

A SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF EKEGUSII KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
LINGUISTICS, DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES,
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

2016

DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

To my husband Lugard Mogusu Obondi

You were a great source of inspiration to me.

Your moral and financial support is immeasurable.

To my sons Peter and Lameck.

You really motivated me to soldier on.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere gratitude goes to the Almighty God for granting me good health and for bringing me this far. My heartfelt appreciation goes to my supervisors Dr Akida and Dr. Otiso for their professional guidance and devotion towards the completion of this study. Their unwavering support and constructive criticism helped to shape this piece of work. May the Almighty God bless them abundantly.

Special thanks go to my course lecturers in the Department of Linguistics and Languages: Prof. Luciah Omondi, Prof. Okoth Okombo, Dr.Schroeder, Dr. Alfred Buregeya, Dr. Jane Oduor, Dr. Marete, and Dr. Michira for their contribution towards my coursework. Each one of them contributed immensely to this work. Thank you all for the academic nourishment.

My appreciation also goes to my M.A linguistics classmates (2014-2016); Caro, Rose, June, Rael, Jeniffer, Liu, Michael, Shem, Veilon, Kitheka and Change. It was great knowing you and working with you.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my husband who encouraged me to enrol for my masters degree and gave me moral and financial support throughout the course. Thanks to my mum who tirelessly answered my questions. My sincere thanks to Edith for continuously typing my work.

I am grateful to my sons Peter and Lameck for encouraging me and for providing a conducive environment at home.

Special thanks go to my informants Osebe, Kemunto, Riogi and Ombasa, I appreciate the good work you did.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B	brother
BD	brother's daughter
BS	brother's son
BW	brother's wife
D	daughter
DD	daughter's daughter
DDD	daughter's daughter's daughter
DDDD	daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter.
DS	daughter's son
F	father
FB	father's brother
FBD	father's brother's daughter
FBS	father's brother's son
FF	father's father
FFB	father's father's brother
FFF	father's father's father
FFM	father's father's mother
FFZ	father's father's sister
FM	father's mother
FMF	father's mother's father
FMM	father's mother's mother
FZ	father's sister
FZS	father's sister's son
H	husband
HFM	husband's father's mother
HMM	husband's mother's mother
HWZ	husband of wife's sister
HHZ	husband of husband's sister
LA	in-law
M	mother

MB	mother's brother
MBD	mother's brother's daughter
MBZ	mother's brother's sister
MF	mother's father
MFM	mother's father's mother
MM	mother's mother
MMF	mother's mother's father
MMM	mother's mother's mother
MZ	mother's sister
MZD	mother's sister's daughter
MZS	mother's sister's son
P	parent
PLA	parent in-law of daughter or son. (<i>Korera</i>)
S	son
SD	son's daughter
SS	son's son
SSS	son's son's son
SSSS	son's son's son's son.
W	wife
WZ	wife's sister
WMM	wife's mother's mother
Z	sister
ZH	sister's husband
ZS	sister's son
MS	Male speaking
FM	Female speaking

Adapted from: Fox (1967:185; Leach (1974:238)

DEFINITION OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES

Bilateral kinship- “Kinship traced to relatives through both father and mother.(Keesing 1975:147).

Clan -A unilineal descent group or category whose members trace patrilineal descent (patrician) or matrilineal descent (matrician from an apical ancestor/ancestress but do not know the genealogical links that connect them to the apical ancestor/ancestress (Keesing 1975:148)

Classificatory system- A mode of kinship classification in which collateral kin are terminologically equated with lineal kin (e.g., FB=F, MZ = M) (Keesing 1975:148)

Cognatic (Descent)-A mode of descent reckoning where all descendants of an apical ancestor /ancestress through any combination of male or female links are included (Keesing 1975:148)

Collateral: The siblings of lineal relatives (parents, grandparents) and their descendants. (Keesing 1975:148)

Consanguinity: Relationship by blood (i.e. presumed biological ties). A consanguine is a relative by birth, i.e. blood relative as distinguished from “affine” and “step relatives.” (Fox 1967:33; Keesing 1975:148)

Affine-Relationship by marriage ties.

Descent: “A relationship defined by connection to an ancestor (or ancestress) through a culturally recognized sequence of parent – child links (from father to son to son’s son = **patrilineal** descent, from mother to daughter, to daughter’s daughter = **matrilineal descent** (Keesing 1975:148)

Descriptive kinship term-A term that combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative.

Ego-(self) The point of view taken in describing a relationship.

Alter-The person to whom a relationship is being indicated; For instance in English kinship, male ego refers to his father's brother as "uncle" and Alter reciprocates with "nephew".

Bifurcation- A division of one kind of kin into two, e.g FB *tatamoke* and MB *-Mame*.

Descriptive Terminology-“sets off the direct line of a person’s descent and the immediate relatives of his own generation from all other individuals. Lineal relatives are differentiated from collateral relatives” (Schusky 1965:75)

Exogamy: Marriage to persons belonging to a group other than your own as required by custom or law.

Frame: Any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits. (Fillmore 1982:111)

Prototype: According to (Fillmore 1982:118) prototype is defined as the background situation in which the meaning of the word is defined.

ABSTRACT

The goal of this research was to do a semantic analysis of kinship terms of *Ekegusii* language with special interest on terms that are used by the community for different relationships. Kinship terminologies denote relationships between groups and individuals, which are mainly based on genealogical relationships. They include the biological relationship between children and parents, and between marital partners or spouses and between siblings. Although, Kinship terminologies are universally similar all languages do not employ the same terms. Each community has a unique way of kinship terms and systems of these relationships depending on its culture.

The study was a semantic analysis of *Ekegusii* kinship terms with a view of determining the cultural background meaning of the kinship terms. This research was specifically concerned with the semantic meanings of *Ekegusii* kinship terms using Fillmore's Frame semantics theory. The study focused on the *Abagusii* people and particularly the *Maate* (also referred to as *Ekemaate*) dialect where the data for this study was collected. The *Maate* dialect is spoken in one of the five Sub-Counties in *Kisii* County.

Primary data was collected through the use of oral interviews done in Gucha South Sub-County. The respondents were elderly men and women aged between sixty and seventy years. Some secondary data was collected from a book, *Chingencho chie'ekegusii* written by Joseph Mandi (2011).

It was established that *Abagusii* people have a wide range kinship system which covers the whole of father's clan. Patrilineal kin is more emphasized than matrilineal kin. Their system is classificatory where a number of kinship terms are used to refer to several kin relations. The kinship terms are analyzable in frames with some belonging to more than one frame. Particular kinship terms also have attitude and function frames which add meaning in regard to the cultural believes of the community.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background to the Study

A lot of research has been done on kinship terminologies and systems in different languages. Different scholars view kinship terms differently as is mentioned below. However, kinship is mainly viewed as based on genealogy. Ones' relatives or kin in effect, are those with whom one has a genealogical attachment or connection. This genealogical notion of kinship, was made explicit by Rivers who defined kinship..."as a relationship which is determined and can be described by means of genealogies" (1924:53)

The system of terms available in a given language for naming relatives are referred to as kinship terms. Kinship terminologies vary widely from language to language. According to Trask (2007:128) "The scope for variation is enormous, but anthropological linguists have found that most kinship systems can be analyzed into fairly orderly combinations of a few semantic features, such as[male/female ego],[male/female referent],[older/younger],[ascending/descending generation]".

Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971:38 39) used the same idea in their comment that "where the distributional criteria are genealogical and egocentric we speak of relations of kinship" and refer to "relation of genealogical connection as kinship". Therefore the main idea is that genealogy plays a key role on the definition of kinship relations.

Leach (1958:143) states that kinship terms are category words by which the individual is taught to recognize the significant groups in the social structure into which he is born.

Later Leach (1974:238) views kinship as a semantic universal, although the categories of kinship differ from one language or culture to another. The scope for the universalists is seen from the fact that the "data" for an analysis of kinship terminologies is normally presented as a universal or at least language neutral set of

symbols such as F –father M-mother B-brother Z –sister S- son D –daughter H – husband W –wife.

Although the above symbols are universal, there are differences in culture from one language to another and therefore kinship terms and systems vary largely from one language community to another based on the culture of that language community.

All human languages have a system of kinship terminologies which is clearly indicated in their address systems. Without exception, all kinship term systems make use of such factors as sex, age, generation, blood and marriage in their society Wen and Min,(2007) as cited by Oyioka et al (2015:896).

Kinship terminologies are thus the terms of address used in different languages or communities for different relatives and the terms of reference used to identify the relationship of these relatives to ego. Kinship terms consist of a category of words by means of which an individual is taught to recognize the significant groupings in the social structure into which he is born Leach (1958).

On the contrary some linguists view kinship terminologies quite differently. For instance; Mashiri (2003:204) cites Titiev’s study of Hopi kinship terms as having nothing to do with the genealogical connections. Thomas’s study of the Australian indicates that kinship terms do not necessarily always indicate ties of blood but might be used to express status or to refer to matters of obligation and privileges.

According to Radcliffe (1967:4) kinship results from the cognition of a social relationship between parents and children, which is not the same thing as the physical relation and may not coincide with it. Thus the complete social relationship between parent and child may be established not by birth but by adoption.

Therefore kinship terminologies can be defined as the terms employed by different language communities to refer to persons whom one is related to through genealogical ties as well as those not related by blood but by other social ties.

This study focuses on the *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies, the nature of classification and their semantic meaning. The study explored meaning of kinship terminologies using Frame Semantics Theory.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Identification of kinship terms in a community that recognizes patrilineal, matrilineal and affine relatives as ones' kin is a complex thing. The *Abagusii* people have several kin relations that are recognized by the community. The people have a big genealogical range that includes up to the third generation ascending from the ego and down to the fourth generation descending. As stated by Mashiri (2003:205) in his paper on kinship on the *Shona* community in Zimbabwe, studies on kinship terms on African languages and societies are notably absent. In addition Fasold (1990:30) notes that, "indigenous languages of the western hemisphere and African languages have received much less attention."

This study on kinship terms therefore, aims at giving semantic meaning to *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies. Using frame semantics theory the background knowledge of the concepts will be used to give meaning to the kinship terms. The present study seeks to answer the following general questions:

- What are the semantic meanings of *Ekegusii* kinship terms?
- What are the different kinship terms used for different kin relations in *Ekegusii* language?
- To what extent are some kinship terms used to refer to several kin relations in *Ekegusii* language?

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To identify and describe the kinship terminologies that are used for the different kin relationships in *Ekegusii* language.
2. To establish the genealogy tree in regard to matrilineal and patrilineal relations.
3. To determine the extent to which particular kinship terms are used to refer to several kin relations in *Ekegusii* language.
4. To establish the semantic meanings of *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies using Frame Semantics.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

1. *Abagusii* people have twenty-four kinship terms for different kin relations.
2. Some *Ekegusii* kinship terms are used to refer to several kin relations.
3. *Ekegusii* genealogy tree can be established in regard to matrilineal and patrilineal concepts.
4. *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies have a deeper meaning than the semantic meaning.

1.5 Justification of the Study

Several linguists have done studies on kinship terms. Mashiri (2003:205) states that there is a conspicuous absence of studies of African languages and societies except just a couple. Fasold (1990:30) notes that indigenous languages of the western hemisphere and African languages have received much less attention on kinship studies, therefore justifying the current study.

This study is based on semantic analysis of *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies using Frame semantics theory. Not much has been studied on kinship terminologies in *Ekegusii* language. More so the *Maate* dialect has received much less attention. There is presently no known knowledge of the same study that has been done on the same topic and language. Therefore the study will be useful for scholars interested in the study of kinship terminologies and especially in Bantu language speakers. It will also contribute knowledge to *Ekegusii* speakers.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

The study will be limited to the *Maate* dialect of *Ekegusii* language. The data for research will be collected from *Gucha* South district in *Kisii* County where the dialect is spoken. Kinship is a core vocabulary which may not be affected by borrowing; this study can therefore be a representation of *Ekegusii* language as a whole. The study is limited to a semantic analysis of *Ekegusii* kinship terms using Frame Semantics. This study will be carried out on the *Maate* dialect where the research data will be collected from. Most of the studies that have been done on *Ekegusii* language have been done on *Ekerogoro* dialect. Kinship is a core vocabulary and there may be little difference in the kinship terms used by *Ekemaate* and *Ekerogoro* dialects. Some kinship terms are purely social in meaning. These will be ignored.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Fillmore's Frame Semantics

Frame semantics, has been developed starting in the mid-1970s.

The term frame semantics refers to a wide variety of approaches to the systematic description of natural language meanings. The one common feature of all these approaches-is the following phrase due to Charles Fillmore (1997a) 'meanings are relativized to scenes'.

According to this phrase, meanings have internal structure which is determined relative to a background frame or a scene.

An often cited example of Fillmore: (1977c) is the difference in meaning between the following two sentences.

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

Although ground and land refer to the same thing. The background scene of the first sentence is a sea travel while the second sentence refers to an interruption of an air travel. This illustrates Fillmore's use of the term "Frame" The main theoretic principles of frame semantics are:

- Frame
- Prototype
- Profiling

Schmid (2012:180) states that the main idea of Fillmore's theory is that we cannot understand the meaning of a word without access to all the encyclopedic knowledge related to that word. He further states that Frame Semantics relies on the specific structures of encyclopedic knowledge, which are called frames. These frames come with their frame elements that relate to things that happen and occur together in reality.

Petruck (1996) as cited by Schally (2004:49) states that, Frame semantics is the brain child of Charles Fillmore. It is as a research program in empirical semantics, which emphasizes the continuities between languages and experience. (Petruck 1996:1).

Frame

The frame is the intricate relationship between words. It is what is considered as the central notion of Frame Theory. According to Fillmore (1982:111) the frame is understood as:

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

Therefore a frame is a comprehensive collection of concepts linked to each other. It is the conceptual structures of a specific, delimited conceptual region. It can be seen as the background against which words are defined. The semantic frame refers to a knowledge structure that is needed in order to understand a particular word or a set of words which are related.

The most cited example of a frame is commercial transaction frame. There are a number of verbs linked to this frame. These are verbs like *buy*, *sell*, *spend*, *cost* and *charge* each of which evokes different aspects of the frame. The verb “*buy*” focuses on the buyer and the goods; backgrounding the seller and money; “*sell*” focuses on the seller and the goods, backgrounding the buyer and the money; “*pay*” focuses on the buyer, the money and the seller, backgrounding the goods. Fillmore argues that in order to understand the verbs above we need to access a COMMERCIAL EVENT frame that provides the "background and motivation for the categories which they present," Fillmore (1982:116-17). Therefore for one to understand what takes place in the above frame, then one must have the background information of what is involved.

A partial commercial frame event is illustrated below:

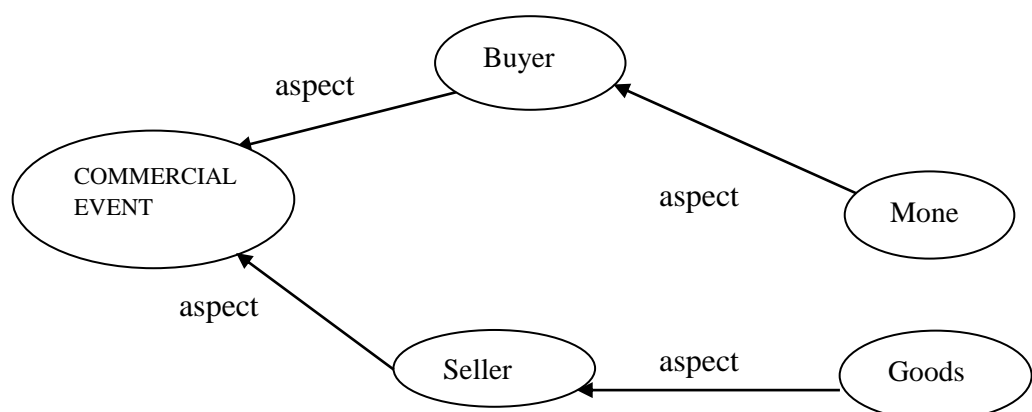


Figure 1. Partial commercial event frame

Adapted from: Evans and Green 2004:226

According to Petruck (1996:1) the idea is that knowing the meaning of any one of these verbs requires knowing what takes place in a commercial transaction. To understand frames as schematization based on experience, an account of the meaning of a lexical item, is assumed to proceed from the underlying semantic frame to a characterization of the manner in which the item in question, through the linguistic structures that are built up around. It selects and highlights aspects or instances of that frame” Johnson et al (2001:11).

The commercial transaction frame can be elaborated further to include concepts such as possession, change of possession (giving, receiving/taking) and money. Johnson et al (2001:12) states that “the basic frame elements, will include money, the Goods (standing for goods and services), the Buyer (the person who surrenders money in exchange for goods and the "seller” (the person who surrenders the goods in exchange for the money).

Fillmore views frames as a fundamental rethinking of the goals of linguistic semantics. He describes his frame semantics model as a model of semantics of understanding. He argues that in the analysis of linguistic meaning, understanding is the primary data. Fillmore (1985:235).

Fillmore (1975) as cited by Petruck (1996:1) differentiates between a scene and a frame. The frame is linguistic whereas the scene is cognitive, conceptual or experiential entity. In the later works by Fillmore he ceases to use the scene and uses the frame as the cognitive structuring device.

He uses a tool metaphor to describe the understanding process. Fillmore (1982a:112): a speaker produces words and constructions in a text as a tool for a particular activity, that is to evoke a certain understanding; the hearer’s task is to figure out the activity those tools were intended for, namely to evoke that understanding. Words and constructions evoke a frame; a hearer invokes a frame upon hearing an utterance in order to understand it.

According to Lee (2003:8) the concept frame is multidimensional. He gives an example of the word "mother" and states that it belongs to a number of different

frames including most saliently the genetic frame and the social frame. The genetic frame refers to a biological relationship and can be termed as the prototype. In the sentence, *Mary is the mother of Peter*, the relationship between Mary and Peter is biological and thus the genetic frame is what is in use. However, if one says, *Jane is not really cut out to be a mother*, the meaning is different and the frame is different. It means that there is a way in which a mother should behave and Jane doesn't behave in that manner. She lacks motherly qualities. Here the social frame is what is in play.

A frame therefore has both a conceptual and cultural dimension. The meaning of mother on the conceptual perspective is defined as being contrasted with words like father, daughter, son, sister and others. Although it is located in the same frame, there are relatively concrete semantic features that make it different from the other words. Taking the cultural view of mother, the word carries a complex range of associations that may not be easy to define accurately, but which often contribute to the way the word is interpreted and therefore contribute to its meaning (Lee 2003:9). It means that the concept of frame embraces the traditional concept of connotation.

In frame semantics analysis *man*, *boy*, *woman* and *girl* evoke frames that include not just *male/female*, *adult/young* as in semantics but also differences in attitudes and behavior towards the sexes that would explain the traditional asymmetry in the use of *boy/girl* and the more recent change in the use of the word *woman*, including its hypercorrective use Croft (2004:9).

Croft & Cruse (2004:11) state that many word concepts cannot be understood apart from the intentions of the participants or the social and cultural institutions and behavior in which the action, state or thing is situated. For example the concept **man**, *Omosacha*, in *Ekegusii* language comes from the *verb gosacha* which literally means, "searching for wealth." This concept of *Omosacha* in *Ekegusii* therefore invokes the cultural understanding of someone who is successful in society through his hard work as a searcher for wealth. It gives connotations of a person who is responsible and takes good care of his family. In *Ekegusii* traditional background it also includes someone who has many wives and many children. He must also be a person who does his duties as a husband and a father and has property. A person who is brave and defends his family as well as clan in case of war. An irresponsible man can be viewed

as a *boy* in spite of age and marital status. A man who portrays cowardice may be referred to as a *woman* in the community; this is unlike the semantic analysis of **man** which only captures the features *male* and *adult*.

In kinship, relations the mention of the concept **marriage** brings about a collection of concepts linked to the marriage frame. The verb evokes the background scene of marriage with its key role players the bridegroom (*omonyuomi*) and the bride (*omoriakari*). In *Ekegusii* it also includes *Esigani* (the go-between). It may further focus on the dowry that will be given to the bride's parents before the marriage takes place, thus bringing the concept of in-laws into the frame.

The marriage frame can be further elaborated to include concepts such as dowry, where the parents of the bridegroom are viewed as the givers of the dowry. Dowry can be in form of money, property or animals (cows and goats). The parents of the bride on the other hand are the givers of the bride while the parents of the groom are the receivers of the bride. Thus to understand the concept of **marriage** mentioned above then one has to have conceptual or background knowledge of what takes place in a marriage and the parties involved in order to define the concept. These form the marriage transaction frame. Fillmore notes that single concepts provide the background for a set of words. Let us consider the kinship term **family**:

The concept of a family cannot be understood or interpreted in isolation. The mention of the word **family** brings to the mind several concepts linked to the concept. These concepts linked to family may include a father, a mother and children in a nuclear family setting. However the family concept can be elaborated further in the case of a compound or extended family to include grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. It also involves living together and working for the same goals.

Prototype

According to Fillmore (1982:118) prototype is defined as the background situation in which the meaning of the word is defined. The word prototype refers to an instance of category or concept that combines its most representative attributes. It is the cultural interpretation of a word.

Fillmore uses the concept of prototype with respect to frames and not words, in his own words;..."very often, the frame or background against which the meaning of a word is defined and understood is a fairly large slice of the surrounding culture, and this background understanding is best understood as prototype rather than as a genuine body of assumptions about what a word is like" Fillmore (1982:117).

For example as he states, the word "Orphan."

The word meaning is –a child whose parents are dead.

The prototype background in which this category is motivated has this information built in: Children depend on parents for care and guidance. Parents have to take that responsibility without questions. When deceased, the children have to be taken care of by the society, only up to a particular age. An orphan deserves pity and concern the prototype scene against which the society recognizes some children as orphans therefore excludes: A child who is in his twenties, since it is assumed that he should be able to care for himself even if he has lost his parents. If it happened that a child orphans himself, by killing his parents and then he asks the court to pardon him because he is an orphan, society cannot consider him as an orphan. Such a child is excluded by society from the category of orphans regardless of his/her age. He is treated as an outcast in society and will face the consequences like any other criminal without any consideration. A prototypical orphan will thus be a child who is below eighteen years of age and has lost both parents in a natural way.

Yule (1996:86) states that, a frame shared by everyone within a social group would be something like a prototypical version. Prototype is understood as a fairly large slice of the surrounding culture against which the meaning of a word is defined and understood. For instance only a woman, who was married and lost her husband through death and has not got married to another man, can be considered as a widow. In case she gets married again then she is no longer classified among widows.

Profiling

Profiling is another central notion within frame semantics. Langacker (1987) uses the example of hypotenuse to illustrate this concept. When one encounters this concept hypotenuse one can form a mental picture of what it is. However one cannot imagine the term without picturing a right angled triangle. This is because the triangle, and the

plane it is included in, is a frame, so hypotenuse and right angle are interpreted with respect to the frame. They profile different parts of the frame.

With this, is the argument that even though a frame may consist of (profile) different parts, they cannot be interpreted independently. They have to be interpreted with respect to the frame.

The most straight forward example of a profile relation is the part- whole relationship. It is agreeable that a concept such as ARM cannot be defined without referring to BODY. The ARM is a part of the BODY and is therefore interpreted with regard to the frame of the BODY. No one can imagine the ARM without the mind picturing that it is a part of a whole whereby the whole is the BODY, which is the frame.

In kinship relationships a concept such as SON brings into the mind the concepts FATHER and MOTHER and the particular kin type that holds between them. The base against which the profile is defined can be more complex than the whole of which some entity is a part. A concept like NEPHEW will profile other kinship concepts such as uncle and aunt and other kin relations. One cannot define the concept NEPHEW without mentioning an uncle or an aunt.

Another example is the concept BRIDEGROOM which cannot be interpreted independently. One cannot imagine the word bridegroom without the concept of a WEDDING. So the word bridegroom falls into the frame of a wedding in a marriage background. In addition the wedding cannot take place without a **bride** and the best couple who will witness the signing of the marriage certificate. Thus in a wedding frame there are concepts related to that frame, which cannot be interpreted without the mention of the wedding frame. This is because in the background scene, the bride and the bridegroom are key players in the frame. The parents of the bride and the groom are also part of the frame.

In this study the theory applies in the sense that kinship terms can be defined in frames. In *Ekegusii* the concept *omoriakari* (bride) cannot be interpreted independently. The concept has to be interpreted within the marriage frame. *Omoriakari* is a part of the marriage which depends on the frame for interpretation. For one to understand the concept he/she must have background knowledge of what take place in a wedding.

According to Croft & Cruse (2004:16) no concept exists autonomously, all can be understood by fitting them into our general knowledge of the world in one way or another. What matters for a semantic analysis the relation of the profile base and also the relationships between the bases and domains.

1.8 Literature Review

Edmonson (1957:58) wrote a paper on Kinship terms and Kinship concepts in Europe and South West of North America. In his paper he states that..."Kinship terms define the biological or quasi-biological relationship between the persons, essentially three in number: (1) biological generation, i.e., parent, child and derivative "child of my parent: or sibling; (2) mating or marriage and accidentals." (Including decedence, divorce and adoption).

This study is beneficial to the current study as it introduces' into the mind the point about adoption, decedence and divorce. The study will seek to establish the kinship terms that were used for adopted children and what happened in the case of death. In the *Ekegusii* culture adoption of children was accepted for barren women or women whose children were only daughters and who wanted sons. This however was a later development; originally barren women were allowed to marry a single woman who had children. This study will help me in classifying this group of kin.

