COULD MARRIAGE BE A GLORIFIED TRANSACTIONAL RELATIONSHIP? A COGNITIVE BLENDING APPROACH TO ANALOGIES OF MARRIAGE IN DHOLUO

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Abstract: The last few decades have seen declining marriage rates as people prioritize other life goals over marital commitments. While the explanations for this shifting tide are multifaceted, scholarly evidence suggests that portrayal of marriage in a negative light scares many young adults from the institution. Every community equips its people with experiences, attitudes and linguistic resources to conceptualize abstract phenomena such as marriage. Against this background, this study seeks to analyze analogies of marriage in Dholuo to reveal how cultural resources and experiences influence the conceptualization of marriage. The study adopts a descriptive research design. Data for the study was collected through interviews. Forty (40) speakers of the Kisumu South Nyanza (KSN) dialect were asked to provide analogies used to describe marriage in Dholuo. A total of 66 analogies were collected. Four annotators used the synectic method of analogy identification to verify the collected expressions. One analogy which implies that marriage is a transactional relationship was selected for analysis using the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT). The study found that analogies pervade daily conversations but they are unconsciously used to describe abstract phenomena such as marriage. Additionally, the study found that in some marriages in the Luo community, love chemistry, compatibility and emotional investment take a backseat and partners see each other as a means to satisfy their selfish interests. The findings also indicate that conceptual mental spaces as a tenet of the CIT provide a plausible model for interpreting marriage as an abstract concept in Dholuo. The study concludes that analogy is culture-specific and should be investigated through the lenses of a cognitive linguist.

Keywords: analogy, marriage, cognitive linguistics, mental spaces, Dholuo

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Introduction: A Brief Background of Cognitive Linguistics

This study investigates analogies of marriage in Dholuo using Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth CL). According to Ntabo et al. (2022, p. 7), CL “was founded in the late 1970s and early 1980s” to explore the relationship between language and the human mind in creating utterances. This approach to language holds that every speech community employs specific linguistic resources to describe their experience of the world. As individuals use language, they draw from their sociocultural experiences, thought processes, perceptions and varied contexts to describe abstract phenomena. Language use mirrors various aspects of cognition which cannot be accounted for by formal branches of Linguistics (Evans & Green, 2018). The dissatisfaction with formal branches of linguistics was the departure point of studies investigating products of cognition such as analogy, metaphor, metonymy, counterfactual reasoning and idiomatic expressions among others. According to Fauconnier (2006), CL emerged after discontentment with Chomskyan grammar whose structure cannot describe backstage cognition motivating the meaning of an utterance. Generally, language is a product of thought processes in a sociocultural context. To establish meaning of utterances, therefore, one needs to consider the cultural resources, perceptions and experiences of individuals in a particular community.

A Cognitive Linguistic approach to language considers utterances to be products of embodied cognition. This means that speakers of a language rely on particular encounters, experiences and mental processes to create utterances. Weiskopf (2010) observes that speakers’ conceptual organization and the general representation of their physical environment combine to form the meaning of entities around them. The human brain has cognitive models which process raw perceptual data and transform them into mental images which are used to comprehend expressions such as analogy, metaphor, counterfactuals, idioms and referential obscurity among others. Unlike generative linguistics, which considers meaning peripheral to the study of language, CL maintains that meaning is the centre of any linguistic inquiry. Holme (2012) contends that if meaning is the focal point of linguistic inquiry, it is important to explore the cognitive, cultural and social contexts of expressions.

Analogy and Cognition

Analogy, the focus of this study, is a pervasive product of cognition which is used to comprehend abstract phenomena in terms of concrete entities. The term analogy is derived from the Greek word ‘anologos’ which means proportional relationships between two entities (Guerrière, 2019). Analogy compares two things to reveal the correspondence in their structures. The essence of comparing two things in analogous phrases is to clarify the partial similarity, dissimilarity or the parallels between the source domains and the target domains. According
to Gentner and Smith (2012), analogy is “a kind of similarity in which the same system of relations holds across different sets of elements” (p. 186). This suggests that when two things are compared using analogy, they do not only share structural similarities but also operate in a similar way. This is the argument buttressed by Remias (2018) who points out that analogous comparisons provide models which one can use to predict structural and operational resemblances between source and target domains. Keshwani and Chakrabarti (2017) reiterate that the target domain is often an abstract phenomenon while the source domain is a physical or concrete entity. By mapping the attributes of the concrete domain on the target, analogy helps us understand the less familiar (target) in terms of the familiar (source).

