A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF SUBA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES

BY

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Declaration

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

Signature…………………………………………. Date …………………….
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This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University supervisors.

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Dedication

This project is dedicated to my loving mother

Mrs. Wilfridah Adhiambo Ongaro.

Thank you for your endless support and encouragement.

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B	Brother
C	Child
CL1	Class one
D	Daughter
F	Father
FB	Father's brother
FBC	Father's brother's child
FBD	Father's brother's daughter
FBS	Father's brother's son
FZ	Father's sister
FZC	Father's sister's child
FZD	Father's sister's daughter
FZS	Father's sister's son
M	Mother
MB	Mother's brother
MBC	Mother's brother's child
MBD	Mother's brother's daughter
MBS	Mother's brother's son
MZ	Mother's sister
MZC	Mother's sister's child
MZD	Mother's sister's daughter
MZS	Mother's sister's son
Pl	Plural
Pr	Prefix
S	Son
Sg	Singular
Z	Sister

ABSTRACT

This study is a semantic analysis of Suba kinship terms using Frame Semantic Theory. One of the ways of preserving a dying language is by writing about it; *Olusuba* is grouped among the endangered languages in Kenya. The focus of the study was to discuss the terms used to refer to different kinship relations in *Olusuba*. The main factor that forms kinship relations is genealogical relationships, therefore, even though kinship terminologies are mainly based on biological relations, social relations also form part of these kinship terms. Furthermore, differences in languages brings out the differences in kinship terminologies from one society to another. Cultural difference with regard to organization, structure, content and meaning of this kinship terms is the most important aspect that makes these kinship terms different.

The study examined *Olusuba* kinship terms by discussing how the culture of *Olusuba* forms the background to the meanings of their kinship terms. The focus was on *Olwivwang'ano* dialect spoken in Mfangano Island, where this study's data was collected. Seven participants who were 36 to 83 years old were interviewed in the process of data collection. The process used in data collection was a focused group discussion.

Through this study, it was established that Suba made use of both classificatory and descriptive system of classification. Suba is a patriarchal society as lineage is carried through the male line. There is a distinction between the consanguine and affine kin in Suba community. Different kinship terms profile different frames and some of these frames form sub frames. There are attitudes associated with specific kinship terms hence qualifying them to be prototypical.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0. Introduction

This chapter deals with the background of Suba language, background on kinship terminologies, statement of the research problem, research questions, objectives, justification, scope and limitation; definition of terms, literature review both on Suba language and kinship terminologies, theoretical framework and lastly methodology.

1.1.   Background to the Language

Mhando (2008, p. 13) states that the Suba people settled in Kenya after migrating from Uganda in 1970. They are categorized under the Bantu speakers. He further explains that Suba was a name given to the Suba people by the Luo, but their actual name is Abakunta. Most of them are found in Rusinga, Mfangano, Gembe, Kaksingiri and Gwasi. Those who settled in these areas were known at first as the Abasuba; after adopting Luo culture, they were then known as Luo-Abasuba, hence their categorization under the Luo speakers. *Olusuba* is the language spoken by the Suba people. There were six dialects of *Olusuba* which were spoken in Kenya according to Ayot (1987), and Rotland and Okombo (1986). They include: *Olwivwang'ano* (spoken in Mfangano, Rusinga, Takawiri and Kibwogi Islands), *Ekikuna* (Kaksingiri), *Ekingoe (*Ngeri), *Ekigase* (Gwasi hills), *Ekisusuuna* (Migori) lastly, *Olumuulu* (Muhuru bay). Of the six dialects, four are extinct while *Olwivwang'ano* and *Ekigase* are still in use. Moreover, according to Ochieng (2013, p. 2) the two dialects are however very closely related morphologically and the *Olwivwang'ano* dialect, of the two, is the dominant since it has more speakers. The Suba speakers are mainly found on Mfangano Island. Mhando (2008, p.14), states that a distinction can be made in areas where Suba language is spoken. The language shows considerable variation concerning the degree of competence of speakers as follows:

1. Strong areas – Mfangano and Muhuru; where there is a strong communication in Suba language

2. Median area – Gwasi, Kaksingiri and Suna; where the standard of Suba competence is not uniform on average lower, and where Suba language is not strongly used.

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3. Weak areas – Rusinga and Gembe; where Suba is the "secret language" of a few old people.

Mfangano and Muhuru are considered to be strong areas because majority of the Suba people living in this area can fluently speak *Olusuba*, and it is the major language that they use for communication as compared to the median and weak areas. The Suba speakers therefore are mainly found on Mfangano Island.

According to the census that was conducted in 2010, it was established that the Suba language speakers were 139,271. Majority of Suba speakers are unable to speak their language fluently as illustrated by Ogone (2008, p. 249), who states that both the Suba language and culture in some parts where Suba people live are highly endangered and in other parts the language is even extinct. UNESCO (2007) established that Suba people were highly influenced by their Luo neighbors resulting in language shift, such that most Suba people are now bilingual as they can speak both *Olusuba* and Luo. This study also revealed that the ones who could speak the Suba language fluently were the older generation while majority of the younger generation spoke Luo fluently, but they understood *Olusuba*.

Suba language was almost extinct in 1995, for this reason, the government came up with a way of revitalizing the language through the help of the local community. This led to a majority of the Suba speakers learning how to speak and write in their language. Despite this effort the language is still considered to be under threat according to Ogone (2008, p.215). Grimes (2000) as cited by Ochieng (2013, p. 4) states that one way of preserving an endangered language and those languages that are considered to be minority is by studying them.

The focus on Suba language study most of the time, is on describing the identity of Suba people and measures that should be taken to revive the language. Suba people identity still raises a concern as they are still known as Luo-Abasuba; subset of Luo yet Luo are Nilotic while Suba people are Bantu. Ayot (1987) gives an explanation on how the Suba people migrated to Luo land and the circumstances that led to their assimilation which almost caused the death of the language and culture by giving the history of Suba people. Mhando (2008) states that the Suba or Abasuba are

Bantu speaking people who came from all over East Africa although majority came from Uganda after the death of Kabaka Junju around 1760. The two groups came into contact somewhere in the mid-19th century, after the expansion of the Luo people southwards for the purpose of expanding their territories, leading them to Suba territories in which they occupied after migrating to Kenya. Considering the fact that the Luo population was bigger than the Suba, after living together for a while, the Suba people started acquiring both Luo language and their customs, which led to them being called Luo-Abasuba.

Intermarriage, education, evangelization and trade are some of the factors that accelerated the rate of assimilation. Administrators and missionaries were under the assumption that the Suba people were Luo and therefore accessed them through the Luo. As time went by, majority of the Suba people became assimilated linguistically as most of the Suba people started speaking in Dholuo as either their first or second language. Rotland and Okombo (1986) examine the consequences of the disappearing Suba language in relation to the culture of the people. According to them one of the cause of language death is due to the loss of culture and tradition. As the culture and tradition are linked to a language so is the independence of the ethnic group that speaks the language. Thus, the loss of a language goes hand in hand with the loss of the culture, traditions and identity of that particular ethnic group. Rotland and Okombo, (1986) state that the interdependency between language and culture is such that none of them can be healthy when the other is unhealthy. The cornerstone of any culture and society is language. It cements the unique identity of a group; the concerns and needs of a community are expressed in its language.

They further stated that during 1940s, the Suba revitalization started to be felt with the objective of balancing the supremacy of Luo administration in areas occupied by Bantu speakers. However, this was not successful as there was lack of support from the government who started it while the Suba people were also losing interest in this process of language revitalization as they felt excluded from it.

Fifty years later, another form of revitalization was experienced this time directed by the government of Kenya being supported by the Suba people and non-governmental organizations in favor of maintenance of the Suba culture and language. The first step was initiating the teaching

of Suba language project in certain primary schools in Suba districts through the help of the Ministry of Education. The following actions were kept in place for the revitalization to be successful: Suba language was introduced as a subject in primary schools, events such as cultural festivals and sports were initiated, radio service in Suba language was also developed. In addition to all these, at the Kenya Institute of Education, a board was created for this reason. Non-governmental organizations such as Bible Translation and Literacy with Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) also participated by helping with learning, interpretation and documentations in Suba language. The success of this was realized in 2010 after the New Testament was published in Suba language.

Ogone (2008) discusses why the revival of *Olusuba* language was never successful. He focusses on the introduction of Suba language teaching in the indigenous primary school. The main reason for the failure of revitalization was that the community was not given ownership of this project. Ogone's claim was supported by Grimes (2000) and UNESCO (2007) who stated that the affected community should take the center stage in the process of reviving their language, the local community should be given the full responsibility for the renewal process.

Ogone (2008) further states that after thirteen years, it seems unlikely that the programme is making any progress. This is because of the lack of survey before beginning the programme so that it can be designed appropriately within the prevailing circumstances. This should be done through occasional evaluation so as to determine whether the objectives, plans and tactics needs to be adjusted. The following should be taken into consideration: language should be learnt well by the learners; useful materials should be developed and ways in which the programme can be improved should also be developed.

1.2. Background to the Study

Satarupa (2010, p.180) views kinship relations as terms which are used to refer to those who we relate to through blood and marriage. Kinship relation consists of relation between children, siblings, parents and the relationship developed through parents extending to distant relatives. Leach (1958, p.143) on the other hand, view kinship terms as words which help in identifying different categories of people in a given society where one is born.

Wen and Min, (2007) as cited by Oyioka et al (2015, p.896) state that kinship terminology systems can be seen in human language by the way in which they address each other. Factors such as marriage, blood relation, sex and age are normally taken into consideration in a given society for kinship terminologies. In general, kinship terms are those terms used by different communities to address people who are related to them either through marriage, blood or sometimes through adoption. Leach (1974, p.238) states that though kinship terms are universal, they vary due to different cultures in different communities.

Kinship is thus based on descent, and what first determines the character of a kinship system is the way in which descent is recognized and reckoned. One principle that may be adopted is the simple cognatic principle. To define the kin of a given person his descent is traced back to a certain number of generations; this can be one's four grandparents or eight great-grand parents or still further. All recognized ancestors who are descendants through both female and male generation form the cognates. The limit of tracing one's ancestors may simply be a practical one depending on the inability to trace the genealogical connections, or there may be a theoretically fixed limit beyond which the genealogical connection does not count for social purposes.

Kinship terms are found in the system of naming relatives in a particular language. These terminologies are different from one language to the other. Trask (2007, p.128) explains this by stating that: "The scope for variation is enormous, but anthropological linguists have found that most kinship systems can be analyzed into fairly orderly combinations of a few semantic features, such as [male/female ego], [male/female referent], [older/younger], [ascending/descending generation]". Kinship terminologies are the terms used in a particular language to name relatives. Relation with one's kin is mainly based on genealogy.

1.3.   Statement of the Research Problem

Kinship terminologies studies have great importance as they help in understanding the organization of relations in a given community. Mashiri (2003, p.205) who did a study on Shona speakers states that studies done on African language and societies especially on kinship terms are markedly unavailable. His assertion is supported by Fasold (1990, p.30) who states that "indigenous languages of the western hemisphere and African languages have received much less attention."

This study endeavors to analyze *Olusuba* kinship terminologies in order to establish how many generations, both ascending and descending, from the ego are captured in the Suba kinship terminologies. The study will also investigate how the Suba kinship terms are used to refer to different relations. The Frame Semantic theory will be used in describing the identified Suba kinship terms.

1.4. Research Questions

The research will address the following research questions:
  i.   What are the kinship terms used in *Olusuba*?
  ii.   How are kinship terms in Suba classified?
  iii. Which frames exist in *Olusuba* kinship terms?

1.5. Objectives of the Study

  i.   To identify and describe *Olusuba* kinship terms.
  ii.   To classify Suba kinship terms.
  iii. To analyze the frames which exist in *Olusuba* kinship using Frame Semantic approach.

1.6. Justification of the study

Suba language is endangered and one of the ways of preserving a language is writing about it. This justifies the need for this study. To the best of my knowledge, no studies has been done on the Suba kinship terms. This will therefore contribute linguistically to the field of semantics. It also contributes in preserving the language and also in understanding its kinship terminologies. By

conducting this research, it will be known whether patrilineal kin or the matrilineal kin is emphasized in the kinship terminologies of the Suba community. The study of kinship system of any given society assists in the understanding of the social organization of that particular society. The responsibilities and positions held by different members of the society is clearly shown in their kinship system.

The study of minority language indicates that all languages are equally important. The study of indigenous language enables the written literature to be used as a source of education materials and it also enhances the preservation of the language for future generations. Kinship terminologies are normally studied by anthropologists whose main interest is to study the culture of human society and their development. From a linguist perspective, kinship terminologies are analyzed by paying keen attention to how terms are formed and the relationship between the morphemes that form a particular kin term. In addition to studying the culture of the people through their kinship terminologies, a linguist brings in a new perspective. Semantics plays a major role in exploring the representation of kinship systems both in the language and in the mind of native speakers of a given language as the interpretation of kinship terms relies on the culture of a given community.

1.7. Scope and Limitations of the study

Only one dialect of Suba will be studied, *Olwivwang'ano* spoken in Mfangano. The dialect spoken in Gwasi (*Ekigase*) will not be studied because of lack of resources and time. The Mfangano dialect was chosen mainly because it is the dialect spoken by majority of the Suba people in Kenya. The research conducted may be treated as the representation of the Suba language but not as an exhaustive examination of the Kinship terms in *Olusuba* as it only relies on one dialect of the language. Written material on Suba language especially in relation to its linguistic analysis were inadequate forcing the researcher to solely rely on the collected data. The study will only be based on analysis of kinship terms using Frame Semantics approach.

1.8. Definition of terms.

Frames: Related concepts which requires understanding of the entire structure to enable understanding of a single concept. (Fillmore 1982, p.111)

Prototype: The background which forms the definition of the meaning of a word. (Fillmore 1982, p.118)

Ego: One's self point of view in the description of relations. (Wordpress.com 2016)

Bilateral: Tracing of kinship relatives through both parents, mother and father ancestors. Relations are traced through both sides of relatives. (Keesing 1975, p.147).

Clan: Category of group of people who are related but cannot specify how their genealogical connections link them to their ancestors. (Keesing 1975, p.148)

Lineal kin: Those descendants or ancestors who are directly related to the ego. (Fasnafan 2011, p.191)

Collateral kin: Consist of ego's sisters and brothers and their lineal kin and also their descendants. (Fasnafan 2011, p.192)

Classificatory system: People are classified into kinship classes in relation to the rules of abstract relation which takes into consideration the local genealogical relation. For example, the relation between daughter to mother to father. In this system of classification, collateral terminology is similar to lineal kinship terminologies, for example, referring to both mother and her sister as mother. (Wordpress.com 2016)

Cognatic Descent: It is a descent in which all links that connects a descendant to the ancestors are included. (Wolters 1999, p.17)

Consanguinity: A state of having blood relation with someone, the relation is through blood and not marriage. (Keesing 1975, p.148)

Affine: Being related to someone through marriage. (Read 2015, p.61)

Descent: Forming a relationship through linkage to ancestors. (Read 2013, p.10)

Patrilineal descent: Tracing of kin via the father's lineage. (Keesing 1975, p.148)

Matrilineal descent: Tracing of kin via mother's lineage. (Keesing 1975, p.148)

Descriptive kinship term: The ego gives a definite term of reference to the relative he/she is addressing. (Wordpress.com 2016)

Alter: An individual whose relation is being indicated; for example, a female ego referring to her mother's sister as 'aunt' while the alter responds with a 'niece.' (Read 2013, p.3)

Bifurcation: A distinction made of one type kin into two e.g. in *Olusuba*; mother's brother is *kooza* while father's brother is *salaaga* (Read 2015, p.62)

1.9. Literature Review

1.9.1. Literature on the Suba Language

Okumu (2005) analyzes the function and forms of nominalization in *Olusuba* by discussing the function of nominalization as a derivation process. He achieves this through a detailed discussion on the prefixes and suffixes morphemes that are used as nominalizers in the production of nominalized forms in *Olusuba* language. He concludes that the nominal forms are derived from verbs, adjectives and adverbs in the expression of those entities that are not in the language. He also discusses the grammatical and pragmatic of the nominalized forms by ascertaining their functions in discourse. The current study will benefit from this study when the discussion of the formation of some of the *Olusuba* kinship terms will be taking place.

Mhando (2008) explores the oral tradition of the Suba language by highlighting the oral traditions and cultural practices, naming and expressions in Suba language. He also discusses marriage and death ceremonies, Suba beliefs, traditional music and oral expressions and how oral traditions and knowledge were transmitted in Suba community. He explains all this by also focusing on how some of these traditions have been lost due to the assimilation process. Although he mentions some of the Suba kinship terms, he does not discuss them in details as he focusses on discussing the traditions of Suba community. The current study therefore discusses the Suba kinship terms in details.

Mattah (2011) published a book on *Olusuba* language by discussing the alphabets and sounds found in *Olusuba*. He hoped to revive the Suba language by teaching the Suba youths and adults their mother tongue through his book. The aim was on motivating Suba youths in learning their native language. Alphabets and sounds discussed in this book helps the current study especially when the researcher will be writing down the recorded discussion on Suba kinship terminologies. The information in this book is also beneficial to the current study as some of the kinship terms are mentioned in it even though they are not analyzed.

Ochieng (2013) examines the morphosyntactic structure of the Suba language. In this study, she explains how the nouns of *Olusuba* are organized into noun classes. Each of these noun classes having different affixes to mark the singular nouns and the plural nouns. The use of vowel initially has everything to do with the class of noun that it is associated with. The function of the initial vowel is to indicate the form of the noun, its singular or plural form. This completely depends on the class of the noun. She gives an example of bound prefixes in the word *o-m-wala* (daughter) in which the *o-* and *m-* indicates the noun class and the number of the noun in *Olusuba*. Ochieng's study and grouping of *Olusuba* noun classes will be beneficial in the current study as it will help in indicating the noun classes of Suba kinship terms. Through this study, the singular and plural forms of Suba kinship terms will be discussed. Ochieng listed down some of the kinship terms found in Suba language which will be of great assistance to the current study.

1.9.2. Literature on Kinship Studies

Morgan (1871) studied the Iroquois kinship system in which he discovered that a single term can be used while referring to several relations. He discovered that in the Iroquois system one's own father, his brothers and cousins are referred to using a term that means father. The same case applies to one's own mother, her sisters and cousins whom are also referred to using the same term that means mother. Relatives in the grandparent generation are all referred to as a grandparent while those in the children generation are referred to using the same term one uses to refer to their own children. Morgan came up with two types of classifying kinship terminologies, the type that merges one's own father with his brothers and cousins under one name was referred to as classificatory system of classification. This system contains collateral relatives like cousins, aunt or uncle. The second type of classification was descriptive system which consisted of words referring to lineal relatives like mother, grandmother and great grandmother. In the descriptive system F, FB and MB are referred to using distinct terms.

There can be the use of both classificatory and the descriptive principle of naming relatives by the same community to help in referring to a specific genealogical relation between two people. Classificatory terminologies are made up of simple phrases in which relatives both near and far

are classified. Primary terms are used in descriptive system of classification to refer to close relatives while compound terms are generated from the primary terms to refer to distant relatives. It is a general characteristic of classificatory terminologies that the father's brother is called 'father' and the mother's sister 'mother'. When we come to the mother's brother and the father's sister, there is a possible choice between two different structural principles. One may be called the 'generation' principle. Through Morgan's classification system, we will try to establish which mode of kinship classification is used in Suba culture, or whether the Suba people merges the two system of classification by using both of them in some cases. If one's own father, his brothers, cousins are referred to using the same term that means father in the Suba culture then the classificatory system will be used.

Mayer (1965) conducted a study on kinship relation in Abagusii. She discusses how the clan in Abagusii affected kinship terminologies as majority of the kinship terms can be used to refer to majority of people who are in the same clan. The Abagusii kinship terminologies according to her accommodate all members and ancestors from the same clan. *Olusuba* just like Abagusii is categorized under the Bantu languages, through this study, the current study establishes whether in the Suba culture there are specific kin terms used to refer to relatives sharing the same clan. This study also helps the current study by establishing if the exogamy rule that prevents people belonging to the same clan from getting married in Abagusii also applies in the Suba culture.