Kuper (1967:100) carried out a study on Swazi kinship terminologies. In his study he found out that the Swazi had a classificatory kinship system. A number of kinship terms were used to refer to several relatives. Some of the kinship terminologies used for patrilineal descent were the same terms used in matrilineal descent. The genealogical range went up to five generations two descending and two ascending from the ego. The study will enhance the current study as it will seek to establish whether the *Abagusii* people use a particular kinship term to refer to a number of kin relations. It will also enable me to identify genealogical range of the *Abagusii* people.

Read (2000:1) conducted a study on a formal analysis of kinship terminologies and its relationship to what constitutes kinship. In his study he relates formal analysis of kinship terminologies to a better understanding of who, culturally are defined as our

kin. In the journal Read argues that kinship terminologies primarily have to do with social categories and that kinship terminologies are based on classification of genealogically specified relations traced through genitor and genetrix are inadequate as a basis for a formal analysis of kinship terminology.

In addition he states that, “social category argument is insufficient as it does not account for the logic uncovered through the formation of rewrite rule analysis regarding the distribution of kin types over kin terms when kin terms are mapped onto a genealogical grid”.

Read (2000:1) Rewrite rules are an important tool of analysis for any formal account”. The study is different from the present study. However it be of help in leading me to understand who is culturally defined as my kin.

Mashiri (2003) carried out a study on social-linguistic interpretation of the social meanings of kinship terms in *Shona* urban interactions. In his study he provides an interpretive analysis of how *Shona* native speakers; use kinship terms of address as forms of communicative resources to invoke social meanings in non-kin relationships. The above study is focused on social meaning of kinship terminologies as terms of address. The current study will address use of kinship terminologies in kin relationships as terms of address and referent with a view of giving semantic meaning to the terms used. Therefore it will seek to specify the persons who qualify to be addressed using kinship terminologies in kin relationships and in meanings. *Ekegusii* culture uses kinship terms beyond kin relations to include almost everyone in the clan. The study will be beneficial in identifying other people who may be addressed using kin terms although they are not real kin.

Nadimpalli et al (2014) in his journal, has written on Kinship terms in Tegulu and English. Morgan (1871) as cited by Nadimpalli carried out an extensive research on Kinship terminology and contributed various other systems. In his findings he noted that people in the pacific regard all their cousins as brothers and sister, as they didn't have a corresponding name for 'cousin'. On the contrary he learnt that in some parts of Africa, there are separate terms for each of the cousins and for each of the siblings of parents.

This study will be beneficial to the current study as it will help in finding out whether the term cousin to refer to several kin relations from both matrilineal and patrilineal relatives in the *Ekegusii* language. In study Morgan grouped terminologies into two to make an account of cultural differences;

- Descriptive system of kinship terminology.
- Classificatory system of kinship terminology.

He states that descriptive system contains terms that refer to lineal relatives such as great grandfather and father which are different from uncle and great uncle. Classificatory system of kinship on the other hand contains collateral relatives such as aunt uncle or cousin. The current study will seek to establish whether the culture of the *Abagusii* uses the descriptive system of kinship terminology or classificatory system or both.

Kawira (2014) carried out a study on *Kimeru* Kinship terms. In her study she analyzes *Meru* Kinship terminologies with a view of investigating the kinship terms used for various kinship relations. The study is beneficial to the present study, which will analyze the kinship terms in *Ekegusii* language. However it will not be a similar study since the culture of the *Meru* people is quite different from that of the *Abagusii* people. It is also different as it focuses not only meaning but also usage of kinship terms.

A notable difference in *Ekegusii* and *Kimeru* culture is that in *kimeru* children belonged to the man and in case of divorce the woman left without the children. For the *Abagusii* on the contrary, children identify with their mother and in case of another marriage the children are adopted by the man in the second marriage. However they are referred to as *ebirentane* (brought with). This is not an address term though, but a referent term. The children were accepted and treated without discrimination in the community.

Kimeru culture also does not have kinship terms for referring to affine relatives. The terms used for referring to consanguines are the same terms used for relations formed

by marriage. The term *mwari* is used to refer to a daughter as well as a son's wife in *Kimeru*, Kawira (2014:28). This is unlike the *Ekegusii* culture where one's daughter is *moiseke one* and a son's wife is *moka momura one* (my son's wife) or *omwana one o nsoni* (my child of respect).

In addition *Ekegusii* culture was popularly polygamous with men marrying up to five wives. The five wives were recognized and even given traditional titles according to their and the position of their houses. The first wife was called *Mobuchaibu*, the second was *Nyamesancho*, the third was *Nyabweri rogoro*, the fourth *Nyabweri maate* and finally the fifth was referred to as *Nyageita* or *mosieka geita*.

The woman to woman marriage referred to earlier is also a difference in culture. The marriage took place in the case of barrenness. In such a situation the woman who was married referred to the one who married her as mother (mother-in-law). The children were viewed as her grandchildren. Therefore the woman, who married, assumed that the woman she married was a wife to her son. Although there were no blood ties, they were considered as her kin and treated in that manner in the community.

Mayer (1965) carried out a study on the nature of kinship relations among the *Abagusii* people. In her study she realized that the *Abagusii* people had a wide-range kinship which covered a whole clan. Kinship terms were used for all the traceable genealogical connections among the members of a clan. This study is different from the current study, since the current study is a semantic analysis of the kinship terms among the *Abagusii* people. However the study is beneficial to the current study as literature from the study can be used to enhance the present study. Some of the kinship terms mentioned can be used as part of data for the current study.

Oyioka et al (2015) did a study on partial meaning and non-equivalence in English translations of *Ekegusii* kinship terms. In her study, she focuses on *Ekegusii* kinship terms and the translation problems they pose with regard to translation equivalence at the word level between *Ekegusii* and English. This study is significant to the current study since the data used for translation of kinship terminologies can be of use to this study.

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Data collection Techniques

The data for this study was collected at *Gucha* South Sub-County in *Kisii* County. This is the district where the *Ekemaate* dialect is spoken. This was done through the use of oral interviews by the researcher. The interview questions were asked in such a way as to elicit the expected answers from the respondents. Secondary data was collected from a book entitled *Chingencho chie'ekegusii* written by Joseph Mandi (2011).

Being a native speaker of the *Ekegusii* language some of the data was retrieved from my knowledge of the language and then compared with that from the respondents to verify the data. The responses to the interviews were recorded and analyzed later using Frames semantics theory.

The respondents were selected purposefully, considering age and gender from the said catchment area. The age bracket considered was between sixty and seventy years, since this is the group that is likely to be more knowledgeable about *Ekegusii* customs and language compared to the younger people. Two males and two females were identified for the interviews. Level of education was not to be considered as a variable.

1.9.2 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed using Frames semantic theory. The application of the theory in data analysis enabled the researcher to give a semantic analysis to the kinship terminologies that were studied to check whether the terms are used appropriately.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with identification of kinship terminologies and focuses on general information on kinship. The chapter further deals with the typology of families found among the *Abagusii* people focusing on the elementary, compound and the extended family types. These are the main types of families found among the *Abagusii* people. On identifying features used in kinship, the chapter focuses on gender, age, generation, consanguine (blood) and affine (marriage) kin among the *Abagusii* people. The chapter also discusses descriptive and classificatory kinship systems and *Ekegusii* patrilineal and matrilineal descent. The other concepts of collateral relatives and lineal kin are also covered in the chapter. It also focuses on how single kinship terms are used for several kin relations among the *Abagusii* people. It focuses on the formation of *Ekegusii* kinship terms, that is, the role of the possessive morpheme in the formation of kinship terms and the morphemes used to form plurals. The terms of reference and those for address also are discussed in the chapter. Finally focus will be on *Ekegusii* kinship relationships.

2.2 Kinship Terminologies

According to Fox (1967:240) kinship terminologies are the terms employed by various systems in addressing and referring to kinsfolk and affines. Trask (2007:128) states that they are the systems of terms available in a given language for naming relatives. In the study of kinship terminology Morgan (1871) made a major contribution to the understanding of kinship systems. As cited by Fox (1967:240) Morgan was the first to use terminology as a method of classification, and that terminology showed how various systems classified kin. Kinship terminologies vary in different societies from as few as twelve to more than fifty terms.

According to Edmonson (1957:59) in his paper on kinship terms and concepts, the first person referred to in any kinship terms is the speaker, (Ego) on kinship charts. The last person is the referent also referred to as alter. Terms denoting kinship in the first degree are universally described in two persons: man's father, woman's daughter, man's sister. The exact description of other kinship positions, however, may require

specification of an indefinite number of intervening relatives. These may be pointed out as the second, third, fourth . . . n-1 *persons* of kinship terminology. In addition to specifying persons in this manner, kinship terms define the biological or quasi-biological *relationship* between the persons, essentially three in number: (1) biological generation, parent, child, and the derivative “child of my parent” or sibling; (2) mating or marriage, and (3) accidentals (including decedence, divorce, and adoption). Most studies done on kinship have been done on anthropology. However this is a linguistic study which is based on the semantic meaning of *Ekegusii* kinship terms.

2.3 Typology of Families

Among the *Abagusii* people there are three main families that are mainly found. These are:

1. The elementary or nucleus family.
2. The compound family.
3. The extended family.

According to Murdock (1949) as cited by Buchler & Selby (1968:19) the family is a social group that has the characteristic of a common residence, co-operates economically for their good and reproduction takes place. It includes adults of both male and female gender, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted of the sexually cohabiting adults.

2.3.1 The Elementary Family

Fox (1967:36) defines the most basic family as “the nucleus or elementary unity of social organization also known as conjugal family. Such a family consists of a man, his wife and their dependent children”.

The *Abagusii* traditional community had few of such families, where a man lived with one wife and their children. This is because in *Ekegusii* culture polygyny was the normal way of life. Polygyny is the state or practice of having several wives at the same time. The moment a man's first born daughter got married and dowry was given to the father of the daughter, then the man was required to use that dowry, to pay dowry for his second wife. Thus this explains why such families were rare. In the past a man with just one wife was generally considered poor. The man of the homestead is

referred to as *tata* (father) by his children and as *mosacha one* by his wife. The man referred to his wife as *mokane* (my wife), while the children were referred to as *abana*. It is worthy to note that *abana* is a general term which refers to children. However boys and girls had different referent terms that referred to either gender. A baby boy was referred to as *omwana omoisia* while a baby girl was referred to as *omwana egesagane*.

The *Ekegusii* customs are however changing fast due to Christianity, economic hardship and the changing modern lifestyles. Thus it is no longer strange to come across several nuclear families in the *Abagusii* community. The custom of using a first born daughter's dowry to marry a second wife is no longer practiced however polygynous marriages are still practiced especially by non Christians.

2.3.2 The Compound Family

According to Schusky (1965:74) "a compound family consists of three or more spouses and their children; it may be produced in monogamous societies by a second marriage giving rise to step relationships." Radcliffe (1950:5) states that when a widow or a widower with children enters into a second marriage and gives birth to children then there arose half siblings and step parents and step children.

Among the *Abagusii* community compound families emerged as a result of a woman having women who got married after having born children and then gets married with the children. The man adopts the children and treats them as he could treat his biological children. In the case of death of a husband, a woman remained in her matrimonial home and a man who was of the same generation as that of her husband was assigned to her as a genitor lover. The children who were born from that relationship were identified as children of the deceased man and bore his name. The genitor had no claim over them; he is used as a vehicle to create a lineage (*egesaku*) for the deceased clansman. In case a woman died leaving a husband and children, the widower married another wife who became a step-mother to the children of the first marriage. However there was no kin term like step-mother in the community therefore the woman is addressed as *baba* (mother) by the children but the referent term *makomoke* (small mother/aunt) applied to her.

Children from a broken marriage who were brought to a second marriage were referred to as *ebirentane* (those brought with). The term also applies to any child born out of wedlock. This term was however neither used for reference nor address as it is considered derogatory. For address the children are addressed just as biological children *abana*.

As stated by Radcliffe (1950:5) "In societies in which polygynous marriages are permitted a compound family is formed when a man has two or more wives who bear him children." Among the *Abagusii* community this kind of families are common since marrying of many wives was acceptable and was considered prestigious. A man was entitled to marry up to five wives who were recognized by the community. The five wives were given titles according to their position in marriage and according to the position of their huts in the man's compound.

The first wife was referred to as *mobuchaibu* literally translated as (one who removes ashes from the hut), the second was *nyamesancho* meaning (one who comes after), the third was *nyabweri rogoro* (one whose hut was to the east of the byre), the fourth was *nyabweri maate* (one whose hut was to the west of the byre) and the fifth was *nyageita* or *mosieka geita* (whose hut was next to the main gate or one who closes the gate). *Nyageita* was the last among the five wives who were recognized by the community. Such families were associated with the wealthy men in the community and especially leaders like chiefs and clan elders. This is because one had to possess a large piece of land to be able to sustain such a big family.

The women in such a family refer to each other as *moibori omino* (co-wife). The children in the compound family addressed their step-mothers as *baba* or *mama* (mother). There are no kin terms for step children so all children are *abana*. Each wife stayed with her children in her hut. The husband had a hut (*gesarate*) of his own where he slept. The husband's hut was linked to the cattle byre so that he and his sons could keep watch of the cattle during the night. Each wife had to cook food and take to *gesarate*, where all the sons ate with their father. The man could also choose where to spend the night by eating the food of the wife he desired. The woman who was desired by the husband picked his blanket and went with it to her house. Her children went to spend the night with their grandmother. Young children stayed with their

mothers. Older sons slept in a separate hut known as *esaiga*, while older daughters slept in their grandmother's huts.

There were also families that came as result of woman to woman marriages. Radcliffe (1950:4) states..."where a woman may go through a rite of marriage with another woman and thereby she stands in place of a father (Pater) to the offspring of the wife, whose physical father (genitor) is an assigned lover." In the *Abagusii* community the woman who is the Pater is referred to as *magokoro* (grandmother). The assigned lover of the woman who got married is referred to as *momura one*_(my son) by the woman who married. Although there is no blood relationship between the *magokoro* (grandmother) and the children of the other woman, they are identified as *abachokoro* (grandchildren). The woman who is the pater provides the other woman's children as a husband would in a normal marriage relationship.

2.3.3 The Extended Family

Murdock (1949:2) states that an extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than that of wife-husband relationship, by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. This is a family that consists of individuals who are recognized as husband/father and son/ brother or wife/mother and sister/daughter at the same time. Extended families in the *Ekegusii* culture combine at least one individual's family of orientation with his or her family of procreation.

In the culture of *Abagusii* people, once a young man married his wife, she joined her husband's family. She and her husband became part of the parent-in-law's family. They worked together and prepared meals together until the time the husband was given his own land. After which they planted their own food. After their first harvest they were free to move to their own homestead or stay with their parents. This practice is still ongoing in the rural areas where families live in homesteads for some period of time before they separate.

2.4 Kinship Systems

According to Wardhaugh (2002:238) kinship systems are a universal feature of languages, which are viewed to be important features in social organization. Some of the systems are said to be much richer than others. However all systems make use of

gender, age, generation, blood and marriage in their organization. These features are readily ascertainable. They can therefore be related with considerable confidence to the actual words that people use to describe a particular kin relationship. Radcliffe (1967: 10) Kinship systems depend on the social recognition and cultural implementation of relationships derived from descent and marriage and normally involved in a set of kinship terms and an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes, which together, make up a systematic whole.

All societies distinguish various categories of relationship by descent or consanguinity and relations by marriage (affinity) are distinguished as well. The use of the term system implies that there is a complex relation of interdependence between the component parts. *Abagusii* use the above mentioned features to describe kin relations as illustrated below:

2.4.1 Gender

Abagusii people have distinct kin terms according to gender. The distinctions that are made apply to siblings, parents, collaterals (uncles and aunts) grandparents and great grandparents. Grand children and great grand children shared the same term. There is no gender distinction among cousins. This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 1: Kinship terms based on gender difference

Relation	Male	Gloss	Female	Gloss
Children	<i>Omomura one</i>	My son	<i>Omoiseke one</i>	My daughter
Siblings	<i>Momura ominto</i>	My brother	<i>Moiseke ominto</i>	My sister
Parents	<i>Tata</i>	Father	<i>Baba</i>	Mother
Parents' siblings	<i>Tatamoke</i> <i>Mame</i>	Father's brother Mother's brother	<i>Makomoke</i>	Aunt- Father's sister and mother's sister
Grand parents	<i>Sokoro</i>	Grandfather	<i>Magokoro</i>	Grandmother
Great grand parents	<i>Sokororia</i>	Great grandfather	<i>Magokororia</i>	Great grandmother

Grandchildren are referred to as *abachokoro* regardless of their gender. Great grandchildren likewise are referred to as *abachokororia* and great great grandchildren are *ebichembene*. Their gender is not distinguished and both males and females shared the same kinship terms. *Egechembene*(sing.) and *ebichembene* (plu.) are rarely used as it is very rare for a person to live to see his/her fourth generation grandson or grand daughter.

2.4.2 Relative age

Among the *Abagusii* people age distinction is marked among siblings only in all generations. The first born is referred to as *motangi* and was regarded with several privileges; however this is no longer the practice. He was entitled to a larger share of the parents' property and took a leadership position in the absence of his father. Although he is regarded as a leader, property is shared equally among siblings nowadays. The last born is *mokogoti*, this too was a coveted position as it had some rights enjoyed by the last born only. He is the sole inheritor of his mother's property and even house. He is allowed to stay longer in his mother's kitchen with his wife and children. In the event of death of his parents, they are buried in his compound which was considered a blessing. In case *motangi* was a daughter, she did not enjoy the same privileges as a son, because she was considered an outsider once she got married. The second born might be considered if it was a son. Likewise when *mokogoti* is a daughter, the privileges are given to the last son although he is not the last born. A daughter among the *Abagusii* community is referred to as *omonto o isiko* (a person of outside). Therefore they do not inherit any of their father's property. They were expected to share inheritance with their husbands once they get married. This is still in force although the law allows daughters to inherit property in Kenya, that law is dormant in the land of *Abagusii* people

2.4.3 Generation

Among the *Abagusii* people, kin are grouped into generations. There are the ego's parents, (1st ascending), grandparents generation (2nd ascending), and great grandparents (3rd generation ascending). After ego the 1st generation descending is that of children, 2nd generation descending is the grandchildren, 3rd generation descending is the great grand children and finally great great grandchildren are in the 4th generation descending.

The *Abagusii* people have distinct names for each generation differentiating gender only. There are specific terms for each generation. However, Radcliffe (1967:32) points out that terms used for one generation may be applied to relatives of another generation. The term *tatamoke* (small father/uncle) in *Ekegusii* is used for father's brother and also for addressing father's father's father (FFF), likewise *makomoke* which is used for mother's sister (MZ) and father's sister (FZ) is also used as an address term for mother's mother's mother (MMM) and father's mother's mother (FMM).

2.4.4 Consanguine Kin

A consanguine kin, is a relative by birth, a blood relative as distinguished from “affines” (Keesing 1975:148, Fox 1967:33-4) According to Fox (1967:33). They are referred to as primary kin and include an individual's mother, father, son, daughter, brother, sister. The terms used for consanguine kin are summarized in the table below:

Table 2: Consanguine Kin

Kinship Term	Singular	Plural
Father	<i>Tata</i>	<i>Abatata</i>
My father (F)	<i>(Tata) ominto</i>	<i>Aba-tata baminto.</i>
Your father(F)	<i>Tata omino</i>	<i>Aba-tata bamino</i>
His/ Her father	<i>Tata omwabo</i>	<i>Aba-tata bamwabo</i>
Your father	<i>Iso</i>	<i>Aba-iso</i>
His /Her father	<i>Ise</i>	<i>Aba-ise</i>
Mother (M)	<i>Baba</i>	<i>Aba-baba</i>
My mother	<i>Baba / Mama (ominto)</i>	<i>Aba-baba</i>
Your mother	<i>Baba/Mama omino</i>	
His/ Her mother	<i>Baba/ Mama omwabo</i>	
Your mother	<i>Nyoko (considered rude)</i>	<i>Aba-nyoko</i>
His/ Her mother	<i>Ng'ina</i>	<i>Aba-ng'ina</i>
An only child	<i>Entobo</i>	
My son (S)	<i>Omomura one</i>	<i>Abamura bane</i>
Your son	<i>Omomura oo</i>	<i>Abamura bao</i>
His /Her son	<i>Omomura oye</i>	<i>Abamura baye</i>
My daughter (D)	<i>Omoiseke one</i>	<i>Abaiseke bane</i>
Your daughter	<i>Omoiseke oo</i>	<i>Abaiseke bao</i>
His/ Her daughter	<i>Omoiseke oye</i>	<i>Abaiseke baye</i>
Brother (B)	<i>Omomura ominto</i>	<i>Abamura baminto</i>
Your brother	<i>Omomura Omino</i>	<i>Abamura bamino</i>
His/Her brother	<i>Omomura Omwabo</i>	<i>Abamura bamwabo</i>
Sister (Z)	<i>Omoiseke ominto</i>	<i>Aaiseke baminto</i>
Your brother	<i>Omoiseke Ominto</i>	<i>Abaiseke bamino</i>
His/Her brother	<i>Omoiseke Omwabo</i>	<i>Abaiseke bamwabo</i>

It is clear that the terms *tata* (father) and *baba* (mother) have two forms of referring to the second and third persons. In *Ekegusii* the term *tata* takes two different forms when referring to the second person singular and plural. The two forms also apply in the third person singular and plural as well.

For 1st person singular, the term *tata-ominto*, where *ominto* is the possessive marker, there is no change, so *tata* remains *tata*. When it is in the 2nd person singular it becomes *Iso*, which is used interchangeably with the term *tata omino*, *omino* is the possessive marker. The term *Iso* does not take a possessive marker, however it carries the same meaning as *tata omino* (your father). The term *Ise*, which means his father in 3rd person has no possessive marker. This term *Ise* is used interchangeably with the term *tata omwabo* in which case *omwabo* is the possessive marker. To form the plural only the prefix *Aba* is added to the root.

The term mother also changes depending on the person. For 1st person singular it is *baba*, *baba* takes the possessive marker *ominto* but does not change in form. For 2nd person singular the term *nyoko* (your mother) which has no possessive marker is used interchangeably with the term *baba omino*. For 3rd person singular the term *ng'ina* which means his/her mother is used interchangeably with the term *baba omwabo*. *Omwabo* is the possessive marker. The plural marker (*aba*) is added to form the plural.

The term used for my son *momura one* literary meaning (young man of mine) and my brother *momura ominto* (young man of our house) is similar apart from the possessive marker. *One* means mine, while *ominto* means, of our house. Without the possessive marker *omomura* means young man. Thus the possessive marker brings about the difference. A child who has no brother or sister is referred to as *Entobo*. *Entobo*, is an only child who is compared to *Entobo* which means "Sodom apple."

2.4.5 Affinal Kinship

According to Fox (1967:35) “Affines are people married to our consanguine kin.” So affines refer to kinship through the bond of marriage. When a person marries he establishes a relationship with the girl whom he marries and also a number of other people in the girl’s family. The family members of the person who marries also get bound to the members of the girl’s family.

Therefore, once a marriage takes place a number of kinship relations are created. For example in *Ekegusii* culture the man becomes *omosacha* (husband) to the girl he has married. He also becomes *omoko* (brother – in-law) to the brothers and sisters of his wife. He also becomes *omwana o nsoni* (child of respect) to the parents of his wife and also to the uncles of his wife. To the cousins of his wife, he becomes a cousin and to the grandparents of his wife, he becomes a grandson.

Likewise, a girl on getting married becomes a wife, a daughter –in-law and a sister –in-law. In *Ekegusii* culture the wife becomes *omokungu* (wife) or *omorugi* (cook) wife to the husband, she as well becomes *omwana* (child) to the parents of the husband and she also becomes *kamati* (sister –in-law) of the husband’s sisters. *Kamati* is a reciprocal kinship term which applies to one’s husband’s sisters to refer to their brothers’ wives. They both refer to each other as “*kamati*”. On the other hand the husband’s brothers refer to brother’s wife as “*moka momura ominto*” “wife of my brother” which is a descriptive term. The women married by brothers refer to each other as *moibori ominto*, a term which is also used among co-wives. The parents of the girl who is married and the parents of the man who marries refer to each other as “*korera*” meaning “taking care of” or rearing and nurturing children.

The terms used for the affine kin in *Ekegusii* culture are summarized in the table below:

Table 3: Affine Relationships

Relationship	Kinship term	Gloss
Husband	<i>Omosacha one</i>	My husband
	<i>Omosacha oo</i>	Your husband
	<i>Omosacha oye</i>	Her husband
Husband's father	<i>Tatabiara</i>	Father –in-law
Mother	<i>Makobiara</i>	Mother –in-law
Brother	<i>Momura ominto</i>	Brother -in-law
Sister	<i>Kamati</i>	Sister-in-law
Uncle	<i>Tatamoke</i>	Uncle (small father)
Aunt	<i>Makomoke</i>	Aunt (small mother)
Cousin	<i>Bwamwabo</i>	Cousin
Wife	<i>Omorugi</i>	One who cooks
	<i>Omokungu one</i>	My woman
	<i>Mokane</i>	My wife (considered rude)
Wife's father	<i>Tatabiara</i>	Father –in-law
Wife's Mother	<i>Makobiara</i>	Mother –in-law
Wife's Brother	<i>Omoko</i> <i>(mokoyone)</i>	Brother-in – law
Wife's Sister	<i>Omoko</i> <i>(mokoyone)</i>	sister –in-law
Wife's Uncle	<i>Tatamoke</i>	Father-in-law's brother
Wife's Aunt	<i>Makomoke</i>	Father-in-law's sister
Wife's Cousin	<i>Bwamwabo</i>	
parents of husband and parents of wife (referring to each other)	<i>Korera</i>	Literally means (child care)
Men married to sisters (used for referring to each other)	<i>Semo</i>	

Men who marry from the same household referred to each other as *semo*. *Semo* means that two men are married to sisters. This term just like *kamati* is reciprocal, (used for husband's sister) and uniquely used by the two men only, in referring to each other.

