

A Lexico – Pragmatic Analysis Of Kipsigis Marriage Dowry Negotiations

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Abstract: The study sought to find out the lexical items used during Kipsigis marriage negotiations and their meaning. The need for this study arose due to the fact that during marriage negotiations, some lexical items are used in a unique way yet the same items are in daily usage but have a different meaning. The objectives of this study were: to identify the lexical items that are used to create and maintain interpersonal relationship during marriage negotiation process and encode gender, to identify the lexical items which are in everyday usage but acquire specific usage in marriage negotiation, and finally to find out what these lexical choices reveal about the Kipsigis perception of institution of marriage. The findings of this research study has provided useful information on the use of lexical items which are encountered in daily usage and are also used during Kipsigis marriage negotiations. The research study was based on Lexico-Pragmatic Theory. The study was carried out in Siongiroi Division of Bomet County and it employed descriptive design. A descriptive design describes the state of affairs as it exists. The study population comprised of all the marriage negotiations in the area of study but since it was impossible to study all of them; two marriage negotiations were sampled because the terminologies used in the negotiations were similar. Marriage negotiation is a cultural activity, so dowry negotiations were expected to have many similarities. Purposive sampling was used to get the sample size which in this case was two marriage negotiations. Data collection was done using observation, audio- recording and interview. The data was then analysed by categorizing the lexical items used to maintain interpersonal relationship in negotiations, and identifying the words that encode the gender relations. This informed the discussion on what the lexical items used reveal about the Kipsigis perception of marriage. The findings revealed that there are various lexical items that are used during marriage negotiations which are also found in everyday use but their meanings vary according to the context of use. The findings also showed that those who share the same background information will interpret the message by either broadening or narrowing the lexical items, whereas those who do not are likely to misinterpret them.

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

A. INTRODUCTION

This section deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, research assumptions, significance of the study, scope and limitations and finally conclusion of the section.

B. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Marriage is an important aspect to most cultures in the world. It is an institution that is governed by rules as designed by the culture and customs of a particular community

According to Needham (2015), the history of marriage customs in Africa, has taken on at least three principal forms, namely; marriage by capture, marriage by purchase and marriage by choice. He argues that marriage customs in other parts of the world have patterns that are (or were) very similar to the history of marriage customs in Africa. In marriage by capture, the bride to be may be either kidnapped or captured prior to the official wedding ceremony or at some point during the wedding. At the time of the wedding festivities, friends of the couple may kidnap the bride and will release her only after the groom negotiate for, and pays, her ransom.

Needham (2015) says, marriage by purchase vary from tribe to tribe in Africa. In Zaire, for example, the groom brings two copper rings or an arrow to the bride and her family. Upon

acceptance of the gifts the couple becomes officially betrothed. More gifts are exchanged during the actual wedding ceremony, one of which is a knife given by the groom to the bride's father. The knife signifies that the new husband is now responsible for the wife's safety and well-being.

In Kenya, Marriage Act (2014) recognizes systems of marriage namely: civil, Christian, customary, Hindu, and Islamic marriage. In customary marriage law, the marriage is performed according to communities of one or both parties and the parties must notify Registrar within 3 months of completing steps required to complete marriage as per the community. A declaration is also required to show that customary requirements by the parties have been undertaken. The declaration has to contain signatures or personal marks of two adult witnesses who played crucial cultural roles in marriage. Cultural practices like marriage dowry negotiations are done before any of the system of marriage is performed. The customs relating to such marriage vary among communities, but the payment of bride price is a common practice.

Among the Kipsigis, marriage is a very important cultural practice. Kipsigis is a sub-tribe of the Kalenjin community and occupy the southern part of the Rift valley in Kenya. According to the Kenya Population and Housing Census of 2009 (Obonyo, et al. 2012), the Kipsigis comprise of 1.9 million people. The Kipsigis speakers are found mostly in the counties of Kericho, Bomet, Nakuru and some parts of Transmara. The language is also used as a medium of instruction in lower primary in rural schools in these counties.

Marriage negotiation 'koito' among the Kipsigis is a very important cultural practice. It begins from the time a son introduces girl he wants to marry, his parents and the parents then take the initiative to visit the girl's home to seek for her hand in marriage from the girl's parents themselves. Once negotiations begin the son begins to be referred to as 'Sandet' 'Groom', while the girl becomes 'Mureret' 'Bride'. Language is what people use to express their culture. According to Ngugi (1986), language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and Literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world. He further says communication between human beings propels the evolution of a culture and continues to say that language also carries the histories, values and aesthetics of a culture along with it. It was in this perspective that Kipsigis marriage negotiations were studied. It is through language that the Kipsigis people express their norms, values and beliefs. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby, 2010); negotiation is a formal discussion between people who are trying to reach an agreement. It could be on peace matters, trade or wages. In the economic sector, for example, salary is negotiable. This is one of the workplace policies and perks up for discussion. One does not start making demands during the first round interviews or during week one of a new job. Similarly, in a marriage negotiation process, the parties get in negotiations until an agreement was reached and that was what this research study was about. The parents of the girl did not start making demands on the amount of dowry they required before the boy's parents made their offer. When the boy's parents made their offer, then discussion began. It was not only dowry that was discussed,

but also the character of the boy and even the ability of the would-be husband to keep a wife and family.

Sanibel (2009) says negotiating is a part of everyday life, but in business it is absolutely critical to one's success. In negotiation, therefore, preparation is key. The buyer for example should be thoroughly familiar with the product or service that would be the subject of negotiation. Buying and selling of commodities in Kenya is covered by the sale of Good Act which places to the buyer the right and obligation to examine the goods being offered for sale. According to the sale of Good Act, a contract of sale of goods is a contract whereby the seller transfers or agrees to transfer the property in goods to the buyer for a money consideration called a price. In the case of marriage dowry negotiations, the negotiating parties discuss and agree on the amount of dowry before the marriage of their children is sealed.

The parents of the groom should be familiar with the girl's background, for example, her level of education and character as well as the history of the would be in-laws. That was done before the day of negotiations because such information enables them also to lay down negotiation strategies. A win – win situation is good for negotiation.

Communities in conflict may resolve their disputes through negotiation and peace is eventually attained. Marriage negotiation, however, is not about war but sometimes, conflict may arise. In such cases, peaceful discussion is done until an amicable agreement is reached. It requires that both parties employ proper negotiation skills through proper selection of words so that at the end of the negotiation, the agreement reached does not cause any ill feelings on either party.

Once the negotiation is completed, one is required to work effectively with those in the other party during contract performance. If one party is threatened and pounded into submission, it probably would not negotiate again. Confrontation is a common occurrence during negotiations, but at some point, collaboration and compromise are needed to get a deal. In marriage negotiations, there are some cases when the girl's negotiating party may demand dowry that the groom's party feel it is unusual, so at one point heated disagreement may arise. The groom's party therefore could seek to leave to go and discuss outside while the girl's party discuss indoors but at the end of the negotiations, a compromise is reached. If either party becomes rigid and does not want to change their stand then negotiations are bound to collapse and would not go well on the side of the bride as well as the would-be - bridegroom who had a vision of settling as a couple.

During Kipsigis marriage negotiation, several visits were made to the girl's home. Several issues were discussed in every visit including property, character of groom and his capacity to keep a wife and children. Orchardson (1931) says that during negotiation, not only is the suitor's father questioned as to the eligibility of his son, as regards family generation, and ability to find presentation cattle, but also as to the son's character, and property he has for the support of a wife and family.

Marriage negotiation is a process that requires a lot of patience on the side of the groom's family and the correct choice of words at each point of negotiation is very important in that it determined the outcome of the whole process. This

research study focused on the Kipsigis lexicon used during marriage negotiation among the Kipsigis because word choices were the ones that took centre stage in negotiation and determined the success or failure of the negotiation.

Some of the lexical items in focus were those which are used during marriage negotiations because the same lexical choices may be used in everyday conversations but they have a different meaning in a marriage negotiation set up. There was a variation in the way the lexical items were used even though they were used by the same speakers. Hudson (1996: 22) defines language variety as “a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution. A variety can be much smaller than a language.” The Kipsigis marriage negotiation lexical items were studied in the context of marriage negotiations because they meant differently in other contexts. Lexical items were used to create and maintain relationship during negotiations. Some lexical items like ‘Bomori’ (my-in-law) showed the relationship between the girl’s father and the father of the groom-to-be and at the same time it showed a lasting relationship after marriage ‘bo’ (belongs) ‘mori’- (debt) which means “I have loaned you”

Marriage negotiation is an aspect of culture; therefore, language is used as a form of expressing it. Kiriro (2011) defines culture as the totality of a people’s way of life and values as influenced by the process of continuity and change dictates of the environment. It includes all aspects of human life like language, beliefs, taboos, behaviour, religion and literature. Culture, therefore, plays a role in the way linguistic items are chosen and used as per their meanings.

