sensitive and not talked about. The Manjo woman openly explained how she and also some others in their community sometimes get beaten. The interviewer then asked her some further questions concerning "being Manjo". Her actual participation was again only in that context. I had similar feelings when I started to communicate cross-culturally outside Finland. In England the discussions seemed to be so quick that when I had formulated my response, the others had already moved to a new topic. To get a turn seemed to me as a battle; a lot of confidence was needed even to start to try to get in and it was difficult for me to map those short moments when entering seemed to be possible. And after finally getting in and making my point, there was a short silence indicating "how come she said this?" before the others continued their line of discussion.

The only options for both that Manjo woman and me would be to engage in similar situations until the linguistic practices concerned became familiar enough for confidence to start actual practice. However, sometimes it is difficult or impossible to be present. Let me compare this situation with a piece of information Kulick (1990) shares from among the Gapun in Papua New Guinea. His topic is actually dealing with emotion, gender, and language shift, but he includes some interesting points about the domain of women as orators. Although in Gapun society oratories are considered a male discourse, there are some women who do occasionally speak at public gatherings that concern both men and women. Women's speeches contain many of the same rhetorical features, such as repetition, but they are much briefer and never contain any of the particular formulaic tags that the men use to mark their speech as oratorical. Furthermore, women, who are not allowed inside the men's house, obviously cannot speak from there, and so their contributions to discussions have a peripheral character that is underscored by their spatial placement. Kulick sums up, "Because of factors like these, women who make short speeches at public gatherings, are not considered to be orating; they are, rather, 'complaining'." (Kulick 1990: 118-119).

It is not enough to have a contact or two in order to be able to become accustomed to these certain ways of speaking. There is a need for a wider group in which people hear how the people communicate with each other and have an opportunity for real participation. The speakers introduced in the first part of this chapter all belong to those who have accessed certain styles to the extent that they are able to include some typical markers of that style in their speech. In this part I will now explore how the network structures of those "more competent users" differ from those discussed before.

In order to further develop the skills needed in using certain ways of speaking one needs to be part of "a community of practice" where practice can take place. The concept of community of practice, a construct in a theory of learning, includes three components: First, there needs to be "a shared domain of interest". Second, in order to pursue this interest, the members need to come together to discuss, help each other and share information, which means that they form "a community". Third, there needs to be "a shared practise". Wenger describes how "those included are not only members but practioners. They develop a shared

repertoire of resources, experiences, stories, tools, and ways of addressing recurring problems – in short, a shared practice. This takes time and sustained interaction.” (Wenger 2006: 1-2). People first join the communities and learn “at the periphery”. As they become more competent they become more involved and have the option of “moving from peripheral participation to full participation” (Lave and Wenger 1991: 37).

The important issue is to what extent people are included in the community of practice in which this talking takes place, starting from being physically present. However, being physically present does not by itself mean that practising can take place. Practice is a way of doing things, as grounded in and shared by a community. Practice always involves the maintenance of the community –and therefore its power structure. Legitimacy in any community of practice involves not just having access to knowledge necessary for “getting it right”, but being at the table at which “what is right” is continually negotiated (Eckert and Wenger 2005: 583). To have a domain for that, there has to be a mutual engagement for which the people get together. The mutual engagement can be harmonious or conflictive, but there needs to be an engagement in which the members share some jointly negotiated enterprise. Because the enterprise is negotiated, there is circularity involved in its identification: members get together for some purpose and this purpose is defined through their pursuit of it. It is this pursuit of this enterprise that creates relationships of mutual accountability among the participants. Community of practice is characterized by the members’ shared repertoire. These resources (linguistic or otherwise) are the cumulative result of internal negotiations. In short, community of practice is a domain defined by a process of social learning (Meyerhoff 2002: 526-7). As Eckert points out “this aggregate of people coming together around a particular enterprise locates the interactional sites where social meaning is indexed by linguistic elements, and linguistic change and social meaning are co-constructed” (Eckert 2000: 34-35).

The concept of community of practice has been used, e.g., by researchers working on language and gender, as it has provided a framework for exploring gender as a learned social category, which foregrounds the likelihood of differences in how the notion of “being a woman” or “being a man” is constructed differently across a person’s lifespan through

participation in different practices (Meyerhoff 2002: 539). There are great differences in how “being a Manjo” is articulated in different monologues, both concerning group identities (social) and personal identities and my interest lies in how the communities of practice they have been or are participating in contribute not only to the content of their linguistic repertoires but also to the identity construction.

What can be said about the communities of practice to which the speakers of the monologues are attached? In the data there were two kinds of ways in which a person could be engaged with different communities of practice: by being in a group or individually. In the first way he or she already belongs to a group and as a group member becomes part of a community of practice engaging in certain social activities, like *daado* working groups, Manjo women selling wood and charcoal in the market of *wereda* towns, high school students establishing a drama group, or spokesmen who are “quarrelling with the *wereda*” engaged in negotiations with the officials concerned. As individuals, some have become “peripheral members” in the honey selling business, some have been engaged in religious or political learning institutes. One person was included in a network of those selling stolen mobile phones. There are also some Protestant congregations in which both groups are also engaging in other activities together, at least for those relating to the church: like making benches for the church or planting coffee for fundraising. A great deal of tacit knowledge is gained by working and talking together, by being engaged in activities. Gosselain (2000) argues that the context in which technical behaviours are constructed and reproduced corresponds to the networks of social interaction. He summarizes that “as social networks expand, contract and interconnect, people are likely to accumulate a wide range of dispositions, including knowledge, skills, tastes and habits, pertaining to different facets of their identity from multiple origins and evolving in different ways” (Gosselain 2000: 209). His reference is in regard to material culture, pottery making in Niger, but applies to different fields of life and the technical skills needed.

Can engagement in school activities serve as a community of practice that also promotes learning in other fields of life? From the point of view of this study, to be engaged in “*qelemo timhirt*” (colour/ink learning) of any kind, referring to learning that uses written material, can be seen as an additional link in the network structure. I do not mean only the people one

meets, but the books and information they include. This is a point that those who have gone for further studies also bring out. When I asked the new nursing student about his studies, he commented that what was most amazing for him is that he has a right to all this knowledge in the books he was using. When “who to ask” changes to “where to find” the access to information cannot be constrained by other people.

The issues relating to the formal school system, to literary learning, and to the relation between written and oral culture are much debated. From my point of view, I just want to emphasize the networking character of the written information in accessing and also practising “the ways of speaking” in that particular domain. It is also clear that the practices of formal education form a domain of its own, in which the issue of how well one is accustomed to those particular practices and ways of speaking can influence the performance (Welles 1985, Tizard and Hughes 1984). Milroy notes that differential access to literacy will feed back into many varieties of spoken language, particularly those used in institutional or work discourse, which she calls “demonstrably parasitic on the written language.” (Milroy 2001: 270). This is to some extent also true in Kafa, although competence in the ways of speaking familiar to those living in oral cultures are far more important in institutional and work discourses at present. However, perhaps due to the long period of communist rule, most activities require writing a letter and, especially for the Manjo population, approaching by letter has been a widely used form of contacting, as to get into a discussion has been difficult due to the boundaries in the society. As the government has now started to use *Kafi noono* in its documents, the letters are also being prepared in *Kafi noono*, although using Amharic is much more popular.

Being a student brings new contacts but it might also hinder their participation in other communities of practice: some said that they are excused from *daado* work every now and then; at some gatherings the students expressed their joy at hearing the *tochos*, saying that there are no opportunities to hear them. But again, the students came after the school day to *dafos* I have participated in and the boy who had finished 10th grade had the honour of spearing one of the three hyenas when participating in a hunting party. In some cases being a student has clearly meant additional network connections: The following example is from the youngest contributor in my data, from a student of 18, now learning in the 8th grade in

Gesha *wereda*. There are six Manjo houses in the area where he lives, some 40 minutes from Dekka town. Although the area has been a “Manjo area” the shortage of land in the surroundings of the town has also brought Gomaro farmers to the area. The boy uses mainly description and explanation and approaches the situation from his personal point of view by describing the feelings attached and in the latter part relates the happenings to his personal life. In that part he switches to Amharic. Throughout his speech he frequently uses *baqqā*, ‘enough, that’s it’ the Amharic discourse marker of the “young urban”. There is no *-che* added, which is common with some other Manjo youngsters. He basically uses the structures of standard Kafa, but frequently mixes Amharic into to his speech, e.g., the adversative conjunction ‘but’ used was consistently the Amharic ግን /gin/, which can be seen as an indicator of using both languages regularly (Mougeon and Beniak 1991).

Quotation 6.10. (42My: 1-21)

<p>Before this, my father, my mother, my father my grandfather's life, but it was not good. That's it, people hated. It is people (being) many who were hating. People did not love, like that their clans, they did not like to call their (M) name. If (being said) Manjo, “that kind of name do not call in earth”, up to that they hated. But before this before this we them being like this ee starting from the era when I was born this good new thing started to come ee King Melles Zenawi ...but starting from by being born, that's it, from my birth, starting from my growing, good things, not finding the bad things, (thing) called cheating, without deceiving being equal, learning together, together, that's it, owning equally, equally working were now but from past life our life is good. In past times there were many problems for Manjo, they were hated but now I would say there are good things ee through God good in 2000 good things were to be seen, joyful thing it is equality. We..one thing is different, many things are not. To give to be married and to marry is what is absent many things are not different but this does not resemble the past-like things it means. Before this, that's it, our living they hated, hateful life it is the life of Manjo. But now by God it is good. Now it does not resemble the past-kind life, it all is joyful together we trade in market, Gomaro does not cheat Manjo, again Gomaro to Manjo, Manjo does not bow to Gomaro all equally ride the horse, equally we walk. But now any kind of problem there is not, we are clean. But the past life was bad, now every kind in peace just like this we are living. <u>This is what it is (present).</u> (Changes to Amharic for the last sentence)</p>	<p>In the past, in times of my parents and grandparents, life was not good. People hated the Manjo. That's it. They did not like the members of the Manjo clans, they did not want to even hear the name Manjo.</p> <p>But when I was born, new good things started to emerge through king* Melles Zenawi. While I have been growing up things have been good. There have not been bad things like cheating or deceiving. The learning, working and owning have been on equal bases. Due to God, starting from 2000 it has been much better compared to the past. I rejoice about equality.</p> <p>There are no longer many things in which we differ, but one is still there. There are no marriage relations between the groups.</p> <p>But it is nothing compared to the past. In the past they hated us and our way of living. Now we trade together in the market and the Gomaro do not cheat the Manjo. The Manjo do not show submission to the Gomaro, instead, all ride horses and walk together. Now there are no problems, we are free from the problems of the past and we live in peace. That is how it is now.</p>
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*He uses the title *taato* in order to show appreciation and to be polite.

He also wants to share a *tocho* he has learned. He is proud of being able to tell this story and he remembers it well. There are no components of Elder rich style included. The way of telling does not resemble the way the elders use the narrative, but the manner of narrative used in school books. The story itself is a Gomaro story; the theme is that the clever brother fools others who do not know how to behave. In the previous quotation he is very much emphasizing that Gomaro is no longer “*haco*”, or at least does not cheat Manjo. Again the story he wants to deliver is a typical “*haco*” story. He is gaining competence in the Gomaro way through his connections and does not see it as a threat.