Fox (1967) discusses how different cultures develop kinship terms differently. For example, male relation to the ego from either side of the parents can be called using the same word. Though some systems refer to both the father and the father's brother using the same word, some differentiate how they call the mother's brother. Fox describes this second system as being related to the marriage custom of a particular community. In cases where both father and his brother are called using the same term, it means that father's brother can become the father to the ego. The current study will discuss the different kinship terms and how the Suba culture affects their kinship relations by indicating how different relatives relate to each other.

Kuper (1967) conducted a study on kinship terminologies in Swazi. By discussing how numerous relatives were referred to using different kinship terms. Through this study, it was concluded that

both paternal descent and maternal descent shared some kinship terminologies. In his study, he found out that Swazi generation goes up to five generations; from the ego, two descending and two ascending. The current study will find out how many generations both ascending and descending from the ego are captured in Suba kinship terminologies. It will also be proven whether some paternal terms are shared with maternal terms.

(Sahlins 1962) explains how kinship terms are sometimes used with reference to strangers by just having one common relative to elaborate the mutual relationship that exist even without taking much consideration if there is a genealogical relationship. Therefore, if A is related to B as nephew to aunt, then it is automatic that the child of B is related to A even if they have never met because it is easy to predict kin terms. This process is known as kin term mapping. Different frames are developed through kin term mapping. This study will be helpful while the discussion of frames on different kinship terminologies will be taking place.

Benjamin (1999) classified kinship terminologies in Temier under bilateral system which considers the relations on both sides of female and male. The kinship terminology distinction is made in Temier in relation to gender, age, generation level and collaterality and consanguine versus affine kin. In addition to descriptive and classificatory system, the current study will make use of gender, age, generation, collaterality and consanguine versus affine kin to group kinship terminologies in Suba.

Read (2000) formally analyzed kinship terminologies and what kinship is made up of. He established who accordance to culture is to be considered kin. He emphasized that kinship terminologies are connected to the categories found in our society and specific relation which are not necessarily drawn on genitor and genetrix. He suggested that in English, the term mother can be used just as a kin term by not bringing out its aspect of genealogy. The sentence *my mother's name is Ann* has two meanings, it can either mean that Ann gave birth to the ego and therefore both ego and Ann have a kin relationship. It can also mean that Ann is not the one who gave birth to the ego because the ego was adopted. Even though in the second scenario Ann is not biologically related to the ego, since she performs the duties of a mother to ego, she qualifies to be the ego's

mother. This study is of great significance to the current study in the discussion of step children and step parent relationship.

Levinson (2002) discusses kinship terminologies in Rossel Island language by stating that: kin-type string knowledge is not the only thing that forms Rossel kinship terms, the important thing, for instance, so as to refer to an individual X using a certain kinship terminology, is to have in mind the kinship term that oneself can use to refer to X. He gives the following example: X I call a *tide* "sister" calls X a *tp:ee* "my child," then I can call X a *chene* "my nephew," without having the faintest idea of genealogical connection to X. The figuring out of kinship terms is based on the ego which can be defined as one's self or, genealogically stating, a class which has the ego as lone member. The ego refers to one's self as the object of reference; the referent point from whom the other relations are formed, either ascending or descending relations. Through this study, the current study will make a distinction in relation to how the gender of the ego affects kinship terminologies in Suba.

Mashiri (2003) studied how Shona interacted in urban areas and the kind of kinship terms they use while doing so. His study revealed how the native speakers of Shona used kinship terms while addressing each other even those who are not related to them – not members of the same kinship. The study focused on the meaning of these social kinship terminologies as a way of address. The present study will explain how some kin term of address are used in the Suba culture for social purposes; while addressing people who have no kin relation to the ego.

Read (2015) states that terms of reference, overtly express the kinship relation understood to apply between the individuals of concern. According to him, the terms of reference used by societal members' form what anthropologists refer to as a kinship terminology. Through kinship terminologies, each and every society has a set of reference terms that expresses kinship relations, therefore making kinship terminologies to be a universal aspect of each and every community. Communities differ on the system used to identify relatives. Kinship terminologies systematic study has its origin on the seminal work of Morgan (1871) as cited by Read (2015) in the mid-nineteenth century in which he studied the structural differences among kinship terminologies of different societies. Morgan based his systematic study of kinship terminologies on the Seneca

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(Iroquois) Indians. He did this by interviewing respondents and inquiring terms used for particular genealogical relations. These relations were grouped under lineal and collateral genealogical relations which were defined in relation to the speaker as the speaker formed the referent point from which other relatives were formed. This study will be useful to the current study as the two principle; lineal and collateral will be used in the classification of Suba kinship terminologies.

Kawira (2014) studied kinship terminologies used in Kimeru. She explained how different kinship terms were used in Kimeru to refer to different kinship relations. She concluded that Kimeru kinship system was similar to that the Iroquois as one kinship term could be used for several relations. For instance, there was no difference between the term used for father and his brother; she connected this to certain duties and responsibilities that are attributed to a relative as one of the reasons why a single term is used for several relations.   Her study is similar to the current study as the theory used to analyze kinship terminologies is the same theory that will be used to analyze the Suba kinship terminologies; although to some extend it will differ from it as the culture of the two communities are completely different.

Kemunto (2016) carried out a research on kinship terminologies used in *Ekegusii* language. This study focused on the dialect of the Maate. She analyzed the kinship terms in a semantic way by trying to find out whether this community uses the same kinship terms to refer to different relations. Kemunto also analyzed how the community's culture affected kinship terminologies. It was clear from her study that the *Ekegusii* kinship system, which is classificatory, consisted of the entire father's clan. This study will be useful in the current study as Kemunto used Frame Semantic theory in her study which is the same theory that will be adapted in the current study; even though there is cultural difference between the two communities which in turn will help in figuring out whether the Suba people make use of the classificatory system. Her study also focused on the reference terms versus address terms which are found in *Ekegusii* system of kinship terminologies. The current study will also try to figure out whether the Suba culture make distinction between terms of reference versus terms of address.

1.10.   Theoretical Framework

Frame Semantics was developed in the mid-1970 by Charles Fillmore as cited by Gawron (2008, p. 2). It is composed of three principles: Frame, Prototype and profile. Fillmore's categorization of verbs and clauses through the semantic roles of predicates' arguments were taken to be important in case frame. Fillmore (1982, p.115) states that 'Case Frames characterizes abstract scene or situation and therefore, understanding the structure of the verb semantically, involves understanding the verbs' properties and the schematized scenes'. He states that in the paper written earlier on Frame Semantics, a difference was made between scene and frame, scene being seen as a cognitive, theoretical or experiential entity and frame was seen as a linguistic one. Later on, frame was seen as a cognitive entity whose parts were linked to the parts similar to a particular word for interpretive purpose.

According to Fillmore(1997a), the meaning of a word is dependent on the scene against which that word is formed. With frame, understanding concept result in understanding the whole system because the concepts are related and the introduction of a single concept makes the other concept to be automatically available.

Fillmore (1982, p.116-117) explains this notion using Commercial Transaction Frame which must consist of money, buyer, seller and goods. The frame for such an event has the form of a scenario containing roles that we can identify as the buyer, the seller, the goods and the money, containing sub events within which the buyer surrenders the money and takes the goods and the seller surrenders the goods and takes the money. Having institutional understandings associated with the ownership changes that take place between the beginning and the end of each such event; for understanding any of these verbs (sell, buy, pay, cost, spend charge etc.) one must be familiar with the situation in commercial transaction as any of these verbs activates the entire system of Commercial Transaction Frame in the mind of anybody who comes across them. To know the meaning of one of the verbs involves understanding and knowing the meaning of the remaining verbs. Commercial Transaction Frame background makes it possible for the meanings of these verbs to be understood. Linguistically, speakers and hearers are able to create a frame in their minds any time they encounter words by just locating where the words are situated.

According to Fillmore the background for a set of words is presented by a single idea. For example, the idea of *marriage* gives the background of the following words: wedding, fiancé, bride, groom, honeymoon, wife, in-law etc. Once a concept has been defined, the background frame for other concepts may be provided by it. The word *divorce*, helps in the formation of background frames of the following words: divorce court, alimony, ex-husband, ex-wife, among others. One cannot understand the meaning of the word divorce without the definition of the word marriage. Consequently, understanding of the word alimony depends on the definition of the word divorce.

Fillmore (1977c) continues to illustrate the frame semantic theory by giving the following examples:

(I) I spent three hours on land this afternoon

(2) I spent three hours on the ground this afternoon.

Even though both land and ground refer to the same thing, surface of the earth that is dry, spending three hours on land can easily be interpreted as viewing the writer as someone in a sea voyage. While spending three hours on the ground is interpreted by viewing the writer as someone on an air flight. Therefore, understanding the words *ground* and *land* while talking about the same situation, one must understand the event that led to the choice of particular word and not the one ignored.

Petruck (1996, p.2) States that people have in memory an inventory of schemata for structuring, classifying and interpreting experiences and that they have various ways of accessing these schemata. The concept of frame does not depend on language, but as applied to language processing the notion figures in the following way: Particular words or speech formulas, or particular grammatical choices are associated in memory with particular frames in such a way that exposure to the linguistic form in an appropriate context activates in the perceiver's mind the particular frame-activation of the frame, by turn, enhancing access to the other linguistic material that is associated with the same frame. Frames thus can be taken to be the knowledge of the world and what it is expected of that particular word with relation to the way we perceive the word in our brains. Frames are tested in relation to what is stored in our mind which help us in developing the prototype in which a word receives its meaning.

As explained by Fillmore and Baker (2009, p.314), humans come into contact with frames through things that we experience while living on earth and how we perceive the world. We access other frames through us identifying ourselves with certain cultures in which we knowingly or unknowingly react to its organizations, signs, objects, and beliefs. In addition, we react to other frames by categorizing ourselves with a specific speech community which maintains and is maintained by their culture. For this reason, we have an encyclopedic knowledge on everything that surrounds us and things that we come across on a daily basis.

Frame Semantics enables the description of a language in a systematic way as illustrated by Gawron (2008, p.6), who states that frame forms a background from which a word can be described. The meaning of a word is dependent on the scene against which that word is formed. With frame, understanding concept result in understanding the whole system because the concepts are related and the introduction of a single concept makes the other concept to be automatically available.

This is further illustrated by Fillmore (1982, p.111):

> Any system of concepts is related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits. When one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation all of the others are automatically made available.

Thus, in Frame Semantics the meaning of a word depends on the speaker's world which includes their experience and schematizations words that is, frames result in imposing order on prototypes. In Frame Semantics, the definition of a word depends on the relationship between that particular word and other words that are related to it - words in the same field. The definition of a word is done with consideration to its background frame. Encyclopedic knowledge is needed in order to know what a specific word means or those words related to it.

Schmid (2012, p.180) explains that the core of Frame Semantic is all about understanding what a word means with the help of our encyclopedic knowledge that relate to that specific word. For this

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reason, frame semantic depends totally on the frames. Petruck (1995) gives an example of words on body parts which he calls Body Frame since for the understanding of the meanings of body parts, one must have the knowledge of the body and how the body functions. Furthermore, the meaning of a word is determined by its mental foundations for it to be used appropriately.

The meaning of words is determined by the cognitive structures; the frames that the speaker uses to understand the meanings of words. The frames help in formulating the meanings of words. Consequently, Frame Semantics helps in explaining how linguistic expressions ends up evoking the frame knowledge of a particular word and as a result these frames in turn helps in understanding an expression containing the words. The word's meaning in Frame Semantics cannot exist without its mental concept or the encyclopedic knowledge which makes it possible for a word to be used appropriately.

Fillmore and Baker (2009) explain that for one to understand what the word *Tuesday* means, the knowledge of the days of the week, and the names given to them is crucial for its correct interpretation. They further illustrate that the knowledge of the weekend and the fact that people do not work during the weekends in Western culture will help in understanding the phrase: *Thank God it's Friday*, as it can be interpreted in terms of someone not going to work and just relaxing at home. This is contrary to places where people work during the weekend as the phrase's meaning will not be effective.

Fillmore (1982, p.112) explains further that: before production of words in a given text, speaker's aim is to bring to mind a specific comprehension of these words; the task of the hearer is to find out which kind of understanding those words were trying to evoke. Productions of words in a certain situation brings into suggestion a definite frame, therefore in order to understand a frame, a hearer entreats a frame.

The background for group of words consequently can be understood through single concept. For understanding of a single concept, it is important for the whole system to be understood. Frame semantic considers the background frame of a particular word while ignoring the relationship between it and other words, it is all about the connotation of that particular word.

According to Fillmore (1982, p.117)

> very often, the frame or background against which the meaning of a word is defined and understood is a fairly large slice of the surrounding culture, and this background understanding is best understood as prototype rather than as a genuine body of assumptions about what a word is like.

Prototype is one of the major principles of frame semantics. Descriptions of scenes makes use of prototypes which is normally achieved through frame. Prototype can be taken to be a great piece of the immediate beliefs contrary to which the meaning of a word is described and interpreted. Fillmore (1982, p.117) suggested that in order to categorize a word as prototype, the meaning of the word will depend on how it is used in a society. A *bachelor* should be defined in terms of its prototypical background; a man who should be married and has passed the age of marriage. Priests who choose not to marry for example, cannot be categorized under it. This shows that a frame can be extended to create a new frame if a word is different from the prototype in a particular context. For a word to be considered a prototype, how it is used in that particular culture is important in order for it to be given an appropriate definition. For example, for a woman to be considered a *widow*, the following aspects must be taken into consideration: she must have been married, her husband died and she has not remarried; if she remarries, she cannot be categorized under *widows*. Entities can be categorized and defined in relation to the prototype especially if there is great resemblance to the prototype without considering if they share the same features. For example, a prototypical bird can be taken to be a *robin* or a *sparrow*.

The principle of prototype will be used while indicating the attitudes that are associated with certain kinship terms. The kinship terms will be discussed in relation to how the society expect particular individual referred to using a certain kinship term to behave. The question of whether the same term that is used to refer to one's biological mother/father should be the same one for referring to step relatives (step father and step mother) for instance will be responded to using the principle of prototype. What characteristics of a father/mother do we look at in order for one to be considered as either a father/mother? Is it a must for one to be biologically related to a child for

them to be seen as the parent or the case of performing the duties of a parent enough to qualify one?

Profiling is a notion in which a word cannot be interpreted independently without considering other words that (form) profile it. For example, it is difficult to imagine a *birthday* party without a cake, candles and people not being cheerful because these are the profiles of a birthday party. On the other hand, the word *aunt* profiles a human being, female specifically, in relation to the base, in this case the kinship relations and in turn how it relates to the ego. For the picture aunt to be complete, there must be a father or mother whose sister in turn is the aunt of the ego or there must be an uncle whose wife will be referred to as aunt by the ego depending on the kinship system of a given community.

Thus, in Suba, understanding the concept *senge,* (aunt) one must take into consideration the kinship term *soifu* (father) as the kinship term aunt is viewed in relation to her being the father's sister. *Senge* cannot be interpreted independently without *soifu,* hence *soifu* profiles *senge*.

Another example of profile is the part- whole relationship, for instance the relationship between the body parts, one cannot give a full meaning of the word neck without considering the head and the body. The neck is part of the head and the body and there is no way the three can exist without each other. Profiles therefore are dependent on the frame; it is impossible for them to be understood dependently without the frame.

Croft (2004, p.9) notes that in frame semantics to analyze the words *girl*/*woman* and *man*/*boy*, apart from contrasting between male and female and also between an adult and one who is young, these words are also associated with attitudes in their use. For example, the recent connotation that the word *woman* has. Each kinship term is unique because they all have different connotation.

Fillmore & Atkins (1992, p.76-77) summarize the main concept of frame as follows: understanding of the meaning of a word can only be achieved through referring to the organized background that consist of experiences and beliefs which constitute of a theoretical requirement for the meaning of a word to be understood. Meaning of a word is only known by speakers after they have understood

the background frames motivating the idea that the word encrypts. The approach supports the idea that words or senses of words do not have a direct relation to each other, word to word, however through their relations to a shared background frames and how their understanding evokes features of such frames.

Frame semantic shows that the way words are interpreted depends on our background knowledge of how the word has been used which can easily be accessed through our long-term memory. Thus, the definition of a word relies more on its underlying frame. Tomasello (2003, p.5) states that the structure of a language depends on how a language is used (the usage based paradigm).

The background knowledge is necessary in interpretation of words in frame semantics. The two central ideas in frame semantics are: the encyclopedic memory and a set of vocabularies which include words related to this encyclopedic memory. In this case what profiles the frame of a word, is how a word is defined in relation to other words that are related to it.

In order to pair a word with the background frame that it is found, it is necessary to understand how relevant the background information is when it comes to interpreting the meaning of that particular word. Frame being a system in which notions are related, the understanding of a single idea means that the entire system has been understood.

The three principles that make up frame semantic theory will be looked at in relation to each other as they cannot be discussed separately. Different frames of kinship terminologies will be discussed together with other kinship terms that forms part or profiles the frame of a given kinship term. This is because each kinship term frame has elements that profiles it since the interpretation of a kinship term frame relies on understanding the elements that profiles it. The attitude associated with a kinship terms will form a classification of the kin term as prototypical.

1.11.   Methodology

1.11.1. Data collection
The *Olusuba* kinship terminologies data were collected in Mfangano island in Homa Bay County where majority of Suba people speak the dialect of *Olwivwang'ano*. Mugenda and Mugenda

(2003) define purposive sampling as a sampling technique that allows researchers to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. A type of purposive sampling, homogeneous sampling, was used while collecting the data. This is because purposive sampling depends on the researcher's judgment while selecting the required group. The key objective in purposive sampling is to concentrate on specific characteristics of a population which is of interest to the researcher. In homogeneous sampling, a group that has a common background, in this case, people who are fluent in *Olusuba* language were selected. Seven respondents, three females and four males were chosen for the purpose of data collection as additional respondents would not add new information to the data. According to Murachver (1999, p.155) men tend to talk more than women at least in formal or public situations. This statement facilitated the researcher to choose more men than women for data collection. All the respondents were 36 years and above; the youngest being 36 years while the oldest 83 years. This age group was considered to be fluent in *Olusuba* unlike the younger generation of below 30 years. The reason for identifying this number of the respondents is mainly because the purpose of the research forms the basis of knowing the number of participants to be required. The level of education of the participants was not to be considered an issue as the information required from them was solely based on their native language.

Kombo and Tromp (2006) defines a focus group discussion as a form of qualitative research in which there is identification of a group with a common interest and their involvement in a discussion to bring out their thoughts, perception and beliefs in a given issue. The researcher acted as the facilitator by introducing the topic of interest and also in helping the group in participating in a lively and meaningful discussion amongst themselves. The focused group method was used because the kinship terms are not related to any taboo words and therefore anyone could talk about them.

This method was also helpful as the group members could correct themselves. Since both the respondents and the interviewee had a common language (*Dholuo*) the discussion was conducted in *Dholuo* as the respondents discussed in *Olusuba*. The discussion was channeled in a way to bring out the required information relevant to the study. There was recording of the discussion through audio-recording. The researcher also took notes whenever necessary. There was a follow

up interview with the field manager which consisted of a questionnaire with the terms collected from the first interview and any other additional information that was required. The follow up interview was also recorded as the researcher sought clarification on some of the issues that came up in the first interview.

1.11.2. Data Analysis.

The researcher listened to the recordings and then noted down the required information. The collected data was discussed and analyzed using the Frame Semantic theory. The data collected was also analyzed with the focus on noting and identifying different kinship terminologies used by Suba community while referring to different relations. Analysis of the data was based on how the culture of *Olusuba* forms the background to the meanings of their kinship terms. Analysis of the data assisted in finding out whether patrilineal kin or the matrilineal kin was emphasized in the kinship terminologies and which type of classification system was used to classify kinship terminologies in Suba community.

CHAPTER TWO

IDENTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF *OLUSUBA* KINSHIP TERMS

2.0.   Introduction

This chapter focusses on the identification and description of *Olusuba* kinship terms by first discussing the different types of families found in the Suba culture. The different types of kin are to be identified under consanguine and affinal relations. This is followed by discussion of kinship terms of address and social meaning. Lastly, description of kinship terms is looked at through different ways in which Suba kinship terms are formed which include the use of possessive marker, nominalization, compounding and the singular versus plural forms of the terms.

