

**A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF PATRIARCHY AND DHOLUO PROVERBS:
THE USE OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY AND DOMINANCE
THEORY.**

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DECLARATION

This my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

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This projected has been submitted for examination with the approval as the candidate's supervisor.

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DR. ORAO JAMES

DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ogutu

You gave me life and the opportunity to pursue my education also supported me financially in one way or the other.

To my uncle, Mr. Ongoro

Your scholarly advice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to sincerely express my gratitude to almighty God for granting me the stamina and good health to complete my project. This work is indication of the intercession of several people in my life and great dedication.

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I do hope this work will deepen academic knowledge to any researcher in their academic pursuits.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KSN- Kisumu South Nyanza

CMT- Conceptual Metaphor Theory

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. **Proverb** - It is a short and precise statement that points out something abstract based on discursive consensus.
2. **Patriarchy** - It is a discursive power structure in which the males are the dominant group.
3. **Metaphor** - It is a device that structure our understanding of ideas by providing realities of the world and making sense from our experience.
4. **Source Domain** - Literal entities and expressions that the hearer has clear information on.
5. **Target Domain** - Abstract entities that the hearer tries to comprehend.
6. **Mapping** - It is a process of comparing two entities where one is abstract and one concrete.

ABSTRACT

This research study attempts a pragmatic analysis of patriarchy and Dholuo proverbs using conceptual metaphor theory which analyses the understanding of these proverbs in terms of source and target domains. Dominance Theory also plays a vital role in showing how patriarchy manifests in the proverbs. The study seeks to look at how patriarchy is manifested in Dholuo proverbs, the motifs of masculinity and femininity in Dholuo proverbs and how Dholuo proverbs help promote patriarchy in Luo society. Using the purposive sampling method, the proverbs were collected then classified into three categories namely social, economic and political aspects. They were later subjected to CMT which helped in their comprehension. The findings reveals that: Most Dholuo proverbs demean women while ennobling men; the motifs of femininity have derogatory connotations while masculinity are assigned elevating elements; the CMT accounts for the understanding of the proverbs while the Dominance Theory shows the gender imbalance and aspects of patriarchy in the proverbs; Dholuo proverbs continue to facilitate the entrenchment and propagation of gender imbalance in the society.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Proverbs are “archives of social life” and may reflect ideological struggles between the dominant and dominated group in a society (Noor, 2015: 10). Language impacts one’s way of thinking and being a constituent part of language use, proverbs rootedness in culture thus gives one an expanded whole world-view of a society. For a reflection on patriarchy in society, language and proverbs in particular can be deconstructed to show which elements i.e. images, metaphor are employed to engrain and propagate patriarchy in daily language use in a society.

Proverb being considered as the fundamental of traditional knowledge has been used in propagating ideas in the society. This is due to the metaphoric representations conveyed through them. In everyday conversations, proverbs are used with an aim of deepening the profundity of the messages as Achebe points out that proverbs are the palm oil with which words are eaten (1975:5). Proverbs make for wholesome speech as they are used to summarize speech hence highly regarded.

Martin (2015) as quoted in Ramirez (2015:1) notes that culture is best defined through language and that proverbs are the best pointers of society’s values and beliefs. Proverbs help highlight the values and shared beliefs held by a given speech community, they are also the genre that carries culture and attitude. The ideas communicated in the proverbs may also indicate the inherent discourses concerning gender relations.

For instance, the diction used in some proverbs portray a discourse in which women are demeaned and men dignified; and even those that tend to positively paint women, still do this within the discourses that serve the interest of the male-controlled outlook in society and still reinforce patriarchy in general. Themes of these proverbs have attributes that society treasure or denounce like valour, wealth, morality, strength, marriage, poverty and laziness. The Luo proverbs are moralistic and informative and touch on all spheres of life. As such some of them also highlight issues of gender relations and expose the

patriarchal and sexist ideologies permeating the Luo society as brought out by the examples given below:

Wuoyi ok tow (a man does not age)

Nyako dher chak (a woman is a dairy cow)

The proverb “*wuoyi ok tow*” (*a man does not “rot”*) compared to a girl; his vitality and virility is here brought to the fore in a connotation placing him above the fragility and short-lived nature of a woman. Even regarding marriage, he has no pressure from the society as he is regarded as always young and virile unlike women who once they attain marriageable age, the society put pressure on them expecting them to settle down. This proverb also portrays that men’s productive years are longer than that of a woman. It is worth noting that this proverb is used mainly when referring to the age when a man or woman ought to marry or get married; it emphasizes the virility of the man over the supposedly limited productivity lifespan of the woman. The second proverb “*Nyako dher chak*” (*a girl is a dairy cow*) is used in reference to a woman as a source of wealth to the family; she is expected to fetch dowry as spelt out in the Luo customary laws of marriage. She is a prospective source of income and wealth. She is seen as a property but with short-lived value. Traditionally, dairy cows as opposed to bulls are sold after fifth calving when they are considered past their full productivity age. Equating a woman to a dairy cow thus shows how the patriarchal Luo society views women.

The two proverbs above exemplified the core concern of this study regarding Dholuo proverbs and patriarchy: patriarchal discourse uses proverbs to cement the gender hierarchy that places man above the woman; it demeans the woman while ennobling the man. It shows the perception of gender and gender relations in the Luo society. Using conceptual metaphor theory and dominance approach theories, the study looks at how patriarchal discourse and societal outlook are promoted and encoded in the prevalent Dholuo proverbs.

1.1.1 A Brief History of Dholuo Language

In a process that took centuries to complete, the migration of the Luo began in South of Southern Sudan into Uganda, with their final settlement being along the eastern shores of Lake Victoria from where they spread to their current domiciles such as Migori, Homa-

Bay, Kisumu and Siaya (Ogot, 1967:141-144). As with the other Kenyan communities, the Luo population has further moved to other parts of the country like urban centres in search of job opportunities and others, due to intermarriages (Jaoko, 2016:2).

The Luo migration and settlement were intrusive one with fierce battles between the Luo and the people in the newfound lands (Millman, 1969: 45-52). Skirmishing and raiding took place between tribes and, latterly, between sub-tribes and clans within the Luo themselves. Further says, the motive behind this was often cattle and territorial boundaries with the former being a key traditional symbol of wealth and status among the Luo (ibid)

The Luo language that is spoken by the Luo is known as Dholuo. The Luo is composed of ethno-linguistically related Luo people living in South Sudan, Western Ethiopia, Northern and Eastern Uganda, north-eastern Tanzania and Western Kenya. Odawa (2004) as quoted by Abuonji (2016:1) explains that Dholuo is part of the Nilo-Saharan family languages and is a language which is commonly used in the area spreading from River Nile hence Nilotic language and some languages in Uganda such as Lang'o, Padhola and Acholi are grouped together with Dholuo as western Nilotic branch.

According to Stafford (1967), Okombo (1986) and Oduol (1990) as quoted by Jaoko (2016:2), Dholuo has two mutually intelligible dialects: the Trans-Yala Dialect, spoken in parts of Central Nyanza (Siaya County), and the Kisumu South Nyanza Dialect spoken in parts of Central Nyanza and larger South (Homabay and Migori Counties). Oduol (1990:258) refers to the two dialect as: Boro-Ukwala (BU) and Kisumu South Nyanza dialect (KSN) covering Migori, Homabay, Kisumu and Siaya counties. (Oduol, 1990:258) further states that the Kisumu South Nyanza Dialect is vastly used since it is marked as standard and formally used in the Media, print and electronic, radio stations and in school. However, Okombo (1986:1) states that even though the dialects are mutually intelligible, their distinction is evidenced in their lexical and phonological features as one is able to differentiate the various different speakers of Dholuo based on the choice of words and manner of speaking.

The corpus of this research is based on the KSN dialect due to the scope of the study and also because it is considered the standard dialect.

1.1.2 On Patriarchy in the Luo Society

Weber (1947) as quoted in Adams & Sydie (1987:181) says patriarchy is a system of government in which men rule society through their position as head of households, clan, tribe or nation and the patriarchal leader tends to emerge naturally or selected on the basis of adherence to traditional principles. He further says that even though women had considerable power, the power tend to be restricted to the sphere of household-reproduction and economic factors associated with the livelihood of the family.

Feminists look at patriarchy as a male-dominated power structure that is organized throughout society and in individual relationships. The stratification of power and privilege is gender based and only enjoyed by men while women are not entitled. Patriarchy therefore, refers to a discursive power structure in which the males are the dominant group and they use their dominance to perpetuate the power imbalance by exploiting and oppressing the women whom they dominate.

Mutunda (2015:52) observes that patriarchy is a gender system in which men dominate women. He further says that the assigned superior status of men is encouraged and sustained by social institutions that are considered unquestionable and natural. Moreover, this system of social stratification based on sex provides men with power and material advantages while depriving women of both.

In a society where power relations are patriarchal determined, gender discourses tend to be based on gender disparity and propagate as well entrench these. The culture privileges men tend to exercise power and agency over women in effect dictating how women are viewed in the eyes of society. The Luo society, just like most African society, is based on a social structure system which governs social relations among its members and regulates the interventions taken by members. The members also provide guidelines within the cultural norms and they define the cultural goals to be achieved. Mboya (2004:4) records that the Luo society is patriarchal in its set-up. The prevailing discursive constellations within the community as well as the existing customary laws ensure the primacy of the male and protect the male gender from influence by the female gender. For instance, the customary laws as well as the age-old power matrix ensured that women

were neither to be chosen as chiefs nor were to participate in selecting leaders. (cf Ayot, 1990 as quoted in Ogot (2015:1).

This is exemplified by Mboya (2004:4) who explains that “the eldest son of the first wife was usually the person eligible to be chief, *ruoth*”. The women were totally excluded from leadership of society over men. Even if the woman were the first born, she would not take leadership position. If there was no son in the family of “*ruoth*” completely, then other close male relatives would be considered for the position. Descent was patrilineal, which strictly traced kinship relations through the male line. Mboya (2004:4) further notes that another aspect of patriarchy manifests itself during funerals, where in the case of burial of a male elder, a rooster (a symbol of masculinity) is taken from the deceased house and eaten by his relatives to signify the end of his homestead. Similarly, when a man is establishing a new home, a rooster is given to him by the father to signify the start of a home.

Ogot (2015:2) notes that women were also excluded from being in the military as valour was considered a male attribute and as such only a man could be a warrior: women were deemed weaklings and cowards hence the proverb “*Iluor ka dhako*” (*You are as cowardly as a woman*). Likening a cowardly man to a woman means that cowardice is a trait, while expected in a woman, is not becoming of a man; a woman is thus a lesser being where valour and courage are concerned. This proverb portrays women as cowardly and it implies that men were the only ones who had courage to encounter dangerous situations. It was used to encourage men to valor in all difficult situations for fear of being belittled to the level of “cowardly women”

The Luo folklore (oral literature, customs and traditions) are replete with patriarchal references. A cursory look at them betrays a skewed gender imbalance in favour of men in all areas that matter in the community. For example, virtues and qualities of leadership, wisdom and valor are reserved for the men in the society; the conclusion would be that women are not capable of achieving these virtues and qualities.

1.1.3 Proverbs in Daily Discourse and Patriarchy

Various scholars have offered various definitions in an effort to define the proverb and its function in a society. Though regarded by many literary scholars as the leading figure of

proverb studies and the undisputed pope of paremiology, Archer Taylor (1985), attempted to characterize proverbs in his research study, *The Proverb (1985)*, and concluded that it is impossible to define a proverb in a meaningful way:

The definition of the proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine within a single definition all the essential elements and give each its proper emphasis, even then we would not have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not" (Taylor, 1985:3).

Despite Taylor's argument, there are other scholars who have come up with various definitions of proverbs. Finnegan (1970:393) defines a proverb as a short and precise statement which tersely express some kind of truth. A look at some Luo proverbs seem to justify the assertion above. For example, the proverb "*nyako ogwang*" (*a girl is a wild cat*) comments on an accepted truth in the Luo community that portrays a girl as a wanderer and wild since the Luos expected a girl to leave her birth place once she attained puberty and became a woman and go to live with strangers far away; just the way a wild cat does not have permanent residence hence wanders around. On the flip side, this proverb brings in the aspect of patriarchy where a girl does not have a birth-right to her home with the societal expectations pushing her out; the home belongs to the son and the man remains permanently in the home irrespective of age. According to Mieder (1985:113) "a proverb is wisdom expressed in a sentence." Probably the best definition of proverbs for this study is Milner's (1969a: 199) characterizes a proverb as (a) it is a pithy, concise and easily remembered by use of rhyme, repetition; (b) singles out something abstract and universal based on experience and observation; (c) it is vivid and deals with people's primary interests; (d) the effect of proverb is to raise a statement from the ordinary to emphatic level in order to teach, praise or convince, or to warn, blame, restrain and discourage.

The Luo proverb "*I yom yom ka nyako*" (*you are as weakling as a girl*) justifies Milner's definition. This proverb reinforces the idea that weakness is associated with girls while strength is to boys.

Pashto proverb “*Toukal nar andekhna khaza*” (*action is male, hesitation is female*) also justifies the above definition. The proverb intends to motivate boy child into action as opposed to hesitation associated with girl child. The Pashto word for action “*toukal*” (*masculine*), while the word for hesitation “*andekhna*”, (*feminine*) (Noor, 2015:9). These proverbs expose the sexist connotation and the extent to which people continue to accept them without regarding their impact in the society.

Akinmande (2005) as cited in Akinmande (2012: 129), defines a proverb as

a metaphorical horse in popular and approved saying which carries one beyond the surface meaning of a saying, to discover the truth of ideas; it is an in-depth, carefully selected provocative thought which either commands, advises, rebukes or warns a person or thing to which it is applied.