Quotation 6.11. (46My: 22- 37)

<p>My story is in Kafa. (In) the story to one mother there are three children. Three children they being three children did not obey to mother, they did not say ok to mother they did not agree. They were being (like that) their mother being suffering, she prayed to God, again and again she prayed to God. “God, give me one child, give me one who says ok, God give to me”, every day she prayed. When she was praying God one child what she wanted he gave. Being given one child they were. Well the child (from) being born small became big. After becoming big, there (these) three children “Come let’s go to steal” said. They went and stole together. When bringing the stolen (ox) they took “wash the stomach and bring”, saying sent to river. When they were sending to river he went. He went and into this stomach he filled water. After filling he cut a stick. By hitting that by stick he shouted. When he was hitting by stick and shouting well his real brothers “what is it, what is it” they asked each other. “The master of the stomach ox came and has taken hold of me, run, disappear from coming back” he said. Saying this he washed the stomach and came up to place where the meat was. When they run by heart, dropping the meat and disappeared, he took that meat put in home and with his mother eating they were in the past. <u>It is said.</u></p>	<p>I will tell my story in Kafa language.</p> <p>One mother had three children. These three children did not obey their mother and the mother was suffering. She prayed to God that God would give her a child that would obey her. God gave her a child. All children grew up. Then one of the children suggested that they should go to steal. They went and stole an ox.</p> <p>After slaughtering the ox they sent the youngest to wash the stomach of oxen the river. He went and filled the stomach with water. Then he cut a stick and started to beat the filled stomach with the stick. While beating he shouted a lot. The brothers started to wonder what that noise was. He shouted from afar that the owner of the ox has come and is beating him and told his brothers to escape.</p> <p>They did that and left all the meat behind. The youngest son collected the meat and took it with him home to his mother and they ate it together.</p>
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During the two-week period that I asked the youngster to describe, his contacts had included the members of his core Manjo network that includes father, mother, brothers and sisters, and visiting relatives and Manjo neighbours. In addition he had had several contacts with Gomaro who had been engaged in the same activities with him: In Mekane Yesus church this included choir members, drama-group members and an evangelist. He is the only Manjo member in the choir and plays guitar. With the Gomaro evangelist he talked about

participating in the Taekwondo group at school and with schoolmates, both Gomaro and Manjo, about school issues and sport. In addition he had talked with a doctor in a clinic, and visited the office of an NGO where he discussed activities concerning students with the project workers. On the road he got into a discussion with a neighbour Gomaro, who is Muslim. In town (also on the road) he asked a policeman, who is also a member of the same Mekane Yesus congregation, about an incident that had happened. He also went several times to Tammeru's Tea House, which is considered the main tea house in Dekka, and participated in discussions.⁷⁰ No Gomaro visitors came to his home that period, but a couple of times during last three months a friend of his father (neighbour) had come secretly to talk about making honey containers. With all he mentioned he used mainly Kafa, but also Amharic. As can be seen from the list, most of the practices are through "God and Government", relating to religious or governmental activities and including those Gomaro members of the community who themselves are similarly engaged. However, he has also grown accustomed to going to Tammeru's Tea House. It is only seldom that Manjo members are to be encountered there, although it is open to all, segregating only by serving the Manjo customers from different cups.

The Manjo youngsters learning in high schools in these two *weredas* form a very small minority and the influence of written culture and schools is a minor component in the lives of the Manjo members in present-day Gesha and Sayilem. Those learning in elementary schools are more in number, but to what extent the school is modifying their language is yet to be seen. These children have learned to talk in the Manjo way. Is the acquisition at school premises promoting change? If so, will it be to standard written or customizing more to Gomaro style? Are the children aware about the differences in the variations at school and at home? Chambers (2005) talks about an "innate access-filter" saying that the speech of immigrants' children growing up learning the local (new) language or dialect is not affected by the foreign accent/dialectal features of their parents and argues that it is due to neutralization: a child does not hear the difference until early puberty (Chambers 2005: 218-9). However, in the Manjo case I expect that the difference is made clear to the Manjo children through mockery at the very least.

⁷⁰ "The tea houses" are small (2 x 3 m) rooms with benches around a couple of tables. Often those present engage in common discussion to a certain extent.

One does not necessarily need to be in mixed congregations or subjected to institutional learning to be engaged in certain communities of practice with some Gomaro members of the society. The next example is from a person who has become wealthy through his honey production and been engaged also in government activities when “a Manjo representative” has been required. In relation to the Gomaro, these people are examples of those who have been “accepted” at least to some extent into certain communities of practice. The Gomaro term for these people is “not troublesome” or “persons with whom one can agree”, the opposite being the “troublesome” or “difficult”. Some Manjo complained openly that only this kind of “agreeing” Manjo get to be chosen for positions.

The middle-aged man serves as one of the seven *qebele* cabinet members⁷¹ in his *qebele*. Over two weeks he participated in several meetings and in the organizing committee for a big meeting to which all heads of households in the *qebele* were invited. He also wanted to share that during this year he had visited the zonal capital Bonga and even had gone to the regional capital Awasa once, as he had been chosen to participate in a course dealing with honey production organized by Gov/NGO. The main work that had taken several days during the past weeks had been digging holes for coffee plants with his *daado* members, brothers and neighbours; all are Manjo. He belongs to the Pentecostal Church, which has only Manjo members, and participated in fasting prayers on Fridays and church program on Sundays. The Sunday before the interview his brother was leading the program and afterwards came to his house for coffee and one Gomaro preacher also came and visited him last Sunday. On Tuesday he went to the market in Yofo, the nearest village with a marketplace, to buy clothes and to sell honey. In the marketplace all honey buyers and clothes sellers are Gomaro. A *wereda* worker from Dekka came to talk about fertilizers and called a meeting in the *qebele*. The one who came was the one Manjo representative that is working in the *wereda*. During the past month he had attended two funerals, one for Manjo one for Gomaro. He had not engaged in any discussions at the funerals with any Gomaro as the Manjo group had sat separately.

⁷¹He is a Public relations coordinator, being responsible for peace and order in the *qebele*.

In the following part of his monologue he is presenting his point of view in *Alama* style and includes markers of religious and political discourse, but they do not dominate. He also uses intonation to show the words he wants to emphasize as key for summarizing the point (shown by *italics*), which shows that he knows and can utilize Elder rich style. Being strong style is present, but Defiant style is not used and the Gomaro quotations, although having a negative message, are not just in the Others speak style. When he uses the instructions and commands that are so typical of Others speak style, he does it with laughter. He analyzes the situation and gives his explanations for and opinion of things he quotes Gomaro members as saying.

Quotation 6.12. (20Mma: 66-73, 81-98)

<p>...to us the sharpening of teeth. The teeth sharpening has become a difference now they are receiving (from that). From the way taken by that like that they are saying to us “where are they, they are holding the <u>customs</u> of yesterday, the <u>customs</u> of yesterday they are holding they are <i>Manjo really</i>” they say. If they go to town, the birr *of ours, to us when there is birr, they do not look at the birr without <u>receiving</u> they see the teeth I mentioned before. <u>Waiter, waiter</u> if we go after reaching “it is finished the honey(drink), honey(drink) is finished. There is no honey(drink). To you there is no honey(drink)”...</p> <p>That kind of problem we have now. Like that being named it is said. Now if our child even <u>learns</u> ee some that can be counted, some people how are they doing ee good <u>learning</u> is made not good really some some here if they sit like this staying like this <u>learning pupil</u> this if it is, <u>learning</u> by giving (turning) the back, by giving the back. Why is that learning by back being turned? “They are yesterday’s Manjo. Which are the yesterday’s people, these people are yesterday’s Manjo.” From saying Yesterday’s Manjo it is really this kind of problem to us. To farm we equally with them we are farming. House we equally with them are building. In what we are wrestling is to get in town to us a little <u>learning</u> to us as is absent to us by wrestling to us by wrestling we do not have the <u>skill of learning</u>. Became complicated now like this good now what is good for child, good <u>development work</u> established if we wrestle to utilize to get in to town being absent is what have troubled us. Our people are lacking, wrestle ... to work the hand of our clans is strong, for working <u>a lot</u> we are capable of working. We are capable of carrying. We are capable of working, however what is there? To get hold of a lot of money, in good to get into town as it is absent,</p>	<p>We have this habit of sharpening the teeth. From that they know who we are. They say that we are the Manjo, who still follow the old ways, and they keep us separated.</p> <p>If we go to town, if we have money, they do not see that money, they only see the sharpened teeth of ours.</p> <p>If we try to get in to restaurant and buy honey drink, the waiter says it is finished, he says that there is no honey drink for you, it is finished...</p> <p>This name Manjo is a problem for us. When our children learn at school some of the teachers do not teach them properly. They turn their backs on them when they give instructions.</p> <p>If explanation is asked for their behaviour they say that these are Manjo, people who were and are Manjo.</p> <p>We farm in the same way as them. We build similar houses, but we are struggling as we are not capable of getting into towns where we could learn more. If there are good development activities our children miss them as they are not in towns.</p> <p>Our people are strong and hardworking, we can carry heavy loads. But we cannot make a lot of money as we do not get into the towns.</p>
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<p>their kind are most in town. All town became theirs, our clans are not present in town. Their clans being in town to town, us like this taking out who will make us and them to be equal? Really <u>insiders</u> is what we say... change to us a little is coming.</p>	<p>Towns are all theirs, our clans are not present in towns. Being so, how could we become equal? They share only with those who belong to their group...but anyway, there has been some change.</p>
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*birr refers to Ethiopian currency ETB

Later in his monologue when the subject changes to spirit mediators he changes to Amharic, in which he is not fluent but can manage. That is interesting as one would have thought that it is a subject that is usually discussed in the Kafa language. One explanation could be that he wants to distance himself from the subject. His regular presence in government meetings and honey selling has provided him access to those particular domains of practice, which has contributed to his linguistic repertoire. He is frustrated about his sharpened teeth that he cannot change, since he is very much trying to “do the things in a right way”. But what about being “at the table at which what is right is negotiated”? Especially when talking about engagement in commercial activities, he complains that that is not the case. The main problem according to him, as is the case also with some others who share similar positions, is situated with the name Manjo, and the main effort would be to get rid of that name. However, it is the name, the quota for Manjo that has provided him the access to government activities. It is yet to be seen if that is enough to make him a full practising member. On the other hand, by being engaged even to this extent also has its effects: These people are sometimes seen as a special case among the other Manjo. They can be considered as kind of collaborators by those who are for autonomy of the Manjo people and so are not included as full members in all their communities of practice. As being engaged in government work also brings some income and a position to decide about others, however small the issues might be, envy can also play a part. When I last heard about this particular person I was told that he is seriously ill. “That is what happens”, said my Gomaro friend, “they (not indicating whether Manjo or Gomaro) will do *tonkol* ‘magic’ on him. That is what they do when somebody who has not been wealthy gets wealthier.”

6.5. Communicative realities in present networks

In this chapter I have given some examples of how the network connections and participation in certain domains of practice have contributed to the linguistic repertoires of some members of the Manjo community. The examples are only from one special kind of

speech event given in the form of monologues. However, as all speeches deal with the relationship between Manjo and Gomaro, it at least shows that people giving these speeches have wanted to use these particular ways of speaking when addressing the present situation at these gatherings. Shifts in style have mainly been utilized for showing the nature of the interaction in different times and as membership markers for certain ideologies.

The examples above deal with individual cases. Before moving forward I will sketch some tendencies that can still be traced from this small-scale data. The network connections and communities of practice that the majority of the community are part of is mainly Manjo. What ways of using language, what kind of language practices are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct in the framework of ideological orientations connected to social, economic, and political interest are mainly negotiated within these communities of practice that have a Manjo majority. Certain individuals who are members of other communities of practice have brought innovations to these networks and some members of the Manjo community have also established networks that provide them with participation in other communities of practice where Gomaro members of the community are also present.

The different sociolects and registers available represent a wide spectrum of language ideologies, products of past and present. While engaging in different network connections the members of the Manjo population are using the ways each language ideology offers for presenting and negotiating their cases, whether as a group or as individuals. Language ideologies express how speakers generate differences and map their ideas about linguistic variety and differentiation onto other speakers. The changing language ideologies reflect how speakers' ways of thinking change. Paying attention to language ideology "helps reveal how speakers employ semiotic practices in order to deal with the Other and experiences of change, marginalization and shifting paradigms and power relations and creation of boundaries". (Storch 2013: 124, 178-179).

There are two different policies of interaction relating to the Gomaro population aiming at two different goals: the separation and the institutional struggle for Manjo rights on the one hand, and the equal integration and daily life mixing with the Gomaro on the other. These

affect both the probabilities of contact and motivation to speak like another. There are also other differentiating processes going on –educated/non-educated, rich/poor, farmer/salary worker, religious/non-religious – that contribute to the actual network connections and communities of practice that are available to access. In the following chapter I will concentrate on how the language repertoires are utilized in the identity construction processes of the members of the Manjo group in Kafa society.

CHAPTER 7

WHAT WILL IT MEAN TO BE MANJO?