This research study looked at the marriage negotiation lexical items which the older Kipsigis generations have used for a long time with attempt to classify and give their meanings.

Language provides a medium for describing the contents of our conscious experience. We use it to share our perceptual experiences, thoughts and intentions with other individuals. The idea that language guides our cognition was clearly articulated by Whorf (1956) who proposed that an individual’s conceptual knowledge was shaped by his or her language. There is clear evidence demonstrating that language directs thought, Ervin-Tripp (1967) influences concepts of time and space. Similarly, the lexical items used in marriage negotiations create a perception of the marriage negotiation in the language users. According to Whorf (1956) language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the sharper of ideas, program and guide for individual’s mental activity. The theory has weak and strong version. The strong version of Sapir Whorf hypothesis states that language influences how we think and allows us particular mode of thoughts, creating our cognitive categories which is turn control cognitive processes. This is also referred to as linguistic determinism. The weak version states that our linguistic categories merely influence our thoughts, but do not create or control the cognitive processes or restrict certain thought because terms do not exist. Lakoff, a linguist and Mark Johnson (2003), a philosopher suggest that metaphors not only make our thoughts more vivid and interesting but they actually structure our perceptions and understanding. Thinking of marriage as a “contract agreement”, for example, leads to one set of expectation, while thinking of it as “team

play” “a negotiated settlement”, indissoluble merger,” or a “religious sacrament” will carry different sets of expectation.

Gender is encoded because from the context of use, they can easily relate what they hear to what is meant. There were lexical items that are used to refer to male alone like Bomori and female alone like Mureret.

Pragmatics study the way in which context contributes to meaning. Unlike semantics, which examines meaning that is conventional or ‘coded’ in a given language, pragmatics studies how the transmission of meaning depends not only on structural and linguistic knowledge (grammar, lexicon) of the speaker and listener, but also on context of the utterance, any pre-existing knowledge about those involved, the inferred intent of the speaker, and other factors. In this respect, Pragmatics explains how language users are able to overcome apparent ambiguity, since meaning relies, among others, on the manner, place and time of an utterance. This study takes a pragmatic perspective as it investigates the marriage negotiations lexical items in context of use and their meanings as interpreted per context; for example, ‘mooi ‘calf’ in daily usage means a young one of a cow but in marriage negotiations it means a girl who is betrothed and negotiations are underway for her eventual marriage.

C. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Marriage negotiation among the Kipsigis is a significant cultural practice and a lot of events transpired in the process. Marriage negotiation in itself is a speech event as negotiations are done through language. The lexical items used in the negotiations created a bonding between the negotiating parties as a consequence; the terms used during negotiations could be in daily usage but acquire specific use in the context of marriage. There exists research on Kipsigis proverbs where a list of the proverbs and their meaning has been given. Research has also been done on the stylistic and pragmatic aspects of Kipsigis ‘tumdo’ (circumcision) songs which looked at the images of the environment. However, attention has not been given to Kipsigis marriage negotiation lexicon which is equally important and there is need, therefore to analyse them. Marriage negotiations also involve a lot of figurative use of language and the meaning had to be encoded to make a conversation meaningful. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate the Lexical items used in Kipsigis marriage negotiations with the intention of giving their meanings according to the context of and well as the meanings of those lexical items in everyday use.

D. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- The study sought to meet the following objectives:
- ✓ To identify the lexical choices that are used to create and maintain interpersonal relationship and encode gender during the marriage dowry negotiation process among the Kipsigis.
 - ✓ To find out what these lexical choices reveal about the Kipsigis perception of the institution of marriage.
 - ✓ To identify the lexical items which are in everyday usage but acquire specific usage in a marriage dowry negotiation context among the Kipsigis.

E. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study sought to answer the following questions:

- ✓ What lexical choices are used to create and maintain interpersonal relationship and encode gender during marriage dowry negotiation process among the Kipsigis?
- ✓ What do these lexical choices reveal about the Kipsigis perception of the institution of marriage?
- ✓ Which lexical items are found in everyday usage but acquire a specific usage in marriage dowry negotiation among the Kipsigis?

F. RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

- ✓ Various lexical choices are used to create and maintain interpersonal relationship and encode gender during marriage dowry negotiation among the Kipsigis.
- ✓ Lexical items used during Kipsigis marriage dowry negotiations reveal the Kipsigis perception of marriage institution.
- ✓ Some lexical items used in everyday conversation mean differently in the context of marriage dowry negotiations among the Kipsigis.

G. SIGNIFICANCE AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Research has been carried out on Kalenjin oral literary genres from oral narratives, songs, proverbs and riddles Chesaina (1991). However, little attention has been paid to the language of the Kipsigis marriage negotiation process and yet it is equally an important process.

It was hoped that the findings of this research study might provide useful linguistic information on the use of lexical items which were encountered in daily usage and were also used during Kipsigis marriage negotiation. For example, 'Batiem' (grandmother) was found in daily usage and the same lexical item when used in marriage negotiations setting meant, in –law.

The findings of this study will enhance the appreciation of the African cultural practice of marriage to non – Kipsigis speakers.

The findings of the study will provide useful information for learning that will help the young generation of the Kipsigis speaking with the hope of preserving the Kipsigis language and culture.

The study will add knowledge to the existing database which can be referred to by scholars and researchers who are intending to carry out further related research.

H. SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Marriage negotiations majorly involve discussion between two negotiating parties that take turns to discuss until they reach an agreement at the end. The major issue of discussion in this study was dowry negotiations. In the process of discussion; however, proverbs were used by some negotiators. Songs were also sung by women to mark the seal of marriage negotiations at the end. This study specifically focused on the lexical items used in the marriage negotiations but not on the structure of the songs and proverbs. It was only

the specific lexical items that featured in the songs and proverbs and were relevant to this study that were then picked for analysis. This study was mainly concerned with the identification, explication, analysis and interpretation of words employed by the negotiators to express their thoughts and ideas.

The Kipsigis language is spoken in the counties of Kericho, some parts of Nakuru and Bomet counties. This study was done in Bomet County because it was easily accessible to the researcher. There were several cultural events which used language as the key component, for instance, weddings and dowry presentation but this study was limited to the discussions that took place during marriage negotiation itself.

I. SUMMARY

This section has looked at the background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, research assumptions, significance and rationale of study and finally scope and limitation of the study. The following section looked at literature review and theoretical framework.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. INTRODUCTION

This section comprises of literature review and theoretical framework that was used for the study. It presents a review of literature on earlier studies that have been carried out and are related to the current study on Lexico Pragmatic Analysis.

a. STUDIES ON LEXICAL AND PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 8th edition (Hornby, 2010), negotiation is a formal discussion between people who are trying to reach an agreement. Negotiation, therefore, involves exchange or conversation and hence the words used in the discussion will be studied in this research.

Yule (1996) explains that language is analysed in context, meaning the situational environment within which an utterance is made. Katz (2006) further observes that there is a large body of evidence as well as theoretical argument that people need to analyse the literal meaning of an expression before arriving at its intended non – literal meaning.

Harb (2014) studies how two lexical entries; that is Biblical Soul and Qur'anicRuh are defined in religious discourse. He argues that word meaning is one of the central aspects of understanding the fundamental essence of any language. This study was significant in the current study of lexical items even though Mustafa focused on the religious domain context while this study focused on the marriage domain context. This study was also very useful in the application of Lexico – Pragmatic Theory in lexical items during Kipsigis marriage negotiation.

Johnson (1993) says negotiation is a process in which individuals or groups seek to reach goals by making agreements with others. This process often includes offering concessions and demanding them from other parties, but it functions best when it serves as a method of discovering mutual interests and joint pay offs. In this study, negotiation occurs between parties because both have something to offer and gain. The parties are willing to invest in the relationship and would like to use negotiation as a means to maintain a long lasting relationship.