From the definitions above, proverbs are therefore short and precise statements which singles out something abstract based on discursive consensus and it deals with people’s primary interest with an aim of teaching, praising, convincing, warning, blaming, restraining and discouraging. As a product of discourse, proverbs can also be used in the positioning of the self and the other within a societal constellation of power discourse.

According to the Yoruba of Nigeria, “proverbs are the horses of speech” meaning that in the event where communication gets lost, proverbs are used to retrieve it (Schipper, 1991: 1). Schipper’s idea is compactly apparent in the Igbo proverb which says, “Proverbs are the palm–oil with which words are eaten” (Achebe, 1975:5). Thus, proverbs help to intensify the achievement of the intended idea. Proverbs have been internalised by Dholuo speakers such that they have become a part of everyday life. Moreover, Luo culture has proverbs from childhood to old age and those conversant with the proverbs use them seamlessly in their conversations. From childhood, parents raise their children (the boys) in such a way as to make them bold and strong. For example, “*jela simba jowuoyi*” (*prison belongs to men/boys*) is a proverb used to embolden boys, especially where an action (- even “illegal” ones-) is for the prestige of the individual or the community while a proverb like “*nyako ogwang*” (*a girl is a wild cat*) connotes the brief sojourn of the girl within the homestead. “*Ogwang*” in the Luo cultural context is a small

wild animal which is not allowed in any homestead because of its destructive nature (killing poultry) and because it cannot be domesticated, it also roams about with no fixed abode. Comparing a girl to “*Ogwang*” therefore, implies that in the Luo cultural context, a girl is not considered a permanent member of her ancestral home. She is expected to get married and leave the homestead as she is considered a bad omen if she remains in her ancestral home. Strains of patriarchy appear in both cases: the boy/man is made to identify with his home/can while the girl is positioned outside of the home/clan. The positioning can be seen even today in cases where women are not allowed to inherit property from their fathers.

According to Kate Millet’s book *sexual politics* (1969: xi), the relationship between the sexes in all known societies has been based on men’s power over women; it is political. It is maintained by a process of socialization which begins in the family and is reinforced by education, literature and religion; it also rests upon economic exploitation, state power and force (sexual violence and rape)

Pollert looks at patriarchy as a particular form of male domination rather than an explanation of the relationship between gender and class (1996:640). This research will be guided by Pollert’s view, thus Dholuo proverbs will be analysed on the basis of how they perpetuate male domination over females, and how when those proverbs are applied in daily discourse promotes male’s authority in the Luo society.

Okpewho (1992:230) alludes to the fact that older people especially men are considered better qualified to use proverbs than the other members of society. This is in itself an example of the prevalent patriarchal outlook of most African societies. That thinking was (still is) that only they (men) can responsibly impart this wisdom to the younger members of society. However, this belief contradicts the traditional Luo culture that gave women the duty to educate the young ones more so during story telling sessions and other cultural norms which were taught. During these sessions, the women would also employ proverbs to impart knowledge to them.

In reference to the Luo society, men were more privileged when using proverbs since they occupied leadership positions which enabled them to employ the proverbs in their

conversations. Moreover, they used the proverbs as a symbol of their status in the society to cement their authority.

A society is therefore considered patriarchal if it promotes the masculine/feminine dichotomy and favors male domination in all areas of the society. It is a system where the position of authority is held by the men in areas like clan and family. Inheritance of both wealth and authority is passed on from father to the sons. In examining the use of Dholuo proverbs in the Luo society, this project demonstrates how Dholuo proverbs reflect gender biasness by promoting patriarchal ideologies, even in the midst of current societal transformations and the myriad of voices that are crying out for the liberation of women and gender equity. The metaphoric aspect of these proverbs conceals the speaker's thoughts and intentions hence the proverbs have been internalized to get the intended meaning to the hearer.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

This study investigates how Dholuo proverbs not only attest to but are also used to propagate patriarchy in the Luo society. In so doing, the study establishes how gendering of language in proverbs helps depict patriarchy among the Luo. The study employs the conceptual metaphor theory to help understand the conceptualization of the proverbs and how the speakers and hearers concord their utterance to get the intended meaning of the proverbs.

According to Schipper (2004) as quoted by Noor (2015:12) proverbial messages are the best standard for uncovering the degree to which people persist in accepting sexist thoughts about women. Kerschen (2012:3) also argues that the nature of proverbs is such that they are the best indicators of attitudes and beliefs. Noor (2015:13) further observes that gender relations are the most significant topics of proverbs which are full of sexist connotations and also derogatory. Therefore, for one to explore the extent to which patriarchy is encoded in proverbs, proverbs are the best folklore to use.

Kopiyo and Owino (1996:62) observe that the social organization of the Luo is patriarchal in nature and femininity and masculinity are assigned prestige differently. So, proverbs have been used to promote and entrench patriarchal ideologies either loudly through aspects like polygamy, or subtly through daily language usage. While Ogot

(2015:12) states that Dholuo pronominals do not indicate disparity in terms of male or female hence show no evidence of gender discrimination. When Dholuo proverbs are studied carefully, the gender-biased view of the speakers of Dholuo becomes evident.

Examples of Dholuo proverbs that encode patriarchy;

i) *Wuoyi siro*

A young man is the pillar

ii) *Nyako ogwang'*

A girl is a wild cat

iii) *Nyako ochot*

A girl is a prostitute

In Luo, “*siro*” culturally is a strong pillar that enables a building to stand firmly on its ground. “*wuoyi*” (*young man*) remains with the parents at their ancestral home protecting them by being a source of security. A young man is likened to “*siro*” in a building which holds it firmly and protects it from falling while a woman is deemed a wanderer in the sense that she stays in her ancestral home looking forward to marriage, but never sure of where it will ultimately be in the proverb “*Nyako ogwang*”. “*Ogwang*” is a wild cat that keeps roaming about in the village without any sense of a definite or clear destination. The idea captured in this proverb is the uncertainty of a woman’s future as opposed to the more definite future of a man. In addition, there are chances of change of residence subject to possible changes of marriage partners in case a marriage fails to work out. This perception of the woman is reinforced by the third proverb “*Nyako ochot*” which implies promiscuity on the part of the woman when she remarries due to a failed marriage. These imply that in the Luo culture, from childhood, the parents raise their children when the children are aware of their status in the society.

1.3 Research Questions

The arguments and views discussed about the proverbs generate the following research questions:

- i. How is patriarchy manifested in Dholuo proverbs?
- ii. What are the motifs of masculinity and femininity in Luo society?

- iii. How does conceptual metaphor theory account for the understanding of Dholuo proverbs?
- iv. What impact do Dholuo proverbs have in promoting patriarchy in Luo society?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- i. To examine the manifestation of patriarchy in Dholuo proverbs.
- ii. To find out the motifs used in describing masculinity and femininity in the Luo society.
- iii. To explore on how conceptual metaphor theory accounts for the understanding of these proverbs.
- iv. To analyse the impact of Dholuo proverbs in promoting patriarchy in Luo society

1.5 Significance and Justification

This study will help establish to what extent the continuous usage of Dholuo proverbs have entrenched patriarchy. This study will therefore yield valuable data that will give insight to researchers interested in the study of Luo oral literature and other related fields of study.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study will focus on the use of Dholuo proverbs especially among the speakers of both the Kisumu-South Nyanza and Boro-Ukwala dialect; it assumes that Dholuo speakers use proverbs in their day-to-day conversations. In the process of data collection, the researcher may face the following challenges: accessing the right respondent, knowledgeable persons in Dholuo proverbs and the area is vast hence will require a lot of time to plan on how to collect data. The researcher may also face hostility by some of the respondents or the people might withhold information that are key in the research.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This section provides the theoretical framework that will inform this research study on Dholuo proverbs of men and patriarchy among the Luo.

1.7.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual Metaphor theory is vastly explained by the proponents Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and further developed in their subsequent scholarly works in (1987), (1989) and (1992). Lakoff (2003:203) notes that a metaphor can be defined as a cross domain mapping in the conceptual system that is a projection from the source domain to target domain where the latter uses the knowledge one has about the former.

Metaphor is therefore a device that structure our understanding of ideas by providing realities of the world and making sense from our experiences.

Evans *et al.* (2000) summarizes CMT as an approach to the relationship between language, embodied experience and the mind. The central assumptions as associated with CMT are (1) the thesis that semantic structure reflects conceptual structure and (2) embodied cognition thesis (Evans et al., 2000:25). This theory explains how linguistic metaphors relates with human cognition

The fundamental tenet of conceptual theory is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking and is not a property of language but conceived to be mental structure and its essence is understanding and experiencing one kind of idea, thing and experience in terms of another. In the human memory, exist stable knowledge structure which have psychological reality which are metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). CMT operates through mapping process.

Mapping is the process of comparing two entities where one is abstract and the other is concrete with a view to understanding an idea that is being communicated. This entails understanding a less concrete experiences in terms of highly structured ones. Mapping as a principle encompasses the two conceptual domains: the source and the target. The source domain (concrete) has literal entities and expressions that are used to represent abstract concept (target domain) through metaphorical link. This is because the conceptual system is metaphorically structured hence most concepts are partially understood in terms other concepts to help define everyday realities of life. It is the mapping of these domains that help in conceptualizing and understanding of different aspects communicated.

Dholuo proverbs being metaphorical in nature can therefore be subjected to the mapping process of the CMT as illustrated below and this is done through cognitive representations in aid of figurative language which manages to structure target domains in terms of source domains whereby concrete experiences that one can comprehend becomes insightful in understanding abstract ones.

For example:

1. *Wuoyi siro* (Man is the pillar)

The source domain (pillar)	The target domain
(man)	
Upholds	Symbol of unity
Strong/steady	Protector
Gives support	the provider

In the example above, *siro* (pillar) is the source domain and has been used to understand the target domain *wuoyi* (man) through the mapping process. Dholuo speaker having internalised what *siro* implies based on the conceptualization of the world around them, transfers his/her understanding of the word *siro* in relation to *wuoyi* to get the intended meaning. The concept *Siro* understood as a pillar, is known to be strong, give support to a building and without which the building may collapse. This doesn't imply that a man is literally a pillar to a building rather the concept of a pillar is used partially in structuring the concept of a man in regards to our everyday experiences. Though the naked physical attributes of the two concepts are different but how key the concepts are in their applications: pillar in a building, man in a home makes the mapping to be understood as such. Therefore, *siro* is partially structured, understood and talked about in terms of *wuoyi*.

One basic argument of CMT is that many human beings' concepts are metaphoric, hence our comprehension of concepts eventually depends entirely on our body features and the physical environment in which they operate (Anderson, 2003). Barcelona (2003b:214)

talks about the principal of unidirectionality according to which he says the associative process goes on from the more abstract concept to the reality.

Image mappings, apart from conceptual mappings, aid our understanding of abstract concepts and daily experiences are understood in terms of experimental blocks made of structural elements that allow one to deal with concepts that are abstract in particular terms. This theory will only aid in the process of understanding the meaning of the proverbs but will not show how patriarchy manifests itself in the proverbs. Dominance theory will therefore be used show how patriarchy is manifested in the proverbs.

1.7.2 The Dominance Approach

It holds the view that the differences in language between the men and females are enhanced by inequitable power relations between the two sexes. The proponents of this theory are Zimmerman and West (1975, 1977, 1987) and Fishman (1983). West and Zimmerman, (1975:125) as quoted by Noor (2015:43) found that men interrupted women more than the reverse during conversations hence concluded that just as male dominance is exhibited through male control of macro-institutions, it is also shown through control of at least a part of one micro-institution.

Noor (2015:43) notes that the argument is that there is gender imbalance and that male dominance is not only a cause of difference but the difference perpetuate dominance. This power dominance is not attributed to individual males but the power the society grants to males which is later reflected in the conversations. This power display is in terms of selections of conversation topics, frequent interruptions and the male semantic derogation of women.

This view is more pronounced in Spender's works *Man made language (1980)* and *who made language (1993:408)* argues that language is made by men to suit their own interest.

West and Zimmerman 1987, quoted by Noor2015:43 further says that male dominance is enacted through linguistic practices and that language is not only gendered but is an avenue of doing gender. This will therefore influence human beings to see the world through the linguistic expressions constructed and perpetually produced by a language

controlled by men thereby women are silenced, alienated and oppressed because they do not have access to the linguistic sources that determine reality and as a result, they are either deliberately forced to be silent or unable to find appropriate words to express their views Noor, (2015:43)

Moreover, this approach also recognizes that all participants that is men and women are responsible for perpetuating male dominance and female oppression Noor (2015:44).

Okpewho (1992:230) alludes that older people more so men are considered better qualified in using proverbs than other members of the society while Spender (1993:408) argues that language is made by men to suit their own interest. These are factors that influences power imbalance between the two sexes since one gender has control over the other considering the power bestowed on them by the society leading to male dominance and women subordination. This is evident in Dholuo proverbs cited as examples below which tend to perpetuate male supremacy and female subordination in the way the proverbs are used and the message communicated.

The researcher therefore selected this theory for her study because it describes the manifestation of patriarchy in Dholuo proverbs and further exposes the motifs used in describing masculinity and femininity in Luo Society. For instance, the proverb *Wuoyi siro* shows that men are regarded as pillars of homesteads, they are firmly grounded there just like a pillar that supports a structure unlike the proverb *Nyako ogwang* which places the a girl/woman as wanderer and wild just like a wild cat that has no permanent abode. The men/boys remain behind regardless of eventuality that might befall a home unlike girls/women. This portrays aspects of patriarchy that is evident in both cases as the man/boy is made to identify with his home/clan while the girl/woman is perceived as an outsider in terms of home/clan affairs thus male dominance.