According to Kawira (2014:29) “A sister's husband is called *muruyia* which same term used for a brother.” In *Ekegusii* culture a sister's husband is referred to as *mokoyone* which is a different term from *momura ominto* used for one's own brother. The Abagusii people clearly show a distinction between affine relatives and consanguine relatives. The *Ekegusii* culture had several kinship terms that come about as a result of the marriage relationship. The general term for in-law is *omoko* (sing.) and *aboko* (plu.) However; some of the terms that are used for in-laws are also used for consanguine kin. A good example is husband's brother (*momura ominto*). The term *momura ominto* is used to refer to husband's brother and at the same term is used to refer to one's own brother.

2.5 Types of Kinship Systems

Radcliffe (1967:6) states that in the study of the kinship system, one has to discover what terms are used and how they are used. The terminology used has to be considered in relation to the whole system of which it is part. There are methods that are used in ordering the relationships, the method adopted for this purpose, give the system its character. There are two types of systems of kinship terminology: descriptive and classificatory:

2.5.1 Descriptive System of Kinship

Radcliffe (1967:7) states that descriptive systems have few specific terms for relations of the primary kin or secondary kin and the other relatives are arrived at by compounding the specific terms in a way to show the intermediate steps in the relationship. The terms that are used in a descriptive system avoid ambiguous terms such as "uncle" or "cousin". They instead use more exact compound terms like mother's brother or father's brother to refer to an uncle. In the system the term mother's sister's daughter or son and father's brother's son or daughter is used instead of the term cousin.

Such relationships can be difficult to describe especially when they involve several kin relations. The use of symbols is thus preferable to that of words. This is illustrated through the examples below:

MB = Mother's brother

FB = Father's brother

MZD = Mother's sister's daughter

MZS = Mother's sister's son

FBD = Father's brother's daughter

FBS = Father's brother's son

These symbols are Fox (1967:185) and they are viewed as universal.

2.5.2 Classificatory System of Kinship

Morgan (1871) as cited by Radcliffe (1967:8) states that in the classificatory system, terms which apply to lineal relatives (related in direct line of parents) are also applied to certain collateral relatives (related by blood but not through direct lines.) *Ekegusii* kinship system is classificatory system since the term *tata* refers to both 'father' (lineal relative) and father's brother (collateral relative). For father's brother however, the term *tata* is used as an address term only. The term *tatamoke* is used as a referent term for father's brother. In *Ekegusii* custom, father's brother is accorded the same respect as one's own father.

Radcliffe (1967:67) states that in a unilineal system, two persons who belong to a socially recognized unilineal descent group could not marry each other. The rule that prohibits this kind of marriage is called exogamy. Among the *Abagusii* is the paternal line is recognized, following the male ancestor in a whole clan as one's kin. Therefore in the system, a man / woman is expected to view members of his/her clan as his/her kin. Marriage within the clan is prohibited. The rule of exogamy also forbids marriage with a person of mother's ancestry. This is because *Abagusii* kinship is lineal-cognatic system where the exogamous rules prohibits marriage within father's clan and at the same time prohibits marriage against persons of the mother's group, Radcliffe (1967:67). However maternal descent is recognized only up to kin that can be traced and this is where exogamy is applied. One can only marry from mother's clan if there is no direct relationship known.

According to *Ekegusii* culture, in the absence of one's father probably as a result of death, one's father's brother, takes care of the children. During marriage ceremony of a brother's son or daughter for instance, he would negotiate bride price and act as a father. Father's brother is also allowed to sire children for a late brother, but the children will bear the name of the late brother.

On the contrary mother's brother is referred to as *mame*, placing two relatives in different categories. The reference of as father's brother *tata* and mother's brother *mame* implies a difference in customary behaviour expected. Mother's brother *mame* unlike father's brother *tata* cannot act as a father in the absence of ego's father.

Mayer (1965:4) states that the *Ekegusii* kinship terminology is classificatory as it merges lineals and collaterals. A good example is the use of the term *momura ominto* (my brother). This term is used for referring, not only to one's own brother but also for all cousins of every degree of remoteness, thus facilitating wide range identifications. The term *momura ominto* is used interchangeably with the term *bwamwabo*, which also refers to cousins of all nature. These include, relations such as ; brother, father's brother's son, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's son, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's son, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's son and mother's sister's daughter. It also captures father's cousin's daughters and son and mother's cousin's sons and daughters.

Radcliffe (1967:9) argues that research in many parts of the world show that classificatory systems are used as a way of dividing relatives into groups that determine and influence the social conduct expected. The relatives who are grouped in the same terminological category have a significant similarity in the cultural behaviour due to both of them. Placing two relatives in different categories means that there is a notable difference in the manner in which they will relate towards each other. This is evident in the example mentioned earlier referring to *tatamoke* (father's brother) and *mame* (mother's brother), in the way they relate towards a brother's son.

Among the *Abagusii* people, different categories of kin are governed in the way they relate to each other by the *nsoni* rule. The rule defines on how people of the same generational group related towards each other, and how they conduct themselves towards the first ascending generation, the second and the third generations. The rule applies alternately on generations. It applied on the first and third generations but does not apply on *sokoro* who is in the second generation ascending. The rule governs both the behaviour and the distance to be maintained between the groups where it applies.

Kuper (1967:100) states that among the Swazi kinship terminologies covers a total of five generations. Starting from ego, there were two generations ascending and two generations descending. Beyond the second ascending- the grandparent generation,

everyone is classified as bogogomkulu, and beyond the second descending- the grandchild generation, everyone is classified as bantfwabami. The Paternal and maternal generations are illustrated below:

2.5.3 Swazi kinship system

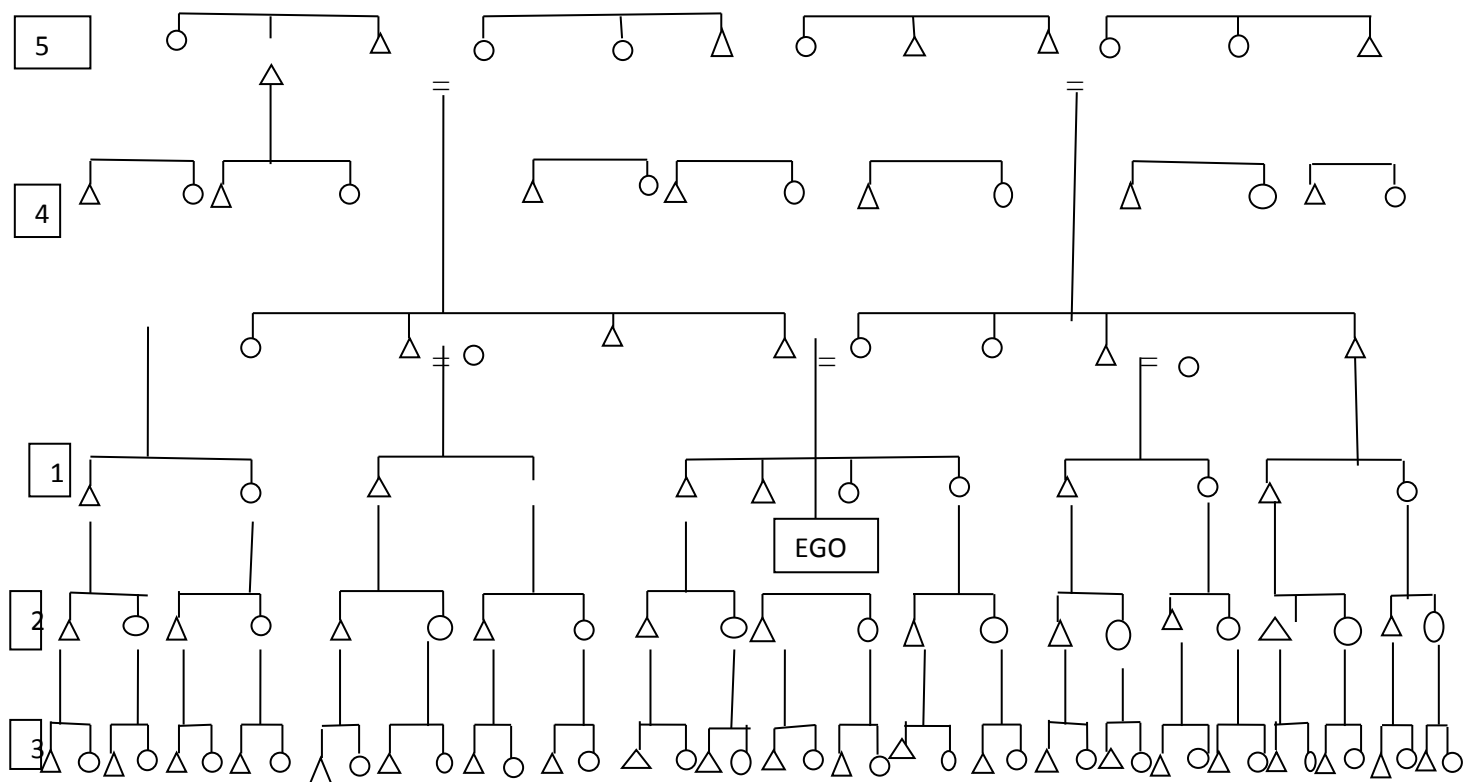


Figure 2: Swazi Kinship System

Adapted from Radcliffe (1967:100)

Key

○ - Female line

△ - Male line

= Married to

2.5.4 Ekegusii patrilineal and matrilineal trees

The community of *Abagusii* is organized on patrilineal descent. The women who get married change their descent from that of their fathers to that of their husbands. Thus daughters are outsiders in the clan and are classified with their husbands. Inheritance of daughters depends on their husbands. A daughter who fails to get married receives no inheritance from her parents as it is assumed that she will one day get married. If a woman who has attained marriage age dies before getting married, she is buried outside the homestead or behind her mother's kitchen. A place where her grave could not be easily seen by anyone who visits the home.

Among the *Abagusii* people the kinship terminological range covers up to seven generations. Starting from ego, the community recognizes three generations ascending and four generations descending. The ascending generations differentiate gender at all levels. For instance in the first generation ascending father is *tata* while mother is *baba/mama*. The second generation ascending specify *sokoro* (grandfather) from *magokoro* (grandmother). In the third generation ascending the difference is marked by *sokororia* (grandfather) and *magokororia* (grandmother).

On the contrary only the first generation is marked for gender, that is, *momura one* (my son) and *moiseke one* (my daughter). In the second generation descending both male and female are referred to as *abachokoro*. For the second generation descending both are referred to as *abachokororia*. Finally those in the fourth generation descending are referred to as *ebichembene*. The diagram below is an illustration of *Ekegusii* kinship generational tree:

2.5.5 Ekegusii Patrilineal and Matrilineal Genealogical Trees

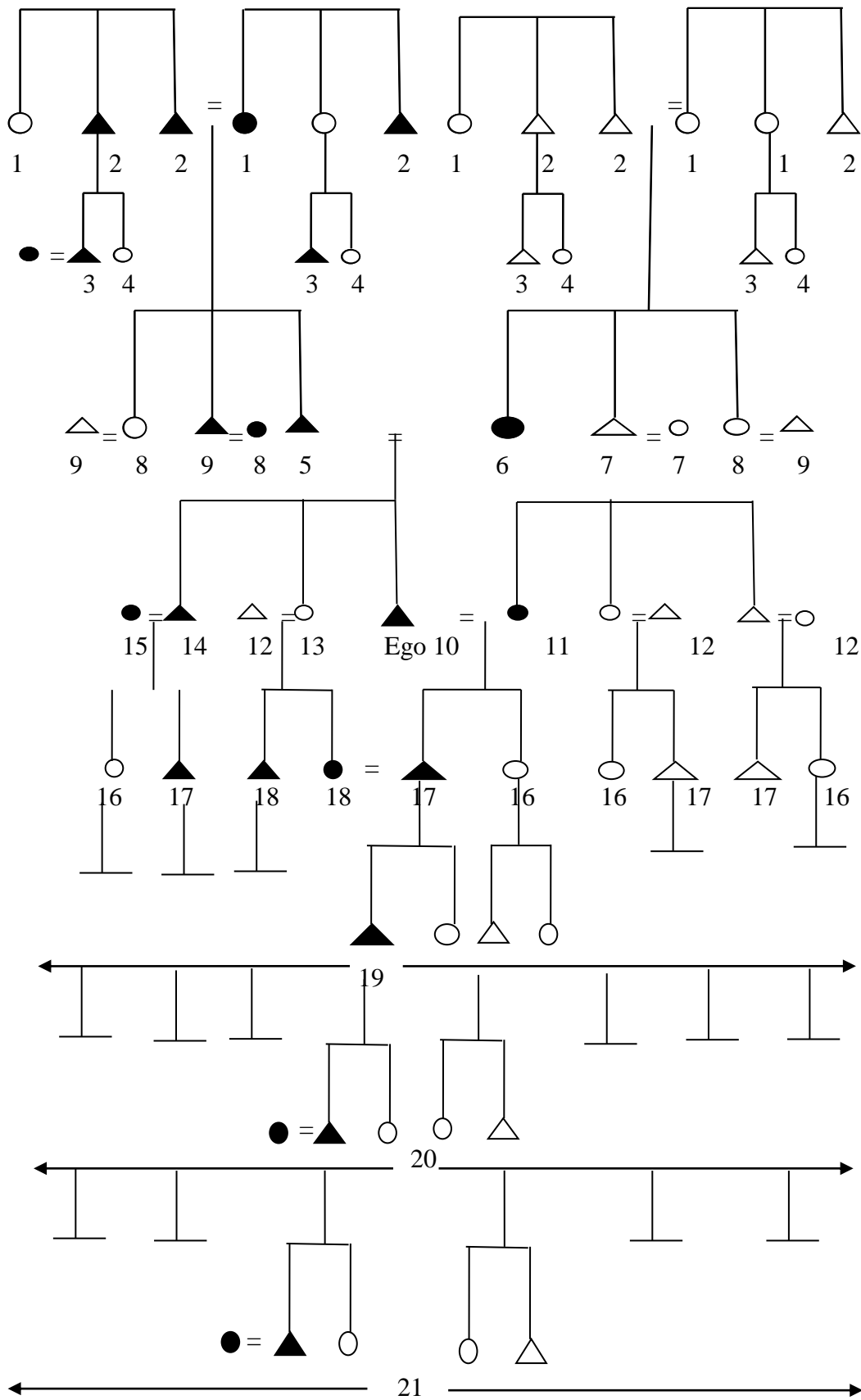


Figure 3 - Ekegusii patrilineal and matrilineal trees.

KEY

▲ - Father's Line

● - married and belonging to father's line

○ - Unmarried females all lines

△ - Mother's line

1. *Magokororia* - great grandmother.
2. *Sokororia* - great grandfather.
3. *Sokoro* - grandfather.
4. *Magokoro* - grandmother.
5. *Tata* - Father.
6. *Baba/Mama*- Mother.
7. *Mame*- Mother's brother and his wife.
8. *Makomoke* - Mother's sister/Uncle's wife.
9. *Tata moke* - Father's brother
10. Ego - Self
11. *Mokane/Omorugi one*- Ego's wife
12. *Mokoyone*- Brother/Sister-in-law
13. *Moiseke ominto* - Sister
14. *Momura Ominto*- Brother
15. *Moka momura ominto* - Brother's wife
16. *Moiseke one*- Daughter
17. *Momura one*- Son
18. *Moigwa*- Sister's son/daughter.
19. *Abachokoro*- Grandchildren.
20. *Abachokororia*- Great grandchildren
21. *Ebichembene*- Great great grandchildren.

2.6 Kinship Principles

2.6.1 Collateral Principle

This principle recognizes the siblings of lineal relatives. According to Keesing (1975:148) collateral kin are the siblings of lineal relative (parents, grandparents) and their descendants. They are relatives who are not directly related to you, but share a common ancestor. They include aunts, uncles, nieces, nephew and cousins.

In *Ekegusii* community the term *tata* is used to refer to one's own father. FB is referred to as *tata moke* (small father/uncle). The term *tata-moke* applied for both older brother and younger father's brother; therefore relative age does not apply. The term *baba* (mama) is used for own mother and also for all father's wives or step mothers. FZ and MZ are both referred to by the term *makomoke* – small mother, regardless of whether she is younger or older than ego's mother.

It should however be noted that when addressing FB, ego uses the term *tata* and addressing FZ or MZ the term *baba* which the same as mother is used to accord respect to the alter. *Ekegusii* community has both lineal and collateral kin. This is because the terms *tata* (father) and *baba* (mother) are specifically used for own father and own mother while *momura ominto* is used for own brother. The other relatives like FB a father's cousin are referred to as *tata moke* (small father). The term *tatamoke* (small father) is also used to refer to all relations that are of father's generation. The term *Bwamwabo* (cousin) is used to refer to FBs and MBs as the first cousins of ego. However this term is also used to refer to anyone of ego's generation. Anyone who belongs to ego's generation in the clan is "*bwamwabo*" even though in some cases ego may not be aware of real ties with some of the people he/she refers to as *bwamwabo*. The paternal uncle (*tatamoke*) on the other hand, refers to brother's children as (*abana bane*) my children.

2.6.2 Lineal Principle

According to Schusky (1965:77) "This principle recognizes collaterality but no bifurcation. Bifurcation is the act of dividing relations which are of the same kind and giving them separate terms. For instance FB and MB are grouped in some communities and FZ and MZ are also grouped. In the English language for example, there are separate terms for father and mother but the term uncle is used for both FB and MB while aunt is used for FZ and MZ. Among the *Abagusii* people there are

distinct terms for father and mother *tata* and *baba* respectively. However, while MZ and FZ are grouped and share the kin term *makomoke*, FB and MB have different kinship terms. FB is *tatamoke* and MB is *mame* which is bifurcation. Thus the lineal principle does not apply to *Ekegusii* kinship terminology.

2.7 Ekegusii Kinship Relations

According to Pritchard, (1966:152) in reference to the *Nuer* who are a *nilotic* people found in Sudan: "Anyone to whom a man, can trace relationship of any kind, or even if he just knows that he stands in a certain category of relationship, though he may lack knowledge of its degree, is in the wide sense of the term, kin to him."

Among the *Abagusii* people kinship terms are applied throughout one's father's clan and beyond. Kinship terms are used for referring to the people found in a mother's clan, they are also used in referring to relatives of one's wife or husband. This also includes relatives of where one's brothers marry from as well as where one's sisters are married to. As a result there are several kinship relations among the *Abagusii* people.

2.7.1 Husband –wife (wives) Relationships

The *Abagusii* community recognizes up to the fifth wife. The man of the homestead generally refers to his wives as *abakungu bane* (my women) or (*abarugi bane*) literally meaning those who cook for me or my cooks. In an occasion which required that a man introduces one of his wives, however, he uses the term which indicates the woman's position in marriage if he has many wives.

For instance in introducing the first wife, he would say, *oyo mobuchaibu one* (this is the one who removed ashes from hut). This is understood by *Ekegusii* speakers as the first wife. The hut of a young man is believed to be dirty and full of ashes. The first wife is the one who cleans it and improved its condition by removing the dirt and smearing it. She is also considered the most respected among the wives in the homestead. If a man introduces his wife as my *Nyageita*, then people could understand that he has five wives and was now referring to the youngest wife whose house was next to the main gate.

2.7.2 Parent –Children Relationships

Among the *Abagusii* people a new-born child was referred to as *Mosamba Mwaye* (one who burns his/her house or *ekeng'werere*. The term *ekeng'werere* refers to either gender and its plural is *ebing'werere*. It is a term which is in the class of inanimate things. The term belongs to class five of *Ekegusii* noun classes;

e.g. <i>eke</i>	<i>ebi</i>	gross.
<i>eke-rogo</i>	<i>ebi-rogo</i>	chair.
<i>eke-randi</i>	<i>ebi-randi</i>	guard.

It can be equated to the way a new born is referred to as "it" in English.

To differentiate gender in case of a baby boy, at birth he is referred to as (*omwana omosia*). For a baby girl it is *omwana egesagane* or *omwana enyaroka*. The term *egesagane* is considered derogatory and is also the term that was used to indicate an uncircumcised girl. The kin term *enyaroka* is commonly used for a baby girl, rather than *egesagane*. It is important to note that the term *enyaroka* is a borrowed term, which originated from the *Luo* kin term *Nyaloka*.

Nyaloka in *dholuo* means a girl of the other side of the lake. The term was adapted and nativised into *Ekegusii* language and is now used all over the two counties of *Kisii* and *Nyamira*. In nativisation process the alveolar lateral /l/ was dropped and replaced with the alveolar trill / r / and the initial vowel /e/ was added. The terms *omoiseke one* (my daughter) and (*enyaroka yane*) my (daughter/ girl) are used interchangeably. Although *enyaroka* is a borrowed kinship term, it is not only used in *Gucha* South district but also in other districts in the county.

A baby boy is *Omwana Omosia*. *Omosia* denotes an uncircumcised boy. Unlike the term *egasagane*, (uncircumcised girl), the term *omosisia* is not considered derogatory and there is no alternative term that is used for reference to a baby boy. The parents could refer to the children as *omosisia* or *abasia* without offending them. After circumcision the young man is referred to as *omomura* (young man). The parents could refer to him as *momura one* (my son or my young man). The term *omosisia* is considered a friendly term which is used by age-mates (boys/men) to refer to each other.

The general term that parents use to refer to their children is *omwana one* (my child) and *abana bane* (my children). Also *omwana oito* our child and *abana baito* (our children). Children refer to their mother as *baba* or *mama*. *Mama* is a borrowed term from the Kiswahili language but it is a term that is used more frequently than *baba*. Some children use *baba* in referring to FM, instead of own mother. A father is referred to as *tata* and has not been influenced by borrowing. An only child is referred to as *Entobo*. While a child born after the loss of several children is *Gesure*.

When a father is speaking to the children about their mother, he uses the term *nyoko* e.g. *Ng'ai Nyoko agenda?"* "Where has your mother gone to?" Likewise when a mother is referring to the father she will use the term *Iso*. " *Ng'ai Iso are?"* "Where is your father?" Alternatively one may use the term *baba omino* or *tata omino* in referring to one's mother or father.

The first child and the last child have special referent terms. The first child is referred to as *motangi* and the last child is *Mokogoti* regardless of gender. There are terms for adopted or step-children, but the terms were derogatory and thus rarely used. These are *ekerentane* (sing.) and *ebirentane* (plu.) for the children born before a woman got married and once she gets married they are adopted by the husband. The other term for adopted children was *omogore* (one who was bought) plural *abagore*. The two terms, *ebirentane* and *abagore* are neither used for address nor reference. All children whether adopted or "bought" are referred to as *abana* (children) without discrimination. For parents, there are no address terms for step-mother or step-father. They are *baba* (mother) and *tata* (father) whether they are biological parents or not.

2.7.3 Sibling relationships

Siblings refer to each other using the terms *moiseke omino* literally meaning (young woman of our house) and *momura omino* (young man of our house). The terms are used among brothers and sisters with disregard as to whether they belonged to the same father and mother or not and age too. The terms *moiseke omino* and *momura omino* are referent terms only. For address siblings used personal names to address each other.

2.7.4 Paternal relationships

Father's brother is *tata moke* small father (uncle). This term is used for a father's young brother as well as an older brother. This is unlike the *Kimeru* culture as stated by kawira (2014) that there was *baba munini* (younger brother) and *baba mukuru* (elder brother). For address the term *tata* applies to all father's brothers. So they are referred to as *tatamoke* but addressed as *tata* because of respect and the conduct expected in the community.

Father's sister is referred to as *makomoke* (small mother/aunt) regardless of whether she was older or younger than father. She is however addressed as *baba* (mother), as she is accorded the same respect as a real mother. She can also be called "aunt" using ekegusii tone due to western education. Father's brother's sons and daughters are referred to as *bwamwabo* (cousin) or *momura ominto* (my brother). Although both *bwamwabo* and *momura ominto* are used to refer to cousins *momura ominto* is more specifically used for referring to one's own brother. So the umbrella term for cousins is *bwamwabo*. It was the term that is also used for FZS and FZD.

2.7.5 Maternal relationships

There is various kinship terms used for relations from the mother's side. Mother's brother is referred to as *mame*. The term *mame* is also used for mother's brother's wife. It has no gender distinction. The husband and wife are merged and referred to using the same term *mame*. This is also their term of address.

Mother's sister is classified with father's sister and referred to as *makomoke* (small mother/aunt). However, in a conversation, she is addressed as *baba* (mother) because of courtesy and respect. In the event of death a sister's mother might in some instances be married to the widower to replace the deceased. However this is not mandatory and does not happen all the time. When such a marriage takes place, the one married in place of her sister is expected to treat the children as her own children. Mother's brother's children and mother's sister's children are referred to as *bwamwabo* (cousin). They treat each other as brothers and sisters since cross-cousin marriages are not allowed in the culture of *Abagusii* people.

2.7.6 Grandparent-grandchild relations

Among the *Abagusii* the term *sokoro* is used to refer to grandfather. It is applied for both FF and MF. On the other hand MM and FM are referred to as *magokoro*

(grandmother) which literally means (old mother). This is unlike the *Meru* people who use the term *juju* for both grandfather and grandmother and so do not distinguish gender.

A grandchild is referred to as *omochokoro* (one) and *abachokoro* (many). There is no gender distinction for grandchildren both male and female are referred to by the same term. The relation between the grandparents and grandchildren is not governed by the *nsoni* rule. So grandparents related freely with grand children giving them advice about matters of life which parents could not give.