Analogy and Marriage in Dholuo

The marital experiences and circumstances under which one enters marriage influence the analogical expressions used to describe marriage. For instance, marriage can be conceptualized in terms of gardening, hospital or war among others (Gise, 2006; Diamond & Grama, 2022; Gathigia, 2014). In the Luo community, certain marriage practices such as *gemo* (negotiation), *meko* (abduction), and *por* (marriage by elopement) influence how one perceives marriage. Abduction and elopement are outdated practices that have no place in the modern society. However, marriage by negotiation is a common practice in the Luo community. According to Oduke (2016, p. 5), the Luo Community sets the bride price at a minimum of two live cows but the groom is likely to “receive pressure to give more” if his competitors are richer. This practice implies that marriage requires the exchange of women for the bride price. Besides, certain practices such as settling marital conflicts through fines, transactional sex and
the demand for monetary gifts in exchange for love and intimacy may lead to the conceptualization of marriage as a transactional relationship. According to Kwena et al. (2012), some marriages in the Luo community are founded on transactional sex along the shores of Lake Victoria. Some of the above activities associated with marriage in the Luo community may, to a great extent, influence the choice of phrases used to describe marital relationships in Dholuo.

The study chose to investigate marriage based on a number of reasons. First, marriage is not only the foundation of the society but also the basis of human relationships (Bethmann & Kvasnicka, 2011). Second, the number of adults who choose to settle in marriage continues to diminish as the degree of importance attached to marriage also continues to wane (Sassler & Lichter, 2020). Some adults are adamant about entering marriage, while others choose to get married on their terms. According to Manning et al. (2019), a large number of adults prefer cohabitation or the pursuit of other life goals such as education to marriage. Research also demonstrates that various attitudes associated with marriage directly influence the choice of getting married among adults. Leonhardt et al. (2022) postulate that expressions used to describe marriage in various communities influence the number of individuals who may get married or prefer other life engagements. Based on these reasons, the present study employed the CIT to investigate how marriage is conceptualized using analogies in Dholuo.

Dholuo is a Nilotic language spoken by the Luo community in Kenya. Native speakers of Dholuo are called *Joluo* (Luos) while the area where the language is predominantly spoken is referred to as *piny Luo* (Luo land). The Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019) estimates Dholuo speakers to be 5,066,966. Otieno (2014) observes that Dholuo is principally spoken in Siaya, Homa-Bay, Migori and Kisumu counties. There are two mutually intelligible dialects of Dholuo: Kisumu South Nyanza (KSN) and the Boro-Ukwala (BU) dialects (Aduda, 2013). The KSN dialect is chiefly spoken in the geographic areas such as Kisumu, Homa-Bay and Migori counties while the BU dialect is predominantly spoken in areas such as Alego, Yimbo, Gem, Ugenya, Yala and the larger part of Siaya county. The BU dialect is spoken in a smaller geographical region and is considered less prestigious (Yamo, 2014). The KSN dialect is regarded to be socially prestigious because it is not only spoken in the larger region but is also widely used in Dholuo broadcast, literature and Dholuo Bible. This is the argument buttressed by Ogutu (2019) who reiterates that KSN dialect is used in print media, radio stations and electronic media among others. The present study, therefore, investigated analogies of marriage in the KSN dialect of Dholuo.
Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT) which was originally proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2008). The CIT was further improved by Coulson and Oakley (2005). Generally, the CIT enables one to comprehend abstract linguistic data by integrating information from different communication contexts into a single unit called a blend. Also known as the Blending Theory (Close & Scherr, 2015), Many Space Model (Gathigia, 2014), and Mental Spaces Theory (Tucan, 2013), the CIT is resourceful in retrieving information from human memory and matching it with pragmatic information to yield special meaning within the context of use. While Džanić (2007) observes that the CIT was initially employed in the study of indirect reference and referential obscurity, recent studies have used the theory to investigate products of cognition such as idiomatic expressions, metaphor, analogy and metonymy among others.