Identity construction processes among the Manjo in Gesha and Sayilem

In this penultimate chapter I will come back to what this ethnography tries to illuminate, that is, how “being Manjo” is being articulated at present in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*. The concept of “being a Manjo” seems to consist of very different interpretations in different times and by different individuals and it is articulated through different kinds of styles and ways of speaking. The linguistic resources that have become available through connections are actively utilized for on-going identity construction that takes place in present-day Kafa among the members of the Manjo population. I will summarize the analyses of the speeches by discussing the identity construction processes that become visible in these speeches by using the framework provided by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) as the basis of my discussion. I find their interdisciplinary approach particularly useful for this summarizing purpose as it combines different theoretical and methodological strengths in order to catch the complexity of identity by bringing together ideas not only from microanalyses of conversations and the quantitative and qualitative analyses of linguistic structures, but also from macro analyses of ideological processes and from the ethnographic focus on local cultural practices and social grouping. They have created a kind of toolkit for analyzing the various dimensions of identity construction by bringing together different research traditions anchoring identity in interaction within sociocultural linguistics. According to their broad and openended definition, identity is the social positioning of self and other and it can be seen as a centrally linguistic phenomenon, something that is constituted through social action, and especially through language. It is a discursive construct that emerges in interaction and is produced intersubjectively rather than individually.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) have formulated five principles through which the complexity of identity construction can be discussed: The first two principles, named as Emergence and Positionality, characterize the ontological status of identity. The Emergence principle defines identity as a discursive construct that emerges in interaction and according to the Positionality principle; instead of paying attention only to the macro-sociological views of

identity, both local ethnographic categories and transitory interactional positions have to be taken into account (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 587). The third principle, Indexicality, is concerned with the mechanism of identity constitution and calls for inventorying the types of linguistic resources by which interactants indexically position self and other in discourse. Bucholtz and Hall list the following components: the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific groups, displayed evaluative orientations to ongoing talk, presuppositions regarding one's own and other's identity position, and overt mention of identity categories (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 594). It was the extensive use of the linguistic resources of positioning self indexically that actually led me to investigate the identity processes of the members of the Manjo community as discursive constructs. All components mentioned above were very much present in the speeches, as was shown in the previous chapters. They led me to observe the old and new ethnographic categories available for interactional positions and the availability and nature of interaction between individuals from the Manjo and the Gomaro groups.

The fourth principle, Relationality, points out that identities are not autonomous but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions. Relationality should not be seen only on the similarity-difference axis, but rather as who are "similar enough" to be entitled to speak as members of a certain group. It also calls for the examination of to what extent these activities are affirmed through structures of institutional power and ideology. Due to this relational character of identity "it will also be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other" and the fifth principle, Partialness, deals with these limits and constraints on individual intentionality in the process of identity construction. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 598, 605). In the following sub-chapters I will reflect on these five principles relating them to the different aspects of the identity construction processes of the members of the Manjo community.

7.1. Cross-group interaction and Positionality

The speeches collected were in the form of monologues and they were given on occasions where only Manjo were present. They show how the identity processes of the members of the Manjo community get shaped in those speeches and in interaction inside the Manjo

group. However, they also included reference to the Gomaro group and to the interaction with them. How does the interaction with the Gomaro members of the society contribute to the processes of the identity construction?

The first issue that needs to be focused on is the existence of interaction. The emic interpretation stated in the monologues about the existence of interaction between the Manjo and the Gomaro is threefold:

- First, the claim that there is no normal interaction between the people as they live both geographically and socially in separate domains.
- Second, that only a certain kind of interaction was expected from the Manjo members in the past when or if met.
- Third, that although not being competent enough creates some obstacles, members of the Manjo group now can engage in discussions with the Gomaro members in some arenas.

The first claim states that there is no normal interaction, but it does not mean, except in some special cases, that people of these two groups do not see and pass each other while living their separate lives. Every encounter contributes to identity construction. It is not only what happens between them, but also what does not happen. I have witnessed several kinds of “passings” on the road: From verbal insult to complete ignoring, when the gaze is kept in the distance, not even a glimpse towards the passer-by that would be natural in the narrow path, to recognizing politely the presence of another by holding the horse or stepping aside. Also quite common are nonverbal insults: two school girls holding their noses when passing a Manjo girl of their age carrying wood. The situation and other people present also very much contribute much to the possible lack of recognizing each other. Most of the encounters are not neutral, but state the nature of the relationship. I have noticed with some of my Manjo friends that this burden of every encounter being a place where the relationship is defined causes some tension for them and they are more relaxed when back in the Manjo community. Again, the first and the third claim can be seen to work along the lines of researchers (Gumperz 1982, 1986; Ericson and Schultz 1981) which indicate that members of the different speech communities develop culturally distinct linguistic practices

that index distinct frames of reference. These different practices and processes of indexicality are mutually unavailable to members of different groups, resulting in negative judgments about the competence of others. In this point of view the boundaries are assumed to be a result of separate socialization and interaction patterns due to physical or social distance. The second and third claims, however, also include another dimension: social inequality produces practices and frames of reference that are related in ways far more complex than simple difference. If practices are different, this is because social boundaries are the result, not the cause, of social inequality as institutionally organized relations of power constrain what happens in interaction (Singh, Lele and Martohardjono 1988, Ogbu 1987). Heller and Martin-Jones conclude by saying that “difference is, in some sense, a resource for constructing, levelling, contesting, and blurring boundaries in order to attempt to maintain, contest and modify relations of power” (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001:4).

The reluctance of the Gomaro to engage in conversation with the Manjo is given as one of the issues causing frustration among the Manjo. I was often asked to convey either personal questions or more commonly held views to different arenas to be discussed as those who asked felt that they cannot present these things themselves as they could not physically get into the kind of contact in which that could take place. This could be either due to actual denial of access or due to their past experiences that still affect their behaviour. Let me describe my first encounters with one of the elders in my early days in Kafa to clarify the issue.

I first noticed the man and his elder wife and his daughter standing outside the teahouse I was sitting in. It was unusual to see the whole family standing like that. They did not look straight at me, nor did they send any message. I asked a man with whom I was having tea whether he knew these people, but he did not. As they did not approach me when I went out, I passed them without getting into contact. Some weeks later I went to Didif, walking by a narrow path in the forest. These three people were coming from the opposite direction. When passing they gave the normal greetings customary between those passing on the path. My *Kafi noono* was not yet enough for more than greetings at that time so I called one Gomaro who was passing by on the road and asked him if these people had something to

say to me. Through him they finally kind of got a right to get in contact with me and the father took off the scarf that was used for hiding a huge goitre on the throat of the daughter. They were very much in agony as the goitre was getting to a stage that the girl could not breathe normally any more. The showing of the goitre would have been enough to get my attention, but the father felt that somebody had to connect us first. Later we discussed the happenings together and he explained that they had tried to be present on different occasions and in places where there might occur a situation where a contacting person might be available to create the connection.

Strong cultural constraints define who can approach whom, when and how. I have learned to show respect in the offices by silently waiting to be summoned in. The respect due, both to positions and to persons themselves needs to be taken into account in every encounter. The difficulty in getting into actual conversations is cleverly by-passed in the monologues presented here. In them the Gomaro as a group are kind of forced into discussion: The monologues become dialogues in which the things of the Gomaro members of the society say and then commented on. They are like generated discussions between Manjo and Gomaro, interaction without getting together. The comments that are chosen for quotation are the ones that promote the positions taken on how the relationship should be organized. Need of talking together was also mentioned by some of those who were for the establishment of a separate administrative Manjo unit: The comment was that they did not believe that it could actually take place, but the process served to force the Gomaro to talk about the issue together with them. "The wrestling" that takes place in the *wereda* offices is mentioned as an achievement as such: now there is a domain for interaction.⁷² Another question is then, what actually happens in these interactions and how does that contributes to the identity construction.

⁷² This attitude differs from the attitude of Dalit activists quoted by Ritter (2013) as "Why should we talk to people who do not want to talk to us?" Rinker, in his article about the strategies of Dalit activists associated with Triratna Bauddha Mahasangha Sahayaka Gana, an Indian Buddhist order of mainly former "untouchable" Dalits mobilizing against caste oppression, strongly argues that the policies of lack of dialogue across caste lines "restructure oppression, reify opposing identities and deepen social marginalization" and insists on "inter-caste dialogue instigated from below". He sees that it is only through dialogic interaction that one can engage in the narrative processes of identity creation that present reservoirs for social change." (Rinker 2013: 238-239)

Although the ways the language is used in the speeches could to some extent be categorized according to age, gender or “being Manjo”, the speakers’ orientation was more clearly towards local identity categories, which provided a better empirical account of linguistic practice. As was shown in previous chapters, not only did the ways of speaking differ inside these categories forming subcategories, but there were also other categories that were intersecting these macro level demographic categories. The connections through networks and the attitudes to relations between Gomaro and Manjo contribute to the ways of speaking that were chosen to be used according to local ethnographically specific cultural positions. It was also interesting to note how the new dimensions in categorization provided the users opportunity to take a different position through which they showed their orientation. For example those identifying themselves strongly as Protestant Christians expressed their identity now by a new ranking system according to which people could be evaluated: the hierarchy of “spirituality” and “being God’s people”. Those who had attended school positioned themselves as “learned” as opposite to others. According to Bucholtz and Hall, identity emerges in discourse through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants. These temporary roles contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:591) I will demonstrate this by presenting a conversation in which a Manjo woman takes three temporary stances according to the situation: a submissive Manjo woman, a person who has learned and a story teller.

I visited a Manjo house with some Gomaro, whom the family has learned to know only as “ones who have no problem with entering a Manjo house”. I often visited this family and they were accustomed to me putting my tape recorder on the table so that I could check later that I had understood what had been discussed. Often I was participating in discussions but there were also times when people present got involved in some issue and more or less forgot about me and my tape recorder. The following quotation is from that kind of situation. Three people are the main contributors to the discussion: (A) a Gomaro born in Sayilem, but living in Addis Ababa, a devoted Protestant Christian who has no problem entering the houses of the Manjo, (D) the elder of the two wives in the house and (M), her son, who has finished 10th grade. In addition there were some younger children in the house. The discussion is about hasty retaliation and its dangers: It is customary that a Manjo is hired

by a Gomaro to climb up a tree to collect honey from a container. It is a dangerous job and often accidents happen as the climber may fall. In many cases the rumours are quick to pass and accusations about killing are frequent. Often people get together and go to retaliate, trying to get either the one involved or his relatives. In the following quotation the Gomaro guest takes the issue up, referring to an incident that had happened just some months ago.

I would like to highlight how the elder wife (D) takes temporal roles in the discussion. In the first quotation the guest wants to have the attention of those present, but there is some noise in the part of the hut where food is prepared. It is important that someone is constantly present to watch over the fire, and prevent domestic animals from getting in to spoil the food that is being prepared. She notices that the visitor is getting impatient and uses the old submissive addressing (underlined) to calm down the situation.

Quotation 7.1.