Obwoye (2014) investigates the different patterns of lexical items and meanings of Ekegusii lexical items as reflected in the male and female circumcision context. Further, the study is concerned with the cultural features that determine the choice of the lexical items used by male as well as female in the social context of Ekegusii circumcision. The study used Lexico – Semantic Theory and it assisted in the application of the theory since the Kipsigis marriage negotiation also have lexical items which are used by males alone and others restricted to the female gender and they will be studied in context.

Mambo(2009) also looked at some of the semantic changes that are taking place in the Gikũyũ language. It is a study of the words being used today to convey new and additional meanings other than what they previously used to convey. Similarly, some of the lexical items used in Kipsigis marriage negotiation may also be used in everyday conversation but acquire different meaning in different contexts. Mambo's study provided useful lead in the collection and analysis of data in the current study since it studied lexical items in a language and went ahead to give their meanings.

Soi (2014) looks at a lexical pragmatic analysis of Kipsigis proverbs, their structure and meaning. While Soi studied proverbs, the current study focuses on Lexical choices but using a Lexical-Pragmatic Analysis which has also aided in data analysis in this research.

A study has also been done by Koech (2013) on figurative language used in selected Kipsigis songs. In the study, a lexical pragmatic approach is used to analyse the songs. The theory used helps to show how lexical items in the selected songs are affected by the discourse context. This study has been of great use to the current study because the meanings of the lexical items under study are dependent on the context because the study sought to find out the meaning of words in everyday use and also in the context of marriage negotiations.

Bwonya (1998) studies the gender dimensions in Maragoli marriage ceremonies. The study depicts the bride and bridegroom as literary personae; the singers are also to comment on men's and women's breaking of society's moral laws. So the audience assess themselves and changes the behaviour. The study was useful because the lexical items that the artists used in the songs were inferred and interpreted by the audience according to the context. Interpretation of meaning also in the current study depended on context.

Baron (1990) says that negotiators in a good mood also tend to make more concessions during face-to-face negotiations but this general concessionary tendency may not always be in the best interest of negotiators, as negotiations do not necessarily purely take the individual views that each negotiator wants. Marriage negotiations being an important

cultural event also required good negotiation skills even a good mood for negotiations, so as to ensure a successful negotiation.

According to Duranti (2001), Linguistic Anthropologists study the role played by language (and other semiotic resources) in the constitution of society and its cultural representation. To pursue this goal, linguistic anthropologists have ventured into the study of everyday encounters, language socialization, ritual and political events, scientific discourse, verbal art, language contact and language shift, literary events and media. The current study was also on language and how it is used as a means of socialization in marriage negotiations.

Giglioli, (1972) says, "The relation between languages and social groups cannot be taken for granted, but is a problem which must be ethnographically investigated." As a field of Anthropology, linguistic anthropologists are concerned with how language influences culture. This includes how language impacts social interactions, beliefs, cultural identity and other important aspects of culture. A linguistic anthropologist could ask many questions, like, "Does language vary according to gender, beliefs and other criteria?" Lexical pragmatics study, therefore, give the meanings of all these aspects in context of usage.

b. MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS

Posel, Rudwick, & Casale(2011) say the custom involving the provision of marriage payments in cattle or cash, from the groom's family to the parents of the bride, is widely practiced in Southern Africa and has various names among African Language speakers; ilobolo in Zulu, roora in Shona and bohali in Lesotho. Historically, the practice was an essential part of marriage negotiations, the wedding itself and was known to retain significance for the duration of marriage. The study is relevant to the current study in that Kipsigis marriage negotiations also involved discussions on 'konyook' 'dowry'. Dowry among the Kipsigis is significant because it binds the families and relatives involved. The character of the groom and his ability to pay dowry is discussed because if the groom is able to pay the dowry, then it shows he is able to also provide for his wife and children.

Evans-Pritchard (1931) suggested the term 'bride wealth'. Among the Zulu, successful ilobolo practice is a symbol of pride and respect, most of all for the groom and bride, but also for the parents and relatives involved. In simple terms, women regard being lobda'd as a reward for their good conduct and proof of their own value as well as the worth of their groom's, while many men interpret the ability to pay ilobolo as a marker of their Zulu manhood and capability to be a 'provider'. These gendered constructions are consistent with Hunter notion of 'provider love' where a man's ability to provide for a wife, signalled by the payment of ilobolo, has become entwined with romantic love (Hunter 2010).

Ohta (2007) says that the Turkana transfer livestock as bride wealth. The number of animals sometimes amounts to two thirds of the property of the groom's family. Both the groom's and the bride's families seek support from all the people with whom they have established social relationships. People also pay great attention to the future relations with their in-laws at the time of bride wealth negotiations.

In the Turkana community, after the young man and woman decide that they like each other, they may then try to gain consent of their kin to get married. In other cases, the male suitor may directly approach the woman's kinsmen, especially her father, to secure their consent, without talking to the woman. In these cases, the suitor tends to be much older than the woman. In all cases, it is not easy to obtain the consent of the woman's kinsmen. The suitor, together with his brothers and friends, will visit the woman's homestead at frequent intervals. They typically sit down in the shade of trees located about 25 to 30m east of the homestead, so as to clearly declare their intent. The woman's family may give them food and tobacco; and the suitor's party may spend nights there. At first, women of the woman's homestead may go there to talk to them and then men may do the same, thereby confirming the intention of the suitor's party. In this process, the parties try to attain detailed knowledge of each other to ascertain whether they could be adequate partners. During this process, the suitor may withdraw his proposal, or the women's kinsmen could decline the offer.

In the traditional Kipsigis marriages, the consent of the girl was not sought but the father selected a man for his daughter. Unlike the Turkana, the groom's party sends his father to the girl's home and he places his 'kirook' 'a ceremonial staff' at a group of tree branches placed at the left hand side of the girl's homestead known as 'mabwai'. This is a holy shrine where all ceremonies were done. For example, boys and girls who were to be initiated would sing as they went round it on the night of their initiation.

On arrival at the homestead, the father of the groom states his intention and a date is set when he would come with his other clansmen to negotiate. The Turkana negotiating team spent nights at the girl's home but for the Kipsigis they do not. In fact, no food is served to the negotiators until an agreement is reached.

Not only the groom's and the bride's lineages are involved in a wedding including bride wealth negotiations but also the villagers and kinsmen who come together and play important roles at feasts and in wedding rituals. When the negotiations are bogged down by either hard bargaining by the groom's side or by excessive demands from the bride's side, villagers will accuse those involved of bad manners. In other words, the bridewealth negotiations are conducted in public and are therefore part of public life, a fact that contributes to the pride of the parties concerned. In Kipsigis marriage negotiations, however, it is the groom's and the bride's parties that do the negotiations and it is an affair of the two parties. In general, the groom's side is always eager to complete the negotiations successfully without leaving the bride wealth recipients dissatisfied.

According to Matšela (1990), traditional marriage in Lesotho was planned by parents who would choose a wife for their son. Choosing a girl was very important. Those who were involved did so in a dedicated and honest manner so that their son would marry somebody to make him and the rest of the family members proud and happy. They considered the type of family from which the girl they were going to marry came, especially the mother, in relation to whether she was physically strong, clean, and of commendable behaviour. Marriage negotiations involve dowry negotiations which takes

a larger part of the discussion. In most African countries, dowry is a key pillar of unifying man and woman in marriage as well as bonding the groom's and bride's families. In Kiswahili it is referred to as 'mahari' while the Kipsigis call it 'konyook'. This study also looked at the Kipsigis marriage negotiations which also involved parents in the marriage negotiations as they looked for a bride for their son.

Gachara (2012) claims that in a marriage negotiation the most important part is the discourse event when selected elders get into the house to negotiate the bride price (kunanira mĩĩ). He says that the art of conversation is very vital and those able to say the most using least words have an edge over the others. It is all about the groom's party expressing intention to 'buy' while the bride's party showing the desire to 'sell'. In his study, he collected metaphors from two marriage negotiations gatherings. He then sampled forty metaphors for presentation to his respondents for interpretation. In the sampled metaphors, he found four macro-concepts involved in the context of marriage negotiations which were: Negotiation, love, bride and groom. He says love in marriage negotiation is not only about the bride and the groom but also about their families, friends and relatives. The bride macro-concept is the most important person. The events take place in her father's home and much talk and fun rotates around the bride. The groom, on the other hand is admired on his ability to pay the bride price, marry a girl of his choice and raise a family. All these call for hard work and strength of character as well as rich moral and material heritage. He is expected to sire children and defend his family and clan. While Gachara's study is on metaphors used in marriage negotiations, the current study seeks to find out the meaning of the various lexical items used in marriage negotiations and how they differ in every use.