2.7.7 Sibling's children relations

The children belonging to one's brother are referred to as *momura one* (my son) and *moiseke one* (my daughter). The general term used to refer to children is *abana bane* (my children). In case of male ego, he will refer to a sister's child as *omoigwa* (sing) and *abaigwa* (plu). For address the term *moigwa* is used for singular while *baigwa* is used for plural. The term *omoigwa* has no gender distinction and is therefore used for both a nephew and a niece. The children of siblings refer to each other as *bwamwabo* (cousin). In the case of female ego, a sister children are *abana bane* (my children)

2.7.8 Relations by marriage

Kawira (2014:38) states that in *Kimeru* kinship there is no distinction between affine kin and consanguine kin. However, among the *Abagusii* people marriage brings about several kin terms. A husband's sister is referred to as *Kamati*. The term *Kamati* is reciprocal and is used by a female ego to refer to her husband's sister and vice versa. Husband's brother is *momura ominto* (my brother) a term also used for own brother.

Husband's mother is *makobiara* (mother in law) while husband's father is *tata-biara* (father-in-law). The term also applies to wife's mother and father. A wife's brother and sister is referred to as, *omoko* (in-law) *abako* (in-laws). The term *omoko* has no gender distinction. The address term is *mokoyone* (my-in-law). The two pairs of parents who give and receive in a marriage relationship refer to each other as *korera*. The term is reciprocal and does not distinguish gender. Men whose wives are sisters refer to each other *semo*. Women who are married to brothers on the other hand refer to each other as *moibori ominto* (co-wife).

2.7.9 Children's spouses

A son's wife is referred to as *moka momura*. However, in address she is addressed as *omwana one* (my child). The father-in-law regarded her as a child of *nsoni* (respect) while the mother didn't. Conversely a daughter's husband was regarded by his mother-in-law as *omwana one onsoni*, the father-in-law regarded him as *omwana one* (my child).

Nsoni is a rule that governs individual's who were expected to display great restraint in the way they relate with each other. According to the rule, a mother-in-law, neither addresses a son-in-law by his name nor shakes his hand when greeting him. They are to keep a distance. Similarly a father-in-law neither shakes hands with the daughter-in-law nor calls her by name. In addition the parents do not enter the houses of the children whom they regarded with the *nsoni* rule.

2.7.10 Siblings spouses

In the case of female ego a brother's wife is *Kamati*. In case of male ego a brother's wife is *moka mumura ominto* (My brother's wife). A sister's husband is referred to as *mokoyone* or *omoko* (in-law). The term *mokoyone* is reciprocal as the wife's sisters and brothers also use the same term to refer to ego's husband.

2.7.11 Parents in-law

Among the *Abagusii* a husband's mother is referred to as *mako-biara* literally meaning (mother-birth) mother-in-law. The father of one's husband is *tata-biara* literally (father-birth) father-in-law. These terms also applied to the wife's mother and father. *Korera* is the term that is used by parents-in-law to refer to each other. The term *Korera* means taking care of or childcare. *Abagusii* believed that the wife's mother and father have taken care of her daughter and now handed her over to the parents-in-law's home to be taken care of by them. The girl's parents are also expected to give advice to their son-in-law when required. Thus both parents viewed each other as partners on parenting their young children, who had married each other.

2.7.12 Great grand-parents-relations

A father's father's father (FFF) is referred to as *sokororia* and a father's mother's mother is *magokororia* that is great grandfather and great grandmother respectively. A son's son's son or a daughter's daughter's daughter is *mochokororia*. *Mochokororia*

doesn't distinguish gender; both the young women and men are referred to as *mochokororia*.

The terms *sokororia* and *magokororia* are referent terms only. For address the kin term *tatamoke* (small father) is used for *sokororia* while *makomoke* (small mother) is used to address *magokororia*. This address applied to this kin relationship to signify the behaviour expected of them by the community. Unlike grandfather and grandmother where the rule for respect did not apply, here it was enforced. The relationship is equated to that of father or mother and son or daughter. Respect had to be maintained.

2.8 Formation of ekegusii kinship terms

2.8.1 The possessive “*ominto*” used in formation of kinship terms.

Some possessive markers are very important in the formation of kinship terms among the *Abagusii* people. The term “*ominto*” (of our house) is indispensable in some instances. For instance, when one simply says, *omoiseke* it means a girl. That is a general term referring to a female who is not an adult. When used with the term *ominto* that is *moiseke ominto*, (young girl of our house) it changes the meaning and becomes my sister. Therefore in *Ekegusii* there is no term for sister, which stands alone. The meaning without the possessive is quite different from the meaning it acquires when joined to the possessive.

Another example is *omomura*. *Omomura* on its own means boy or young man, on the other hand *momura ominto* which literally means young man of our house is equivalent to my brother. Without the possessive marker *ominto* the word is a general term that refers to age and gender. The possessive marker plays an important role in forming these kinship terms. *Omwana* literally means child, any child. *Omwana ominto*, which literally means child of our house, in English can be translated as sibling. *Abana baminto* is the plural form, meaning children of our house, and denoting siblings.

2.8.2 The possessive “one/bane/baito”, “oo/bao/baino” and “oye/baye/babo”

“One” means mine while “bane” means ours. In the use of the kin term *omwana*, the use of *one*, and *bane* is very important for 1st person singular and plural respectively. *Omwana one* means my child and *abana bane* means my children. So in referring to ones’ daughter/daughters the ego will say, *omoiseke one/baiseke bane*. When used this way *omoiseke one* means my daughter and *baiseke bane* means my daughters. *Omoiseke* on its own means, girl while *Abaiseke* means girls. *Baiseka baito* on the other hand means our daughters and *abana baito*, mean our children.

Omomura means boy/young man and *Abamura* refers to boys/young men. However *omomura one/abamura bane* which literary mean (young man of mine) and (young men of mine) are used to denotes my son and my sons respectively. Therefore without the possessive marker the meaning changes and it is only through the inclusion of the possessive that the kinship term is formed. Our sons are *abamura baito*.

Omosacha means a man in *Ekegusii* language. *Omosacha one* changes the meaning from man to ones’ husband. *Omogaka one* which literary means, old man of mine is also used to refer to one’s husband and it is considered more respectable than the former. *Omogaka* among the *Abagusii* people is a male elder. The term denotes respect as opposed to *Omosacha*. *Omosacha* does not take the plural possessive morpheme, since a woman is expected to have one husband and not several of them. However, when *omosacha* on its own means a man and the plural is *abasacha*.

The possessive “oo” is important is referring to 2nd person singular. *Omwana “oo”* means your child and *abana bao* means your children. *Moiseke oo* means your daughter and *baiseke bao* means your daughters. *Momura “oo”* means your son and *bamura bao* means your sons. *Omosacha “oo”* means your husband. Without the possessive marker “oo” the terms would be, child, girl, boy and man thus lacking in meaning. The possessive *baino* means “your”. So when one says *abana baino* it means your children, *baiseke baino* your daughters and *bamura baino* means your sons. The difference between *bao* and *baino* is that *bao* refers to a singular person while *baino* refers to plural.

The possessive “*oye*” is used with the 3rd person singular in a similar manner. *Omwana oye* means his / her child, *abana baye* means his/her children *omoiseke oye* means his/her daughter, *baiseke baye* means his/her daughters. *Momura oye* means his/her son, *bamura baye* means his/her sons and *mosacha oye* means her husband. The possessive *babo* means "their". When one says *abana babo* it means their children. *Bamura babo* and *baiseke babo* mean their sons and their daughters respectively.

2.8.3 The singular – plural morpheme *omo* – *Aba*

Almost all the *Ekegusii* kin terms belong to the *omo-aba* singular and plural class respectively, with an exception of just a few. This is illustrated in the table below:

Table 4: Sample of Singular and Plural Terms in *Ekegusii*

Singular	Plural	Gloss in singular
<i>Omo -tata</i>	<i>Aba - tata</i>	Father
<i>Omo-baba</i>	<i>Aba - baba</i>	Mother
<i>Omo-mura ominto</i>	<i>Aba- mura baminto</i>	Brother
<i>Omo-iseke ominto</i>	<i>Aba-iseke baminto</i>	Sister
<i>Omo-mura one</i>	<i>Aba-mura bane</i>	Son
<i>Omo-iseke one</i>	<i>Aba-iseke bane</i>	Daughter
<i>Omo -magokoro</i>	<i>Aba-magokoro</i>	Grandmother
<i>Omo-tatamoke</i>	<i>Aba-tatamoke</i>	Uncle
<i>Omo-makomoke</i>	<i>Aba-makomoke</i>	Aunt
<i>Omo-mame</i>	<i>Aba-mame</i>	Maternal uncle
<i>Omo-chokoro</i>	<i>Aba-chokoro</i>	Grandchild
<i>Omo-igwa</i>	<i>Aba-igwa</i>	Sister's son
<i>Omo-kungu</i>	<i>Aba-kungu</i>	Wife
<i>Omo -sacha</i>	<i>Aba-sacha</i>	Husband
<i>Omo-ibori</i>	<i>Aba-ibori</i>	Parent
<i>Omo-koyone</i>	<i>Aba-koyone</i>	In-law
<i>Omo-makobiara</i>	<i>Aba-makobiara</i>	Mother-in-law
<i>Omo-tatabiara</i>	<i>Aba-tatabiara</i>	Father-in-law
<i>Omo-ibori ominto</i>	<i>Aba—ibori baminto</i>	Co-wife
<i>O -mwana</i>	<i>Abana</i>	Child

The singular – plural morpheme E – chi

<i>E</i>	-	<i>Chi</i>	Gloss
1. <i>E – sokoro</i>		<i>Chi – sokoro</i>	Grandparents
2. <i>E – kamati</i>		<i>chi – kamati</i>	Sisters-in-law
3. <i>E – semo</i>		<i>Chi – semo</i>	Men who have married sisters
4. <i>E – korera</i>		<i>Chi – korera</i>	Parents-in-law(both sides)

The term great grandchild has its own class

Ege – Ebi

Egechembene – great great grandchild *Ebichembene* - great great grandchildren

It is used to refer to the fourth generation descending from ego. It was rare and it is rare even nowadays for anyone to live long enough to see this kind of kin and thus they are almost imaginary and classified with animals and things rather than people. It is in class four of the *Ekegusii* noun classes while most kinship terms belong to class one, which is; *Omo-Aba*.

E.g. *Ege-susu – ebi-susu* - rabbit

Ege-sire – ebi-sire - axe

Ege-chembene- Ebi-chembene- great great grandchildren

2.9. Use of Single Terms for Several Relations

Radcliffe (1950:7) states that there are many system of kinship terminology where a single term is used for two or more kinds of relatives. For instance in the English the word uncle is used for both father’s brother and mother’s brother and also by extension for the husband of an aunt:(MZ or FZ).

Kuper (1967:100) carried out a study on Swazi kinship terminologies. In his study he found out that the Swazi had a classificatory kinship system. A number of kinship terms were used to refer to several relatives. The *Ekegusii* kinship system is also classificatory and therefore. Among the *Abagusii* people it is a common practice for several relatives to be referred to using a single term. The terms are generational and they applied to consanguine as well as affine kin in most cases.

2.9.1 *Tatamoke* (small father/uncle)

The term *tatamoke* which is used to refer to FB, is also used to refer to father's first, second and third cousin. *Tatamoke* is used to refer to father's sister's husband. That is the husband of one's paternal aunt is also referred to by the term *tatamoke*. The husband of one's maternal aunt as well is referred to by the same term. Thus in the *Ekegusii* clan the term is used for all males of the first ascending generation, that is, one's father's generation.

Mayer (1965:21) states that, "if my father's brother's first and second ortho-cousins are all *tatamoke*, his third, sixth and ninth ortho-cousins should be too. Ones' father-in-law's brothers are also *abatatamoke*."

2.9.2 *Makomoke* (small mother/aunt)

Makomoke (small mother) is used refer to mother's sister which is equivalent to one's aunt. Among the *Abagusii* however this term is used to refer to a number of other kin. Father's sister (FZ) is as well referred to as *makomoke*. Father's wives in a polygynous family are referred to as *makomoke* without regarding as to whether the woman is junior or senior in the marriage position. The term also applies to (FBW) father's brothers' wives and wives of father's cousins.

Basically all the wives of men referred to as *tatamoke* are referred to as *makomoke*. The term is also used to refer to father-in-law's brothers' wives. The sisters to your mother-in-law are also referred to as *makomoke*, as well as all their cousins. The term is further used to refer to the sisters of one's father –in-law and any other person of the same generation including the female cousins of one's father-in-law.

2.9.3 *Moiseke ominto* (young woman of our house)

The kinship term *moiseke ominto* (my sister) is used to refer to ones' blood sister and also step-sisters. All the female siblings whether by father's wives (step sisters) or by a spouse (half sisters) or by adoption are all referred to as *moiseke ominto*. The kin term *moiseke ominto* is at times used to refer to one's female cousins also. It should be noted however that the is a referent term and siblings use personal names to refer to each other.

2.9.4 *Bwamwabo* (cousin)

Morgan (1871) as cited by Nadimpali (2014:1) noted that in the Pacific some people regard all their cousins as brothers and sisters, and they didn't have a name for equivalent to 'cousin'. On the other hand he established that in some parts of Africa, there are separate terms for each of the cousins and for each of the siblings of parents. Among the *Abagusii* people the term *bwamwabo* which means cousin denotes a large number of relations. Father's brother's son (FBs) is all referred to by the term *bwamwabo*. Father's brother's daughters are referred by the same term. The term *bwamwabo* also refers to father's sister's sons and also daughters. This is because the term does not differentiate gender. The children of mother's sister, that is, sons and daughters are also referred to as *bwamwabo*. The term also applies to the sons and daughters of mother's brother. Once ego gets married all the relatives that his wife refers to as *bwamwabo*, become automatically *bwamwabo* to the husband and vice-versa. The term is also applied to denote the sons and daughters of father's cousins, and sons and daughters of mother's cousins. Generally any one of ego's generation who is not a 'real' brother or real sister is referred to as *bwamwabo*. The terms for one's real brother and real sister are different, that is *momura ominto* and *moiseke ominto* respectively.

2.9.5 *Omwana One* (my child)

Omwana one (child/my child) is another term that is used to denote a number of kin relations. *Omwana one* is used to refer to someone's own child. The term is also used to refer to the wife of one's son that is one's daughter-in-law. It further refers to one's husband's brother's children, as well as husband's sister's children. It is the term used for referring to ego's brother's children and also ego's sister's children. However, when a male ego is referring to his sister's children, he will use the term *moigwa*. The term *omwana*, also includes children of a spouse through another marriage. The term is used for both male and female gender.

The children of one's sister-in-law (*kamati*) are also referred to as *abana*. The children of one's wife's brothers and sisters are also referred to as *abana*. The term is also used for referring to a spouse's children that were born outside the marriage. It also refers to the children of co-wives. The term is further used for adopted children (*abagore*) who were brought by a barren woman through a quasi marriage ceremony.

Children born by a widow after the death of her husband are also referred as (*abana*) children of the deceased person. There was no term like step-child or half child. Basically all the individuals who are in the first ascending generation of the ego are *abana bane*, (my children) (plu.) *omwana one* (my child) (sing.)

2.9.6 Tata (Father)

Tata is a term used for one's biological father. However it is also used to refer to father's "real" brother as an address term. The term *tata* or *omogaka* is used when addressing one's father's brother only. It is also used by a wife to address her husband's father. It is considered disrespectful to address husband's father as *tatabiara*. This is because *tatabiara* is a referent term. The husband likewise addresses his wife's father as *tata*. A father-in-law is given the same respect as that shown to one's own father.

2.9.7 Baba (Mother)

The kin term *baba* (mother) is a referent and an address term used for one's own mother. As an address term it also denotes other relationships. It is the term used for addressing mother's 'real' sister. It is also used by ego's wife in addressing ego's mother. The husband also used the term to address his wife's mother to show respect.

2.9.8 Momura Ominto (My brother)

The term *momura ominto* (young man of our house) is a term used for 'real' brother. However it is commonly used when referring to father's brother's son or daughter. This is also used to denote father's sister's son or daughter. It is as well used for referring to mother's sister's son or daughter and also mother's brothers' sons and daughters. However when used in this manner, the speaker had to give some explanation on the nature of the relationship. The use of *momura ominto* is likened to that of *bwamwabo*, the difference is that *bwamwabo* denotes a large circle of referents compared to *momura ominto*. When *momura ominto* is used to denote one's cousins, it does not differentiate gender.

2.9.9 Omochokoro (grandchild)

Omochokoro (grandchild) is used to refer to ego's son's son or daughter. It also refers to ego's daughter's son or daughter. The children of ego's sister's sons and daughters both daughters and sons are referred to as *abachokoro*. The children of ego's brother's sons and daughters are also referred to by the same term. The children of one's

brother –in-law’s sons and daughters are also referred to as *abachokoro*. This also applied to the children of one’s husband’s/wife’s sister’s or brother’s sons and daughters. The term is used to refer to all individuals in the second descending generations of all lines; brothers, sisters’ husband and wives relations.

It is worth noting that the common use of terms to refer to several relations is based on generation. Mayer (1965:20) gives some explanation on classificatory terms being tied to genealogical generations, she states:

...in order to classify my father’s brothers with my father himself, and / or with their first ortho-cousins, I must know or believe that all these are indeed father’s brothers or cousins are of his own genealogical generation, I must distinguish them from men of my own generation or my grandfather’s.

2.9.10 *Magokoro* (grandmother)

Magokoro (grandmother) is used to refer to father’s mother, (FM) and mother’s mother (MM). It further refers to husband’s father’s mother (HFM) and also husband’s mother’s mother (HMM). For male ego it is also used to refer to wife’s mother’s mother (WMM) and wife’s father’s mother by extension (WFM). *Magokoro* is also used for referring to the sisters of the individuals mentioned above namely MMZ, FMZ husband’s mother’s mother’s sisters and husband’s father’s mother’s sisters. Finally it refers to wife’s mother’s mother’s sisters and wife’s father’s mother’s sisters. All cousins of the above mentioned relations of female gender are referred to by the same term, *magokoro*.

2.9.11 *Sokoro* (grandfather)

The term *sokoro* is used for FF and MF. In addition it is also used for FFB’s and MFB’s. In the case of male ego it also refers to wife’s father’s father and wife’s mother’s father. For female ego it applied to husband’s father’s father and husband’s mother’s father. The brothers and cousins individual who are in the second generation ascending are also referred to as *sokoro* as long as they are male.

2.9.12 *Mame* (maternal uncle)

Mame is used for referring to MB and MBW. The term also applies to all the paternal cousins of mother’s brother and their wives. The term merges husband and wife into the same term and so does not regard gender.

2.9.13 *Moibori ominto* (my co-wife)

Moibori ominto (co-wife) is a term used by women who are married by the same man. It was also used in referring to the wives of one's husband's cousins. Women who are married by brothers also called each other *moibori ominto*.

2.10 Terms of Referent versus Address

Among the *Abagusii* community not all kinship terms are used for address. While some kin terms are used for address others were not. Most kinship systems indicate the socially acceptable respect that is expected in the community. Mashiri (2003:3) in his study of kinship terms of address and social meaning provides an interpretive analysis of the use of kinship terms of address as forms of communicative resources to invoke meaning in non-kin relationships.

The *Abagusii* people used different address terms from referent terms to show respect for their kin and also the kind of behavior that was expected in the community.

Mayer (1965: 48) states that “naming terms –in social relations generally, not only kinship are essentially way of showing socially required attitudes and sentiments; on the other hand specification terms are mainly ways of denoting jural commitment.”

2.10.1 *Tatamoke*-small father/uncle

The kinship term *tatamoke* (small father) is general used as a referent term among the *Abagusii* people. However when one is addressing his/her uncle the appropriate term to use for address is *tata* (father). Since (small father) *tatamoke* is used to refer to both elder brothers and younger brothers to the ego's father, it could be disrespectful to address your father's older brother as *tatamoke*. It may only be appropriate to address a younger brother however it didn't happen. The main reason why a brother's father is addressed as '*tata*' is because he was a potential father who might be assigned as a genitor in case of death of his brother. Although the children he bears with his brother's widow take the name of his late brother, yet he has the obligation of providing labour to make sure that the children of his brother grew up well. The term also indicated the respect that was maintained between the two and how they were required to relate towards each other in the community.

2.10.2 Makomoke-small mother/aunt

The term *makomoke* is a term for reference in most cases among the *Abagusii* people. For address the women who are referred to as *makomoke* are addressed as *baba* (mother). This is mainly done out of respect for this category. Step-mothers are referred to as *makomoke* but in social lives they are addressed as *baba*. Notably some of the step-mothers might be senior in position to your mother especially if one is a child of the last wife. Thus addressing them as *makomoke* would not be appropriate since the community does not have the term “*baba omonene*” (big mother) as opposed to *makomoke* (small mother). More so step-mothers are accorded the same respect as the one given to ones' own mother. Therefore the term *baba* is used for address especially for “real” kin. “Real” kin are those who have specified ties with the ego. Step-mothers are considered real kin because of the ties with the father. Those without genealogical ties are addressed as *omong'ina*. This term is a polite way of addressing any elderly woman. The respect due to one's mother is also due to MZ, FZ and father's wives. The relationship and distance had to be maintained as that of mother – son or mother – daughter.

There also existed a tradition that if a young wife died the husband may be given a younger wife's sister in place of the deceased. This was called (*riika*) meaning in place of. So a mother's sister is a potential real mother. This tradition is no longer in practice though. The relationship is that of respect between the mother and child.

2.10.3 Mosacha one-My Husband

Omosacha one (my husband) is not an address term. It sounds rude and disrespectful to use it as an address term. Women generally use the term *omogaka one* to address their husbands. The term *omogaka* (male elder) sounds more polite than *omosacha*. In *Ekegusii* culture women are expected to honor their husbands. For the sake of respect a woman is not allowed to use the term for either address or reference. It can however be used by other people to refer to him for instance “*mosocha oo*” your husband or “*mosacho oye*” her husband. This is because the community is patriarchal.

2.10.4 Mokane- My Wife

Mokane (my wife) is considered very rude almost obscene to use for reference or address for ones' wife. It is therefore rarely used. A man either uses *omong'ina one* (my wife) or *omorugi one* (one who cooks for me). It is considered more polite to

address someone's wife as *Omorugi* (one who cooks) than the term *mokane*. *Omong'ina* which literally means an elderly woman is a common term for reference. Most people consider it more polite to use *omong'ina one* as an address term than *omokungu*. The term *omokungu* (woman) is another term which is also considered derogatory and thus used when one was angry or quarrelling. In the *Ekegusii* dictionary the third meaning of *omokungu* is a rude way of speaking to a woman when you are angry or annoyed. It is also not used for addressing a wife.

2.10.5 Tata-biara-Father-in-law/ Makobiara-Mother-in-law

The term *tatabiara* (father –in-la) is a referent term. In social life and according to the respect accorded a father-in-law, he is addressed as *tata* (father), *makobiara* (mother-in-law) is likewise referred to as *baba* (mother). In *Ekegusii* culture once a woman is married, she becomes part of the husband's genealogy through merging. It is an obligation to show respect and concern for the parents-in-law. In most cases her life of marriage started in her parents-in-law's homestead before she moved to her house to be independent. The parents-in-law acted as mother and father and are addressed as *tata* (father) and *baba* (mother) to maintain respect. It is also a way of implying that the marriage is fully accepted. For the woman it is a way of making her feel at home in her new residence which is permanent. This is because in *Ekegusii* women are not counted in their patrilineal descent. They are merged with their husbands. Divorce is almost unheard of since marriage is considered permanent. In case of separation the woman is taken to her husband's home for burial in the event of death.

2.10.6 Moka momura-Daughter-in-law

Although the term *moka-momura* (son's wife) exists, it is a referent term only. The parents refer to the son's wife as *omwana* (child). For a woman married to the firstborn son the terms *monene* or *motangi* are used to address her. One married to the lastborn son is referred to as *mokogoti*. This is a way of showing love and respect between the parents-in-law and their daughter-in-law. The respect which is maintained between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is of great magnitude. A father-in-law referred to the daughter-in-law as *omwana one o nsoni* (my child of respect). *Nsoni* is a rule of respect that governs behaviour between people who are expected to treat each other with a certain degree of respect in the community. The rule also applies between a mother-in-law and a son-in-law. Where the *nsoni* rule applies, the two individuals were not allowed to even shake hands when greeting

each. In addition, a father does not enter the house of his married son and a mother cannot enter the house of her married daughter. However the rule has been relaxed to some degree, particularly in the issue of shaking of hands. The table below summarizes referent verses address terms:

Table 5: Referent versus Address Kinship Terms

Relation	Referent Term	Address Term
My father	<i>Ntata</i>	<i>Tata</i>
My mother	<i>Mbaba /Imama</i>	<i>Baba/Mama</i>
My son	<i>Momura one</i>	Personal name
My daughter	<i>Mosubati one/Moiseke one</i>	Personal Name
My sister	<i>Imoiseke Ominto</i>	Personal Names
My brother	<i>Imomura Ominto</i>	Personal Names
My cousin	<i>Moruma Ominto</i>	<i>Bwamwabo</i>
Paternal uncle	<i>Tamamoke</i>	<i>Tata</i>
Maternal uncle	<i>Mame</i>	<i>Mame</i>
Aunt	<i>Makomoke</i>	<i>Baba/mama</i>
Grandfather	<i>Nsokoro</i>	<i>Sokoro</i>
Grandmother	<i>Imagokoro</i>	<i>Magokoro/baba</i>
Grandchild	<i>Omochokoro</i>	<i>Mochokoro</i>
Great Grandmother	<i>Imagokoraria</i>	<i>Makomoke</i>
Great Grandfather	<i>Nsokororia</i>	<i>Tatamoke</i>
Great Grandchild	<i>Omochokororia</i>	<i>Omwana</i>
Son-in-law	<i>Omwana</i>	<i>Mwana</i>
Husband	<i>Omosacha one</i>	<i>Omogaka (oria)</i>
Wife	<i>Mokane</i>	<i>Omong'ina (oria)</i>
Father-in law	<i>Tatabiara</i>	<i>Tata</i>
Mother-in-law	<i>Makobiara</i>	<i>Baba/mama</i>
Daughter	<i>Moka-momura</i>	<i>Mwana</i>
Wife of first son	<i>Moka-momura</i>	<i>Monene/motangi</i>
Wife of last born son	<i>Moka-momura</i>	<i>Mokogoti</i>
Sister-in-law	<i>Omoko</i>	<i>Mokoyone</i>
Husband's sister	<i>Kamati</i>	<i>Kamati</i>
Sister son/daughter	<i>Omoigwa</i>	<i>Moigwa</i>
Co-wife	<i>Moibori Ominto</i>	<i>Moibori ominto</i>
Son's/daughter's mother/father-in-law	<i>Ekorera</i>	<i>Korera</i>

CONCLUSION

The chapter has dealt with three types of families among the *Abagusii* people. It also discussed kinship systems and the features used in kinship like gender, age, generation, blood and marriage. Descriptive and classificatory types of kinship systems have been discussed with illustrations from the *Swazi* kinship and *Ekegusii* kinship. The collateral and lineal concepts have been dealt with also. *Ekegusii* kinship system is classificatory; the use of a single term for several kin relations has been tackled. The formation of *Ekegusii* kinship terms was focused on and *Ekegusii* reference versus address terms. Finally it touched on *Ekegusii* kinship relations.

