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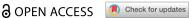Phaustini B. Bayo[a] 🄳, Chrispina Alphonce[b] and Shingwa Magashi[b]

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the status of Iraqw kinship terms and provides their future implications. The study offers insights into the resilience of Iraqw indigenous kinship terms and the penetration of new kinship terms from Kiswahili, a dominant language in Tanzania. Data were collected through an open-ended questionnaire from 30 Iraqw research participants. Brief follow-up interviews were also conducted with participants who reported using Swahili kinship terms in their questionnaires, to determine whether they were merely code-switching into a dominant language or engaging in borrowing. Moreover, a documentary review was conducted to determine Iraqw indigenous kinship terms *vs.* new kinship terms. Data were then analysed thematically. The frequencies of the kinship terms were presented to determine their current trends. The findings show significant changes in the use of Iraqw kinship terms. The results denote that some Iraqw kinship terms are replaced by their Kiswahili equivalents, other kinship terms coexist with their Kiswahili equivalents within the community and the rest are maintained. The findings show that all the kinship terms borrowed from Kiswahili have their equivalents in Iraqw, indicating that they were borrowed for prestige. This kind of borrowing has led to the loss of some Iraqw indigenous kinship terms and the knowledge associated with those kinship terms among the young Iraqw speakers.

1. Introduction

Iraqw is one of the languages that form the Southern branch of the Cushitic language family (Kießling, 2000; Kießling & Mous, 2003; Maghway, 1995). The language is mainly spoken in the northern part of Tanzania, particularly in the Manyara Region and Karatu District in the Arusha Region (Bayo, 2023; Mous, 2001, 2020; Mous et al., 2002; Mous & Qorro, 2009). Iraqw speakers are estimated to be more than 602,661 (Muzale & Rugemalira, 2008, p. 79). The Iraqw community is surrounded by speakers of various languages, including Datooga, a Nilotic language; Hadza, an isolate click language; Gorwaa, a Cushitic language; Maasai, an Eastern Nilotic language; and Nyiramba, Isanzu, and Mbugwe, which are Bantu languages (Mous & Qorro, 2009).

Although the Iraqw community is surrounded by speakers of different languages, Kiswahili is recently a language that is exerting a higher influence on Iraqw due to its status (Mous & Qorro, 2009). Iraqw as one of the minority languages in Tanzania, has been in contact with Kiswahili, a national language and lingua franca for decades (Bayo, 2018; Lusekelo, 2015; Mous & Qorro, 2009). Kiswahili, as a language of wider communication dominates many ethnic community languages in Tanzania (Lusekelo, 2017, 2018; Yoneda, 2010). Kiswahili is used in education, mass media, trading activities, employment opportunities, political activities, mass gatherings, and marketplaces, among other activities and domains (Batibo, 2005; Mekacha, 1993). The use of Kiswahili in different socio-economic, and political activities denotes its higher status and prestige than ethnic community languages in Tanzania.

The differences in status and prestige between Iraqw and Kiswahili have contributed and continue to contribute to the borrowing of linguistic elements from Kiswahili into Iraqw. Mous and Qorro (2009) revealed this through their investigation of loanwords in Iraqw across 23 semantic fields with little information on kinship terms. They indicated that the Iraqw language had borrowed four kinship terms, but these terms were not specified. Their statistics show that two terms were borrowed from Kiswahili, while the sources of the other two terms were unspecified, indicating inadequate information about borrowing on the semantic field of kinship terms. In other semantic fields, Mous and Qorro (2009) reported loanwords in Iraqw, including Kiswahili loanwords. The influence of Kiswahili on the Iraqw language was also revealed by Bayo (2018), who found that the use of Iraqw is largely restricted to informal domains, while Kiswahili is used in official domains. In this asymmetrical relationship, with Kiswahili predominance, Batibo (2005) states that instances of borrowing and code-switching from the second language (L2) are evident when members of the community speak their first language (L1).