The CIT uses mental spaces as a major tenet to describe analogical connections between source domains and target domains. The mental spaces comprise the input space one, input space two, the generic space and the blended space (Džanić, 2007). The explanation of linguistic phenomenon using the CIT proceeds in four steps. First, an expression with a hypothetical blend is introduced. Second, one describes the conceptual structure of both the target domain and the source domain. The features of the two domains are displayed in input spaces one and two. After this, the common information in the two input spaces is projected into the generic space (Coulson & Cánovas, 2009). The generic space refers to the packet which captures information shared between the source and target domains. The generic space is connected to the two input spaces using dotted lines.

In the last stage, shared information in the input spaces is selectively projected to the blended space. Coulson and Oakley (2005) observe that during selective projection, background information is matched with the details in the input spaces to create a special meaning within the context of use. The selective projection creates a conceptual integration network of the four mental spaces. The blended space integrates information in the input spaces with inferential information drawn from the context of an utterance to create a new meaning in the emergent structure. According to Ntabo et al. (2022), the emergent structure uses contextual accommodation across domain thus creating special meaning within the context of the utterance. Figure 1 below presents a conceptual integration network of the four mental spaces.
Figure 1. A Conceptual Integration Network (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002)

The CIT uses three blending processes to explain an expression. First, composition is a blending process which involves ascribing information in input space one to input space two. The second process called completion involves retrieving information from long-term memory and matching it with the blend. Polak (2017) posits that during completion, one retrieves background information stored in the memory and matches it with the information in the input spaces to create special meaning within the context of use. For instance, divorce or separation of a family may be matched with constant quarrels or unfaithfulness. In the final blending process called elaboration, one creates a visual or pictorial representation of the situation in the mind. According to Džanić (2007) elaboration as a blending process “usually entails mental or physical simulation of the event in the blend” (p. 175). The three blending processes combine to create new inferences within a context hence explaining the meaning of a blend.

Methodology

The present study adopted a descriptive research design. Doyle et al. (2020) define descriptive design as an approach that seeks to provide an account of a research phenomenon as it is without manipulating the data. This is the argument buttressed by Nassaji (2015) who reiterates that descriptive research design endeavors to analyze that which is already available. A researcher should, therefore, collect the data using such instruments as questionnaires and interviews. The study used an interview schedule to collect analogous phrases of marriage in Dholuo among 40 KSN dialect speakers purposively sampled based on variables of age, gender and marital status. Klärner (2015) contends
that marriage is perceived differently depending on demographic variables such as age, marital status and gender.

A total of 66 analogies of marriage in Dholuo were collected through an interview schedule. The analogies were then subjected to inter-rater reliability measures in which four annotators established the analogous nature of each expression. The annotators used the synectic method of analogy identification to verify the collected expressions. According to Clapham (2003), the synectic method identifies analogies in four steps. First, analogous expressions use associations such as ‘A is like B.’ Second, the compared entities must be unrelated or disconnected. Third, the expression provides a brief explanatory note elaborating the structural similarity between the compared items. Girija (2014) observes that analogy compares unrelated entities and goes ahead to provide a brief explanation of their shared structures. The fourth step in analogy identification demands that the compared entities must have more than one structural similarity. That is, there must be many similarities between the source and target domains. The expressions were categorized as analogies if at least three annotators were in agreement. That is, if each expression was assigned 0.75 or 75%, it was considered analogous.