2.1.   Types of family

Kinship terminologies are based on the concept self; this is the acknowledgement of one's presence in relation to others. The genealogical term of self is the ego, which denotes one's self as the object of reference and the first person to be referred to while forming kinship terminologies. Address of kin vary from one culture to the other. Sometimes words are used to describe relation that exist among people while sometimes these relations are described through primary or elementary terms which mostly consist of single lexical.

Adebusoye (2001, p.5) outlined the major characteristic features of African household to be that they are mostly rural, patriarchal, hierarchical, polygamous and open to kinship networks, and finally they attached substantial importance to lineage continuation. She continues to observe that marriage in contemporary sub Saharan Africa is substantially marked by the movement from polygamous marriages to monogamous marriage. Monogamous marriages have become the norm, based on the fact that the contraction of marriage has substantially drifted from polygamy to monogamy. This however does not mean that polygamous marriages do not occur; its scale is smaller nowadays than it was before. Among the Suba, the three major types of families found are:

2.1.1.   The Elementary Family

This type of family is made up of a husband, a wife and dependent children. Only the dependent children form part of elementary family because after becoming adults, the male children are given

land to form their own homestead hence having their own elementary family after marriage. The females on the other hand get married and also form their own elementary families. The fundamental unit of kinship structure is the elementary family. In Suba community, the children refer to the head of the homestead as *soifu* (father) while mother is referred to as *ng'inaifu*. His wife calls him *omusaaza wange* (my husband) and the man in return refers to his wife as *omukaazi wange* (my wife). The children are referred to as *omwala wange* (my daughter) and *omuzia wange* (my son). Majority of Suba homesteads are made up of elementary family as most of the Suba people are monogamous.

2.1.2. The Compound Family

Compound family arises when a widow or a widower with children enters into a second marriage and gives birth to children resulting in half siblings, step parents and step children relation. Among the Suba, the following can result into a compound family: First, it can be as a result of polygamous marriages, in which the co-wives refer to each other as *omwarikwa*. Secondly, it can be as a result of a widow or widower getting married after the death of a spouse. Lastly it arises from a woman getting married having given birth to children while she was still unmarried. This results in the man adopting the children and treating them as his own biological children. If the woman dies before getting married, she cannot be buried in her father's homestead. Instead, she is either buried at her aunt's homestead or sister's homestead, in this case, the sister's husband buries her as if she was his wife. Under any of these three different circumstances, there is no distinction in the reference terms used to refer to step father, step children or step mother.

Therefore, both step father and biological father are referred to as *soifu* and they are both given the same respect while both step mother and biological mother are referred to as *ng'inaifu* and both are also given the same respect. The children, whether biological or step are referred to as *awaana wange* (my children) and they are both treated the same. The houses in the homestead of a polygamous marriage is arranged in such a way that one will automatically know who the first, second and the last wife is. The first wife's house is located in the middle while the second is on the right and lastly, the third wife's house is on the left. There are descriptive terms used to refer to different wives, the first wife is referred to as *omukaazi omukulu*, the noun *omukaazi* is general

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term for woman while *omukulu* is an adjective which means 'big' thus, *omukaazi omukulu* literally means 'big wife'. The last wife on the other hand is referred to as *omukaazi omutono*, *omutono* is an adjective which means 'small', hence *omukaazi omutono* literally means 'small wife'.

2.1.3. The Extended Family

The formation of this kind of family involve joining of the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. In Suba culture, a woman gets married then joins the family of her husband. She refers to her mother-in-law as *ng'inaziala wange* while her father-in-law is *omukwerme*. *Omukamwana* is the term used to refer to daughter-in-law. *Omukamwana* is a compound word made up of two nouns: *omuka* and *mwana*, it literally means 'woman of my child'.

Through the process of elision, the segment *–zi* from *omukaazi* and *o-* from *omwana* are not pronounced when the compound noun *omukamwana* is formed. The daughter-in-law cooks and does chores together with her mother-in-law until her husband is given land to build his own homestead. The husband also forms in-law relation with his wife's relatives. He refers to his wife's mother as *maaziala*, a different term from the one his wife uses to refer to his mother. He uses the same term *omukwereme* as his wife to refer to his father-in-law.

2.2. Types of kin

2.2.1. Consanguine Kin

All relations that are based on blood and marriage forms a kinship system. (Keesing 1975, p.148) defines consanguine as a state of having blood relation with someone, the type of relation that exist is through blood and not marriage. The kin found in this category are known as the primary kin which consist of one's: mother, father, daughter, son, sister and brother. The table below summarizes consanguine kinship terms in *Olusuba*.

Table 1: Consanguine kin A

Gloss	Kinship term in Suba
Father	*Soifu*
Your father	*Swaao*
His/her father	*Swaae*
Mother	*Ng'inaifu*
Your mother	*Ng'inwaao*
His/her mother	*Ng'inwaae*
My son	*Omuzia wange*
Your son	*Omuzia waao*
His/her son	*Omuzia waae*
My daughter	*Omwala wange*
Your daughter	*Omwala waao*
His/her daughter	*Omwala waae*
My brother	*Wamwifu owekizia*
Your brother	*Wamwinyu owekizia*
His/her brother	*Wamwawu owekizia*
My sister	*Wamwifu owekiala*
Your sister	*Wamwinyu owekiala*
His/her sister	*Wamwawu owekiala*

First person possessive marker can take two forms: the first form is the suffix *–ifu*. When attached to the root of a word *–ifu* becomes part of that word. This can be seen in the following kinship terms: *so-ifu*, *ng'ina-ifu* and *wamw-ifu* which means my father, my mother and my sibling respectively. The second possessive marker is *wange*, a content word which does not need to be attached to the root of the word and therefore is used as a separate word together with the kinship term. For example: *omuzia wange*, *omwala wange*. The words *omuzia* and *omwala* means boy and girl respectively, the possessive marker *wange* must be used with them to bring out the kin term my son and my daughter respectively.

The second person possessive marker is *waao*, which can also be attached to the root to make one word like in the words: *s-waao* and *ng'in-waao*. In the contrary, *waao* can be used as a separate word with a kin term like in the words *omuzia waao* and *omwala waao* meaning your son and your daughter respectively. This second person changes form to *-inyu* when used with the root word (*wamw-*) sibling, either male or female. Your brother will be *Wamwinyu owekizia* and your sister will be *Wamwinyu owekiala* where the terms *owekizia* and *owekiala* marks the male and female gender respectively.

The third person possessive marker is *waae*, it can also act as a content word or it can be attached to a root word like in *s-wae* (his/her father) and *ng'in-wae* (his/her mother). *Waae* can also be used separately with a kin term like in *omuzia waae (*his*/*her son*)* and *omwala waae* (his*/*her daughter) This is contrary to the term sibling which takes *–awu* as its third person marker as in the word *wamwawu.*

There is realization of three ascending generation from the ego in Suba kinship terminologies. The ascending generation is that of the parents, grandparents and great grandparents. While in the descending generation, there are four from the ego's generation. They consist of the children, grandchildren, great grandchildren and great great grandchildren. Both generations, ascending and descending from the ego are also categorized under consanguine kin as they are also related to the ego through blood and they form part of extended family. They are represented in the table below:

Table 2: Consanguine kin B

Kinship term	Gloss
Gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri	Great grandmother
Gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri	Great grandfather
Gukwa omusaaza	Grandfather
Gukwa omukaazi	Grandmother
Amwizukulu	Grandchild
Ekichimbiriri	Great grandchild
Ekichimbiriria	Great great grandchild

Descriptive terms are used while referring to grandparent generation. The compound word *gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri* can literally be translated as 'grandmother of the second' same to *gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri*. The difference between the two words indicate gender with the terms *omukaazi* (female) and *omusaaza* (male). The term *o-ku-wiri* is normally expressed as *iwiri* meaning number two, has been nominalized by the prefix *o-ku-* to mark the noun class one of the head noun *gukwa*. *Gukwa omusaaza* has two elements in it but when used as a reference term, it is considered to be a single lexical by the Suba speakers. The first part *gukwa* is used while referring to both the second and third ascending generation from the ego which is the grandparent's generation.

2.2.2. Affine Kin

Read (2015, p.61) defines affinal kin as terms that designate kinship relation through marriage. The bond created through marriage is what makes up affine kinship. Married people establish relationships with their partner's families. Apart from just having a relationship with the woman he marries, the man also forms a relationship with the woman's family members; likewise, the woman also forms a relationship with the man's family members. After a marriage there occurs creations of several kinship relationships.

In accordance to Suba traditions, after a woman has been married, she becomes a wife *omukaazi wange* which means 'my woman', the noun *omukaazi* alone without the possessive form *wange*, just means woman. She also becomes *omukamwana wange*, daughter-in-law to her husband's parents. She becomes *omulamu wange* to both her sister-in-law and brother-in-law, in turn she refers to her sister-in-law as *senge* meaning aunt while to her brother-in-law, she uses the term *omulamu wange*. The women who are married to brothers refer to each other as *omwarikwa wange*, meaning co-wife.

On the other hand, to the woman he marries, the man becomes husband, *omusaaza wange*, the noun *omusaaza* means man with the possessive form *wange*, it literally means 'my man'. He becomes *omukwe wange* to both brother-in-law and sister-in-law. *Omukwe wange* is also the term used to refer to son-in-law, to the grandparents he becomes a grandson. Both parents of the man

and of the woman who are married refer to each other as *omunyawana*. The table below summarizes some of the affine kin in Suba.

Table 3: affine relations

Gloss	Kinship term
Wife	*Omukaazi wange*
Father-in-law	*Omukwerme wange*
Mother-in-law	*Ng'inaziala wange*
Brother-in-law	*omukwe wange*
Sister-in-law	*senge*
Daughter-in-law	*omukamwana wange*,
Husband	*omusaaza wange*
Father-in-law	*Omukwerme wange*
Mother-in-law	*Maaziala wange*
Brother-in-law	*omukwe wange*
Sister-in-law	*omulamu wange*
Son-in-law	*Omukwe wange*

According to Kemunto (2016, p. 29) In Ekegusii culture a sister's husband is referred to as *mokoyone* which is a different term from *momura ominto* used for one's own brother. The Abagusii people clearly show a distinction between affine relatives and consanguine relatives. Even so, some of the terms that are used for in-laws are also used for consanguine kin. A good example is husband's brother (*momura ominto*). The term *momura ominto* is used to refer to husband's brother and at the same time, it is used to refer to one's own brother. This is not the same case with Suba's culture as there are different terms for consanguine and affine kin, for instance, brother-in-law is referred to as *omukwe wange* while one's own brother is referred to as *wamwifu owekizia.*

However, Kawira (2014, p. 28) states that there is no distinction between affine and consanguine relatives in Kimeru kinship terminologies. The wife of the son and one's own daughter are called

by the same term *mwari*, a daughter's husband (affine) and a son (consanguine) are referred to by the same term *nthaka* while a mother-in-law and a father-in-law are called *maitu* and *baba* respectively, terms used to describe one's biological mother and father. In Suba kinship terms, there is a clear distinction between affine relatives and consanguine relative as none of the terms used for consanguine kin are used for affine kin. As indicated in table 1 and 2 above. For example, the son's wife is referred to as *omukamwana wange* while one's own daughter is known as *omwala wange*. Even though both Ekegusii and Kimeru language fall under Bantu language just like *Olusuba*, due to cultural differences among the languages, kinship terms are realized and grouped differently.

2.3.   Kinship Terms of Address and Social Meaning

Mashiri (2003, p.3) states that understanding of social meaning helps in distinguishing it from literal meaning. Kin terms are normally used to show relations between kin literally. When a speaker uses a kin term of address in order to sustain social interaction with someone who is unrelated to him, social meaning of that term is thus acquired. Due to the cultural knowledge shared by both the addresser and the addressee, the social meaning of the term is interpreted correctly. When referring to an elder person of the grandfather's age, a person may call him *gukwa,* this is despite the fact that the two are not related. The elderly person may in turn refer to the young person who is of his grandchild age as *amwizukulu*. One comes up with the term of address after assessing the situation because referring to somebody who is one's grandfather's age by his name is considered rude. Kin terms of address are sometimes used to indicate friendship. People who have grown and lived together may refer to each other as *Wamwifu*, (my sister or brother) among the Suba to indicate affection and friendship.

Gaake is the address term used to address FB, it is associated with respect and acknowledging FB as one's biological father unlike *salaaga* which is a referent term for FB. The term *Gaake* can also be used to address one's father but this term is mainly used by the older generation while the younger generation prefer using *soifu*. *Ise* is also another term that means father though this term is mainly used in the Bible while referring to God the father hence the connotation behind the kin term *ise* is mainly a religious one.

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The address term for mother is *ng'inaifu* and is considered to be a more respective way of addressing her. *Ima* is also a term that means mother but it is mainly used when one is mourning a deceased mother therefore, it cannot be used to refer to or address one's mother when she is still alive. The term *nyoko* can also be used to refer to one's mother but it has a negative connotation hence it is disrespectful. When referring to great grandparent, one uses the descriptive term *gukwa owa okuwiri* but the term of address is *gukwa*, which is the same used for addressing and referring to grandparent. *Omuziala* is the terms used to refer to one's cousin, but when addressing them one makes use of *wamwifu owekiala* and *wamwifu owekizia* meaning my sister and my brother respectively.

2.4. Formation of Suba Kinship Terms

Most of Suba kinship terms are formed when used with the possessive determiner 'my'. Some of these kinship terms change their forms when used with possessive determiners 'your' and 'his/her'. In the following examples the suffixes *–ifu*, *-waao* and *-waae*, means my, your and his/her.

1. a) My father   *so-ifu*
   b) Your father   *s-waao*
   c) His/her father   *s-waae*
2. a) My mother   *ng'ina-ifu*
   b) Your mother   *ng'in-waao*
   c) His/her mother   *ng'in-waae*

2.4.1. The possessive forms *wange*, *waao* and *waae*

In the formation of Suba kinship terms, the use of the possessive determiners *wange*, *waao* and *waae* meaning my, your and his/her respectively is very important. For example, the words *omukaazi*, *omusaaza* both means woman and man respectively, when used with the possessive determiner *wange* when referring to 1st person singular *omukaazi wange* (wife) and *omusaaza wange (*husband*)*, they literally mean' my woman' and 'my man' respectively. This also goes for the terms *omwala* and *omuzia* meaning girl and boy respectively. When used with the possessive determiner; *omwala wange* and *omuzia wange*, their meanings change to daughter and son

respectively. In both given examples, without the possessive marker, the meaning of the terms changes, the kinship terms are only formed through the inclusion of the possessive determiner.

2nd person singular is formed using the possessive marker *waao, omukaazi waao* means your wife while *omusaaza waao* means your husband. The noun *omwana* generally means child, when used with the possessive determiner *waao*, *omwana waao* means your child. *Omwala waao* and *omuzia waao* on the other hand means your daughter and your son respectively. Apart from being used as a separate term, sometimes *waao* can be joined to the root of a word to form one word, consider the following examples: *swaao* (your father) and *ng'inwaao (*your mother*).*

Lastly, the 3rd person singular is marked using the possessive marker *waae* meaning his/her. Sometimes this possessive marker can be joined to the root of the word to form one word, for example: *swaae* (his/her father) and *ng'inwaae* (his/her mother). Although sometimes *waae* can be used as a separate word to denote the relation. For example: *omuzia waae* means his/her son while *omwala waae* means his/her daughter.

2.4.2. Nominalization

Nominalization is one of the derivations processes that helps in the formation of new words. Booij (2007, p.52) defines nominalization as the derivation of nouns from words of other word classes. There are some Suba kinship terms that are formed from verbs. Let us consider the following examples:

o-kwa-ri-ka is a verb that means 'having an affair with a married man.' The kinship term *o-mwa-ri-kwa* (co-wife) is formed from the verb *o-kwa-ri-ka*. The derivation process is achieved through the addition of a suitable class prefix, in this case *-k-* is replaced by *-m-*. Ochieng (2013 p, 42) states that class 1 of *Olusuba* nouns contains nouns with noun class prefix '(*o*)' '*mu*' singular and '(*a*)' '*wa*' for plural, hence this facilitates the replacement of *-k-* to *-m-*. There is also replacement of the final stem vowel from *-ka* to *–kwa.*

o-ku-kwa is a noun used to refer to the dowry process, the person who performs the dowry process is known as *o-mu-kwe*. In this example, it is evident that *-k-* is replaced by *-m-* to mark noun class, the final vowel *-a* is also changed to *-e*. *Omukwe* is a kinship term used to refer to son-in-law and brother-in-law because brother-in-law can end up marrying where his sister is married. *Omukwe* can also be translated as one who 'gives dowry' while *omukwerme* (father-in-law) is translated to one who 'receives dowry'.

2.4.3. Compounding

Booij (2007, p.75) states that the defining property of compounding is that it consists of the combination of lexemes into larger words, in simple cases, compounding consists of the combination of two words, in which one word modifies the meaning of the other. Compounding is one of the ways in which a language shows its productiveness. It is normally easy to know the meaning of the new compound word since most of the time, the meaning of the constituents that make up the word is already known. The only thing that is to be done is trying to find out the semantic relation that exist between the two words.

The kinship term *omukamwana* is made up of two words: *omukaazi* and *omwana*. Through the process of elision, the morpheme *–zi* and the class marker *o-* is deleted during the formation of the new compound *omukamwana*. Another example of a compound kinship term is *gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri* which can literally be translated to 'my second grandfather' but its gloss is my great grandfather. The two compound words elements can be explained as follows:

<div align="center">

o-mu-kaazi   +   *o-mw-ana*   *omukamwana*

CL1-sg-female   CL1-sg-child

woman   child   woman of my child

ɔ *-gukwa*   *o-mu-saaza*   *owa*   *oku-wiri*

CL1- old   CL1-sg-male   possessor   CL1-two

Grandfather   my   second

My second grandfather.

</div>

2.4.4. Singular and Plural forms of *Olusuba* Kinship Terms.

Katamba (2003, p. 114) explains that class 1 and 2 in Bantu languages commonly consist of human terms; almost all terms referring to human beings are assigned this noun class pair. The kinship terms in *Olusuba* are grouped in class 1, this class takes the prefix (*o-*) *mu-* for singular while *(a) wa-* for plural. Ochieng (2013, p.63) notes that *Olusuba's* inflections are prefix inclined; most of its inflections come before the stem because *Olusuba* is a noun-centric language, its nouns have a prefix denoting the noun class of the noun. This is normally the first prefix in a noun. For example, in the word *o-mu-kaazi*, the prefix *o-* marks class 1 noun class while *mu-* marks the number. Okumu (2005, p.7) states that *Olusuba* nouns function in a similar way to a noun phrase as its nouns consist of fused noun classes, number marker and the noun stem. *Olusuba* kinship terminologies are therefore found in class one. The noun class is always realized even when it is not indicated in the noun. The table below shows the singular and plural forms of *Olusuba* kinship terms.

Table 4: singular and plural forms of Olusuba kinship terms.