Given the situational context of the study, this research therefore analyses the current status of kinship terms in the Iraqw language and provides their future implications. Kinship terms are assumed to manifest in every language to depict familial bonds among the community members (Honkola & Jordan, 2023; Metsäranta et al., 2023). Kinship terms denote the familial relationships between the family members who are connected by blood and marriage (Asad, 2021; Campbell, 2021; Majumdar, 2018). In this case, kinship relationships form a web of networks in which members relate to one another in society. This denotes that kinship terms serve not only linguistic roles but also reflect broader social norms, traditions, and customs. Deeply ingrained in a particular culture, kinship terms have long been assumed to be the resistant aspect of a language against pressure from dominant languages (Honkola & Jordan, 2023; Metsäranta et al., 2023; Wangno & Barbora, 2021). However, the prolonged contact between the minority and dominant languages results in a penetration of kinship terms from the dominant languages to less powerful languages (Lusekelo & Mpobela, 2024; Metsäranta et al., 2023). The penetration of kinship terms may occur due to borrowing as one of the outcomes of languages in contact in bilingual or multilingual contexts (Batibo, 2005; Malik, 2010).

Borrowing occurs when words from one language are used and adopted in another language (Haspemath, 2009). Languages tend to borrow linguistic elements including kinship terms from other languages. Borrowing of linguistic elements, including kinship terms is influenced by two major factors, namely the need (an example is provided on pages 5–6) and prestige (Honkola & Jordan, 2023). The need for new words arises as a means of incorporating new cultural concepts that a language encounters during its development (Myers-Scotton, 2006). Borrowing for prestige occurs when speakers borrow terms including kinship terminologies as a result of cultural attraction or prestige of speaking in the dominant languages despite the existence of equivalent terms in the recipient languages (Myers-Scotton, 2006). The borrowed words are sometimes adopted and integrated phonologically and morphologically and become part of the recipient language (Haspemath, 2009).

Given that the Iraqw community is surrounded by speakers of different languages and that their language faces pressure from Kiswahili, it is important to understand the current status of kinship terms and their future implications. Therefore, this study analyses the current status of Iraqw kinship terms to foresee their future trends.

2. Literature review

2.1. The concept of kinship term

Kinship terms are terminologies that are commonly used to express relationship established based on genealogy and marriage (Asad, 2021; Dwight, 2015). However, in some communities, kinship terms are extended beyond the kin group to address non-kin members in society (Bayo, 2023). Thus, kinship relationships transcend the common understanding of kinship terms, which traditionally emphasize relationships established through blood and marriage. This means that kinship terms are also used to describe other broader relationships including those formed through adoption, friendship, economic, and political relationships (Asad, 2021). For instance, members of a particular group sometimes address themselves using the term 'brother' which is an English kin term for genetically related brothers (Gill, 2018). In this

case, kinship terms are used to show deference, unity, care, and intimacy toward each member of the group. The current study primarily focuses on the kinship terms denoting blood and marital relationships. They are known as consanguineal and affinal kinship terms (Kraska-Szlenk, 2018; Majumdar, 2018; Sinha et al., 2012). The study analyses the status of consanguineal and affinal kinship terms in Iraqw and provides their future implications. Therefore, the next discussion focuses on those two types of kinship terms and their borrowing in different languages.

2.2. Consanguineal kinship terms

Consanguineal kinship terms denote blood relationships among family members (Gheitury et al., 2010; Wangno & Barbora, 2021). A typical example is the relationship between parents and their children. They are divided into close and distant consanguineal kinship terms (Asad, 2021; Majumdar, 2018). Close consanguineal kinship terms show relationships between family members who are directly connected by blood, such as parents and their children (Sinha et al., 2012). In contrast, distant consanguineal kinship terms denote relationships between family members who are connected by blood but do not share a direct bond as parent-child relationship (Honkola & Jordan, 2023). Distant consanguineal family members may include one's cousins, uncles, and aunts. However, it is important to note that categorizing consanguineal kinship terms as close or distant family members does not apply universally, nor does it capture all aspects of kinship (Keen, 2014). This distinction is merely intended to highlight a key aspect of kinship interaction (Honkola & Jordan, 2023). In some communities, such closeness is determined by biological or genetic bond between family members while in other communities, closeness among the family members is determined by social norms, traditions, and customs (Asad, 2021).

