

AN INVESTIGATION INTO LANGUAGE USE IN NUER KINSHIP TERMS

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the language use on the Nuer kinship terms. The major objective of the thesis was to explore the language use on the Nuer kinship terms. To achieve the objectives of the study, the data was collected through semi-structured key informant interview, elicitation method, focus group discussion, observation checklist, and kinship questionnaire and analyzed thematically and categorically. In this study, a wordlist of kinship terms, ethnographic observation, and personal communication were also used. In the present study, basic phonemes and their distribution in the words were consulted as inputs for the analysis of kinship terms in Nuer. The study discussed the markedness theory and the review of various scholars' works on kinship terms. The study provided the basic Nuer kinship structures, type of kinship terms, function of kinship terms and address terms are the sole for the discussion of this thesis. The kin terms used in Nuer kinship have been brought into scene for the description of the Nuer Kinship structure and the lineal structure. This study has shown that Nuer Kinship is the patrilineal system. The kinship division as consanguine or affinal are considered in Nuer community but the patrilineal/consanguine line is the only one considered for the genealogical presentation of the kin. The use of sociolinguistic factors on Nuer kinship terms can heavily depend on semantic interpretation, age set, gender of the addressee and the addresser. In conclusion, Nuer Kinship is

complicated when it reaches the second and the third-generation kin. The terms like guar, maar, Nyimaar and demaar (Father, Mother, Sister and Brother) are all in the first generation that also represent the nuclear family. The use of ego generation kin in all its levels has greatly complicated the use of language in Nuer kinship.

Keywords: kinship terms, Ego's generation, markedness theory, language use, descending generation, ascending generation

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates. In light of Edward Sapir, Language is purely a human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires through the system of voluntarily produced sounds (Sapir, 1921:7).

In line with the above definition of Language, Sociolinguistics analysis of language use and Kinship terms in Nuer as the main topic of concern for this study, Sociolinguistics can be defined as the field of inquiry that scientifically studies the relationship between languages and society. Therefore; the language use is influenced by the social factor with in the same society. The effect imposed by social factor on language between different social groups of the same society can be analyzed in form of sociolinguistics. Language use can vary between different social group depending on the social factors that is social backgrounds, relationship between speaker and receiver and the context and manner of interaction within the same society (Nordquist, 2020).

According to Brown and Gilman (1960), the language use may involve influence of two social considerations; power and solidarity in which power is the authority or the superiority of one person over another person and this may be governed by age, caste, race, and occupation, for instance, the communication between employer and the staff, between parent and the children and so forth. Solidarity is

inherently reciprocal used between equal people who are closely related or fall under certain level of intimacy.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The problem of this research is investigating language use of Nuer kinship terms. Kinship terms can be used through different classes within the society. As the result of having different social classes within the same society, the sense, emotion, ideas and the manner of kinship can vary from group to group or class to class. This study was conducted among the Nuer speech community in Ethiopian Jikany (Eastern Nuer) and living in Gambella Town where multilingual phenomenon is observed as the result of intermingling of different culture in the town. There are some notable works such as Edward Evans-Pritchard (1950)'s *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*. which focuses on the patrilineal principles and the existence of lineages of agnatic type. Another work is Glickman's (1971)'s *Kinship and Credit among Nuer* that sees from economic point of view. The present work was targeted to investigate language use in Nuer kinship terms with reference to Nuer people living in Gambella Town particularly in the two kebel (Keble 01 and Kebele 02). This study encompassed homogenous society but fall under various social life styles. The study importantly involves the various social classes and how kinship terms are used between different categories. Hence, to address this gap, this study investigated how Nuer people understand and use kinship terms, changes in using these terms in Nuer and their contemporary functions. Hence, based on the present research focus, the research problems are formulated as follows:

1. What are the types of kinship terms used in Nuer?
2. What are the functions of kinship terms used in Nuer?
3. What are the changes that occur in using certain kinship terms in Nuer?
4. How are address terms used in Nuer?

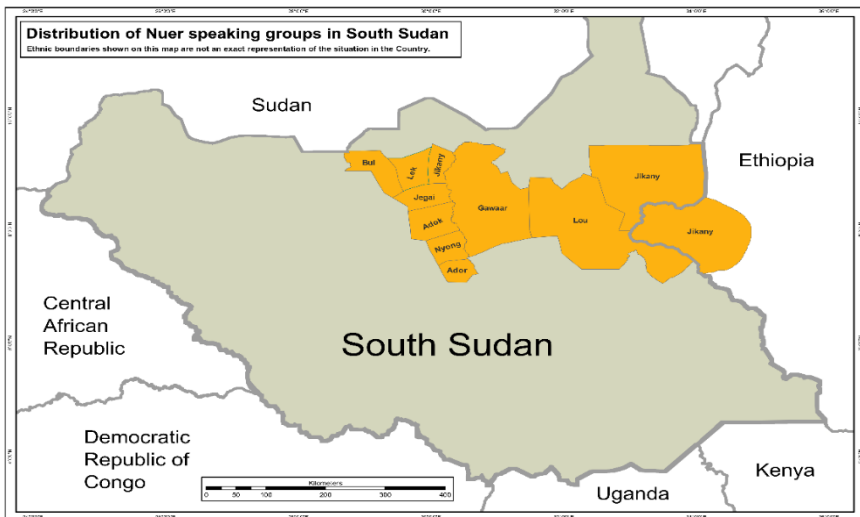
In the other words, the general objective of this study was exploring language uses in Nuer kinship terms. The study is specifically aimed at (1) identifying the types of kinship terms used in Nuer; (2) identifying the functions of Nuer kinship terms. (3) describing factors that affect in using certain kinship terms.

The study would, therefore, be significant for anthropologists, linguists, ethnographers, researchers and the Nuer speech community to understand the importance of sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, language use in particular and Nuer kinship terms in particular.

1.3 Nuer Language Dialect continuum

The following Figure 1 shows the distribution of the Nuer-speaking clans in South Sudan and Ethiopia. These are Bul, Lek, Jikany, Jegai, Adok, Nyong, Gawaar and Lou.

Figure 1. *Map of Nuer-speaking clans in South Sudan and Ethiopia (Reid, 2019:17)*



1.4. Nuer Phonetic Inventory

The Nuer phonetic inventory of consonants and vowels are presented here for the purpose of data transcription. The inventory of consonant phonemes in Nuer includes bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal places of articulation. According to Reid (2019:39), Nuer has twenty consonantal phonemes as given in Table 1.1 below (cf. Moges, 1993:13-14 and Tucker and Bryan, 1966:402).

Table 1 Consonant phonemes

		Bilabial	Inter-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	-voice	p	t̪	t	tʃ	k
	+voice	b	d̪	d	dʒ	g
			(t̪)	(t)		(k')
Nasals		m	n̪	n	ɲ	ŋ
Liquids				l, r		
Glides		w			y	ɥ

The above consonant phonemes are illustrated in (1) as follows.

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| (1) p | <i>pik</i> ‘adom’ | dʒ | <i>dʒaŋ</i> ‘talk badly’ |
| b | <i>ban</i> ‘run’ | t | <i>tak</i> ‘plait’ |
| m | <i>mual</i> ‘crawl’ | tʃ | <i>tʃám</i> ‘eat’ |
| w | <i>win</i> ‘steal’ | k | <i>káy</i> ‘bite’ |
| d̪ | <i>d̪uol</i> ‘bring bride’ | ɲ | <i>ɲàaaɫ</i> ‘plaster’ |
| t̪ | <i>t̪aal</i> ‘cook’ | y | <i>yàuy</i> ‘pour out’ |
| n̪ | <i>n̪ok</i> ‘love’ | ɥ | <i>uɣám</i> ‘thigh’ |
| d | <i>dak</i> ‘separate’ | g | <i>gək</i> ‘quarrel’ |
| n | <i>naŋ</i> ‘take’ | ŋ | <i>ŋát</i> ‘scoop out’ |
| r | <i>ruŋ</i> ‘give to all’ | | |
| l | <i>laɫ</i> ‘put down’ | | |

As shown in the above table, the consonant phonemes appear word-initially. They can also appear word-finally as in *káp* ‘carry on head’, *tʃok* ‘ant’ and *káy* ‘bite’, *yàuy* ‘pour out’.

Nuer has also 15 vowel phonemes, *i, ɪ, e, ɛ, ɛ̃, u, ʉ, o, ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ̃̃, a, ʌ* and *ə* their corresponding long vowels (Monich, 2016:2 and Reid, 2019:44). For the production of the vowel phonemes, we identify four heights of the tongue (high, high-mid, low-mid and low) and three parts of the tongue: front, centre and back are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2 Vowel phonemes

	Front	Center	Back
High	<i>i ɪ</i> <i>ɪ ɪ̃</i>	(i)	<i>u uu</i> <i>ʉ ʉʉ</i>
High-mid	<i>e ee</i> <i>ɛ ɛɛ</i>		<i>o oo</i> <i>ɔ ɔɔ</i>
Low-mid	<i>ɛ ɛɛ</i> <i>ɛ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃</i>	<i>ə ɛ̃</i>	<i>ɔ ɔɔ</i> <i>ɔ̃ ɔ̃ɔ̃</i>
Low		<i>a aa</i> <i>ʌ ʌʌ</i>	

As illustrated in Table 2, the vowel phonemes come as a modal/breathy pair except for /ə/. Tsehainesh (1983:17) identified the high central vowel *i* as a phoneme of Nuer though Moges (1993:19-20) does not consider it. Both short and long vowels occur in word-medial and final positions (Moges, 1993:20). There are also vowel contrasts as shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3 Minimal sets for vowel length (Reid, 2019:48)

	V	VV	VVV
a.	/le'p/ open(TR).APPL. NF	/le'ep/ tongue.PL	/le'eep/ open(TR).MUL.NF

b.	/tɛɯ/ hide(ɛTR).MUL. NF NEG	/tɛɛɯ/ hide(TR).NF NEG	/tɛɛɛɯ/ hide(TR).NEU.AM.NF NEG
c.	/pat/ clap(TR).AP.NF	/paat/ clap.VN.PL	/paaat / clap(TR).MUL.NF
d.	/tə́t/ mould(TR).AP. BARE	/tə́ət/ mould(TR).NF	/tə́əət/ mould(TR).AP.NF
e.	/gɔ̀n/ carry.horizontally.VN.SG.LOC	/gɔ̀on/ carry.horizontally(TR).AP.NF NEG	/gɔ̀oo n/ carry.horizontally.AN.PL
f.	/yɔ́y/ haul(TR).MUL. NF NEG	/yɔ́əy/ haul(TR).AP.NF NEG	/yɔ́əəy/ haul(TR).PUN.AM.OBL.NF NEG
g.	/lɯ́'ɯ/ rinse.mouth(TR).APPL.AP.NF	/lɯ́'əɯ/ rinse.mouth(TR).AP.BARE	/lɯ́'əəɯ/ rinse.mouth(TR).MUL.BARE

Monich (2016:2-4) has also identified the short-long-overlong contrasts on nominals as in *lek* 'pestle' vs. *leek* 'fish' and *tʃak* 'tick.SG.NOM' vs. *tʃaak* 'milk.PL.NOM' vs. *tʃaaak* 'milk.PL.GEN'. True contrasts also occur as in *lek* 'pestle' vs. *leek* 'fish'. All these examples are checked by introspection as one of the authors of this article is a native speaker of Nuer language. Nuer is also a register tone language consisting of three tone levels, high /´/, mid /-/ and low /-/ (Moges, 1993; Tsehainesh 1983 and Tucker and Bryan 1966).