<p>A: <i>Andi ikkaaba hini Sai wan ikka mooyo waayatonone, ikka mixoochee gogoochee holliqqi Manjo qite, kexo michi, bi bushishoon...</i></p> <p>D: <i>Boono yaro...</i>[A interrupting]</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">A: <i>Kexo michi amo danahe?</i></p> <p>D: [to others] <i>Kaata deebat.</i></p> <p>A: <i>Waayataachit? D: Asho allone</i></p> <p>A: <i>Waayaa beetote? D: mm ish</i></p> <p>A: <i>Ai waayataano ittoshine</i></p> <p>M: <u><i>Taa nuggo waaya.</i></u></p> <p>A: <i>Mulloo barane bi beeto</i></p>	<p>A: Now one day from Sai one thing we heard, one Manjo died falling from a tree, house was burned, his [=Gomaro] children...</p> <p>D: Their clan...[A interrupting]</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">A:What was found (by) burning the house?</p> <p>D:[to others] I'll bring quickly</p> <p>A: Do you not hear? D: Nobody there</p> <p>A: Are you hearing? M: mm ish</p> <p>A: No, You (pl) were not hearing</p> <p>D: <u>My Lord let me hear</u></p> <p>A: Heart is in other place.</p>
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In the following quotation, in which first the educated son takes for a moment the role of an evaluator in the discussion showing his identity to be with those “with wider view” instead of the Manjo. His mother follows him. Even the word they are using for learning is the Amharic loan that is used when especially referring to learning at school. In the following quotation they discuss how sometimes innocent people get killed in retaliations:

Quotation 7.2

<p>A: <i>Akka abichiqqina mooyo beddito, gondo beddito, irato beddito iqqina xiishi echaqqi hiniiche gino qaci deqqi...</i></p>	<p>A: (Without asking) how did the thing reach, bad reached, problem reached, (without) verifying asking from here spears are picked up hold..</p>
<p>M: <i>Xiishiyo alle</i></p>	<p>M: There is no verifying</p>
<p>A: <i>Xiishaanone hiniiche gino deqqi qaci, tiyii tarii aro beetone. Halla ebi gonda bee, gonda qaye ciichetone?</i></p>	<p>A: Without verifying from here spears are picked up hold, got up and going is there. (By) doing this bad (retaliating), did the bad become absent, isn't that finished? (The man who fell is dead)</p>
<p>D: <i>Ciichetone</i></p>	<p>D: Finished*</p>
<p>A: <i>Hachini beeto wotta hin kexoon waa gibe, bushoon gibe men qaaqqoon yeshi gaataa ciiro toonoone?</i></p>	<p>A: Those being here, coming to this house "get in" the children "get in" that if takes the fire isn't it the finish.**</p>
<p>M: <i>Ciiro</i></p>	<p>M: The finish.</p>
<p>D: <i>Ciiiirro</i></p>	<p>D: Fiiinish.</p>
<p>A: <i>Ciirataachote?</i></p>	<p>A: Aren't you finished?</p>
<p>D: <i>Ciirahon.</i></p>	<p>D: We are finished.</p>
<p>A: <i>Amooch halla afaafine <u>beetooo?</u> Halla afaafino gaawiyaanone.</i></p>	<p>A: Really why is there this <u>hurriiiiiing?</u> Really hurrying is not good.</p>
<p>M: <i>Halla tamaraachi, ariyaache!</i></p>	<p>M: <u>really (this is) not learned, not known (with frustration in the voice).</u></p>
<p>D: <i>Tamaraachi!</i></p>	<p>D: <u>Not learned [with high pitch in the voice]</u></p>
<p>A: <i>Wonne gizo tunammonoona halla abichiyeetone?</i></p>	<p>A: (this happening) past time being really how is it?</p>
<p>D: <i>Beshati.</i></p>	<p>D: It has passed</p>
<p>A: <i>Beshati</i></p>	<p>A: it has passed</p>
<p>M: <i>Ciiratone.</i></p>	<p>M: It is finished.</p>
<p>A: <i>Woyemmi mooyoochane gabo, woye mooyoochne ariyo.</i></p>	<p>A: It is the coming things that are to be thought, it is the coming things that are to be known</p>
<p>D: <i><u>Gonnee dittatilli...</u></i></p>	<p>D: <u>Let the female slave talk really...</u></p>

* *chiicho* 'to finish' *ciiro* 'to be finished'

**Those who are here (children and women alone because the others have gone to retaliate), if the Gomaro come here at that time, they say to children "get in" and set the hut on fire. Isn't that a finish (for them)?

The conversation is dominated by the Gomaro present, but in the end D again uses the old way of speaking "let the female slave speak" and after some time she gets a turn and

continues by telling an incident in which a Manjo had fallen from a tree and died. Her husband had hidden a Gomaro who had been involved in the incident in his house until the lynching party had passed and things had cooled down. She uses Elder rich style to tell the story and gets the floor for the following ten minutes. In this single conversation she takes three temporary stances according to the situation: a submissive Manjo woman, a person who has learned and a story teller, showing how identities encompass not only macro level demographic categories, but also local ethnographically specific cultural positions and temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles. The interactional positions that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations, (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 591) – in this case identifying the elder Manjo lady as a story teller and learned (through her son) although using the identity category of an old slave for certain purposes.

7.2. We and our talk: Indexicality in the speeches

Different types of linguistic resources are used for positioning self and other indexically in discourse. The indexical process occurs at all levels of linguistic structure and use. Bucholtz and Hall summarize these indexical processes relating to identity construction as “overt mention of identity categories and labels;” “implicatures and presuppositions regarding one’s own or other’s identity position”; “displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk”, and “the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personae and groups”. (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 593-594).

There is a wide range of ways the speakers positioned themselves in relation to others. In the speeches the positioning was shown most clearly by the usage of the group-labelling names. The usage of the names of the identity categories is prone to mainly purposeful, whereas the usage of the different styles and the style shifts inside the speeches can show how a speaker positioned himself or herself less consciously. By using Defiant style or Being weak style or including religious or political registers in speech, these ways of speaking indicate the ideology behind how “we” is seen in relation to “they”. It was also interesting to notice, how the audience sometimes “corrected” the labelling name either from Gomaro to Kafa or Kafa to Gomaro, showing that the audience was more conscious of the usage of

certain names than the speaker him/herself. Since the styles and style shifts were discussed in detail in previous chapters, I will here concentrate on the usage of the labelling names.

In most speeches either both groups or only one group was mentioned; there was only one person, who did not refer to either of these groups. His monologue included several *tochos*, which described the relationship through the means of storytelling. Other than him, only one person did not refer to the Manjo group. The number of those, who did not refer to the Gomaro group, was 11 out of 50. Most used the names Manjo and Gomaro either in this form referring to the group or in the plural form *Manjeena'o/ Gomareena'o* referring to people. For Gomaro some used the word *Kafa* or *Kafacho*. The added /-cho/ refers to a person of a certain group or area or a person who owns, like *gatto* 'ox' *gattocho* 'a man owning an ox' or to being a part, belonging, like *mengisto* 'government' *mengistocho* 'government worker'. Some speakers use both Gomaro and '*Kafacho*', some restrict themselves to either one or the other of them. The usage of the name '*Kafacho*' is more common among those who are for separation. Actually according to the government policy both Gomaro and Manjo are Kafa and it is under that name that all are counted in statistics, but nobody used it in that meaning in the data. Some did not mention the names, but used instead the pronouns *no* (we)- *boonoshi* (them). Using the pronouns only has an intensifying affect: all know who "we" and "they" are without needing mentioning, which itself contributes to boundary maintenance. Some use only the pronoun *no* 'we' for Manjo. Similarly for Gomaro either the name or pronouns *boonoshi* (*boono*) 'they' were used, some using both and some restricting oneself only to the use of 'they'. One young man uses the word Manjo and the pronoun *boonoshi* 'they' only when telling about the past, not including himself.

Combinations were also used either with names or with pronouns; the most commonly used word was *yaro* 'clan(s)'. Here it means all those clans that are Manjo/ Gomaro clan(s), but the same word is also used in general for one's own clan, e.g., *Ta yaro Beedo(ne)* 'My clan is Beedo'. *Gooso* (from the Amharic word ጎሳ /*gosa*/) would be more adequately representative as it refers to a group of clans. It is also what the government officials recommended, but in the data only one man uses it. The word *beheraseb* (from Amharic ብሔረሰብ /*bihersəb*/ 'ethnic group' is not used for Manjo in data, but can be heard every now and then especially

in the Sayilem *wereda*. One speaker talks about *anaseena'o*, a borrowing from Amharic (አናሳ ብሔረሰብ /ana:sa biherəsəb/ meaning 'minority ethnic group'. Some use the word *asho* 'human beings' only for Gomaro, as was customary in the past, but in the speeches it is also being used for the Manjo. This multidimensional labelling and categorization can be seen as social action in which categories formed in ongoing discourse, their explicit and implicit juxtaposition with other categories, and the linguistic elaborations and qualification they attract, all provide important information about identity construction (McConnell-Ginet 1989, 2002, Murphy 1997).

In identity formation, indexicality relies heavily on ideological structures, for associations between language and identity are rooted in cultural beliefs and values about the sorts of people who can or should produce particular sorts of language (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 594). So, is there any movement resulting from associating oneself with the other group that would cross the Manjo- Gomaro line of reference? The other group-labelling names used were "*Yeerin ammanit asheena'o*" 'Those who believe in God' and as a synonym for that also '*Noon tiqqaa beet asheena'o*' or "*noon shunnaa beet asheena'o*" for those Protestants who accepted the Manjo in opposition to the Orthodox or *Tsadigan* 'the righteous/clean' or *damba beeto* 'those who are above'. However, even in this categorization the Gomaro Protestant Christians are "another group", and although most Manjo categorize themselves as "*Yeerin ammanit asheena'o*" 'those who believe in God', it was only one speaker of 50 that used the pronoun "we" to refer to the combined group. He was from the church in which both groups have stayed together, as was also the other person, who included himself and other Manjo together with the others referring to all people living in that area as the group of *shawee asho* 'people of the land'.

In the following quotation the choice of the use of the pronouns of the ordained Manjo-pastor in the area shows how he identifies with the Manjo group: In his monologue he relates the description of different times to his personal experiences and his getting to Bible school is referred as the "Manjo group as such" getting to Bible School. Interestingly he uses the word *dooyo* for learning in Bible School and not the Amharic loan word *tamaaro*, which is usually used for learning at school.

Quotation 7. 3.

<p><i>Silataano ta hammat saatooch <u>ta asheena'och</u> andira mooyone bi tunati ee ammaniqqi cikki beemone bi shaahitoahena ammaniye gubbi qaci ebi dooyo ii beet mooyo waahe. Macaafe Qudduuse dooyooch <u>qiyahon ... (16-18)</u></i></p> <p><i>Ta siltaanon salamona ciichiqaqa, <u>ta asheena'o</u> wan wottahoye (21)</i></p>	<p>When I went to training it was a new thing to <u>my people</u>. It resembled to them (they thought) that believing is just being, after believing this thing called learning came.</p> <p><u>We got</u> into the Bible School...(16-18)</p> <p>I finished my training in peace and got back to <u>my people</u> (21)</p>
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Another group-name with which the speakers in the speeches sometimes associated themselves was *giracho* 'poor' in opposition to those who are not only wealthy, but either influential themselves or have connections to "those who govern". Actually, the word *giracho* 'poor' itself includes both aspects: Being poor is not only related to economic problems but also to not having influence. The commonly used word for including all those people who are engaged in governing is *mengistoona* "by government". If the separation for those governing locally is needed in opposition to those at the zonal, regional or federal level, the words *hach* 'here' and *ok* 'there' are used.

Another group name used is "students". Interestingly, if a speaker included himself in the group of students, there was also the increased usage of the pronoun "I" (instead of "we"), and as one of them even used "they" for the Manjo group, there seems to be a tendency of distancing oneself from the group membership.⁷³ However, the youngsters using the Defiant style were often also telling about the past problems the Manjo had faced by using "we", as if they themselves had been suffering from the cruelties and oppression of the past, identifying strongly with the Manjo as a group.⁷⁴ This was especially the case in the speeches

⁷³ Although the youngsters associate with the group definer "student", it is not only the schooling activities and learning of literacy that shape the transformation. Freeman (2012) writing about the social change in Gamo highlands in Southern Ethiopia, describes the effects of the Pentecostal movement and the development activities of NGOs in transformations in a more individualist direction. (Freeman 2012: 159-179).

⁷⁴ The way the name Dalit has gained its present connotation in India bears some interesting points for comparison. Dr B.R. Ambedkar, one of the first leaders of the Dalit political movement in India in the 1930s, started to use the term 'dalit'. The word 'dalit' is derived from the Marathi language word meaning the state of being 'ground down, depressed' (GanJuly 2005) and 'downtrodden, broken' (Zelliot 2000). Ambedkar used the term in a proud way, demanding that their voice needed to be heard in the nation building of India. The force and currency that the word carries today owes much to his writings to the extent that GanJuly (2005) names him as the founder of the 'Dalit discursivity' providing images and concepts that organize thinking and experience of the past, present and future of society. During recent years it has become more popularly used with those political Dalit activists who use the rhetoric of the secular modernizing activists and emphasize the speciality of 'being dalit' as compared to the wing of socially engaged Neo-Buddhists, among whom more often being Dalit is not the primary or only goal for identification. (GanJuly 2005: 131, 170-171).

of those who were supporting the policy that the Manjo should be counted as a separate ethnic group.