The study was significant as it studied marriage negotiations and the lexical items under study included bride (mureret), groom (sandet), negotiation (koito) and love (chamyet) among others.

The knowledge of relationship will give us insight into the meaning of the word. Words do not exist in isolation. Some of the models of meaning relations are synonymy, antonym and polysemy. Synonymy is the fact of two or more words or expression having the same meaning. For example, "batany", "botich", "bomori" all mean grandfather.

Antonymy is where a word means the opposite of another word for instance, 'mureret' (bride) and 'sandet' (bridegroom) and polysemy which is the fact of having more than one meaning. In the case of a lexical item like 'bomori' in daily usage it means grandfather from maternal side but the same lexical item means 'in-law' in marriage negotiation and it is only used by males. That is to show relationship between groom's father and bride's father.

B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Many linguists have contributed greatly in bringing generalizations as regards the various theories of meaning in order to explore the concept of meaning. Yule (1996) cited in Adedimeji (2003) agrees that the essence of the theories of meaning is to provide framework from which meaning can be attracted and inferred. This study deals with Lexico –

Pragmatic analysis of Kipsigis marriage negotiation. It will be based on Lexico-Pragmatic Theory.

a. *LEXICO – PRAGMATIC THEORY*

The lexical-pragmatics model comprises of two tenets namely: the lexical semantics and conversational implicature. Lexical semantics refers to word meaning while conversational implicature refers to the relationship between what is meant in a conversation and what is said, (Grice, 1991). A conversational implicature deals with what is inferred from the use of a certain utterance from the context.

The Lexico Pragmatic Theory was proposed and developed by Blutner (1998) in the Journal of Semantic. The recent development states that the meaning of words are frequently pragmatically adjusted and fine-tuned in context, so that the proposition expressed is different from their lexically encoded sense and function in a context to express meanings that a speaker intends to convey. The researcher used Lexical-Pragmatic Theory in order to find out how metaphorical language function in a context to express meanings that a speaker intends to convey to listeners in a conversation.

The Lexico Pragmatic Theory was chosen because of its capability to explain how lexical items in the selected marriage negotiations are affected by the discourse context. Context plays a major role in meaning as some lexical items acquire different meaning under certain contexts. The contexts expressed by use of a word may go beyond the concept that was initially encoded.

The theory applied in the study because the study dealt with analysing the meaning of the lexical items which are used both in the negotiation process and also appear in the day-to-day usage of the language.

In the Lexical Pragmatics, the lexical items in a language were analysed in a systematic manner and interpreted according to a particular context. The theory combined the idea of semantics under specification in the lexicon with a theory of pragmatics. It handled issues on lexical semantics, nature of concepts, their role in communications, utterance meaning and how they are processed, as well as development of lexical pragmatic abilities. In lexical pragmatic, the concepts communicated by the use of words may differ from the concepts encoded in the following ways: lexical narrowing, lexical broadening and lexical borrowing.

Semantics is a concept that is abstract in nature. It simply means the study of meaning but in pragmatics, the meaning of a lexical item is analysed in context. Semantics deals basically with the mind to give appropriate meaning to a word or an expression.

According to McGregor (2009), the notion of meaning in linguistics concerns that which is expressed by sentences, utterances and their components by language. The message or thought in the mind of a speaker is encoded in a way that it sends a signal to the hearer in a way that the message can be got. He explains further that the context which is being communicated in a language is meaning which makes a language effective.

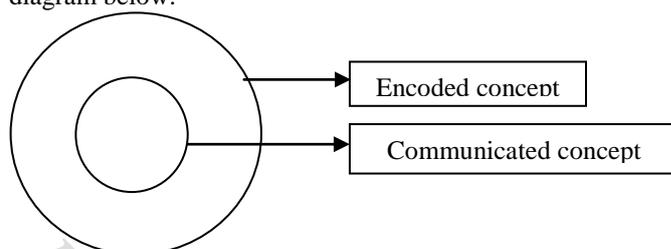
Sperber &Wilson (1986) developed relevance theory. In the fields of pragmatics and semantics, relevance theory is the principle that communication process involves not only

encoding, transfer and decoding of messages, but also numerous other elements, including inference and context but still argue that relevance is conceived as relative or subjective, as it depends upon the state of knowledge of a hearer when they encounter an utterance.

This study, therefore, used Lexico –Pragmatic Theory which deals with seeking meaning as per context and not based on the knowledge of the hearer.

Lexical Narrowing

According to Sperber & Wilson (2004), lexical narrowing is a situation where a word is used in a more specific sense than the encoded one resulting to narrowing of the linguistically specified denotation. Narrowing increases implications and the hearer is entitled to narrow the interpretation that satisfies his expectation as shown in the diagram below:



(Adapted from Wilson, 2006-2007)

Figure 1

In the following examples:

- ✓ The old man has money
- ✓ The boy drank
- ✓ Christians should fast

In (1) above, money may be interpreted easily to mean that the old man is rich while literary can just imply any amount of money not necessarily enough for one to be termed rich.

In (2) drank might convey not the encoded sense of drink liquid but easily interpreted as drink alcohol or even a lot of alcohol to make one stagger.

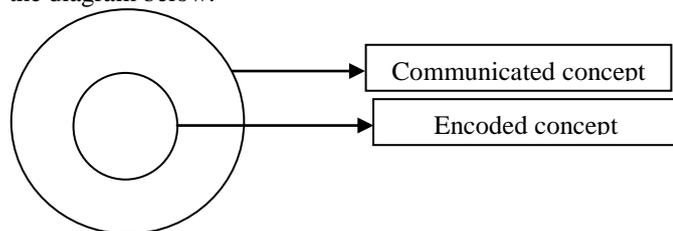
In (3) To fast literary mean not to eat anything for a long period of time but the speaker could have meant eating less than normal may be for the sake of losing weight or as a religious practice like what Muslims do.

In lexical narrowing, therefore, the hearer is deemed right in whatever meaning they give to a lexical item they hear, for example, ‘Bomori’ as used in marriage negotiations just to mean ‘in-law’ but not necessarily to mean that he is on ‘on loan’ or debt. So the term may just be interpreted by the hearer to mean what he has always known that particular term to mean especially as used in the daily usage. The listener upon hearing it, may not take time to have a broader meaning of the lexical item.

Lexical Broadening

Here, a word is used to convey a more general sense than the encoded one. Broadening is triggered for the search of relevance which involves the construction of ad hoc concepts based on information which are made accessible by the encyclopaedic entry of the encoded concept. Wilson (2006)

defines lexical broadening as the case where a word is used to convey a more general sense of meaning with the encoded one with consequent widening of the linguistically specified denotation. In broadening, the meaning of a word becomes broader or more inclusive than its early meaning as shown in the diagram below:



(Adapted from Wilson D. 2006-2007)

Figure 2

For example: Let the baby be born.

'Baby' conveys more than the encoded sense. Assumption is that the baby when being born is fragile, therefore require proper care. The concept of 'baby' and giving birth may be related to the court case and the judges giving a right ruling to an election petition that would not infringe on the constitution. 'Baby', therefore, is broadened to mean a successful petition.

In marriage negotiation the term 'konyook' dowry, means a token given to the girl's parents before marriage but when broadened means that the girl has gone to her new home to start her new life. It shows a permanent bonding between the two families. Upon payment and receipt of dowry, the two families are indebted to each other and the union is sealed. Refund of the dowry is against the Kipsigis custom. In a case of misunderstanding between a married couple, marriage reconciliation was done because dowry meant a permanent union.

Lexical Borrowing

Fromkin (1983) asserts that borrowing is a process by which one language or a dialect takes and incorporates some linguistic elements from another. Heine & Nurse (2000) elaborates that the paths of lexical borrowing shows the paths of cultural influence. A common cause of lexical borrowing is the need to find new words for new objects, concepts and places. This is because it is easier to borrow an existing term from another language than to make one.