Reid (2019:47) has identified eight falling diphthongs, four front diphthongs /iɛ, iɛ̣, ɛa, ɛạ / and four back diphthongs /uɔ, uɔ̣, əa, əạ/. Diphthongs can be modal or breathy and both components of any given diphthong have the same voice quality.

1.5 General Review on Nuer Language and kinship study

Nuer Language (Thok Nath) 'people's language' is a West Nilotic language of the Nilo-Saharan language family. It is spoken primarily in South Sudan and Ethiopia, as well as in diaspora communities, notably in East Africa, Australia and the USA. Nuer has a speaker population estimated to be between 900,000 and 2 million, but is yet

to be subject to robust documentation and description (Monich, 2016). Nuer along with Anua, is widely spoken in Gambella town, the capital of Gambella People Nation and Nationality Regional State (Tadesse, 2011)

The Nuer dialect spoken by Nuer tribe of South Sudan and Ethiopia is the language that belongs to eight sections (or clans). These are Bul, Adok, Gawaar, Jegai, Jikany (both West and East), Ador, Lek, Lou and Nyong. The varieties spoken by each section are conventionally grouped into two dialect clusters, known as Western Nuer and Eastern Nuer. Western Nuer is spoken to the west of the White Nile in the Republic of South Sudan. It is used to refer to the varieties spoken in seven Nuer sections namely Bul, Lek, Jegai, Adok, Nyong, Ador and Jikany. It is also known as Bentiu (Thok Bentiu) after the main town of the territory where the speakers live. Eastern varieties of Nuer are spoken to the east of the White Nile in the Republic of South Sudan and in the Gambella region of Ethiopia. Eastern Nuer language comprises four sections namely, Gawaar (Thok Gawaar), Lou (Thok Lou), Jikany (Thok Jikany).

The Jikany variety spoken in the east of South Sudan is also known as the Nasir dialect after the town of Nasir. The Jikany/Nasir dialect of Nuer language forms the basis for the orthography using an alphabet based on the Latin script. The Ethiopian Jikany are said to be spoken as an Eastern variety close to the Nasir dialect (see Reid, 2019: 17-18).

1.5.1 Language use in Nuer Kinship terms

In the light of Yule (2006:273), address terms refer to a word or a phrase used for the person being talked or written to. George Yule's definition of address term tends to be more appealing as it is needed for both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication. Keshavarz (2001:5) also defines that terms of address are linguistic forms that are used in addressing others to attract their attention or for referring to them in the course of a conversation.

Several scholars also define address terms as having a limitation depicting only to oral and face to face communication (Afful, 2006a;

Bonvillain, 2000; Oyetade, 1995). According to these scholars address terms, include several linguistic types and forms that can be used to name, refer to or address a participant in a communicative situation. They play a crucial function in communication, social interaction and cohesion (Bonvillain 2000). Thus, address terms are a focal resource in sociolinguistics, the study of relations between language and society. As the result of the above various definitions, a distinction is struck between the referential and the vocative or address functions of linguistic expressions. While such a distinction is well asserted in the literature, it is also admitted that there is no absolute transparent relationship between referential and vocative usage.

Address and reference tend to share a lot of tendencies and the situation which throws a great challenge at any attempt to set the two clearly apart. For instance, just as it is impracticable to attempt to determine the way a given individual is normally referred to, so it is with trying to figure out the usual way that a person is addressed. Both reference and address for an individual vary according to the speaker and convey the speaker's relationship to the addressee or the referent. Again, in many cases, a term that is used in reference to a person is also maintained as an address to him/her.

1.5.2 Theoretical Framework on kinship terms

Kinship terms are the expression of language functioning as referential and address terms in communication. They are frequently used in intimate and non-intimate human communication. According to Schwimmer (2001), since kin terms are fundamentally arbitrary categories, different cultures can potentially group their relatives into a widely varying, indefinite number of classifications. The use of certain terms might be determined by the prevailing culture or society, depending on who possesses power at any point in history. In this regard, Murdock (1949) defined that kinship is a structured system of relationships in which kins are bound to one another by complex interlocking ties.

Hence, kinship is the chief objective for this study in context of Nuer Language of Gambella Ethiopia. In sociological and anthropological perspectives, many scholars define *kinship* in two ways. According to Morgan (1871), kinship falls under two judging terminologies. These are systems of consanguinity and affinity. For Morgan, both can work well with the recognition for their genealogical relationship and the actual organization of their kinship order. In the same contrast, kinship terms are like signposts conducting personal implication of appropriate reciprocal rights, duties, privileges, and obligation (Reacliffe-Brown and Forde, 1950).

As explained above, these indicated that there is a similarity between these two views perhaps, but also a basic difference which can lead us in two quite different directions to the genealogical organization as such and to patterns in the conduct of interpersonal relations. According to Jomsson (1999), different cultures and language have different kinship models and terminologies which is due to the specific kin terms involved and how the particular kinsmen are grouped together and labeled with different kinship terms.

Globally, kinships are grouped into different models differing from one type to another based on the criteria by which the types are defined (Jonsson 1999:7). These scientific models of kinship terminologies focus mainly on linguistic properties and logical relations among kinship terms such father, mother, son, daughter, mother-in-law and cousin.

Lowie (1928) classifies kinship into four terms namely generational, lineal, bifurcate merging and bifurcate collateral that based on either the relationship is on male or female of the first generational ascension. Moreover; cousins and siblings kin types present a detailed type of kinship terminologies and also in use today (Murdock, 1949).

According to the study conducted on Banna Kinship Terms of South Ethiopia, earlier anthropologists deeply studied the kin and kinship term of many African Tribes (Zinabu, 2014:10). Among the

earlier anthropologists, Evans-Pritchard was the outstanding and pioneer one who deeply worked in philosophy of structural-functionalism and raised many questions on how society and their governing system built up. Evans-Pritchard was the very man who studied the Nuer Kinship and society which is the main concern for this study. According to other scholars in the 1950s, most of the study on African kinship were mostly based on kinship for social institution organization, marriage especially Fortes (1950) on Bantu speaking and Ashanti respectively.

Several sociologists, anthropologists and other social scientists have categorized kinship into three basic types, *Consanguineal*, *Affinal* and *Social* respectively based on one's birth, marriage and social ties as defined below:

1. **Consanguineal** kinship (primary kinship) is based on blood or birth relationship between parents and children as well as siblings. This is the most basic and universal type of kinship which involves people who are directly related;
2. **Affinal** kinship is based on marriage where the relationship between husband and wife is also considered a basic form of kinship and
3. **Social** social kinship is a type of kinship where two people who live in different communities may share bond of kinship through a religious affiliation or a social group, such as the Kiwanis or Rotary service club, or within a rural or tribal society marked by close ties among its members (Schneider, 1984). Social kinship involves "the ability to terminate absolutely the relationship" without any legal recourse unlike consanguineal and affinal kinship relations [ibid].

1.5.3 Types of Kinship System

There are six kinship systems that are applicable in different cultures, and they are named after the languages used by speakers as Sudanese, Hawaiian, Eskimo, Iroquis, Omaha and Crow Identified by Lewis H. Morgan (1871) and fomulized by Murdock

(1949). Based on their views, these kinship types are stated as follows:

Sudanese kinship is the most descriptive; no two types of relatives share the same term. Siblings are distinguished from cousins, and different terms are used for each type of cousin (i.e. father's brother's children, father's sister's children, mother's sister's children and mother's brother's children). Hawaiian kinship is on the other hand the most classificatory; only distinguishes between sex and generation. Thus, siblings and cousins are not distinguished (the same terms are used for both types of relatives). However, Eskimo kinship has both classificatory and descriptive terms; in addition to sex and generation, it also distinguishes between lineal relatives (those related directly by a line of descent) and collateral relatives (those related by blood, but not directly in the line of descent). Lineal relatives have highly descriptive terms; collateral relatives have highly classificatory terms. Thus, siblings are distinguished from cousins, while all types of cousins are grouped together. The system of English-language kinship terms falls into the Eskimo type.

Like Eskimo kinship pattern, *Iroquois kinship* has both classificatory and descriptive terms; in addition to sex and generation, but the Iroquois kinship also distinguishes between siblings of opposite sexes in the parental generation. A genealogical relationship traced through a pair of siblings of the same sex is classed as a blood relationship, but one traced through a pair of siblings of the opposite sex can be considered an in-law relationship. In other words, siblings are grouped together with parallel cousins, while separate terms are used for cross-cousins. One calls one's mother's sister "mother" and one's father's brother "father". However, one refers to one's mother's brother and one's father's sister by separate terms often the terms for *father-in-law* and *mother-in-law*, since cross-cousins can be preferential marriage partners. The basic principles of Crow and Omaha terminologies are symmetrical and opposite, with Crow systems having a matrilineal

emphasis and Omaha systems a patrilineal emphasis (cf. Schwimmer, (2016)

Crow kinship like Iroquois, but further distinguishes between one's mother's side and one's father's side. Relatives on the mother's side of the family have more descriptive terms, and relatives on the father's side have more classificatory terms (Read, 2015).

