Genre as Medium of Cultural Hegemony of Group Power through Control over the Structures of Text and Talk

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Abstract
This study is a critical discourse analysis of one discourse genre – abstain from work on religious holidays- in the multicultural community of South Wollo, Ethiopia. Discourses are seen to affect our views on all things; it is not possible to avoid discourse. Discourses is a way of representing aspects of the world - the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and the social world. Like elsewhere, in the traditional Ethiopian cultures, there are many social practices that govern conscience. There are many rules of thumb that people agree to govern their lives with. Different discourses from various social practices in the traditional Ethiopian community that are transmitted through oral discourse were taken for analysis. The discourse on this was taken from a two-month partial ethnography participant observation and key informant interviews or talk conducted with seven 50 to 65-years old Christian and Muslim informants in Ambasel in 2015 G.C. The result of the study shows that some discourse genres are imposed on others. Discourse has become both the means and the end of social practice. Discourse is shaped by many factors such as culture, language, participant, and history. It, in turn, shapes them back. Discourse shapes and reshapes the thought and practice of the speech community who owns it. There are hegemonic discourse genres. The discourse genre of 'abstain from work on religious holidays' have become one of a hegemonic kind. Those who are not the members of the religion strictly practice the belief. This discourse genre is hegemonic- owned through imposition of the socially powerful group over the socially powerless one.
Keywords: abstain from work, hegemony, discourse, genre, power

Introduction

South Wollo is the study site where a large number of both Muslims and Christians demonstrated peaceful co-existence for a long period of time (Mesfin, 2004: 209). At present, however, there are cases of challenges to such peaceful coexistence. The communication behavior of the community displays how they have developed a harmonious culture to sustain their identity.

Wollo is bounded by Tigray in the North, Gojjam in the West, Shewa in the South and Afar in the East. The capital city, Dessie, is 400 km away to the North of Addis Ababa. In Wollo, Muslims and Christians live together peacefully (Amsalu and Habtemariam, 1969:1). The community has a unique history of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. This community consists of a large number of Muslims and Christians. There is a thick historical record that this community exhibits a harmonious and peaceful contact and an intense sense of belongingness. The Wollo community is far more than mixed. There is a strong blood tie as there is intermarriage among Muslims and Christians. There is also cultural diffusion, and a strong sense of togetherness that has been held for generations. Many significant cultural and historical contexts tie the Muslim-Christian Community to a great extent.

Wollo is one of the sub regions of Amhara Regional State which is also known as Region Three. Wollo is bounded by Tigray in the North, Gojjam and Gonder in the West, Shewa in the South and Afar in the East. The central town, Dessie, is 400 km away from Addis Ababa.

Topographically, the region is mountainous and cold in the Western and Northern part. In the East, it is very hot. In the population senses of 2007, the population of Wollo is 4, 022, 733 and more than 62% of this live in South Wollo Zone. This in figure is 2, 519, 450.

In South Wollo, the Muslim-Christian mix is high and there are considerable Muslims in this zone as compared to the rest of the Zones of the Amhara Region. From the 20 Weredas of South Wollo, the researcher conducted the study in Tehuledere (Sulula, Gishen), Dessie Zuria (Bilen, Kelem, Boru, Gerado), Kutaber (Alasha and Kutaber), and Dessie. Moreover, the researcher had co-researchers who helped collect data from Ambasel, Kelala, Jama, and Debat. Particularly, the areas where large data were collected are Alasha (Kutaber Wereda), Sulula (Tehuledere Wereda), Boru (Dessie Zuria Wereda), Bilen (Dessie Zuria Wereda), Gerado (Dessie Zuria Wereda), Kelem (Dessie Zuria Wereda), and Gishen (around Hitecha, Tehuledere Wereda).

Wollo is a place with rich historical and cultural assets. The area is claimed to be the origin of the Amhara ethnic group (Getachew, 1984:10). According to Getachew, the first original home of the Amhara is Amhara Saynt (Ibid: 12). He claimed that Amhara means 'agrarian' and Saynt 'a place where harvest is collected' in Arabic. He further states:

Though the Agew people is mixed and so it is named as Agew Midr Begemidir, and though because of Oromo it was named Wollo later; Bete Amhara includes the areas bounded by Tigray in the North,

Begemdir and Gojjam in the West, Shewa in the south. In the middle was all the area of Bete Amhara (Wollo) (Getachew, 1984:12).