In previous chapters I have also shown how different styles work as a repertoire of linguistic forms associated with personas and identities. The linguistic structures, –grammar, phonology and lexis– become tied to styles and through habitual practice to identity (Bourdieu 1978). As can be seen from the monologues, the members of the Manjo population are actively utilizing the network connections that would afford them linguistic resources that would help them gain competence in interactions in different domains. The global ideological influences of nationalism, capitalism and various religious and political movements, and aid related issues, are also present in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas*, shaping identity in interactions. However, I would not see the people as using these additional elements in their linguistic repertoires only as passive victims of imperialism and neoliberalism, but rather as agents actively utilizing everything available, contextualizing and modifying the concepts to suit their own agendas and purposes, and by doing this, gaining not only access to networks and arenas where these issues are discussed, but also to interactions where identity formation can take place in relation to other members of the community.

The usage of language differs among the speeches according to the stance taken. The stance, the display of evaluative, affective, and epistemic orientation in discourse, shows the speakers orientation to ongoing talk. Based on the evaluation of the situation the speaker positions himself/herself either to align or disalign with another person (Du Bois 2007). The stances are not isolated from the social landscape and the speakers rely on their social knowledge to give full meaning to the stance they take (Kiesling 2009:179). The clearest difference is between those who are for separation and those who are for integration. Other stances that were recognizable were the spiritually oriented and economically oriented. Stance can be seen not only as a subjective, but also an intersubjective phenomenon, which leads to the discussion of the group membership and its relation to the right to talk.

7.3. Group membership and the right to talk

Identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors. Even when sameness and difference is reflected upon, as is the case when defining “we” as opposed to “the other”, the individuals or groups that form “we” cannot or need not be identical. It is more a matter of being positioned as alike, to be sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes. With me, many people use the ways of speaking that emphasizes their being Christians, sharing the same identity group with me. Some used the similar-different axis by relating the Manjo and the foreigner (*Ferenji*) together as non-Gomaro. Again, especially if the speaker is for integration, the group that the speaker associates with was sometimes according to his/her “place”, indicating town, village or dorm for students entitling them to speak according to the reference group that included both Manjo and Gomaro members.

In addition to the difference-similarity axis, identities are intersubjectively constructed through several other, often overlapping, complementary relationships, like genuineness versus artifice and authority versus illegitimacy (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:601). Genuineness deals with the claim for authenticity, what sort of language and language users count as “genuine” for a given purpose. With elders using Elder rich style the authenticity was claimed by convincing the audience that the respective story was heard from their ancestors, and that it was in this form that it was heard. In this doubly genuine way, it authenticates both the storyteller and the story. As it was nicely put by one of them:

Quotation 7. 4.

<p><i>Manji tochone. Bi danati huneetona bi halleet huneetona, wonne Kafe xintooba danati mooyeena’o , aafichina’o tochii beechi qitena, no waayatoomona nooch beddiqqina ne.</i></p>	<p>It is a Manjo story. In the circumstances that were found, in the circumstances that were created, the things of past Kafa, the things found in ancient times, those who were before telling passing, they died, the ones we being listening, to us it has reached.</p>
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As Duranti points out “when the language used is presented as the words of the ancestors, to challenge the context of someone’s speech means to challenge the foundation of the social order” (Duranti 1997:293).

Again in Defiant style, the style often used by those identifying with the group that wants to see Manjo as a separate ethnic group, the speaker strongly identifies himself with the sufferings of the past, authenticating his right to speak like this, using certain expressions and lexical choices, but modifying the genre so that it includes both speaking about the past and the contingencies of the present. The difference from Elder rich style, in which the voice of the past generations is just quoted as such, is that in this Defiant style the speaker's involvement is emphasized: Not only did he share himself the canonized past (using *we*), he is also giving his viewpoint (*ta gaboona*, 'by my thought') of the present.

In a larger scale, in the society including both groups, the Manjo members look for entitlement to engage in discussion by using the styles and registers relating to religion and politics, highlighted by using words from Amharic, emphasizing the connection created to institutions outside the local. However, the authenticity to use the registers and styles related are sometimes still challenged by the Gomaró members through denaturalization, either by constantly pointing out that whatever the speech is now, it is from the Manjo population, based on a variant not worth being used or listened to when common issues are discussed or that the speech is just ignored (see 5.12. and page 199). At present there is a discursive space in which groups with different interests struggle over access to symbolic and material resources and over ways of organizing that access. In these arenas identity construction can take place in interaction. But there are limits and constraints on individual intentionality in the process of identity construction: the affirmation of an identity requires authorization through the structures of institutionalized power and ideology, whether local or translocal. The counterpart of authorization, illegitimizing, addresses the ways in which identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored by these same structures.

The ideological frameworks that have become available through the connections of networks to the Manjo population also have their connotations. The political rhetoric is either in line with the policies of the governing party or institutionalized as opposition. The networks created can be used or turned by institutionalized power structures to serve other goals, whether relating to state policies or other ideologies. The constant emergence of new religious movements, both local and international, influences the discursive space where

identities are constructed. The present aid discourses that bring the marginalized minorities into the spotlight have modified the situation, bringing new components to the interaction that takes place, by often using often the educated youngsters as facilitators and contact persons. This changes the traditional relationship-hierarchies and affects the position of elders and traditional leaders.

Naturally this research based on speeches delivered to me by certain Manjo members in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* gives only a partial account of the identity construction that is going on among the Manjo population. Due to its inherently relational character, identity will always be partial, produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other (Clifford 1986, Marcus 1986). These speeches include constructions of identity that are in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and because of that often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction.

Even though these monologues give only a very partial view, it is possible to recognize through them the complexity and multi-vocality of the identity construction processes taking place at present in the Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* among the Manjo population. How will these processes unfold in the future? Foley emphasizes the role of dense networks in identity processes: According to him, people make meaning through structural coupling in relationships. Some instances of structural coupling will be more recurrent and intense than others. The dense networks are both the cause and the result of "those features recognized as social phenomena". Foley points out that "because the networks of structural coupling that the individual engages in are structured into denser or more attenuated ones, the dispositions inculcated in the habitus are likewise structured, in that they must reflect the social characteristics of the particular relationship(s) of structural coupling in which they are acquired" and comes to the conclusion that those inculcated dispositions that correspond to the densest section of an individual's relationships will generate "the most experience-near unquestioned pre-reflective aspect of his behaviour, what might be considered his self-

identity" (Foley 1997: 15, 21-22). At present the dense networks are predominantly Manjo to most members of the Manjo community. How it will be in the future is yet to be seen.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

Through the speeches delivered by the members of the Manjo community, it was possible to access Manjo ideas about social change, both in the past and on-going, as well as the mechanisms underlying these changes in the opinion of the speakers. This thesis shows that the lack of cross-group communication skills clearly is one of the mechanisms contributing to marginalization of the people who are believed to be “polluting”. Although there are great differences in opinions and ideologies about the question of which direction the relationship between Manjo and Gomaro should develop in the future, the importance of communicative skills was emphasized by all those who contributed a speech – irrespective of whether they aim at assimilating to, or separating from, the Gomaro, and that was even the case if the relationship was to continue in the current form of the Manjo as an annexed segregated community. Several Manjo, as well as Gomaro, expressed the importance of learning to communicate in order to avoid violence and expressed their appreciation when “neutral places” for discussions were provided, e.g., by the government.

There are multiple ways in which the members of the Manjo group conceptualize and negotiate their marginalized status by means of language ideologies and linguistic behaviour. The resources added to linguistic repertoires increase the symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1972) and the possibility of being able to move in a stylistic continuum as desired or required by the situation is growing. There has been and is a boundary, including a talking boundary in the society, separating Manjo and Gomaro. However, at least in these two *weredas* where this research was carried out, the Manjo have started to “talk the boundary”, either to demolish it or to strengthen it. The more opaque the boundary, the more the group on the opposite side of the boundary has a chance to manipulate the other group’s perceptions of it (Wallman 1986).

The patron-client system in the past did not give much room for social or occupational mobility across the Manjo-Gomaro divide. The language ideology, “the thoughts about language” of its speakers, was according to the discourse that was constructed in the

interest of the majority and the notions about acceptable language grounded in social experience was tied to the political-economic interests of the majority stigmatizing the Manjo ways. These conceptions were explicitly embodied in communicative practices and the language use was rationalized according to context: on the one hand, by playing accordingly, showing the required submission and, on the other hand, by modifying the Manjo way of speaking in the direction of being less accessible to the majority, showing the speakers' consciousness of both linguistic and social systems and the constitutive role of language in social life.

In the past the members of the Manjo community had no access to the practices based on the Gomaro language ideology. Although to a certain extent this also is the case today, government activities and education have created connections that have mobilized some Manjo to become part of non-Manjo networks in the area. The change in government policy and global horizontal connections, like Protestant Christianity, create ties by bringing in such connections. The closer an individual's network ties with his or her local community are, the more this person's language will approximate localized norms. New connections combine with new practices. These weak ties are significant because the more tightly bounded a system, the less resilience it has against impact. The research clearly shows the importance of the networks of which people form part. The predominant character of one's network typically coincides with the distribution of different styles and ways of speaking that individual can draw on. There is a systematic correlation between these. In the case of the marginalized minority in a predominately oral culture, such as the Manjo, this is particularly striking.

Connections provide access to new styles and registers, which again can be used and modified with the other styles and genres in a repertoire. The language ideologies they represent are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities according to need. The Gesha and Sayilem *weredas* are, as many have said throughout the time of the research, the two *weredas* in which the situation of the Manjo in relation to Gomaro members is better than in other *weredas* in the Kafa Zone. The situation in those other *weredas* is described as being *xummo* 'dark/unclear, not straight but entwined, zig-zagging'. These two *weredas*, border *weredas* in the Kafa Zone with a distance

of 150 km from the heartland of Kafa around Bonga, have been rewarded by the Zonal administration for their achievements of promoting the integration of the Manjo population into the society, and although the achievements are considered modest and superficial by many members of the Manjo community, they are noted. In both *weredas* the number of Protestant Christians is considerable. These two things also provide some explanation for the phrase “By God and By Government” – acknowledging the on-going changes and what are conceived as the external driving forces behind them.

However, these language ideologies also play a role in producing ethnic stratification through their explicit attempts at bringing about direct cultural change by imposing definitions of identity. In order to gain practice in competence of a certain style it is necessary to be part of a community of practice in which that style is used. In certain situations there can be competing choices, as in some cases being part of one group can affect the possibilities of being accepted into another group. The fact that the Manjo are Kafa speakers is a dilemma both with regard to the ethnic movement and for assimilation. Typical features of the ethnic movement, manifested in the power struggle with the dominant group for social and economic advantages, include having charismatic leaders usually born as a member of the group, an emphasis on a glorious past and the use of a common language (but one that is exclusive to the envisaged ethnicity) as a powerful symbol of unification. On the other hand, if the dominant group allows assimilation and if there are incentives to assimilate and access to the dominant language, language shift will take place in a multilingual setting even with the members of different ethnic groups (Paulston 1994). The Manjo variant is not separate enough to be recognized, but not similar enough to be without specific connotations, stigma and negative evaluation as assimilation has not been allowed. In the present situation there is a tendency to modify the styles used according to the standpoint taken, either in order to diminish the features that would connect oneself to the Manjo variant or to use them increasingly to emphasize one’s Manjo identity.

The natural continuation of this study would be to see what then actually happens in the discussions the members of these two groups are having together. However, before that, it would be as important to study what is happening on the other side of the boundary, among

Gomaro Kafa speakers. What is the number and scale of the connections the Gomaro have with the Manjo members of the society compared to the scale of their other connections? According to this study they seem to relate to certain kind of activities only, but is this really so? What does it mean to be *haco* 'clever, cunning' in the frameworks of Christianity, Islam, democracy or capitalism and how is it incorporated into any linguistic styles used? What are the styles used and how are they modified, and in what directions is the overall linguistic system of Kafa changing? As it was important first to identify the different tendencies and different styles in Manjo context, I consider similar basic research necessary on the Gomaro side before one can begin to analyze what is actually happening in the discussions the members of these two groups are having together. Some indicators indexing changing attitudes towards language and language use, as well as towards the type, intensity and scale of relations transcending the Manjo-Gomaro divide can be very weak and not easily recognized. Without background information these extremely important signs of change could be left unnoticed.