The proverbs used here as examples illustrate how proverbs are used strategically and with gendered identities hence rather than creating objective reality, the proverbs represent partial and gender biased realities which are sexist.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Literature on Proverbs and their Significance to Society

The running definition as per this study is that a proverb is a precise but complete statement conveying folk wisdom and often figurative to guide behavior in any situation (Noor, 2015:25). The definition is both structurally restrictive from other folklore genres like riddles that are neither fixed nor in statement form and folktales which are longer and functional in the sense that it captures the essential communicative role of proverbs in social life. Scholars further agree that proverbs are distinguished by their “popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in them” (Mieder & Dundes, 1981:14). It is also universally agreed that the nature of proverbs is derived from a society’s ideals, expectations and feelings. Thus, the conclusion to such premises is that the patriarchal ideologies and attitudes are also transmitted through the continuous use of such themed proverbs.

African proverbs, and with emphasis on Dholuo proverbs, have been used as avenues through which patriarchal attitudes and ideologies have been promoted. An example of a Dholuo proverb, *jela simba jowuoyi* (prison belongs to boys) was used to motivate the young men not to give up in their endeavors, the proverb was used as a clarion call by the society. Many such proverbs were formulated to bring all men together, the net effect was a Luo society concentrated its focus on patriarchal attitude.

Mathonsi (2004:46), in his article *Aspects of Social Commitment in Oral Literature*, argues that proverbs seem to reflect on and offer directives for day-to-day problems, while myths represent reflections on the fate of man and the world. Some scholars believe that in the western world, the use of proverbs in literature dropped significantly after the eighteenth century, the age associated with reason and enlightenment. However, Wolfgang Mieder (1993, 2004, and 2007) and Mokitimi (1995) have convincingly shown that while some proverbs have been dropped because their language or metaphor which does not fit the modern time, new proverbs are emerging constantly to reflect contemporary ones. Mieder (1993:20), argues that even the most sophisticated and best educated people appear to be in need of the pithy wisdom contained in metaphorical proverbs.

Whether or not the time of proverbs collection and proverb usage in the West is over, it is certainly not in most parts of Asia and Africa, where much work is still necessary to collect the scattered proverbs from the people, and “where proverbs retain not only their currency, but their value as cultural and rhetorical expressions” (Bartlotti, 2000:1).

1.8.2 Proverbs and Patriarchy

The language adopted by a society has a tendency to construct people’s attitudes, beliefs and identities; through continuous mingling and interactions that becomes tradition. Language contains in itself the power to construct one’s individual identity and that’s why the proverbial messages tend to communicate certain gendered identities that portrays how the society depict each gender. Rowbotham (1982:127-128) says “language conveys a certain power, it is one of the instruments of domination”. This power is based on the identity and gender construction of individuals thus boys are prioritized and mentioned in terms of prowess and fearlessness, girls are affiliated with sweet foodstuff and weakness. This is an idea that is acknowledged by other writers such as Webster (1986:12) who argues that characterization in folklore take simplistic and stereotyped view. According to Webster (1982:181), in his study on Moroccan proverbs shows that women are held inferior to men and this is a notion that increases with time (age). Hussein (2005:60) studies on representation of women in Eastern Africa proverbs points out that African Oral traditions represent women in general as imperfect (weak, evil, foolish, unfaithful, frivolous, jealous, dependent and seductive). Ndungo (2002:64) dealt with social construction of gender in Gikuyu and Swahili proverbs. She seeks to examine the roles they proverbs play in the social construction of gender since women and men are socialized into accepting different gender roles. These differences are created and perpetuated through cultural forms such as beliefs and proverbs hence behavioral patterns associated with males and females are learned, acquired and assimilated thereby making socialization to be based on gender and gender roles.

Noor (2015:9) dealt with sexism and gender relations using Pashto proverbs. This study was intended to understand the role the proverbs play in gender relations and how the Pashto proverbs are used to construct gender relations on everyday basis.

Ogot (2015: viii) also delves into Dholuo proverbs which touches on the gender stereotype of the Dholuo proverbs in reference to women and that most of the proverbs are degrading them hence highlighting the community's perception of women as reflected in the proverbs. Moreover, all ethnographic works on Luo realised the value of Dholuo proverbs and most of these written reports have periodically cited proverbs to bring a point. For example, Okombo (1977), Okoth (1982), Odhiambo (1981) Ochieng' (1973), Ayot (1973), Ogot (1967) and Oduol (1990) uses Dholuo proverbs in their geographical works on the Luo, though neither of them dealt primarily on proverbs in their studies.

This write up therefore aims to bring new knowledge on the semantic and pragmatic analysis of Dholuo proverbs through the use of conceptual metaphor theory.

1.9 Methodology

This section deals with the methods that will be used in data collection and the analysis. The study will focus on Dholuo speakers in the former Nyanza region now divided into Kisumu, Siaya, Homa Bay and Migori Counties in Kenya. They will be speakers of both Kisumu - South Nyanza and Boro - Ukwala dialects. In this section, the researcher will look at the data design, data collection method and data analysis in order to answer the proposed research questions. This research will rely on primary and secondary data.

1.10 Data Collection

The data consists of Dholuo proverbs used by Dholuo speakers in reference to men and women in the Luo society. The researcher will use purposive sampling to choose the respondents who are Dholuo speakers since the size of the population is vast hence not able to interact with all of them. They will be identified on the basis of age, gender and dialectal region. The data will be collected through interviews and note taking. The interviewer will visit the informants in their homes to collect data. The interview will focus on the old since they are the people who tend to use proverbs in conversation and they may be knowledgeable. By collecting proverbs directly from the local people will help me even get new proverbs that may have come up and I might not be conversant with. I will also get to know how these proverbs are used by the speakers and their attitude in relation to the gendered ideologies employed in the proverbs thus their

perceptions and opinions on the proverbs. The men will form the majority of those in the sample size since they tend to use proverbs most hence likely to create a lot of interest in them.

During the interview, the proverbs that will be collected from both genders will be scrutinized where the women will give their views on proverbs that the men came up with and vice versa and this will be done to avoid biasness on their input concerning the proverbs with a view to focus group discussions. The researcher's knowledge of the language will also be applied being a native speaker of the language for further understanding.

Data will also be collected through content analysis where the works of other scholars on Dholuo proverbs will be consulted especially those on oral literature of the Luo by Miruka (2001) and about "Luo proverbs and sayings" Odaga and Paul Mboya (1995) translated into English by Achieng (2004) and hoping that the information that will be retrieved will be helpful in enriching the data with proverbs that were left out in the field.

1.11 Data Presentation

After collecting data on Dholuo proverbs, the proverbs will be interpreted into their nearest English equivalents. The data will then be classified into different categories based on their interpretation in reference to the tenets of conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). These proverbs will be examined with a purpose of bringing out the conceptual mapping underlying the interpretations of these concepts and then grouped according to the theme communicated in them.

1.12 Conclusion

Patriarchy emanates from the way society view women and men in regards to the roles assigned to them and the values accorded to them. From the few proverbs that have been used to explain the images the proverbs portray, it is evident that most of them demean women hence exposes the prejudiced attitude that the society has towards women while ennobling men. The sexist images used to portray women negatively are blatant, covert and subtle in nature and these portrayals are either done intentionally or unintentionally in the discourse.

CHAPTER TWO

CATEGORIZATIONS OF DHOLUO PROVERBS

2.1 Introduction

The chapter deals with how Dholuo proverbs are categorized into three aspect of life namely: the social, political and economic. The proverbs are categorized as per the idea or themes they propel in regards to their use in the society, thus, they touch on those three aspects of life.

2.2 Social Aspect of Dholuo Proverbs

In the social set up of the Luos, men and women played various distinctive roles. During religious ceremonies, men played major roles. For instance, during worships elders (men) performed prayers through ancestral spirits (juogi) which were carried out in sacred places like shrines. During marriage dowries were paid by men to their in-laws as sign of appreciation.

Girls were taught by their mothers to perform domestic chores like cooking and farm work, this is because according to the patriarchal social order of the Luo society, it is purely the role of women to cook for men and hence the girls should know how to cook before being married. Boys learnt from older boys and their fathers how to look after livestock, catch fish, build houses and fight. These gender-based chores informed the proverbs that the Luo society used in describing them.

During funerals, women mourned and wailed for the loss of their loved ones and this was considered a sign of emotional weakness while men only chanted dirges as they praise the dead. This reveals that men have emotional strength to overcome grief,

1. Dhako puodho ma ok ipur itieki

A woman is an expansive garden that you can't exhaust

She is compared to a farm/land that one cannot completely exhaust its usage. In the aspect of marriage, she is the source of new generation just like the garden is a source of food for the community. That is, she gives birth to children that form new generation which later grow up and get married or marry to form the next generations just like a garden that produces crops which are later replanted in the same garden to produce a new

set of yields continuously. For a garden to be productive, one must work on it, just like a woman who has to get married to a man to sire children. Therefore, a man is seen as the gardener, a factor in the production while the image that comes out in the proverb is productivity of a woman.

2. Dhako chok odiere ma libamba gweno

A woman is the central bone that the kinsmen gnaw

A woman is compared to the central bone that serves other parts of the body. In this case, “*libamba*” implies the other male relatives of the husband. When a woman is married, she is expected to serve the interest of all the male relatives- the wife to that clan hence belonging to the society that she is married in and not to an individual husband. She can be called upon to serve in the community’s programs like during funerals and even other communal functions. While offering those services, she is serving all and not the individual husband thus she becomes a wife not to her husband only but to the whole community too. When her husband dies, she is inherited. She cannot remain single after the death of her husband.

3. Jadhako achiel wang’e otho

A monogamous man is mono-eyed

The proverb propagates the idea of polygamy and the importance attached to it in regards to community. A monogamous man is viewed as mono-eyed man since the community upholds polygamy. Mono-eyed man is considered to be at risk of losing the only eye and getting totally blind should anything happen to the eye. This is compared to a man with one wife who is faced with risk of losing the wife to death or not getting children should the wife be barren. Therefore, the men were encouraged to marry more wives for purposes of continuity.

4. Nyako ogwang’

Nyako is a wild cat

A woman is compared to a wild cat bringing in a sense of uncertainty of the woman’s future since she is deemed as a wanderer in contrast to the definite future of a man. Her social life is uncertain in regards to permanent residence as she is likely to be subjected to changes of marriage partners in case of a failed marriage. She is likened to “*ogwang*”

because it is a wild cat that cannot be domesticated or stay in a fixed place as it roams about in search of food. The undomesticated animals do not enjoy protection and are met with hostility and rejection. This term is used to bring into prominence the place of women in the Luo community as outsiders. Moreover, resources are not allocated to them and their presence in their birth places is limited. This is because they are expected to leave by the time they reach puberty stage.

5. Dhako nanga yuach

A woman is a casual dress

A woman is likened to the casual cloth in that when one has a casual cloth, one uses it casually without caring for it but when one loses it, and people feel the pain of losing it because one needs it for daily activities. A woman may also be handled casually by the husband when she is around but when she goes away, the husband may feel the pain of losing her because of the roles she plays at home. The proverb passes on the idea that women are only valued for a specific period of time after which their value depreciate just like a casual dress that has been worn a number of times. The man therefore will not toil to please the woman married to him since he has already married her and got used to her. Most of the time, people are not attached to casual clothes since they are worn frequently thereby no longer valued as other clothes. The love and bond they share is not as strong.

6. Jadhako ruoth

A married man is a king

A married man is respected even if he has nothing to show unlike unmarried. The respect that he commands is brought by the woman he is married to. A woman would come to a home as a companion and to offer support to the man and when she is there, she would offer all the services the man would require. The services rendered to him by the woman is what prompted the name 'ruoth'. This proverb came up as a way of encouraging the unmarried to see the importance attached to marriage: prestige and respect.

7. Nyako dher chak

A woman is dairy cattle

A woman is married off to her husband after dowry exchange which is in form of money or cattle and therefore seen as beneficial to the society. She is compared to a cow which is of great value based on the economical aspect. A woman also benefits her society as she brings back to the society in the sense that she is productive in every society that she goes to.

8. Dhako wat ang'iewa

A woman is a relative bought

This is because when a woman is married in a Luo society, a bride price is paid to her parents in form of domestic animals like cows, so she is a commodity bought at a price. She is therefore likened to an item chosen then a price put on it. She becomes a relative through marriage and the bride price is likened to buying of a wife

When a woman comes to a home, she has no say or her blood relationship is not so binding since she only relates to people of that home after a price is tagged on her and her significance is still viewed with a lot of suspicion-not so much trusted. The members of such home would not feel free to entrust her with certain things that she would deliver her best as she is still viewed that she might opt for her ancestral home as an alternative if worse comes to worst.

This proverb is told to a person who sides with a woman when she is wrong.

9. Wuoyi ok tow

A man does not rot

Here, a boy is depicted as a strong fort which can never get damaged unlike a girl. This reinforces the Luo cultural belief that there is a certain age limit for women to settle down if not the society scorn them and even their study period unlike men who can study at any age and all is well. A man is seen as ever young regardless of age hence is always not pressured in his undertakings. His days are not numbered as women. For instance, pressure on the woman is so great more so when the society feels that she is of age unlike a man whose time is considered limitless therefore free to do things at his own time and the society wouldn't question but rather turn a blind eye. The proverb therefore indicates

that men's productivity takes a longer span than women whose productivity declines with age.

10. Dhako ngege pinje chwero

A woman is a tilapia who is scaled by the nations

A woman can get married in any place she wishes to and still be productive and resourceful. She is beneficial to that society. She is considered as having no permanent abode due to the circumstance she might be met with in a marriage yet each home she settles in gains from her. This is due to the services she grants. Her importance is felt in whichever region she goes to. She is a source of livelihood to any society.

11. Dhako ndiga makiyengo marach to ng'ato nyalo kawo

A woman is a bicycle that if you don't park properly then can be stolen.

In every marriage set up, the expectation of the women is to be cared for, loved, protected and provided for and in case all these are unfulfilled she might decide to leave the husband for someone who is willing to provide for her needs. This proverb brings the notion that a woman is gullible and easily convinced in terms of material things. She is therefore likened to a bicycle that if not parked well might be stolen just like she can fall a prey to other men if not well cared for.