The Amhara ethnic group lives in Lasta, Wadla Delanta, Woreilu, in large numbers, and in Dessie area, Yeju, Ambasel, Raya, Kobo, Borena and Worehimeno mixed with other ethnic groups (Gebre Kidan, 1981:II). Ethnic groups that reside in Wollo are Amhara, Agaw, Argobba, Oromo, Warra Sheikh and Mamadoch (Sheikh Seid Muhammed, in Edris 2007:115-119).

Wollo was known as "Bete Amhara" (house of Amhara) before it was named Wollo (G/Kidan, 1981:7; Sheikh Seid Muhammed, in Edris 2007:112). After Gragn, according to Getachew, because of the Oromo's movement to the area of Bete Amhara, the name was changed to Wollo after the name of the governor of Bete Amhara who came from the south and central part of Ethiopia (Ibid). He was the son of Kereyu and the grandson of Berentuma. Wollo had children by the names Bukon, Woregura, WoreIlu, Wore Kereyu, WoreAlu (Ibid). Because of him, the name of "Bete Amhara" 'the house or homeland of Amhara' was changed to Wollo and the sub regions were also named after his children.

Historically, both Christianity and Islam have lived for long in Wollo. Of all the Amhara region, Wollo is where a large number of Muslims live. Islam faced difficulties in the reign of Tewodros II (1855-1868 E.C.) and Yohannes IV (1872-1889 E.C.). Wollo Muslims became victims of power and suppression especially during the latter's reign (Getachew, 1984:48).

According to Getachew (1984), of the four schools of thoughts in Islam (Mezhabs) known throughout the world, two are found in Wollo. These are Shafi which was established by Abu Abdela Muhamed Ibn Idris (767-870 G.C.) and Hanefiya established by Abu Hanifa Al Nueman Ibn Sabit (699-767 G.C.). The former school has great followers in Dewoy and Yifat. The second school that is Hanefiya is common in Kalu, Borena, Worehimeno, Worebabo and Yeju. Wollo is also a place where great Muslim scholars who have done a lot to teach and sustain Islam in Ethiopia originated (Ibid). There are many places of pilgrimage among which Jema Nigus, Geta, Dana, Deger, and Chale are most known (Ibid).

Wollo is a place where people of different ethnic groups, beliefs and cultures are believed to have coexisted peacefully. The languages spoken in the region are Amharic, Agew, Oromo, Tigray, Afar and Argoba (G/Kidan, 1981: II; Getachew, 1984:17). The people are known as 'Wolloyye'. The people do not want to identify themselves by their ethnic groups but by the place, 'wolloyye' (the Wollo person) (Ibid: 18).

The four musical melodies of Ethiopia, Anchihoyelene, Tizita, Bati, and Ambasel, are found in Wollo. Tizita was known as Wollo before it was renamed as such (Ibid). The melodies are named after the names of places of Wollo. This shows that the people are accustomed to expressing their culture, history, love, and overall lives through their music (Getachew, 1984:43).

Menzuma is a major artistic work performed by Wollo 'Ulemas' (Muslim religious scholars). The people of Wollo have used Menzuma for many years for different purposes. They use it for prayer, and for teaching their religion. Among the well known Menzuma performers are Sheikh Husen Jibril, the Arsi Emebet (Yejuye), the Mersa Aba Getye, the Guna Nigus (Yejuye), the Dessie's Tengego Sheikh and the recent Sheikh Mohammed Awol. These people are known even outside of Wollo by their Menzuma chants.

Wollo is rich in natural resources. There are many rivers, lakes and minerals in the region. In Wollo, Awash, Mile, Miowa, Chireti, Ala, Hormat, Tiratina Zamra, Tekeze, Borkena, Abay, Becho, Wayeta and Gerado rivers flew (Getachew, 1984:52-53). These rivers flow all year long. The lakes are Loga Hayk, Ardibo, Abi Gurgura, Afanbo, Ashenge and Maybar (Ibid:53). Among the minerals are iron soil, marble, green soil, salt, red sand, coal, and others that can be used for production of cement, paintings, and jewelries (Ibid: 58-59). There are different archeological findings in Wollo that provide valuable information for genealogical studies of human beings (Ibid). There are scriptures of Christian and Muslim traditions that reveal the spirituality of the people.

The one significant history of Wollo that the people are not proud of but legendarily stereotyped is drought and famine. The description of Wollo barely completes without the description of the effect of famine that has affected the people. In fact, Ethiopia is known for the same mainly because of its impact on the people of Wollo. Wollo is a place where many times famine has had its bad effects on the people. The drought has had unforgiving effect to the extent that the image of Ethiopia has remained a symbol of famine until now (Getachew, 1984:63). Sadly, the damage of the famine had been known first to the rest of the world before it was known by Ethiopians. This is because the ruling elites of the time wanted to keep it secret to safeguard their interest. Many blame the government for this and it became a case for its downfall.