In the current study, some lexical items used in the marriage negotiations were borrowed from other languages like Kiswahili. They are then used because there may not be a Kipsigis equivalent for the same. The borrowed words are then integrated in the grammatical system of the borrowing language in the sense that they are dealt with as if they were part of the lexicon of the language (Ennaji, 2005). In the process of marriage negotiations, negotiators used words borrowed from Kiswahili and made them to suit their conversation, for example 'mi laining'wong' 'it is your duty to'.

C. SUMMARY

This section presented a survey of relevant literature on Lexico – Pragmatic analysis. It also discussed the theoretical framework on which the study was based. The methodology

used will be discussed in the following chapter which comprises research design, sample and sampling procedures and data analysis and presentation.

III. METHODOLOGY

A. INTRODUCTION

This section outlines the methodological design of the study. It also examines the study population, gives description of sampling procedures and instruments used the methods of data collection, data analysis and presentation.

B. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study used descriptive design. Descriptive design is one in which information is collected without changing the environment. In this study, the researcher interacts with the participants like in the interviews to collect the necessary information. Qualitative methods were employed. Qualitative approach was appropriate for developing a deeper, fuller and detailed understanding of an issue (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2007). Neuman (2003) says qualitative research design entail reasoning from induction, gathering data and drawing conclusions from a multiplicity of interpretations and perceptions beginning with observation, rather than a single objective truth or rationality. Hair (2006) further says that qualitative research tends to focus on the collection of detailed amounts of primary data from relatively small samples of subject by asking questions or observing behaviours.

This study, therefore, employed qualitative research design because the focus was on data from recorded marriage negotiations and information from resource persons. The study embarked on Kipsigis marriage negotiations to analyse the words used in negotiations and their meanings.

C. AREA OF STUDY

The study was carried out in Siongiroi Division of Bomet County. Bomet is a county in the former Rift valley province of Kenya. The county has a population of 730,129 according to 2009 census (Obonyo et al., 2012), and an area of 1,997.9 km².

The population of the county is multi – racial and multi – ethnic with the Kipsigis people being the most predominant ethnicity. The county has five sub-counties namely: Bomet East, Bomet Central, Konoin, Sotik and Chepalungu. Siongiroi division is in Chepalungu sub-county. In urban settlement people of different ethnicities are found and they speak either Kiswahili or English in addition to their first language, while in the rural areas, Kipsigis language is dominant. Agriculture is the mainstay of Bomet County with tea farming and dairy production leading in the sector.

In the social sector, people of Bomet County participate in event like sports and meet on cultural days organized by their leaders. The marriage types in the county range from traditional, civil to Christian marriage. In any of the marriage types, Kipsigis customs of paying dowry is a must for any marriage to be recognized.

The location of study was chosen since it is in the area that the researcher was able to locate the homes where negotiations were to take place.

D. STUDY POPULATION

The study population comprised of all the marriage negotiations in the area of study but since it was impossible to study all of them, the researcher sampled two marriage negotiations. This was because the marriage negotiations discourse among the Kipsigis was homogenous and therefore the lexical items used in all the negotiations were likely to be uniform. As such, a sample of just two negotiations was enough to yield the data needed for the study. Among the Kipsigis, marriage negotiations are conducted by married men who have children of marriageable age. So in any negotiable, participants are usually elderly men of fifty years and above. This was because they were the speakers of the language so while speaking outside the marriage negotiation context; they would also use some of the lexical items they earlier used in the marriage negotiations but in a different context. Those were the items under study.

E. SAMPLING

Kipsigis community is fairly homogeneous and that facilitated easy collection of data. The research study employed purposive sampling to select the sample size that was the required data. Purposive sampling also referred to as judgment or subjective sampling is a non-probability sampling method that is characterized by a deliberate effort to gain representative samples by including groups or typical areas in a sample, Patton (1990).

It is useful in situations that one needs to reach a targeted sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern. In this study, a type purposive sampling known as critical case sampling was used. In this, one case is chosen for study because the researcher expects that studying it will reveal insights that can be applied to other like cases.

The advantages of using purposive sampling are finding suitable samples effectively by identifying certain characteristics from the sample and linking them with the research purpose. Hence, the researcher adopted purposive sampling to find the homes where negotiations were.

The sample population was intended to be small in order to make it manageable and make the study comprehensive. The researcher sampled out two negotiations because most of the terminologies used in the negotiations are similar. Marriage negotiations being a cultural event, the Lexical items used in the negotiations were not likely to vary and therefore, two marriage negotiations were enough to yield the required data for the study. Two elderly men above fifty years were interviewed because they are the ones who participated majorly in marriage negotiations, at the same time had vast knowledge of Kipsigis language.

	Larger area	Data collection region
1.	Siongiroi Division	Kapoleseroi Village
2.	Bingwa Sub-location	Chelelach Village

Table 1

The researcher also used social network to be able to locate homes where engagement proceedings were, in order to seek permission to attend and collect data because negotiations could be done in different places at different times.

F. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES AND INSTRUMENTS

The data for study was from Kipsigis marriage negotiations. The focus was on the lexical and semantic units of the Kipsigis language. The research study employed the use of observation and audio – recording and interview in data collection. The recording was done using a smart phone. The 1st recording was done on 24th June 2017 at Chemur’s home and it lasted three hours while the second recording was on 17th July 2017 at Arap Sang’s home and it lasted four hours. The researcher audio-recorded data on marriage negotiations after seeking permission. Negotiation ceremonies took a long time hence the person recording in the room eventually faded into the background and no one took notice, so recording of the information was not a great challenge. The smart phone being a small gadget was not visible to distract attention of the participants and hence provided a relaxed environment for recording. The researcher being a native speaker was able to understand the lexicon of the Kipsigis marriage negotiation and applied it in the current study.

Interview method was also used to get the word meanings of some lexical items that were used in the marriage negotiations from the participants. That was done outside the marriage negotiation context in order to get the meaning of the lexical items as used in the negotiation and what they meant in the daily usage.

a. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

According to Kothari (2004) validity indicates the degree to which an instrument measures what is supposed to measure. He goes on to say that it is the extent to which differences found with a measuring instrument reflect true differences among those being tested. Validity of a research instrument refers to the extent to which it measures what it claims to measure. The validation of the contents in the interview was done by the supervisor whereby the suggestions and modifications of the interview questions were done before the interview was administered. Test-retest method was used to ascertain reliability whereby interview - re-interview method was adopted to test the reliability of the research instrument. Re-interview was done after two weeks and the results found were consistent.

G. DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis began when the first data was collected. When data collection was done in the first marriage negotiation, the researcher transcribed it into dialogue and the lexical items were categorized into three stages for analysis. The first stage focused on identifying the specific words that were used to create and maintain interpersonal relationships during negotiation process and encode gender. This was to

show how the bridegroom, for example, related to the father-in-law hence explains the meaning of the lexical item. The second stage focused on the lexical items that revealed the Kipsigis perception of marriage. For example, those that showed respect, holiness in marriage and continuity of life.

The third stage was an identification and listing down of the lexical items which were in marriage negotiations and are also in everyday use. That was got from the audio-recorded information which the researcher transcribed and then gave how they varied in meaning according to the context of use.

The lexical items under study were then explained using the Lexico-Pragmatic Theory. In identifying the lexical items which were specific to marriage negotiations setting, narrative approach was applied. Narrative approach is concerned not only with the story telling component account but also with the social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee (Gilbert, 2008). The narrative approach was used because of the presence of story-like elements that were realized while collecting data.

The narrative approach is easy to use with qualitative methods to analyse data. Narrative approach of data analysis is motivated by the fact that the study is ethnographic which means it researches on people's culture. The study focused on Kipsigis marriage negotiation which took into consideration the Kipsigis culture.

H. ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Ethics are the norms or standards for conduct that distinguish between right and wrong. Ethics in research involves what is right and not right in conducting research and is an integral part of any research study, Neumann (2003).

Ethics were considered in the whole process. The researcher first sought permission from the homes where negotiations took place. This was done before attending the negotiations because the research involved recording and this was done after getting their consent. The researcher also assured all the participants that the information collected would be treated with utmost confidentiality. The researcher also sought for field research permit from NACOSTI to enable data collection to be done. The researcher then sought permission to record data in the negotiation room.

I. SUMMARY

This section has discussed the research design of the study, study population, sampling procedure and instruments used, methods of data collection and analysis and presentation. The next section will deal with discussion and application of Lexico – Pragmatic Theory.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the research which focused on a Lexico- Pragmatic analysis of Kipsigis marriage negotiations. The second one was to find out what the lexical choices reveal about the Kipsigis perception of the institution

of marriage and finally, to identify the lexical items which are in everyday usage but acquire specific usage in marriage negotiations.