Kinship term	Singular	Plural
Father	*Soifu*	*Waasoifu*
mother	*Ng'inaifu*	*Waa-ng'inaifu*
Mother's brother	*Kooza*	*Waa-kooza*
Sister-in-law	*O-mu-lamu wange*	*A-wa-lamu wange*
Mother's sister	*Maalaga/Ng'inaifu omutono*	*Waa-maalaga/Wang'inaifu a-wa-tono*
Brother-in-law	*O-mu-kwe*	*A-wa-kwe*
Father's sister	*Senge*	*Waa-senge*
Father's brother	*Salaaga/Gaake*	*Waa-salaaga/Waa-gaake*
Wife	*O-mu-kaazi wange*	*A-wa-kazi wange*
Sister	*Wa-mwifu owekiala*	*Waa-mwifu a-wekiala*
Brother	*Wa-mwifu owekizia*	*Waa-mwifu a-wekizia*

Son	*O-mu-zia wange*	*A-wa-zia wange*
Daughter	*O-mw-ala wange*	*A-wa-ala wange*
Sister's daughter	*O-mw-iwa wange o-wekiala*	*A-wi-iwa wange a-wekiala*
Sister's son	*O-mw-iwa wange o-wekizia*	*A-wi-iwa wange a-wekizia*
Cousin	*O-mu-ziala*	*A-wa-ziala*
grandchild	*A-mw-izukulu*	*A-wi-izukulu*
Great grandchild	*E-ki-chimbiriri*	*E-wi-chimbiriri*
Great great grandchild	*E-ki-chimbiriria*	*E-wi-chimbiriria*
Father-in-law	*O-mu-kwerme*	*A-wa-kwerme*
Wife's mother	*Maaziala*	*Waa-maziala*
husband's brother's wife	*O-mw-arikwa*	*A-wa-rikwa*
Son's wife	*O-mu-kamwana*	*A-wa-kamwana*
Daughter's husband	*O-mu-kwe*	*A-wa-kwe*
Son's son	*O-mwi-zukulu*	*A-wi-izukulu*
Daughter's husband's parents	*O-mu-nyawana*	*A-wa-nyawana*
Daughter-in-law	*O-mu-kamwana*	*A-wa-kamwana*
Co-wife	*O-mw-arikwa*	*A-wa-rikwa*

As clearly shown in the table above some kinship terms like *kooza*, *senge* and *gukwa* lack the (*o*) *mu-* prefix marker in the singular form but they belong to class 1 because they take the noun class prefix *a-* in the following sentences:

1. *Senge*   *wange*   *a*   *ria*

   Noun   possessor   pr   root
   Aunt   my   is   eating
   My aunt is eating.

2. *Kooza*   *wange*   *a*   *ria*

   Noun   possessor   pr   root
   Uncle   my   is   eating
   My uncle is eating.

3. *Gukwa   wange   a   ria*

     Noun   possessor   pr   root

      Grandfather   my   is   eating

       My grandfather is eating.

The initial vowels (*o-*) *-mu-* and (*a-*) *-wa-*are mostly bi-morphemic because they bear two features which are the noun class and number. Most of *Olusuba* kinship terms lack free root morphemes as can be inferred from table 4 above. Majority of these kinship terms roots are bound therefore, they cannot function as free morphemes. Unlike in English where the word 'cousin' can exist as free root morpheme and hence has a meaning on its own, its equivalent to *Olusuba −ziala* has no meaning on its own without the prefix o-*mu-*. As also illustrated in table four above (*o-*) *-mu-* can sometime be realized as (o-) *-mw-* as in the following examples:

O	*mw*	*arikwa*		*a*	*wa*	*rikwa*
Pr	Sg	root		Pr	pl	root
	'co-wife'				'co-wives'	

O	*mwi*	*zukulu*		*a*	*wi*	*izukulu*
Pr	Sg	root		Pr	pl	root
	'Grandchild'				'grandchildren'	

O	*mw*	*ala*	*wange*	*a*	*wa*	*ala*	*wange*
Pr	Sg	root	possessor	Pr	pl	root	possessor
	'Daughter'				'daughters'		

Another realization for *-mu-* is *-ki-*,

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E	ki	chimbiriri		E	wi	chimbiriri
Pr	Sg	root		Pr	pl	root

'Great grandchild' 'great grandchildren'

E	ki	chimbiriria		E	wi	chimbiriria
Pr	Sg	root		Pr	pl	root

'great great grandchild' 'great great grandchildren'

According to Okumu (2005, p.25) there is an irregular agent nominalization with *eki-* as the nominalizer. This type of agent nominalization de-humanizes the nominalization and classifies it under a non-human noun class. *Ekichimbiriri* and *ekichimbiriria* both refers to the third and fourth descending generation from the ego. It is not easy to find someone who has lived for so long to see the third and fourth generation they are therefore imaginary. This facilitate their classification under nonliving things which is a different class from class one nouns where other kinship terminologies are found.

Conclusion

The three types of family: elementary, compound and extended family were discussed in this chapter. Discussion on consanguine and affinal relatives indicated that Suba differentiate between the two relations. None of the terms is used for the other relation unlike the comparison made to Kimeru language which does not distinguish between the two relatives. Kinship terms of address and social meaning were also discussed and it was realized that some of the kinship terms of address have different connotation while other can be used for social purposes.

Most of the kinship terms are formed through using the possessive marker *wange* which changes its form depending on the first, second and third person. The form *wange* also changes when used with certain kinship terms. Description of kinship terms was achieved through the analyzation of how some of the Suba kinship terms were formed. The discussed processes of kinship formation

were nominalization, compounding and the singular versus plural forms. Suba kinship terms were found to be classified in class one of *Olusuba* nouns indicated by prefix *o-mu-* for singular while *a-wa-* for plural even though some of the kinship terms had zero morpheme to indicate the class marker. Exempted from class one nouns were the third and fourth descending generation kinship terminologies.

CHAPTER THREE

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBA KINSHIP TERMS.

3.0. Introduction

The chapter looks at the system of kinship terminologies which includes, descriptive, classificatory, generation, relative age, gender, collateral, unilineal, cognatic principles of classification from which Suba kinship tree diagram will be formed. Lastly, classification based on linguistic structure of the kinship terms is also discussed.

3.1. Systems of Kinship Classification

According to Encyclopaedic Britannica, Inc. (2017), the difference between classificatory and descriptive system of kinship was first made by Morgan in 1871. Through descent and marriage, the system of kinship terminologies is formed with their associated patterns of behavior and attitudes that accompanies them making a whole system. In order for one to understand the kinship system of a given culture, one must first try to understand the classification of those kinship terminologies. Kinship classification system are made up of kinship terms together with the rules that exist for using these terms.

Read (2015, p. 62) states that a pattern that occurred in a number of other terminologies elicited by Morgan through his schedules led him to refer to terminologies that systematically included collateral with lineal genealogical relations as classificatory terminologies and all other terminologies that distinguished lineal from collateral genealogical relations, such as the English terminology, as descriptive terminologies. Ordering of relationships are done using specific methods which reveals the character of the system. Kinship terminologies have two types of systems known as descriptive and classificatory.

3.1.1. Descriptive System of Kinship Terminologies

Descriptive system does not make use of ambiguous terms such as "cousin" or "uncle", instead, they make use of precise compound words like father's sister's son or daughter or mother's brother's son or daughter to refer to a cousin. The speaker's exact relation when referring or addressing any relative is described in this system of classification.

In Suba, *gukwa* is the general term used to refer to grandparent, but to be more specific the descriptive terms *gukwa omusaaza* (grandfather) and *gukwa omukaazi* (grandmother) are used. In this case, *omusaaza* and *omukaazi* refers to man and woman respectively and therefore, they can be used to denote the gender of the grandparent. There are also no precise names to refer to brother and sister, instead descriptive terms *wamwifu owekiala* which literally means 'female sibling', *wamwifu owekizia* means 'male sibling' are used. The term *wamwifu* is a term used to refer to

one's own sibling when distinguishing the gender, then the terms *owekiala* and *owekizia* meaning female and male respectively are used. On the contrary, father's sister is given a precise name *senge* while mother's brother *is kooza.*

Describing these kinds of relation is normally not easy, instead of using words, the use of symbols is preferred. Examples of symbols used as illustrated by Murphy (2001) include:

Table 5: Genealogical Abbreviations: adapted from Murphy (2001)

B=Brother	C=Child(ren)	D=Daughter
F=Father	GC=Grandchil(ren)	GP=Grandparents
P=Parent	S=Son	Z=Sister
W=Wife	H=Husband	SP=Spouse
LA=In-law	SI=Sibling	M=Mother
MB = Mother's brother	FB = Father's brother	MZD = Mother's sister's daughter
MZS = Mother's sister's son	FBD = Father's brother's daughter	FBS = Father's brother's son

Descriptive system also distinguishes lineal relatives from collateral relatives. Lineal relatives are direct descendants and they include: parents, children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. The following table consist of lineal kinship terms in Suba.

Table 6: lineal kinship terms

Gloss	Kinship term
Father	*Soifu*
Mother	*Ng'inaifu*
Son	*Omuzia wange*
Daughter	*Omwala wange*
Grandchild	*Amwizukulu*
Great grandchild	*Ekichimbiriri*

| Great great grandchild | *Ekichimbiriria* |

3.1.2. Classificatory System of Kinship

According to Wordpress.com (2016), under a classificatory system several people, lineal as well as collateral and often even affinal, are all referred to by the same term of designation, the term classifies them as similar. Wordpress.com (2016) also establishes that:

> …in Morgan's study of the Iroquois, he discovered that a kinship term may be used to designate a number of persons; thus, one's own father, his brothers and cousins, and even more remotely related men of his generation are called by the common term, which means father. The same thing happens with the other side of the family; the mother, her sister cousins on her side, and so on, are mothers. Since a term is used to refer a number of persons, Morgan termed such kinship systems as 'classificatory'.

Application of the same term for both lineal relatives which consists of direct line of parents relations and collateral relatives in which relation is not through direct line but by blood is used in this system. The system of classificatory enables application of single term to several relatives, which establish wide range of systems of kinship. An example of this system is the Kimeru system of kinship terminology as discussed by Kawira (2014, p. 20-21)

> The kin relations such as brother, sister, father's brother's son, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's son, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's son, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's son and mother's sister's daughter are all referred to by one term with the distinction of gender; *mwarwaiya* (female) and *muruaiya* (male). Kin terms deriving from elementary family are extended to include other kin. Notice that *mwarwayia* and *muruiya* are elementary terms for 'sister' and 'brother' respectively.

Kawira (2014, p.24) states that all individuals in the Ego's generation are referred to as *Muruaiya* (male) 'brother,' father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's sister's son, and mother's brother's son, while the females are referred to as *mwarwaiya*, 'sister' which includes: father's

brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and mother's brother' daughter.

Seligman (1950) as cited by Atifa (2013, p.350) defines exogamy as the prohibition of marriage union within specific group. This rule prevents two people who belong to the same known socially unilineal system from getting married. In Suba community, people from either paternal or maternal sides sharing the same clan name are considered to be one's kin therefore, they cannot marry each other. The referent term for FB is *salaaga*, while the address term is *gaake* which is also the same terms that can be used to address one's own father. FB or anyone who is considered to be FB even if the relationship is not a biological one can marry the late brother's wife and take care of his children as his own.

According to Wordpress (2016), generally, two or more kin are merged under the same term when similarity of status exists between the individuals, for example, in societies where father and father's brother are treated equally, a single kin term is used to refer to them. Categories used to place two different relatives brings out the manner in which they relate to one another. This is why father's brother can be addressed as *gaake*, hence he is accorded the same respect as the father as he can marry his brother's wife in case of death. Although MZ on the other hand is referred to as *ng'inaifu omutono* (small mother), she is also accorded the same respect and treated like one's own mother.

Fasnafan (2011, p.191-192) identifies the following principles of classifying kinship terms: generation, relative age, lineality versus collaterality, gender, consanguineal versus affinal kin and bifurcation. Kroeber (1909) as cited by Read (2013, p.1) came up with eight psychological principles of analyzing kinship terminologies, these principles are based on the generations, the distinction of lineal and collateral relationships, age difference within a generation, both gender of a relative and the speaker, the distinction of blood and affinal relationship and the existence of the relative (alive or dead). The principles that apply in the classification of Suba kinship terms from those discussed by Fasnafan and Read are illustrated below.

3.1.3. Generation

In this principle, both ascending and descending generations are distinguished from the ego. In Suba community, there are distinct terms for each generation differentiating gender. The 1st ascending generation is the ego's parents, *(soifu,* father *and ng'inaifu,* mother*),* 2nd ascending generation are the grandparents *(gukwa omusaaza,* grandfather *and gukwa omukaazi,* grandmother*)* and the 3rd ascending generation are the great grandparents (*gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri, (*great grandmother) and *gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri, (*great grandfather). From the ego, the 1st descending generation is of the children *(omuzia wange*, my son and *omwala wange,* my daughter), grandchildren *(awiizukulu)* are the 2nd generation descending, great grandchildren *(ewichimbiriri)* are the 3rd generation descending lastly 4th generation descending is that of the great great grandchildren *(ewichimbiriria).*

3.1.4. Relative age

Fasnafan (2011, p.192) states that in a kinship system that uses this principle, there are kinship terms for one's older brother and one's younger brother. In Suba kinship terms, distinction on relative age is only marked among the sibling in all generations when distinguishing between the first born and the last born in a given elementary family. They make use of descriptive terms to distinguish between the two. *Omwana wange owakuluweri* is the descriptive term used to refer to first born, the term *owakuluweri* is an adjective that means older. This term does not distinguish gender. The last born is referred to as *omwana wange wugoko.* In this descriptive term*, wugoko* is also an adjective that means 'last' but it is only used as a kinship term as there is another term that means last when referring to other context. When addressing MZ, the term *ng'inaifu omutono* is used, though *omutono* means 'small', it is used regardless of the age of the MZ in relation to ego's mother.

3.1.5. Gender

Kinship terms are differentiated according to gender in *Olusuba*. This distinction is made when referring to siblings, parents, collateral (uncle and aunt) and affine kin (father-in-law and mother-in-law). Although there is no distinction made when referring to grandparents, great grandparents,

grandchildren and great grandchildren. In order to be specific of the gender the speaker is referring to when talking about grandparents, the descriptive term *omukaazi* is used for grandmother, the grandmother is therefore called *gukwa omukaazi.* For the case of the grandfather, the descriptive term *omusaaza* is used, hence grandfather is called *gukwa omusaaza*. The words cousin, *omuziala*, grandchild (*amwizukulu*), great grandchild (*ekichimbiriri*) and great great grandchild (*ekichimbiriria*) does not show gender distinction. The table below shows gender differences in *Olusuba*.

3. **Table 7: Kinship terms based on gender difference**

Relation	Male	Gloss	Female	Gloss
Children	*Omuzia wange*	My son	*Omwala wange*	My daughter
Siblings	*Wamwifu owekizia*	My brother	*Wamwifu owekiala*	My sister
Parents	*Soifu*	Father	*Ng'inaifu*	Mother
Husband's parents	*Omukwerme*	Father-in-law	*Ng'inaziala wange*	Mother-in-law
Wife's parents	*Omukwerme wange*	Father-in-law	*Maaziala wange*	Mother-in-law
Parent's siblings	*Salaaga/ Gaake Kooza*	Father's brother Mother's brother	*Senge Maalaga/Ng'inaifu omutono*	Father's sister Mother's sister
Grand parents	*gukwa omusaaza*	Grandfather	*gukwa omukaazi*	Grandmother

3.1.6. Collaterality Principle

According to Fasnafan (2011, p.192) collateral kin are descended from a common ancestor with ego but are not ego's direct ascendants or descendant, our brothers and sisters (siblings) and our cousins are collateral kin. In this principle the siblings of lineal relatives who are the parents and

grandparents together with their descendants are recognized. These are relatives with whom one does not have direct relation although they share a common ancestor. They include aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews and cousins.

In Suba, one's own father is called *soifu* while FB is *salaaga* which is the referent term while the address term is *gaake,* both terms apply to both young and older father's brother. On the other hand, one's own mother is *ng'inaifu;* FZ is *senge* (aunt) while MZ referent term is *maalaga, ng'inaifu omutono* (small mother) is the address term. *Soifu* and *ng'inaifu* are also terms used for both step father and step mother respectively. The first cousins of the ego are referred to as *omuziala* which can be used for both female and male cousins. People who share the same clan as the ego are referred to as *owiriango* even without one being aware of the real ties between them. The rule of exogamy prevent marriage between people who refer to each other as *owiriango.*

3.1.7. Unilineal principle

Murphy (2001) defines unilineal descent as the principle whereby descent is traced either through the male line (patrilineal) or female line (matrilineal) but not both. Tracing of descent is limited by the usage of this principle as the tracing is done only through a single line of ancestors. Those who have a link through the same male ancestors are considered agnates. In Suba kinship system female ancestress are not emphasized, therefore, agnatic relationships are emphasized as illustrated by figure 1. Children belong to their father's kin group and not their mother's because they inherit the name of their father's clan and not their mother's, hence identity is passed to children only through males. The kinship system of Suba is therefore patrilineal since sons bring their wives into the family group of their father. Sons are the only ones allowed to inherit their father's property traditionally even though this has changed with the new Kenyan constitution.

3.1.8. Cognatic principle

Wolters (1999, p.17) defines Cognatic kinship as a mode of descent calculated from an ancestor or ancestress counted through any combination of male and female links, or a system of bilateral kinship where relations are traced through both father and mother; such relatives may be known

as cognates. This can include tracing back to their four grandparents, eight great grandparents onwards. Going backwards at each generation, doubles the number of ancestors to that of the previous generation. Although there is a limit in tracing of kinship in this manner.

According to the research conducted, Suba kinship terms cover up to the seventh generation excluding ego's generation. Ascending generation can be traced up to the third generation since there isn't any kinship terminology for describing the fourth generation ascending. The first generation ascending is that of *soifu* (father), *ng'inaifu* (mother) and their siblings, FB, MB, FZ and MZ in which the terms *gaake/salaaga, kooza, senge, maalaga/ng'inaifu omutono* are used respectively. The terms of this generation distinguish the relatives from the mother's side and those from the father's side. The gender of these relations are also distinguished. The second is of *gukwa omukaazi* (grandmother) and *gukwa omusaaza* (grandfather)and lastly the third is *gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri* (great grandmother) and *gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri* (great grandfather). When addressing the second and the third generation, the term *gukwa* is normally used but referent terms are used especially when one wants to specify the gender.

The tracing of descending generation is up to the fourth generation. From the ego, the first descending generation is that of his children, *awana wange*. In this generation there is gender marking *omwala wange* refers to daughter while *omuzia wange* refers to the son. MZS/MBS, MZD/MBD, FBD/FZD, FBS/FZS are also located in this generation. The descriptive term *omwiwa wange owekiala* is used for MZD, MBD, FBD and FZD. For MZS, MBS, FZS, and FBS, the descriptive term *omwiwa wange owekizia* is used. The second generation is of grandchildren, *awizikulu wange*, the third is of great grandchildren, *ewichimbiriri* and lastly the fourth is of great great grandchildren, *ewichimbiriria*. Gender is not marked in the second, third and fourth descending generation.