Apart from this, there are many things that place Wollo in historical times among which are its historical places such as Lalibela which is one of the wonders of the world. It is one of the things that identify Wollo as a unique area (Ibid:21).

Beauty, love, kindness and innocence are traditionally associated with Wollo people. The following appreciations are often heard about Wollo and Wolloyye.

> battinna komboləčča kämisenna härbu
> yänäšäggyä ʾäggär yännayyt' t'äggäbu

Bati Kombolcha Kemisie and Harbu, (names of Wollo places)
The country of the beautiful and the ever-wanted,

Also, Wollo is known for love. This is explicated in many traditional Wollo songs.

yäfəqqr ʾəngočča yämiqqwaddäsubš
yähullu ʾäggär ʾəkul yäwbät ʾäddaraš
A place where people share love,
A place for all equally, a parlor for beauty,

It is generalized that the men and women of Wollo are love addicts. The Wollo people are also known to be kind and innocent. This is also indicated by the popular saying 'Wollo the barley'. The Wollo people are also known to be not trust worthy as the proverbial saying 'an empty neighbor house is better than a Wolloyye neighbor/ käwälo goräbet yšalal bado bet' has it. Wolloyyes, however, do not accept this stereotype.

Leaving stereotypes aside, Wollo is home to the two major religions, Christianity and Islam. The majority of the Wollo people are Muslims and their ethnic group is Amhara (Ibid), but some scholars claim that the people are Oromo (Alemayehu et. al., 2006). There are many among my informants who also believe that they are of Oromo descent but in general, many people from the study group claim that they are Amhara ethnically.

The majority of the Amhara ethnic group of the rest of the country is Christian. Wollo is one of the very few places in the world where Muslims and Christians live together peacefully. The community has a unique history of tolerance and peaceful coexistence that was revealed through their language. The two religions have existed in the area for generations (Getachew, 1984: 19).

Popular opinion has it that many of the people are not strong in their religion and that they easily shift between Orthodox Christianity and Islam. It is the place where nobody is surprised to find an Ahmed[1] priest and a Gebre Sheikh or Imam. It is also very common to have somebody from the family change his/her religion.[2] It is also not so much surprising to see couples who follow different religions, i.e., the husband being a Muslim and the wife being a Christian or vice versa. These and many more distinctive ways of lives of this community prove that religious differences cannot prevent people from accepting each other. The Wollo people are known to be passionate, nationalist and kind. Sheikh Seid states, "A Walloyye is like barley – Their Amharic is fit for any purpose. Their Amharic is not standard. However, they know poetry and jokes… A 'Wolloyan' may be poor but proud, even in foreign lands" (Sheikh Seid Muhammed, in Edris 2007:121).

There is a thick historical record that shows how this community exhibits a harmonious and peaceful contact and an intense sense of belongingness. The Wollo community is far more than mixed since there is a strong blood tie due to intermarriage between Muslims and Christians. There is also cultural diffusion and strong sense of togetherness that has been held for generations. Many significant cultural and historical contexts tie the Muslim-Christian Community of Wollo (Amsalu, 1987).

There is much in common between the Muslims and Christian of Wollo. Pagan practices such as 'Wukabi' is a common cultural practice for both (Sheikh Seid Muhammed, in Edris 2007:122). The norms and codes of conduct in this society are designed by both religions. The customs are shared each one originating from either of the two religions, but followed by both with slight differences. For example, a 'Christina Liǧ' (God child) is a concept of the Christian society, but this is adopted by the Muslims of Wollo as 'Yayn Liǧ' (Eye's Child). And, 'wodaja', Muslims' practice for prayer is adopted by the Christians.

Objective
The objective of this study is to critically analyze a discourse genre know as 'balat' – abstain from work on religious holidays.

Methodology
Data
The data for this study was taken from a two-month partial ethnography participant observation and key informant interviews or talk conducted with seven 50 to 65-years old Christian and Muslim informants in Ambasel in 2015 G.C. The data is a discourse genre.

Critical Discourse Analysis
Discourse Analysis (DA) emphasizes on the analysis of the internal cognition of a society's practice as expressed through their language. It focuses on talk and texts as social practices (Potter, 1996:5). According to Potter (2004:3),

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[1] Ahmed is a typical Muslim name and Gebre is a typical Christian name locally.
[2] Changing religion is so common that even things like marriage, work, residence area or neighborhood can   be a cause for it.