The data collection was done in Siongiroi Division of Bomet County. Audio-recording of two marriage negotiations was done in Kapoleseroi and Chelelach Sub-Locations. The recording was done by use of a smart phone. Two elderly men of over Sixty years were also interviewed by the researcher and they assisted in getting the meanings of the lexical items used in marriage negotiations.

The examples used in this study are drawn from Kipsigis language from which the marriage negotiations were recorded and it was from this that the lexical items under study were extracted. The audio-recorded data was transcribed by the researcher and an English translation was done.

a. THE LEXICAL ITEMS THAT CREATE AND MAINTAIN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP AND ENCODE GENDER DURING MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS

The analysis of Lexical items that create and maintain interpersonal relationship and encode gender during marriage negotiations is the first objective which the study sought to analyse. According to Blutner (1998), the meanings of words are frequently pragmatically adjusted and fine-tuned in context to express meanings that a speaker intends to convey. Yule (1996) explains that the language is analysed in context; meaning the situational environment with which an utterance is made.

Marriage negotiations were about correct choice of words in order to create rapport and make a good ground for negotiations to take place. Before the marriage negotiations began; the two negotiating parties took their various sitting positions. The groom's side occupied the left hand side 'koima' while the bride's took the right hand side 'njoor'. The 'njoor' right hand side showed ownership and superiority. The groom's party occupied the left hand side 'koima' and that was to make them know that in case they did not talk 'well', they would be sent away.

Interpersonal relationship was created by various lexical items that the negotiators used. Respect for one another was important in the negotiation. Even at a point when the groom's party might have felt that they were being asked to pay a lot of dowry, they still controlled their emotions and refer to the would-be in-laws in an appropriate way. The presence of the bride's father and the groom's father was a must or in their absence, a representative from the immediate family was sent; it could be an uncle or a close family man.

In the marriage negotiations, the bride's father and the groom's father or their representatives, would refer to each other as 'Bomori' 'in-law' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 68). 'Bomori' 'in-law' means that the two fathers are indebted to each other. 'Bo' 'belongs' 'Mori' 'loan'. This was to show an everlasting relationship because it meant that the debt was not meant to end. It implied that the bride in whose negotiations were underway was to get married to a different clan. When she got her own children, the children could then be married back to their mother's clan (the new bride) and the Kipsigis custom allowed that. So the relationship here was not just between the

two fathers and their children alone but it involved their entire clans. The two fathers, therefore, right from the time they agreed to join their children in marriage became indebted to each other. The term was used to show great respect between the two fathers themselves and even the male relatives of the two families who were of the same ages as the two fathers.

It is a term used exclusively by men and particularly men of same ages as the fathers. Whenever they want to refer to each other, they would use the term 'Bomori' but not call themselves by their names. That was to show respect. The groom's spokesman while beginning to talk, referred to the bride's party as 'Kap Bomori' (our in-laws) because he was the representative of the groom's father. He was, therefore, to set a good environment for discussion in order to ensure a successful negotiation.

Some Kipsigis clans allowed women to participate in marriage negotiations but even in cases where women did not participate, the negotiators still mentioned the lexical items that referred to women like 'Boker' 'mother-in-law' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 71). This was because there were tokens that were specifically meant for the mother-in-law and they featured in dowry negotiations.

The term 'Boker' 'mother-in-law' is used in the context of marriage only. The mention of the term implied a strong bonding brought about by marriage relationship. It was not used outside marriage context and was not just mentioned by anyone. Unlike other terms which could appear both in marriage and daily usage, the term 'Boker' was treated with utmost respect. It is used by the bride's mother and the groom to refer to each other. For the groom to earn the title 'Boker', he was supposed to pay dowry and there was a specific one that was meant for the mother-in-law. Depending on the clans, there were those that paid 'kechir' 'sheep' or 'ng'oror' 'goat'. The term would then vary depending on what form of dowry was paid to the mother-in-law. 'Bo' 'belongs' 'ker' 'see' meaning that the son-in-law had permission to visit the girl's home when they got married. Those who paid a goat would refer to their mothers-in-law as 'Bokine'. 'Bo' 'belongs' 'kine' 'inquire'. Meaning that the son-in-law did some inquiries in the home of the girl before accepting to tell the elders to go and negotiate.

Initially, the groom would just visit the girl's home but when he married, the visits and the frequency of going to the in-laws would be limited. Upon the arrival at the bride's home, the groom was expected to carry himself with dignity. There were some places that the groom would not get access to; like going to the mother's-in-law kitchen. Before marrying from the home, the groom was never restricted from those areas. The mother-in-law on her side was also expected to respect her son-in-law. The mother-in-law was expected to dress well when the son-in-law was present. In Kipsigis clans, it was a taboo for the mother-in-law to serve food to the son-in-law. So the custom insisted that the son-in-law gave prior information before visiting the mother-in-law and even while going there, he was expected to be in company of a friend.

All that was because of the respect that they were expected to accord one another. The groom was not treated just as any other man or visitor but was treasured. The groom and the mother-in-law were not supposed to mention each other's name at any one time. From the interview, it was

revealed that any show of disrespect to the mother-in-law attracted a fine.

The marriage relationship included the relationship between the parents of both sides and their relatives as well. The term 'Batiem' 'my in-law' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 71) appeared in various forms like 'Batiemit' (your in-law) or 'Batiemisiek' 'my in-laws'. The union of their children brought about the relationship between their parents. Upon conclusion of successful marriage negotiations, the parents exchanged oil which signified a strong bonding. The whole process of negotiations came to an end when the negotiators asked for milk and upon hearing that, the women outside started singing as they went to where the negotiators were. That was where the exchange of the oil took place. The oil that was given was in form of the actual cooking oil which each of the parents of the groom and the bride smeared on each other's face. That was a symbol of a new relationship.

Another lexical item that featured during the marriage negotiations was 'sandet' 'groom' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 70). It is used in marriage negotiations to mean the man that has identified a girl to marry and he was the one who caused the negotiations to take place. The term 'sandet' 'groom' take a different form when one has married. He is referred to as 'sandanin' 'my son-in-law'. 'Sandet' means any man intending to marry but 'sandanin' means reference is being made to a specific one who has married from a home. The term is used in marriage context only. It is used by the bride's father to refer to the groom. It is a term that is used exclusively by men. The title 'sandanin' is earned after the groom paid a part of the dowry that was meant to come from him specifically. Dowry was divided in three sections. Those were 'nebo Mabwai' 'for the shrine', 'nebo mwai' 'for the oil' and 'nebo luget' 'for hunting'

Each of the three sections of the dowry had significance but the groom's parents were allowed to pay the first two. The last part known as 'nebo luget' 'for hunting' was a preserve of the groom. This was to be paid from his own struggle and it could be paid later when he had settled and got his own wealth. To ensure a good working relationship with his father-in-law, he had to pay it.

Upon payment of dowry, the groom then refers to the bride's father as 'Botoiten' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 57) 'father-in-law'. 'Boto' 'includes' 'iten' 'reaching'. So 'Botoiten' means that the groom after paying that dowry, had nothing that hindered him from visiting the bride's home after marriage and be welcomed as an in-law in that home. The term was used by the groom only to refer to his father-in-law. Their relationship was bound by the dowry paid by the groom and the good character that the groom continued to show in his new home. During marriage negotiations, the character of the groom and his ability to pay dowry was discussed. All that was important because the dowry payment allowed the relationship to prosper and the marriage union to be respected.

Another lexical item that was used during marriage negotiations was 'mureret' 'bride' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 71). 'Mureret' is coined from the word 'muraria' 'clear weather'. 'Mureret' 'bride' in marriage negotiations, referred to a girl who was betrothed and negotiations were underway for her eventual marriage. 'Mureret' 'bride' was likened to a clear weather when there are no clouds and it was used to allude to

the bride as clean and pure. The term was used by all those who wished to refer to the girl in whose home the negotiations were taking place. The bride, though not in the negotiation room, was treated with respect and all the negotiations revolved around her. The negotiations were done in her home and it was her character that was considered.

The negotiators asked for the bride to be presented before them before any negotiations began. She was, however, not allowed to sit or even say anything but just to be seen. The groom, who in some cases, was in the company of the negotiating party was allowed to confirm if the girl presented before them was the one they had gone for. The groom was not part of the negotiating team but was allowed to answer to some questions when asked otherwise he would just follow the proceedings.