Studies show that kinship terms used for addressing close family members, including parents, and children are less frequently borrowed than those designating peripheral relatives (Honkola & Jordan, 2023). The rare borrowing of kinship terms for close family members is attributed to their frequent use compared to terminologies used for addressing distant consanguineal family members, such as uncles, aunts, and cousins (Honkola & Jordan, 2023). As children grow up, they begin to learn kinship terms for the people around them more readily than for other family members whom they hardly encounter (Rácz et al., 2019). In this regard, they become more accustomed to the terms for designating close family members than the distant family members. Such familiarity acts as a barrier for borrowing kinship terms related to close family members. In terms of generational relationships, kinship terms for addressing grandparents, parents, and other older generations are more affected by the instances of borrowing than kinship terms for designating younger family members (Honkola & Jordan, 2023).

2.3. Affinal kinship terms

Affinal kinship terms are used to address people who are in marital relationships (Asad, 2021; Dwight, 2015). They are terms used to address or refer to people connected by the bond of marriage. The basic affinal kinship terms are those used between husband and wife. They also include terms used to address people from both the husband's and wife's sides (Wangno & Barbora, 2021). For example, English has the following affinal kinship terms: mother-in-law, father-in-law, sister-in-law, brother-in-law, son-in-law, and daughter-in-law (Dwight, 2015). Most of the English affinal kinship terms end with the suffix -law. Each language has its affinal kinship terms to address or refer to people who are connected by the bond of marriage.

Studies show that affinal kinship terms are also affected by the instances of borrowing across distinct languages (Honkola & Jordan, 2023; Malik, 2010). For example, borrowing of affinal kinship terms was noted in Uralic languages (Metsäranta et al., 2023). The scholars found that affinal kinship terminologies, particularly those used for referring to spouses, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law, demonstrate a higher percentage of borrowing in Uralic languages. One of the factors contributing to borrowing is social integration, wherein one spouse may adopt the affinal kinship terms of the other to facilitate communication within a specific social framework. Additionally, prestige plays a role in the borrowing of affinal kinship terms. The speakers of a particular language may adopt kinship terminologies from another language because of the respect or prestige associated with those languages.

2.4. Influence of Kiswahili on kinship terms in minority languages in Tanzania

Though instances of borrowing occur in all languages, speakers of minority languages tend to borrow terms from the dominant languages more frequently than speakers of dominant languages do (Myers-Scotton, 2006). In Tanzania, the influence of Kiswahili is observable in the system of kinship terms in ethnic community languages. For example, in the Matengo community of southern Tanzania, Yoneda (2010, p. 142) reports the borrowing of Swahili kinship terms *kaka* 'elder brother' and *dada* 'elder sister'. Borrowing of those Swahili kinship terms is linked to the absence of Matengo kinship terms that can distinguish between an older and younger sibling of opposite sexes. The concept of older than exists in Kiswahili and hence being borrowed into Matengo language. Therefore, Swahili kinship terms *kaka* 'elder brother' and *dada* 'elder sister' are employed as a mechanism of incorporating the new concept of 'older than' between siblings of opposite sexes in the Matengo language. Moreover, Lusekelo (2021) found borrowing of Swahili address terms, including kinship terms in the Nyakyusa language. Lusekelo reports that the Swahili loan kinship terms *sangasi* 'father's sister' and *mjomba* 'mother's brother' are used more frequently than their Nyakyusa equivalents. This denotes that the Swahili kinship terms were borrowed for prestige, as their equivalents exist in the Nyakyusa language.

The review of literature indicates that both consanguineal and affinal kinship terms are affected by language contact. The contact has led to the borrowing of kinship terms, primarily from dominant languages to minority languages. Although studies have documented the borrowing of kinship terms in various languages, there is little information on changes in kinship terms in the Iraqw language. Therefore, this study analyses the current status of kinship terms in the Iraqw and provides their future implications.