> DA has an analytic commitment to studying discourse as texts and talk in social practice. That is, the focus is not on language as an abstract entity such as a lexicon and set of grammatical rules (in linguistics), a system of differences (in structuralism), or a set of rules for transforming statements. Instead, it is the medium for interaction; analysis of discourse becomes, then, analysis of what people do.

To Potter, therefore, discourse analysis is more than the analysis of the linguistic repertoire of a given language. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is more involved in the inner psychology of people. Van Dijk (2001:352) defined CDA as:

> Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context with such dissident research, critical discourse analysis take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality

The beginning of CDA is attributed to the following:

> In January 1991, a two-day workshop was hosted by Teun van Dijk in Amsterdam. Norman Fairclough, Gunter Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak took part. This workshop marked a significant point in the development of CDA. Since 1991, the field has expanded widely (Wodak and Chilton, 2005: XI).

CDA has come to refer to a particular branch of applied linguistics associated mostly with scholars such as Fairclough, Wodak and van Dijk (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 454; Chilton, 2005:20; Wooffitt, 2005:137; Hart and Lukeš, 2007:1; Witkosky, 2009:63). In terms of publication, Fairclough's *Language and power* (1989) is usually regarded as a landmark for CDA (Blommaert, 2005:23).

CDA views `language as a social practice', and takes consideration of the context of language use as an important aspect (Wodak, and Meyer, 2001:1). Researchers who use CDA as a method can describe, interpret, and explain relationships among languages and other social factors (Rogers, 2004:1). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) offered eight basic principles to explain CDA. The principles are useful starting points for researchers interested in conducting CDA (Van Dijk, 2001:353; Rogers, 2004:1). These are:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. The link between text and society is mediated.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.
8. CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm.

In the 1960s, many scholars adopted a more critical perspective of studying language (Wodak, 2002). As a critical theory, CDA aims at 'demystifying' or clarifying discourse. It is a problem-oriented approach. "Social problems are the items of research, such as "racism, identity, gender, social change", which, of course, are and could be studied from manifold perspectives. The CDA dimension, discourse and text-analysis, is one of many possible approaches" (Wodak, 2005:2).

Language is a medium of control, and exercising power. CDA takes the point of view of those who suffer and critically analyze power as reflected through their language. Critical theory is reflective since it looks at discontents and dissatisfactions. Critical theory is there where there is contention and challenge over power and inequality through discourse (Wodak, 2002). Discourse indexes how power is exercised or challenged. Wodak (2002) defines CDA as follows:

> CDA might be defined as fundamentally interested in not only analyzing opaque but also transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims at investigating critically social inequality as it is expressed, constructed, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse).

"The terms *Critical Linguistics* (CL) and *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) are often used interchangeably. In fact, recently the term CDA seems to have been preferred and is being used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL" (Wodak, 2002:6). Fairclough (1989:5) used the term "critical language study" CLS to refer to what later became CDA.

Critical research is conducted based on certain ideological point of view. Kaplan (2002:16) says, "Critical (or ideological) research is sometimes accorded a category of its own, … perhaps this is so because certain approaches to research constitute explicitly ideological lenses or frames through which any data or situation can be analyzed." According to Wodak (2007:3), ""Critical" means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective in my research, and through these processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest."

Context necessarily needs to be analyzed to understand language in use (Rogers: 2004:11). It is a type

of discourse analytical research that mainly investigates the way social power, exploitation, control, and inequality are endorseed, reproduced, and challenged by talk in the real social situation. In such situations, CDA takes an explicit position, and try to understand, expose, and resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 2001: 352). "Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially in social structures. More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" Van Dijk (2001: 353). CDA is particularly interested in the link between language and power (Van Dijk, 2001: 353; Wodak, 2002:6).

Researchers in CDA insist that history, ideology and power are inevitable in the analysis of discourse. CDA, then, is an analysis of not only what is said, but what is unsaid but understood by the members. In this sense, CDA does not read ideologies as presented in the texts only, but it identifies all possible factors behind.