The effects of formal education and access to standardized *Kafi noono* are yet to be seen. Much depends on the education system itself: Are the circumstances at school and the benefits of knowing the standard variety promoting willingness of the Manjo pupils to identify with a wider group? Or will the misconduct and prejudices experienced promote the strengthening of the Manjo variant as a covert prestige variant for coping with the situation and for strengthening the Manjo group identity? Similarly, the actual cross-group communication situations in government offices and Protestant Christian churches need to be analyzed to further understand to what extent and how communicative skills gained "by God and by Government" are put into practice.

The circumstances in which the different marginalized minorities are situated can differ in many ways, including linguistically, but all those classified under the category of "fertile polluters" by Freeman (2001), are speaking the language of the majority. The Hadicho speak Sidama, the Negede Woyito speak Amharic and the Waata speak Oromo. The Fuga live either among Kambaata, Yem or Gurage and use the language of those among whom they reside. However, although the scholars describing the groups mention that the language is the same they also note that the groups use a distinct variety of the language (Kassam 2000,

Tries 2005). Many of these groups claim that they had a language of their own. However, as the early travellers pointed out that the difference could be due to specialized jargon, there has not been further research in that area. In all these groups there is a movement for claiming rights for the people. Often there are some educated insiders leading the process assisted by foreign researchers. It would be interesting to know what kind of role communicative skills and access to the majority variant play among the other similar groups beyond East-Africa. The International Dalit Solidarity Network, in their draft for “A Comprehensive Legal Framework to Eliminate Caste Discrimination Globally”, defines the characteristics of being discriminated against based on work or descent. This definition includes among other things “...dialect and accent that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition...” (A/HRC/11/CRP3⁷⁵ 2009: 8) showing that language use is an issue among other numerous groups considered polluting around the world. The mechanisms that contribute have not yet been studied.

Marginalized minorities have been target groups for many NGOs and aid-organizations as the global discourses emphasizing human rights brought them into the spotlight during the past decade. In many cases, activities have been designed so that they include only members of marginalized minorities inside the group and the main focus has been on their “empowerment”. Although these activities can promote access to the styles and registers needed for legal fighting for rights, they have not promoted access to the communicative practice of the majority people; on the contrary, they could also have contributed to the maintenance of the boundary. In cases where people are supposed to live scattered and share the same community, the acquisition of communicative skills across the boundary is a key issue in being able to either struggle for being a full participant or gain competence for opposing the existing practices and negotiating the benefits of minority status.

In order to gain this competence, networks across the boundary are needed. As social networks expand and interconnect, people are likely to accumulate skills, knowledge, tastes and habits from multiple origins and evolve in different ways, all this adding to their resources for identity construction processes. Networks connect people to communities of

⁷⁵ The UN Human Rights Council report includes this draft which was done by IDSN, the International Dalit Solidarity Network.

practice of different kinds, in which natural acquisition of linguistic practices can take place giving them an opportunity to gain components for their linguistic repertoires either by adding new ones or by modifying those that already exist. These skills and practices again can open the connections to other communities of practice, including locally.

I do not consider the marginalized to be helpless victims of whatever is imposed on them, but people who utilize different language strategies and look actively for additional components to be incorporated into their linguistic repertoires in order to use them for different goals. The evolving communities of practice are not to be regarded only as arenas where the members of a marginalized group associate with the more prominent prestige group in order to increase their access to powerful local administrative bodies and regional trade networks, but also as a means for “becoming part”. Wealth is not what you own, it is where you belong, to be included in different cohesive communities of practice where you have prestige that allows you to talk, hear and be heard. It is there that different concepts of language and knowledge meet and are available for negotiation.

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APPENDIX 1

Quotations included in Chapter 6 in *Kafi noono*

Quotations 6.1. (26Fma: 1-21) and 6.2. (26Fma: 22-45)

1

1 *Ta shigo AS. Ta shijato Hanaato Hanaato. Ishiyooaba ta nihooba ta ninihooba toche ta*
 2 *qebbato, ikka ure, ebi Addaami bullin shiyati, ikka ure ee? ikka ure shiyyaqqana ashira*
 3 *busho shiyahan, ikka ure. Ashira busho shiyyaqqana uuchoon aachiqqacha uuchoon*
 4 *deqqana Yeeri aafooch deeba shaggahan. Wonne tocho. Shagga bi immona "ebi*
 5 *waachiye ne shiyat busho?" iye Yeeri. "Eeha ebi waachiye ta shiyato" iyane. Ee? "Ari beet*
 6 *taane ebi waachi toonoone, uuchoon amooch geddanne ? Hini uuchon taach deebanne"*
 7 *iyeye Yeeri. Ta niho tochito, ta nihiniho tochito. "Eene and hinine deebato?" Eeni.. hinine and*
 8 *deebato" " ikko nangaado tunabe, hini ne deebato ikko kittinno tunabe" , iqqi ashi yaroon*
 9 *Manjo tunaba hini Manjo tunabe bi ito tuuto kallaqqi kub. Nangaado tunabe bi ito*
 10 *macaanno yechiqqi giixooch. Maatto tunabe bi ito Maatto... Manjo Maatto, Maatto*
 11 *tunabe bi ito, sheexxo, Maawo tunabe bi ito Maatto eello ee..ee.ne aachito shukkottabe*
 12 *ne aachito ikko wogaabottabe, asho wuxii bee. Ikko eqqottabe ashi mooyo eellabe Yeeri*
 13 *mage deebe iqqi uppi. Maaddee meni Addaamena Heewana halleehooba hallit asho*
 14 *maadda Yeeri gettit asho nabe shawusheeche ikka uro ikka uren ikka uro mecheallo*
 15 *beehe. Addaami. Bi beetena amooche meche shaagate amooch busho shibate iqqi bi*
 16 *beetena "Haano! " "Ee" "Ne naabo shaawushene ne meche ne naabeichi ciine" iye. Bi*
 17 *naabe shaawushechena maace kechehan. Kechaqqa bi gede shaaggi Addaam bullon*
 18 *shiyahan. E? Shiyaqqa bi getena ebina no beetena maaddee bini tuuto kaallaqqi kubbi*
 19 *hammito Manjo tunahe. Macaanno cuchiqqi hammito nangaato tunahe. Mijji qullo*
 20 *shaabbiqqi shendiqqi hammito kittinno tunahe. Eddo yechiqqi hammito manno tunahe.*
 21 *Ebina lalayiqqa no neexato.*
 22 *Ishiyooaba tunammona –and waayaa beeti! Tunammona andi and Yaanhoi Zaanhoi*
 23 *taatahe, ta nihooba ta nihinihooba, ta nihiniho Gundi Abbi Gundi ishin keemato. Ta*
 24 *nihooba ta nihinihooba. Halli hallooba no waayato hallooba ikka indeenee ikka bushoon*
 25 *hin hizboon shiyati gete waayaho, waayaqqa beetena and Zaanhoi waaha. Zaanhooba*
 26 *qellon neexiroona caggi beeti Yaanhoi. Manjache eebi godooch shaggaayo iye. Manno*
 27 *eebi godooch shaggaayo iye. Ee qaaxillo gediree gonnen qellon caggiqqi ta nihiniho*
 28 *kemmito beeti, wonne no yari yaro ashe bushe gadina'en kemmiqqi qitito beeti. Ebiyooba*
 29 *halle hallooba and no kechammona ishiichi daggoocha shiichaqqaa ta beet ishin tochoon*
 30 *ta waayato, ishi daggooch shiijjaqqana ta beetena kasho taa ariti hach Yaanhoi neexahe.*
 31 *(taatahe) Yaanhoi neexatena Manjo eello kaakahe, manno eddoo quchi.*
 32 *Nangaado..qabeechi!... nangaado caani. Eebina no beetena and ..አብጉሉ ደረጃ. and ee*
 33 *Yaanhoi taataqqi kechiqqina bi iti hachooch Manjo illa eello kaakaqqi maaqqi goosho*
 34 *gedaane, ee ebina ne beetena Manjache goosho gedaane goosho geddaho gettehan*
 35 *battibat Manjachechi goosho kechi. Dooche duushoon Gomarechaachee arichiti*
 36 *Manjache. Ebiyooba no beetena and Dergo taatahe Amareena Amaraaxeenon yuubbahe,*
 37 *Dergo, haahoo iqqi gorgachoon waaxxi waaxxiqqi bi ito gizooch no kechaqqa beehon,*
 38 *beeno beeti gizooch Dergo taatahe. Yihadigo are hillooch Darge hillooch Yihadigo*
 39 *Yihadigona batti. Emiriyoon, Manjache cammoon geddahan. Zuuro eddahan, macoona*
 40 *shaggiyan. Manjo timhirtooch gibe! Gumballi shokkaacho shaa'a beeti, Dakkooch ferenjo*
 41 *waaha gettehe. Betekristiyanoon neechiba hizbo gettehe, betekristiyanooch girgira*
 42 *neechibe getena Dooma Dooma Dooma Dooma kindi ikka maace ikkiyoomena ikka ferejo*

43 *maaca ferenjachina kindiyeete Dooma. Aroocha Dooma bulli Manjo Gumaro bulla*
 44 *giddaqaa xammaqeetena bulla betekristiyaanooch bul Manjo giddare tookki mame uye*
 45 *getena ishin waayeyo. Ishin saddaqiye.*

Quotation 6.3. (1Me: 76-79)

76 *Ashe qello nee shiiyato wuxibe. Hini ashe aafo gondo doollommooton qacee qaceqqeena*
 77 *qeeno qeenahe, arooch kiciqqi beete. Arooche dofee massaaro amooch aachooch*
 78 *echammo echaheete, aachooch wuxach echo kichato. Arooba qocee quxona shaddeetone*
 79 *massaaro.*

Quotation 6.4. (9Me: 74-81)

74 *Maatooch alla aafino maa beto maaxooch wokkacho getena, wokkacho Manjeen'ochaa*
 75 *getena. And no manoon'a, and no maneena'o meno bi kota hino ikko kota hino ikko kota*
 76 *hinnooche maahon. Manjiyoon maahon, ebi Yeeri nooch womo. He? Hagor barone,*
 77 *nati barone. Natti baroni okki natooch barone. He? Aaco ashi bullache Shullachi hammiti*
 78 *aaco, xeena xabi'ooch aaco kechii beeto, bombo daammiiyoomoon, Yeeri nooch shuunaa*
 79 *waa ne bi beto. He? Yeeri no shuunaa waana bi beeto. Addi Abe waat silike shibo hin*
 80 *Dakka bi kechiiyoomoon nooch Yeeri saaba (am) iye. Saaba iye Saaba iye Saaba iye.*
 81 *Deebena bi beete.*

1

Quotations 6.5. (32Fma: 1-34) and 6.6. (32Fma: 35-62)

1 *Ta dittaa beetoshi. Eebi aaf zemenooba ta niheena'o boonoshi tochee, boono dittate*
 2 *waayo. Ta shiijataani beetena Yappe qabalee, taa shiijjato Yappoo qabalooche gettahe.*
 3 *And no manateena'o Manjeena'o boono hinioomo boono makaraso haggiqqi beetina'o*
 4 *boono qelloona. Are Yappee shawoochena aaf zemenooba arooch beet guudeena'o*
 5 *gettaa beeto, xaqqo. Xaqqee, xaqqee gettaa beeto Maace taatona gettahe. K: Ishi A:*
 6 *Maace taateno gettaa beetino hizbeena'oni doocho duushote iqqi wodda..awdda*
 7 *maa'ena'on, arooche kubbone. Kubbee daggoochishi xaqqo geto hini kexikexo beshone.*
 8 *Are daggoochi Yappo qabaloochi ishi are daggoochi hammiiqqi yubbabee, yubbabee,*
 9 *yubbabee yubbabee yubbabee ara awdda qemo muloon kotaheete. Kotaa boono gete*
 10 *halle aree Yappi taateeno gettaa beetino, ikka xaqqooch hammi eboomo shaatona*
 11 *aa'aafen naa'e shaato dukkuso aa'aafo na'e shaato eebi yechi daammi iqqi "gundoalla*
 12 *xaqqooch manjibona" iqqi uro deqqi tarii. Yappi taato gettaa beeto, Yappi taato gettaa*
 13 *beeto daammi bi gete arooch yubbabee yubbabee yubbabee boono iyaahе shaaqqo "grr"*
 14 *qaaddiiqqi halla men uroon yechiiqqi amo hach diq giyiqqi, halla xaqqo daggooch giyichi,*
 15 *xaqqoo daggooch giijichiye boono gete "asheena'ote! Ureenon xaqqee daggooch geddiqqi*
 16 *giijichiiqqi hicitone shaaqqona. Yubbabote gettahe wotta. Yubbaa beete yubbaa beete*
 17 *yubbaa beete yubbaa beete yubbaa beete yubbaa beete gutta qei gutta wotta yubbaa*
 18 *beete, yubbaa bee keeji qei'iqqi keeja kemooba shaaqqo qechehe. Shaaqqo kechiye bi*
 19 *getena amo yechi kechiye, aache wanco goddo neca goddo goddo goddo, aache*
 20 *wancoona neci goddoon yechi kechiye. Yechi kechiqqi illa men shaaqqo hicahe iqqi boono*
 21 *dittate waayo. Ebichi kechiqqi wotta tandee tandee tandindee Gomareena'ochi godee*
 22 *giixona bi beeto. Goyo ariyaachete eboomi nallaawe bushoon daammiiqqi maaxooch*