As with the Iroquois system, the Crow uses bifurcate merging, meaning that there is a distinction between collateral relatives of different gender in Ego's descent group. In this case, father's brother would be called "father's brother", and mother's brother would be called "uncle" (Murdock, (1947). Only the Iroquois system uses bifurcate merging as a secondary name.

Thus, Crow kinship like Iroquois kinship includes that a number of relatives belonging to one's father's matrilineage are grouped together, ignoring generational differences, so that the same term is used for both one's father's sister and one's father's sister's daughter, etc. Omaha kinship like Iroquois, but further distinguishes between one's mother's side and one's father's side. Relatives on the mother's side of the family have more classificatory terms, and relatives on the father's side have more descriptive terms. Thus, Omaha kinship is like Iroquois, with the addition that a number of relatives belonging to one's mother's patrilineage are grouped together, ignoring generational differences, so that the same term is used for both one's mother's brother and one's mother's brother's son, etc. These kinship patterns are also known as *bifurcate merging* particularly for Iroquois kinship, Crow kinship, and Omaha kinship with variant degrees of expansions respectively whereas Eskimo kinship is also referred to as "lineal kinship" and Hawaiian kinship as the "generational system" and Sudanese kinship as the "descriptive system". For this article, we will also discuss the three of the kinship systems in detail, namely Eskimo, Sudanese and Hawaiian kinship systems as they are relevant for the current study.

1.5.3.1 Eskimo Kinship System

Eskimo kinship system is the most common kin naming pattern in North America and Europe; today is known as the Eskimo system. This kinship system is particularly used for European and American languages such as English and Swedish. Both the Swedish (Schwimmer, 2001) and the English (Schneider and Homans, 1955), languages are classified within the Eskimo system of kinship terms. “Fa is terminologically distinguished from FaBr, Mo from MoSi, while parents’ siblings are grouped in categories distinguished from one another by sex but not collaterality. Cross and parallel cousins are grouped together and distinguished from siblings (Schneider and Homans, 1955). Kinship terms are lexicalized in English for mother, father, sister, brother and cousin. There are some differences, in other languages with specific lexicalized words for on which side of the family, a nephew or a niece. It is generally supposed that this system belongs to societies in which the populations largely live in nuclear families (Schwimmer, 2001).

In the past, the church held great influence in defining family status and roles to some extent where the law has replaced the authority of the church in this regard. In modern times, marriage is regulated under the law and familial relationships tend to be legally defined and this influences both how spouses and family members perceive themselves, and the terms they use when referring to or addressing others (Shawn Mills, 2005). For example, marriages are monogamous and are forbidden for close relatives [ibid].

Eskimo kinship terminology deals with descriptive or Classificatory Terms. For instance, Schwimmer (2001) states that English terms are in accordance with the principles of Eskimo terminology because of the following factors:

- ✓ The system is bilateral (no distinction between father’s and mother’s relatives;
- ✓ Distinctions mark differences in sex, generation, and collateral kinship distance;

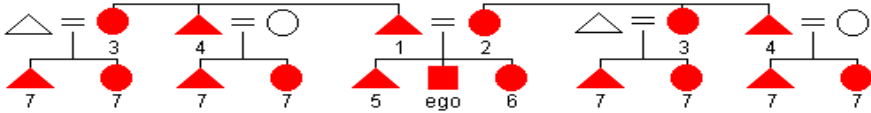


Figure 3. Eskimo Kinship structure 2

The Eskimo kin naming system is found mainly in societies that use the bilateral principle of descent and that strongly emphasize the nuclear family over more distant kinsmen. Both ego's mother's and father's collateral relatives are considered equally important in which no distinction is made between relatives on the mother's and father's side of the family which is mostly reflected in the kin names. Despite the fact that some relatives are lumped together with the same linguistic terms in the Eskimo and other kin naming systems, people do make distinctions between them as unique individuals. For instance, you would make a distinction between your uncle John and your uncle Peter by using their first names along with the kinship term.

The Eskimo system is one of the simplest, despite the fact that it is found among some of the most technologically complex societies. It is also found among hunters and gatherers living in harsh environments, such as the Inuit, or Eskimo. In both of these extremes, the common denominator for the Eskimo kin naming system is an economy that forces the nuclear family to be mostly independent (see Glickman 1971 for Nuer Kinship system). The Eskimo system is used today by about 10% of the world's societies.

1.5.3.2 Sudanese Kinship System

Sudanese kinship is a descriptive kinship system used to define family (Schwimmer, 2016.) The Sudanese kinship system is the most complicated of all kinship systems (Morgan, 1871). It maintains a separate designation for almost every one of Ego's kin, based on their distance from Ego, their relation, and their gender. Ego's father is distinguished from Ego's father's brother and from Ego's mother's brother. Ego's mother is similarly distinguished from Ego's mother's

sister and from Ego's father's sister. For cousins, there are eight possible terms.

The Sudanese system is named for the peoples of South Sudan. The system existed in ancient Latin-speaking and Anglo-Saxon cultures and also exists today among present-day Arab and Turkish cultures (Schwimmer, 2016). It tends to co-occur with patrilineal descent, and is often common in complex and stratified cultures such as Bulgarian Serbian and Bosniak follow this system for different patrilineal and matrilineal uncles but collapse mother's sister and father's sister into the same term of "aunt" and Croatian and Macedonian further collapse the offspring of the uncles into one term.

The Sudanese kinship system is the most sophisticated one, and it is relevant to consider that Old English belonged to that system (Schwimmer, 2001). That might explain the similarities with Swedish, where there are far more lexicalized kin terms. It is well known that here have been major language changes in England and there was a considerable influence from the Vikings' invasions (Crystal, 2019). That Nordic influence was later overshadowed by the French influence. This indicates that kinship terms usage depends on power and status. Modern English has fewer lexicalized kin terms than Old English [ibid]. Conversely, the least detailed system is the Hawaiian kinship system, where the biological father or his brothers can be called "father", and mother's sisters can also be called "mother". Lewis Morgan indicated that in a polygamous society there would be difficulties in defining an exact relationship (Morgan, 1871). However, later findings contradict his view, arguing that those tribes and populations were generally well able to determine the identity of the biological father [Schwimmer, 2001].

At the opposite extreme in complexity is the Sudanese system. Most kinsmen are not lumped together under the same terms of reference. Each category of relative is given a distinct term based on genealogical distance from ego and on the side of the family. There can be eight different cousin terms, all of whom are distinguished from ego's brother and sister.

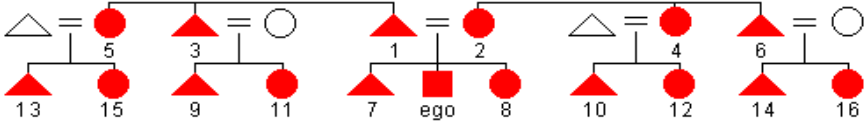


Figure 4. Sudanese Kinship structure

The Sudanese system is found in Sudan, Turkey, and some other societies with patrilineal descent and considerable social complexity. The fine distinctions made between kinsmen mirrors the society's desire to distinguish people on the basis of class, occupation, and political power.

1.5.3.3 Hawaiian System

The least complex kin naming pattern is found in the Hawaiian system. The nuclear family is de-emphasized. Relatives within the extended family are distinguished only by generation and gender (Schwimmer, 2011). This results in just four different terms of reference. Ego's father and all male relatives in his generation have the same kin name (1). Likewise, ego's mother and all female relatives in her generation are referred to by the same kin term (2).

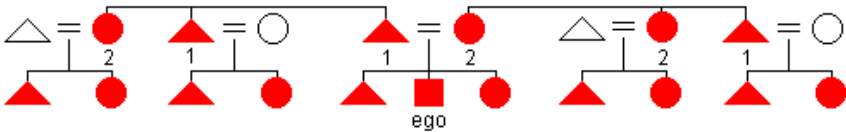


Figure 5 Hawaiian Kinship structure 1

Similarly, all brothers and male cousins are linked by giving them the same kin term (3). Sisters and all female cousins are also referred to by the same term (4). Not surprisingly, marriage of cousins is generally forbidden since they are treated like brothers and sisters.

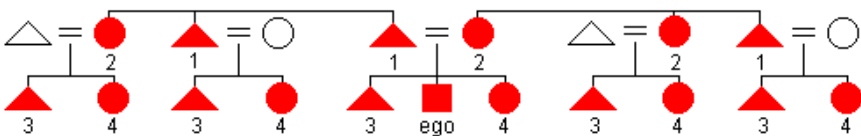


Figure 6 Hawaiian Kinship structure 2

The Hawaiian terminological system is used by about a third of the world's societies, though they are relatively small ones. It is found widely in the islands of Polynesia where it is usually associated with ambilineal descent. Since both sides of the family are treated equally, an individual's choice of ancestral line to trace is less biased (Schwimmer, 2001).

1.5.4 Empirical Review of kinship terms

According to Jonsson (1999:9), kin terms and kinship terminologies studies are carried out under Markedness theory. In light of Witkowski and Ceil (1978), the principle of naming arise marking. . Evans-Pritchard (1951) stated that individual person's parents and siblings are not considered as kin blood relative (Maar) but they are considered as family (gol) which is still significant intimate. According to him, there are kinship categories in Nuer societies and those categories depend on payment to them. There is a balance between the mother and father's side that is acknowledged through particular formal occasions such as marriage.

There is a balance between the mother and father's side that is acknowledged through particular formal occasions such as marriage. According to Evans's study, Nuer girls usually marry at 17 and 18 years of age after being ready to bear a child and if the girl is engaged at early age, the ceremony is delayed until she is mature enough and become ready to bear a child. Kinship among the Nuer is very important to them and refer to their blood relatives as "gol". If a young girl gets engaged at an early age, the wedding and consummation ceremonies are essentially delayed. Women generally give birth to their first children when they are mature enough to bear them. As long as a girl marries a man with cattle, she is able to freely choose her husband, however her parents may choose a spouse for her. Kinship within the Nuer can be formed of one's neighbors or their entire culture (Evans-Pritchard 1950).