Figure 1: Suba Patrilineal and Matrilineal Genealogical Trees
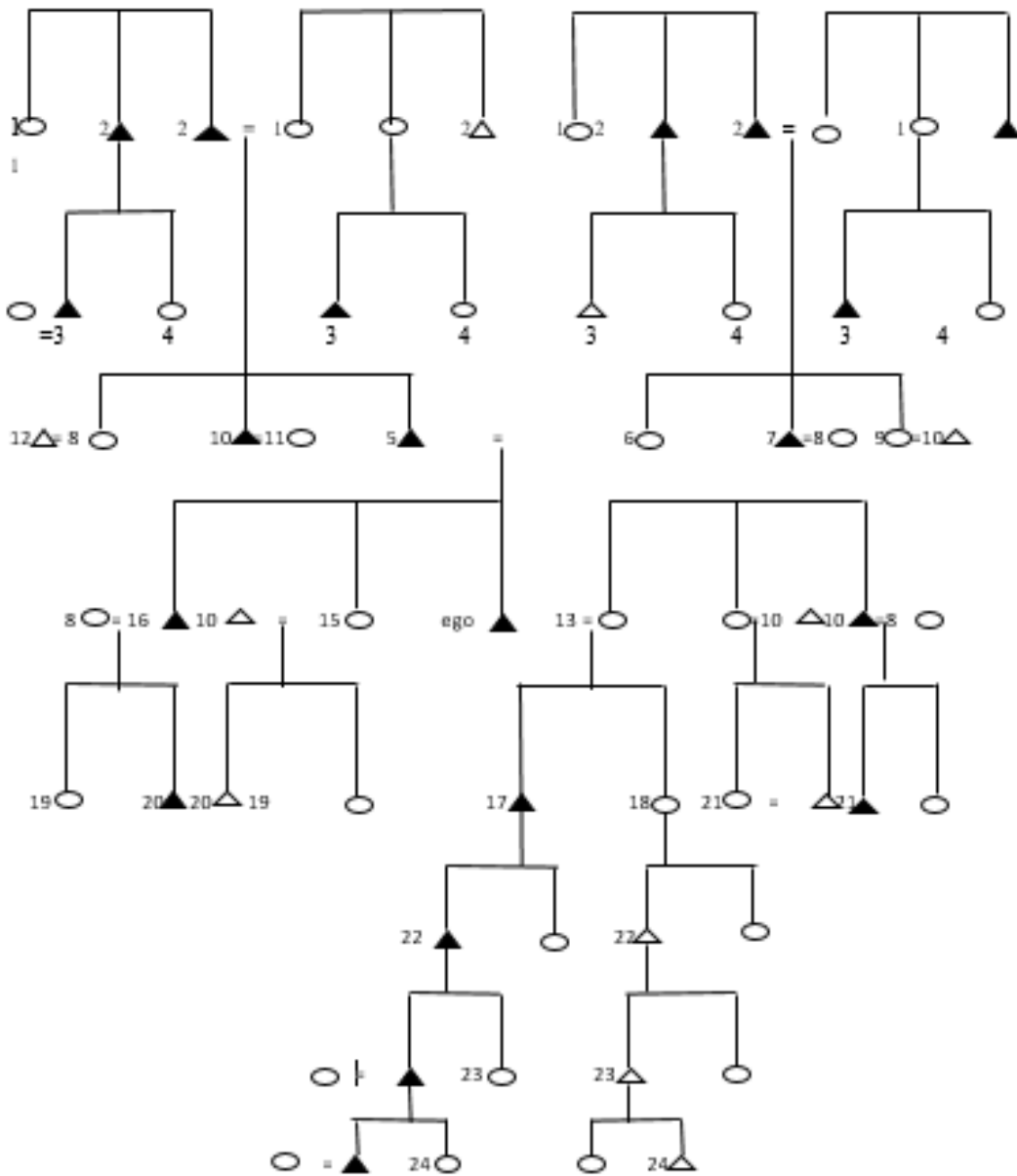
Key

▲   Male carrying on the lineage

◯   All female line

─────   Blood relation

=   marital relation

△   All male generation

The following are the kinship terms with the numbering as indicated in the tree diagram above.

1. *Gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri* - great grandmother.
2. *Gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri* -   great grandfather.
3. *Gukwa omusaaza* -   grandfather.
4. *Gukwa omukaazi* - grandmother.
5. *Soifu/ Ise/Gaake* - Father.
6. *Ng'inaifu/ Ima/Nyoko* - Mother.
7. *Kooza* - Mother's brother
8. *Omulamu wange* – sister-in-law
9. *Maalaga/ Ng'inaifu omutono* – mother's sister
10. *Omukwe wange* - brother-in-law
11. *Senge* - father's sister
12. *Salaaga/Gaake* - father's brother
13. Ego
14. *Omukaazi wange* - wife
15. *wamwifu owekiala* - sister
16. *Wamwifu owekizia* - brother
17. *Omuzia wange*- son
18. *Omwala wange*- daughter

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19. *Omwiwa wange owekiala* - sister's daughter

20. *Omwiwa wange owekizia* - sister's son

21. *Omuziala* - cousin

22. *Amwizukulu* - grandchild

23. *Ekichimbiriri* - great grandchild

24. *Ekichimbiriria* - great great grandchild

3.2. Linguistic Structure Classification

There are three different ways in which kinship terms can be classified when considering their linguistic structure. The first one is elementary terms (primary terms) which are the kin term without any other lexical item qualifying them, apart from the possessive marker *wange*. The possessive marker is fused into some of the terms making them single lexical items like in *so-ifu* and *ng'ina-ifu*. This group are mainly composed of single words. Most of these kin terms have zero morpheme in their singular form apart from *omuziala* and *amwizukulu* The prefix *wa-* indicates the plural forms of the kinship terms.

Table 8: Elementary kinship terms

Kinship term	Singular	Plural
Father	*Soifu/ Ise/Gaake*	*Waasoifu*
Mother	*Ng'inaifu/Ima/Nyoko*	*Waang'inaifu*
Mother's brother	*Kooza*	*Waakooza*
Mother's sister	*Maalaga*	*Waamaalaga*
Father's sister	*Senge*	*Waasenge*
Father's brother	*Salaaga/ Gaake*	*Waasalaga/ Waagaake*
Cousin	*Omuziala*	*Awaziala*
grandchild	*Amwizukulu*	*Awiizukulu*

The second form of classification based on linguistic structure is derivative which consist of a kin term and some other lexical element which does not have a kinship meaning. Apart from the possessive form *wange* meaning my, there are some other lexical elements that can be used to form a kinship term.

Table 9: derivative kinship terms

Kinship term	Singular	Plural
mother's sister	*Ng'inaifu omutono*	*Waang'inaifu awatono*
Wife	*Omukaazi wange*	*Awakaazi wange*
Sister	*wamwifu owekiala*	*Waamwifu awekiala*
Brother	*Wamwifu owekizia*	*Waamwifu awekizia*
Daughter	*Omwala wange*	*Awaala wange*
son	*Omuzia wange*	*Awazia wange*
Great grandchild	*Ekichimbiriri*	*Ewichimbiriri*
Firstborn	*Omwana owakuluweri*	
Lastborn	*Omwana wugoko*	

In table 9, *ng'inaifu* means mother while *omutono* is an adjective which means small, the combination of the two words literally means 'small mother.' In the second example, the word *omukaazi* means woman, when combined with the possessive determiner *wange* (my) the meaning changes to wife, but it literally means 'my woman.' In the third example both words *wamwifu* and *owekiala* are nouns, but *wamwifu* is a kinship term which means sibling while *owekiala* marks gender, and it means girl. When used together *wamwifu owekiala*, the kinship term, sister, is formed. The same explanation also applies to the fourth example in which *owekizia* marks gender, in this case boy. In the fifth example the noun *omwala* means girl, when used with the possessive determiner *wange*, a kinship term daughter is formed. The same goes for *omuzia* which means boy but with *wange* it means son.

Yule (2005, p.49) defines elision as the process of not pronouncing a sound segment that might be present in the deliberate careful pronunciation of word in isolation. There are two segments in the word *ekichimbiriri*, that is; *ekichimbir-* and *–iri* which in full is *iwiri*, meaning two. When the two words are combined, the word *ekichimbiriri* is formed which literally means 'my second grandchild.'

The last classification based on linguistic structure is descriptive which can be formed when two or more elementary terms are used. Relationships for other relatives are shown through compounding of particular terms by showing the intermediate steps in the relationship. For example, the kinship terms *gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri* and *omwiwa wange owekizia* which means great grandmother and sister's son respectively makes use of descriptive system. The intermediate step in these kinship terms are:

1. *Gukwa   omukazi   owa   okuwiri*

   Grandparent   female   of   second
    Great grandmother

2. *Omwiwa   wange   owekizia*
   Child   my   boy
   My sister's son

Conclusion

Two major systems of classifying kin; descriptive and classification as formed by Morgan (1971) were used in *Olusuba* kinship classification although it was discovered that Suba makes use of both. In addition to these two, other systems of classifying kin were also discussed. They included generation, in which it was observed that there are three descending and four ascending generations from the ego. System of classifying kin on age was only found to be effective while referring to siblings in which there are specific terms used for firstborn and lastborn. Most of the kinship terms

distinguished the male from the female kin. Other principles of classifying kin; collateral, unilineal and cognatic principles were also discussed. *Olusuba* kinship tree diagram was drawn and discussed through different systems of classifying kin. All the seven generations excluding ego's generation were indicated in the tree diagram. The system of classifying kin based on their linguistic structures was also discussed in which the elementary (primary terms) which are kin formed by a single lexical item and the possessive marker was discussed. Derivative kin were those formed by other lexical items for example the adjective *omutono* qualifying the kin term *ng'inaifu* while referring to MZ. Lastly, descriptive means of linguistic classification was looked at.

CHAPTER FOUR

SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF OLUSUBA KINSHIP TERMS

4.0.   Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief description of the three principles that forms the frame semantic theory. This is followed by the application of the theory to *Olusuba* kinship terminologies which will be achieved through the discussion of different frames. The frames to be discussed include: marriage frame, elementary family frame, compound family frame, polygamous family frame, collateral frame, in-law frame and finally generation frame.

4.1.   Brief Description of Frame Semantic Principles

The lexical meaning of a word is understood well in relation to its background, beliefs and experiences that are associated with it. For one to understand the meaning of a word, it is necessary to understand all the knowledge that relates to that particular word. This is mainly because each word is associated with a particular frame. The culture of a specific speech community forms the background of a frame from which a word can be defined as understanding of a word is related to the background information which forms the interpretation of it. In frame, through the introduction of a single concept, the entire system is understood. This is achieved through our encyclopedic knowledge as it helps in knowing the meaning of that specific word and other words that are related to it.

The description and interpretation of the meaning of a word is achieved through the immediate beliefs associated with it. A word is categorized as prototype if it has great resemblance with other entities. For a word to be given a proper interpretation, other words that profile it should be considered. A profile forms part-whole relationship and it cannot be understood dependently without frame. The key principles of Frame semantic are frame, prototype and profile. These principles are connected and will be interpreted together. In the application of frame semantic theory to kinship terminologies, these three principles will be discussed simultaneously.

4.2.   Marriage Frame

Marriage results in the formation of affinal kin as married couple form relationships with their spouse's family members. This bond between couples create several kinship relations. Before getting married, the father and the uncles of the groom have to go to the homestead of the supposed bride and inform her family members of their intentions. This is followed by the process of dowry payment which seals the marriage. The dowry process can last for a day or two days depending on where the girl is coming from. If she comes from the nearest village, it takes only a day but if her village is far away, the groom's family can come during the day or late evening and spend the night there. This process of dowr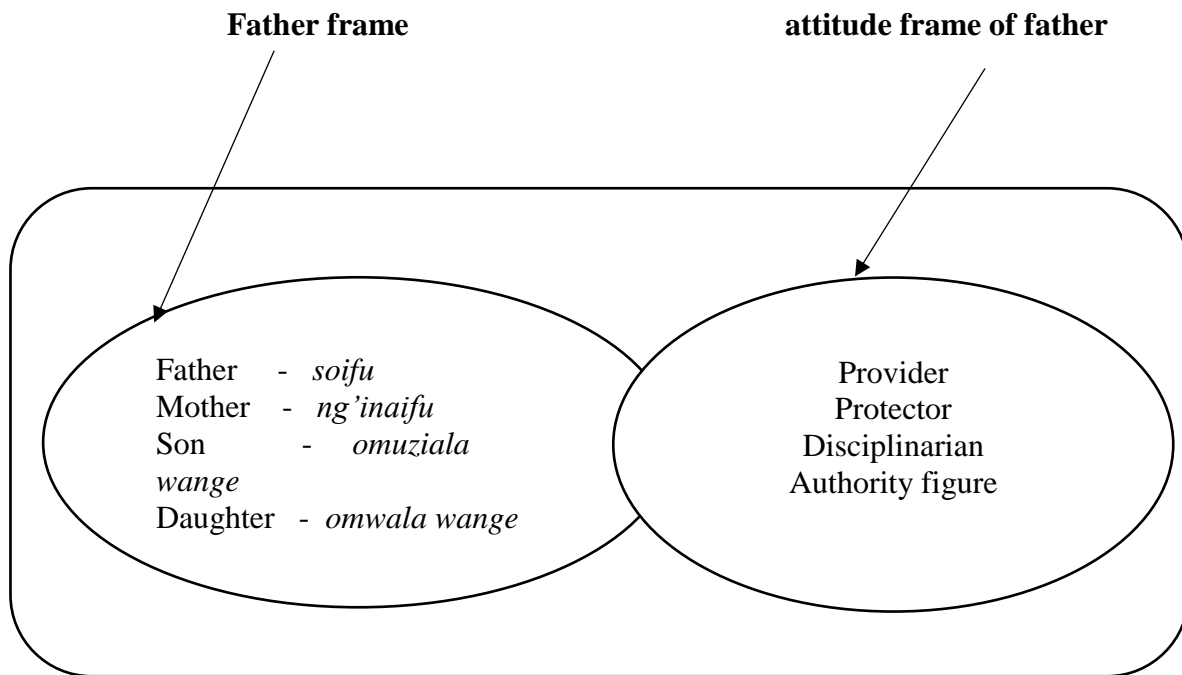y payment is known as *okukwa* and it helps in forming the two affinal kin, *omukwe* (son-in-law) and *omukwerme* (father-in-law).

The term *omukwe* literally means 'one who takes dowry' while *omukwerme* literally means 'one who receives dowry'. Wife's brother and wife's husband refer to each other as *omukwe*. This is because wife's brother can end up marrying his sister-in-law (where his sister is married). A father-in-law treats his son-in-law the same way he would treat his own son; their form of relationship is that of a father son relationship. This is not the same way mother-in-law treats her son-in-law as they have a distant relationship. The components that profiles the marriage frame therefore are the affinal kin which include: husband, wife, brother-in-law, sister-in-law, father-in-law and mother-in-law. There will be two marriage frames because Suba kinship terms differentiates between some affinal terms from the husband's frame with those from the wife's frame. For instance, there are different terms for mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law. The illustration of this can be as follows:

Figure 2: Marriage Frame

Marriage Frame

Father-in-law   - *omukwerme*
Mother-in-law - *maaziala wange*
Sister-in-law   -   *omulamu wange*
Brother-in-law -   *omukwe wange*
Son-in-law   -   *omukwe wange*

Father-in-law   -*omukwerme*
Mother-in-law - *ng'inaziala*
Sister-in-law   -*senge*
Brother-in-law - *omulamu wange*
Daughter-in-law -
omukamwana

Husband frame   **wife frame**
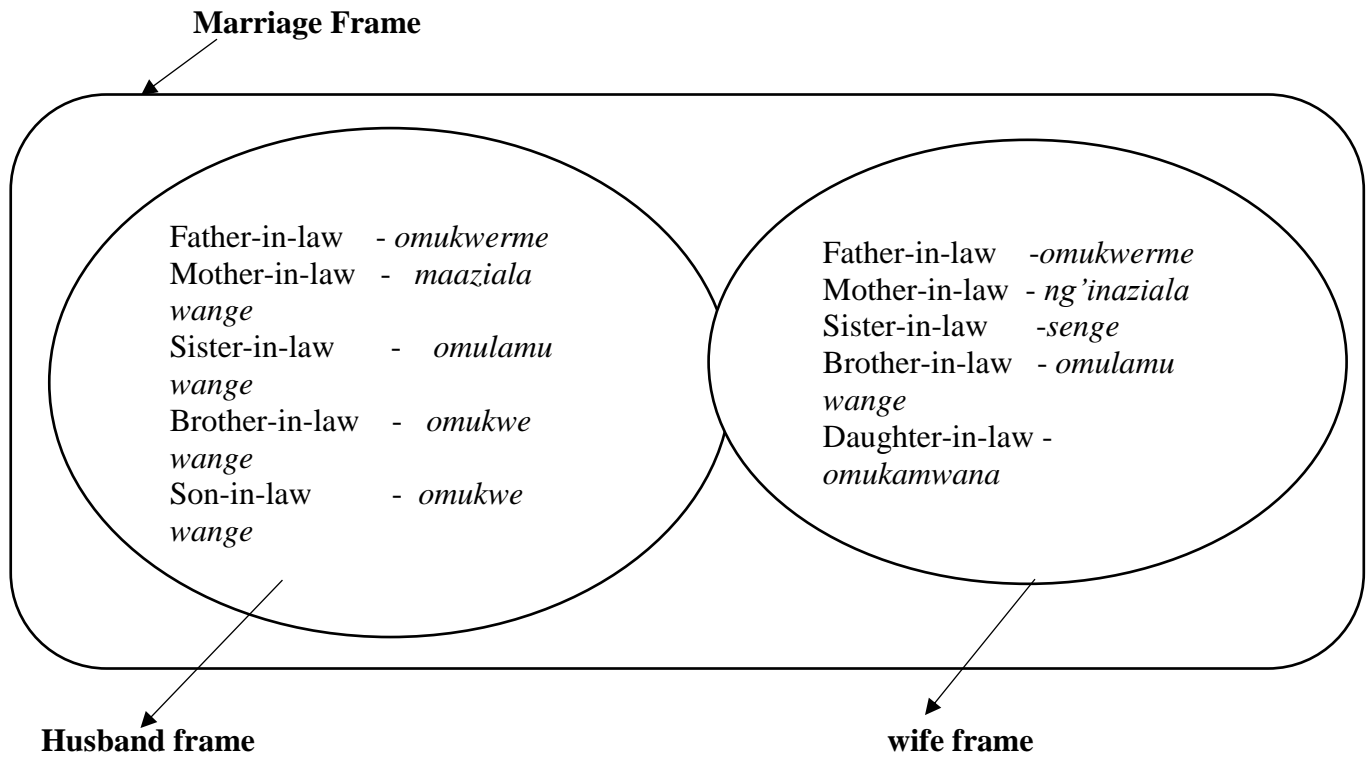
A prototypical husband has a wife and children. He should be able to always provide, care for and protect his family because he is seen as the head of the family. As the husband's term literally means 'my man' the wife takes pride in referring to her husband in this manner. The children refer to him as *soifu*. In case he marries a woman with children, as a result of taking care and providing for them, they call him *soifu*. They treat him as their biological father even though he is not. This means that the term father is not only used to refer to one's biological parent, but as long as he performs the duties of a father, even if he is not biological, he is seen as one. The husband's frame can therefore have a subset frame of a father, and a subset frame of the attitude that the term 'father' is associated with as shown in figure three.

Father frame   **attitude frame of father**

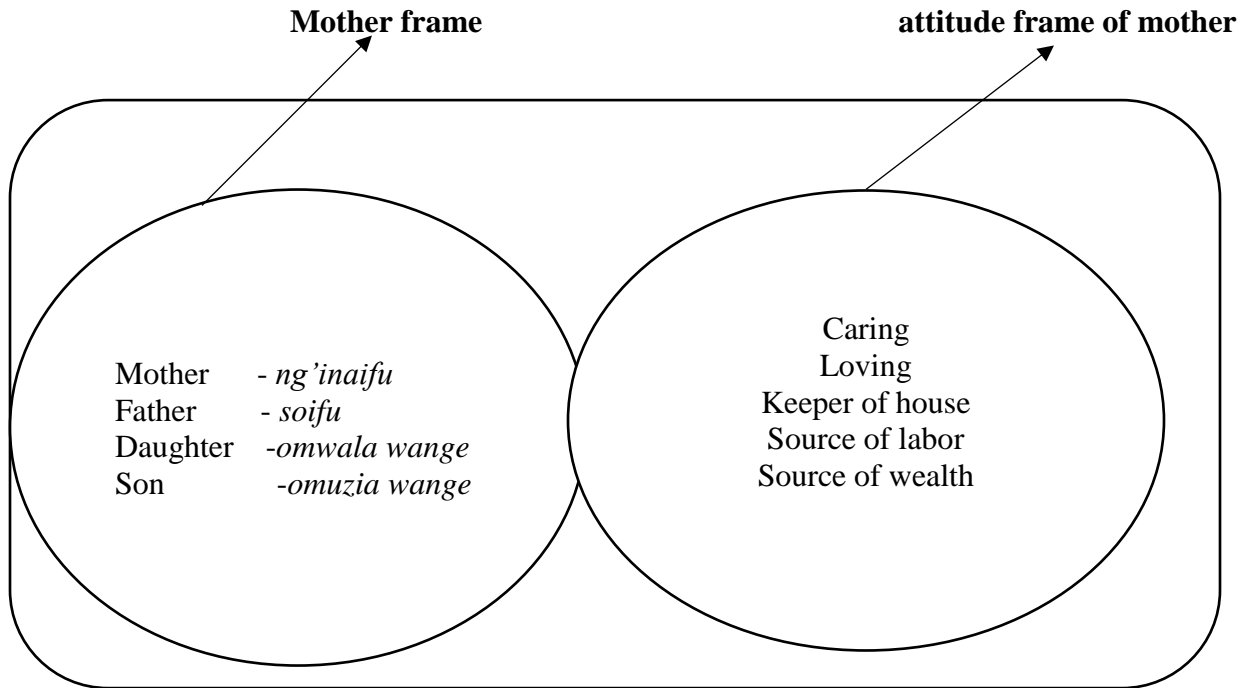| Father - *soifu*
Mother - *ng'inaifu*
Son - *omuziala wange*
Daughter - *omwala wange* | Provider
Protector
Disciplinarian
Authority figure |

Figure 3: Father Frame

A prototypical wife also has a husband, children, mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, sister-in-law and daughter-in-law as components that profile its frame. The wife prepares and cooks the meal provided by her husband. Most of the time, the wife and co-wife cook and each one of them takes the food to *ekidori* (a special hut for the male only). In this place, only male members of the family eat as they discuss important family issues in which women are not to know or take part in. Even small boys who had reached the puberty age were allowed to attend such gatherings. Women, girls and boys who were below puberty age ate together.