2.5. Theoretical framework

This study is guided by the marked bilingualism model by Batibo (2005), which relies on the following three assumptions. Firstly, speakers shift to the use of other language occurs in a bilingual context. This means that speakers abandon the use of their indigenous kinship terms as a result of the contact with other languages. In this case, Iraqw is in contact with Kiswahili. Secondly, prestige and status differences between languages contribute speakers to abandoning their own language in favor of another. In the context of this study, Kiswahili is a more prestigious language than Iraqw and has a higher status compared to Iraqw. Its prestige and status motivate Iraqw speakers to borrow kinship terms. Thirdly, the rate of speakers shifts to the use of other languages depend on the degree of influence from the dominant language and the level of resistance depicted by the less powerful language. Kiswahili has a higher influence on Iraqw speakers to gradually abandon the use of their indigenous kinship terms and adopt their Kiswahili equivalents. In line with this assumption, such Kiswahili influence manifests in terms of economic, socio-cultural, and political aspects (Batibo, 2005). In this regard, Kiswahili is associated with the economic benefits, socio-cultural opportunities, and political advantages. These opportunities attract Iraqw speakers to abandon the use of their kinship terms in favour of Swahili kinship terms.

The model proposed five phases in which a language progressively passes towards extinction. Firstly, relative monolingualism, which involves the use of L1 in almost all domains. Secondly, L1 predominance over L2 in a bilingual context. Thirdly, L2 predominance over the L1, which is characterized by the instances of code-mixing and borrowing of linguistic elements from the L2. Fourthly, the restricted use of L1 in ritual performances and initiation ceremonies. The last phase is the L1 replacement by the L2. Most Tanzanian languages are claimed to be in phase two, where people use their L1 in village communication, intra-ethnic interactions, and family life (Batibo, 1992). However, Yoneda (1996) claims also that most ethnic community languages in Tanzania are believed to be in phase three or even further ahead. Based on Yoneda (1996), the Iraqw language is assumed to be in phase three during which there are instances of borrowing of linguistic elements, including kinship terms. This does not clearly indicate that the Iraqw language is going to die suddenly, but it is a sign that the language is under pressure from other languages, particularly Kiswahili, the lingua franca and dominant language in Tanzania. The marked bilingualism model provides insight into the status and factors influencing the Iraqw speakers' shift to new kinship terms.

3. Methodology

3.1. Approach and design

This research used a qualitative approach. This approach involves studying the phenomenon in its natural context and interpreting it in terms of the meaning that people ascribe to it (Creswell, 2007; Kothari, 2004). In this study, the participants' experiences and perceptions of the use of kinship terms were collected from the natural settings without the researcher's influence or control over the research participants. The approach guided the collection and analysis of data or responses on the use of kinship terms. The data collected are in form of text or words, to provide a detailed understanding of the current status of kinship terms in the Iraqw language. The study adopted descriptive research design, which allowed the researchers to explore the participants' descriptions of the use of kinship terms. The descriptive research design aims to describe the phenomenon and its characteristics (Dulock, 1993; Nassaji, 2015). Therefore, the design allows the researchers to describe the current status of kinship terms in the Iraqw language and provide their future implications.

3.2. Sampling technique and study area

Purposive sampling was used in this study. In purposive sampling, the research participants selected are those who are likely to provide suitable and valuable information to address the research questions (Showkat & Parveen, 2017). Research participants are selected based on specific criteria relevant to the research objectives. In the current study, the research participants were selected deliberately for being native speakers of the Iraqw language, born, raised, and still living in the selected research site. Native speakers of the Iraqw language aged 10–51 years old and above were purposely included in the sample. The said age range was considered in determining knowledge variation in the use of Iraqw kinship terms. Using a purposive sampling technique, thirty (30) research participants were selected and shared their experiences and perceptions on the use of kinship terms. This research was conducted in Bondeni Village, a new political-administrative area in Hanang-Manyara Region in Tanzania. The village was purposely selected because of its high population of Iraqw native speakers which was significant in obtaining the participants from whom the data were collected.

3.3. Data collection

In this study, open-ended questionnaires were used for data collection. The questionnaire was developed in a way that the participants provided kinship terms that they use in given communicative encounters. This method provides the participants with the opportunity to share their experiences, without any influence, allowing the researcher to collect kinship terms that they employ in their daily interactions across different demographics. The questionnaire was written in Iraqw language. During the process of data collection, the questionnaires were distributed by the corresponding author who is a native speaker of the Iraqw language. The questionnaires were distributed to research participants in their homes and other convenient locations for them to fill out. For the participants who were not able to read and write in their native language, the researcher read one question after another and wrote the answers provided by the participants. This was done to avoid orthographic barriers. Thereafter, brief follow-up interviews were conducted with participants who reported the use of Swahili kinship terms to confirm whether the use of Swahili kinship terms is a result of mere code-switching or borrowing. Moreover, a documentary review was conducted to determine whether the kinship terms provided by the research participants are indeed part of the Iraqw vocabulary. The Iraqw-English dictionary (Mous et al., 2002) was reviewed. This review helps in identifying Iraqw indigenous kinship terms and new kinship terms that have penetrated in the Iraqw language.