23 qeejiqqina bo asichi godoongiixxi giixxiqqina boo maa beeto. Ikka goyo goyi gaata gaawa
 24 kexo haggga gaata ne amoomi ne amoon neene ne gaawa kexo haggiyeete, are kexoon
 25 gaakkiqqi yexxiyeete. Ne amasharee neenee wotta ne waa wotta ne abichi godoo neech
 26 giixo alli no shubbo shocalli, godo giixalli iiyona busho shiyyaatin daamo eboomo
 27 daammaqqa xallo duukkaqqa godo giixaqqan, bi kexo bi qeji maa beeto. Hini wanna no
 28 indee no indee kaakoon tahataach, dubbo, bara qa' iche wotta taha ta beqqatoche hini
 29 Dingaro kechaqqa ta beeqqatocheena "itto kaakoon tahiya' ote, maate kacho eddabot"
 30 gettahan. "Maate kacho eddabee" gettahan, "maate kacho waa godo giixote". Maatoni
 31 kachaqqa illa no duqqatinon no kaakon dechi gedaach are toommooch maato kachaqqa
 32 godo giixahon. Anaamena'on itto genja shuuroon kuxote. Hini amo ne,
 33 geeciya'ote. Genneene itti kaako kechibote maate kacho eddabot. Toommoocho maato
 34 eddabot, dubbo, dubbon tahabote gettahe.
 35 Ya Kristooso. Ishin no ariyaano andi yaan Yesuus in mooyoon ta gabi gaata oogichiqqi and
 36 ta qelle dambo oogichiqqina taan yoodaa beet mooyone. Yesuusi aabichiye? Are men
 37 makaroochee noon kichiqqina wodda wodda cinqaxochee noon kichiqqina wodda wodda
 38 wodda noon hajjit kunaanone kexooch gibane (gibara), kunaano ta tunaqqa, guudo
 39 tahaqqa, guudoch dubbati noon Yesuus abichiye? Yesuus abichi noon oogichiqqina noon
 40 noon ashochiqqina illa kechiqqi abichi noon bi kerooch neexihe..Ebichi no indee eboon
 41 aacho, aachon geddataanone, hinon qoraddoon tahiyaanoon and Yesuusina aacho gedda
 42 no beeto, and Yesuusina cammo ta gedda, Yesuusina ta ebin ta tahato. Manjache aacho
 43 ciraash Manjache gedaane aachoon, no meche tato aachoon geddaa ne getena Gomaro
 44 wuxishane bi getteyo Oth: Mhmh A: Ebi abichi abiyee abeet taroono bi aro misgaano
 45 biicho tunabe. Waa shaggiti Yesuusi noon amoochaa kichiye Yesuus mandarooch gonda
 46 guuda tunaqqa beeti noon koppahe kichi. Oogabee aro Ot: Amen. A: Shiyaano are
 47 kibrooch biicho miixo... shiyyaanoon shiyyaano wodda gizoon yagiyo. Shiyaano Kristos ishi
 48 wodda makaroo daggooch wodda cinqate daggooch wodda makaroo daggooch kichiye.
 49 Are daggoo kechiqqina shiyyaanoon yagiqqa ta immo 'na ebete illa oogichiqqana
 50 cannaquhu. Yesuusi abichiye bushoon taach abichiye taach immiye Yesuusi. Bi tammeroon
 51 asho waaya. And Yesuusina yeshaaqana ishi Yesuus taach bi gaacit gaacoon ta gettaa
 52 beeto. Aafoche kechiti mooyona aaficha aafichi nihiniho ebichi kechiti mooyo Manjo
 53 oogat oogati macarasha guudo. Yesuus no guude guudo daggooch, Yesuus waaheye. And
 54 Yesuus waamo(womo) taa beqqammona and aabichiye ? No guudo daggoochi, ebi no
 55 manateena'o ebooch and ooga kibiracho nooch guudi daggooch waaqqi boonoshi guudo
 56 wottaqqi noon Yeesusina tookkichina noo kichiyeete. Ebi aabin hinich makaraso tuno no
 57 neeche bee gaataa...Daammachino makarasha no neechibee gaataa shabatta, gutta
 58 gutta gutta gut qane waa gutta gut qane waa guudo mag no mag guudo mag no mag
 59 guudo no mag guudo no mag waa beeto guudo no mag boono waa beeto. Illa no bara
 60 qaiche no yecheton ebin no hammat gommoone hini bee Manjache beshaa beeto, hini
 61 Manja beshaa beeto getane boono iibeeto Gomareena'o . Ooga biicho tunabe, eebich
 62 neechittaane.

Quotation 6.7. (22Mma: 13-28)

13 Q: Aafi coqqanne iqqa no beet gommoon no mangisto wotta hanaach noon kechitone.
 14 Hini gizoo kichitone. Ee aaf coqqane iqqa no beeto cuhaqqa no beeto cuchoochee Yeeri
 15 no mengitto no kichitone illa bara bara mooyo amo bulla bulla allone, bulla aaf bukko

16 *kichitina’o geeneetina’olli bara yibbaato deebemmo ta katino tane illa mm...ee coqqonne*
 17 *gizooba cuchabee qoppabeena wanjooch...wanjo...ee qettoo geddabena...ee cuchochee*
 18 *kechaqqana no mengisto no ebo bechi no gaawichiqqina no meche no busho tiqqaqqi no*
 19 *qeejjoocho Yeeri gallateeba. Mengisto no ebo bechitone ee no ebo bechitochoona Yeeri*
 20 *gallateeba M: macarrasoon beddaheena M3: Macaraasha bechibite! Q: Mengisto*
 21 *hanaach ee tachibe bi itona, tatabe bi itona, an tatataache hizbo tatataache iqqi bi qajito.*
 22 *Mam mam manji manjaache iye maataache iye. No du’iqqi bi iraatito. Bi iratiitena*
 23 *yullooch gutta daggo yulloochaa no beeto. Qiicoochaa no beeto. Wotta Yerina*
 24 *mengistono noon biinna noonnon ikkochiqqina noochon bi maatena biichon no maatena*
 25 *tato tuno halli and coqqanoochona no beeto and olla coqqain wottiyaanna’ one. Baraan*
 26 *none and bulla. Baraan noone no mengisto and. No no ikka bad qijjoochane bi beeto.*
 27 *Wotta and no bi tachemmo tunaba. No noona tachiree bi geechiyemmo tunaba. Ando*
 28 *coqqannoocheno beeto.*

Quotation 6.8. (37Mma: 1-20, 32-43, 55-62)

1 *K: Bi busho ne itti? D: Bo busho taane. Ee baroon ditto hakkeeye toono? K: Mm D: Aafi no*
 2 *beet beemmona and no beet beemmochena ee wotta andichona aafichonochena, wonne*
 3 *gizo no beeto, Manjo getena ee kelloochee no kotaqqaa beeto. Kello kotahon, maato*
 4 *qoreena maachi gaddoo no kota uchaa beeto. Tunaballi maato qoree no kotaa uchaa bee*
 5 *gaataa amone ebino mabito, appane gizone getone. Derge gizooba Qexa shiijjato,*
 6 *yamaache gizooba taa shiijjato, yamache waammi gizo ne. Dergo arooch giye. Are*
 7 *hillooch ee addarate getena, addarabe neenommi noonnommi neexaachon no ashon.*
 8 *Addaraqqana shawooche iqqaa no beet gizo zebeenone aaf gizooba. And gizoochee wotta*
 9 *tunaballi Yeerina ee mengistona waat gizooch ee xor gimbaarooch shimitta natoyen ta*
 10 *kotatoye hach ebichi taa woyahena, ebich ta waheena, gis..gishache gizo lawatetone.*
 11 *Amoona bi gizo bi lawaxeeto ikko ikkon coqqanne iqqina ikko ikkon bi garrafi beet gizooba*
 12 *“hino no noonna tatiyaachen, desh eb kello wan kotaballi kello wan uiyabe” bi beet*
 13 *gizoona and wotta Yeerina waat gizonochane giishachon ee des ii beet mooyoon*
 14 *mengisto kindiqqina gishache giceetaache tiyati mooyoona mengisto tachi be gete, and*
 15 *gishacha tataqana wotta Yeeri gommona tataqaa no beeto, wotta tatabonalli katamooch*
 16 *no ..no Manjo katamoocheena ikkottaqqi kotaqqi beet guddo allone. Masarabet*
 17 *kexoochena, masara kexooch shaashoochena ara ucho beet guddo allone. Ando amoona,*
 18 *wokkaqaa no beeto, and ikkeena bulla Yeeri gommona hammiqaa no kexo giyiqqi boono*
 19 *ii bee gaataa ee are bulla ikko ulla “hino Manjo wan giddaqqa ii beeto ne iqqina*
 20 *be..saiyafee beet gizone getone.*

32 *Tunabe wotta woradoochena woradona bariqqa no beeto getone. Woradooche Manjo*
 33 *bee hidatoona (am) bi madarakoon (stage) yechiqqina bi beet, tataqqina bi beet hidato*
 34 *allone. Ta ceennato masaratoochena. Wotta Beeta Kristiyaano, ማንጋ ክላሳ ከላማኑላ*
 35 *gommona kittinno tunagaataa kittinno ee kittinnoona ortona Manjoona ikkotaqqi*
 36 *beetaanone. Orto tunat ikko Mnajo bulla allone getone. Katamoochena ikkato Manjo*
 37 *allone. Ashera bulla ceennacho beet Manjo. Giddoona higoona Yeerina taggona*
 38 *andoona no beeto.. taggoona. taggee toommooch and ulla no beeto getone. No mengisto*
 39 *akka no tachaache, ando tatiyaanone, no beet nuro barone iqqaa no beeto. Ebichi wotta*
 40 *noochi beet nuroona no beemmoona andi no kexoona no ikkoottabone iqqana wonna no*
 41 *beet moyoonena’o gondaqqa no beeton qajaqqana salaamona ikkotta beebone iqqaa*

42 *salaame gommeona no yexiqqaa beeto ee haimaanato guddoona Beta Kristiyaano tuna*
 43 *gaataa saloota guddoona waachane ikkottaqqana no beeto.*

55 *Manja, Manjoona Gomaroona ikkottaqqi beet hidato alle. Ikkottaqqi bi uchi beet hidato*
 56 *alle. Ikkottaqqi maa beet hidato aalle. Ikkottaqqi bi qei beet hidato alle. Ciinna*
 57 *mucaqqana no iyyahena ee qebele daggooch waa beeto bulla no ciinneena no*
 58 *womimmona higgo wan beshaqqa higge derejo beshaqqana giracho ne gijoochee kichib*
 59 *mengisto wan hamire taggabe salamawi boochona gonda boochooch hammiye gonda*
 60 *kaaro tunataan beetena gonda gicito tunataan beetena mengistona taggaree, no qello*
 61 *woradoon no qelloon zoonon keyone iqqana andola ichichi eqqedo yechaqqana no beeto*
 62 *getone. Ebina taach waati mooyooch, ciichittaane, gallataho woddooona. Yeeri gallateeba.*