A wife as a daughter-in-law is supposed to help her mother-in -law with chores just like a daughter does as her mother-in-law treats her as if she is her own daughter. The chores include farming, fetching of firewood and water and sometimes preparing meals together especially before she has been given permission by her mother-in-law to prepare her own meals. A wife's relation with her father-in-law on the other hand is a distant one. She cannot address or refer to him by his name which shows the maximum respect she accords to him. The subset of wife's frame is that of a

mother in which apart from just preparing meal, she is supposed to be loving and caring towards her children.

Mother frame   **attitude frame of mother**

Mother   - *ng'inaifu*
Father   - *soifu*
Daughter   *-omwala wange*
Son   *-omuzia wange*

Caring
Loving
Keeper of house
Source of labor
Source of wealth

Figure 4: Mother Frame

4.2.1. Elementary Family Frame

A marriage frame can form a subset frame of elementary family which consist of a husband, wife and children. The man (husband) is the head of the family. He provided for his family and he is seen as a source of authority. He is also the disciplinarian and he makes major decisions in the family. A wife should be submissive to his husband. She prepares meals for both her husband and children; since the husband is seen as a disciplinary figure, in contrast, she is caring and loving towards her children.

Children on the other hand are supposed to be obedient to their parents. They are also seen as a source of labor as girls helped with the house chores while boys helped with grazing of cattle. Both

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boys and girls were also expected to assist in farming. Sometimes boys accompanied their father to fishing. Girls were also seen as source of wealth because before getting married, dowry was to be paid. The process of dowry payment was a continuous one since girl's parent could ask for cows if a need arises to. For instance, in case of death in the wife's side, the husband's family was expected to bring at least a cow to be slaughtered in the ceremony. This was still seen as a form of dowry payment. In every elementary family, there is a first born and a last born. What profiles the elementary family frame therefore are the husband, wife and children. This can be illustrated using the following figure:

Figure 5: Elementary Family Frame.
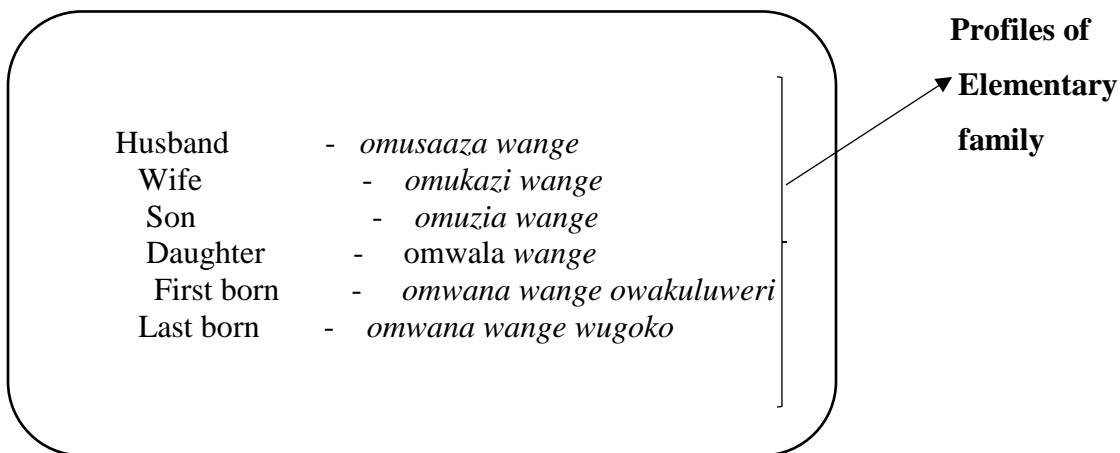
The components that profiles elementary family frame can give rise to other frames as seen in figure four and three where the mother and father can form their sub frame together with attitude that are associated with these terms. The children; daughter, son, first born and last born can also have their sub frames.

4.2.1.1. *Omwala Wange (*daughter*) Frame*

The term *omwala* without the possessive form *wange* means girl, *omwala wange* literally means 'my daughter'. A daughter is seen as a source of wealth because before getting married, her husband to be pays for her dowry price. Furthermore, the process of dowry payment is a continuous one. She is also seen as a source of labor as she helps with farm work and house chores, the

activities that she keeps on carrying out to her mother-in-law after getting married. In case of death, a daughter who had grown up to be a woman and had reached a marriage age cannot be buried in her father's homestead. There are three ways in which her burial can be conducted: first she can be buried outside the 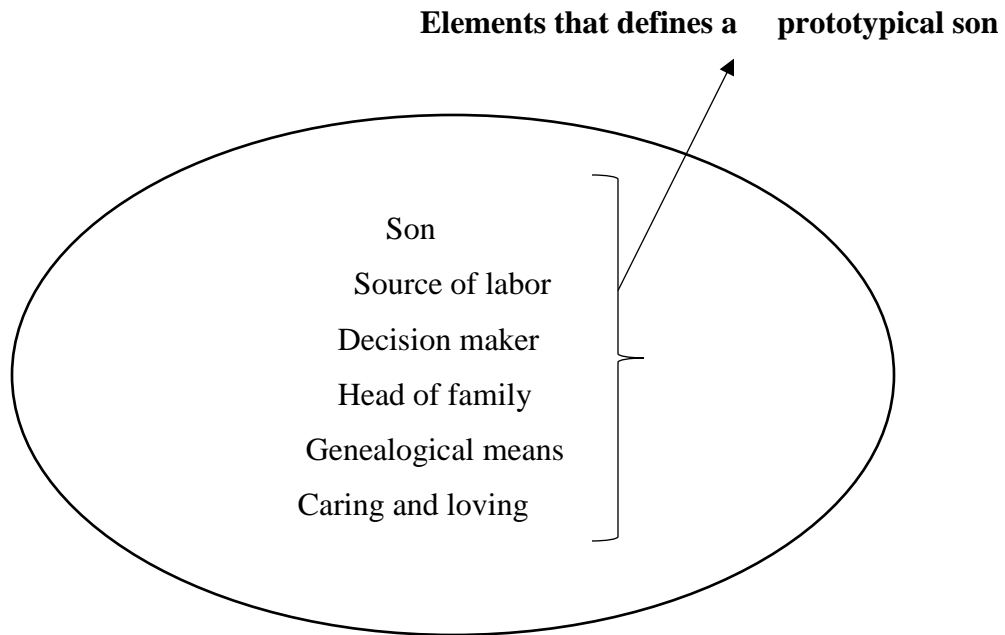homestead of her father, secondly she can be buried at her sister's homestead only if her sister's husband agrees and lastly she can be buried by her aunt (*senge*) at her own homestead. For this reason, the daughter is seen as an outsider, one who does not belong in her father's homestead. The attitude frame of a daughter is:

Profiles of a daughter

Daughter   - *omwala wange*
Source of labor
Source of wealth
Outsider
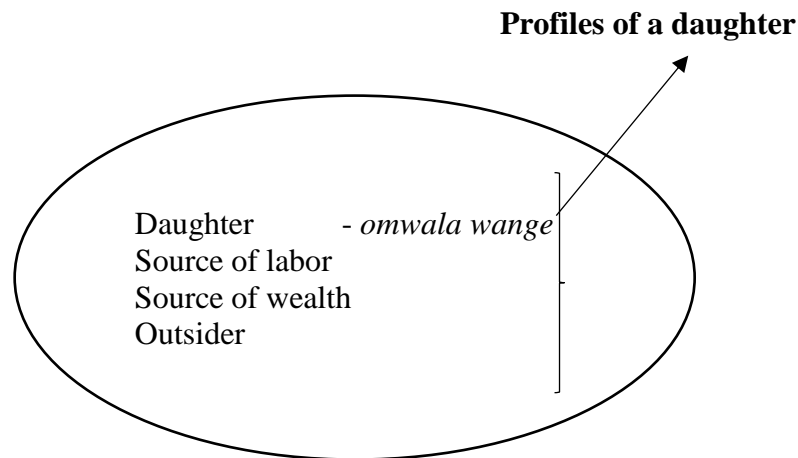
Figure 6: Attitude Frame of a Daughter

4.2.1.2. *Omuzia Wange (*son*)* frame

A son is referred to as *omuzia wange*, this term literally means 'my son' as the term *omuzia* is a noun which stands for 'boy'. A son is viewed as a very important member of a family since Suba community is patrilineal, descent is achieved only through male line. Apart from just being a genealogical means, a son can be involved in major decision making and discussions carried out in an *ekidori*. If his father is dead, he takes on the responsibility of protecting the family, being the head of the family and being involved in decisions made by his FB (*salaaga*) on behalf of the family. The attitude associated with term son can be summarized as:

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Elements that defines a   prototypical son

Son

Source of labor

Decision maker

Head of family

Genealogical means

Caring and loving

Figure 7: Attitude Frame of a Son

In the past, only sons were allowed to inherit land from their father. After getting married and by the blessings of his parents, if a son feels ready to form his own homestead, he is given a land in which he can do so. Even after forming his own homestead, a good son tends to visit his parents on a daily basis. A son is also a source of labor as he is supposed to help in the farm. A prototypical son is therefore one who takes care and love his parents, one whom at a proper age should get married and continue the family genealogical tree. For this reason, even step son is still considered as one's own biological son if he is caring, loving and obedient towards his parents.

4.2.1.3. *Omwana Wange Owakuluweri (*Firstborn*)*

This term can be used to refer to both girl and boy so long as they hold the first born position. This term is the term given to the first child in a marriage or even if one gets a child before marriage, they can still be given this title. The position of a first born comes with responsibilities: a first born child should always act responsible and set a good example for his/her sibling as the other siblings tend to follow their footsteps. In case she is a girl, she takes responsibility of preparing meals and

taking care of the family in the absence of her mother. For a boy, he becomes the heir of his father's properties and he can be the head of the family in the absence of his father by being involved in major decision making concerning the family.

Figure 8: Firstborn Frame

Components that profiles first born frame   **Attitude associated with firstborn**

Father   - *soifu*

Mother   - *ng'inaifu*

First born   - *Omwana wange owakuluweri*

Sibling   - *wamwifu*

Responsible

Either gender

Role model

Heir

Head of family

Attitude associated with   a male firstborn
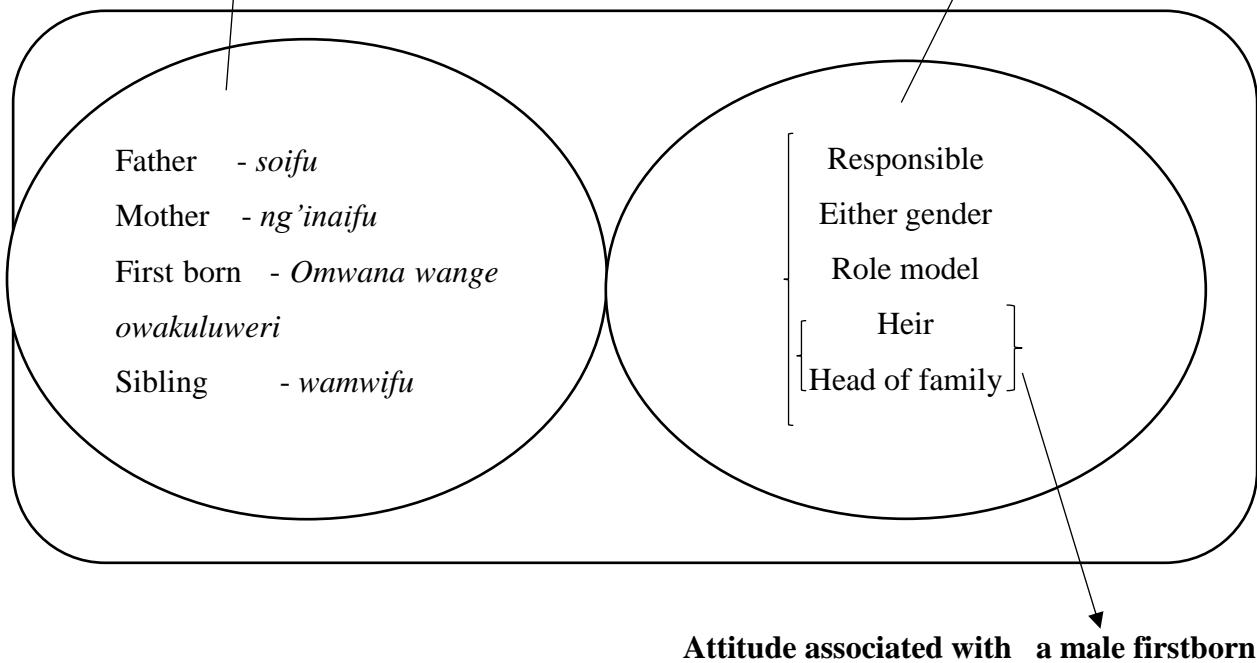
4.2.1.4. *Omwana Wange Wugoko (*Lastborn*)*

Lastborn is one of the components that profiles the elementary family. A lastborn can be defined as the youngest child in the family. The term *omwana wange wugoko* does not distinguish gender therefore, it can be used while referring to a female or male child. If the lastborn is a male, he is supposed to remain behind in his father's homestead as his male siblings leave to form their own homestead.

His main duty is to remain behind so that he can take care of his parents in old age. If incase the lastborn was a girl, this responsibility moves to the next available male child. Lastborn is one of the components that profiles the elementary family frame but it can also have its own sub frame as shown below:

Components that profile lastborn frame   **attitude associated with lastborn**

Father   - *soifu*

Mother   - *ng'inaifu*

Sibling   - *wamwifu*

Lastborn   - *omwana wange wugoko*

Youngest child

Takes care of parents in old age

Inherit the homestead
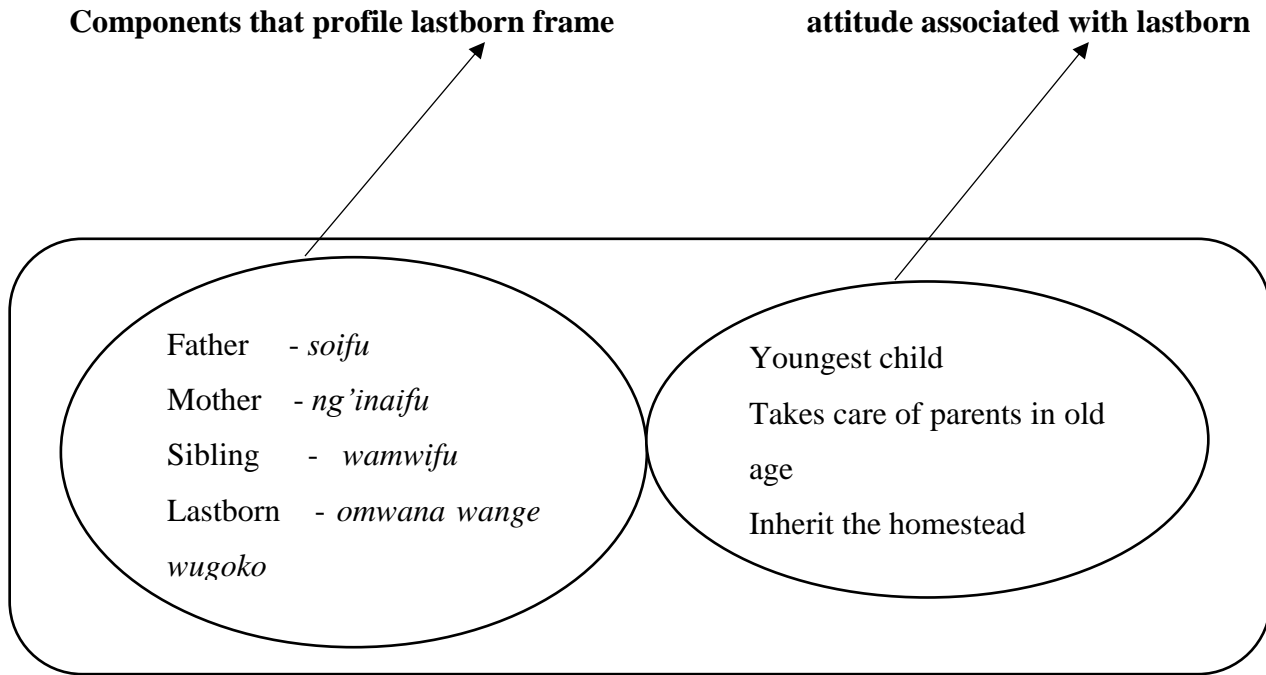
Figure 9: Lastborn Frame

4.2.2. Compound Family Frame

A compound family arises as result of woman getting married after giving birth while she was still at her parent's home. The children that she comes with in her husband's home are referred to as *ezakukirwa*, this term has a negative connotation and it is only used secretly. It can never be used to address or refer to these type of children as it is degrading. Instead the normal term that one uses to address his own children, *awana wange* is used. Another way in which this type of family can be formed is when a widow gets married with kids.

In this case she gets remarried to someone who is considered to be the brother of her husband. Even if that person is not biologically related to her husband so long as both the deceased husband and the husband to be come from the same clan, they are considered to be brothers. When a widower remarries, the woman is supposed to take care of the children as her own. She is not allowed to discriminate against them as she treats them the same way she treats her own children.

Husband   -   *omusaaza   wange*
Wives   - *Awakaazi wange*
Children/step children- *awana wange*
Step child -   *ezakukirwa*

Elements that profiles compound family frame
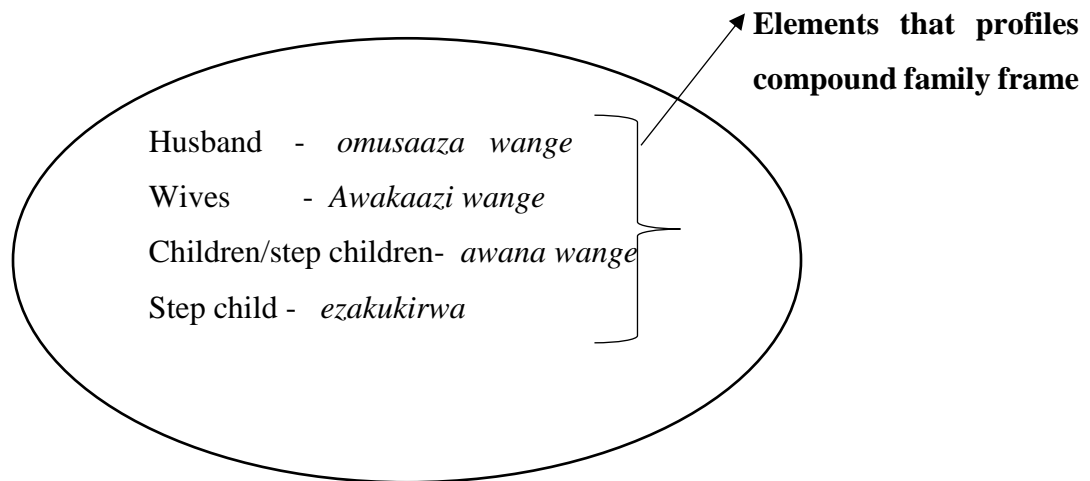
Figure 10: Compound Family Frame.

4.2.3. Polygamous Family Frame

Compound family can also be formed as a result of polygamous marriage. If a man had more than one wife, he was supposed to treat the wives and their children equally. The children on the other hand were supposed to give their step mother the same respect they gave to their own biological mother.

Step father, step mother, step children and half sibling are treated the same as one biological father, mother, children and sibling respectively, because there are no special kinship terms for them in Suba community.