3.4. Data analysis

The data collected were qualitatively analysed based on thematic technique. From the questionnaires, the researchers sorted, identified, and documented the kinship terms used by the participants. Then,

thematic analysis was conducted and the kinship terms were categorized into two broader themes: consanguineal and affinal kinship terms. Consanguineal kinship terms are presented in Table 1 while affinal kinship terms are presented in Table 3. To determine the current trends in the use of indigenous Iraqw kinship terms and the adoption of new ones, the frequencies and percentages of kinship term usage were calculated. The frequency and percentage of consanguineal kinship terms are presented in Table 3, while those of affinal kinship terms are shown in Table 4. This approach aligns with Nassaji (2015), who suggests that qualitatively collected data can be analysed quantitatively. The process involves the researcher to first analyse the data qualitatively to identify relevant themes, which can then be converted into numerical data for further evaluation and comparison. The analysis of similar nature was also conducted in different studies (Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Loewen, 2015). The data obtained from the follow-up interviews were thematically analysed, aligning with the themes developed from the open-ended questionnaire data. The interview aimed to determine whether the use of Swahili kinship terms constituted was mere code-switching or borrowing.

4. Findings and discussion

This study focused on the current status of kinship terms in the Iraqw speech community by analysing their uses in social interactions across different demographics. In terms of age, the participants ranged from 10 to 51 years old and above. This age range was considered to determine variation in the use of kinship terms. There are thirty research participants in total, eight were in the age group between 10 and 20 years old. Another eight research participants were in the age group between 21 and 35 years old. Nine participants were in the age group between 36 and 50 years old. Moreover, five participants have 51 years old and above. The participants gender distribution shows that there are 15 women and 15 men. The participants' educational background denotes that four elderly participants had not attained formal education. Thirteen participants had primary education. Ten participants had attained secondary education and three of them had bachelor degree. The findings on the use of kinship terms are categorised into two broader themes: the consanguineal and affinal kinship terms.

4.1. Consanguineal kinship terms

These are terms used to denote family members who relate by blood (Asad, 2021; Wangno & Barbora, 2021). In English, consanguineal kinship terms include father, mother, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, cousin, niece, and nephew (Dwight, 2015). Similarly, in Iraqw, consanguineal kinship terms are used for addressing genetically related people; however, they are also used for non-kinship members. The current study focused on genetically related individuals, asking participants to provide the consanguineal kinship terms they use to address family members in Iraqw. The findings are presented in Table 1 and their frequencies and percentages are in Table 2. Table 1 presents both the indigenous Iraqw consanguineal kinship terms and their new counterparts that have entered the Iraqw language. Almost all the new consanguineal kinship terms are from Kiswahili, highlighting its influence on Iraqw. Table 1 also provides the English gloss for each consanguineal kinship term used by the participants.

Table 1. Consanguineal kinship terms used by participants.

Indigenous Iraqw kinship terms	Kiswahili kinship terms	English gloss
aako	babu	Grandfather
aama	bibi	Grandmother
baaba	baba	Father
ayi	mama	Mother
ayshiga	shangazi	Aunt
maamay	mjomba	Uncle
aayir niina (female)	binamu	Cousin/father's younger wife
babu niina (male)	binamu	Cousin/father's younger brother
hhiyaa	kaka	Brother
hhoo	dada	Sister
nang'wnango (male)	mjukuu	Grandchildren
hat'nango (female)		
nang'waama	–	Son of mother's sister

Table 2. Frequencies and percentages of consanguineal kinship terms used.