There are no dogmatic formulas for using CDA except examining the discourse 'critically' and 'analytically'. CDA researchers adopt different forms of analysis to respond to diverse ideological assumptions (Witkosky, 2009: 63). The investigator decides to use certain analytic procedures depending on the research objective (Rogers, 2004:7). Wodak (2002) confirmed that "… CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA." CDA does not aim at providing a single or specific theory. There is no one single way of doing CDA (Wooffitt, 2005:137). Van Dijk (2001:353) also stated that "Since CDA is not a specific direction of research, it does not have a unitary theoretical framework…. there are many types of CDA, and there may be theoretically and analytically quite diverse." The methodologies applied to CDA studies differ to a great extent ranging from small qualitative case studies to large data corpora obtained from ethnography (Wodak, 2002:6). Any adequate method may be used in CDA research (Van Dijk, 2004 :25).

Any critical approach could be applied to CDA. This stems from the fact that CDA is a research approach that does not take things for granted. To explain this, Van Dijk, (2001:354) says:

Most kinds of CDA will ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts. Thus, the typical vocabulary of many scholars in CDA will feature such notions as 'power', 'dominance', 'hegemony,' 'ideology,' 'class,' 'gender,' 'race,' 'discrimination,' 'interest,' 'reproduction,' 'institutions,' 'social structure,' and 'social order'

Wodak (2002:14-15) provided ten basic principles of CDA:

1. The approach is interdisciplinary. Problems in our societies are too complex to be studied from a single perspective.
2. The approach is problem-oriented, rather than focused on specific linguistic items. Social problems are the items of research, such as "racism, identity, social change".
3. The theories as well as the methodologies are eclectic.
4. The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing.
5. The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary. This is a prerequisite for principle 4.
6. Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied.
7. The historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts.
8. The categories and tools for the analysis are defined in accordance with all these steps and procedures and also with the specific problem under investigation.
9. Grand Theories might serve as a foundation; in the specific analysis.
10. Practice and application are aimed at. The results should be made available to experts in different fields and, as a second step, be applied, with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices.

Discourse studies have at least seven dimensions in common (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:2):

1. an interest in the properties of 'naturally occurring' language use,
2. a focus on larger units than isolated words and sentences and, hence, new basic units of analysis: texts, discourses, conversations, speech acts, or   communicative events,
3. the extension of linguistics beyond sentence grammar,
4. the extension to non-verbal (semiotic, multimodal, visual) aspects of interaction and   communication: gestures, images, film, the internet, and multimedia,
5. a focus on dynamic (socio)-cognitive or interactional moves and strategies,
6. the study of the functions of (social, cultural, situational and cognitive) contexts of language use, and
7. an analysis of a vast number of phenomena of text grammar and language use: topics, macrostructures, speech acts, interactions, signs, politeness, rhetoric, and many other aspects of text and discourse.

The often quoted explanation of CDA was given by Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) as follows:

CDA sees discourse- language use in speech and writing- as a form of 'social practice', describing

discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discourse event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them. To put the same point in a different way, discourse is both socially constitutive as well as socially shaped: it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it…CDA sees itself not as dispassionate and objective social science, but as engaged and committed. It is a form intervention in social practice and social relations: many analysts are politically active against racism, or as feminists, or within the peace movement, and so forth… what is distinctive about CDA is that it intervenes on the side of dominated and oppressed group and against dominating groups, and that it openly declares the emancipatory interests that motivate it.

The purpose of CDA is "to expose how language is used in socio-political abuse of power: it is this that makes it such an important and influential development in applied linguistics" (Seidlhofer, 2003:131).

Discourse refers to the use of language in social contexts (Seidlhofer, 2003:133). Fairclaugh calls it "any reasonably systematic application of reasonably well-defined procedures to a reasonably well-defined body of data" (Seidlhofer, 2003: 148). Johnstone (2008:3) argues that we call what we do 'discourse analysis' rather than 'language analysis' because we are not centrally focused on language as an abstract system. Discourse is shaped by culture/setting, language, participant, prior discourse, medium, and purpose (Johnstone, 2000:124-6). "Discourse is both the source of knowledge (people's generalizations about language are made on the basis of the discourse they participate in) and the result of it (people apply what they already know in creating and interpreting new discourse)" (Ibid: 2008: 3). Unlike traditional linguistics, discourse analysts focus on language use 'beyond the sentence boundary' by 'naturally occurring' talks or signs, and not made-up examples. Gumperz (1997:40) affirms that "discourse consists of more than the sum of component utterances."