CHAPTER THREE

SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF EKEGUSII KINSHIP TERMS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is a semantic descriptive analysis of *Ekegusii* Kinship terms. The chapter analyzes kinship terms using Fillmore's frame semantics theory. The discussion will focus on frames, prototypes and profiling, which are key notions of the theory. It will look into the frames that will be evoked by each kinship term. It will further focus on the background knowledge that is required to interpret or give meaning to the different kinship terms. The chapter is divided into sections. Section 3.1 deals with frames, profiles and prototypes. Section 3.2 focuses on the application of the theory on kinship terms, with focus on the elementary family frame and its frame components. Section 3.3 is on the compound family frames and its components. Section 3.4 deals with the collateral frame. Section 3.5 focuses on the marriage frame and the components related to it. Section 3.6 deals with generational frames and finally 3.7 is on matrilineal frames.

3.2 Frames. Prototypes and Profiles

3.2.1 Frames

According to Fillmore (1982:111) a frame is understood as a system of concepts related to each other in a way that to understand any one of them, you have to understand all of the related concepts. When one of the concepts is introduced into a text, or into a conversation all of the others are automatically made available, thus forming a structure or a frame. Therefore a frame is a comprehensive collection of concepts linked to each other. It can be seen as the background against which words are defined. The semantic frame refers to a knowledge structure that is needed in order to understand a particular word or a set of words which are related. This means that the meaning associated with a particular word can only be understood in the frame in which it is associated.

According to Lee (2003:8) the concept frame is multidimensional. This means that a concept can belong to more than one frame. For instance the concept father can belong to the genetic frame, social frame and the cultural frame, which differs from one culture to another. Other related frames are attitude and functional frames.

For instance a concept like **family**, when mentioned in a conversation brings into the hearer's mind several other concepts, which are related to the concept. This comes as a result of the encyclopaedic knowledge that the hearer has about the concept. This background knowledge forms the frame against which the term is defined. The concepts related to the concept **family frame** are **father, mother and children**. The concepts that are made available form the frame for the word FAMILY. The concepts in the frame are the frame components of the frame.

3.2.2 Prototypes

A prototype is an instance of a category or concept that combines its most representative's attributes. According to Langacker (1987: 371) as cited by Khaled (2014:347) "a prototype is a typical instance of a category and other elements are assimilated to the category on the basis of their perceived resemblance to the prototype." It can be regarded as the best or most representative member of a given category. It is viewed as a cognitive representation, which is generally associated with a particular word and serves as the reference point for categorization. It can be understood as what has all the features or attributes found in a category. For example the prototype of the concept **widower** is a man who marries a wife and later loses her through death and has not re-married. Once he marries another wife he is no longer a widower. A man who loses his wife through divorce cannot be considered as a widower. The background knowledge that is required to define the term widower is that: An adult man marries a wife. The two live together as husband and wife for some time. Later the wife dies and she is buried. So the man is left alone with the children if they had any. As long as the man has not re-married he is a widower.

3.2.3 Profiling

Profiling means the understanding of concepts as a part of whole. Langacker (1987) uses the example of hypotenuse to illustrate this concept. Hypotenuse is the side of a right angled triangle opposite the right angle. One cannot imagine the term hypotenuse without picturing a right angled triangle. This is because the triangle, and the plane it is included in, is a frame, so hypotenuse and right angle are interpreted with respect to the frame. They profile different parts of the frame. The argument is that even though a frame may consist of profile, that is, different parts, they cannot be interpreted independently. They have to be interpreted with respect to the frame. For instance the concept **leg** is part of the **body frame** and cannot be imagined outside

that frame. When the concept leg is mentioned one will create a mental picture of the body because the leg must be part of a whole, which is the body. It will therefore be defined within the **body frame**. In kinship the term **wife** is a part of the **marriage frame**. If a speaker mentions the concept **wife** a hearer is likely to draw his/her meaning from the **marriage frame** because a wife is a part of a marriage and cannot be explained or understood apart from the frame.

3.3 Application of the theory to kinship terms

Frames, Prototypes and profiling are the main principles of Fillmore's Frame Semantics theory. These principles are so intertwined such that they cannot be dealt with separately. The analysis which is the application of the theory will therefore deal with the principles together at the same time.

3.3.1 The elementary family frame and its components

The elementary/nucleus family is a social organization also known as conjugal family. In frame semantics theory the concept nucleus family evokes other concepts that are related to it. These concepts are father, mother and their biological dependent children, which form the elementary family frame. In the *Ekegusii* language, this is illustrated below:

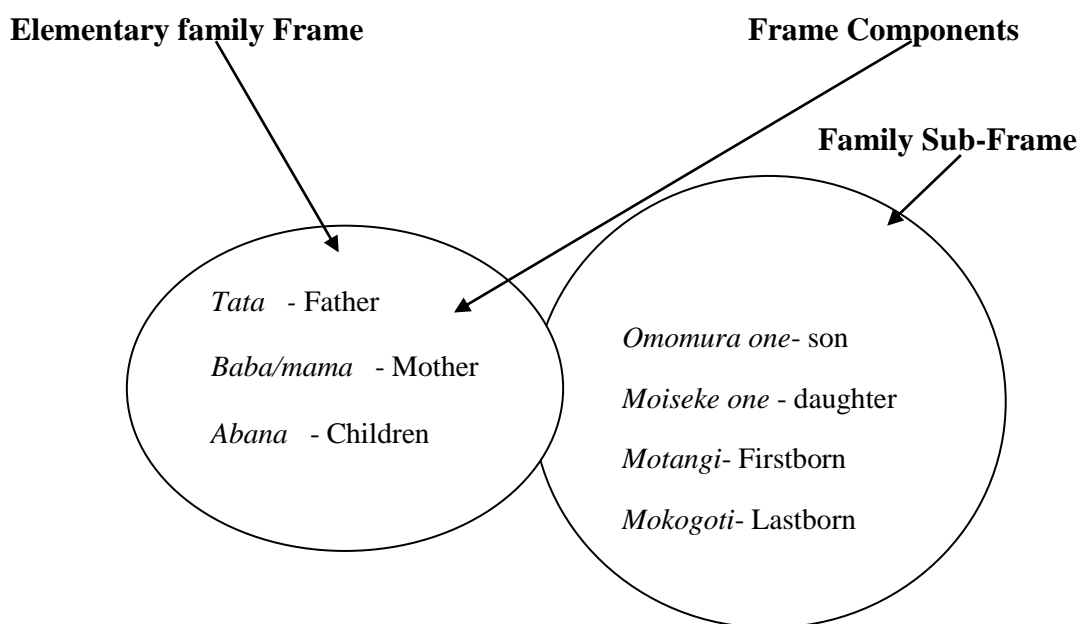


Figure 4 Family Frame

One frame can lead to another related frame as illustrated in the above diagram. The components in the enjoined frame also belong to the family frame. This means that a

frame can open another sub- frame besides it that is related in a way to the main frame. The components in the family frame can as well form other frames in explaining each of them as in the frames of father, mother, son, daughter, firstborn and lastborn.

3.3.2 Tata Frame (Father)

The word meaning of the concept father (*tata*) is: “A male who begets a child” according to the English dictionary. The prototype of *tata* (father) is a male who begets a child and takes good care of the child by bringing him/her up. In this sense, the prototype background information which the concept builds on is that: It is expected in the natural world that an adult man marries a wife. The man together with his wife, bear children (sons and daughters). The man and his wife are entrusted with the duty of taking care of their children. The man is referred to as *tata* (father) by his children, in *Ekegusii* culture and performs the duties of *tata*, which involve providing for the children's needs and taking care of them.

In this regard a man who gives birth to children but does not take care of them cannot be considered as *tata*. He is not referred to as *tata* and has no claim over the children. The children might even never get to know him. However among the *Abagusii* people, if a man takes care of children whom he did not sire and brings them up, providing for their needs, then he is regarded as the *tata* of the children. Although he does not have all the attributes of *tata* since he is not a biological father, yet he qualifies to be *tata* due to the duties he performs towards the children. On the social view a Catholic father, who is a religious leader is not referred to as *tata*, he is referred to as *Omosasiroti*. This is because he takes care of the spiritual needs only of the people he leads. The above definitions refer to the biological relationship between the father and the child and the social relationship too. Therefore the child is one of the frame components of the father frame.

The concepts mother, son and daughter are all different parts of the *tata* frame. Thus they all profile *tata* frame. These form the frame components for the *tata* frame. The *tata* frame is a frame within the nuclear family frame. The family frame is the background frame against which the concept *tata* is defined. When a hearer hears the word *tata* (father) he/she applies the background knowledge that one has, on who a

father (*tata*) is. This background knowledge brings into the mind of the hearer other concepts that are related to the concept *tata*. This encyclopedic meaning of the term evokes other concepts that are related to it and which are the frame components of the frame of the concept. For instance the *tata* frame will have the following frame components:

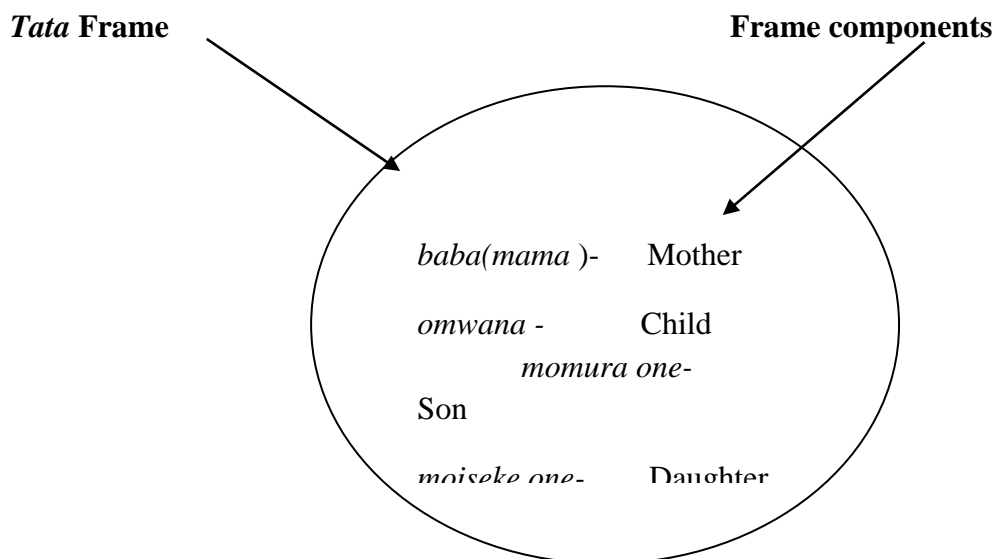


Figure 5 Father frame

The father frame evokes in the hearer's mind concepts which are automatically related to the father. One cannot be referred to as a father without having fathered a child. So the concept *tata* cannot be defined in isolation.

Among the *Abagusii* people the term *tata* (father) originates from the verb *tata*. According to *Ekegusii* dictionary *tata* in verb form, means to take somebody or something in your arms or hands. It also means to nurture, help a plan, Idea or feeling; to feed and take care of a person well. The other meaning is to cuddle; hold somebody or something close in your arms to show love or affection. This is the background against which the concept *tata* is defined among the *Abagusii* community. In this sense the concept *tata* does not necessarily refer to the biological father.

A father is any individual in the community who takes good and tender care of the young ones. For instance if a man marries a woman who has a child, the man will be considered as *tata* (father) as long as he treats the child rightly by nurturing him/her. A man who doesn't nurture his offspring, doesn't show them love and doesn't help them to grow right or even provide for their needs, may not be considered as *tata* even

though he is the biological parent. If a child is brought up by a person who is not his/her biological father, the child refers to the foster or step-father as (*tata*) father, as long as the foster father carries out the expected duties required of him by the community, he is a father. The biological father is not recognized if he behaves irresponsibly towards his children. A biological father was expected to carry out the duties of nurturing and providing all necessities for his children responsibly, in order to gain respect. A biological father can be disrespected if he does not live up to what is expected of him. Therefore among the *Abagusii* people *tata* is one who performs duties of a father and not necessarily the genitor. One can be a genitor and not a *tata*.

3.3.3 *Baba /mama* - (Mother) Frame

The semantic meaning of *baba* (mother) is the “female who gives birth to a baby.” The prototypical sense of *baba* is female who not only gives birth to a child but also gives the child motherly love as well as motherly care. Thus a woman, who gives birth to a child and abandons the child or throws it away, cannot be considered as *baba*. She lacks some of the attributes of *baba*. However a woman, who brings up a child even if she is not the biological mother, is a *baba* (mother) in the social sense and is thus referred to as *baba*. The prototypical background that motivates this category has the following information: That an adult woman may have a male lover and through a relationship with the man the woman may bear a one child or more. Alternatively the woman may get married and so get children through the marriage relationship. In addition a woman can adopt a child, in case she is unable to bear one or if she so wishes. The children, who may be sons and daughters refer to their mother as *baba*. The woman has to take care of the children and performs her duties as a *baba* (mother).

The concept *baba* (mother) evokes other concepts that are related to the term. These concepts that are related to *baba*, form a frame in which, the concept is defined. *Baba* (mother) cannot be defined apart from the related concepts. The concept mother (*baba*) belongs to different frames such as the genetic frame and the social frame. In the genetic frame it overlaps with the father frame which falls under the family frame. The concept *baba* (mother) is one of the frame elements in a family frame. Thus *baba* frame is a sub-frame of the family frame but also forms its own frame.

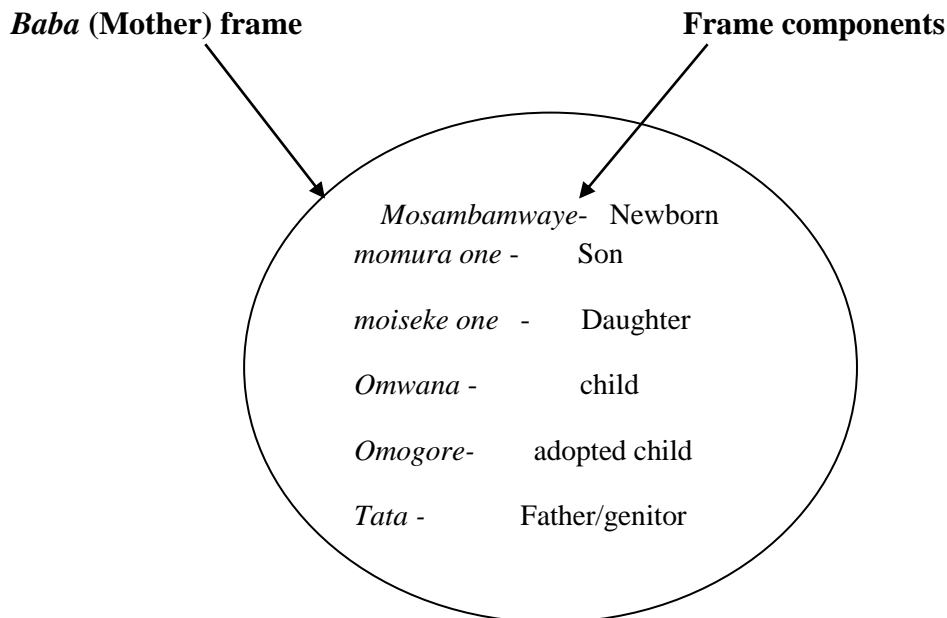


Figure 6 Mother Frame

The concept mother cannot be understood or defined in isolation without the related components. The concepts father, son, daughter all profile the *baba* frame. This means that they are a part of that frame. Therefore once a concept like *baba* (mother) is mentioned all the other related concepts are made available through the encyclopedic knowledge of the hearer.

In *Ekegusii* culture *baba* (mother) doesn't refer to the biological mother only. In case of death of a wife, the widower, who may be left with children from the first marriage may re-marry. The moment this widower re-marries, the woman whom he marries will be *baba* (mother) to his children. This however requires that the woman mothers the children by nurturing them and protecting them and giving them guidance as required by the community. In additional children born in a polygynous family refer to all their step-mothers as *baba* (mother). They also show them respect as that accorded to one's own biological mother. The mothers and step-mothers are also expected to treat the children without discrimination; however, this did not always happen. So among the *Abagusii* people *baba* is regarded more in the social frame as compared to the biological frame, unlike English where mother refers to the biological Mother only.

3.3.4 *Mosambamwaye* (newborn)

The word meaning of newborn (*mosamba mwaye*) is a child who was born recently. Prototypically one who is less than one month old. The term does not refer to a child

older than a month. This is because after a month people tend to forget the act of giving birth which is associated with the term *mosamba mwaye*. The concept *mosamba mwaye* profiles the pregnancy frame. However the concept can also form its own frame. The background knowledge that the concept bring to the hearer's mind is that, an expectant woman delivers a baby after nine months. Among the *Abagusii* people the baby is believed to have been living in a "house" in the mother's womb. At the time of delivery the mother is assisted by a traditional mid wife in the past or nurse in modern times. At the instance of birth the baby comes out first followed by his/ her "house" the placenta. The placenta is no longer useful to the baby after birth, it is destroyed which is equated to burning one's house.

The other concepts like *ororera* (umbilical cord) and *omogoye* (placenta) profile *mosamba mwaye*. They are a part of the concepts that form the *mosamba mwaye* frame. The concept *mosamba mwaye* (newborn) in *Ekegusii* evokes other related concepts in a hearer's mind. The concepts include an expectant mother, a midwife, the placenta, the womb and the umbilical cord, all of which form the *mosamba mwaye* frame. The frame for *mosamba mwaye* is illustrated below

Mosambamwaye frame

Frame elements

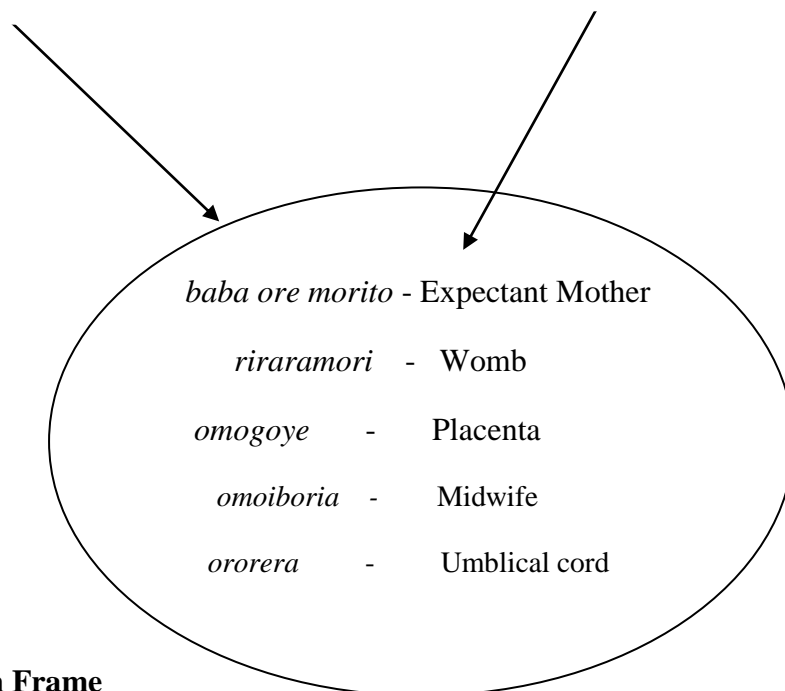


Figure 7 Newborn Frame

In *Ekegusii* tradition a newborn baby is understood to have been living in his/her house in his/her mother's womb. The house which was the placenta was built in the womb. The fetus stays in the placenta and got food and oxygen from its mother

through the umbilical cord. At birth the newborn baby is born and the placenta is expelled from the mother's womb. This expulsion of the placenta is what is referred to as *ogosamba mwaye* which literary means "burning one's house". This is how the concept *Mosamba mwaye* is arrived at by the *Abagusii* people. Thus a newborn baby is believed to have burned or destroyed his/her house at birth. The concept *omoiboria* (midwife) comes to the hearer's mind as the person who assists the expectant mother to deliver the child. A hearer who is familiar with *Ekegusii* on hearing the concept *mosamba mwaye* readily brings into his/her mind the background knowledge and the concepts that are closely related to this concept.

3.3.5 *Momura one* (my son)

The concept *momura one* (my son) semantically means, one's male child. The prototype of the word son is one's male child who obeys the parents and helps them according to the expectations of the community. A young man who abuses or beats his parent and disrespects them and other elders in the *Ekegusii* community is disregarded as a son even by his own parents. The background information in which the category is motivated has the points: That it is natural for adults of the opposite sex to get married. The married couple is expected to bear children that is, sons and daughters. The son or sons are referred to as *momura one*. The two adults, who are the parents of the son, take care of him and provide for his needs as he grows up. The son is expected to live in harmony with his parents showing respect for them and the community. An adopted child who shows respect for his step-parents is considered to be a son.

In a hearer's mind, the term *momura one* (my son) evokes other concepts which are closely related to it. Therefore the concept *momura one* can be defined, in relation to the other related concepts, that belong to the family frame and the *tata* frame mentioned earlier. The concept is part of the family frame, which it profiles, but also belongs to another frame.

Lee (2001: 9) states that frames may have conceptual and cultural dimensions. The conceptual meaning is a wide range of associations that may vary from one culture to another. Among the *Abagusii* people the term *momura one* is not a term that is used to refer to one's own son only. Culturally, the older generation also refers to any young

man of the first generation descending as *momura one* (my son). The term *momura one* also evokes some attitudes the community beholds about sons. Let consider the attitude frame below:

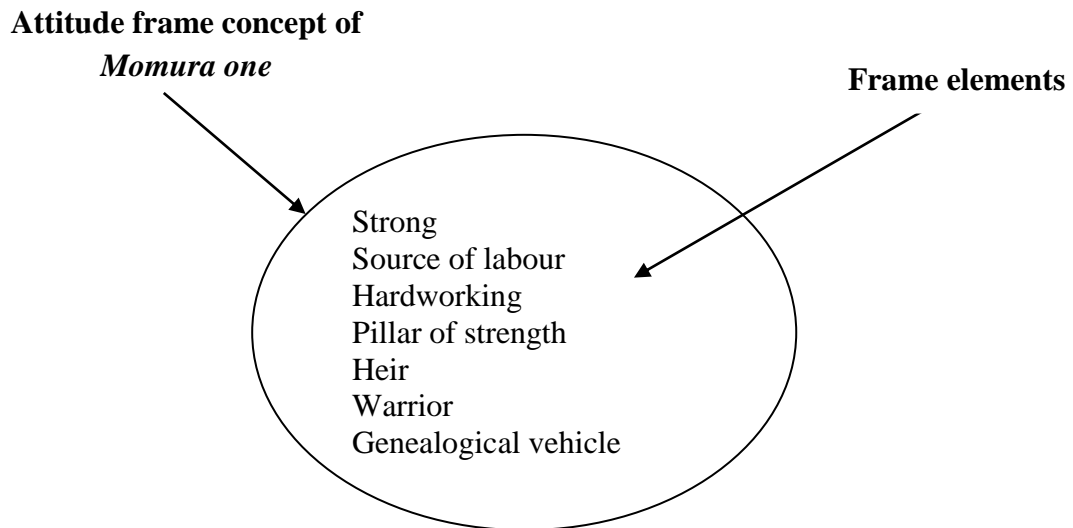


Figure 8 Attitude Frame of son

Among the *Abagusii* people sons are regarded very highly. In the community they are expected to be strong and hardworking. They are expected to carry out the harder tasks of ploughing, building, planting and harvesting unlike the daughters. They also did the work of grazing the cattle and watering them. Sons are considered to be the strength of their parents. It was common to hear people saying that “*Nguru chia momura nchogu egwati mbara*”. A young man's strength is like that of an elephant that splits rafters." Therefore the tough tasks of the home are meant for sons.

Sons are also viewed as warriors who could protect their mothers and sisters in the absence of their father as well as defending the community in case of war. The *Abagusii* people have a proverb that says, "*Ensinyo managokwanwa mbamura etabwati*" which implies that, "a despised frontier is one without young men." So they were expected to be brave and keep their enemies away. In case cattle rustlers took their cattle, the young men were expected to go after them. They also fought to protect their land from any land grabbers.