Kinship terms	Iraqw		Kiswahili		Don't know		Total	Status
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	
Grandfather	22	73	08	27	00	00	30	Co-exist
Grandmother	22	73	08	27	00	00	30	Co-exist
Father	00	00	30	100	00	00	30	Replaced
Mother	22	73	08	27	00	00	30	Co-exist
Aunt	20	67	10	33	00	00	30	Co-exist
Uncle	18	60	12	40	00	00	30	Co-exist
Cousin	16	53	14	47	00	00	30	Co-exist
Brother	22	73	08	27	00	00	30	Co-exist
Sister	22	73	08	27	00	00	30	Co-exist
Male grandchild	30	100	00	00	00	00	30	Co-exist
Female grandchild	30	100	00	00	00	00	30	Maintained
Son of mother's sister	16	53	00	00	14	47	30	Endangered

In Table 2, kinship terms are presented in English. The corresponding terms used by participants are categorized as either indigenous Iraqw kinship terms, borrowed Swahili kinship terms, or responses indicating that the participants do not know a kinship term to address the target person in question. Table 2 also denotes the frequency (F) and percentage (%) of each kinship term used by the participants. Moreover, the table presents the current status of each kinship term, indicating whether the Iraqw kinship term coexists with the borrowed term or the Iraqw kinship term is used alone, or it has been replaced by the borrowed Swahili kinship term.

4.1.1. Kinship terms for grandfather
The findings in Table 2 indicate that the Iraqw kinship term for addressing the grandfather and its equivalent Swahili kinship term coexist among the Iraqw native speakers. The results show that 22 (73%) out of 30 research participants address their grandfathers using the Iraqw kinship term *aako* 'grandfather'. On the other hand, 8 (27%) participants prefer Kiswahili kinship term *babu* to address their grandfathers. During interviews, those eight participants reported that they use the Swahili kinship term *babu* 'grandfather' whenever they interact with their grandfathers. This indicates the participants' preferences for using terms from the dominant language.

The younger research participants, aged 10–20, prefer to using Swahili kinship terms to address their grandfathers, while elder participants, aged 21 and above, primarily use the Iraqw equivalent. The results indicate that both the Kiswahili and Iraqw kinship terms are used by the participants when addressing their grandfathers. Though many participants prefer using the Iraqw kinship term for grandfather, the majority of them are elderly people who are not so affected by the influence of Kiswahili as the young people. This suggests that as the older generation fades away, the use of the Swahili kinship term for grandfather increases. These results support Batibo's (2005) marked bilingualism model, which states that for the speakers of a particular language to be attracted to another language, there must be significant differences in status and prestige between the two languages. The gradual shift to Kiswahili kinship terms, including *babu* 'grandfather', is influenced by prestige and status. The status of Kiswahili as a national language and a lingua franca has significantly contributed to the use of its kinship terms by ethnic community languages like Iraqw.

4.1.2. Kinship terms for grandmother
In addressing grandmothers, the results in Table 2 demonstrate the existing use of the Iraqw kinship term *aama* 'grandmother' and its Swahili counterpart *bibi* among the Iraqw speakers. The findings show that 22 (73%) out of 30 participants use the Iraqw kinship term when addressing their grandmothers while only 8 (27%) participants prefer using the Swahili kinship term. Moreover, the interview data shows that the eight participants who use the Swahili kinship term *bibi* 'grandmother' are familiar with its Iraqw equivalents, but they prefer using Swahili kinship term when addressing their grandmothers. This indicates the influence of Kiswahili on Iraqw people.

Though the Iraqw kinship term *aama* is predominantly used when referring to grandmothers, the result indicates that the use of Swahili kinship term *bibi* 'grandmother' is gradually increasing among

the young Iraqw speakers. It is because Swahili kinship term *bibi* 'grandmother' is more preferred by the younger generation (10–20 years old) due to the influence of Kiswahili on the young Iraqw generation, indicating that they might have learned the term from schools, where they are taught how to address people including grandparents. This kind of pressure from the dominant languages to the kinship vocabularies of less dominant languages was also observed in the Mrkovići language (Morozova, 2019). Morozova reports that the Mrkovići language has borrowed kinship terms including terms for grandparents from the Albanian language. Many of the kinship terms borrowed are in the form of loan translation. This means that the borrowed kinship terms retained their original Albanian meaning in the Mrkovići language. This situation relates to Swahili kinship terms that have penetrated the Iraqw language including, the term *bibi* 'grandmother' which has retained its meaning in a new linguistic context.