In Nuer, the kinship structure is based on lineage, clan, family and village/ settlement/ neighborhood. In kinship structure, lineage refers to common ancestor whereas clan refers to people that trace descent through a common ancestor where the links are not specified because the ancestor is so far back the links in between are forgotten (Jorgensen,2010:47). The term *village* refers to 'people of common residence' (Strecker 1976:67f; Tina 2005:27). There are nuclear and extended family relations in Nuer kinship system.

2. Methodology

Setting of the study

The setting of the study was conducted among the Nuer speaking people in Ethiopian Jikany (Eastern Nuer) and living in Gambella Town where most of the social change is observed as the result of intermingling of different culture in the town.

This study was conducted in Gambella People's Regional State which is situated in the western lowland has coordinates 60 28'38" to 80 34' North Latitude and 330 to 350 11'11" East Longitude. Gambella town is located inside the boundary of the Gambella Zuriya woreda, which is bordered on the south by the Abol Woreda, on the North and East by Oromia Regional state, on the West by Itang woreda. To achieve these objectives, the researcher delimited the study to Nuer people living in Gambella Town particularly for native Nuer speakers of 01 and 02 kebeles. This study encompassed homogenous society but fall under various social life styles. The study importantly involves the various social classes and how language and kinship are used between different categories.

Study design and approach

The researchers used a descriptive research design and case study approach in which sociolinguistic questionnaire, key informant interview and ethnographic observation methods were employed to investigate the language use in the Nuer kinship terms. A descriptive study is helpful when a researcher wants to look into a phenomenon or a process in its natural context in order to get

overall picture instead of taking one or some of its aspects and manipulating it or them in a simulated or an artificial setting (Creswell, 2012).

Population of the study, sample size, and sampling technique

The participants of the study were the Nuer speakers living in Gambella town particularly kebele 01 and 02. These kebeles comprises of 2000 people speaking Nuer Language. This comprises the study population for describing and analyzing the language use of kinship terms. This study employed both random sampling and purposive sampling technicians. Based on the techniques, the study population and sample size were determined. The sampling techniques the researchers used for this study were both random sampling technique and purposive techniques because the language use in kinship terms was observed based on the different social classes and on different group of speakers, namely couples, old men and women, and other female and male partners. The random sampling technique could give equal chance representiung the study population of the Nuer speakers in the two purposefully selected kebeles. From the population of speakers in each kebele, individuals and the households’ representatives were used as the sample size of the study. The sample size for this study could be determined by employing Yamane (1967)’s formula to calculate sample size from a finite sample. As the population of the two kebeles where the speakers reside is known, 1000 people for each kebele were taken as the sample of the study. Therefore; the sample population is 2000 in which the sample size of this study was taken out. Hence, this can be given by;

$$n = \frac{N}{1} + N(e)^2$$

Where; n=sample size, N= total population (2000), e= acceptable margin of error (0.05%)

Therefore, $n = \frac{2038}{1} + 2038(0.07)^2 = 185.50545 \approx 186$

Based on this sample size, First the researchers randomly (using lottery method) selected 100 Nuer native speakers to collect data through sociolinguistic questionnaire. Next, the researchers purposely selected 21 native speakers (9 females and 13 males) for key informant interview. For elicitation, the researcher also purposely selected 15 kinship consultants (5 females and 10 males) to elicit basic data on kinship terms. The researchers also conducted focus group discussions with four groups of spouses that comprise 20 members. Moreover, the researcher conducted some ethnographic observations with three groups of family members and relatives that comprise 30 members. The ethnographic observations and focus group discussions were used to triangulate the whole data.

Data collection techniques and instruments

The study employed sociolinguistic questionnaire and semi-structured interview as primary instruments and focus group discussion and ethnographic observation checklist as secondary instruments. The study conducted the semi-structured interview and elicitation with community leaders who were expected to have awareness of the kinship terms based on the information found through informal and personal communications. This study was based on qualitative and quantitative data consisting primary and secondary sources. The method of the research was descriptive case study to explain descriptive and classificatory nature of kinship terms. In addition to the primary data, the researchers used literature and audiovisual materials that make an accurate account of kinship terms in the society. Basic ethnographic sources were consulted and reviewed to assess the whole results and validate the facts. Hence, to collect adequate information from the households and community leaders, the researcher used four techniques to come up with reliable data on language use in kinship terms. These techniques were sociolinguistic questionnaire, key informants' interview, and ethnographic observation checklist. For ease of

communication and understanding with native speakers, the questionnaire items and interviews were translated to Nuer though the analysis of the results were done in English. This study mainly used a sociolinguistic questionnaire consisting of open and closed ended questions that were designed for community leaders and households as well. The closed-ended questions involved YES or NO and multiple-choice questions.

The researcher used Key Informant Interview where several scholars confirm that key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. The purpose of key informant interviews was to collect information from a wide range of people including community leaders, professionals, or residents who have first-hand knowledge about the community. For the present study, the key informant interviews involve face to face communication between the researcher and the interviewee based on basic questions and wordlists comprising basic kinship terms. The interview includes only well-informed individuals like community leaders, households, parents, and other stakeholders who are well aware of all the information about language use of kinship terms within the Nuer society.

In order to receive a particular point on research problem, key informants of different social status, sex and various age groups were purposefully selected on the basis of their expert knowledge of the culture, language and past experiences. Key informant interview is one way where a participant shares his/her experience and thought on the language use and kinship terms that helps the researcher to acquire the in-depth information on sociolinguistic analysis. At the study location, participants for key informant interview were asked for their willingness to devote their time to further discuss with the researchers based on their consent. The topics of the key informant interview were questions on language use in Nuer kinship terms. In order to learn more about kin terms, the key informant interviews were conducted by Nuer language as most of the participants were not competent enough in English.

The researches also conducted a focus group discussion (FGD) with community leaders, household heads and other stakeholder to get more information about the problem needed for the study. FGD is one way where everyone shares his/her experience and thought on the language use in kinship terms and this help the researchers to acquire the in-depth information on sociolinguistic analysis. At the study location, participants for FGD were also asked for their willingness to devote their time to discuss with the researchers based on their consent. The topics of the discussion were types, functions and changes of kinship terms in Nuer. Along with FGD, the researchers used ethnographic observation checklist to collect actual kinship relation in various communicative domains and were observed the factual situation of communication between people of different social class. The observations undertaken were both participatory and non-participatory depending the willingness and seriousness of the study problem. The communicative domains may include family, funeral ceremony, chief's palace arbitration, market, marriage dispute resolution, religious ceremony and wedding ceremony. The observation was also done using informal conversation and the researcher's native speaker introspection supplemented the data gathered through the semi-structured key informant interview, questionnaire.

Data Collection Procedure

To collect the required data, first a letter of collaboration was written to the Gambella Region Education Bearau from the Department of English Language and Literature of Jimma University. Next, based on the schedule arranged, a key informant interview was conducted with the native Nuer speakers and community leaders. For the key informant interview, the researcher used interview guideline, voice recorder, and notebooks. Third, Sociolinguistic questionnaire data was collected from 100 Nuer native participants. Fourth, the researchers conducted both ethnographic observation and focus group discussion. Fifth, the researcher transcribed the interview responses and focus group ideas in Nuer. Six, the researcher

translated the transcribed data from Nuer into English language. Finally, the collected data were organized thematically and interpreted and questionnaire responses were analysed.

Methods of data analysis

To get meaning from the semi-structured interview and survey responses, the gathered data was analysed thematically. The data were triangulated using the results of ethnographic observation based on mixed research approach. Short summaries and field notes were written to highlight important recurring themes and patterns. Further, the collected data was coded and manually analysed. That is to say the data was analysed by identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns with in data.

After collecting the required data through questionnaire, key informant interview, focus group discussion, and ethnographic observation, qualitative and quantitative approach of analyzing data were used to present the result in a reliable and integrated manner. The study also used as an ontological framework to analyze the kinship terms in the sense of a (family) tree of nodes including the Ego and the relatives.

Ethical considerations

During the data collection sequence, the following ethical considerations were made.

First, the researchers requested permission from the Jimma Univerity and Gambella Education Bureau. When permission was obtained, the researchers explained the aim of the study and the major activities that would be conducting the school to those people who would be included in the study. That was, the researchers discussed the specific objectives they would conduct in the Gambela Town with particiapnts such as, administering questionnaire study, making ethnographic observations and undertaking interview. Based on the setting agreed upon, the data collection procedures were carried out. Finally, every ethical issue was explained to the study participants who are non-volunerable adults over the age of

21. The study participants willingly agreed to participate and were assured that the data collected would be used only for the purpose it was collected. To maintain the anonymity of participants, they were also assured by changing their names and that the materials related to their identities would be kept confidential and not subject to disclosure to third parties. Besides, during the data collection phase, participants were also treated as humans by keeping their dignity and providing due respect to their privacy.

3. Results of the study

The result section presents the data that answer the four research questions set in the introductory part which deals with investigating language use in kinship terms, types of Nuer kinship terms, functions, and changes in the use of these terms in Nuer. Using the 100 participants' questionnaire, responses on using various language uses in kinship terms were calculated and presented. Hence, The summary and analysis of questionnaire data are presented on three topics, namely, kinship term preference for nuclear family, uses of kinship terms among Nuer native speakers and changes in the uses of kinship terms among Nuer native speakers. These data are based on the responses of 100 respondents except with some missing ones.

3.1 kinship term preference

Table 3 Kinship term preference for nuclear family by respondents

No.	Preference of terms for	responses	frequency	Percent (%)
1	Kinship term for father	guä	60	60.00
		guar	40	40.00
2	Kinship term for mother	ma	40	40.00
		maar	20	20.00
		man	40	40.00
		total	100	100.00

3	Kinship term for brother	demar	55	55.00
		deman	45	45.00
		total	100	100.00
4	Kinship term for sister	nyymar	65	65.00
		nyyman	35	35.00
		total	100	100.00
4	son	gat	50	66.67
		gaddä `	25	33.33
		total	75	100.00
5	daughter	nyadä	40	53.33
		nyadæ	35	46.67
		total	75	100.00

As we can see from the above table, Nuer has different kinship terms for father, mother, brother, sister, son and daughter. This results from uses of terms by young and old persons. If a speaker addresses to himself or herself, he/she uses the terms *guar*, *mar*, *demar*, *nyymar* for ‘my father’, my mother’, ‘my brother’ and ‘my sister’ and the terms *gualen*, *man*, *nyyman*, and *deman* for someone’s father, mother, brother and sister respectively. The following table shows Nuer reactions related to the use of kinship terms among themselves.