12. Wuoyi siro

A man is the pillar

In a homestead, a man is the pillar. He ensures the continuity of the lineage of that family. The man remains in the home since he is expected to marry and settle there. The man has the mandate to inherit the family wealth. Moreover, a home without a male child traditionally is rendered useless or non-existence if the parents die. It is compared to a house without the pillars to give it support, deemed to collapse since it is weak.

During construction of a house, a pillar had to be used to support that house just like traditionally, no woman would build a house without involving a man. A man was in that aspect held in high esteem and is expected to secure his community.

13. Ogwang' wat min

A wild cat is a relative of the mother

A young woman is the relative of the mother. She is likened to her mother since the mother was brought into the home and therefore regarded as a foreigner. Similarly, the daughter is also considered so because she will be married off and cease to be a member of that family.

14. Wuoyi ber dala

A man is the beauty of a home

A home with a man is viewed to be colourful since that home is associated with continuation of the lineage as they sire and multiply. Those who come to such homes will associate the man with his parents especially their good deeds.

15. Wuoyi thuon

Man is a cock

In the Luo society man is regarded as a cock. This proverb propagates polygamy in the Luo society, as men are free to marry more than one woman. He can sire many children with different women thus he is not entitled to one woman.

16. Okeo kaoch-wuon

The nephew of the father's in-laws

A young man is praised by the father comparing him to his in-laws from the mother's side. This is respect accorded to him by the father having in mind that in-laws are always held in high esteem.

17. Dichuo ewi ot

A man is the head of a home

A man is the head of the family. As the head of the family, he is a role model to the family especially children. He is responsible for proper upbringing and direction of the family. He is the umbrella of the home and he is consulted on a number of issues.

18. *Dhako badelach /bade boyo*

A woman has a wide arms

A woman is a plant. She is likened to a tree that connects together to roots, branches, leaves, trunk and the fruits. So is a woman who connects to the family from the father, children and in-laws. She contributes to the family web. Her arms are said to be wide because of her numerous roles that she plays in her family and the wider community just like a tree which connects to branches and all these branches offer support. She has so many supporters and can get help from all areas.

19. *Wuoyi wiye kudho*

A man's head is a sharp object

A man is known to be clever, sharp and a quick thinker therefore it is very easy for them to handle difficult issues and arrive at quick and solid decision without taking much time. In community or family meetings opinion of men are highly valued as they are considered great or superior.

20. *Dhako mauwa*

A woman is a flower

A woman is likened to a flower which is beautiful and flourishes when still fresh but withers with time. The beauty of a woman is appealing to the eye but with time it fades. The flower looks beautiful and with good scent when fresh from green house, but after sometime it loses its beauty just the same way a woman looks beautiful and appealing when newly married but after sometime the beauty fades away due to exposure to environmental factors within a marriage set up.

21. *Arung' dhako kileng'*

A club thrown by a woman cannot be stopped

A club when thrown it is done calculatedly and intended to cause harm and therefore the proverb implies that when a woman throws a club, it is done with a purpose and most occasions its effect is felt. In matrimony perspective, a woman can easily convince her husband if she puts her mind into it or if she wants things to be done her way. Her persuasive nature is her strength making the husband to be at her beckon. She is therefore deemed as dangerous and a schemer in order to fulfill her desires.

22. *Mwanda ok diend ng'ato*

An antelope is no man's goat

'Mwanda' (antelope) is likened to unmarried woman since antelope which is a wild animal in the bush does not belong to anyone unlike a goat, the first hunter that snares it, takes the kill home. Likewise, unmarried lady is free and no man can lay claim on her until her conviction is won by the first man.

23. *Nyathi nyaguowa*

The child of our dog

A puppy can be acquired from another home and reared permanently in another home after birth. A puppy is likened to unmarried lady. The lady is only married off at maturity and that place becomes her new home just like a puppy who can be reared in another place. The proverb is prompted by the societal view in regards to the children of a married woman when they visit their mother's ancestral home. The mother to the children is referred to as 'nyaguowa' (our puppy).

24. *Wuoyi sulwe*

A man is a star

A man is a source of light to the home. The society look up to them pertaining to decision making since they are perceived as wise. Such homes are seen as expanding especially if the men are successful.

25. *Luth ok kan ebungu*

A walking stick cannot be kept in the bush

This proverb equates a woman to an important stick that should not be left lying in the bush since a bush is no man's land. This proverb gives warning to men to be careful on how they handle their women. Women are valuable property that need a lot of care. For instance, when a man finds the right woman, he should claim her fast before other suitors snatches her away.

26. *Nyang' kibuor eode*

You cannot take shelter in a crocodile's house

The young men were compared to a crocodile which would not let go when its prey goes to its territory, it will get hold of it and devour just like the young man would not want to let go of a young woman in case he is interested in her.

A man is considered to be dangerous so therefore should not be rattled. The safety of a young woman cannot be placed in the hands of un- married young man.

27. *Jachan nyombo gi wang'e*

A poor man marries through the eyes

This proverb is an indication that marriage is meant for the wealthy. One needs to be of good stock in order to pay dowry. The proverbs equate women to wealth that can be acquired through batter trade.

2.3 Political Aspect of Dholuo Proverbs

Luos were divided into sub tribes (oganda), each occupying an autonomous political and territorial unit (gweng'). Below this was the village council (jodongo) and the clan council (doho). The gweng' was ruled by council of elders (buch piny) made up of heads of clan councils, prominent diviners, healers, rain makers and military commanders.

The council was headed by chief (ruoth). The membership of these groups was left for men as they were strong and courageous enough to run the affairs of the community and drive them to the right direction. The council of elders dealt with important matters, like murder, cattle theft, boundary disputes, warfare and calamities. Men in the community were charged with the responsibility of protecting their clan from any external attack by enemies and also fight for them during war as women were left to prepare food and look after children.

28. *Jowi mathuon ema ichuogo piene kuot*

A skin of a brave buffalo is what is used to make a traditional shield

A man is entrusted to defend his people to the point of death. A strong man is compared to a fierce buffalo since only such a buffalo will have the courage to charge in case of danger to mark its territory or to defend itself and during such times of fighting, it might

end up dying and its skin would be preserved for purpose of making a shield used for protection therefore economical because of the resources acquired from it. This man is also seen as a leader since he is fearless as he is at the forefront protecting others and would brave it under all odds and could die though still a hero in the eyes of the society.

29. Wuoyi tho gi oko

A man dies outside

It is the place of men to defend their family members and the society in totality. A man is charged with the responsibility to offer protection just in case of an attack and therefore expected to be brave and even offer to die in the process regardless of the danger he might face. He is seen as a source of security therefore considered as important in all spheres of the society. A man is not expected to hide during difficult situations. He goes out to encounter the dangerous situation hence very daring, an honorable trait in the society.

30. Ruu rwath emewone

The longer the bull stays the more the experience and the value

A man is equated to a bull whose value to society increase with age and age comes with experience and more services the bull can offer. At a young age, it needs to be tendered to maturity so that it can offer the services required just like a man matures from boyhood to manhood. A man is also said to be resourceful after finding a bearing in life in regards to the knowledge since he can guide and even be emulated having had the experience that comes with exposure.

31. Wuoyi rwath

A man is a bull

Compared to a cow whose main functions are to provide milk and calve, a bull because of its physical strength, is entitled to do certain duties like ploughing, siring and fighting to protect its territory. He becomes ‘rwadh pacho’ meaning household bull. A man can do several duties especially those that are involving and technical since he is energetic and has the strength compared to women. This daring spirit to approach difficult tasks is what informed the use of the proverb in reference to them.

32. Wuoyi okumba

A man is a shield

A man in any home is the shield of that home or society and any home that has a man is respected since he is portrayed as the protector. He will protect that home from both external and internal wrangles that may befall a home. He is influential for the progress and prosperity of the home. Moreover, men built their “simba” in their homes next to the gate for purposes of defense.

33. *Jowi jamuomo*

A buffalo goes all the way

Jowi (buffalo) is likened to a man. ‘Jowi’ is known for bravery and would approach whichever group of animals without fear in times of battle. A man depicts the character of buffalo and is known for bravery especially when enemies attack his territory.

During communal war, men would play a vital role to protect the community just like a buffalo when in danger. They were brave enough to face their opponents even if the opponents appear superior. The proverb was prompted by the political aspect of men and the role they play to reinforce a stronger society. His bravery will make him to stand out and be heard or felt. He is likened to buffalo since it would do anything to survive in the wilderness where it faces dangers from the predators.

34. *Wuoyi sibuor*

A man is a lion

A lion is a wild animal whose qualities are admired since it is strong, brave, resilient and aggressive in comparison to other animals therefore these valuable qualities are equated to a man in the Luo society more so to praise them. A lion as king of the jungle, is feared by other animals. In its territory, the lionesses would hunt and once the preys are captured, he would join them in eating the kill.

Just like the lion, a man is also deemed brave and courageous enough to tackle very difficult tasks such as involving themselves in fights during communal war and even goes ahead to endanger his life while facing enemies regardless of how prepared they are. He is always ready to charge. He is therefore valued in the homestead since nobody would dare to attack such a home. In return, he is treated as a king by the women folk.

35. *Ondiek mang'ang'a*

A hyena is aggressive

In the society, men are expected to be aggressive in order to achieve their desires hence is likened to a hyena which is ever aggressive when fighting for the limited preys in the parks or wilderness. It must fight tooth and nail to feed itself and the offspring. A man is also charged with the responsibility to take care of his family and therefore should not give up even in terms of difficulties. A man should be seen fighting out even in hard times.

36. *Wuoyi thuo*

A man is viable

A man is bold enough to handle a number of activities. He can face anything that he wishes to do without failure and fear.

37. *Kuot ogwal okmon ruath modho*

The swelling of a frog does not bar a bull from drinking water.

This proverb encourages bravery. Man (ruath) does not get scared easily over small matters/ things. A man must always try to get what he wants.

38. *Dhako nyathi*

A woman is a child

A child is dependent on the parent in everything for his/her survival. The society also view women in the same capacity since they depend on men in decision making, protection and provision of other services in the house for family growth and sense of belonging.

39. *Nyako boyo*

A woman is a foam

Foam is temporary and can only be traced at the time of cleaning or washing after which it disappears. It is compared to a woman who is also not permanent in her birth place since she will leave that home at maturity to matrimonial home. At the matrimonial home, she adopts the husband's name which is used as the family name hence the disappearance of her lineage.

2.4 Economic Aspect of Dholuo Proverbs

Luos did some little cultivation of sorghum, millet, bananas, cassava, pumpkins, beans and peas. The farm work was done by the women and girls as men only did the ploughing. They also kept cattle, goats and sheep which provided milk and on special occasions, meat. The animals were looked after by boys and their fathers. They also practiced little hunting and gathering which provided wild vegetables, fruits, roots, meat and honey. Men went hunting because of their courage, strength and their ability to handle hunting weapons, they were also not easily scared of wild animals. Woman involved in weaving baskets and moulding pots as men went fishing in Lake Victoria and along major rivers. They also traded with neighbouring communities like Abagusi. During trade, women carried the commodities to the market as men provided them with security.

40. *Kinyuolo nyako to ikelo mwandu to kinyuolo wuoyi to en hawi*

When you give birth to a girl you bring wealth but if you give birth to a boy you bring blessing to the family

Women are seen as a source of wealth to their kinsmen when dowries are paid in case of marriage. Traditionally in the Luo society, the presence of many daughters in a home is an indication of wealth in waiting since they would be married off and dowry paid. The presence is equated to resources and therefore this was demeaning the women while men were considered a blessing to the family and society at large. The men stay put to protect and take care of their parents up to their demise and they are also the heirs to their father's throne and source of strength to them. The values accorded to men are dignifying.

41. *Wuoyi minya*

A man is a climbing plant

In a thick bush or forest, 'minya' is a plant that attaches itself to other plants in order to climb to get sunlight for growth and support hence the struggle for survival. This plant is therefore compared to a man who doesn't surrender easily. If he makes up his mind to do something, he ensures he accomplishes it and does it to his best of knowledge. He is not expected to give up. This was told to men when the society wanted to encourage them to

persevere during hardship and strive to work hard in their farms so as to put food on the table. Never to give up in their responsibilities in providing for the family.

42. *Wuoyi jadwar*

Man is a hunter

A man is the one who source for food for the family members. He works hard every day for his family members to have a better living.

43. *Dichuo dech pacho*

A man is a granary of a home

A man is the source of food. Family members depend on him as their source of livelihood. He provides everything for the family members that enables them to sustain their living.

44. *Kik ipakri gi mwandu owadu*

Do not take glory in your brother's wealth

The proverb discourages men from taking pride in other people's wealth but instead should work hard and get their own.

45. *Wuoyi ranjiji*

A Man is generous

This proverb is used to show the generosity of men in the society. A man does everything in order to be able to provide for his family and when others need support in the community then men are ready to come and join together to provide such necessary support.

46. *Wuoyi ragwanda*

A man is a complicated tree with many branches

A man is equated to a complicated tree with many branches because of the roles bestowed on him. On the one hand he is expected to provide food and protection to the family and on the other hand to continue the lineage. The buck of the family stops with him.

47. Wuoyi misumba dala

A man is a slave of a home

A man is charged with several responsibilities in a home therefore seen as a slave. A slave has no say because he/she is answerable to the master. The master in this case is the home and the requirements of a home. He is therefore bound to his home and has the mandate to stay there to eternity hence a captive of that home for purposes of legacy.