Sons are viewed as generational vehicles. This is because among the *Abagusii* patrilineal genealogy is emphasized as compared to matrilineal genealogy. Sons are expected to marry continue the *egesaku* (lineage) of their parents. This is sole

responsibility of sons, since daughters are "outsiders." Daughters are expected to continue the lineage of their husbands. Only the sons are meant to generate the lineage of their fathers.

Sons are inheritors of the family property. The family land is shared among sons only. This also applied to any other property owned by the parents. It is distributed among the sons and is shared with their wives. Daughters were given nothing and were expected to get married and get property through their husbands.

3.3.6 Moiseke *one* (daughter)

The other concept in the *tata* (father) frame is daughter. The concept *moiseke one* (daughter) means one's female biological child. The prototypical sense of a daughter is biological female child who is respectful and obedient to his parents and elders. The concept has the following background information: An adult man marries a wife, the man and his wife get a female child, who is referred to as *moiseke one* (daughter). The man and his wife are required to bring up their daughter; by nurturing and providing for her needs. The daughter in turn respects her parents and treats them well. A biological female offspring who despises her parents may not be considered as a daughter. The basic assumption of frame semantics, in respect to word meanings, is that all content words require for their understanding an appeal to the back ground frames within which the meaning they convey is motivated and interpreted (Fillmore & Baker 2011: 318).

Among the *Abagusii* people *moiseke one* (my daughter) is used to refer to all the females who belong to first generation descending from ego. The *Abagusii* people consider daughters as a source of wealth in terms of cows. The people even have the following proverb concerning a man who has many daughters: *Mwa nyabaiseke bange mbirandi bitakuoma ko mbotakana botasira*. Literally meaning, "A house with many daughters will always have guards full of milk but it will always be lonely". This is because daughters are expected to get married thus leaving the home without people, however for one's daughter to be married, the payment of dowry in form of cows was mandatory. Therefore the more the daughters one had, the more the cows in his homestead, thus having plenty of milk. Once married, daughters are expected to stay in their marital homes permanently and belong to their husband's family tree. In

the case of separation, a daughter (wife) still remained recognized at her marital home and had to be buried there in the instance of death. Once married, they are regarded as outsiders in their families of origin and as fully belonging to their marital homes.

Moiseke one profiles the *tata* and *baba* frames. It can be defined within the two frames, but also has an attitude frame as illustrated below:

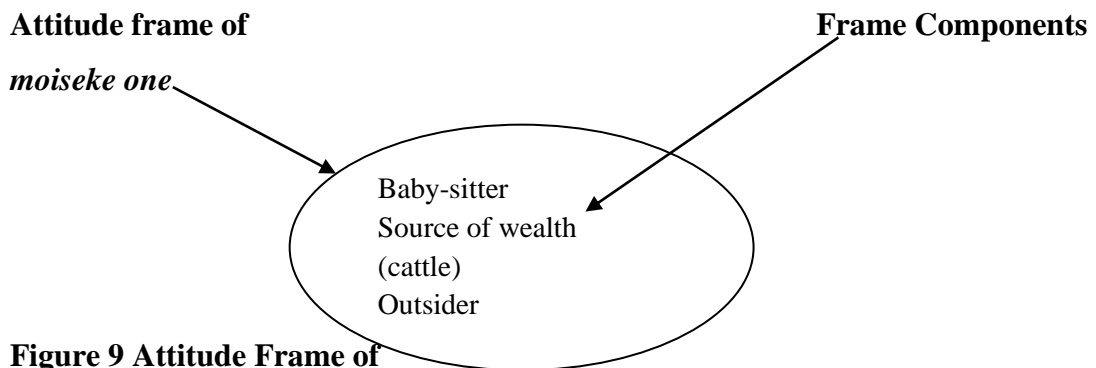


Figure 9 Attitude Frame of daughter

This attitude has however changed with time, since daughter nowadays attend school unlike in the past. The payment of cows as dowry has also changed to cash payments. However daughters are still viewed as people who develop outside their homes. Daughters were viewed as baby-sitters and at times cooks. They were taught to do the chores done by their mothers in preparation for their marriages.

3.3.7 *Omwana* (child)

The concept *omwana* (child) means one's child that is daughter or son. The concept also semantically means a person who is below the age of adulthood. A minor is generally below the age of 18 years. The prototype of child (*omwana*) is biological son or daughter who is below the age of eighteen and respects his/her parents. A girl child who is sixteen years old and decides to elope cannot be considered as *omwana* because eloping changes her status. This also applies to a boy child below who runs away from home to seek for employment in town or a farm. The concept *omwana* profiles the *tata* and the *baba* frames.

Among the *Abagusii* people the term *omwana* has a wider meaning than that of a biological child. It brings to the hearer's mind other related concepts. The concept can be defined in the frame below:

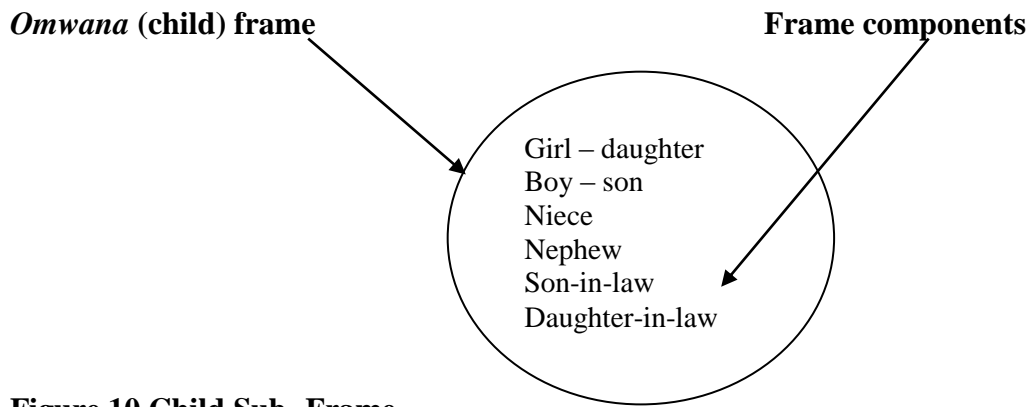


Figure 10 Child Sub- Frame

The above frame defines *omwana* (child) as one's son or daughter. The sons and daughters of one's sister or brother are also referred to as *omwana* (sing.) and *abana* (plu.). The offspring of one's grandchild is also referred to as *omwana* (child). A wife of one's son or one's nephew is also referred to as *omwana*.

This because among the *Abagusii* people a brother's or a sister's child is regarded as one's own child. Apart from the above, among the *Abagusii* community a child has other connotations. For instance a son-in-law is referred to as "*omwana*". This also applies to a daughter –in-law. One's children are referred to as "*abana*" regardless of their age. Therefore in *Ekegusii* background, age is not taken into consideration when it comes to one's biological children. The frame components in the above frame profile the *omwana* frame. The concept child can also be defined in another frame concerning the attitude that *Abagusii* have about the concept *omwana*. This is illustrated in the frame below:

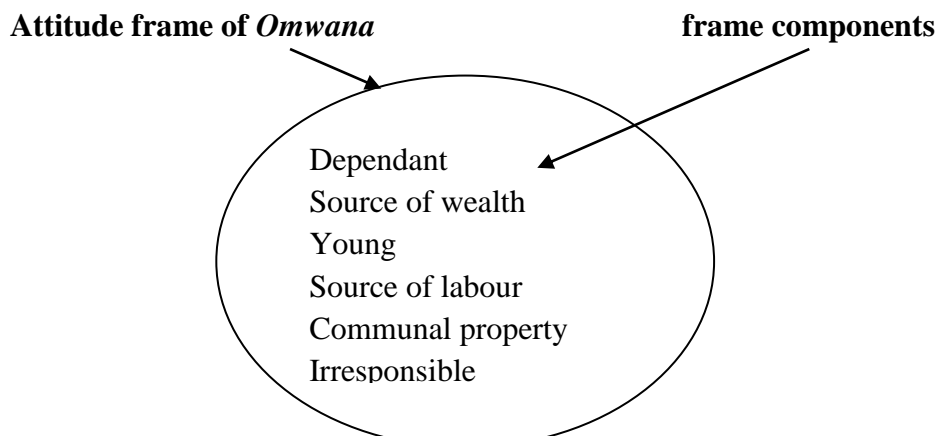


Figure 11 Attitude Frame of Child

The attitude frame above does not apply for son-in-law and daughter-in-law, it only applies to biological and adopted children. Children were traditionally considered as a source of wealth among the *Abagusii* people. This is because they were viewed as a source of free labour. They had to hard work at home and on the farms thus economically benefiting the family. Daughters are viewed as a source of wealth through dowry once they get married. Among the community children belong to the clan and had to show respect to anyone who of their father's generation and above they could be sent by any elder and are expected to obey without question. In addition they could be corrected or disciplined by any elder member of the community. This is no longer applicable due to the changes in the tasks carried out children in the community. Children *abana* are more involved in school activities unlike in the past.

An adult who behaves like a child and is not mature or responsible among the *Abagusii* community is also referred to as *omwana*. This is because they practiced *obwana* (childishness) in their conduct. This term used this way is meant to rebuke and demean those who were immature in behaviour although they are old in age.

3.3.8 The concept “*motangi*” (first born)

The concept *motangi* (first born) is the first child to born to a parent or a family. The prototype of a firstborn is a first child who is responsible and a good example to his/her siblings. The encyclopedic knowledge regarding this frame is that: In a marriage situation, a couple bears children. The first child who is born to the family is the firstborn (*motangi*). The term also to a man's or a woman's first child even if there is no marriage. The first child may be a daughter or a son. The child is required to act responsibly in accordance to what is expected of her/him by his/her parents and society. Irresponsible behavior can lead one to lose the firstborn privileges. *Motangi* profiles the *tata baba* and family frames. The frame elements of *motangi* (firstborn) are stated below:

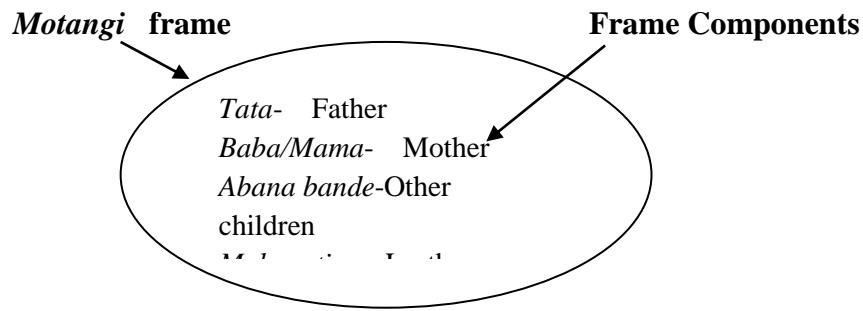


Figure 12 Firstborn Sub Frame

The concept is related to the above frame elements and cannot be defined apart from its frame elements. Among the *Abagusii* community the first born child is highly regarded regardless of whether it is a son or a daughter. However, a male firstborn is favoured than a female. He is distinguished and even exalted in the family.

A firstborn daughter was highly loved by her father. This is because when she got married the dowry that was given belonged to her father. The father was required to marry his second wife (*nyamesancho*) using the firstborn daughter's dowry. This brought a special attachment. However, a firstborn son enjoyed more privileges and power than a firstborn daughter.

Although the firstborn daughter is respected, she is not recognized in the same regard as a firstborn son. This is because daughters are merged with their husbands once they get married. This means that a firstborn daughter in her home can become a lastborn in her marital home if her husband is a lastborn. Likewise a lastborn daughter at her home, can change status and become a firstborn in her marital home, if she gets married to the firstborn son of the home.

To fully understand who a first born is among the *Abagusii* people we will consider another frame; the function frame which applies more specifically to the male firstborn as opposed to the females:

The function frame of *Motangi* (firstborn)

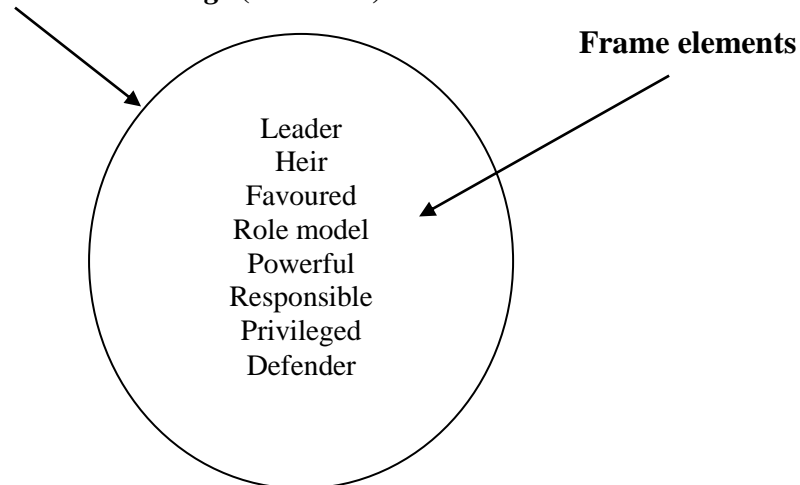


Figure 13 Function Frame of firstborn

A first born is a child who enjoyed considerable privileges compared to other children. From a tender age a firstborn is viewed as a leader governing his younger siblings. In case the parents were away the firstborn took the responsibility to take care of the younger brothers and sisters in all spheres. He has to protect and defend his siblings in case of danger. He is favoured by his parents and as a heir, he got a larger share of inheritance than his siblings. Originally he was given almost half of the family land while the brothers shared the other half. However, this has changed with the changing times.

The first child is also bestowed with power over his siblings. He/she can assign them duties and ensure that the duties are done. He /she also has power to administer discipline in the absence of his/her parents. As the parents grow old power is transferred to the firstborn son. He is considered as his father's age mate in one way or another. The firstborn is expected to be a role model to the younger siblings. The fear is that if a firstborn grows up with negative character traits, the younger children might follow his/her example, thus the reason for guarding him/her vigilantly.

3.3.9 *Mokogoti* (lastborn)

The meaning of lastborn is the youngest child of a family. The prototype of a lastborn is the youngest child regardless of sex who is obedient and takes care of his/her parents in old age. If lastborn child disregards his/her parents in old age he/she might miss the blessings of his or her parents. The background knowledge one should have

to interpret the term lastborn is that, two adults, a male and a female marry each other. Out of the marriage they get offspring, sons and daughters. One of the offspring is the youngest. The term lastborn profiles a family frame.

The concept *mokogoti* (lastborn) falls under the family frame. Among the *Abagusii* people daughters do not qualify as lastborns in their fathers' houses. For a daughter the term applies if she is married to a lastborn son at her marital home. This is because at her home she cannot be a *mokogoti*. She is merged with her husband.

A lastborn son gets the privilege of staying with his parents longest after marrying. He inherits all the property that belongs to his parents and buries his parents in his homestead. It is a coveted position as people believe that all the family blessings go to the lastborn child. However, this depends on how he treats and relates with his parents. If he doesn't treat them fairly the blessing can go to a different sibling who treats the parents well in their old age. The components of *mokogoti* frame are illustrated below:

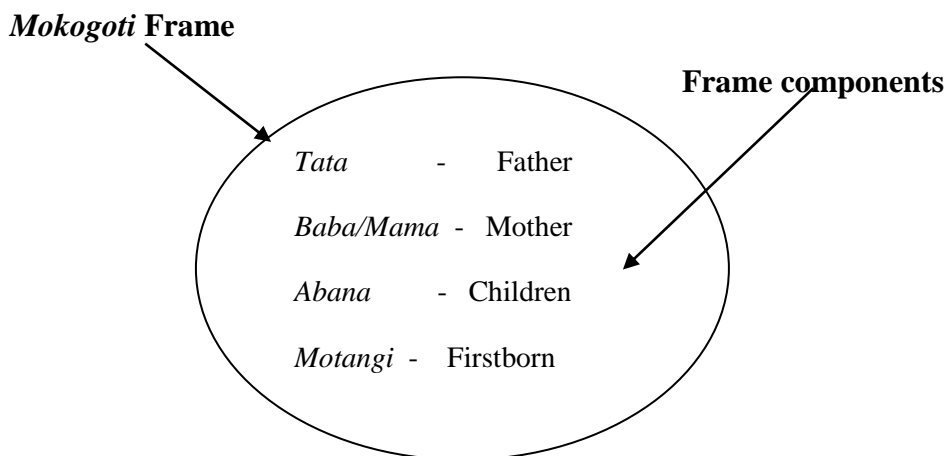


Figure 14 Lastborn Sub- Frame

3.4 The compound family frames

Schusky (1965:74) states that a compound family consists of three or more spouses and their children, it may be produced in monogamous societies by a second marriage giving rise to step relationships." Radcliffe (1950:5) states that when a widow or a widower with children enters into a second marriage and gives birth to children then there a rose half siblings and step parents and step children. Among the *Abagusii*

people compound families resulted from polygynous marriages as well as from women who bore children before they got married and later got married bringing the children into the picture.

The compound family frame is illustrated below:

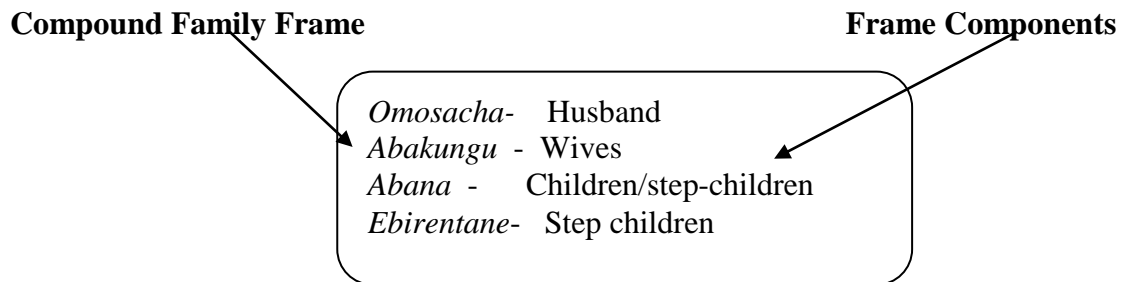


Figure 15 Compound Family Frame

The frame components like wives profile the compound family frame. Among the *Abagusii* people step-children are divided into two, those referred to as *abana* (children) and *ebirentane* (those brought with a wife). Those referred to as *abana* are those born by a man, who later loses his wife and marries another wife. The children are step- children to their step- mother but they call her *baba* and she call them *abana*. *Ebirentane* are children who are born by a woman before she gets married. It is important to note that the concept *ekerentane/ebirentane* singular and plural respectfully are highly derogatory terms which are neither used for address nor reference in the community. All children in a family regardless of their background are referred to as *abana*. The other practice among the *Abagusii* people that leads to compound families is polygynous marriages. This is explained below:

3.4.1 The polygynous family frame

A polygynous marriage is a family where a man has more than one wife who bears him children. Among the *Abagusii* the polygynous family consists of a husband his wives and their children. Consider the polygynous family frame below:

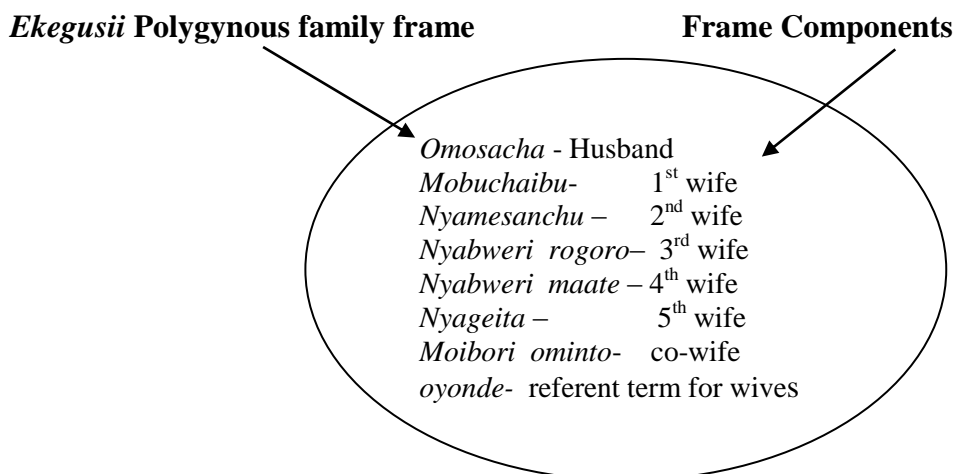


Figure 16 Polygynous Family Frame

Mobuchaibu is the first wife of a man. The concept *mobuchaibu* literally means “one who collects ashes”. The house of a young man is viewed as dirty and full of ashes. The first wife was considered as one who comes to sweep and clean the hut and remove those ashes. The concept profiles polygynous marriage frame since it implies presence of other wives.

Mobuchaibu was accorded special respect by the other wives. Her first born daughter’s bride price was used to pay dowry for the second wife (*nyamesenchu*). She is the one who welcomed the second wife and lived with her, cooking in the same house until she cultivated and harvested her own food, after which she moved to her own hut. The first wife treated the second wife as a daughter -in-law because of the bride price of her daughter.

All the younger wives respected her and addressed her as “*omongina*” a term which is used for elderly women especially those past child bearing age. The other wives referred to each other as *oyonde* or *moibori ominto* (co-wife) they treated her as a mother-in-law because they were all under her leadership.

The fifth wife, *Nyageita* (of the gate) or *mosieka geita* meaning one who closes the gate was the youngest in the homestead. Her house was built close to the main gate of the homestead. This was to signify that she was the last among the recognized wives and no wife could be married after her. Her house was built next to the main gate to indicate that the homestead was full and could not accommodate another wife. In case a man married the sixth wife, the woman had no title and was not recognized.

When the concept *Nyageita* is mentioned a hearer who is familiar with the culture of *Abagusii* people will readily made available in his/her mind the related concepts. The background knowledge regarding this Frame is that of a homestead with a husband, his five wives and children. The huts in the homestead were arranged according to seniority of the wives. *Nyageita* (of the gate) also referred to as *Mosieka geita's* (one who closes the gate) hut is built next to the main gate. It also means that the man has five wives. Thus once a hearer hears the concept *Nyageita* all other related concepts are automatically come into the mind.

3.4.2 *Ekerentane* (Step-child)

Among *Abagusii* community the concept *ekerentane* is term that refers to a child born outside the marriage circle. The prototype of *ekerentane* is a child who is born before a woman gets married. Once the woman gets married she comes along with the child. Therefore, the term is not applicable to a child belongs to a man, that is, if a man loses his wife through death after having born a child, the child is not referred to as *ekerentane*. The literal meaning of *ekerentane* is "one who is brought along with". It is important however to note that this term is derogatory and is neither used for reference nor address. For a hearer to understand the concept, he/she has to have some prototype background knowledge in which the category is motivated:

A woman is involved in a relationship with a man, which leads to getting a child or children before getting married. The woman and the man breakup their relationship, the ex-lover walks away leaving the woman with the children. Later the woman gets married to a different man from the one who sired her children. After that marriage, the children are brought to the current husband's home. The husband is expected to accept the children as his own without discriminating against them. The children refer to the man as *tata* and he refers to the as *abana*. The children are expected behave well and honor their step-father and refer to him as *tata*. If such children show no respect for respect for the man, he might disown them.

A hearer with the above background information is able to interpret the concept *ekerentane*, once it is used by a speaker. The term may be used if the children exhibit unruly behaviour in the community. However the term is not used for either reference or address in normal circumstances. The *Ekerentane* Frame is illustrated below:

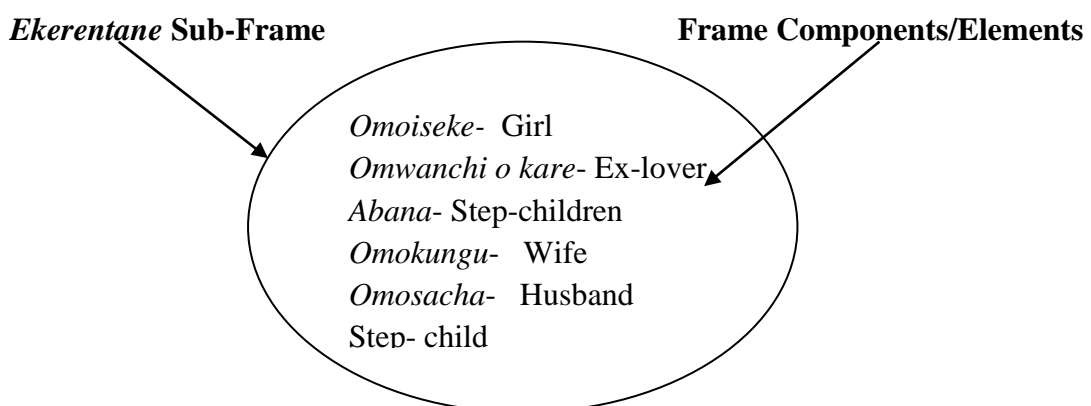


Figure 17 Step-child Sub- Frame

The concepts in the frame are related to the term *ekerentane*. They all profile the *ekerentane* frame. When a hearer who is familiar with *Ekegusii* language hears the concept *ekerentane* he/she is able to automatically make available the other related concepts which form the frame. A hearer must have the background knowledge of the scene for him/her to understand the concept.