3.2 Uses of Kinship terms among Nuer native speakers

Table 4 Experience of the uses of Kinship terms among Nuer native speakers

No.	Preference of terms for	responses	frequency	Percent (%)
1	Do you address step-siblings with their	Yes	50	50.00
		No	43	43.00

	names only?	other	7	7.00
2	Is the sister of your mother and father called only by one word for 'aunt'?	Yes	50	50.00
		No	50	50.00
		other	0	0.00
3	Is the brother your mother and father called only by one word for 'uncle'?	Yes	50	50.00
		No	50	50.00
		other	0	0.00
4	Are the children of your aunts and uncles specified?	Yes	50	50.00
		No	15	65.00
		other	35	35.00

As indicated in Table 4, most respondents said that they address step-siblings with their names only. For example, they have similar kin terms for the sister and girl as *nya* and for bother and son as *gat* in Nuer use of kin system. They also showed that the children of their aunts and uncles are not clearly specified.

3.3 Changes in the uses of Kinship terms among Nuer native speakers.

Regarding, changes in the uses of kinship terms among Nuer native speakers, the data were based on the responses of 100 respondents except with missing responses. See Table 5 below.

Table 5 Change in the uses of Kinship terms among Nuer native speakers

No.	Preference of terms for	responses	frequency	Percent (%)
1	Do you experience that there is a confusion not having a specific term for each one of those relationships with uncle and aunts?	Yes	75	75.00
		No	25	25.00
		other	0	0
2	Do you think there might be a	Yes	55	55.00

	problem for genealogists reading old letters or church books to clarify the relationships?	No	33	33.00
		other	12	12.00
3	Do you experience a change over time compared with earlier, regarding how to refer to your relatives or addressing them?	Yes	50	50.00
		No	30	30.00
		other	20	20.00

As we can see from Table 5, there are confusions regarding the kinship term for aunts and uncles from both the sides of father’s and mother’s brother and sister. Similarly, one can infer serious problems that face genealogists while reading old letters or church books to clarify the relationships as some of the kin terms are remote historically and there is a lack of old men and men who can remember them correctly. As a result, there leads to have a change over time compared with earlie innorder to refer to relatives or addressing them. According to the responses of participants, Nuer language employs more modern terms like *dad* or *papa*. Some respondents also claimed that they are not sure to identify whether they are real Nuer kinship terms or not. As the result most kinship terms have been changed due to borrowing and the effect of global communications and modernity.

4.2 Structure of Nuer Kinship

The results of the present research document, literature reviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussion and ethnographic observation show that there are three basic kinship systems at the levels of lineage, family and clan. These are *Kaar* ‘Lineage’ tʃen ‘family’ and *ʔpkduel* ‘clan’.

4.2 .1 Lineage (Kaar)

To start talking of kinship in Nuer, the central point of focus that can trigger is lineage (kaar). Lineage is whereby an individual’s origin or

ancestry line can be known. According to the primary data collected through kinship questionnaire and interviewing of some community elders, lineage is a genealogical segment of clan. The findings were supported by one of the researcher's preexisting knowledge and experience as a native of Nuer language. According to the findings, we can refer to kin terms like great grandparent of up to five or six generation to form a clan with several lineages. According to Evans-Pritchard (1940), lineage is a group of living and dead agnates, descended from the particular founder of that particular line. Lineage is intentionally used to include the dead because the dead persons are only significant in that their genealogical position explains the relationships between the livings.

The data for lineage system collected through key informants' interview and ethnographic observation demonstrated the fact that Nuer kinship mostly centered on segmented lineage clan system. The information obtained from the experienced Nuer elders, church pastors and Nuer community leaders has shown that kin classification is very easy through the help of keeping lineage lives with the generation. In this regard, the paternal lineage alone would show the generational degree because the names of the Nuer maternal or affinal relatives contain only the paternal ancestors of the ego.

According to Evans-Pritchard (1951), *kaar* or lineage relationships refers to relation between groups within the system of such group. A lineage consists of people who can prove to be of a common ancestor that is male by stating the facts of genealogy in Nuer context. These lineage compositions are often consciously manipulated so that the relations will fit in the people's life interests (cf. Jorgensen 2010:47). Strecker (1976) looks at kinship ties from the viewpoint of physical connections as a corporate group and states that the term 'Kaar' or 'Maar' according to Nuer may be translated as 'lineage' or 'close kin' or 'kin of limited range'. From this assumption, 'Maar' derives from socially defined relations, interaction and networks of ties among people. Similarly, a lineage relation among the Nuer society refers to relations between groups

within a system of unilateral groups of kin because the kinship identity depends on one's father's line. In reference to Nuer lineages in a social context, it is spoken of as the '*Maar*' a person that has a residential, and not an exclusive descent implication. These expressions are little used because the concept of lineage from its social environment is only rarely made except on certain ritual occasions and in connection with marriage and rules of exogamy. On the other hand, they use the word '*Kaar*', to describe any relationship of a kinship kind between persons because a person recognizes any kind of kinship is '*Kaar*', kin to him. People say of him and of any such a person as '*watdä*', they have kinship and he speaks of any or all of his relatives as '*watkä*' "my kinsmen".

In Nuer, without any restrictive qualifications the term '*Kaar*' may for convenience distinguish between the paternal and the maternal kin of a man together as his kindred, and also sometimes as speaking of affinal/marriage relations, especially when they are long established. Because there is a '*Maar*' relationship between lineages, there must be '*Kaar*' between the members of one and those of the other, for the relationship between collateral lineages is agnatic and the members of one must, therefore, be patrilineal kins to the members of the other. This mean that there is always '*Maar*' between collateral lineages of the same clan and there may also be '*Kaar*' between clans, especially on ritual occasions, such occasions as weddings, mortuary rites, composition and in connection with initiation, aiding, and hunting. According to Evans-Pritchard (1940:192), in Nuer clan is the largest group of agnates who trace their descent from a common ancestor and between whose marriage is forbidden and sexual relations is considered incestuous. In a very general sense, therefore, all agnates descended from a common ancestor that specifies kinship terms are used in their primary reference (cf. Evans-Pritchard, 1940).

4.2.2 Family (*tʃeŋ*)

In Nuer, the term *tʃeŋ* refers to a family of husband and wife with their children. The term *tʃeŋ* 'family' is the household who are still

living together in the same house (cf. Susanne (1995:29) for Beshada *zele* for 'house'). The term *tʃeŋ* usually consists of a couple of houses of the wives and husbands, children with their domestic animals or fowl. The term *tʃeŋ* or house is mostly based on nuclear family consisting of the husband and his wife with their offspring in the same homestead.

The findings of the focus group discussion and ethnographic observation data have shown that family in Nuer has many terms. Family can be termed as *tʃeŋ* or *d̥ɔr* when referring to one's home. Family means *pek* in central and western Nuer when referring to one's home far from the speaker. Example, family as *tʃeŋ* or *d̥ɔr* can consist of mother, father, children, grandparent and cousin whenever they have. Chuol and Nyabil with their two daughters are with their parents. In this context, family can refer to *tʃeŋ* or *d̥ɔr*. Chuol family is located next door to Tut. In this context central and Western Nuer can say " Pek Chuol thiekv ke pek Tut". According to Strecker (1976), in his account of 'dele' in Hamar, *tʃeŋ* in Nuer means 'house' or homestead that widely mean family in its social context (Evans-Pritchard, 1940:115). Members of a homestead or lineage move from being simple nuclear family to an extended family under the authority of the male as head of the household. According to Streker (1976) and Tina (2005), elementary family is the starting point of the Banna kinship and system such as father (Fa), mother (Mo) and child (Ch) depends as in all the societies on recognition of social relations. This means that Banna family structure is from nuclear family to the extended family based on marital and blood tie of generational kin. This is also true for Nuer Kinship. Nuclear family in Nuer is the autonomous structure and independent unit whereby they fulfill their everyday economic need and support each other in every area of life.

4.2.3 Clan (*ɬɔkduel*)

The term *ɬɔkduel* 'clan' in Nuer is the group of people whose relationship is tied by a common genealogical origin or common ancestor. According to Recker (1976), clan may, but mostly does not

recognize a common genealogical origin. Clan consists of people that trace descent through a common ancestor where the links are not specified because the ancestor is so far back the links in between are forgotten (Stine, 2010). According to Evans-Pritchard (1940:192), in Nuer clan is the largest group of agnates who trace their descent from a common ancestor, and between whom marriage is forbidden and sexual relations is considered incestuous. In a very general sense, therefore, all agnates descended from a common ancestor that specific kinship terms are used in their primary reference. In Nuer, we can refer the six clans, Bul, Lek, Jikany, Jegai, Adok, Nyong, Gawaar and Lou who are Nuer-speaking clans in South Sudan and Ethiopia (Reid, 2019:17).

4.3 Types of Nuer Kinship terms

Kinship groups in Nuer fall under two contexts that is domestic and political aspect. Other divisions fall under the blood tied that is consanguine and the marriage relationship/affinal. In the division by sibling to oneself in context of ego generation, an ego uses age set and sex divisions to modify who is this to the ego. In line to this idea, the findings of the ethnographic observation data have shown that Nuer Kinship is mainly centered an agnatic in which only the patrilineal line is given a consideration. Both consanguine and affinal kins are considered in denoting the relationship but in due consideration for the societal or residential distribution only patrilocality is considered (see also Evans-Pritchard, 1950).

4.3.1 Kin terms for ego's generation

As mentioned in the previous sections, the term *Ego* or anchor refers to a speaker in kinship relations that shows the division of siblings and parents by age and gender. The kin terms for ego's generation data were collected through questionnaire and interviewing elders and other knowledgeable consultants within the Nuer speaking community of Gambella. The terms used for ego's kin include parents, children, siblings, parents' siblings, parents' sibling's children and siblings' children. These terms are father, mother,

father's brother, father's sister, mother's brother, mother's sister representing ego's parent and parents' siblings for ego's sibling to be represented as brother, elder/younger brother, sister, elder/younger sister. The ego's cousins or children of ego's parents' siblings, their children can be represented as 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, mother's sister's daughter. The table below presents the ego's kin relations in Nuer.