During the introduction of their visit, the groom's party referred to the girl as 'mooi' 'calf' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 68). That was to introduce the theme of their visit. 'Calf' was used here to liken the girl to a young calf that was still tender and under the protection of her mother. The innocence that the calf had when still young was likened to the girl who was still under the care of her parents. By mentioning the term 'mooi' 'calf', the bride's team got the meaning of their visit. It was not that the negotiators had come for the real calf in a pen but was to create rapport and prepare the ground for negotiations to begin. The term was used by the negotiators and it was used during marriage negotiations only. It was not used to refer to the girl once the negotiations were completed. The term was only used at the introduction stage only then as the negotiations continued the negotiators would say 'lakwani' 'this child' (Cf. MN 2 PG. 77).

The relationship between the bride and the groom's mother was also very important. Although the two were not present in the negotiation room, the discussions about them were done. The bride is to refer to her mother-in-law as 'korgab yugo' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 71). That is to mean she was bound to the new home by virtue of marriage. Although she may not have been present in the negotiation room, the groom's mother was expected to give a gift to the mother of the bride to be fully allowed to take the girl as her own. The mother's-in-law gift to the bride's mother is a called 'chepng'abait' 'for feeding'. Another term for 'chepng'abait' is 'Baiywet' 'Bai' means 'feed'. This was to signify the care that the girl received in the hands of her mother while growing up. This was usually in form of a 'subendo ne leel' 'a white she-goat' (Cf. MN 2 PG. 76). The white she-goat, a part from denoting care, was a show of love and appreciation by the mother-in-law for the girl that had been given to her.

The overall term that ensured successful marriage negotiations and helped to create interpersonal relationship between the negotiating parties was 'chamyet' 'love' 'ye karile keiicham mooi' 'you say you love this calf' (Cf. MN 2 PG. 75). 'Kecham' means 'to love'. 'Keiicham' 'you love'. Love in marriage negotiation was important because it is what brought the two parties together. So generally, love in marriage negotiations was not only between the groom and the bride but even the negotiators themselves. It was love that brought them together. Even at the time when heated discussion ensued, there were no conflicts. Each of the

negotiators carefully chose the right words to use and finally, agreement was reached.

As the negotiators came to a close, the woman sang saying 'ngechomyen batiem' 'let's love each other my in-law' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 73). Love that initially started with the bride and groom extended to their parents and relatives.

From the interview, it was found that there are other lexical items that were important in any marriage negotiations. 'Mabwai' (C.f PG. 83). 'The shrine' was a holy place designed in a homestead where important ceremonies were conducted. The Kipsigis conducted their marriage negotiation ceremonies in a 'mabwai' 'shrine' outside the homestead. The shrine was made of some specific tree branches that were considered holy and fire was lit next to it. But even if outside, the right side 'njoor'(Cf. MN 1 PG.68) and the left side 'koima'(Cf. MN 1 PG. 68),hand side still applied. Anyone entering the homestead for marriage negotiations would come and place 'kirook' 'a holy staff' at the shrine. 'Kirook' was a walking stick designed from a specific tree and was meant for negotiations only. That was done early in the morning so that as the father of the girl wake up and saw it, he would know that someone had come to seek for his daughter's hand in marriage. Negotiations were not done the same day but introductions were made and a date was set when the groom's father would come with other members of his clan for negotiations. A summary table for the lexical items used is appended (appendix III pg.84)

On the day of negotiations, the two families stated their 'oor' 'clan'. Clan in Kipsigis was important because marrying from the same clan was not allowed. After stating the clans and their mission in the home, negotiations then continued.

b. THE LEXICAL ITEMS THAT SHOW THE KIPSIGIS PERCEPTION OF MARRIAGE

This is the second objective of the study.

Orchardson (1931) says that in every nation, marriage is of great importance for upon it, depends the stability of society, and the formation of the family which is the prime source of our earliest ideas that are to remain with us through life. The Kipsigis are among the people who have special reasons why marriage is of more than ordinary importance.

Kipsigis took marriage as an important aspect of their culture and this was reflected greatly in the dowry during marriage negotiations. Kiriro (2011) defines culture as a people's way of life and values and includes all aspects of human life like language.

In marriage among the Kipsigis was an institution of productivity. The groom's spokesman said;

Neta koron kemoche teta ne abai

First of all, we need a lactating cow. (Cf. MN 1 PG. 69).

A lactating cow, among the Kipsigis is of great value because of her ability to produce milk to feed the children. A lactating cow was therefore a must in the dowry to be presented by the groom's family. It was also of great economic value and attracted a lot of money when sold.

The presence of a lactating cow was to show that the girl that they were giving out in marriage was fertile and had the ability to yield many generations as symbolized by the cow that had a calf. In essence, the bride was expected to have the

ability to give birth and take care of her children. As for women who were unable to give birth, their husbands were encouraged to marry another wife or the wife was asked to adopt children.

The presence of children cemented marriage. The Kipsigis also took the boy child as the heir and the absence of a boy child necessitated adoption or the husband to marry another wife. Marriage among the Kipsigis was a permanent union. Separation or divorce was not resorted to. In cases where there were no children of the union or when a woman took with her the children and went back to her parents, the dowry was returned. If, however, she left any of their children with the father then the dowry was not returned. The number of children that one had was regarded as great wealth unlike in the current society where couples are encouraged to have few children.

The institution of marriage was taken as an institution of work. In the dowry negotiations, the negotiators from the bride's party asked for 'eito' 'an ox'. An ox was usually used by the Kipsigis farmers during ploughing. The bridal spokesperson said that while in her parent's homestead, the girl (bride) assisted during the work in the farm and other activities at home. So, then that she would be taken to another home, they needed a symbol of her replacement to perform the work that she had left behind. The virtue of hard work was greatly valued among the Kipsigis and laziness was discouraged. At the end of the negotiations, women sang and said that their daughter (bride) had been taught well.

Kikinet kokwany ak kocham. (Cf. MN 2 PG. 82).

She knows how to cook and to love.

It was the responsibility of the mother to teach her daughter how to cook and perform other household chores before they reached marriageable ages.

In the traditional Kipsigis marriage, payment of dowry was a must. The dowry helped to cement the relationship between the two families that had come together. Payment of dowry also opened doors for the married couples to perform other societal functions. For example, in the days when initiations rites were still being performed as per the custom, a couple whose dowry had not been paid was not allowed to take care of the initiates. Various forms of dowry symbolized various issues. 'Chepletiot' 'the one that comes last' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 69) means that the form of dowry will be paid at the end. It was said that the time of after paying was indefinite.

According to the findings, marriage prospered only receiving the first blessings from the negotiators. Without their blessings, no matter how much dowry was paid, a couple could not live in peace. The negotiators sought 'koshyinet' 'understanding' (Cf. MN 2 PG. 80) among themselves in order to extend the same to the girl and the son when they were finally united in marriage. 'Koshyinet' 'Understanding' was important because it meant that after a lengthy deliberation, the negotiators have come to an agreement and the amount of dowry reached at was binding and no changes were going to be made later.

Bamwaa, toon en echeek, kisome koshyinet

My in-law this is new to us but we seek understanding

Prosperity of the relationship was of great importance to the bride and groom as well as their parents. The discussion could have been heated but at the end, the negotiators came to

a consensus and agreed to bless their children. One of the negotiators said 'ingobor lugoni' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 80). 'May this relationship prosper 'Luget' 'raid' means an event organized to go and steal livestock from another community after blessings from elders. The term 'Luget' takes another form when referring to a specific 'raid' it becomes 'Lugoni' 'this raid'. In cases where the groom eloped with the girl before marriage negotiations were done, the parents of the groom were required to come and seek for 'nyoetab kaat' 'forgiveness' from the girl's parents and that attracted a fine in form of a calf or an equivalent amount.

The marriage institution was taken to be sweet and this was symbolized by the presence of sugar given to the bride's family on the day of negotiations. Sugar was given in kind or an equivalent amount was given. In the discussion dowry was discussed at length and at some point, the groom's party went out to discuss among themselves. The spokesman from the bride's side was seen as a representative of the girl and therefore valued as beautiful, fertile and sweet while the bride's family perceived the groom's family as masculine, energetic and cunning. That was why each side would try to bargain and get their best, but at the end of the negotiations, an agreement was reached. They may have felt as if they were being told to pay a lot but when they came back to the negotiation room again, the bridal spokesman said:

Kiile Kipsigis, "Kaliyaan teta ako anyiny"

The Kipsigis said, "The cow is troublesome but sweet" (Cf. MN 2 PG. 80).