Quotation 6.9. (23Mma: 34-50)

34 *Ishoshin uxaroonane shuunonane, ebichi yammariqqa no beet saatooch illa barbariye. Illa*
 35 *barbari. Ta beshaa ta beshaa beet ditto beete. Ta beshaa, hinin quiyaa beemmona "ta hini*
 36 *ella shaacaagaqqa waato ta" iye, "ta ne waaqqa ta qello giishito" ii beet*
 37 *tiibiitenyoomoonaa bi hammiyoona yaro kemmaqqa bechiqqa no itooch kemooch*
 38 *beddacha, kemma ciichaano qajiqqi bi shachat qoodoona illa asaho ashon gaddadaache*
 39 *ikkittinona shuunonane bi qaxireeto, shuunonane mooyo, limaato qaxiree beeto*
 40 *shuunona. Emnaato qaxirii beet shuunona. Mengisto qaawito shuunoone Yeeri qaawito*
 41 *shunonalli illa asho ashon hammi gaddaddiqqi folisoona deebi gaddaddihoch*
 42 *haimaanotenyona asho ashoon gaddaddaache, higgee derejoona tamarikkaballi bi beet*
 43 *bi beeto ashoon gaddaddaache. Yeeri higgoona tamariqqi beenalli bi beeto ashoon*
 44 *gaddadaache, koni konin gaddaddemmo getena ishina shachaqqi no yechat gijo bulla*
 45 *batta andiye tikikkilo quxuxxaro getiye odito gediye no qoodeeyemmo ishina ne*
 46 *shachaanno neechito. Ebichi wotta gattoo taach beete gijo taach beete beet Dejo beemo*
 47 *hakkiye no daggooch gelle (am) oogiyo beemo hakkiye, hakkee guutiyo beemo hakkiye.*
 48 *Dittoon naaqaayo are daggooch beete. Dittoon naaqaayano, ikkittinona tamariqqi beeto*
 49 *makkari beeto boya beeto daggooch, qaxirimmogaataa ikkittinona shuuno hammeetone*
 50 *ishichi tiyaqqana ne no barito. Ebicheenona no beet bahiri, no beet huneto ishicheenane.*

Quotation 6.10. (46My: 1-21) and 6.11. (46My: 22-37)

1 *Ebiye aaf, ta niho ta indee ta niho ta ta nihaaniheena'ochi beemo, gin gaawataache.*
 2 *Baqqaa asho shixxi. Asho woddiiqqi ne bi shixxi beeto. Asho shunaache, ebichi boonoshi*
 3 *yaro, boono shigoo ceegon shunaachi. Manjo geti gaata, ebi shigoomo shawee bi shigo*
 4 *ceeggahote geto beddahe shixxi. Gin ebiye aaf ebiye aaf no ishina boonoshi beete ee ta*
 5 *shijjat zemenoochee yammariqqi, hin gaawa addi mooyo womon yammari ee taato*
 6 *Melles Zenawi. Hin ferenjo ishoshin astakakkalooche iqqi boono beemon gaawichibane*
 7 *iqqi waahe. Ferenjo waahe Yeeriyo boonoshichi waahe. Yeeriyo waate, boonoshiyo*
 8 *gaawaheete. Gin ta shiijjatoche zammariqqina, baqqaa ta shiijoochee, ta dicoochee*
 9 *yammariqqa, ta gaawa mooyoona, gonda mooyoon danataanon, biiqqo maro gettee*
 10 *beeto shappaantaa tatittinona, ikko tamaroona, ikko baqqaa tato hajona tatooch*
 11 *shuunona ikkooch beehon andoye gin wonne beemo'eena and no beemo gaawiye.*
 12 *Wonne gizooba wodde irato Manjeena'ooch beeto, shixxaheete gin and ta*
 13 *iyemmoomooch gaawa mooyo beete ee Yeerina gaawa gutta humo beekkahe dessemmi*

14 *beet mooyo ne tatone No..andi mooyo berberite woddiqqi baraache. Shaagiiyooch*
 15 *shaagon bi qajito bulla woddiqqi mooyo baraachi gin ebiye aafichoomon shaahaache*
 16 *getoochiye.Ebiye aaf baqqa nooch beemoochena shixxitina'on, shixxit beemo ne*
 17 *Manjeena'o beemo geto. And gin Yeerina gaawatone. And aafe'oomo shaahaache bi imo*
 18 *bullu dessimitone ikkooch gabiyaheete Manjoon Gumaro shawadaache, Gomaro wotta*
 19 *Manjooch Manjo Gomarooch yitaache bulla tato maco yebbaheete tatoona sha'on. And*
 20 *gin amashee irato bulla alle netsoona ne no beeto. Ebi aafalli gin beemo gondo and*
 21 *amashoo bulla salaamo cikki eechi beemolli no beeto. ይህው ነው ያለው።*
 22 *ee ta tocho kafinane. Tocho ikka indeech keja bushisheena'o beete. Keeja bushisheena'o*
 23 *boono beete keeja bushisheena'o indeech aazazi'aachete, isha getaachete, indeech de'a*
 24 *getaanna'one. Beehete. Boonoshi beete aree inde Yerin du' iyaqqana qollahane wochi*
 25 *wochiqqa Yeerin qollahane. Yeero taach ikka bushoon imbe, taach isha gettemmoon*
 26 *Yeero taach imb iqqa bulla aabooch qolla beehane. Qollaa bi beete Yeeri bi qaawoon*
 27 *biichi ikka bushoon immi. Ikka bushoon immi bi gete beehe. Alla busho giishacho shiijja*
 28 *oogahe. Oogaqqi bi gete arooch ok keeja bushisheena'o "Wobe hammiree gaayone"*
 29 *iyete. Hammiqqi tookki gaajjiyeete. Gaajjii boono deebi immona biin [gattoon]*
 30 *daammiree "haaro mayiree deebe" iqqi aaco wochahe. Aacooch boono wochemmona aro*
 31 *hammiye. Aro hammiqqi are haare daggooche aacoon ceechiye. Aacoon ceechi gumboon*
 32 *kuxxiye, gumboona arooche toobbich bunnahe. Gumbona toobbichi bunni beemmona*
 33 *halle hajji manateena'o "Amone amone" iqqa echaheetine. Boono echemmona ee hiniich*
 34 *giye hallee haree gattee doono waaqqi taan yechitone, wocabote, wotemmooch*
 35 *aallabote iqqi. Bi immona aro bi haaron machiqqi alla damb meeno beet xaa'o waahe.*
 36 *Meenoon hallaree mulloona boonoshi woca allaammona are meeno kexooch giyichiqqina*
 37 *bindeena biinna maaqqi beeheto wonnee ይባላል.*

Quotation 6.12. (20Mma: 66-72, 81-98)

66 *... noocho gashi hachiyo. Gashiachoon liiyunnet tunaqqi and boono deqqi beeto beetone.*
 67 *Ebichee kechiti gommoona eboshoomoona iyetalli and nooch aboocha boono beeto yiich*
 68 *bahileen yechi beetina'o beeteete, yiichi bahileen yechiqqi illa hinoshi Manjeena'olli*
 69 *iyete, katamo boono hammi gaataa noonoch birawo, noocho birawo tunahoona,*
 70 *birawo ciinoo bi qabbayaano (am) maadee taa gettat gashoon ciinnahana K: ee W:*
 71 *Kommaarte (waiter) K:mhm W: Kommaarte no hamma shaggacha ciiratone eyo, eyo*
 72 *ciiratone. Eyo ciiratone.*

81 *Ishoshiyoomi irato nooch and beete. Ishashoomi siiyamone getone. And no busho*
 82 *tamarito tamarigaataa bulla ee haddiye tunat ikkikka asheena'o abichina boono beeto ee*
 83 *gaawa timhirtee gaawaache illa tunat ikkikkina ikkikkina hino boono kotagaataa*
 84 *eeboomoo eechiqqi timhirto tamariin hinoon bi beegaa timhirto gubboo immibeena,*
 85 *gubbo immibeena. Gubbo immi bee tamari aabichane? Yiichi Manjeena'one. Yiich*
 86 *asheena'o ameexina'one, hini asheena'o yiichi Manjeena'one. K: Ehe W: Yiichi*
 87 *Manjeena'one getoochene getollii nooch eboshomi irato nooch beeto, goya no boonoshi*
 88 *tatoon gochaa beeto noone. Kexo no boonoshi tato haggaa beeto noone. Qiicaa noo*
 89 *beete katamoo keyooch nooch gishachoon timhirto no geto bedo qajiqqi nooch qiicoona*

90 *nooch qiicoona nooch timhirte muya allo. Xummate and eboomoon gaawa and bushoon*
 91 *gaawato, gaawa limaatoon neechi gaaccino qiichato gaata katamo key qaiyolli no iritito,*
 92 *no asheena'on shappo, qiicho shuunooch no yaro kisha kupphoone. Shuunooch bebezaat*
 93 *no shuuno hakkiyon. A: Aw. W: Shaago no hakki beetone. K: Aw W: Shuuno no hakki*
 94 *beeeto, tunabee halli amo beehe? Bizatoona birawo yechiqqi katamo gaawichi keyo*
 95 *qajona, boonoch katamo beshi. K: mhm W: katamooch bulla boono tunaheete, no yaro*
 96 *katamooch allahe. Boono yare katamo beehena katamooch shaggaa noon ebichi*
 97 *kechiyoona illa koni noonna boonon tataheete? li beet wogoonalle no ito ee..liyuto nooch*
 98 *giishachon waa beetone geto*

Appendix 2

Dates of the speech events in which the speeches were recordedIn the Gesha wereda

Amero	11 June	2010
Anderacha	10 December	2010
Atta Awdit	18 February	2009
Batti Ogiti	15 May	2012
Didif	26 September	2009
Emirikki	7 February	2009
Ha'iti	23 September	2009
Kicho	24 January	2009
Tegello	19 February	2009
Yeshito Yeri	14 March	2010

In the Sayilem wereda

Celli Shekki Gaqqari	27 January	2011
Guracha	12 May	2012
Daabbina Gemi	17 January	2009
Ji'i	17 May	2012
Senteria	24 January	2011

Appendix 3

Vocabulary of the *Kafi noono* words that occur in the text repeatedly

(The other *Kafi noono* words are always explained in the text)

<i>alama</i>	From the Amharic word አላማ /alama/ 'goal, aim, purpose, target, objective, intent, concern, design, motif, destiny'. In this context it is used for 'vision, another world view or this way of life'.
<i>allaamo</i>	Spirit mediator, shaman
<i>asteyaayet</i>	From the Amharic word አስተያየት /astɛjajɛt/ 'something caused to be seen', used by the Manjo for description of circumstances either with or without personal opinion
<i>daado</i>	Work done for each group member turn by turn. The workgroup includes relatives and close neighbors.
<i>dafo</i>	Bigger workforce summoned for more demanding duties like clearing the land or building a house
<i>duuro</i>	Simple, stupid
<i>Derg</i>	From the Amharic word ደረግ /dɛrg/ committee, a word used for the Communist Regime (1974-1991)
<i>fernji</i>	Foreigner
<i>Gomaro</i>	Kafa majority member
<i>hacho</i>	Clever, cunning
<i>kaama</i>	Straight, clear
<i>Kafi noono</i>	Kafa language
<i>Tocho tochahe</i>	'tochos are/were told' Genre used especially by Manjo elders, includes telling of stories of past and present, accounts of political and social history, and sharing of thoughts
<i>qebele</i>	From the Amharic word ቀበሌ /k'ɛbɛle/ Peasant Association, administrative unit that consists of several villages and homesteads.
<i>wereda</i>	Amharic word ወረዳ /wɛɛɛɛda/ , municipality, administrative unit that consists of <i>qebeles</i>
<i>xummo</i>	complicated, zigzag, not clear
<i>yaro</i>	Seed, clan, lineage
<i>Yaanhoi</i>	Emperor Haile Selassie
<i>Yihadig</i>	Acronym, a word formed from the initial letters of the Amharic words for EPRDF Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ድምክራሲያዊ ግንባር jɛiti:jop'i:ja hɛzbofj ɔbijota:wi demokrasija:wi ginba:r Used as a synonym for the present government 1991-