Table 6 Kin terms for ego's generation

S/N	English term	Genealogical denotation	Nuer ego's kin terms
1	brother	Br	damar
2	(eld) brother	eBr	damar indiit
3	(eld) father's brother	eFaBro	daman guaar in diit/gualen in diit
4	(eld) mother's sister's son	eMoZS	gat nyiman maar in diit /gatmalen in diit
5	sister	Z	nyimaar
6	(eld) sister	eZ	nyimaar in diit
7	(eld) father's brother's daughter	EFaBrD	nyedaman guaaar in diit/nyegualen in diit
8	(eld) mother's sister daughter	eMoZD	nyenyiman maar/nyemalen in diit

The kinship terms may vary when speaking of male or female depending on who is speaking (speaker). In Nuer Language, when speaking of the female's side kin, the understanding of the terms differs from when speaking of male's kin. According to the findings of the elicited data and this sociolinguistic questionnaire, the kin terms used for ego's generation on gender have shown that there are different terms used for each relative. Example, mother's sister's daughter is referred to as *nyamaalen* and father's sister's daughter is

referred to as *nyaawayda'*. According to one of the the preexisting native knowledge of one the the authors of this article, she found that the terms used for ego's kin relatives are clearly differentiated.

The findings of the elicited kinship data have shown that Nuer speaker has some prefixes used for male and/or female before the kin terms. When speaking of brother's son or sister's son and when speaking of brother's daughter or sister's daughter, the prefixes *gat-demar* or *gat-nyimar*, *nya-demar* or *nya-nyimaar* are used respectively. For age categorization, the kin term is always preceded by kin term followed by *min diit* for elders and *min tot* for young. Accordingly, in Nuer kinship term, if the kin is older than Ego's generation, the suffix *min diit* is added after the kin term and if the kin is younger than the ego's generation, the suffix *min tot* is added. Here is how male or female speaking is represented in Table 5 as follows:

Table 7 Ego's generation kin terms based on gender and age

S/N	English term	Genealogical denotation	Nuer term
	When speaking about male/male speaking		
1	Father sister's son	FaZS	gatwayda'
2	Mother brother's son	MoBrS	gatnaara'
3	Sister husband	ZH	tjo nyimaar
4	Brother wife	BrW	tjiek dmaar
5	Wife's sister	WZ	nyimaatu
6	Father sister daughter	FaZD	nyawayda'
7	Mother brother daughter	MoBrD	nyaanaara'
	when female is speaking/speaking about female		
8	Father's sister daughter	FaZD	nyaawayda'
9	Mother's brother's daughter	MoBrD	nyanara'
10	Brother's wife	BrW	tjiek d`maar
11	Father sister's son	FaZS	gatwayda'

12	Mother brother's son	MoBrS	gatāra'
13	Husband	H	tʃow
14	(eld) Wife	W	tʃiekdā' in diit
15	Husband (eld) brother	HeBr	tʃow tʃājhdā' min diit
16	Wife (eld) sister	WeZ	nyimathu in diit
17	wife younger sister	WyZ	nyimaathu in tot
18	Husband (eld) sister	HeZ	manā' tʃowdā' min diit
19	Husband younger sister	HyZ	manā' tʃowdā' min tot

4.3.1 Kin Terms for First Ascending Generation

In Nuer language, the first ascending generation kin terms such as *guaar/gualen* and *maar/malen* are used referring to father/father's brother, mother/mother's sister, father's elder brother's wife, mother's younger sister, mother's elder brother's wife, wife's mother and husband's mother. These terms indicate the closeness of the genealogical reference in the structure of the kinship.

According to the data obtained in the field through focus group discussion, all the first ascending is closely related to the ego's generation. The findings also show that ego's generation terms for consanguine and affinal relationship has some commonality. The first ascending kin in Nuer language got different terms with some slight similarities. For instance, the ego's parental kin in Nuer as consanguine and affinal vary but it meets at some point as in *maar* (mother), *guar* (father), *maalen* (maternal aunt), *waydā'* (paternal aunt), *gualen* (paternal uncle), *nāārā'* (maternal uncle), *gat-guanlen* (cousin or paternal uncle's son), *gat-waydā'* (cousin or paternal aunt's son), *gatmalen* (cousin or maternal aunt's son), *gatwaydā'* (cousin or paternal aunt's son). Here, the prefix *gat-* shows the meaning of 'son' in an ego's generation. As shown in these examples and other elicited data, Nuer has some common terms for all male and female for all kin relative. i.e *gat* (son) for all male and *nyaa* (daughter) for all female children.

The affinal relative has some common terms helping people to understand who the speaker is talking to or talking about *guaṭṭu* (father in-law), *maatṭu* (mother in-law), *demaatṭu* (brother in-law), and

nyimaaṭu (sister in-law). As shown in these examples, most of the affinal terms end in - *ṭu* indicating affinal relationship in which Nuer termed in-laws as *ṭuatf*.

Table 8 Kin Terms for First Ascending Generation

S/N	Nuer term	Gloss
1	maar	Mother
2	maalen in diit	Mother (elder) sister
3	maalen in tot	Mother's younger sister
4	tʃeknäärä	Mother's brother's wife
5	tʃow maalen in diit	Mother (elder) sister's husband
6	tʃow maalen in tot	Mother younger sister's husband
7	gat maalen	(elder) mother sister son
8	näärä	Mother brother
9	maatṭu	wife's mother
10	maatṭu	Husband's mother
11	guar	father
12	gualen (in diit)	father (elder)brother
13	tʃek gualen (in diit)	father (elder) brother wife
14	tʃek gualen in tot	father younger brother wife
15	waydä	Father's sister
16	tʃow waydä	Father sister husband
17	guatṭu	wife's father
18	guatṭu	Husband's father
19	näärä (in diit)	Mother (elder) brother
20	tʃow waydä	Father (elder) sister husband
21	tʃow malen	Mother (elder) sister husband
22	tʃenḡgualen (in diit)	Father (elder) brother wife

Ashown in the Table 8, Nuer has first ascending kinship terms for the Ego's parents (maar 'mother' or guar 'father') their respective sisters, brothers, and spouses. The terms *in diit* and *in tot* are added after the kin terms to indicate ego's 'elder' and 'younger' relatives such as brother and sister.

4.3.2 Kin Terms for Second Ascending Generation

The second ascending generation, the system of the terms is illustrated and distinguished by the sex of the grandparent's gender but not by the parent's gender because in Nuer Language, most of the second ascending kin terms are similar despite of whatever the gender of the speaker is. Both paternal and maternal for the ego's grandparents can be addressed as *gundoṅand mandoṅ* for grandfather and grandmother respectively and the table below can illustrate the ascending.

According to the findings elicited from the questionnaire, the second generation kins are mostly consanguine relationship representing parents, parents' sibling and parents' parents.

Table 9 Second generation kin terms

S/N	Nuer term	Gloss
1	maandoṅ	Mother mother
2	malen maar	Mother mother sister
3	guan doṅmaar	Mother mother father
4	gualen maar	Mother father brother
5	nără maar	Mother mother brother
6	guan doṅ	Father's father
7	deman maandoṅ	Father's mother brother
8	gualen guar	father father brother
9	deman guan maar	father mother brother

As the examples in Table 9 shows, Nuer has second ascending kinship terms for the Ego's grand parents *maandoṅ maar* 'grand or *guan doṅ* 'grand father') their respective sisters and brothers. . The

term *guan* is added after the kin terms to indicate ego’s grand parent or uncles or aunts

4.3.3 Kin Terms for Third Ascending Generation

According to the finding of the key informant interview, the third ascending kin is very difficult to be termed as ego’s close relative. According to the most of the respondents, third ascending generation’s kin can be termed as *guan guadoŋ* or *maan mandoŋ*. In order to make the relationship close rather than complicating it by naming it one by one toward the ego. In the third ascending kin, only the gender of the ego’s grandparent can distinguish the term from one to another because the steps are increasing. For the Nuer speakers, *maan mandoŋ* (mother of grandma) or *guan mandoŋ* (father of grandma), *maan guadoŋ* or *guan guadoŋ* (mother of grandpa or father of grandpa) are used to ease the relationship.

The findings of the focus group discussion and ethnographic observation checklist have shown that when the siblings of grandparents are involved in the third ascending kin, it complicates the situation for the ego’s to name the person as a relatives to her or him but it alcan be eased by referring alternatively to as *mandoŋ* or *guadoŋ* for great grand mother or great grand father.

Table 10 Kin Terms for Third Ascending Generation

S/N	English	Nuer term
1	mother mother mother	man man maar/ mandoŋmaar/man man mandoŋ
2	mother father father	guan guan maar/guadoŋmaar/guan guan mandoŋ
3	mother mother father	guan man maar/guan man mandoŋ/ guadoŋmaar
4	mother mother mother brother	deman man man mandoŋ
5	Mother mother brother	nără maa/deman mandoŋ /deman man maar
6	Father’s mother	mandoŋ man guan/man man guar/ mandoŋ

	mother	guar
7	Father's father father	guan guan guar/ guadoŋ guar
8	Father's father father brother	deman guan guan guar/gualen guan guan guar/deman guadoŋ guan guar
9	father mother father	guan man guar/ guadoŋmaar/ guadoŋ guan maar
10	Father's father mother	man guan guar/ mandoŋ guar / mandoŋ guan guar

As indicated in Table 10, Nuer has sthird ascending kinship terms for the Ego's great grand parents *maan maandoŋ maar* 'grand or *guan guan doŋ* 'great grand father') their respective sisters and brothers. The terms *guan* and *maar maar* are added before the kin terms to indicate ego's great grand father and great grand mother respectively or uncles or aunts, i.e by reduplicating the Nuer kin terms for father and father.

4.3.4 Kin Terms for First Descending Generation

According to the results of the key informant interviews and elicited data, the first descending generation kin terms in Nuer is somewhat some confusions are created when naming some kinship relationships. For instance, some affinal kin terms may get not distinct names that can sound well in making the relationship smooth.