2.5 Conclusion

The proverbs provided are evidence of how patriarchy is entrenched in the Luo society though in conversation, the patriarchal aspect may not come out clearly unless conceptualized for a better understanding. Through the proverbs, the attitude of the society in use of the proverbs in regards to the males and females is evident. The images of the women are brought out in a prejudice manner while men are highly accorded. This disregard, disparity and biased way of treating the two genders is an entrenchment of patriarchy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DOMINANCE APPROACH AND METAPHORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ENTRENCHMENT OF PATRIARCHY THROUGH DHOLUO PROVERBS.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis of the metaphorical expressions used in Dholuo proverbs and how they serve to sustain the elevated patriarchal representation of Luo men through dominance approach.

In the study, we are using the two tenets of conceptual metaphor theory, that is source domain and target domain to aid our conceptualization of the process of mapping as described in the proverbs listed below. The data will be discussed as presented in chapter 2.

3.2 The Social Aspects of Dholuo Proverbs

1. *Dhako puodho ma ok ipur itieki*

A woman is an expansive land/farm that you cannot exhaust

A farm is an important resource in the society. The community depends on it for its food supply. It is also used for different purposes by the community and is communally owned. This idea when conceptually mapped will be presented as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
Expansive land/farm	A woman
It requires many people to effectively and fruitfully manage.	She belongs to the society. In the absence of the husband, another man takes control of her.
It serves many purposes	She serves the purpose of procreation and house hold chores.
It is unfathomable	The feminine full potential cannot be fully explored and are unmeasurable.
It is communal.	She is married to the society.

The above mapping shows how a woman is being conceptualized within the culturally marked aspects of communal land ownership, communal land usage and communal land allocation or appropriation, where the features of a farm/land(source domain) are mapped onto woman (target domain). That is, her position and the roles that she serves in the society and how she is viewed is what makes it possible to be perceived as an expansive farm/land.

The proverb therefore portrays a woman as property that belongs to the community and the community has absolute use and control over her. This discursive positioning of the woman as general property which can be used, allocated and appropriated at will by the community is evident of the male dominance in the discursive constellation of the Luo society. The women seem to have been placed at the mercy of men hence are made to do anything that the community desires.

2. Dhako chok odiere ma libamba gweno

A woman is the central bone that the kinsmen gnaw

The central bone holds the flesh and it is this flesh that is eaten up. For instance, the services that the woman offers to the male gender in the society like taking care of the house hold chores, attending to her husband's needs in regards to his wellbeing including pleasurable moments. These services are considered so dear to the husband and kinsmen hence when a woman cannot offer them then her place is regarded as useless in the society and can be discharged off her duty by being chased away.

Once the flesh has been eaten, the remaining bone is considered useless. In the same way, there are services that are periodic. Those that a woman can offer at a younger age, middle age and even at old age when she cannot render those services, a young woman is brought on board to offer those services. This propagates the aspect of polygamy. These services are extended to the male relatives of the husband.

When married, she is not only mandated to serve the husband but also other relatives of the husband; indeed she is mandated to hold the whole family together. In case the husband passes on, she is to be cared for by the husband's kinsmen. Her husband's demise should not be felt by the woman because there are other people who can fit into

her husband's shoes and serve the same roles he used to play while alive. In the proverb, the woman is conceptualized as a central bone where (source domain) is central bone while (target domain) is a woman and therefore presented as:

Source domain	Target domain
Central bone	A woman
Gives service and support to other parts of the body.	She serve other members of the society apart from the husband.
It belongs to the body as a whole	She belongs to the man
It's surrounded by flesh and other parts of the body.	She is dominated in the society.

This mapping presents A WOMAN as the central bone because of the services she renders to those close to her. The conceptualization shows that just like the central bone is important to the body, the woman also comes in handy to the society. The services she renders are considered compulsory and she must offer them.

The proverb propagates the concept of wife inheritance. Unlike a woman, a man cannot be inherited in the event of the spouse's death rather has an option to choose whether to remarry or not but the case of a woman is dictated by the cultural norms. She is the possession of the society hence can be gnawed by anybody in the society.

3. Jadhako achiel wang'e otho

A monogamous man is mono-eyed

Luo society encouraged polygamy. One earned a lot of respect from marrying many women. Polygamy was a sense of security, wealth, prestige and leadership. The concepts are mapped as shown for one to understand what is communicated in the proverb as indicated:

Source domain	Target domain
Mono – eyed	Monogamous man
Should anything happen to it, then one is completely blind.	Should the man lose the wife, he is left lonely and helpless.
Cannot be considered for certain jobs.	He cannot be made a king or elder.
Rendered useless.	He lacks respect in the society.

Monogamy is here conceptualized as a vulnerability and therefore undesirable. Should a monogamous man lose his wife through death, his lineage and continuity of the community is endangered.

The proverb propagates patriarchy through excessive masculinity which is manifested in the practice of polygamy, which only favors the masculine gender unlike the feminine gender.

4. *Nyako ogwang*

A girl is a wild cat

In the Luo society, when a young girl reaches maturity, her presence in her paternal home is unwelcome. Therefore, she would be sent in pretence of visiting relatives so as to socialize with men from other clans for purpose of getting a husband. Her presence is limited and she is expected to get married at a certain age bracket failure to which she faces hostility and rejection. Moreover, she is likened to a wild cat as it also roams about as it searches preys in all places thereby having no permanent habitat and in most cases, its presence is met with hostility whenever spotted. The mapping concept is applied to get to understand the idea communicated in the proverb. Therefore, the source domain (wildcat) is mapped onto target domain (a young woman) for better understanding as illustrated below:

Source domain	Target domain
A wild Cat	A girl
It is a wanderer. Is wild (not tamed/domesticated)	She can settle anywhere once mature for marriage. Does not belong in her birth-place.
Whenever it is spotted, it is chased away/after.	When she is mature, the parent sends her to go and stay with relatives so that she could get a man to marry her.

In case ‘*ogwang*’ appears, the men would always attack it. Therefore, when a woman is referred to as a wild cat, she is seen as an animal that can be attacked or controlled by the men. A wild cat has undesirable qualities like untamed and roams about therefore when associated with a woman, demeans the principles of the female gender. A wild cat is also always at the receiving end hence a woman faces the same fate from the community. Moreover, it is problematic to the community. This implies that a woman is a problem or burden to the community she hails from at a certain age. She becomes a burden in case she dies before marriage yet she was of a marriageable age. This would bring challenges during her burial. At that stage, she is seen as an outcast whose body needs to be taken far away from the paternal home or else she might come back as a bad spirit disturbing the harmony of a home.

5. *Dhako nanga yuach*

A woman is a casual dress

Casual clothes are not formal hence are worn on informal occasions and they are worn a number of times which leads to tear and wear and even if they tear, they are not well taken care of. These clothes are not even ironed before being worn unlike the official clothes. Its value has depreciated. Therefore, when a woman is considered as ‘*dhako nanga yuach*’, a Luo proverb, it implies that she is no longer given prominence considering her status in comparison to the man. In this view, the conceptual source domain (casual dress) is mapped onto target domain (woman) and the concepts of the

casual dress is used in understanding the idea of a woman in the community. The mapping presents the woman as indicated below:

Source domain	Target domain
Casual dress	A woman
It is worn number of times.	Has stayed in marriage for a number of times.
It is not important.	A woman is not given much consideration.
It has depreciated in value.	Her value is no longer appreciated, reduced to a role of giving birth or wife.
It is not well taken care of.	A woman is not well taken care of /neglected.
It cannot be used on special occasions.	The old ones are not allowed by the husbands to accompany them to special occasions like conferences or meetings as their place is in the house.
It has worn out.	She is no longer young but aged.

The proverb implies that a woman's social value deteriorates once married; she is valued differently from the way she was once valued during courtship. Her effort in the family may not be noticed by the husband but in her absence, the husband tends to feel the impact. Further, the fact that she is likened to a piece of property, in this case- a piece of clothing, emphasizes the cultural positioning of the woman among the Luo. She is more of an object than a subject and therefore way below in the hierarchy within the community.

6. *Jadhako ruoth*

A married man is a king.

In the Luo context, '*ruoth*' is a respected leader of a higher office. One would not be '*ruoth*' without a woman. He is known to be marrying many women. Since he is a king, he would be entertained, fed and also enjoys the comfort of being a man at the expense of a woman who is at his beckon. The idea in the proverb would be mapped as shown:

Source domain	Target domain
King	Married man
He respected and feared.	Accorded respect because of his status.
Has servants hence treated well.	He is well cared for by the wife.
Issues commands/decrees or orders to his people.	He commands the wife and his children.
He is the final spokesperson of the society.	He is the spokesman of the family.

The proverb above therefore communicates the following ideas:

A woman is considered to be subordinate to a man. She is supposed to serve a man in all areas that is undertaking all duties in service to him. This kind of treatment makes him to be a king “*ruoth*”. She is also a slave whose main role is to fulfil the needs or carry out duties as spelt/dictated by the husband whom she considers as her king “*ruodhe*”. Men are therefore dignified as a result of the authority bestowed on them by the community and the virtue of their marital status –“*Jadhako ruoth*”. The women serve them without question. This proverb shows how the community regards a woman as a junior partner in a marriage relationship regardless of her contribution to the success of such a relationship.

This is also a case where patriarchy inadvertently shows the inalienable social and cultural values of a woman: as much as this proverb puts the man to the fore, it also shows that no man can scale the social and cultural prestige ladder without a woman; a woman is literally a ‘kingmaker’ in this proverb.

7. Nyako dher chak

A woman is a dairy cow

In a community set up, a dairy cow produces milk. This milk can be used to feed an entire community. It can also be sold for money hence improving the livelihood of the people. Traditionally, it is also used for dowry payment in some instances. When mapped, these are the ideas that the proverb conveys:

Source domain	Target domain
A dairy cow	A woman
It resource to the owner.	A woman is resourceful/ resource to the man/family.
Adds value to the family.	Adds value to her family.
Only valued during the productive period.	Her importance is valued when she still young, energetic and active.

The proverb propagates the aspect of patriarchy since it limits the role of woman to that of food preparation. The off springs of the dowry cow can also be used in different ways. In the Luo society, the daughters of the woman would be married off in exchange of wealth while the sons will remain at home to secure these wealth. The patriarchal attitude are bought to the fore through the objectification of the women. The woman, like a dairy cow may only be valued when she is productive. She is just a commodity that once less productive, the owner looks for another one just like in the case of a dairy cow.

8. *Dhako wat ang'iewa*

A woman is a purchased relative (Kinship with a woman is bought)

A woman becomes a relative through marriage. This is culturally finalized through the paying of the price; an aspect that can be equated to buying of a wife. This implies that the relationship between husband and wife is not equal as one party paid for the other hence such a relationship is therefore inferior compared to other communal bonds. Due to the fact there is no blood relation between them, there is the need for the husband to be weary of her and too much trust should not be bestowed on her; in effect she is a second class relative with respect to the husband within familial and communal setup. This is evident when a man has to choose between a blood relative and the wife. A Luo man would opt for the relative arguing that the wife is bought hence comes second. The two tenets of conceptual metaphor theory is employed to get the understanding of the proverb and how women are portrayed. Through mapping, the source domain (relative bought) aid in the conceptualization of target domain (woman) as illustrated below:

Source domain	Target domain
Commodity purchased/offered for sale	A woman
There is price attached	For someone to acquire a wife he must pay dowry.
The relation can be revoked	In case a marriage doesn't work, the two can dissolve it. In Luo culture, dowry maybe demanded back and refunded.
The buyer becomes the owner by default.	A woman becomes subordinate to the man.
Valued as a commodity.	She is equated to an item bought

The objectification of the woman and her positioning as a 'second class relative' in relation to the husband perpetuates the patriarchal domination of women. This therefore proves that she is a lesser being since her connection to that particular family is attached to a price hence should not be involved in key affairs of the family. She is likened to an item that is selected among other commodities then bought at a price. The commodification and objectification of women and the asymmetrical relationship constructed in the proverb demeans and devalues the female gender because when she is likened to a commodity whose value depreciates and is replaceable, it shows that a woman can also be treated so since her bloodline is impure hence no strong attachment as one would with a blood relative. Indeed, this proverb, when taken with some of the foregoing, equates the position of the woman in the community to that of a slave. It underscores the patriarchal discourses that expressly aim to subjugate the female in the Luo society.

9. *Wuoyi ok tow*

A man does not rot

The Luo society does not put a 'sell by' date on males, as opposed to female whose 'viability' seems to deteriorate from a certain arbitrarily fixed age. This 'viability' equals 'marriageability', because culturally that supposed to be the crowning achievement of a woman in the society. While a man can put off marriage and pursue his own interests for

any amount of time, a woman will supposedly be scorned by society when she attains a certain age. Through mapping, using conceptual metaphor theory, the concept is brought out as:

Source domain	Target domain
Durability	A man
It is not affected by external conditions.	He does not age.
It serves the intended role throughout.	He is productive throughout his life.
Its value is constant.	He remains the head of a family and the decision maker.

By juxtaposing the durability of the man with the delicate and perishable nature of the women, patriarchal discourse is justifying its own subjugated positioning of the women below the man in the social and cultural hierarchy.

The concept of patriarchy in this proverb is, age does not affect men unlike women. He is deemed to be always young and fit in his endeavors. The importance of a man cannot be challenged because it is believed to be constant.

10. *Dhako ngege pinje chwero*

A woman is a tilapia who is scaled by the nations

'*Ngenge*' (tilapia) is an important economic part of the Luo community; these being originally predominantly fishermen. "*Pinje*" means Nations or the world over, but in this case it refers to the Luo Nation which is spread widely surrounding Lake Victoria and from the borders with Uganda and Tanzania. In all these, Tilapia forms part of a key food culture. It is considered the most delicious food in the fish family which is highly valued in the Luo community because of its delicacy. The idea is mapped as:

Source domain	Target domain
Tilapia to be scaled	A woman
It can be scaled by any person.	A woman can get married to any person.
Scaling it is a process before use/cooking.	A woman is wooed first before marriage.
It is considered the most delicious delicacy.	A woman's place in a home is fundamental.