Mesthrie (2009:441) contends, "All sociolinguistic studies see language as dynamic and are concerned to document patterns of variation and change." Variation is the central concern of investigation into language in use."Why not everyone talks alike – and the relationship between linguistic variation and language change. Some are particularly interested in how ways of talking function displays people's social class, gender, ethnicity and social and personal identity…" (Johnstone, 2000:2). To quote Mesthrie:

> Sociolinguists have shown that variation and change in language go hand in hand. Change within a speech community are preceded by linguistic variation… on the other hand, if a change occurs in one speech community and not in another, such change is the cause of variation between the two communities (Mesthrie, 2009:110).

> Though it is difficult to assume that all linguistic variations are associated with social change, Bynon, (1977:199) claims, any social change assumes the existence of a linguistic variation. Mcdonough (2002:42) feels that previous researches in language in use established the presence of a relationship between differences in the speech of community members and social factors. Variation research provides knowledge about language change (Coulmas, 1998:8).

> Empirical evidence proves that the existence of purposeful uniqueness of language varieties in speech communities as a worldwide sociolinguistic phenomenon (Milroy, and Milroy, 1998:35; Mesthrie, 2009:159). Issues of power, inequality and other concerns as reflected in the functions of language are the objectives of the present study. Language has become a most important means of social power in the modern world (Mesthrie, 2009:313). More than the other research methods, critical research enables investigators to approach such complex issues of language use.

Result of the Study
Hegemonic Discourse Genre - Abstain from Work on Religious Holidays 'Balat'
'Bal mabbel' is abstaining from work on religious holidays. The Muslims firmly believe that God would punish them if they ignore abstaining work on Christian holidays. The Christians' discourses seem to have been owned by the Muslims.

Van Dijk (2001:355) states, "access to or control over public discourse and communication is an important (symbolic 'resource')." The 'balat' discourse have become one of a hegemonic kind. The informant mentioned an incident when a portion of the people ignored the holidays and worked, a storm came and selectively destroyed all their harvests. This is a sign of the wrath of God. He expressed his fear when he said, ''ᵊnña ʾᵊgzihär yälläm lämalät ʾälčalᵊnm. ʾähun bäñña bäkkul mäččäm täkᵊkkᵊl ʾᵊyäfärrädä näw,'/ 'We cannot say that God does not exist. He is doing justice in our area." He further says,

> yättälämmädäw balat ʾᵊyättabbälä näw. yätʾasu ʾägäroy näbbäru. yabälläwn ʾᵊzᵊh tᵊto yätʾasäwᵊn mättaw. ʾᵊnnäza yätʾasut säwoy täqätʾtʾu. das särᵊtäw ʾäbällu. bäbalat bäkul ʾäddäb ʾälu. balat tʾas tʾas bäläh dᵊhännät dolᵊkän ʾälä säw ʾᵊmᵊbi ʾälä. käzza nᵊssaš zärru bätʾam bällu. geta mälläso kᵊᵊnnal

bəlo... 'lədäta' 'balägəzihär', ʾäbbo', 'gäbərel', 'səllase', 'marəyam', 'giworgis', 'mikaˀel' yätäqot't'ärru balat ʾäyənnäkkum. (62)

The usual holiday is being observed. There were areas that violated it. The people who violated are selectively hit by storm. The violators were punished. They fed the people of the area as payment for their fault. Then they start observing Sabbath. They said to others 'you told us to violate the holidays but we were punished'. Then, they ploughed again and had good harvest. They said God forgive us again… 'Lideta, BaleGzihar, Abo, Gebriel, Trinity, Mary, George, Michael, and these selected holidays are observed.

As explained in the above extract, the Muslims own the discourse. According to Van Dijk (2001:355), "those groups who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of others." Fairclough also says, "Crucial in the enactment or exercise of group power is the control over the structures of text and talk" (2001:5). The social dominance legitimizes the culture of the dominant group by default. The discourse continues,

käslamoččʉ ga ʾänd sərfa nän. märetu ʾänd lay təlähonä ʾəslamum bäñña kəlləl tädəb bälay yalläw balat yämit'əsäwn qesun ʾəyäsäddäbut naččäw. balätu ʾənditabbäl yarägut ʾəslamoč naččäw. (63)

We live with the Muslims in the same area. Because the land is shared between us, the Muslims who are within our region insult the priests who simply see when people violate the holidays. The Muslims strive hard to make sure the holidays are observed without work.