The same terms *soifu*, *ng'inaifu*, *awana wange* and *wamwifu* (father, mother, my children and sibling) are used for them. The first wife in polygamous marriage is referred to as *omukaazi omukulu*. A descriptive term that means 'old wife' while the youngest wife is referred to as *omukaazi omutono*, meaning 'small wife'. The wives in return referred to each other as *omwarikwa*, which literally means 'one who goes to another woman's husband' but the term is also used when the youngest wife refers to the oldest wife. There are two things that comes to the hearer's mind on hearing women referring to each other as *omwarikwa*. This is mainly because the term is not only used to refer to women with whom one shares husband with, but it is also used when one is referring to husband's brothers' wives. Elements that frame polygamous marriage can therefore be illustrated in the following way:

Husband   -   *omusaaza wange*

First wife   -   *omukaazi omukulu*

Last wife   -   *omukaazi omutono*

Children   -   *awana wange*

Co-wives   -   *awarikwa*
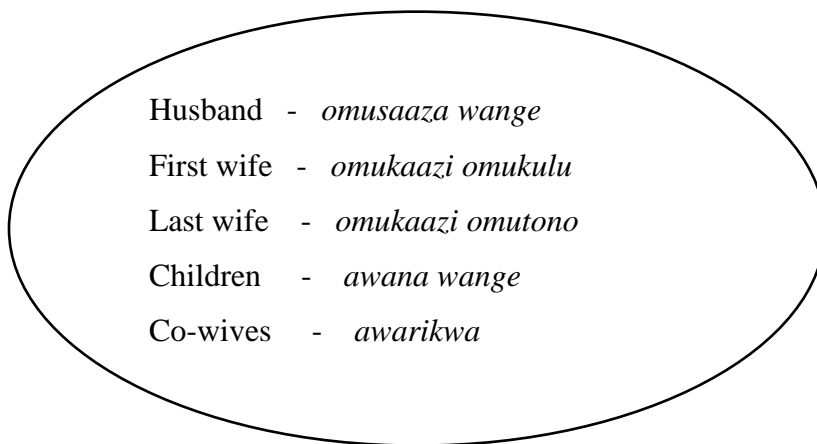
Figure 11: Polygamous Marriage Frame

The encyclopedic knowledge evoked by the term *omwarikwa* does not only involve women married to brothers or women sharing the same husband, it also evokes in the hearer's mind that these women, in case they are married to brothers, they treat each other like sisters. At a given time, they shared or are still sharing the same homestead if none of their husbands had been permitted to move out of the homestead so that he can form his own. *Omwarikwa* always share the same -in-laws. These can be summarized in the following figure:

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Figure 12: Attitude Frame of *Omwarikwa*

Married to the same husband
Married to brothers therefore treat
each other like sisters
Share the same in-laws
Live in the same homestead
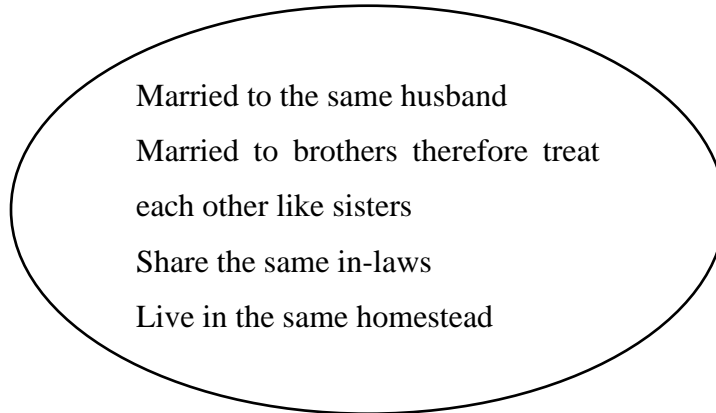
4.3. Collateral Frame

Collateral relatives are the ones with whom they share the same ancestor with the ego but they do not form part of the ego's direct ascendants or descendants. We are related to this type of relatives through blood but not through direct line. These relatives consist of our siblings and their lineal relatives, cousins, father's siblings and their children, mother's siblings and their children. In Suba community, the collateral relatives include: *wamwifu* (consisting of sisters and brothers) *awaziala* (cousins), FB (*gaake/salaaga*) FZ (senge), MZ (*ng'inaifu omutono/malaga*), MB (*kooza*). These terms are related, therefore mentioning one of them evoke other terms in the hearer's mind. None of the terms can be interpreted independently of the other terms.

Elements that profiles collateral frame

Paternal uncle   - *gaake/ salaaga*
Maternal uncle   -   *kooza*
Paternal aunt   - -   *senge*
Maternal aunt   *Malaga/ng'inaifu omutono*
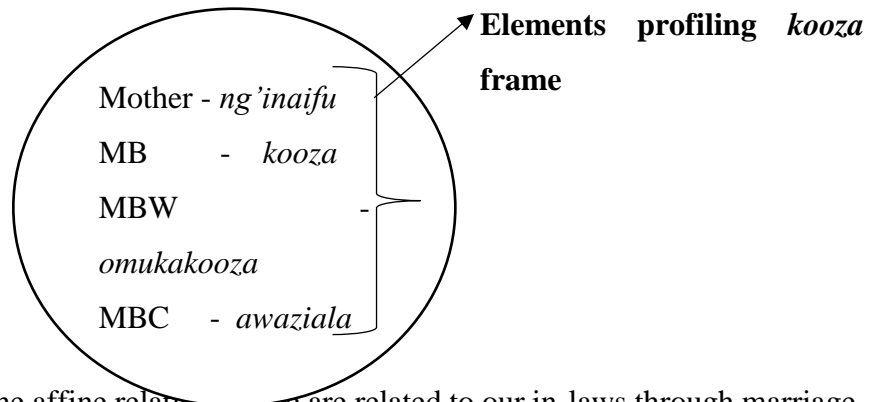Cousins   -   *awaziala*
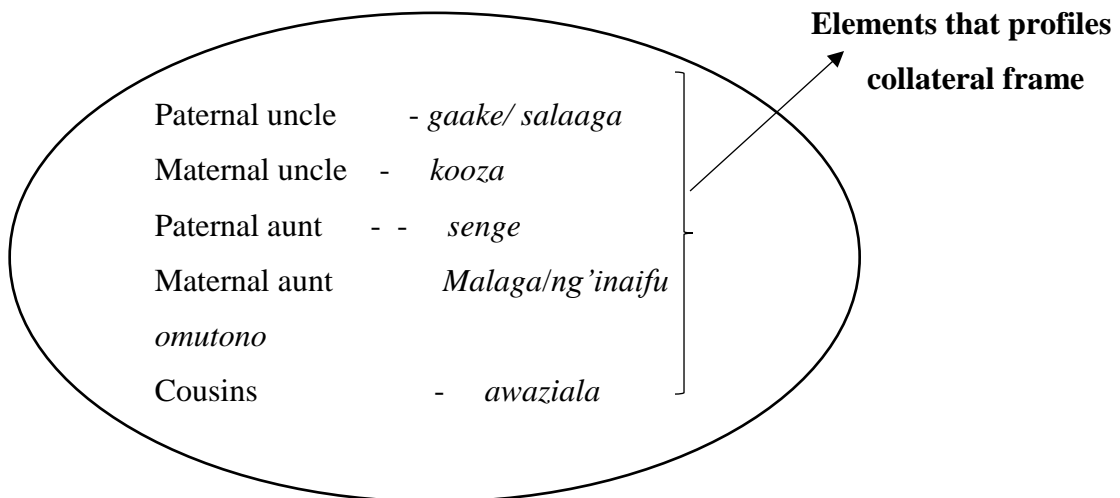
Figure 13: Collateral Relatives Frame

Suba culture has a clear distinction between the relatives from paternal side and those from maternal side. There are different terms used to refer to FB and MB, the same goes for FZ and MZ. The referent term for FB, *salaaga*, brings into mind the fact that one has a father who in turn has brothers. The encyclopedic knowledge behind the term *gaake*, which is the address term for one's FB, has the background connotation of the fact that one's FB can act as one's biological father in the absence of one. This is mainly because *gaake* is a term that can also be used when addressing one's biological father. Any person who belongs to father's clan and one is not sure of the relation, is normally referred to as *salaaga*/*gaake*. A prototypical *gaake* is one who can act on behalf of one's own biological father. This means that it is not a requirement for one to be a biological brother to one's father, so long as they share the same clan with one's own father and he acts accordingly, he is considered as one's *gaake*. The term *senge* can evoke two ideas in the hearer's mind because it can have two interpretations, first the hearer interprets it that the speaker has a father who in turn has a sister. Secondly it can mean that the speaker is a married woman whose husband has sisters, so she refers to her husband's sisters as *senge*.
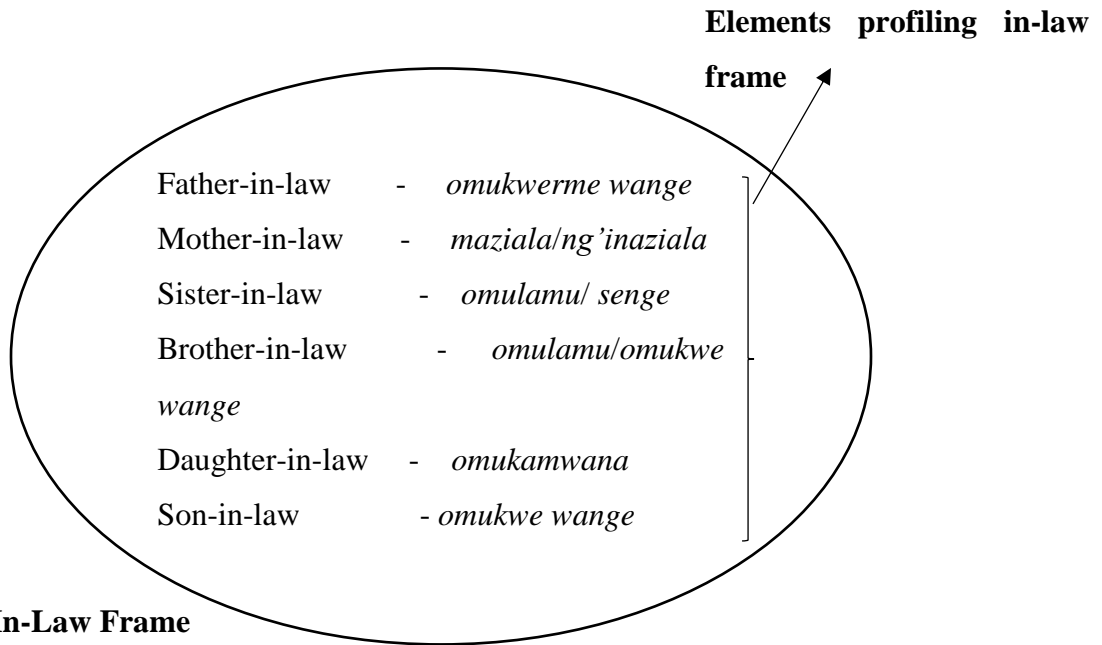
The referent term for MZ is *maalaga*. The term *maalaga* evokes in the hearer's mind that one has a mother who has a sister. The encyclopedic knowledge behind the address term *ng'inaifu omutono* can be explained in relation to the view that one's MZ treat their sister's children as their own biological children. She can perform the duties of her sister in her absence for her children. The element *kooza* cannot be interpreted independently without considering the mother element. As the *kooza* concept evokes in the hearer's mind that one has a mother who has a brother, *kooza* therefore is the term used while addressing and referring to one's maternal uncle. The element *awaziala* has the connotation that one's FB/FZ/MZ/MB have children whom one refers to as *awaziala* in return they also refer to them as *awaziala*. *Kooza* term also evokes in the hearer's mind the term o*mukakooza* (uncle's wife). *Kooza's* frame can be illustrated as:

Figure 14: *Kooza* Frame

Mother - *ng'inaifu*

MB   -   *kooza*

MBW   -

omukakooza

MBC   - *awaziala*

Elements   profiling   *kooza* frame

4.4.   In-law Frame

The in-law relation is one of the affine relation, as we are related to our in-laws through marriage. In Suba community there is a clear distinction between affine and consanguine relation since there are different kinship terms used to refer to those who are related to one through blood and the ones related to one through marriage. The following elements form the in-law frame:

Elements   profiling   in-law frame

Father-in-law   -   *omukwerme wange*

Mother-in-law   -   *maziala/ng'inaziala*

Sister-in-law   -   *omulamu/ senge*

Brother-in-law   -   *omulamu/omukwe*

wange

Daughter-in-law   -   *omukamwana*

Son-in-law   - *omukwe wange*

Figure 15: In-Law Frame

4.4.1. *Omukwerme Wange* **(Father-In-Law) Frame**

Omukwerme wange is one of the elements that profiles the marriage frame. This element therefore cannot be interpreted independent of the marriage frame. On hearing this term, all the elements that profiles the marriage frame comes into the hearer's mind. For instance, the hearer will automatically know that the speaker is married and therefore he/she uses this term to refer to his/her spouses' father. Furthermore, the background knowledge that forms this term is based on the dowry process as it literally means 'one who receives dowry'. The relationship between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is a distant one while father-in-law and his son-in-law have a close relationship. Even before being a father-in-law, the father-in-law to be has the responsibility of paying a visit to his in-law to be in order to inform them of his son's intentions. Then afterwards, the dowry process can take place.
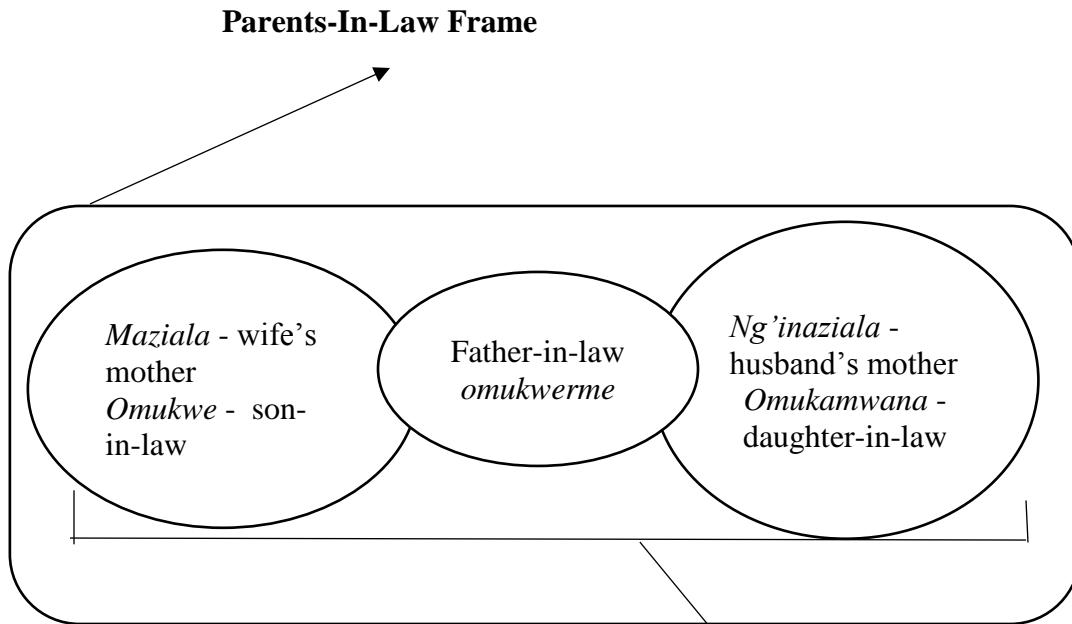
4.4.2. **Mother-In-Law Frame**

Just like the father-in-law frame, the element mother-in-law is also one of the elements that profiles the marriage frame. The frame of mother-in-law overlaps with the father-in-law frame, the two are independent of each other and they are also independent of the marriage frame. Suba community has distinct terms for referring to wife's mother and the one used to refer to the husband's mother. Wife's mother is referred to as *maziala* by her son-in-law. *Maziala* is one of the elements that forms the wife's frame. On hearing the term *maziala*, the hearer will automatically know that it is a male speaker who is speaking and also that the male speaker is married and his wife has a mother whom he refers to as *maziala*. The relationship between *maziala* and her son-in-law is a distant one, son-in-law cannot shake the hand of his mother-in-law and most of the time he cannot look her directly into her eyes. If possible, the two would always avoid each other's path.

Husband's mother on the other hand is referred to as *ng'inaziala*, but the daughter-in-law addresses her as mother. *Ng'inaziala* is one of the elements that profiles the husband's frame. This concept brings into the hearer's mind the fact that the speaker is a married woman whose husband has a mother whom she refers to as *ng'inaziala*. The relationship between *ng'inaziala* and her daughter-in-law is like that of a mother daughter kind of a relationship, they have a close relationship.

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Ng'inaziala treats her daughter-in-law the same way she would treat her own daughter. The frame father-in-law and mother-in-law can be illustrated using the following figure

Parents-In-Law Frame

Figure 16: Parents-In-Law Frame

Elements profiling parents-in-law frame

The encyclopedic knowledge that one has concerning the uses of these two terms assist the hearer in knowing whether the speaker is male or female. The male speaker will always refer to his mother-in-law as *maziala* while the female speaker always refers to her mother-in-law as *ng'inaziala*. At no given time will for example a husband refers to his mother-in-law as *ng'inaziala* nor will a wife refers to her mother-in-law as *maziala*, this confusion never occurs.

4.4.3. *Omukwe wange* (Brother-In-Law)

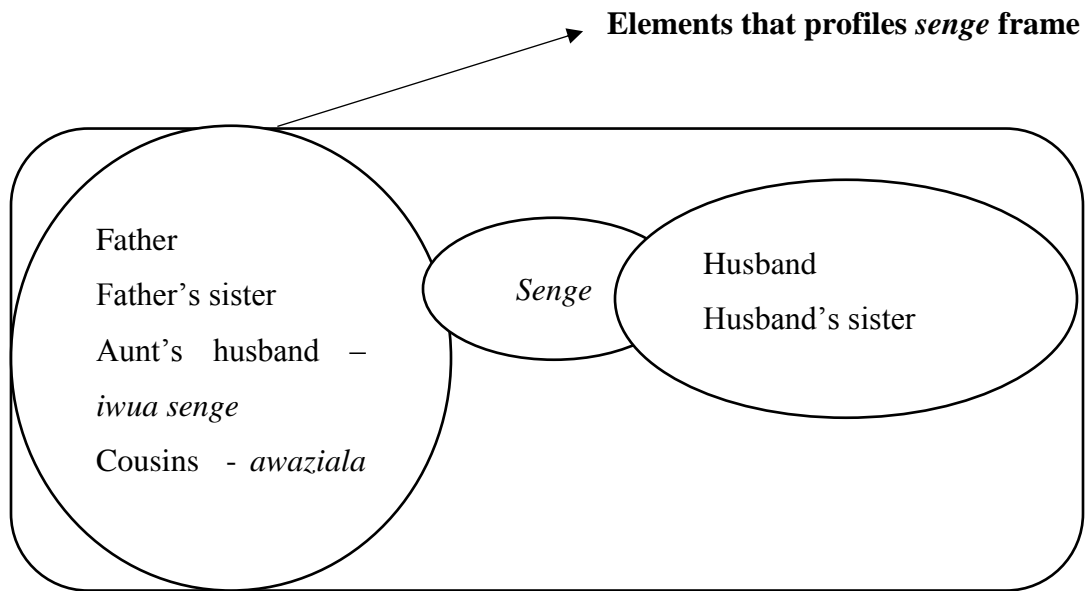*Omukwe* is one of the elements that profiles the husband frame. Those who refer to each other as *omukwe* acknowledges the fact that they can marry each other's sister. This is because one's husband refers to his brother-in-law as *omukwe* and wife's brother also refers to his sister's husband the same way. The attitude that forms this word is that there is no rule that prevent the two (wife's brother and husband) from paying dowry in either side. The two different interpretations that comes into the hearer's mind on the mention of *omukwe* are: the speaker is referring to his son-in-law, or to a man who has married his sister and therefore the man is his brother-in-law. Another component that profiles the *omukwe* frame is *omusangi*, a term that those who are married to sisters use to refer to each other. The term *omusangi* cannot be interpreted independently of *omukwe* frame.
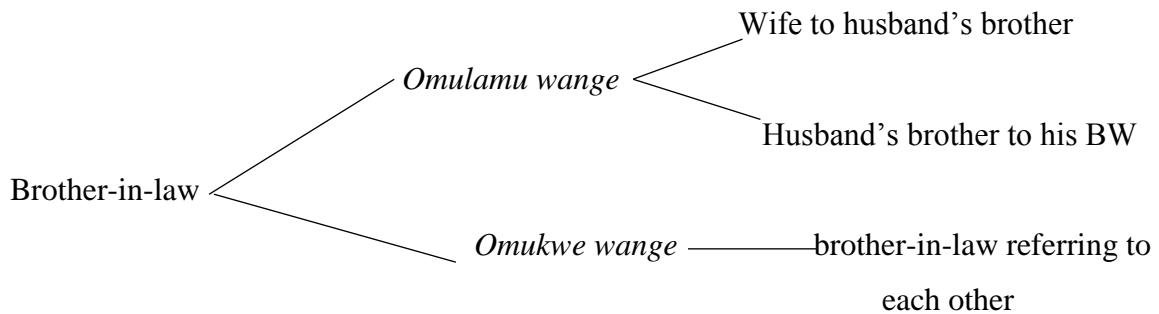
Figure 17: Brother-In-Law Frame

The wife however cannot refer to his brother-in-law as *omukwe*, she refers to him as *omulamu*. While her brother-in-law and her sister-in-law also refers to her as *omulamu wange* as illustrated above. *Omulamu wange* is a reciprocal term that both the wife and her brother-in-law use to refer to each other but this is not the same case for the relationship that exist between the wife and her sister-in-law. The wife therefore refers to her sister-in-law as *senge* meaning aunt. The encyclopedic knowledge of the term *senge* can be interpreted in two different ways, first it is taken to mean that one is referring to her husband's sister hence the term is dependent on the husband's frame. It is one of the elements that profiles this frame as it is considered respectful to refer to one's own HZ as aunt.