3.5 The collateral frame

Collaterals are relations by blood but not through direct line. It refers to the siblings of lineal relatives and their descendants (Keesing 1975:148). Among the *Abagusii* people collaterals include *tatamoke* (father's brother and his male cousins), *makomoke* (father's sister and mother's sister and their female cousins) as well as *bwamwabo* (the sons and daughters of *tatamoke* and *makomoke*). Mentioning any one of the above relations brings to the hearer's mind all other related concepts. The frame is illustrated below:

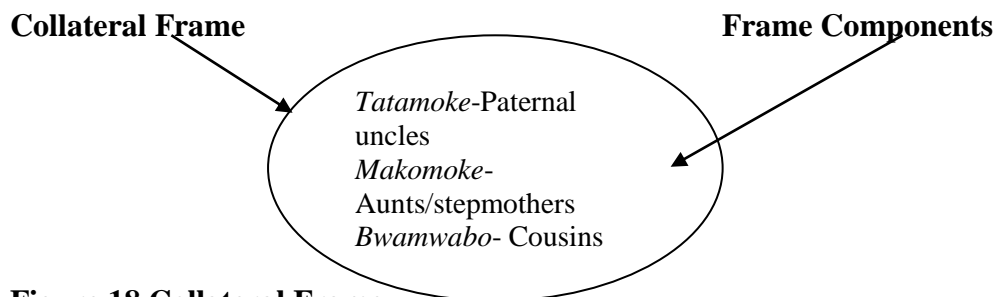


Figure 18 Collateral Frame

The concepts *tatamoke*, *makomoke* and *bwamwabo* all profile the collateral frame. The concept *tatamoke* is built on the knowledge that one's father has brother and male cousins. They are considered as small fathers and can act on father's behalf in his absence. *Makomoke* has the following background knowledge, that father has other wives apart from one's mother. It also means that father and mother have sisters who are referred to as *makomoke*. *Bwamwabo* refers to all the children of *tatamoke* and *makomoke*. Among the *Abagusii* even remote cousins are *bwamwabo*. The concept *bwamwabo* literally means (of our house). It is a general term used for referring to people ego's own generation apart from ego's siblings (Ego refers to self). It also used for children of mother's brother and mother's sister. The children of father's cousins are also referred to as *bwamwabo*. At times the term *momura omino* (my brother)

could be used in place of *bwamwabo*. The people who referred to each other as *bwamwabo* interacted freely with each other. The restraint rule (*nsoni*) did not apply to them. Both male and female are termed as *bwamwabo*. There is no gender distinction. It is both a referent and address term.

3.6 The Marriage Frame

Affinal kin terms can be semantically analyzed using the marriage frame. In the marriage frame below the frame components are limited. However, some other frames related to marriage relations also apply. Let us consider the marriage frame below:

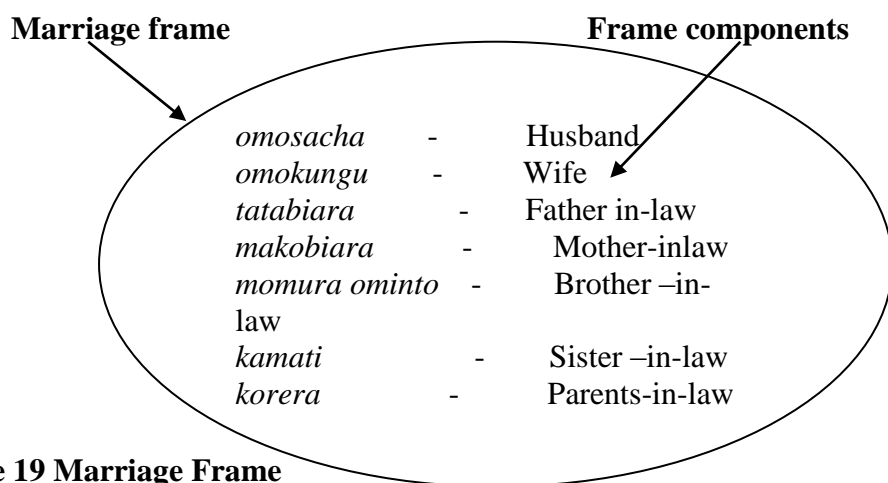


Figure 19 Marriage Frame

The **marriage frame** in *Ekegusii* culture has the components mentioned above. Each of the components in the frame profiles the **marriage frame**. This means that each of the components is a part of the whole frame and cannot be outside the frame. However, each of the components in the frame can also form frames on their own which may be considered as sub-frames of the marriage frame. Since frames are multidimensional, some components belong to more than one frame. Let us consider the following components of the marriage frame.

3.6.1 *Omosacha* (husband)

The meaning of the word *omosacha* (husband) is a man in a marriage relationship, especially in relation to his wife. The prototype of the concept husband is a man in a marriage relationship, who is the head of the family and provides for his family's needs. The concept husband profiles the marriage frame, however it relates to other frames e.g. the function frame illustrated below. The concept *omosacha* (husband) in the cultural setting of *Abagusii* people had a wide meaning. Understanding the

cultural background leads to understanding the concept *omosacha* (man) or *omosacha one* (my husband). The function frame of *omosacha* is shown here below:

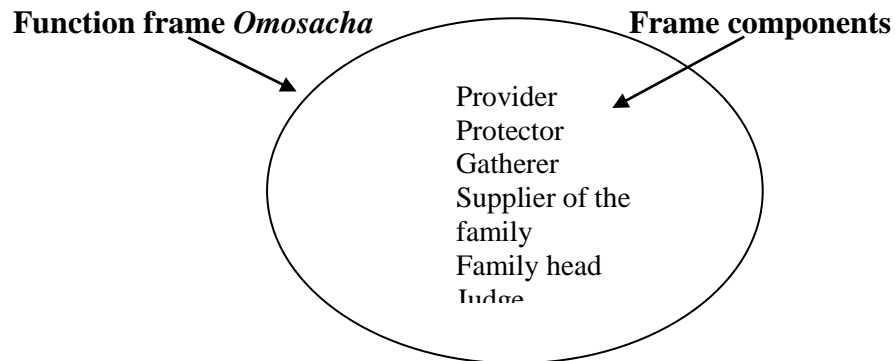


Figure 20 Function Frame of Husband

The concept *omosacha* is derived from the verb “*sacha*”. *Sacha* according to the *Ekegusii* dictionary means to seek, gather and provide. It also means to procure supplies, or whatever may be desirable. According to the *Abagusii* culture a husband is expected to seek for wealth and other family requirement and provide for his wives. If he has several of them, it meant he has to work extra hard to provide for all the women and their children especially when they are young.

In the traditional Gusii cultural setting, as the head of the family a husband is respected by all his wives and children. When he was in one wife’s hut the other wives cooked food and served him. He also had a firm control of the children and could decide and plan on how they worked on the farms. Children were submissive to their father and obeyed him without question.

In the early past, husbands went hunting in the afternoon as boys grazed the cattle. Whatever animal the man killed was divided among his wives. The first wife was normally given a larger share compared to the younger wives. This is because she was believed to have a larger family than the rest apart from being superior. As a family head he was expected to exercise control over each member of his family. The father was also expected to protect his family from any attacks.

Omosacha is also regarded as the family judge. In case of disputes among his wives, he has to act impartially and solve disputes without favoring any of them, causing disorganization in the family. This also applies among the children of all his wives. In doing this he is expected to act without partiality as a good leader. He has to treat all family members equally since any kind of favoritism could bring division in the

family. However at times some men showed partiality to the woman who treated them well. This led to hatred and bitter rivalry in the family.

A husband is required to have a hut of his own before marrying. After circumcision he is expected to work hard and own property. As man he has to protect his family and the clan as a whole. He has to be responsible and ensure that his wives and children do not go hungry. An irresponsible man is viewed as a child. The above custom has greatly changed as only a few men marry more than one wife but they are still the heads of families and thus provide all their family's needs.

The function frame of omosacha is related to the functions the man performs as a husband, a hunter, a protector and a judge.

3.6.2 *Omokungu one* (My Wife)

The concept wife (*omokungu*) means a married woman especially in relation to her husband. The prototype of wife (*omokungu*) is a married woman who performs her duties as required by her cultural background. The understanding of the term is based on background knowledge that: an adult woman married to a man is expected to respect her husband. She is also required to give conjugal rights to her husband and be faithful to him always. She is to be a companion and helpmate to her husband, and she is expected to take good care of her husband's property. Among the *Abagusii*, *omokungu one* (my wife) is also referred to as *omorugi*, *omong'ina* and *mokane*. This is illustrated below:

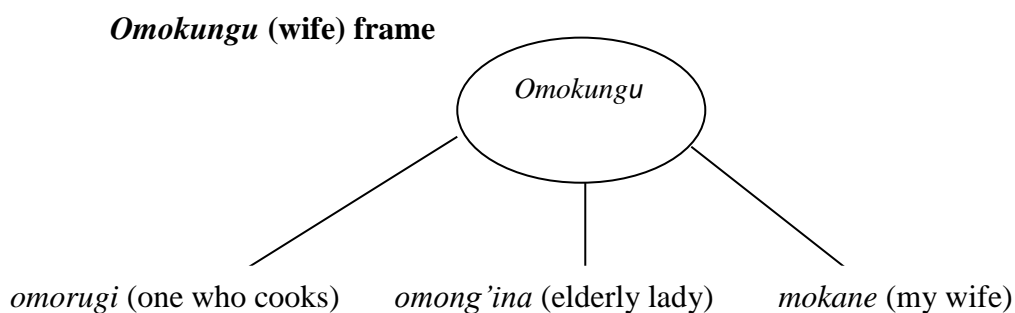


Figure 21 Wife Frame.

The term *omokungu*, is derived from the verb “*kunga*” or “*gokunga*”. *Kunga* according to *Ekegusii* dictionary means to treasure, keep, and care for something that is very special, important or valuable to you. The other meaning is to keep securely and preserve. To safeguard or protect somebody from loss, harm or damage. The

function of *omokungu* is to treasure and take good care of her husband. She is also the custodian of the wealth or whatever that her husband brought home. She has to safeguard and securely keep their property well guarded. She is to value her husband's efforts by taking good care of what he acquired. She is to protect her husband from harm by giving him the correct advice. She is also entrusted to take care of her husband's children.

The concept *omokungu* profiles the marriage frame, it is a part of that frame and the term is interpreted in the frame. It also forms a frame on its own, when a hearer perceives the concept in relation to the duties expected of a wife. This is illustrated below in a Functional Frame of the concept *omokungu*:

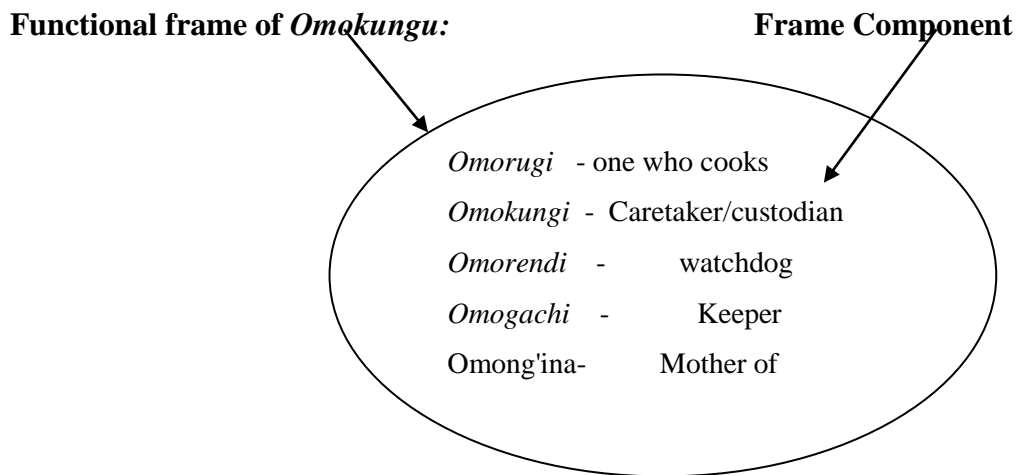


Figure 22 Functional Frame of wife

The above functional frame defines the duties that a wife carries out, she is referred to as *omokungi* (caretaker). She is required to take care of her husband's belongings. In *Gusii* culture a wife is also regarded as a cook. She is referred to as *omorugi* which literary means one who cooks. A wife is expected to make good meals for the husband and her children. This is one of the tasks she has to do to show that she cares for her family. She has to make sure that her husband and children ate a well balanced diet. The food that the family feeds on depends on her. The husband provides the food while the wife does the cooking.

The synonym *omong'ina* which is used to refer to an elderly woman is also used to refer to one's wife. The term is used as a way of showing respect to one's wife. The concept *omong'ina* also originates from the term *ng'ina* which means "mother of", which implies the mother of one's children. The term is used as opposed to "*mokane*"

(my wife) which is considered as rude. A wife belongs to her marital home permanently and even in the face of separation she is still recognized and in the event of death her body is buried at her marital home.

3.6.3 *Tata biara*(Father –in-law)

The concept semantically defined, means the father of one's spouse. The concept profiles a marriage relationship and so can be interpreted in the Marriage Frame. The concept *tatabiara* (father- in- law) requires other related concepts for its interpretation. In *Gusii* cultural setting the concept is motivated by these encyclopedic information; an adult son marries a wife, the wife is welcome to her husband's home. The husband has a father and a mother. The father is referred to as *tatabiara* (father-in-law) by the son,s wife. The son,s wife, who is a daughter-in-law is to respect her father-in-law in the same manner as her biological father and address him as *tata* (father). The young man who marries also refers to the father of his wife as *tatabiara* (father-in law). He too is to respect and honor him, as he honors his own father. The concept *tatabiara* is a compound term which literary means father and birth (father-in-law). This means the father who gave birth to one's husband or one's wife.

A father- in- law is highly respected by the daughter-in-law. The *nsoni* rule applies between these two. The daughter –in-law could not shake her father-in-law's hand. She addresses him as *tata* (father), but she respects her more than her biological father. They kept distance and a father cannot enter his son's house once the son has married. However incase of disagreements between his son and the wife, he come in and act as an arbitrator.

3.6.4 *Makobiara* – (Mother-in-law)

Prototypically a mother-in-law is the mother of one's spouse. The concept falls under the marriage frame. *Makobiara* (Mother-in-law) is related to other concepts in the marriage frame. When a listener hears the concept *makobiara* (mother-in-law), the following elements automatically come to his/her mind, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, and son-in-law. The concept thus can form another sub- frame of mother-in-law which is related to the marriage frame.

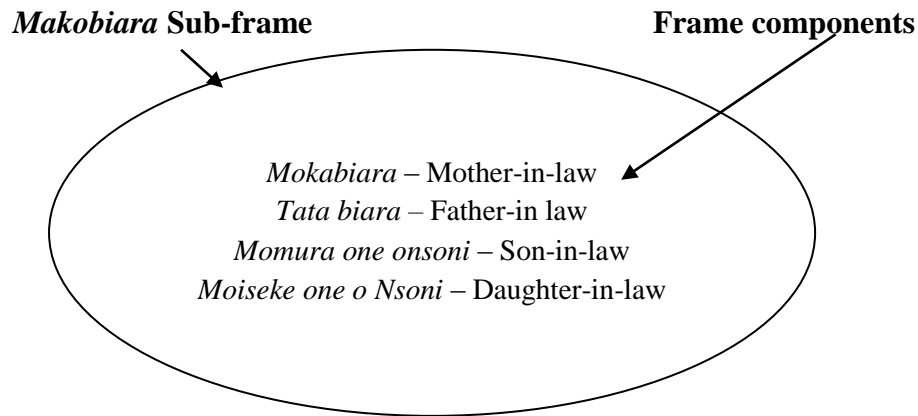


Figure 23 Mother-in-law sub- Frame

The above sub-frame overlaps with the father-in-law frame which are sub-frames of the marriage frame. *Makobiara* literary means mother-birth, the mother who gave birth to one's husband or one's wife. The concept *Makobiara* is used for reference but not for address. For address, the term *baba/mama* is used instead. The background knowledge required for the understanding *Makobiara* is that in the event of marriage, the husband and the wife have two mothers each. This is the mother of the husband and mother of the wife. The husband refers to the mother of his wife as *makobiara* (mother-in-law) and the wife refers to the mother of her husband as *makobiara*. *Makobiara* profiles the marriage frame but also has a functional frame.

In the functional frame *Makobiara* performs several functions. She welcomes her daughter-in-law to her new home. She is expected to treat her like one of her own daughters. She assigns her work in the homestead and gives her guidance as a young wife. She stays with her in the same kitchen, cooking together and teaching her how to serve her husband. The relationships between *Makobiara* and son-in-law (*omwana one o nsoni*) – my child of *nsoni* was highly respectful. *Makobiara* could not shake hands in greetings with son-in-law. This has however changed with time and rule is relaxed such that shaking of hands is no longer prohibited.

3.6.5 *Omwana one o nsoni* (my son / daughter-in-law)

"*Nsoni*" is a mutual restraint incumbent on persons who apply to each other any kinship terms signifying proximate generation, regardless of line". Mayer (1965:13). The rule governed sexual restraint that led to avoidance of actual or even symbolic bodily touch and suggestive speech.

The concept *Omwana o nsoni* literally means my child of respect. The *nsoni* concept applies to the opposite gender. The way a father-in-law relates to the son-in-law is quite different from the way a mother-in-law (*Makobiara*) relates with the son-in-law. The father-in-law is like a father to his son-in-laws. On the other hand a son-in-law could not shake hands with the mother-in-law, lest he admires her. They have to keep distance and avoid body contact. A son-in-law is not allowed to chew maize in the presence of his parents-in-law as this is considered insulting them. When a son-in-law goes to his wife's home, he cannot be served with chicken. This is because according to the *Abagusii* culture chicken is a bird and is meant for children. A goat has to be slaughtered for the son-in-law to signify the respect that he was given by his in-laws.

The relationship between a father-in-law and a daughter-in-law applies the *nsoni* rule. A father-in-law should not shake hands with his daughter-in-law. She could not even serve him food, or even share a meal. A father-in-law does not enter into the hut of his son once the son has married. This was unlike the relationship between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law. As mentioned earlier in the mother-in-law frame, it was a more relaxed relationship. They worked together and related as friends.

3.6.6 *Kamati*-(Sister-in-law)

The term *kamati* (sister-in-law) refers to, the sister of one's spouse or the wife of one's sibling. The concept *kamati* among the *Abagusii* people is used for female relations only. When a hearer hears the concept *Kamati* among the *Abagusii* people related concepts come into one's mind. The term *Kamati* is built on the following background knowledge: that in a family there can be sons and daughters. These refer to each other as brothers and sisters. As the brothers mature they marry wives. The wives and their husbands' sisters refer to each other as *kamati*. Once the daughters are married they too refer to their husbands' sisters as *kamati*. *Kamati* is a reciprocal term used by females only.

The concept *Kamati* is part of the marriage frame which it profiles. *Kamati* can be defined in the Sub-frame below:

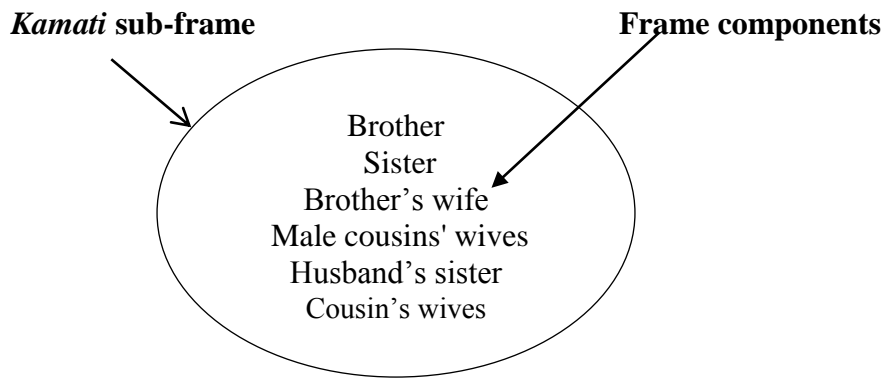


Figure 24 Sister-in-law Sub- Frame

Kamati is also used to refer to the wives of one's cousins.

3.6.7 *Moka Momura ominto – my brother's wife (sister-in-law)*

The concept *moka mamura ominto* in *Ekegusii* background refers to one's brother's wife. It is however used by male ego's brother to refer to egos wife as opposed to *Kamati* which is used by ego's sister. It is also used to refer to the wives of one's cousins.

The concept has the following background information; that brothers marry wives and that they refer to each others' wives as *moka momura ominto* (my brother's wife). This also applies to the wives of their male cousins. It profiles the marriage frame and can be defined within that frame.

3.6.8 *Mokoyonye (my in-law)*

The concept *mokoyone* or *omoko* (sing) *abako* (plu.) is a general term that is used to refer to one's sisters- in-law and brothers-in-law. Prototypically, the concept *omoko* is a relative through marriage and who has formalized the marriage through payment of dowry. Therefore someone who elopes with someone's daughter is not *omoko* and cannot be respected as an in-law. The concept profiles the marriage frame. The concept has the following background information among the *Abagusii* people.

Adult children in a family marry or get married. Daughters get married outside the clan through a marriage ceremony known as *oboko*. The men who marry the daughters pay dowry. A man who has not paid dowry is not recognized as *omoko*. The relatives of the husband and wife refer to each other as *abako* (plu.). Likewise sons marry wives and pay dowry to their wives' families creating the relationship of *abako*. It applies to the several relations like that of one's sister's husband, one's wife's

brothers, one's wife's sisters. It also refers to the brothers of one's sister's husband, sisters of one's sister's husband and for a female ego a sister-in-law's husband, that is the husband of *kamati*.

The cultural concept of *omoko* is one who has given us cows and thus married our daughter. Also one took our daughter in exchange for cows. The term *omoko* is used to refer to people of the same generation with the people of the same generation with the people who marry each other. This includes the brothers, sisters, cousins and their wives and husbands. It does not apply to the mother-in-law or father-in-law. This is because the *abako* can relate freely and their behavior towards each other is not restrained or governed by *nsoni* unlike the relationship of parents-in-law.

Although *omoko* is part of the marriage frame it has its own sub-frame below.

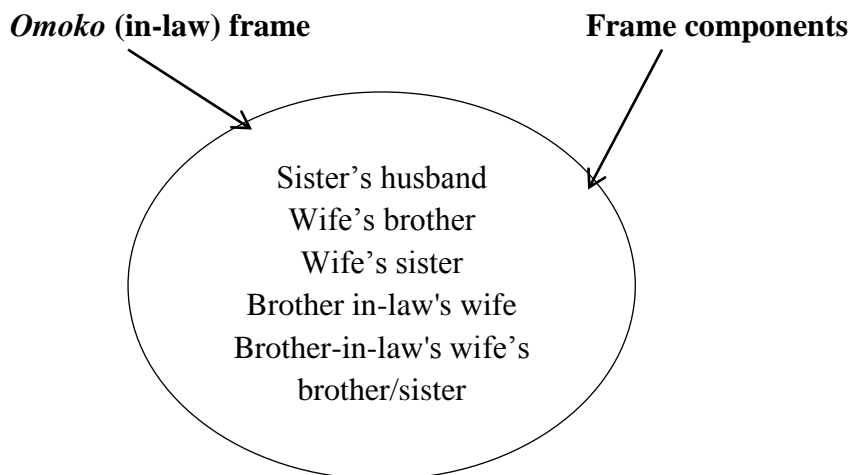


Figure 25 Brother/Sister-in-law Sub-Frame (*mokoyone*)

The above frame defines the people who among the *Abagusii* people are referred to as *omoko*. The term *omoko* originates from the noun *oboko* (marriage ceremony) which is a relationship arising out of a marriage. It also refers to the home or location of a family related to another by marriage. Therefore the people in these homes refer to each other as *abako*, which refers to brothers/sisters-in-law. The concept *omoko* can further be defined in the background of what is required for two groups of people to refer to each other as *abako*. This gives rise to another frame of the *oboko*:

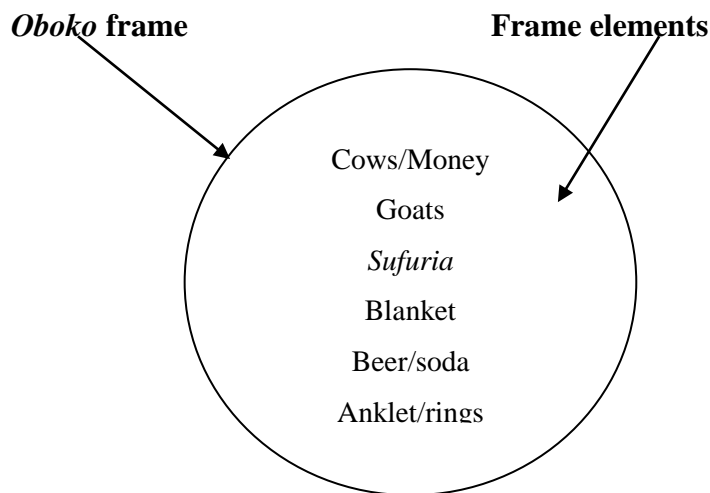


Figure 26 Marriage ceremony Sub-Frame

At the mention of the concept *omoko*, a hearer who is familiar with the *Ekegusii* cultural background will automatically bring into the mind the concepts that are related to the concept *omoko*. The term *oboko* refers the ceremony and what it requires. The sub- frame is related closely to the marriage frame. For this relationship to be recognized, the man's family had to give cows and two goats to the woman's family. They also gave a blanket and a big *sufuria*. The woman's family slaughtered one goat for the in-laws and the shedding of blood of the goat was significant as a uniting factor. This was done on the ceremony of paying bride-price. The second goat was slaughtered after the woman had been married.

Young women of her generation carried the raw meat in a large basket and brown *ugali* in a large traditional bowl made from millet stalks and took this to her marital home. From then on the relationship was now permanent. An ankle ring is then woven around the married woman's ankle. The anklet is equivalent to a wedding ring and is worn throughout one's marriage life. It is never removed day and night until one's death or the death of a spouse. If a woman separates with her husband, the ankle ring warns men that she is married. If she elopes with another man, she is known as *ritinge* (concubine).