That was to mean that despite the lengthy discussions on dowry, and even the number of cows they have been asked to pay, the marriage relationship was sweet. The exchange of gifts at the end of negotiations showed a strong relationship between the two families and was to bind them together and even be able to help one another at all times.

Lexico-Pragmatic Theory has aided in getting the meaning of the lexical items used in the marriage dowry negotiations. This was because the meaning of each lexical item has been explained as per the context of use.

c. LEXICAL ITEMS THAT ARE IN DAILY USAGE BUT MEAN DIFFERENTLY IN MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS CONTEXT

In this study, it was found out that some lexical items which are used in marriage negotiations are also in daily usage but their meanings differed according to the context of use.

Several lexical items were used in marriage negotiations but five lexical items were used both in the marriage negotiations and also appeared in everyday usage but their meanings varied. The lexical items were analysed using Lexical Narrowing. Sperber & Wilson (2004) say Lexical Narrowing increases implications and the hearer is entitled to narrow the interpretation that satisfies his expectation.

The lexical item 'mooi' 'calf' (Cf. MN 1 PG. 68) was used by the groom's party to introduce the theme of their visit. 'Calf' as used in marriage negotiation does not mean the young one of a cow as would be referred in daily usage. In marriage negotiations 'mooi' 'calf' is used metaphorically to mean a young girl who was ready for marriage and negotiators have visited her home to seek for her hand in marriage. The

term was meant to create a good environment for the negotiators to state their mission there. So the aspect of lexical narrowing was applied by the negotiators and it was expected that hearers would give a correct interpretation of the term and as per that particular context.

'Bomori' (my in-law) in marriage negotiations was a term used by the father of the bride and the father of the groom to refer to each other. This was by virtue of their children getting married. In everyday usage, however, 'Bomori' means grandfather; the father of one's father. Children refer to the fathers of their parents as 'Bomori' and this is to depict the blood ties in one's lineage. The term also had synonyms in the daily usage. The synonyms of 'Bomori' are 'Batany' and 'Botich'. Both mean grandfather. Lexical Narrowing therefore makes the listener to interpret the correct meaning of the lexical item used depending on the context.

The girl's mother and the groom's parents also referred to each other as 'Batiem' 'in-law' but in daily usage, the term means grandmother. 'Batiem' 'grandmother' in daily usage shows the blood ties between one's children and his/her mother, while in marriage negotiations it shows the bonding that comes about when bride and groom get married. The mother of the girl and the mother of the groom also exchanged 'mwai' 'oil' on the first visit that the girl made to her home after marriage. It was said that on her first visit to her home, she was to be accompanied by her mother-in-law and the last part of the exchange of oil was completed. This still was to show appreciation for the girl's mother for the girl's upkeep and also to further strengthen their relationship.

Grice (1991) talks of Conversational Implicature which deals with what is inferred from the use of a certain utterance from context. In the course of marriage negotiations, the negotiators used lexical items 'mwai' 'oil' which in everyday use means liquid or fat or substance used as fuel, lubricant or even cookery to make food soft. In marriage negotiations, however, negotiators used lexical narrowing and the lexical item 'mwai' means the money that accompanied the cows as a form of dowry. Apart from cows that were discussed during dowry negotiations, some amount of money was also discussed which the groom's family were to pay to the bride's family. The amount was negotiable. It ranged from fifty to one hundred and fifty thousand. It also depended on the level of education of the girl. The higher the level of education, the higher the amount.

The 'mwai' 'oil, which also appears in another form as 'mwaita' was to enhance bonding between the two families. The bride's spokesperson said

Kebwan any mwaita, okose?

Now we come to the oil, are you getting?

The actual 'mwaita' 'oil' was exchanged immediately after the negotiators agreed. That was done by the bride and groom's parents anointing each other. The 'mwai' 'oil' in marriage negotiations, which means the amount paid in cash as a form of dowry was paid later but before the wedding day. That amount was paid together with the cows that were taken from the groom's home to the bride's home.

Lexical broadening was another way in which lexical items used in everyday conversations were encoded differently in marriage negotiations. 'Koito' 'to give' in everyday usage means to let someone have something and the duration not

specified but when used in marriage negotiations, it means letting someone marry one's daughter and that a lifetime commitment. 'Koito' 'to give out' begins at the time when the groom's party visits the bride's home and state their mission and it is from then that negotiations start.

Finally, the lexical item 'chego' 'milk' which in daily usage means white liquid from the mammary glands of mammals like cows usually used for human consumption as beverage or to produce various dairy products such as cheese or yoghurt. When used in marriage negotiations it means agreement that has been reached. The bride's spokesman called for milk when they had agreed on all matters of discussion in the negotiation room. Milk was taken as a symbol of beginning of a lasting relationship between the two families. That was why as soon as the women heard that milk had been called for, they started singing. In Kipsigis marriage negotiations, no meals were served to the negotiators before an agreement was reached. In cases where negotiators never agreed or postponed the negotiations to another date, they left without food. Eating and drinking together meant a bonding that was to last. So the women understood the 'chego' 'milk' to mean agreement and joy is revealed when they burst into song.

B. CONCLUSION

This section has analysed the data based on the research objectives. It has shown that during Kipsigis marriage negotiations, discussions on dowry took a centre stage and various lexical items are used at each point. From the lexical items used, the Kipsigis perception of the institution of marriage was revealed. Various lexical items used in the marriage negotiations also showed how interpersonal relationships were created and maintained which ensured successful marriage negotiations. The analysis was made possible by use of Lexico-Pragmatic Theory. The next chapter presents the summary, recommendations and conclusion of the study.

V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a summary of findings which will lead to the conclusion and recommendation. This study aimed at analysing the lexical items used in Kipsigis marriage negotiations. The study was based on Lexical Pragmatic Theory.

B. SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings of the study revealed the following:

Firstly, it was realized that for good negotiations to take place, interpersonal relationship has to be realized and this was done by using relevant lexical items. The lexical items that showed interpersonal relationships created a good environment for the negotiators to speak their minds. This was discussed in the first objective of this study. The term

“Bomori”, for example, showed respect between the groom’s father and the bride’s father. It also helped to show a lasting relationship between the two families once their get married.

Secondly, it was realized that the Kipsigis perception of marriage is revealed by the lexical items used especially the items used during dowry negotiations. This was, especially from the lexical items used to refer to various forms of dowry items that were discussed in the negotiation, for example “teta ne abai” “a lactating cow”. The cow had to come with a calf to signify the fertility of the girl being married. This was the second objective of the study. Each form of dowry that was given had significance. The “eito” “ox” signified that the girl was hardworking and that the groom’s family was giving the girl’s family a replacement to do the work that the girl had been doing while at her parent’s home.

Thirdly, the findings also revealed that there are various lexical items that are used during marriage negotiations which are also found in everyday use but their meanings vary according to the context of use. The findings showed that those who share the same background information will interpret the message by either broadening or narrowing the lexical items, whereas those who do not are likely to misinterpret them for example, ‘mwai nemi tuga barak’ (C.f MN1 PG 71) ‘The oil on top of cows’ may not be easily understood by listeners who do not share the same background information.

C. CONCLUSION

The findings, hence, give rise to the conclusion that effective communication depends on shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer, which allows the hearer to make correct interpretation of the lexical items used. Those who share the same background information will interpret the lexical items correctly by either narrowing or broadening while those who do not are likely to misinterpret them as explained in the Lexical Pragmatics Theory. The result, therefore, may lead to communication breakdown.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS

The study focused on Kipsigis marriage negotiations lexical items. Some of the lexical items included those showing interpersonal relationship, Kipsigis perception of marriage and those which are found in everyday use and are also in marriage negotiations but acquire different meanings according to context. This research examined lexical items used in Kipsigis marriage negotiations using Lexical Pragmatics Approach.

In the process of data analysis, it was found that marriage negotiations involved the use of sayings and proverbs especially from the bridal side. The study, therefore, recommends that further research can be done in those areas and also on the symbols that every form of dowry entail in Kipsigis and other languages in Kenya.

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