Through mapping, the woman is portrayed as a commodity and communal. However, she is also portrayed as an important cultural part of the community.

11. *Dhako ndiga makiyengo marach to ng'ato nyalo kawo.*

A woman is a bicycle that if not parked properly can be stolen

In a society where mobility is becoming paramount, a bicycle is a coveted asset that must be well guarded by the owner so as not to get lost/stolen. This commodity is likened to a woman since she is also valuable. When not secured properly, another man can snatch her away. The conceptual metaphor maps the concept of a woman as a possession as shown:

Source domain	Target domain
Bicycle	A woman
Easily movable.	She can easily move from one marriage to another.
Its security is not guaranteed.	She is easily swayed by external forces.
It's a means of transport.	She is a means of changing status.
Asset of economic and social mobility to the owner.	Asset of social mobility to the owner

The mapping of the woman as a possession means she is being commoditized within the patriarchal discourse. She is an object of prestige to the owner, but also an object that cannot take care of itself and which thus requires protection in the form of patronage and overload. This can further be interpreted to mean that a woman is weak therefore the men must offer them protection for them to survive. A woman being compared to a bicycle

portrays her as helpless hence must be guided by the owner (man) to find a bearing. The proverb further highlights the patriarchal discourse of men as the stronger sex of the two and the weaker one, women, are dependent on them to offer security.

12. *Wuoyi siro*

A man is a pillar

Traditionally, “*siro*” is the key pillar in erecting a house or shelter. It has to be sturdy to provide support. The concept of pillar which is the (source domain) is mapped onto a man which is the (target domain) to get a better understanding of the proverb as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
Pillar	A man
Gives critical support to a building.	He is the key component of the family.
Upon removal, the house doesn't stand well.	Without a man, there cannot be stability.
It's strong.	He is the strength of the home.

The mapping conceptualizes the man as the key person in any family and by extension community. Men are perceived to be involved in key decision making in the community. Men, are seen to be the societal pillars. They are seen to offer support in terms of societal needs. In matters security, men are always at the forefront just like a pillar of the house it secures.

13. *Ogwang' wat min*

A wild cat is a relative of the mother

The proverb “*nyako ogwang*” meaning wild cat, places the women folk as untamed and wanderers just like a wild cat. This devalues the female gender and positions them as outsiders in matters to do with lineage. So is the proverb “*Ogwang' wat min*” which states that a girl and the mother bears the same similarities. She is treated like any other woman in the society: controlled, married off, commoditized/ possessed. The mapping of this idea can be outlined as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
Nyako (ogwang')	Mother
Leaves her home to be married elsewhere.	Had left her family and got married elsewhere.
She is a commodity bought.	She is a commodity bought.
Does house chores.	Does house chores.

The patriarchal discourse places the female species under the same umbrella: they don't belong, they are untamed, and they are wild and uncontrollable (the “ogwang” “wild cat” allegory). In effect, the holders of the family name can only be the men; the boys and their fathers and not the mothers (whose kinship is bought as shown in example number 8) and the daughters (who are untamed, undomesticated, unwanted as shown in example number 4) It further perpetuates the asymmetrical relationship where the women are constructed as the “other” in familial and societal relationships.

14. Wuoyi e ber dala

A man is the beauty of a home

Generally, a beautiful home is one that commands respect, it is organized and its members live in harmony. The presence of a man in a home indicates the beauty of a home since he would be responsible for the attainment of respect, order and peace. The proverb when mapped, will be presented as shown:

Source domain	Target domain
Beautiful home	A man
It is secure	A symbol of security in a home.
It is progressive.	He ensures the continuity of the lineage and creation of wealth.
It is a respected home.	He instils discipline and order in a home.

The idea brought out in the proverb is that the success of a home is tied to the presence of a man rather than a woman. This implies that a woman is not considered as important in the success of a home. The proverb ignores the important roles women play in the wellbeing of the community and instead amplifies that of men.

15. Wuoyi thuo

A man is a cock

Traditionally, a cock is central in the construction of a new home. To construct a new home, one has to have a cock for slaughter and its blood is sprinkled on the ground where a house is to be built. Its meat is used in the ceremony and this is culturally very special and mandatory in the Luo society. The idea brought out in the proverb is that a man is conceptualized as a cock through the process of mapping one idea onto the other. The way a cock symbolically is central in building of a home so is the impact of a man in a home or society. This idea is highlighted as:

Source domain	Target domain
Cock	A man
Alerts the hens of the impending danger	Gives warning whenever there is harm in the home.
Enhances fertilization of the eggs.	Impregnates a woman
Used as a time keeper in the home.	Ensures activities in a home are done in time and orderly.
It is used as a traditional symbol in establishing a home.	A man must be present when establishing home.
One can command many hens.	A man can have more than one woman.
Defends and fights for its space to mark its territory	Defends and protects his family from impending danger
Can only be slaughtered to special guests	Attends to special visitors or issues that are critical

A man being in charge of a home, will ensure he commands the females to discharge their duties at his beckon and most of these services are to his benefit or society. This is similar to the case of a cock taking charge of hens at its command thus aspect of polygamy.

In regard to time keeping, the man acts as a time keeper. He wakes up early to alert the women to render their duties to him just like the role of a cock. This is patriarchal how the roles of men are spelt out making them superior and domineering to their partners, women within society's set up.

16. Wuoyi okeo kaoch-wuon

A boy is nephew of the father's male in-laws

In the Luo community, a man's in-laws are highly regarded. They are revered. This is the reason why whenever a man would like to commend a son for good deeds, he would equate the good deeds to his male in-laws rather than female in-laws. This shows that goodness is with the male gender and not female. The male in-laws (source domain) are mapped onto the boy (target domain) as brought out below:

Source domain	Target domain
The in-laws	The boy
In-laws are regarded with respect and dignity	The boy child is respected and dignified in every household.
The male in-laws over shadows the female relatives of the boy	The boy is highly regarded unlike the female gender.

As with the proverb “ogwang’ wat min” which positions the females in the family as outsiders, this proverb places the boy in an exulted position. Even though still young, a boy will be accorded the same prestige reserved for his father by the in-laws because of his gender, something that a girl never gets.

The proverb communicates that the community only recognizes their male- in-laws with respect and high regard such as that the good qualities in their sons are equated to their male in- laws and not female- in-laws. This shows how the two genders are treated

differently, the males are recognized and ennobled while the females are ignored and demeaned.

17. *Dichuo ewi ot*

A husband is the roof of a house.

The role of the husband is to be a leader to his family and it is important to be at the fore front in everything that is done in his home just as a leader does for those whom he leads. Therefore, the father being the head of his house, positioned in front, should be followed by the rest of the family since he bears all the responsibilities of the man in a house. These are responsibilities that he is entrusted with by his family and the whole community. In case of any slip up on his part, then the whole burden falls on him. This concept is mapped as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
Roof	Husband
It protects anything beneath against harsh conditions.	He offers security to his family
It's always raised	A man is the overall and above everyone.
It's strong structurally.	A man is deemed strongest in the house.
It makes the building complete	The presence of a man makes the family complete.

The proverb “*wuoyi siro*” in example 12, which communicates the idea that a man is the pillar of a home-the base in which a home is grounded so is the proverb “*dichuo ewi ot*” in example 17 passing the same message that the man defines the direction in which a home moves in terms of development and also the umbrella of a home; everything must be commissioned by him. This portrays him as the chief decision maker. In the absence of a man but the presence of a woman, a home is not considered a home. His wives are bound by his instructions. This therefore implies that women have no say.

18. Dhako badelach

A woman has wide arms

Women play important roles in the community for the success of the family. Patriarchal discourse subordinates her to the man though she is a vital person in shaping the outcome of a family. She has wide arms because of the numerous responsibilities. She does multiple tasks in the home and the wider community.

It also propels the idea of patriarchy where the significance of a woman only comes out when she is seen to offer support to the males and doing other domestic chores expected of her. She is conceptualized as a domestic worker who has to do all these for the wellbeing of her family

19. Wuoyi wiye kudho

A man's head is a thorn

“*Kudho*” is a thorn which is a sharp pointed woody projection. This sharp pointed part is normally at the top of the thorn. The head is normally associated with knowledge. Therefore, anyone who is intelligent is said to have sharp head. This sharpness is likened to someone who can out do others in very many aspects. This concept is brought out in the mapping as shown:

Source domain	Target domain
Sharp object	A man
It can cut efficiently	He is considered intelligent/wise
It pierce an object	He can give solution to any problem that crop up
It can aim and hit the target	He will always strive to succeed in his endeavors
Its effect is felt	His presence and absence is felt in a home/society

The proverb portrays men as intelligent individuals hence charged with the responsibility of making decision and also consulted on matters that require wisdom in any home or community. This proverb portrays men as very sharp and therefore important in the affairs of the community.

It makes it appear like women are not intelligent.

20. *Dhako mauwa*

A woman is a flower

A flower is a beautiful plant that beautifies a home. It is attractive to visitors in a home and has a pleasant scent. It is seasonal since it changes according to season either by blossoming or withering. The mapping process is presented as:

Source domain	Target domain
Flower	A woman
It is seasonal.	She is valued when productive in the home.
It is beautiful	She is the center of attraction in the home
It is fragile.	She should be handled with care.
It needs special care to maintain it or for it to blossom	She must be pampered to get the right results.

The proverb portrays a woman as a weak being who cannot withstand harsh conditions. Her value is subject to conditions and it is short lived; she requires support and care to survive well.

21. *Arung' dhako kileng'*

A club thrown by a woman cannot be stopped.

“*Arungu*” is a weapon that is used for hunting or during war to attack the enemy. It is aimed calculatingly to injure or to force submission by the enemy. Through the concept of mapping, the proverb is understood as:

Source domain	Target domain
Club	A Woman
It is an attacking tool.	She can be used as a trap.
It is aimed calculatingly	She does things with back-ground information.
It is used with experience	She is tackled with a lot of caution.
It is destructive	She can bring down a man.

This proverb implies that when a woman makes a pass at a man, she will hardly fail. She always gets what she wants irrespective of the situation. It also communicates the idea that women are highly convincing and can even scheme to attain their desired goal. Therefore, men should be careful when dealing with them because they can even mislead. It portrays women as unreliable, dangerous and treacherous.

22. *Mwanda ok diend ng'ato*

An antelope is no man's goat

Hunting was part of the social and cultural activity that a young Luo was traditionally expected to engage in. Antelopes were easily available and edible. This informed the use of some proverbs such as "*mwanda ok diend ng'ato*". Through mapping, the concept of an antelope "*mwanda*" is mapped into the concept of a goat "*diel*" to understand the target "girl" as brought out:

Source domain	Target domain
Antelope	A girl
It can be hunted by more than one person concurrently.	Possible at marriageable age, she will encounter many admirers and suitors.
No one can claim its ownership while still in the bush	Before marriage, she cannot be claimed.
When it is hunted, the first hunter that snares it, has the say/ takes the kill home.	The first man to claim her has a place in her heart or control over her.
Readily available.	Readily available once she has attained marriageable age.

A hunter must consider certain strategies and factors to ensure he snares a prey. He will ask the following questions: Where are the areas of operation of the animal? What tools and mechanisms should be employed to trap the animal? The same apply to women. The men would ask the questions: Where does she spends her night? Her areas of movement and residence? Is she involved with anyone? After considering these factors, the male relatives of the man would be sent to crab her to her matrimonial home.

In this case, the males (hunters) will be accorded respect after having won the battle of pursuing a lady and this will put them into position of power and prestige. This elevate them in the society. Moreover, when one is treated like an animal that is hunted, her human dignity is lowered.

This is further evident in the proverb “*Jadhako ruoth*” in example 6 which places the men at the helm of authority and prestige by the virtue of their marital status.

23. *Nyathi nyaguowa*

The child of our dog

The proverb is not directly linked to a woman but used in reference to a woman’s child. However, its utterance clearly spells out the attitude of the speaker towards the woman. This utterance occurs when a child goes to her/his maternal home and the utterance can only be uttered by the mother’s male relatives. This will prompt the questions: why would the child be addressed as such and yet the child can be addressed in some other ways? For instance, our nephew or niece or even the child of our sister.

The meaning of the proverb is understood through metaphorical representation of one concept onto another where by the puppy (source domain) is mapped onto a young woman (target domain) to get the idea communicated as shown:

Source domain	Target domain
Puppy	A young woman
It temporary stays in a home	Has temporary stay in her paternal home.
It can be claimed before maturity	She can get married before maturity.
It cannot choose where it is reared	She cannot choose her marital home.

The proverb therefore brings out the following:

It is demeaning for a woman to be called a dog “*nyaguowa*”. There is no value attached in order to acquire a dog so it demeans a woman to be compared to a dog. This is because she is likened to a puppy that is usually given away to anybody who is interested in rearing it.

24. *Wuoyi sulwe*

A man is a star

In the Luo community, when stars are seen, they symbolize a good future ahead. A star is a satellite which produces light when it shines and it is associated with success. So when a man is perceived as one, he is dignified. The concept of a man is understood through mapping a star which is the (source domain) onto man the (target domain) as shown here:

Source domain	Target domain
Star	A man
Source of light	He is the pride of society.
Sign of direction	He is perceived to provide leadership in the family
It indicates time	He controls programs and time management in the family.
It shines	He empowers and provide hope to the family members and society.

It is patriarchal that a home with a man symbolizes a bright future, continuity, leadership and success. This proverb does not talk directly about women but it leaves us with a question that if a man is equated to a star, what can a woman be equated to? The question can be answered in the proverb 4, “*Nyako ogwang*”.