The consanguine and affinal relationship make it easy for the descending kin terms to be identified in their variety of terms. The terms like mother's sister's son that is *gatmalen* in Nuer kinship and also wife sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter are referred to as *nyanyimaatu* and *nyagualen*. Here, the the morpheme *nya-* is used as prefix by ego's generation relative for girls in some cases, relatives like sister's daughter, brother's daughter, uncle's daughter (paternal uncle) and aunt's daughter (maternal aunt's daughter). The other form used to refer ego's generation term /word for girl is *nya* for aunt's daughter (paternal cousin) and uncle's daughter

(maternal cousin). The table below represents the first descending kin terms used in Nuer.

Table 11 Kin Terms for First Descending Generation

S/N	Nuer term	Gloss
1	gatdä	son
2	gat demaar	brother's son (if man speaking)
3	gat nyimaar	Sister's son (if woman speaking)
4	gat nyimaar/ gat nyiman tʃekd / gat nyimaatu	wife's sister son
5	gat demaar/ gat deman tʃoadä/gat tʃoadä	husband's brother son
6	nyaadä	daughter
7	nyenyimaar	Sister's daughter (if man speaking)
8	nyadämaar	Brother's daughter (if woman speaking)
9	gat nyiman tʃoadä	Husband's sister son HZS <i>bais</i>
10	nyademan tʃoadä	Husband's brother daughter
11	gat demaar	Brother's son (if woman speaking)
12	gat nyimaar	Sister's son (if man speaking)
13	nye nyimaar/ nye nyiman tʃekdä nye nyimaatu	Wife's sister daughter
14	gat d`emaar/ gat d`man tʃekdä/gat demaatu	Wife's brother son
15	tʃo nyaad	Daughter's husband
16	nyedemaar	Brother's daughter (if man speaking)
17	nyimaar	Sister's daughter (if woman speaking)
18	nyaa nyenyimaar/nye nyiman tʃodä/nyaa man tʃodä	Husband's sister's daughter
19	nyaa nyedemaar/ nye deman /tʃekdä nyaa demaatu	Wife's brother daughter
20	tʃek/ gatdä	Son's wife

21	gat nyedeman guar/ gat nyimaar/ gat nyaa nyagualen	Father's brother daughter son
22	nye damaan guar/ nyedeman guar in diit/min tot/ nyegualen	Father's brother daughter

The first deceding terms in Table 11 are terms for the Ego's son *gat* and *nya* 'girl' and their respective sisters, brothers and spouses. There are two or more alternative kinship terms such as *gat nyedeman guar/ gat nyimaar/ gat nyaa nyagualen* for 'Father's brother daughter son' and *nye damaan guar/ nyedeman guar in diit/min tot/ nyegualen* for 'Father's brother daughter'

4.3.5 Kin Terms for Second Descending Generation

Nuer has many kin terms whose names are given in respect of the relationship between the kins. In the second descending generation, most of the affinal relationships are named as the consanguine kin in avoiding of being far to the ego's generation. For instance, the terms son's daughter's husband, and daughter's son's wife all refer as grandson or grand daughter to the ego's that is *gatdoodä* or *nyedoodä* in Nuer. See Table 12 for the details as follows:

Table 12 Kin Terms for Second Descending Generation

S/N	Nuer term	Gloss
1	gat nyaadä	daughter son
2	gat gatdä	son's son
3	gat gatdä demaar	brother's son son (if man speaking)
4	gat nyenyaadä maar	brother's daughter son (if man speaking)
5	gat gatdä nyimaar	sister's son's son (if woman speaking)
6	gat nyanyenyimaar	sister's daughter son (if woman speaking)
7	nyenyaadä	daughter's daughter
8	nyegatdä	son's daughter
9	nyaanyedä maar	brother's daughter daughter (if man speaking)
10	nya gatdä demaar	brother's son daughter (if man speaking)

11	nya nyenyimaar	sister's daughter daughter (if woman speaking)
12	nyenyaa gatdä` nyimaar	sister's son daughter (if woman speaking)
13	tʃo nyenyaa gatd är/ tʃo nyaa nye gatdä	son's daughter's husband
14	tʃek gatdä	son's wife

As the examples in Table 12 shows, Nuer has second decending kinship terms for the Ego's grand son or grand daughter are *gat nyaadaä*'daughter son' and *nyenyaaadaä*'daughter's daughter' and their respective sisters and brothers. In these xamples, the prefix *-dä* is added after the kin terms to indicate ego's grand child, i.e., grand sons and grand daughters.

4.3.6 Nuclear family kin terms

In the nuclear family, kin terms are all for the family members who are still living in the same household. Though a man can have his own home with his wife and their children, yet grandparents are counted among the family members. According to the results of the ethnographic observation, questionnaire analysis and elicited data, the researchers inferred that Nuer nuclear family is made up of children, parents, grandparent and other relative whom they are still living with in the same household. The table below indicates the kin terms used for illustrating kinship in Nuer.

Table 13 Nuclear family kin term

S/N	Nuer term	Gloss
1.	gat/nya	child/son
2.	gatdä/nyadä	grand child/son
3.	gat gatdä`/nya nyaadä	great grand child/son
4.	gat gat gatdä`/ nyaa nyaa nyaadä	great great grand child/son
5.	tʃemari	parent (father/mother)
6.	guadoŋ madoŋ	grand parent (grsnd father/ grand mother)

7.	guadoŋ/ madoŋ tin diit	great grand parent (great grand father/ great grand mother)
8.	guadoŋ guadoŋ /madoŋ tin diit	great great grand parent (great great grand father/great great grand mother)
9.	gat	son
10.	gata	grand son
11.	gat gata	great grand son
12.	gat gata gata	great great grand son
13.	nyaal	daughter
14.	nyaada	grand daughter
15.	nya nyaada	great grand daughter
16.	nye nye nyaada	great great grand daughter
17.	guur	father
18.	guadoŋ	grand father
19.	guadoŋ guar	great grand father
20.	guan guadoŋ guar	great great grand father
21.	man	mother
22.	mandoŋ	grand mother
23.	man mandoŋ maar	great grand mother
24.	man man mandoŋ maar	great great Grand mother
25.	deman	brother
26.	guandoŋ	grand brother
27.	deman guandoŋ	great grand brother
28.	deman deman guandoŋ	great great grand brother
29.	nyiman	sister
30.	guandoŋ	grand sister
31.	nyiman guandoŋ	great grand sister
32.	nyiman nyiman guandoŋ	great great grand sister

As indicated in Table 13, kin terms for nuclear family are somewhat similar to the terms mentioned in the kin terms mentioned under ascending and descending generation in the earlier sections. This table lists these kin terms for the sake of comparison with that of English kin terms. Hence, the term for child or son is

expressed in a single kin term *gat in* Nuer. The same works for daughter or girl by this one Nuer kin term *'nyawal*.

4.3.7 Kin Terms for Extended Family

The members of the family having separate households and living independently but having a strong blood tie to each other are termed extended family which includes kin terms for Ego’s brothers and sisters with their children. According to the findings of this study, the extended families in Nuer also include maternal and paternal uncles, aunts, and their children. In-laws or affinal kin such as brother in-laws, sister in-laws, father-in-law, mother in-laws and so forth are included in the family and considered as an extension of the family.

Through the ethnographic observation and interview technique study, the researcher identified and interviewed a study participant who is called *Nhial*. The target person is the head of the family who is living in Itang special woreda with his four children and their mother. *Nhial*’s sister in-law that is his wife’s elder sister is also living with them. *Nhial*’s brother John is living with them. As this ethnographic observation case study indicates, *Nhial* and his wife as the parent with their four children, *Nhial*’s wife’s sister and his brother with their respective children all within the same household represent extended family. The table below is showing such kin terms used in Nuer language for extended family.

Table14 Kin Terms for Extended Family

S/ N	Nuer term	Direct Translation	English Equivalent
1.	gualen	father’s brother (paternal side)	uncle
2.	näärä	mother’s brother (maternal side)	
3.	nyiman guar	father’s sister (paternal side)	aunt
4.	nyiman maar	mother’s sister (maternal side)	
5.	gatwaydä	uncle’s child (paternal side)	cousin
6.	gatmalen	aunt’s child (maternal side)	
7.	gatdemaar	brother’s son (paternal side)	nephew

8.	gatnyimaar	sister’s son (maternal side)	
9.	demaar	brother’s daughter (paternal side)	niece
10.	nyinyimaar	sister’s daughter (maternal side)	

As listed down in Table 14, the Nuer kin terms for extended family have peculiar terms somewhat different from English kin terms though most of them are morphologically derived forms. For instance, the kin terms for uncle are *gualen* ‘father’s brother’, *näära* ‘mother’s brother’ and for aunt *nyiman guar* ‘father’s sister’, *nyiman maar* ‘father’s sister’, etc. However, the other Nuer kin terms for extended family have direct English equivalent terms as illustrated below:

- guantu ‘father-in-law’
- matu ‘mother-in-law’
- gat dematu ‘son-in-law’
- gatnyimatu ‘daughter-in-law’
- dematu ‘brother-in-law’
- nyimatu ‘sister-in-law’

4.4 Nuer Kinship Terms of Address

In line with the data collected in the Nuer speaking community in Gambella and the intuition of one of the researchers, the findings have shown that Nuer kinship terms of address contribute to the linguistic expressions which is mostly served for the speaker but more importantly. In Nuer, age, social status and kinship indicate the relationship among interlocutors that determine the cultural notion of Nuer people

In Nuer, it is omnipresent throughout the Nuer speaking societies and chaos for the same first name (FN) to have multiple bearers in the community or even in the same household. This is especially the case with most of the religious names like Christian/English names such as James, John, and Paul have become very common among the Nuer community.

When this happens, one functional way to avoid and resolve addressee chaos is for an addresser to add a kinship address to the

addressee's name (first name as in *Gatluak Tot*, *Nhial Bol*, and *Deng Tut*. For this kind of addressee identification strategies, the addresser must have kinship tie/s that make kinship address and first name work. Kinship terms of address can be represented using proper names respectively for child's name, father's name and grand father's name as *Jak Deng Koul* for male and *Nyapal Deng Achoul* for female Nuer.