The Muslims are protecting the 'balat' practice as explained in the above talk. Discourse owned by socially powerful people influence ideas and actions of less powerful groups (Wodak, 2002; Van Dijk, 2001:355). The result is social inequality and deviating from own culture. The Muslims go against the teaching of their religion partly willingly because of the social dominance of the macro-culture of the Christians. The Muslims say,

lägəbərənnaw tännantä ʾännanəsm gən zawəyyawm qadiwm biläfälləf ʾəñña märetu sälälämmäddä ʾənabəlallän ʾälu. təkässəb wəyyä mata tasmättahut mən t'äqqämäñ; yät'asut säwoy tämärät'u mäqqač'a käfəläw tägänət'əlo ʾəzzəh gäbba. läballäfä ʾəqät't'allähu ʾälä. balat mälləso quč' ʾälä. yäbuddnənna yäzawəyya ləfəläfa bäktwal. ʾällähən barəkəllən bälän tallamännən ʾällahəs bihon ʾänətän ʾämmänəku bälän talabbäln bäman qumän mannən ʾənnamallän; (64)

The Muslims said that they are as good as the Christians in terms of farming but they do not work on the selected holidays because the farm was never ploughed in holidays. They do not listen to the Sheikhs nor to the Mosques when told otherwise. What would I benefit if I plough the whole day and it is hit by storm at night? The people who violated were punished but they follow the old order again. They were willing to pay for the damage they did in the past. The holiday became the norm again. The group and Mosques' shout did not do any good. If we do not believe in God and have him bless our work, it will not work. Allah will not hear us unless we observe the holidays saying that we believe in him. Who can we gossip about when all our fate is determined by Him?

As the above extract explains it, the Muslims totally own the discourse of balat. This is in conformity with what Fairclough (2001:3) says, "Inculcation is a matter of, in the current jargon, people coming to own discourses, to position themselves inside them, to act and think and talk and see themselves in terms of new discourses." However, once in a while, the question of 'When do we work?' comes along. The whole discourse of 'balat' as a chunk belongs to the macro culture of the Amhara Christians. "Also crucial in the enactment or exercise of group power is control not only over content, but over the structures of text and talk" (Van Dijk, 2001:356). Both the content and the structure of the discourse belong to the Christians. Therefore, in order for the speech group to act on the discourse, they have to accept both the content and the form of the discourse as a whole.

The people believe that 'balat' does not ask too much. It is just abstaining from work. The following clarifies this.

yäñña balat ʾät'ər mat'är kab mäkab käbət maggäd' dinga mälqäm' ʾəhəl mäwqät ʾäyəkäläkkəl. ʾərəša' ʾäräm' ʾäč'äda quffäran ʾänd ʾəhudn bäsamənətənna yätäqot't'äru balatn mätäw. (65)

Our holiday does not ban us from making compound, organizing bricks, shepherding, collecting stones, and grinding grain. It bans plowing, weeding, cutting grain with sickle, and digging only on Sabbath and on some selected days each week.

The informant listed down the days when they are required to abandon work. They are ldäta፥ balägzihär፥ ʾäbo፥ gäbrel፥ səlase፥ maryam፥ giworgisinna mikaˀel. Ldeta (1st), Balegzihar (29th), Abo (5th), Gebrel (19th), Trinity (7th), Mary (21st), George (23rd) and Michael (12th) day of each month. According to him, these days are observed in their area and people can do making fences, taking cattle to grazing areas, collecting stones and grinding grains. Only such things are allowed on those days.

Instead, the 'Balat' requires people to avoid digging, plowing, and things related to harvesting. The people are required to abandon work on these days and other days around where a church is found. For instance, the neighboring areas also abandon work on 24th (ተክለሀይማኖት täklähäymanot) because of a nearby church. All these holidays and Sundays are observed.

There are people who resist the discourse. There are Muslims who do not own the discourse in its real sense, and work on holidays claiming that they cannot afford to spend all these days without work. CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:9). The resistant group insist that they do not own the discourse. The government also go against the observance of the days as the informant explained it in the excerpt (66).

> bandand bolätika ʾənaqallän bämmilu ʾägär täwärro kärämmä. budnəm ʾäddebwalä. yäkärrätu yäbəǧǧətu näwənəǧ balat t'asu yämmiläw bärdwal.

> The area was troubled by some who think they know politics. The group stays away now. They talk of the land improvement and they do not talk of holidays anymore.

As Van Dijk (2001:355) says, "Power is not always exercised in obviously abusive acts of dominant group members, but may be enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted action of everyday life." So, even though there is no direct coercion to observe the holidays, the Muslims are indirectly made to own it. In places where there is a church, people abstain from work on the days of the saint after which the church is named. The Muslims of the area take this discourse for granted as explained in the following.