25. *Luth ok kan ebungu.*

A walking stick cannot be kept in the bush

A stick is an important tool that is used by men and it also aids the old when walking. In the Luo community, during a social event, men would carry it along and this would

indicate great style “*nyadhi*” and authority. These people would be honored since having a walking stick also indicates long life lived thereby a sign of wisdom. Through conceptual mapping where a walking stick (source domain) is mapped on target domain (a young woman), the idea will be presented as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
A walking stick	A young woman
It is a walking aid.	She is a helper
It is a weapon	She is important or key in a man’s life.
Whoever brings it from the bush claims ownership	Whoever marries her has control over her
It is more helpful when it is closer rather than far and should be placed strategically.	She should be kept very close and protected by the husband for her to be useful.
It is a sign of honor	She brings respect to the man.

Just as a walking sticks aids in walking and also used as a weapon, a woman is also a helper in a man’s life therefore key in a man’s life as she can support the man with certain issues. She is also brings honor and respect to the man as portrayed in proverb 6. She is therefore viewed as property that can be owned and exploited by a man once he marries her. This is dehumanizing to a woman.

The proverb propagates that a woman is a walking stick that men would use as they wish. The fact that it should not be kept in the bush is an indicator that one only assumes the right of ownership when one has her within his custody.

26. *Nyang’ kibuor eode*

You cannot take shelter in a crocodile’s liar

A crocodile is a dangerous animal which is feared because of its cruelty and viciousness. It is also treacherous therefore, nobody would wish to go to its territory. The mapping process:

Source	Target
Crocodile's liar	A man's hut
There is always danger lurking	It is a no go zone for a woman
The crocodile is ever ready to attack in its dwelling place.	In his hut, a man will always try to woo a woman who goes there.
In its habitat, the crocodile is entitled to any food that lurks around	A man is entitled to any woman who goes to his hut.

The proverb is used to warn young women against going into young men's huts, especially without chaperone. The proverb justifies any violation met on a woman while under the custody of a man. As a warning to women, it does not seem to condemn the men for any untoward action they may take against young women. Indeed, the proverb seems to want to blame any young woman who may fall prey to the amorous actions of a young man.

27. *Jachan nyombo gi wang'e*

A poor man marries through the eyes.

The proverb is mapped as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
Marriage through the eye	Being poor
A person can admire things or long for.	Living in the world of fantasy.
The person cannot change circumstances	He may admire a woman but unable to raise dowry so he remains alone.
The person is always helpless	He lacks wealth or dowry.

The proverb communicates the idea that for one to marry, he must have a desirable amount of wealth. Therefore, just like other commodities of barter trade, women are regarded as property of the same.

3.3 Summary on Partriarchy

In the Luo set up, male child is given higher priority in terms of social status. This is evident in Dholuo proverbs such as (*wuoyi ok tow*, *wuoyi siro*, *wuoyi sulwe*, *wuoyi thuo*,) that tend to communicate ideas that elevate them and perpetuate superiority complex of men in the society. Due to the power accorded to them by the society, they influence language use and even vocabulary as they make language to suit their own interest. For example, the connotations found in the proverbial expressions are aligned to themes such as dependability, reliability and centrality of the males in the Luo society; aspects that elevate them to the rank of power unlike images used in portraying women as possessions, commodity and wild (*nyako ogwang'* , *dhako ndiga*, *dhako ngege*, *dhako dher chalk*, *dhako nanga yuach*). These are items that society and men tend to use or work on. These images portrays biasness in their usage.

These proverbs therefore would prompt the questions?

Why a woman would be compared to a casual dress and which image is brought out when it is equated to a woman? What is the role of a pillar that it must be compared to a man and not a woman?

In a conversation, when one says, '*wuoyi ok tow*', is it that women 'tow'?

All these proverbs propel the idea of dominance in the part of men while women are subdued as they do not have access to the linguistic source that determine the reality; men dominate them socially. For example, the proverb "*dhako puodho ma ok ipur itieki*". A woman is compared to an expansive garden that cannot be exhausted. A garden as a factor of production is nothing without the gardener and it is only important if productivity is ignited and it is the man who does that. He must therefore work on it in order to be productive hence elevating men as the agents of production; they are glorified while women are silenced, alienated and oppressed as spelt in the dominance approach.

3.4 Political Aspects of Dholuo Proverbs

28. *Jowi mathuon emaichuogo piene kuot.*

A skin of a brave buffalo is what is used to make a traditional shield

The metaphorical mapping of this proverb is brought as shown below:

Source domain	Target domain
Brave buffalo	A man
It is very daring	A man has a daring personality
It is self-sacrificing and dies in the process.	A man sacrifices his life in the process of defending his family.
It leaves a mark in the process of fighting back.	His action becomes a legacy to those who survive him
Its action in the battle field is a motivation to the other herds	He is a source of the encouragement and motivation to other members of the society.
It is always ready to fight with other animals.	A man is always ready for defence.
It is strong animal that can survive in the presence of the other animals	A man has survival techniques.
It is one of the hunted animals for meat and skin.	A man is a source of food and security.

The proverb communicates the idea that men will fight till the end and this encourages men to develop defence mechanism just like “*jowi*” in readiness to defend themselves. This portrays men as brave warriors who cannot be intimidated and will be ready to defend their property and their community if harm comes their way. It also encourages peer competition among the boys. The proverb underscores the importance of men in the traditional society as those who occupy the central position in the society and are regarded as the most reliable in terms of offering protection when needed. The proverb focuses entirely about the desirable qualities in men and none about women.

29. *Wuoyi tho gi oko.*

A man dies outside

Traditionally, the men in Luo society were charged with the responsibility of protecting the community – fight the enemy. They were ready to fight and die in war so long as the community was safe. Even if they die, they would be honoured as heroes. In the battle field, women were not expected to be there since they were seen as weak and lacking defence mechanism. The idea is the proverb is presented through mapping as shown:

Source domain: readiness to die/bravery	Target domain: a man
Hunting in the field and attacked by animals	Search for food
Killed in communal war	Provision of security

Just like the proverb “*jowi mathuon emichuogo piene*” which communicates the aspect of bravery and the daring spirit in men, a desirable qualities expected in men. This proverb further builds on the aspect of strength and courage in men in terms of their defence mechanism but fails to mention women.

30. *Wuoyi rwath*

A man is a bull

In a home set up, a bull is the strongest animal to be domesticated. It is brave and war like. It is also used in performing the most difficult tasks such as ploughing. The community also depends on it for procreation. It is also regarded as the leader of the cattle in a homestead and also a dependable animal. This proverb communicates the idea that, a man is conceptualized as a bull and when mapped, it presents the following notions:

Source domain	Target domain
A bull	A man
A strong domestic heifer that can do several duties.	A man is strong.
An animal that can protect others in case of a fight.	A man is defensive and protective
It serves many cows in mating	A man is polygamous
It always leads other animals in grazing	A man provides leadership.

The proverb is therefore patriarchal since:

Men are dignified as strong, energetic; qualities that are valued in the community. They also give direction in the family; key decision makers. The proverb also brings out the aspect of polygamy since a bull can serve a number of cows in a cattle shade. It also offers protection to other herd in case of a stray bull invades his territory.

The aspect of “*rwath*” is also evident in the proverb “*Ruu rwath emewone*” which means the earlier the bull rises, the more resourceful it is which implies that a bull that rises early gets to gain more in terms of production. A bull is majorly used for ploughing, so the earlier it rises, the more work it shall have done by daybreak. The proverb propagates the idea that men should strive to work hard and it also points out the norms and responsibility bestowed on them by society hence encouraging industry and hard work among boys.

So is the proverb “*Jowi jamuomo*” meaning a buffalo shoves where men are perceived to approach issues head on without any fear and handle these issues no matter the outcome. This is because it is brave, fearless and tactical.

All these qualities elevate men in the society since all are based on manhood hence showing the perception of the society towards men.

31. Wuoyi okumba

A man is a shield

It is a traditional tool used during war in the Luo community to protect the warriors from harm during battle. It was key and not having it in the battlefield was like suicide. It was

to shield the combatant from harm from enemy weapons. When mapped in the two domains:

Source domain	Target domain
Shield	A man
A tool used to protect the body during war.	A man provides protection.
A strong tool that can block a weapon.	A man shields problems that could cause harm to the family.

The proverb portrays men as the shield of the community. This dignifies them as being key in the society. It communicates aspects of protection, a role that is solely accorded to men.

32. *Wuoyi sibuor*

A man is a lion

Culturally, there are certain attributes of animals that are associated with human beings. This is due to the familiarity between the animals and human beings based on the proximity and the kind of work the Luos venture into such as hunting. This informed a number of proverbs. For example, '*wuoyi sibuor*'. Dholuo term for Lion is *sibuor*. This wild animal is considered to be resilient, brave and a go-getter, qualities that are applauded in the community. To get the meaning of the proverb, mapping must be done from the source domain (lion) to the target domain (man) so that the animal behavior is mapped to the corresponding human behavior and the qualities are picked from the animals because of their habits and characteristics hence easily applicable to humans since the two share the same world.

Source domain	Target domain
Lion	A man
An animal that scares others	His presence scares other men to stay away
It is the king of the jungle	He is the king of the home
In most cases the lioness would hunt and kill the prey then he would eat.	He enjoys the services of the woman

The proverb communicates the idea that men are treated as very powerful leaders in the community just the way a lion is regarded by animals as the king of the jungle. A man's presence in a home cautions intruders or strangers. The lioness is equated to a woman who makes food for the man. The woman therefore becomes a subordinate to the man.

33. Ondiek mang'ang'a

A hyena is aggressive

The mapping process:

Source domain	Target domain
Hyena	A man
An animal that is aggressive for food	He is aggressive in search of basic needs
An animal that never quits	His demands/wants are insatiable.

The proverb brings the concept of man as a spirited fighter. He does not give up no matter the circumstance. He fights until he gets what he wants.

34. Kuot ogwal okmon ruath modho

The swelling of a frog does not bar a bull from drinking water

The frog might swell in order to scare the bull from interfering with its habitat (water). The bull because of thirst will not be intimidated by a mere swelling of a frog. A man which is conceptualized as a bull would not be intimidated by little things from getting access to the basic things like water. The concept of the swelling of a frog is considered as negligible. There are certain things in the Luo community which are considered as negligible hence should not bar one especially a man from achieving his goals.

35. *Dhako nyathi*

A woman is a child

The idea is mapped as follows:

Source domain	Target domain
A child	A woman
A child must be protected or guided	Men direct the women
A child should be loved and cared for	A woman need love and care
A child is under someone's care	She is under the care of a man
Should not be left alone	She is vulnerable therefore should be accompanied
A child communicates through emotions	She is emotionally weak
A child defense mechanism is crying	She communicate more with tears
A child is naïve	She is childish

The proverb propagates the view that women are weak emotionally and intellectually. They depend on male gender to make any logical decisions because they are viewed as naïve. They are vulnerable and need to be accompanied and guided all the time hence they must be in the custody of men to be safe and protected.

37. *Nyako bwoyo*

A girl is foam

Through conceptualization the proverb will be presented as:

Source domain	Target domain
Foam	A girl
It is light and dries	She fades away very fast. Her lineage fades when she gets into matrimonial home.
It is weak in its composition	She considered weak physically and emotionally

The proverb portrays a woman as weak and fragile since her lineage disappears when she leaves her ancestral home to go and live with the husband in their matrimonial home. Thus, her influence in her place of birth fades away, the way foam would fade even at the blow of wind.

3.6 Summary on Political Proverbs

The political structure in the Luo society comprises of the chiefs and clan elders who are men. They are bestowed with the power to make by-laws that governs the Luo society. Since they are the lawmakers in the political spheres, they come up with rules that favors them and uses figurative expressions that make the society to view women as weaklings and men the stronger beings.

At the political level, the males are still portrayed as the dominant gender through proverbs such as (*wuoyi tho gi oko, wuoyi ruath, wuoyi okumba, wuoyi sibuor*). These proverbs communicates themes such as male domination, bravery, strength and their protective nature in the society. The proverbs emphasize the idea that men are invaluable members of the community. However, these proverbs (*Nyako bwoyo, Dhako nyathi*) demean women as inferior and unreliable beings in political matters hence insignificant members of the society. Moreover, the dominance approach theory states that there is an inequitable power relation between male and female (Sanauddin Noor 2015:44). This is true since in the Luo society, in matters of politics, men were placed at the helm of leadership while women were nowhere in the political scene. That is why most of political proverbs are male oriented and they don't mention women more so the ones discussed here.

The theory also states that male gender domination is also exhibited through male control mechanism in society through leadership where they coin language for their self-interest, making utterances that dignify and ennoble them in the society while those that derogate women. They become the controllers in all spheres of life while women remain alienated and silenced since they have no space to voice their opinions. Men are therefore barriers of women in accessing linguistic sources that determine the women's reality rather women see reality that is constructed and perpetuated by language controlled by men.

3.7 Economic Aspects of Dholuo Proverbs

38. *Kinyuolo nyako to ikelo mwandu to kinyuolo wuoyi to en hawi*

Giving birth to a female child is wealth and the birth of a male child is blessing

The proverb can be divided into two with a metaphorical interpretation to get the intended meaning. It is mapped as:

Source domain	Target domain
Wealth	Giving birth to a girl
It is material acquisition	A girl is equated to wealth
It benefits the entire family.	The family benefits from her marriage
It can be sold or bought	She is commodity that can be bartered

Source domain	Target domain
Blessings	Giving birth to a boy
It is acquired at the initial stage in pursuit of something.	A boy is a source hope for the family
It is awarded by supernatural	He is a gift from God
It is valued.	A boy is highly valued
It is priceless	A boy can be valued monetarily.
It is special	A boy has a special role.