In Nuer, a first-born child is used as a means of addressing instead of his/her parent called teknonymy which is a term refers to a name given in a situation where a father, mother or grandparent is addressed by the personal name of his or her child and grandchild. Alford (1987) argues that the teknonymy is a practice whereby parents at the birth of their child ceases to be known by their former personal names and are known as "Father of (child's name) " and "mother of (child's name).

In some contexts, some people use a teknonymy as a means of showing respect to the parents or grandparents of a particular child. In this regard, the result of descriptive analysis shows that majority of Nuer parents living in Gambella town and its surrounding areas feel respected if they are addressed by the personal names of their first-born children, and are pleased as they understood that the. The Nuer speech community also addresseses parents as 'father of' or 'mother of' as shown in these examples.

guan den	'the father of Deng'
guan pabeel	'the father of Nyabeel'
man den	'the mother of Deng'
man pabeel	'the mother of Nyabeel'

As shown in such examples, teknonymies are used as address terms that show kinship relationship. These examples confirm that the preferred mode of address for a man is son of so-and-so whereas for a married woman is 'mother of so-and-so' after the name of her first-child (Evans-Pritchard, 1951). A man's identity is rooted his ancestors through his father whereas a woman's one is rooted in her decendent (child) (Evans-Pritchard, 1948).

Kinship addresses also provide a potential means of creating and sustaining the power and solidarity among members of the Nuer community. This is seen when some clansmen using certain address terms form reciprocally as the mark of intimacy and home of belongingness. Kinship address in Nuer inherently indicates the elder to be honored and must be termed as *ram mi diit*. If he/she is in the position of parents though he/she is not a biological parent, he/she deserves to be called *guandiit* 'male' or *mandiit* 'female'.

According to Wardhaugh (2006:221-224), linguistic reality is in line with the age-long theoretical notion that the language use is socio-cultural determination because the culture is also expressed by language. Kinship terms are, therefore, the linguistic expressions used for denoting the relationship between people as affinal, consanguine or complementary affiliation ties. According to Yang (2010:738), kinship terms always indicate the personal relationship with his/her relatives.

Nuer kinship terms can heavily depend on semantic interpretation, age set, gender of the addressee and the addresser. As stated by Oyetade (1995) and Aliakbari and Toni (2008), address terms have their roots in the sociocultural context of the society. The kinship relation is dominantly represented as agnatic, matrilineal and affinal that differentiate the kin individual descent. Nuer kin is expressed as agnatic/paternal system. The social order also places on the individual responsibility of indicating certain threshold of social recognition for the matrilineal and affinal kin.

In Nuer, kinship terms of address impose an extensive use and several function in general communication in the Nuer society. According to Qin (2008:409), terms of address reflect interpersonal relationship. Address terms signal the transaction, interpersonal relation and decitic ramification.

3. Summary, conclusion and recommendation

5.1. Summary

The main objective of this study was to investigate the language use on the Nuer kinship terms. Nuer kinship structures, kinship types,

kinship functions address and the kinship solidarity terms are the sole for the discussion of this article. The terminologies used in Nuer kinship have been brought into scene for the perfection the Nuer Kinship structure and the lineal structure. This study has shown that Nuer Kinship is the patrilineal system.

In order to achieve this objective, the following research questions were formulated:

1. What are the types of Nuer kinship terms?
2. What are the functions of Nuer kinship terms?
3. What changes can be identified in the use of these terms in Nuer?
4. How are address terms used in Nuer?

Major functions of kinship terms were also identified in this study.

- *Kinship terms as address terms:* Kinship terms as address terms impose an extensive use and several function in general communication. They open the communication act and set the tone for the interchange that follow. Afful (2006b: 89) argues that by terms of address, students attempt to construct and reflect individual and group social identities. However, a trajectory that is innovative with this study is to look at how a single address category (in this case, kinship address terms) can communicatively be manipulated to assume functions typical of other address types. Further to this claim, this study also makes the point that the choice and use of an address form can determine as well as be determined by the communicate intent of an addresser.
- *Kinship terms as identifiers:* The role of kinship address terms as identifier are related to the name of the person, class or sub class of the address terms. In the use of identification motive, kinship addresses are commonly combined first name (FN) in which the particular address takes the structure of kinship address and first name. This happens when the addresser can gauge that FN alone is inadequate in

identifying an intended recipient. In Nuer, it is omnipresent and chaos for the same FN to have multiple bearers in the community or even in the same household. This is especially the case with most of the religious name like Christian/English, Islamic and Akan day names that have become very common among the Nuer community. When this happens, one functional way to avoid and resolve addressee chaotic is for an addresser to add a kinship address to the addressee's FN as in Gatluak Tot, Nhial Bol, and Deng Tut. For this kind of addressee identification strategy kinship address and FN to work, the addresser must have kinship tie/s with addressee/s.

- *Kinship Addresses as Solidarity Terms:* Kinship addresses provide a potential means of creating and sustaining the solidarity among members of the Nuer community. This is seen when some clansmen using certain kinship address form reciprocally as the mark of intimacy and the drum home of belongingness. KA in Nuer inherently indicates the elder to be honored and must be termed as *ram mi diit*. If he/she is in the position of parents, though he/she is not a biological parent, he/she deserves to be called *guandit* or *mandit*.

Nuer kinship takes into consideration the lineages which encompass all the blood lines and the social consideration of the people living over the respective territory. Nuer kinship consideration of lineage category is mostly a agnatic count or patrilineal count. Clan and family are also the main context of kinship to flow with breakage since the counting of the kin is started from nuclear family, extended family which runs toward clan until tribe.

Nuer kinship terms ascension and descending toward other kin are formally arranged in which only a few terms can have same name. For instance, *gat* serves when speaking of son/boy, and *nya* when speaking of daughter or girl. All females name begins with *Nya* 'my daughter' of which is the standard prefix used for female

names. Similarly, *gat*, meaning 'baby of', is a common prefix for male and female gender form as *gatnyal* 'baby girl' and *gatdöl* 'baby boy'. Based on these prefixes, one can form Nuer names who have social and cultural significances. For example, a person born in the circumstance when a new cattle cowshed (*luak*) is constructed might be named *Nyalual* for a baby girl and *Gatluak* for a baby. In this regard, sociolinguistics of Nuer kinship can heavily depend on semantic interpretation, age set, gender of the addressee and the addresser. Kinship divisions as consanguine and affinal are also considered in Nuer community but the agnatic (patrilineal) consanguine line is the only one considered for the genealogical presentation of the kin count.

5.2. Conclusion

Nuer Kinship is complicated when it reaches the second and the third-generation kin. The terms like *guar*, *Maar*, *nyimaar* and *demaar* (Father, Mother, Sister and brother) are all in the first generation that also represent the nuclear family. The use of ego generation kin in all its levels has greatly complicated the use of sociolinguistic phenomena. Thus, based on the analysis of such Nuer kinship terms and address terms, some conclusions were drawn as follows:

- Three types of Nuer kinship structures were identified namely Lineage (*Kaar*), *family* (*tʃen*), and Clan (*tokduel*) where clan is more complicated in its system.
- Basic kinship terms are identified in Nuer language related to first ascending kin, second ascending kin, third ascending kin, first descending kin, and second descending kin terms nuclear family and extended family kin
- Sociolinguistic factors affect the change of kinship terms and address terms in their uses and functions as identification and solidarity.
- Kinship groups in Nuer fall under consanguine and the marriage relationships and other domestic and political aspect.

- In the division by sibling to oneself in context of ego generation, an ego use age set and sex division to modify who is this to the ego.
- The *Nya-* 'my daughter' is used for female names whereas the prefix *gat-*'baby of' is a common prefix for male and female gender form as *gatnyal* 'baby girl' and *gathö* 'baby boy'

5.3. Recommendations

There are some limitation in the writing of the present article that should be acknowledged, mainly regarding the number of participants in focus group discussion. The findings may not be generalized for the whole Nuer community regarding the sociolinguistic questionnaire and focus group discussion because the research was conducted only with some participants mainly in the two administration units of Gambella town.

However, one can suggest that kinship terms play an indispensable role in the kinship system of the Nuer people in different aspects of life such as social, cultural, sociolinguistic and other aspects of the people's life. Nuer Kinship terms reflect the people's social relationship, marriage relationships, blood ties, political originations, recounting history, experiences, lives, moral values, ethics and wisdom. They contribute a lot about their kin views ruled by kinship rules in the traditional system of the Nuer society. In this regard, there are also some researchers conducted on Nuer Kinship terms in general by using of different theories. However, this thesis covers the language use in Nuer Kinship terms in markedness theory. The present study also recommends further studies on Nuer kinship terms across various dialects of the language by using markedness theory for comparative purpose. Such studies would fill in the gap of the theory of kinship at advanced level.

Hence, on the basis of the results and findings of the study and the conclusions drawn, the following recommendations were forwarded.

- This study initiates a further research could be conducted on other aspects of kinship terms. For example, terms of address should be introduced to kinship structure in order to be understood, appreciated and applied to maintain the cultural norms of the kinship terms related to different marriage relationships and blood relationships.
- Kinship terms should be studied from psychological, sociological and anthropological perspectives to document the indigenous knowledge of the Nuer society related to Kinship terms
- Finally, the researcher believes that further research should be conducted on the study area

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List of Abbreviations

♀	Female
♂	Male
~	Equivalent
addr.	Address
Br	Brother
Ch	Child
D	Daughter
eBr	Elder brother
Eld	Elder
eZ	Elder sister
f.sp	Female speaking
Fa	Father
Fs	Feminine
G+ 3	Third ascending generations
G+0	Ego generation
G+1	First ascending generation

G+2	Second ascending generation
G-1	First descending generation
G-2	Second descending generation
GrCh	Grandchild
GrP	Grand Parent
Grp	Group
m.sp	Male speaking
M/F	Male or female
Mo	Mother
Ms	Masculine
Nmod	Modifier nouns
Pr	Parent
S	Son
SG	Singular
SP	Spouse
W	Wife
yBr	Younger brother
yZ	Younger Sister
Z	Sister

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Nyawal James: Collected the data; Analyzed and interpreted the data; Wrote the paper

Daniel Taye: Conceived and designed the research methodology; edited the paper

Meheretu Adnew: Conceived and designed the field works; Contributed analysis tools; wrote the paper

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The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Data availability statement

Data included in the article.