> Tabot yalläbbät täkləyyän ʾäyənäkum yäkəlləllu ʾägär näw. tabot yalläbbät mädəhäniʾälämn ʾäyənäkum yäkəlləllu ʾägär näw. ʾənna ʾənnəsärawallän. käkəlləll wäda yabbəlall. ʾähun käzänədəro ǧämmərrän mabbäl ǧämmərränal. ʾənenna goräbetoččä ʾəslamoč ʾənnabbəlallän bälän mäkəränal. bäqərenna bäkkəlləll balləna səraw biläyayyəm ʾät'äfabbən täläyəh ʾəslamənna ʾämara yabbəlall. (67)

> Around the area where Ark of the Covenant of Teklye's church is found, the people do not work on the day. Around the area where Ark of the Covenant of Medhanialem's church is found, the people abstain from work on the day. We work on the day. The people within that region do not work on the days. From this year onwards, we will not work on the day either. I and my Muslim neighbors agreed that we will not work on the day from now on. Even though the social gathering in the area set the days on which we should work, we trust more on the storm that destroys our farm. So, both Muslims and Amaras have decided to abstain from work on these days.

In the discourse of 'balat', there is a belief that magician knows when to abstain from work. They want to rely on the knowledge of magician as to which dates to abstain from work. There is a mix of religion and traditional belief operating as shown in the coming extract.

> ʾäyənamma tätägäññä t'äyyəqän ʾənabbəlallän bälän ʾäbbəlänall. kəlləllu qərb näw. gənəssa 06 tämäkinaw wädäzzih dənəbäraččən ʾäyč'ämmərm bəloʾənña mado yabbo läta yarəsallu ʾənña ʾənnabbəlallän. ʾähəl ʾäyagäññum tada. ʾənña ʾəgəzihär yälläm lämalät ʾäləčalənnəm. ʾähun bäñña bäkul mäčäm täkəkkəl ʾəyäfärrädä näw. (68)

> We have decided that we will ask those who know and observe the holidays. The boundary is near. The people farthest from us do not celebrate the holidays saying that district 06 is beyond the main road and does not include our area but we insist on observing and we still do so. They do not harvest much though. We cannot say God does not exist. In our area, he is doing justice.

Still the people in the macro-culture put pressure on the minority group to own their discourse genre. The Muslims have no choice but to act according to the macro discourse. In support of this, Vn Dijk (2001:355) says,

> groups have (more or less) power if they are able to (more or less) control the acts and minds of (Members of) other groups. This ability presupposes a power base of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, culture, or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication.

Because the macro-culture insists observing the holiday, any action otherwise is not excused. This is shown in the next excerpt.

> ʾändand ʾəslaməm betäsäkiyanu sär t'ämədo yəwəlal. bəzuw ʾəslam näw tamaraw yəbäl:ət'al. kərəsətiyanu sänbäte yət'ät't'al. ʾäyarrəməm. yämiyarəsäw yarəsal gən mərät yälläm. ʾəslamu yämayabbəläw yarsal gən mərät yälläm. mabbäl ʾälläbbät. (69)

> Some Muslims plow right next to the church. The majority are Muslims; they are more than the Amhara in number. The Christians have Sabbath festivals. They do not plow on the day. Those who plow never get good harvest. The Muslims who do not observe the holidays plow, but they never harvest much. They should abstain from work on these days.

As shown in the above excerpt, the practice of the Muslims who do not believe in the 'Balat' is considered wrong. They are expected to follow the same tradition because their farm is in the territory where the churches are found. As Van Dijk (2001:355) stated "The power of dominant groups may be integrated in laws, rules, norms, habits and even a quite general consensus, and take the form of … 'hegemony.'" Language has been a central medium of cultural hegemony (Dell Hymes, 1996: 84). The macro Amhara speech group dominates the Muslims and the relationship is based on the hegemony which it imposes; it establishes the rule of life and the legitimate norm of communication.

Conclusion

As Van Dijk (2001:355) says, "Power is not always exercised in obviously abusive acts of dominant group members, but may be enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted action of everyday life." Hence, though there is no direct coercion to observe the holidays, the Muslims are indirectly forced to own the hegemonic discourse genre.

In places where there is a church, people abstain from work on the days of the saint after which the church is named. The Muslims of the area have to observe this and abide by the rule of 'abstain from work on such religious holidays' so long as they reside in that area. In case they don't believe in the matter, they cannot act otherwise. If they do, there would be social exclusion, payment or other punishments. Hence, this discourse genre is hegemonic – owned without innocent consent. The discourse is owned by imposition.

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