3.6.9 Semo (brother-in-law)

The concept *semo* roughly means brother-in-law. *Semo* in *Ekegusii* language is a reciprocal term that is used by two men who have married sisters or cousins to refer to

each other. The concept profiles the marriage frame. For a hearer to understand the concept *semo*, he/she needs the following encyclopedic knowledge. A man has several daughters who grow and once they are adults they get married. The daughters will naturally get married to different men as they cannot be married to one man. The men who marry these sister refer to each other as *semo*. The relationship is affine as it arises from marriage; it is therefore defined within the marriage frame, which it profiles.

3.6.10 *Korera*

The concept *korera* is reciprocal and is used by parents whose daughter and son are married to refer to each other. The title is also applied by aunts and uncles of both the woman and the man.

For a person to understand the concept *Korera*, one has to understand the other related concepts that are readily made available in the hearer's mind. Once the concept is mentioned, the related concepts come to the hearer's mind. The *korera* profiles the marriage frame, since the concept is related to marriage. The *Korera* sub-frame is illustrated below:

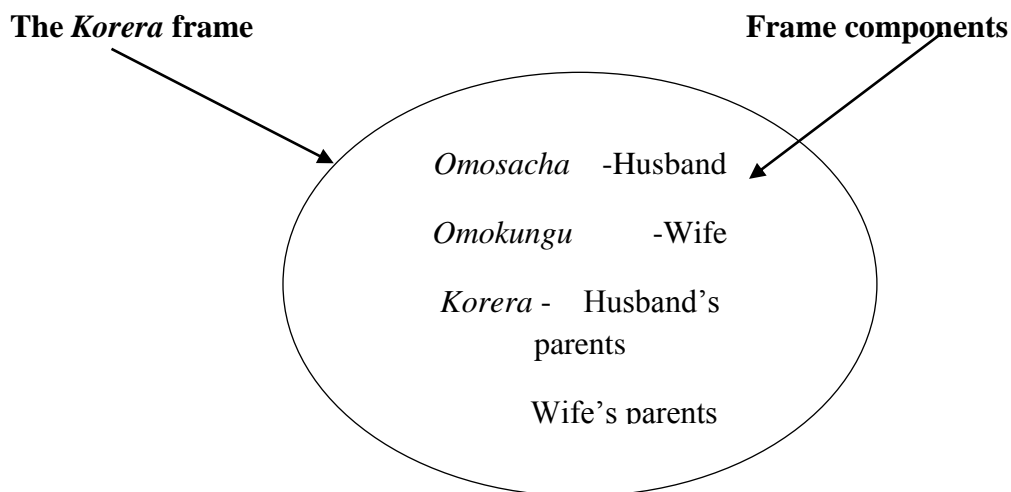


Figure 27 *Korera* Frame

The *Korera* frame has the background information that, parents who have adult daughters give them out in marriage. The daughters are received in their marital homes by their parents-in-law. Likewise adult sons marry and their parents receive their children. The two pairs of parents from the side of the wife and that of the

husband refer to each other as *korera*. The term *korera* is reciprocal and does not distinguish gender.

It is a term that is derived from the noun *Oboreri* which means child care, or the art of looking after children. It also means to nurture or educate. The concept implies that the parents of the girl have nurtured her and likewise the parents of the boy have nurtured him. The girl and the boy have matured to a young man and woman. After marriage, *Korera* means that the parents of the girl hand over their daughter to the parents of the boy (man) to nurture and take care of her. Likewise the parents of the man expect the parents of the girl to nurture their son. Both parents are expected to nurture and take care of the relationship that has been started by the young couple they are expected to give them the right advice, so that their marriage does not break.

3.6.11 Woman To Woman Marriage Frame

Radcliffe (1967:4) states that there is a custom whereby a woman may go through a marriage rite with another woman in some parts of Africa. The *Abagusii* people practiced this custom when one of the wives of a man was barren. Since the barren woman is entitled to inherit property from her husband, she had to look for a way to continue her generation. Among the *Abagusii* people a man's land was divided equally among his wives. Thus the woman without children could go through marriage rites with a woman who has one or more children. The woman who married stands in the place of a father (*pater*) to the offspring of the wife. A physical father was assigned (*genitor*), but he had no right over the children since they belong to the woman. The woman is considered a father because she is the provider of their needs but is referred to as *magokoro*. It is assumed that the woman who gets married is a wife of the other woman's son. The woman to woman marriage can be illustrated in the frame below:

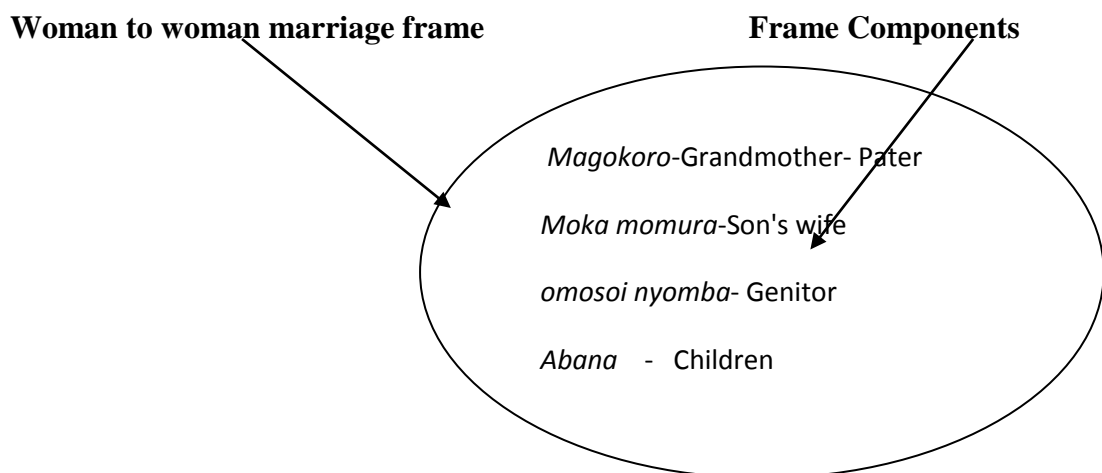


Figure 28 woman to woman marriage frame

The *magokoro* (grandmother) in the woman to woman marriage frame plays two major roles. She is the grandmother of the other woman's children and also the social father. She provides the needs of the children as a father and gives them her share of land for inheritance. The genitor who may be the biological father is not recognized.

3.7 Generational frames – Grandparents

3.7.1 *Sokoro* – Grandfather

The concept *sokoro* prototypically means, a father of someone's parent. Among the *Abagusii* people the concept refers to all males in the second generation ascending. The mention of the concept leads to other related concepts which form the *sokoro* frame below.

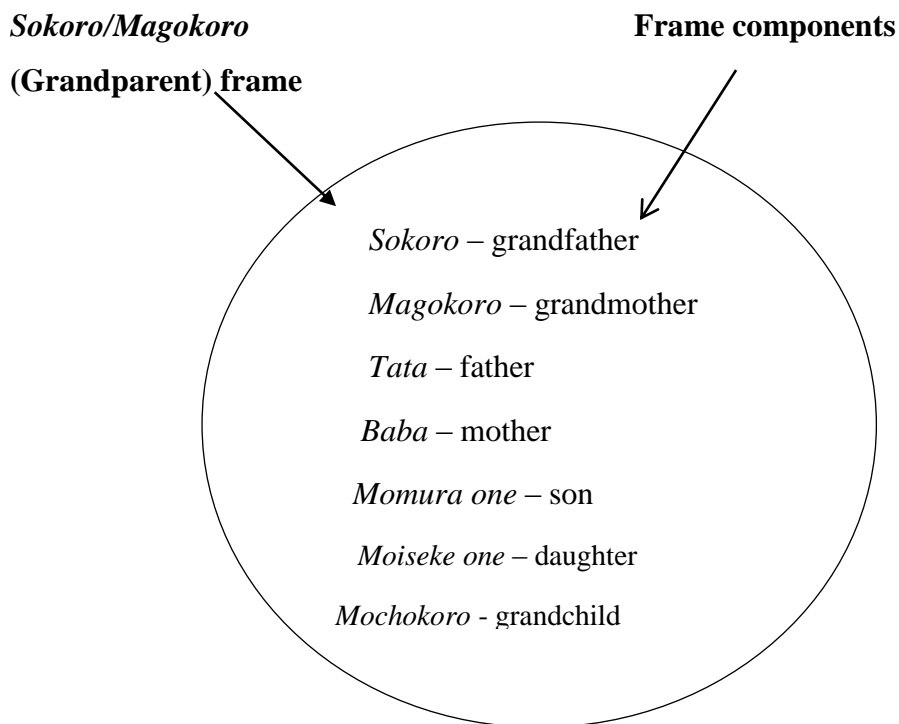


Figure 29 Grandparents Frame

The concept *sokoro* cannot be defined on its own, without the above frame components. This is because the concept is closely related to all the above concepts. When one hears the concept *sokoro*, the other related concepts are made available immediately. *Sokoro* is not only the father of one's father but also father's father's brothers and father's father's male cousins. The term also applies to mother's father, mother's father's brothers and mother's father's male cousins.

okoro has the background information that a man marries and has sons and daughters. The man's sons grow into adults and marry getting children and the daughters get married and have children. The children of man's sons and daughters refer to him as *sokoro* (grandfather). The man refers to his children's children as *omochokoro* (sing.) and *abachokoro* (plu.).

Sokoro relates very freely without restraint with his grandsons. He was their teacher especially in matters of sexuality and on how to become a responsible man in the community. He could teach the young boys using parables and stories. A grandfather and his grandsons referred to each other as *mogisangio*. *Mogisangio* means comrade, friend or age mate. They had no boundaries in their communication and shared on matters that the parents could not freely tell their children.

Magokoro (grandmother) shares the same frame with *Sokoro*. The concept *magokoro* among the *Abagusii* people is used to refer to one's mother's mother or one's father's mother. Prototypically *magokoro* is the mother of one's parent. The other individuals who are referred to as *Magokoro* are mother's mother's sisters and their female cousins, as well as father's mother's sisters and their female cousins. In addition anyone who is of the same generation as the individuals mentioned above are referred to as grandmother (*magokoro*). *Magokoro* related in the same way as *sokoro* to her granddaughters. She is their teacher and counselor. She told them *Ekegusii* stories and explained the lessons in the stories. She could also use proverbs and sayings to explain to them ways of life and what is expected of them as ladies once they grew up and got married. Their manner of relating to each other is not restricted by the *nsoni* rule. They behaved as age mates towards each other *abagisangio*.

3.7.2 *Esokororia*- (Great grandfather) frame

The meaning of the concept *chisokororia* according to *Ekegusii* dictionary is, a fore father. It refers to people especially men, who were part of one's family a long time ago in the past. *Sokororia* prototypically refers to one's grandfather's father. It profiles generational frames. He is viewed as a great grandfather. According to Fillmore, words cannot be understood independently of the frame which it is associated with, (Evans and Green 2006: 222).

The concept *Sokororia* has the following background information built in it: that a male ego marries a wife, ego and the wife have sons and daughters, the sons marry and the daughters get married. The sons and daughters bear children referred to as grandchildren (*abachokoro*). The grandchildren in turn marry or are married and bear children referred to as *abachokororia*. Ego refers to the children of his grandchildren as *abachokororia* while they refer to him as *sokororia*.

Notably, this relationship rarely happens to the living. This is because it is unusual for one to live to see one's own great grandchildren. However, if one is lucky enough to see a great grandchild, then he refers to him/her as *omwana one* (my child) and the great grandchild refers to him as *tatamoke* (small father). This is because unlike the grandfather- grandchild relationship, where *nsoni* rule did not apply, here *nsoni* applies. The concept *sokororia* can therefore be analyzed in the frame below:

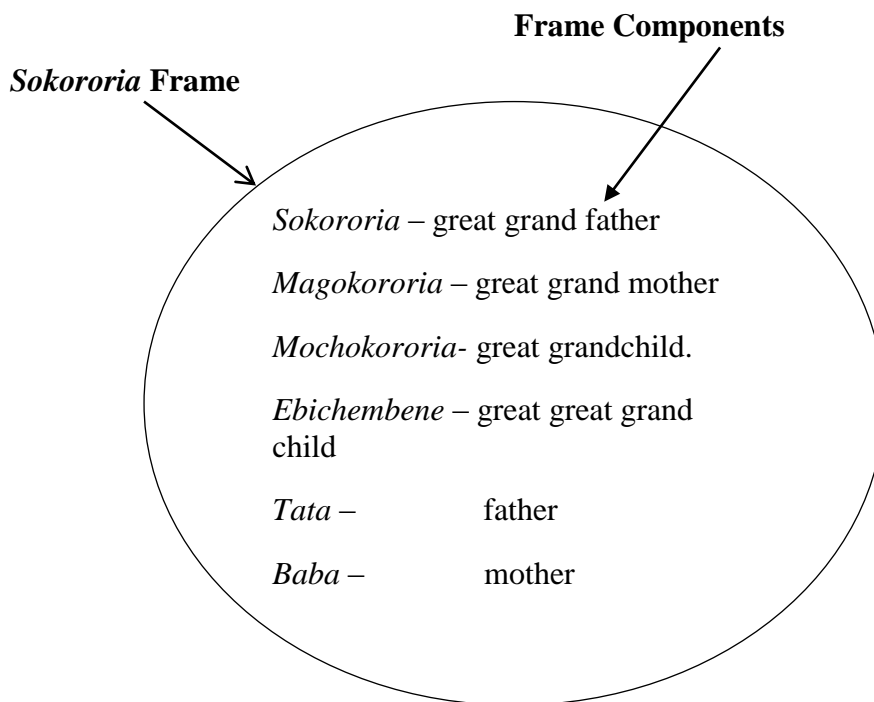


Figure 30 Great grand father (*Sokororia*) Frame

For a hearer to understand the concept *sokororia* he/she requires to understand all the concepts in above frame. The background knowledge is necessary for one to understand the above concept. At the mention of the concept *Sokororia* automatically all the related concepts above are made available.

The concept *magokororia* (great grandmother) above shares the same frame with *sokororia*. It cannot be understood without understanding the above frame which it profiles the relationships mentioned earlier. *Magokororia* is also addressed as *makomoke* (small mother) by her great grandchildren. She also addresses them as *abana bane* (my children). They relate the same way a father relates to a son.

3.7.3 Egechembene (great, great grandchild)

Egechembene is a term used for referring to the grand child of one's grandchild. This is the prototypical meaning any other relation lower than the grandchild of one's grandchild is *egechembene*. It profiles the generational frame as it is part of it. It is the fourth generation descending from ego. For a hearer to understand the kin term *egechembene* he/she had to be conversant with all other related terms and relations. The concept has the following background information: A man marries a wife and together they have sons and daughters. The sons marry and daughters get married and they get children (*abachokoro*). The grandchildren (*abachokoro*) also grow up marry and get children. These children of man's grandchildren are the ones called *ebichembene*.

This kind of kin was rare since it was uncommon for one to live to see his/her great great grand children. Among the *Abagusii* the terms were reserved for true lineal descendants. Mayer (1965:12) states that *Abagusii* say that it is unnatural or unlucky for one to live to see own great grandchildren. However, when it happened, the *nsoni* rule applied in the way the great great grandchildren conducted themselves toward their great great grandfather or grandmother. The way to address one's great grandfather was *tatamoke* (small father) and great grandchild is referred to as *omwana* one (my child).

3.8. Matrilineal frame

Matrilineal kin are kin relations formed through ego's mother's family lineage. Most of the kinship terminologies are similar to those of patrilineal descent apart from the first ascending generation on mother's side. The term used for this kin relation is *mame* (maternal uncle and his wife). This term is used for both maternal uncle and his wife, as it does not distinguish gender. Ego addresses the maternal uncle and his wife as *Mame* while they refer to ego as *Moigwa*.

For a hearer to interpret the concept *mame* he or she must understand or have the background knowledge of the relations that lead to the kinship term. *Mame* applies to all maternal kin of first ascending generation both male and female as opposed to patrilineal relations who refer to *tatamoke* (small father) and *makomoke* (small mother).

The concept *mame* is built on the information that: A male ego has a sister, ego's sister gets married and bears children. These children refer to ego as *mame*. Ego refers to his sister's children as *omoigwa* (sing.) and *abaigwa* (plu.). The term *mame* profiles the matrilineal frame below:

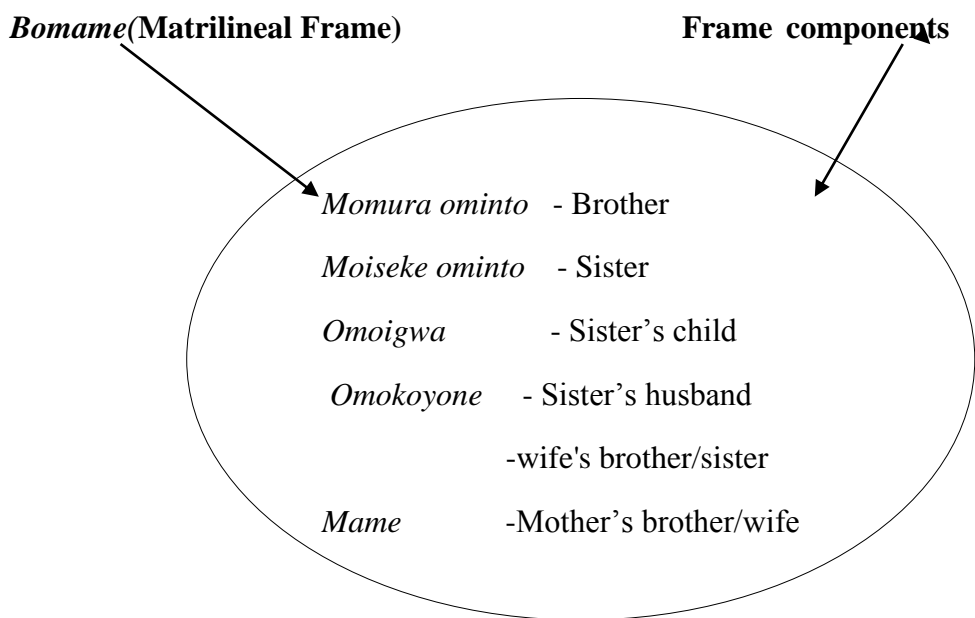


Figure 31 Matrilineal Frame

The dowry paid for the sister's bride price is normally given to a brother who uses the cows to pay for his own wife. The brother who uses one's sister's dowry to marry his wife has a special link with the sister. The brother was obliged to give a heifer, (referred to as *omosuto*) to the children of his sister. The heifer was given to the first born son, who then gave each of his siblings a calf. If there is problem which causes the sister and her husband to separate then she would seek refuge in her cattle-linked brother's house. She could stay there until the dispute is resolved, after which she went back to her husband.

3.8.1 *Omoigwa* (maternal nephew/niece)

Omoigwa is the term used by a brother to refer to his sister's children. It does not distinguish gender, both the niece and nephews, that is sons and daughters of one's sister are known as *omoigwa* (sing) *abaigwa* (plu). The term also applies to a female cousin's children also. *Moigwa* is also used for referring to a son or daughter of one's husband's sister. The concept *omoigwa* profiles the matrilineal frame sharing the same background information.

CONCLUSION

The chapter deals with the application of the theory to *Ekegusii* kinship terms. It uses prototypes, profiles and frames. The elementary and compound family frames were discussed. The components in the family frames also form their own frames which are part of the larger family frames. The discussion on lineal relations who are blood relatives but not directly through father's or mother's line are the focus of the collateral frame. The frame focuses on uncles, aunts and cousins. Affine relations are the focus of marriage frames. The main marriage frame is that of the polygynous marriage where among the *Abagusii* people men married up to five wives. Generational frame dealt with grandfather/grandmother frames in connection to grandchildren and great grandchildren. Finally matrilineal frame and its frame components focused on relations from one's mother's side.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Summary

This study was a semantic analysis of *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies. The aim of the study was to semantically analyze *Ekegusii* kinship terms using Frames semantics theory.

The objectives of the study were to identify and describe the kinship terminologies that are used for the different kin relationships in *Ekegusii* language. It was also to establish the genealogy tree in regard to matrilineal and patrilineal relations. The research also aimed at determining the extent to which particular kin terms are used to refer to several kin relations in *Ekegusii* language. Finally, it aimed at establishing the semantic meanings of *Ekegusii* kinship terminologies using frame semantics theory.

4.2 Findings based on the Objectives

The *Abagusii* people have around thirty kinship terminologies which are commonly used for either reference or address, however there are other terms like those referring to the several wives of a man, which are not commonly used. Therefore the hypothesis on the number of *Ekegusii* kinship terms was an under estimation. The kinship terms are more than twenty four.

Some kin relations are referred to, by a number of terms to refer to the same kin. This is especially so for the kin relation wife. A wife is referred to as *omokungu*(woman), *mokane* (wife), *omorugi* (a cook), *omong'ina* (mother of/elderly woman). Apart from those many titles a wife may also be referred to in relation to her position in the marriage. This means she can be referred to as *mobuchaibu* (first wife) or *nyageita* (fifth wife). However the wife position terms are rarely used in the present times, as polygynous marriages are not very common.

The *Ekegusii* kinship terms can be found in both the singular and plural forms. Most of the singular forms use the pre-fix *Omo-* while the plural forms use the prefix *Aba-* affixed to the root which belongs to class one of *Ekegusii* noun classifications by Mabururu (1994). However, there are some exceptions, for instance where we have *E-chi* class e.g;

- *Esokoro-chisokoro*
- *Esemo-chisemo*

The other exception is that of *Ege - Ebi*, class four of the Ekegusii noun classes where the term great great grandchild is found.

The term *Egechembene- Ebichembene*

In the formation of kinship terminologies in *Ekegusii*, the possessives “*ominto*”, and “*one*” take central position. For example in *Ekegusii* language, it is impossible to form the terminology brother or sister without the possessive “*ominto*”. This is because *omomura* means young man/boy and *omomura ominto* literary means "young man/boy of our house" which is equivalent to my brother. This also applies to my sister. It is mandatory to use the possessive morpheme *ominto* without which *omoiseke* simply means girl, whereas *moiseke ominto* means "young girl of our house" which is equivalent to my sister.

The possessive morpheme *one* is equally important in the formation of kinship terms. Here again, *omoiseke* means girl and *omomura* means boy. However, when one says *moiseke one* which literally means, girl of mine, is equivalent to saying my daughter while *omomura one* which literally means, boy of mine, is equivalent to saying my son.

Findings also show that some kinship terms are used for reference only. Some are used for address only, while others are used for both reference and address. In addition, there are terms which are neither used for reference nor for address but they exist and are known to the community members. A good example is the kinship terms *ekerentane* and *omogore* which refer to adopted children.

Findings show that *Ekegusii* kinship system is classificatory, where a single kinship term is used for referring to several kin relationships. Relatives are grouped in generations, apart from a few instances where there is bifurcation. A good example of bifurcation is the relationship between mother's brother and father's brother because of the difference in the roles they play towards ego, they have different terms. The system is wide range and the few kinship terms in the community are used for everyone in the patrilineal or father's clan. All individuals of the father's clan are regarded as one's kin. Although this also applies to the matrilineal kin, not every one from mother's clan is regarded as one's kin. It only applies to traceable relationships unlike father's side, where every one is regarded as kin and the exogamy law forbids marriage within the clan. On the mother's side the rule applies but to known relations only. So one can marry or get married in his/her mother's clan if the relation is distant.

Ekegusii kinship terms are established using the genealogical tree. The genealogical tree covers up to seven generations. From ego, it consists of three generations ascending and four generations descending. People of the same generation are viewed as *abagisangio* (comrades). There is a rule called *nsoni* which is a restraint rule that governs the behaviour expected by the community in regard to people of different generations. The rule applies alternately, that is, the first and the third generation ascending, and it also applies to the first and the third generations descending. Where the rule applies, individuals are required to keep distance and at times avoid shaking of hands when greeting each other. This was especially so where the relationship involved a father-in-law and a daughter-in-law or a mother-in-law and a son-in-law. In the past the rule was strictly followed, however in modern times things have changed and some restrictions like that of shaking hands are no longer observed.

The kinship term *baba* (mother) is almost out of use for one's mother, instead the term *mama* which is borrowed from kiswahili, is what is commonly used as an address term for mother. The term *baba* is nowadays used to refer to *magokoro* (grandmother) while the younger generation have borrowed the term *cucu* from kikuyu to refer to grandmother.

Some traditions, like the marrying of five wives have changed leading to the loss of the terms for naming wives. Only the older generations are aware of the kin terms used in naming the five wives.

Most *Ekegusii* kinship terms are multidimensional and thus they belong to more than one frame, and also form their individual sub-frames. An example is the term mother, which belongs to the genetic frame and the social frame as well as forming its own sub-frame. Other frames that have been used to give meaning to the kinship terms are the attitude frames and the functional frames. Attitude frames spell out the attitudes the *Abagusii* people have about a given kinship term, while a functional frame deals with the functions that a certain kin is expected to perform for him/her kin relations to qualify to be referred to by the term.

Ekegusii kinship terms are analyzable in frames and have deeper cultural meaning than the semantic meaning. The cultural background plays a central role in defining some of the kinship terms. As a result some kin terms take the social meaning while dropping the semantic meaning. For instance *tata* (father) in *Ekegusii* at times may not be the biological father but the person who performs function expected of a father.

4.3 Recommendations

1. This study was on *Ekegusii* kinship terms using fillmore's frame semantics. Studies can be done on *Ekegusii* kinships terms using a different theory.
2. The study was a semantic analysis. A study can be done on a comparative study of *Ekegusii* and other bantu languages.

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