Secondly, it brings to the hearer's mind the fact that one's father has sisters whom the speaker refers to as *senge*. In this case *senge* depends on father's frame for its interpretation to be complete. The *senge* frame on the other hand cannot exist independently without the concept *iwua senge* (aunt's husband) and *awaziala* (aunt's children, cousins to the ego). On hearing the term *senge*, these two interpretations must come to the hearer's mind at any given time. The concept *senge* consequently is shared between the father and husband's frame as illustrated below:

Elements that profiles *senge* frame

Father
Father's sister
Aunt's husband – *iwua senge*
Cousins - *awaziala*

Senge

Husband
Husband's sister

Figure 18: *Senge* Frame

4.5.   Generation Frame

There are three generation ascending from the ego and four descending from the ego. By including ego's generation, there is realization of eight generations in Suba's culture.

4.5.1. Ego's Generation

Ego's generation can be formed as a sub frame to elementary family frame as some of the elements that profiles ego's generation frame also profiles elementary frame. While referring to the ego the following concepts comes into the hearer's mind: ego's sister, ego's brother who profiles the

sibling frame together with their children and respective spouses. The interpretation of ego's generation frame relies on the interpretation of the father's and mother's frame.

Elements profiling ego's generation frame

Sister   -   *wamwifu owekiala*

Brother   -   *Wamwifu owekizia*

Sister's husband -   *omulamu wange*

Brother's wife   -   *omulamu wange*

Sister's/brother's   son   -   *Omwiwa   wange   owekizia*

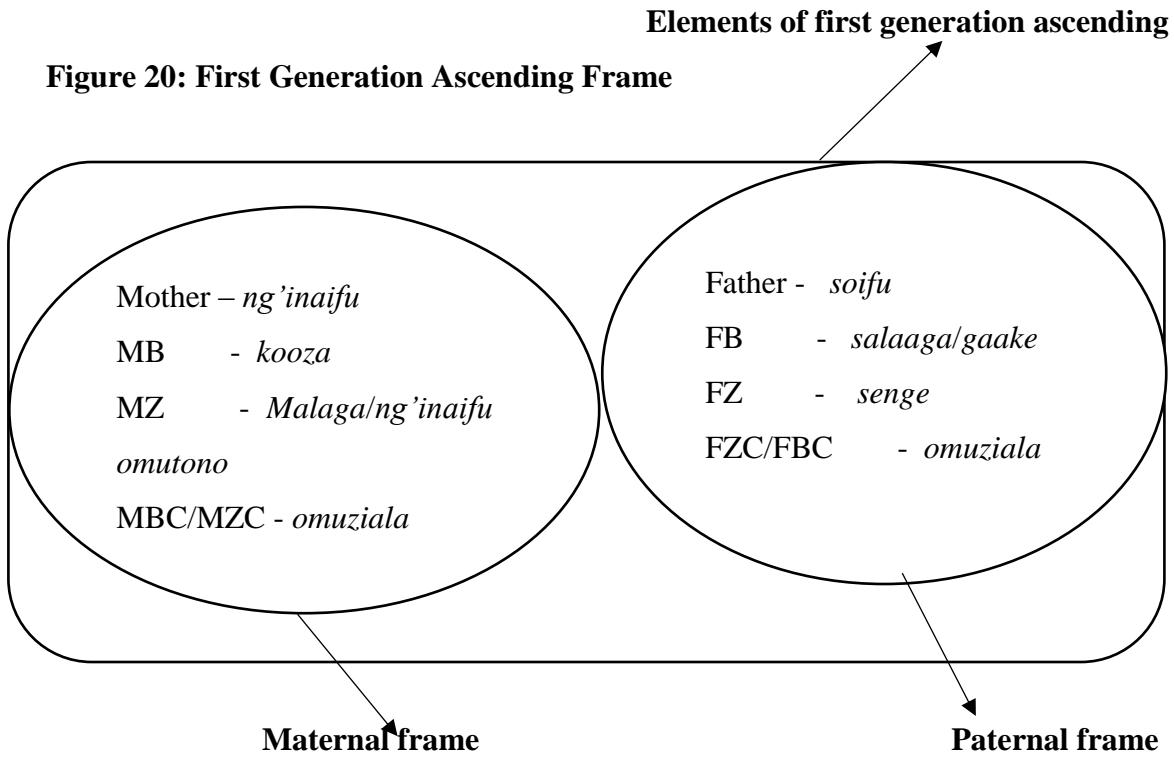Sister's/brother's daughter - *Omwiwa wange   owekiala*
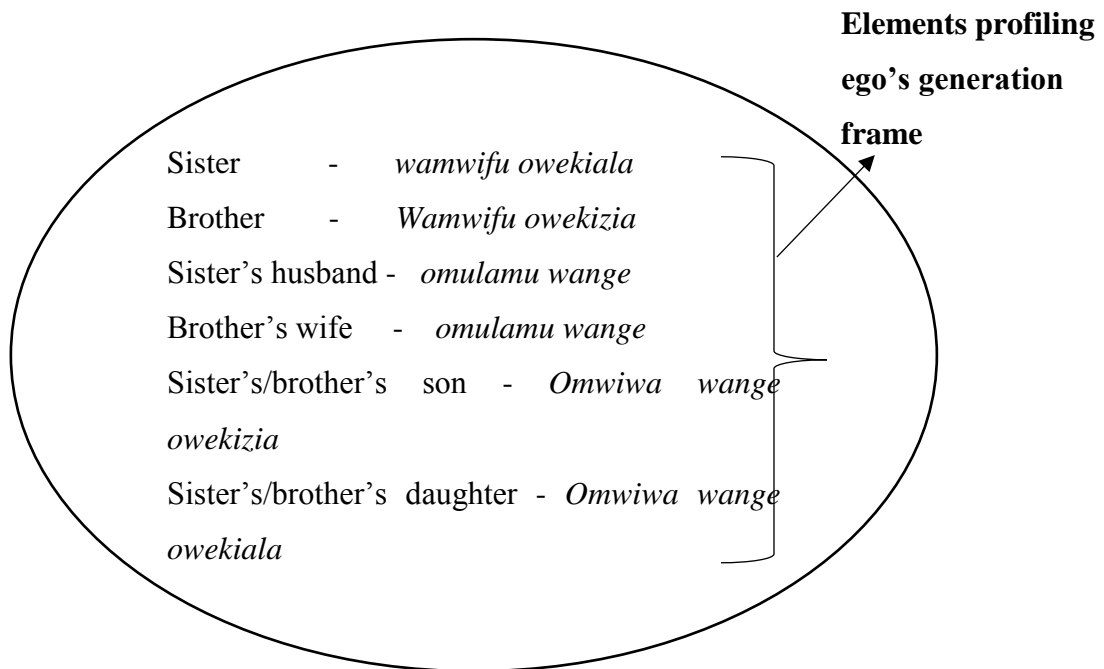
 Figure 19: Ego's Generation

The elements that profiles ego's generation depends on the interpretation of the ego as their meaning are given in relation to the ego. On mentioning any of them, the hearer must think of the speaker and how the speaker is related to the one being described by any of the element provided. Generally, *wamwifu* has a connotation that one has a sibling, by adding either *owekiala* or *owekizia*, its meaning is narrowed down to sister or brother respectively. On mentioning the term *omwiwa*, the following concepts comes into mind, one has a sister or brother who is married and they have a child. Their child refers to the ego either as *kooza* or *senge,* depending on the ego's gender while the ego refers to his sibling's children as *omwiwa wange owekizia* if he is a boy and if she is a girl *omwiwa wange owekiala*.

4.5.2. First Generation Ascending Frame

First generation ascending is made up of the mother, father, MB, FB, MZ and FZ. It is a major frame that forms the sub frame of mother, father, MB and FZ which had already been discussed in the previous sections. Elements in this frame can further be divided into matrilineal, those belonging to the mother's line and patrilineal, those belonging to the father's line.

Figure 20: First Generation Ascending Frame

Elements of first generation ascending

Mother – *ng'inaifu*

MB   - *kooza*

MZ   - *Malaga/ng'inaifu omutono*

MBC/MZC - *omuziala*

Father - *soifu*

FB   - *salaaga/gaake*

FZ   - *senge*

FZC/FBC   - *omuziala*

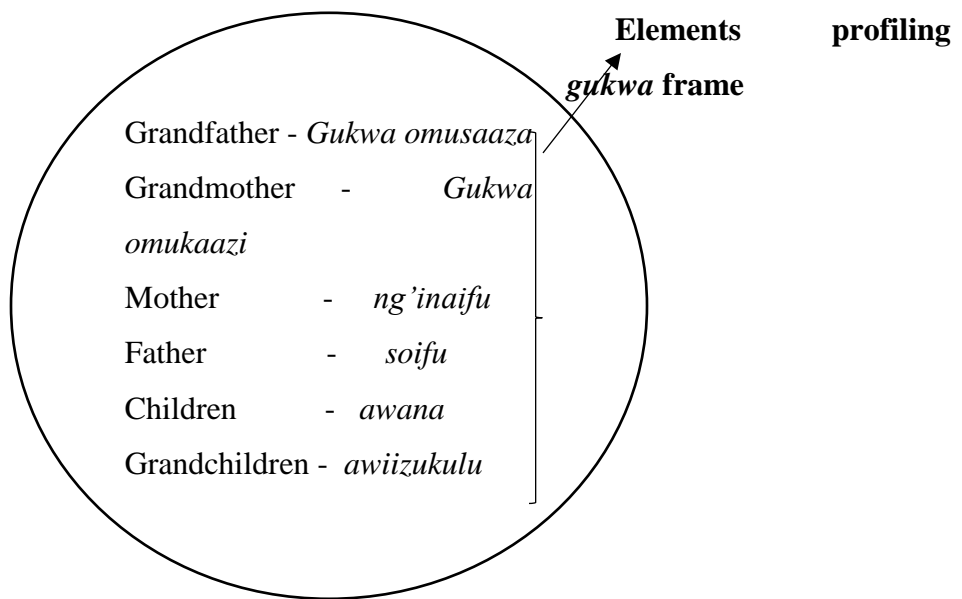**Maternal frame**

Paternal frame

There is clear distinction between relatives belonging to matrilineal frame and the ones belonging to patrilineal frame especially when it comes to distinguishing mother's siblings from father's sibling. But in the grandparents and great grandparents frame there is no such distinction.

4.5.3. *Gukwa* (Grandparent Frame)

The term *gukwa* does not mark gender unless one uses the descriptive term like *gukwa omusaaza* and *gukwa omukaazi* to refer to grandfather and grandmother respectively. The term *gukwa*

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literally means 'an old person' and can be used to respectfully address someone who is old not necessarily one's own grandparent. The term *gukwa* therefore has the following connotation: one's own grandfather or grandmother from either side of the parent and respectful way of referring to an elderly person not necessarily one's own grandparent. When referring to one's own grandparent, the *gukwa* frame evokes other elements that profiles it in the hearer's mind. The term therefore is based on the background knowledge that one has a son or daughter who gets married and then they have children who refers to their parents as *gukwa*. *Gukwa* hence depends on these elements for its interpretation. The elements that profiles *gukwa* frame are:

Elements profiling *gukwa* frame

Grandfather - *Gukwa omusaaza*
Grandmother - *Gukwa omukaazi*
Mother - *ng'inaifu*
Father - *soifu*
Children - *awana*
Grandchildren - *awiizukulu*

Figure 21: *Gukwa* Frame

This term can also be used when addressing one's own great grandparent instead of the terms *gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri* and *gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri* which means great grandmother and great grandfather respectively. The terms *gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri* and *gukwa omusaaza owa okuwiri* are only used when referring to one's own great grandparents. The third generation ascending frame can be illustrated as:

Great grandmother- *gukwa omukaazi owa okuwiri*
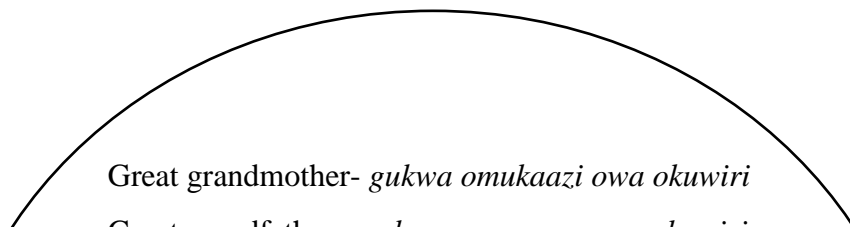
Figure 22: Third Generation Frame

All the elements that profiles the third generation frame are necessary for its interpretation to be complete. In order for one to be referred to as a great grandparent one must have grandchildren, (*awiizukulu*) who get married and give birth to great grandchildren (*ewichimbiriri*) whose children will be great great grandchildren (*Ewichimbiriria*). These are the major elements that profiles the third generation frame. A prototypical *gukwa* had a role of advising and teaching their grandchildren on sexual education as they were freer with their grandchildren as compared to the children's parents. Most of the time the grandchildren will spend time with their grandchildren after taking supper so that their grandparent could narrate to them stories.

Conclusion

This chapter dealt with a brief introduction of the three principles of frame semantic and how they were to be used in the application on *Olusuba* kinship terms. The application of Frame Semantic

Theory was discussed using the marriage frame in which affine kin were discussed. Other marriage sub frames; elementary family frame, compound family frame and polygamous family frame were analyzed. Collateral frame with focus on those relatives that are related to us through blood but not through direct line was also discussed. Finally, the in-law frame and generation frame was discussed with their related sub frames. Some of the kinship terms were associated with a certain attitude which formed the sub frames of those kinship terminologies.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. Conclusion

From the research conducted, it was found that *Olusuba* makes use of more than thirty kinship terminologies while referring to relatives. Some of these kinship terms are used as address terms

like the distinction made between *saalaga* versus *gaake* while referring to and addressing FB. Kinship terms in *Olusuba* have different connotations when it comes to their usage, the kin terms *nyoko*, and *ezakukirwa* are related to forms of abuse hence Suba people refrain from using them. In the Suba culture, there is a clear distinction between consanguine and affine kin as none of these terms are interchangeable. For instance, one's own daughter is referred to as *omwala wange* while the daughter-in-law is referred to as *omukamwana*, the term *omuzia wange* is used for the son while son-in-law is referred to as *omukwe*. During the discussion, it was established that there are different terms used to refer to wife's mother and husband's mother. The term used to refer to wife's mother is *maaziala* while husband's mother is referred to as *ng'inaziala*. Some of the consanguine kin terms are shared due to cultural reasons, son-in-law and brother-in-law are both referred to as *omukwe* since a brother-in-law can end up marrying where his sister is married. *Omukwe* is a term that is used to refer to brother-in-law from the wife's side while the wife refers to her brother-in-law as *omulamu wange*.

The possessive determiner *wange* plays a major role in the formation of *Olusuba* kinship terms. Most of Suba's kinship terms are just nouns which without the possessive marker *wange*, kinship term cannot be realized. The terms *omwala*, *omuzia*, *omusaaza*, and *omukaazi* for example are just nouns meaning girl, boy, man and woman respectively. However, when used with the possessive determiner *wange*, kinship terms daughter, son, husband and wife are formed. This possessive term *wange* can be used as a different term from the noun it is qualifying while sometimes it can be joined to the root of the kin term. When joined to the root, *wange* changes its form to –*ifu* like in the examples (mother) *ng'ina-ifu, (*father*) so-ifu* and (sibling) *wamw-ifu.*

Some of the processes that helped in the formation of *Olusuba* kinship terminologies were: nominalization in which the kin terms *omwarikwa* and *omukwe* were formed. The second process was compounding and elision through which the kin term *omukamwana* is formed. All *Olusuba* kin terms are classified under class one nouns with the exception of the third and fourth generation; great grandchild (*ekichimbiriri*) and great great grandchild (*ekichimbiriria*) which fall under inanimate beings. The prefix *o-mu-* is used in singular while *a-wa-* used with plural kin terms, however, there are kin terms that have zero prefix morpheme in their singular form like; *kooza*, *gukwa* and *senge*.

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The linguistic structure of *Olusuba* kinship terms was effective in classifying *Olusuba* kinship term into three categories. First category were the primary terms in which a single lexical or a lexical and the possessive determiner was used to form a kin term like in the terms *maalaga*, *omuziala* and *saalaga* (MZ, cousin and FB respectively). These terms are categorized under kinship terminologies even without the possessive marker *wange*. The second category are the kin terms formed through derivative means in which other parts of speech like adjectives are used to qualify nouns in the formation of kinship terminologies. The kin terms *ng'inaifu omutono*, *omwana wugoko* and *omwana owakuluweri* make use of the adjective *omutono*, *wugoko* and *owakuluweri* to form the following kinship terminologies: MZ, lastborn and firstborn respectively. The last category is the descriptive kin terms in which immediate steps of relation is indicated in the kinship term, for example:

1. *Gukwa   omukazi   owa   okuwiri*

   Grandparent   female   of   second

   Great grandmother

2. *Omwiwa   wange   owekizia*

   Child   my   boy

   My sister's son

Suba kinship terminologies are realized up to the eighth generation including ego's generation. There are three ascending generations and four descending generations from the ego. Lineage is carried through the male generation making Suba to be a patriarchal community. Both descriptive and classificatory systems of classifications are used in Suba's culture. Gender is used at all time to classify kin terms except in the second, third and fourth generation and also when distinguishing between firstborn and lastborn in the family. Age as one of the principles of classifying kin is only effective while referring to firstborn (*omwana owakuluweri*) and lastborn (*omwana wugoko*). The term used while addressing MZ is *ng'inaifu omutono* meaning 'small mother' but this term is used while referring to MZ regardless of their age in relation to ego's mother's age.

Most of Suba kinship terms can be interpreted in more than one frame, for example, father can belong to both marriage frame and generation frame. The terms *senge* and *omukwe* can also be interpreted in two different frames depending on the context. Some of these terms have attitude frames which consist of the qualities Suba community associate with these kin terms. Examples of kin terms with attitude frames are: father, mother, daughter, son, firstborn and lastborn.

5.2 Recommendation

The focus of the study was on analysis of Suba kinship terminologies using Fillmore's Frame Semantic Theory. The same theory can be used while comparing Suba kinship terminologies to Luo kinship terminology with the aim of finding out whether cultural borrowing has influenced the interpretation of the two communities' kinship terminologies.

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