The collected analogies were translated into English. One analogy that depicts marriage as a transaction was purposively sampled for analysis because, as pointed out by Amin and Bajracharya (2011), depiction of marriage as a transactional relationship is one reason for dwindling numbers of those who prefer marriage in this age. Amin and Bajracharya further add that some marriages are “prohibitively expensive’ thus scaring young adults from getting married. Hamilton (2023) also asserts that love which glues many marriages has been replaced by material gains, thus marriage has become trade in many communities. This is the argument buoyed by Ali (2010) who contends that in the present age, many people conceptualize marriage as a transactional union where spouses exchange material gains for love and affection. Along these lines, the study set out to describe how Dholuo depicts marriage within the framework of the CIT.

**Findings and Discussions**

This study found that marriage in the Luo community is conceptualized as a business or transactional relationship. This is in line with the argument of Hamilton (2023), who observes that many marriages and romantic relationships at present operate like businesses where partners engage in transactions. Further, although many still fall in love and enter marital relationships, some see marriage as a business transaction which generates revenue and guarantees higher standards of living. According to Mojola (2014), marriage is depicted as a business because it is an institution where financial resources are exchanged
for intimacy and affection. Table 1 below presents Dholuo analogy depicting marriage as a transactional relationship.

Table 1. Inter-rater Reliability Measures for Kend en kaka ohala (marriage is like a business)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Dholuo</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reliability Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kend en kaka ohala</td>
<td>Marriage is like a business</td>
<td>Coder 1 0.25  Coder 2 0.25  Coder 3 0.25  Coder 4 0.25  Total 1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To analyze the analogy kend en kaka ohala (marriage is like a business), this study proceeds in certain steps. The first step involves the description of the information contained in the source domain (business) and target domain (marriage). The source domain becomes the input space one while the target domain becomes input space two. When describing the conceptual structure of the two input spaces, we highlight the features of a business activity and map them onto marriage. The study noted that a business transaction involves two people (buyer and seller). The traditional business system in the Luo community is known as wiló (barter), which involves two parties exchanging goods without a currency (Okello, 2021). With the introduction of money, the two parties (buyer and seller) now use currency to exchange goods and services. Marriage involves two parties who attract each other in the fashion of a business transaction. According to Roth (2015), the person who woos the other is like a seller and the one being wooed is the buyer who falls for them.

A business person takes certain risks with the expectation of making profits. Although one intends to sell their products, there is no guarantee that the products will be bought. This makes a business activity a risk. Verbano and Venturini (2013) highlight theft, fire outbreaks, equipment failure, economic recession, change in tastes and natural disasters as some of the unforeseen circumstances that may lead to losses in business. Marriage is also depicted as a risk because the future of the couples is uncertain. Hiekel and Keizer (2015) describe marriage as a risky move in which partners stake their love and lives with the hope of living happily.

Business transactions are characterized by negotiations. Both the buyer and the seller discuss responsibilities and expectations to reach a mutual understanding. Similarly, marriage involves reaching an agreement through discussions and negotiations. Brannen and Wilson (2023) observe that marriages operate like a business when partners engage in give-and-take agreements with mutual understanding. This study also noted that in a business activity, an entrepreneur expects higher returns. This aspect corresponds to the expectation of a better living standards in marriage. Musick and Bumpass (2012) point out that while an entrepreneur is inspired to start a business with the expectation of higher
returns, couples in marriage are motivated to initiate a relationship with the promise of higher standards of living.