This proverb communicates the idea that a girl is merchandise that can be bought or sold whereas a boy is invaluable gift from God which should be handled with a lot of care. The boy is permanent in the home and cannot be removed or sold. According to dominance approach theory, societal realities are constructed and produced by language controlled by men. This is true of this proverb as it is apparent that girl-child is seen as a merchandise that is useful to the members of the society as per the wealth she is equated to at marriage while the same community upholds boy-child as invaluable gift. The reality on the ground is the two sexes are treated differently. The men are esteemed as very special and important while women are important when they serve the interest of the society and that's why their importance can be measured in terms of a commodity.

39. *Wuoyi minya*

A man is a climbing plant

The mapping process communicates the following ideas:

Source domain	Target domain
Climbing tree	A man
It attaches itself to other trees	Work closely with others in the society.
It struggles to survive	He is a struggler
It moves upward	A man does not surrender, has forward ever mission.
It tightly holds other plants	He keeps very close contact with members of his family

According to this mapping, men are viewed by the community as people who do not give up easily since they are strugglers in their thirst to achieve their goals. They are social-team player who work very closely with other members of the community to achieve community goals. They are resilient and never give up even in times of very serious crisis.

40. *Wuoyi jadwar.*

A man is a hunter

Through conceptual metaphor theory, a man is conceptualized as a hunter and this can be mapped as shown below:

Source domain	Target domain
A hunter	A man
Has courage	He is confident and courageous
Has patience	He is patient
Has a killer instinct	Has the instinct of slaughtering
Detailed oriented	He is painstaking on societal issues
Never quits or always persists	He never quits and he is persistent.
Has a sense of sharing the kill	He is fair to members of the community in distribution of resources.

The proverb portrays a man as dependable, persistent, reliable and courageous. All these qualities elevate his status in the communal set-up. This proverb exposes the responsibility that is bestowed on men by the community. Moreover, the dominance theory states that power bestowed on men is granted by the society. The masculine images brought out in this proverb are persistence and determination; qualities which are perceived to be of men. The theory further states that human beings see the world through the linguistic expressions. This proverb therefore shows how the Luo community differentiates gender roles of males and females. The Luo expressions in this proverb reflects how the community views the critical and crucial role of male in the development of the economy of the family and community.

41. *Dichuo dech pacho*

A man is a granary of a home

Source domain	Target domain
Granary	A man
It stores all types of cereals	He provides nearly all needs
The absence of a granary in a home could signify poverty and food shortage	The absence of a man leads to lack of basic needs

The proverb propagates that a man is a key pillar in a home. His absence is a major setback in terms of provision of the economic needs for the family. The image that is brought out in this proverb is that of a man being a reliable custodian of the family property. This is seen in the dominance theory which states that male exhibit their dominance through their control mechanism in the society; family set up.

42. *Kik ipakri gi mwandu owadu*

Do not take glory/pride in your brother's wealth

In the Luo community, possession of wealth is preserve of male gender. This proverb is used mainly to encourage men to be industrious and acquire their own wealth instead of malingering and boasting over the wealth that is not their own. Besides, the dominance theory argues that language is made by men to suit their interest and so this theory is true of the Luo language. The masculine image used in the proverb portrays men as the

owners of wealth. The proverb will prompt the question: why brother's wealth and not sister's wealth?

This question can be answered through the understanding of the Luo linguistic source with a view of dominance approach that language is controlled by the men to determine community's reality that all wealth is acquired and owned by men and women have no role in the acquisition and ownership of wealth in the community.

43. *Wuoyi ragwanda.*

A man is a complicated tree with many branches.

Source domain	Target domain
A tree with many branches	A man
It contains many fruits if it is a tree of edible fruits	He provides the basic needs
Dispersal of seeds takes place across	He is productive and can sire many children
The branches help in formation canopy	He provides shelter to his family.

He plays key roles such as provision of food, shelter and security. The beneficiaries in this case are women and children thus; a man is dignified as the provider for the family.

44. *Wuoyi misumba dala*

A man is a slave of a home.

Source domain	Target domain
A slave	A man
Works a lot for a long time	He endures hard labour.
Has few rights	He does not have a right to choose where to stay and must remain in the paternal home.
Works hard as others enjoy the fruits	He is always busy tending to his family needs as they enjoy his hard labour
Always perseveres	He perseveres all difficulties

A man is tied to the home and is obligated to take full control of it, satisfying all the needs. He is the custodian of the father's property unlike the girl who is married off.

3.8 Summary on Economic Aspects

In the Luo set up, the economic stability of a home is rated on a man. Men were seen as the custodian of the wealth and not the women. This is evident in most proverbs that highlighted the economic spheres of the Luo. The dominance theory states that human beings see the world through the linguistic expressions. These proverbial expressions such as (*wuoyi minya, dichuo dech pacho, wuoyi jadwar*), portray men as key persons in the society in terms of provision. These expressions demystify the role of men in providing for their family and the impact they create in running a successful home. The image that is brought out is that a wealthy home is seen as one initiated and controlled by men. He becomes the custodian of the family's livelihood.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the conceptual metaphor theory has been used in the understanding of Dholuo proverbs to get the underlying non – literal meanings of the Luo proverbs especially how language is used in reference to gender in the Luo community. However, there are Dholuo proverbs which can be inferred and not be understood through conceptual metaphor theory since mapping them is impossible. Dominance approach theory has also been employed to get the entrenchment of patriarchy in the proverbs. Through the tenets of the theory, it is evident that men are portrayed positively and gloriously since the figurative language used in their portrayal dignify them in the society. Most of the attributes equated to them communicates their authority and special role in the society. Women on the other hand to a great extent are demeaned and dehumanized by the imagery in the proverbs. Most of the proverbs either communicate weakness and their subordinate roles in the society. This is clear in the dominance theory which states that women do not have access to linguistic reality while men do as the reality is constructed and produced by language controlled by men. This is a determining factor that create disparity between the two genders.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Discussion of Findings

In looking at Dholuo proverbs and patriarchy, this study laid emphasis on analyzing the manifestation of patriarchy in Dholuo proverbs, the motifs of masculinity and femininity as portrayed through the selected proverbs in promoting patriarchy and in extension, skewed gender ideologies within the Luo society.

Using conceptual metaphor theory, the selected proverbs were mapped in order to conceptualize the ideas communicated and how these contributed towards an understanding of patriarchy. This placed a significant role in accounting for the understanding of Dholuo proverbs. This was aided through mapping process where the domains were mapped in the proverbs.

The mapping brought out aspects of patriarchy in proverbs as exemplified in the following:

In examining the manifestations of patriarchy in Dholuo proverbs, I realized that most of the proverbs demean women while ennobling men. This was due to expressions framed from the proverbs. The motifs of femininity are: insignificance (e.g. *dhako nanga yuach*) vulnerability (e.g. *dhako ndiga makiyiengo marach to ng'ato nyalo kawo*), unreliability (e.g. *arung' dhako kileng*), weakness (e.g. *nyako bwoyo*), fragility (e.g. *dhako mauwa*), commoditization, possession and negative animation.

The demeaning aspects and connotations point to a lack of respect for women. The derogatory connotations of the proverbs are patriarchal because they are witness to a tendency towards lowering of the dignity of the female gender and thus, a discursive positioning of women as subordinates in the societal gender relations.

However, the motifs used in describing masculinity are: significance (e.g. *wuoyi okumba*) viability (e.g. *wuoyi ok tow*) dependability (e.g. *dichuo ewi ot*) resilience (e.g. *wuoyi minya*), bravery, intelligence, courage, security, decision making,

The dictions portrayed in these proverbs are those that dignify, ennoble and elevate men. The men are placed at a higher hierarchy where they have been bestowed with authority to make decision and have full control of the happenings in society.

This study further relied on the dominance theory to account for the gender imbalance in the Luo society especially as evidenced in the selected proverbs, and to help understand the entrenchment of patriarchy.

The dominance theory, to summarize, states the following: that male dominance is enacted through linguistic practices (for example, through the use of proverbs); that language is gendered; that it is men that determine reality since they have access to linguistic source enabling them to manipulate language and entrench their thoughts in the proverbs to serve their interest and that's why the proverbs perpetuate different ideologies concerning men and women (Noor, 2015:43). The male dominance in the gender power matrix, the use of linguistic practices to entrench and propagate this power imbalance and the appropriation of linguistic resources by the male gender all culminate in a semantic derogation of women while granting male power.

The manifestation of patriarchy and the entrenchment and propagation of the same can be seen in the examples of proverbs that seem, first and foremost, to place women at the mercy of men. The societal discourses seem to bestow agency on the men over the women; they can be made to do anything that the society and men desire, as shown in the proverbs "*dhako nyathi*" (*a woman is a child*) and "*jadhako ruoth*" (*a married man is a king*). The proverbs tend to propagate that the women must be controlled, guided, dictated and directed to be fully functional.

The proverbs that describe a woman as *a child* (therefore in need of superior control and guidance), *an expansive land* (thus communally owned/ requires hard work) and *a central bone* (communal ownership) are manifestations of the subordinated position of the woman in the discursive matrix within the Luo society. And because linguistic practices, such as proverbs, are examples of social practices, their application of such othering mechanisms against women help entrench and propagate patriarchal ideologies. *A woman as a child*, therefore, presents a woman as inferior; the proverb subordinates her to a man, who is presented as the adult since a child must be under the custody of a parent for care, make logical decisions; she is seen as naïve hence needs guidance and protection from the harsh realities of the world.

When conceptualized as *a bicycle* in the proverb “*dhako ndiga makiyiengo marach to ng’ato nyalo kawo*”, it portrays a woman as a possession; commoditized which places her as helpless, vulnerable; needs guidance and protection for purpose of bearing and to be secure. In this case, the man is in control and in charge of the bicycle thereby elevates and puts him above the woman.

On the other hand, land is a resource that must be worked on to be productive, thus, the man is the agent to realize that productivity. The man is elevated by the fact that he controls his *expansive land* which conceptualizes a woman. The subordination is implied. In conceptualizing a woman as a *central bone*, it means she is communally owned. She is not only offering services to her husband but also his kinsmen. This is mandatory and dictated.

All these proverbs therefore portray how the society derogates women and the contemptuous attitude towards. Her importance is only acknowledged if it elevates the status of a man. For instance, “*jadhako ruoth*” (*a married man is a king*). This proverb places a man in a higher rank and respectful position. Even though a woman is the “king maker” by her virtue of being married to the man, it is the man who is recognized; he is the subject.

Secondly, patriarchal cultural practices such as wife inheritance, polygamy and customary marriage find mention in the proverbs, and always to the detriment of the woman. These are practices that favor men while subordinate women. For example, the proverb “*Dhako chok odiere ma libamba gweno*” (*a woman is the central bone that kinsmen gnaws*) is a proverb that puts women at the mercy of her kinsmen in case she is married. Her roles goes beyond serving her husband only but also men of that family/ clan she is married in: showing how a woman can be shared by kinsmen. This propagates aspect of wife inheritance in the Luo community. The proverb “*Jadhako achiel wange’etho*” (*a monogamous man is mono-eyed*) also shows the cultural inclination of the Luo community and the importance placed on the practice and how men are encouraged to embrace polygamy and failure to which they are shunned in the society. Both of these proverbs propagates the cultural practices, which further entrench and propagate patriarchy.

There are also proverbs that promote the portrayal of women as subjects/workers thereby giving the society the leeway to treat them as so. This is evident in the proverb “*Jadhako ruoth*” (*a married man is a king*). In this case, the woman is the subject while the man is the master who must be cared for courtesy of his marital status. The duties assigned to her are enslaving because she is expected to carry them out without fail same to the proverb “*Dhako wat ang’iewa*” (*a woman is a purchased relative*) which places her in a confined position where she views herself as an outsider hence must work hard to prove herself. Her stay in her marital home is attached to her commitment to her husband. When positioned as a second-class relative is already subjugation equal to enslavement.

The proverbs do not only portray the women in derogatory connotations but there are also those that focus on the men. However, as per the dictates of patriarchal ideology, these are usually positive. They almost always dignify, prioritize and somehow, exult the male. The proverb such as “*wuoyi okeo kaoch wuon*” (*A boy is a nephew of the father’s male-in-laws*) shows that the man (even a boy) is revered while at the same time recognized and placed in exalted positions: the dignity and reverence accorded to a married man at his in-laws is extended to the boy, solely because of his gender.

In addition, some of the proverbs inculcate a sense of security and pride in men. Not only aspect of physical security but also food security. For example, “*wuoyi tho gi oko*” (*a man dies outside*), a man must be ready to die in defence during war. Another example “*wuoyi jadwar*” (*a man is a hunter*), a man must struggle to bring forth food and he can only achieve this through perseverance hence food security for his family.

Others justify certain actions of men thereby making them feel they have the leeway to do as they wish, especially, as shown in the proverb “*Nyang’ kibuor eode*” (*You cannot take shelter in a crocodile’s house*). Such a proverb propagates the misogynic aspect of patriarchal ideology that places blame on women even for actions that may be carried out against them by men.

Patriarchy in Dholuo proverbs, therefore, manifests itself not only in its derogatory portrayal of women and its subsequent entrenchment and propagation of imbalances in gender relations in the society, but also in the decidedly positive connotation that accompanies any references to the men. The conceptualizations of the female as

subordinated to the man, first and foremost, and to the society at large, are glaring aspects of patriarchy in the selected examples of Dholuo proverbs under this study. That these metaphoric conceptualizations are linguistically transported and propagated attest to the deep-rootedness of patriarchal ideology in the Luo society.

This study dealt with pragmatic analysis of Dholuo proverbs and entrenchment of patriarchy in the proverbs. The proverbs collected and analysed portrayed how the Luo society viewed the two genders differently. The women are demeaned while men, dignified and revered. Moreover, the women are considered as the weaker sex since they are seen as fragile, dependant and unreliable. This positioning lowers their social status in the society. When equated as a commodity, possession and property further devalues them. The categorization of the proverbs in social, economic and political aspects helped in the analysis since it made it easier for one to comprehend the proverbs based on context of application.

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