Duration and longevity are other points of correspondence between the source domain and the target domain. Generally, businesses seek to achieve short-term or long-term financial objectives. In contrast, marriages are meant to be lifelong commitments in which couples stick to each other through different stages of their lives. Unlike a business which may be dissolved due to poor performance, marriage is meant to last forever. In the Luo community, marriage is guarded by laws which discourage separation or divorce. According to Oguda (2012), the Luo culture imposes stringent measures and punitive laws on couples to discourage them from entertaining thoughts of separation or divorce. Marriage, therefore, is expected to be a lifelong commitment in the Luo community. The information contained in the two input spaces is summarized in Table 2 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input Space 1 (Business)</th>
<th>Mapping</th>
<th>Input Space 2 (Marriage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buyer and seller</td>
<td></td>
<td>Husband and wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncertainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Give and take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectation of returns</td>
<td></td>
<td>Expectation of wellbeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short/long term</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lifelong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td></td>
<td>Flexibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial commitment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional connection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After describing the conceptual structure of each input space, the analysis proceeds to the generic space. In this space, common information between the source and target domains is projected. For instance, a business and marriage are both institutions. According to Atwood (2012), marriage and business are both institutions which operate to improve the welfare of individuals. As institutions, marriages and businesses have systems in place to track performance and remedy any unpleasant situations. The two input spaces also share communication as a common feature. Businesses require effective communication between clients and the entrepreneurs. Similarly, marriages thrive on heart-to-heart talks between partners. Further, businesses have clearly defined rules that regulate their operation. Such rules regulate supply, pricing, corporate behavior and marketing among others. Correspondingly, marriages are governed by rules of communication, conflict resolution, family fun and expenditure among others.

Another common feature in businesses and marriages is satisfaction. An entrepreneur remains committed to the business as long as there is satisfaction in the transactions. That is, dissatisfaction with business progress is one cause of closure. Similarly, marital satisfaction is a key contributor to marriage success. According to Khezri et al. (2020), factors such as partner loyalty, partner...
support, communication, spending time together and forgiveness are some of the factors that promote marital satisfaction.

After describing the conceptual structure of the generic space, the study proceeds to analyze the structure of the blended space where the new meaning of marriage emerges. Background details about a business reveal the intention of an entrepreneur. In spite of the economic situation and market factors, a business person will only remain in the market if there is gain. The word business is *ohala* or *loko* in Dholuo. Both words mean to exchange goods and services with something that generates revenue. The seller gains the money while the client gains the product or service. The collaboration between a buyer and seller serves one purpose: to gain something. Similarly, a marriage which is depicted as a business implies that the relationship is not founded on love but generation of income. Therefore, the meaning of the analogy *kend en kaka ohala* (marriage is like a business) comes out as a relationship in which partners pair up for financial or economic gain. The generic-blended space mapping for the analogy *kend en kaka ohala* (marriage is like a business) is presented in Table 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generic Space</th>
<th>Mapping</th>
<th>Blended Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Institution</td>
<td>Institution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules</td>
<td>Rules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intention</td>
<td>Intention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Emergent meaning *Marriage is a relationship in which partners pair up for financial or economic gain.*

The Conceptual Integration Network (CIN) for the analogy *kend en kaka ohala* (marriage is like a business) is presented in Figure 2 below.
Figure 2. A Conceptual Integration Network for the Analogy
'Marriage is a like a Business'

The above analysis has employed three blending processes. First, composition has introduced the frames of the source and target domains hence describing the features of the two input spaces. The completion process has been used to project the common features of the input spaces in the generic space. Lastly, the study has employed elaboration in which background information about marriage has been selectively projected to create special meaning. Elaboration has helped in the creation of a visual or pictorial image of the expression. The meaning of the analogy ‘marriage is like a business’ therefore comes out as a relationship in which partners pair up for financial or economic gain.

Conclusions

Based on the findings above, this study concludes that ohala (business) is suitably employed to conceptualize marriage in Dholuo. Further, the study indicates that marriage in the Luo community is depicted in transactional terms. That is, love chemistry, compatibility and emotional investment take a backseat and partners see each other as a means to satisfy selfish interests. Additionally, the conceptual mental spaces of the CIT aptly integrate to reveal how marriage is depicted as a transactional activity in the Luo community. Moreover, the synectic method of analogy identification is an effective procedure for verifying
analogous expressions. The synectic method qualifies expressions as analogous if the compared elements are unrelated, there is an explanatory note on structural similarity and there is more than one domain in the comparison. Therefore, analogy, which is a culture-specific product of cognition, should be explained using the Cognitive Linguistics approach.

References