4.1.3. Kinship terms for father

The findings in Table 2 reveal that all 30 (100%) participants use the borrowed Swahili kinship term *baaba* when addressing their fathers. This indicates that such a loanword has replaced the Iraqw kinship term *tata,* which is used to refer to both biological and non-biological fathers. During the interview, the younger participants aged 10–20 and 21–35 reported that they do not know the Iraqw kinship term for 'father' instead they use the term *baaba* 'father' to address male parents. Participants aged 36–50 and 51 and above stated that they are familiar with the Iraqw kinship term for father but they do not use it. This result aligns with the questionnaire findings, which indicate that participants prefer using the borrowed Swahili kinship term.

The term *baaba* is a borrowed form of a Swahili kinship term *baba* 'father'. However, it is also important to note that the term *baba* 'father' is used widely in many languages. Its adoption in Iraqw may also indicate a preference for a universally recognized term. The Iraqw equivalent kinship term for father is not well known among the younger generation, resulting in the loss of such lexicon and knowledge associated with such a kinship term. Though the elderly people are familiar with the Iraqw linguistic form for father, it is not used as frequently as its Kiswahili counterpart, *baaba*. As a result, the Iraqw kinship term for father is treated as an archaic word. This is because the current generation prefers using the Swahili loanword *baaba* when addressing or referring to their fathers, which is more commonly used among Iraqw speakers. The findings relate to the results by Lusekelo (2021), who found that the Nyakyusa kinship terms *utaata* 'father' and *ujuuba* 'mother' are replaced by the Swahili equivalents *baba* 'father' and *mama* 'mother' indicating the influence of Kiswahili on the Nyakyusa language.

4.1.4. Kinship terms for mother

The results in Table 2 also show how Iraqw speakers designate biological mothers. The findings indicate that 22 (73%) participants use the Iraqw kinship term *ayi* 'mother', while 8 (27%) participants prefer using the Swahili kinship term *mama* 'mother'. The shift to the Swahili kinship term *mama* 'mother' reflects the participants' preference for speaking in the dominant language, as they mentioned during the interview.

Most of the participants prefer the Iraqw kinship term for designating mothers as shown in Table 2. However, there is growing interest among the youths aged 10–20 in using the Swahili kinship term *mama* 'mother' when addressing or referring to their biological mothers within the Iraqw community. This suggests that, over time, the Swahili kinship term for mother may replace its Iraqw equivalent. A similar case was also found in the Punjabi language, where the term *ammi* 'mother' was borrowed from the Urdu language (Malik, 2010). In some instances, the speakers of minority languages tend to use kinship terms from the national and other dominant languages for prestige as their equivalent terms may exist in the recipient languages as in the case of Iraqw speakers who use Swahili kinship terms as well as the Punjabi borrowing from Urdu.

4.1.5. Kinship terms for aunt

The findings in Table 2 also denote the participants' use of kinship terms for addressing genetically related aunts. The results show that 20 (67%) participants use the Iraqw kinship term *ayshiga* 'aunt',

while 10 (33%) participants employ the borrowed Swahili kinship term *shangazi* 'aunt'. During the interview, the ten participants who reported to use the Swahili kinship term *shangazi* 'aunt' stated that they just frequently use such a Swahili kinship term, even though they are familiar with the Iraqw equivalent.

Although the Iraqw kinship term for aunt is used by most participants, the Swahili equivalent is gradually threatening the consistent use of the indigenous Iraqw kinship term for aunt in social interactions. This tendency is common among the participants aged 10–20 years and some participants aged 21–35 years, which implies that the youths are more affected by the influence of Kiswahili. This is because of their active engagement in Swahili social structures like schools. Borrowing of the kinship term for aunt was also found in English (Durkin, 2014 cited in Honkola & Jordan, 2023). The term aunt in English was borrowed from French, which was considered a language of higher prestige during the Norman Invasion of England. The term was borrowed for prestige because English had *faðu* 'father's sister' and *mōdriġe* 'mother's sister'. Those kinship terms were replaced by the term *aunt* from French, highlighting the impact of borrowing kinship terms. In this case, English does no longer differentiate between the father's sister and the mother's sister.

4.1.6. Kinship terms for uncle

When addressing uncles, the results in Table 2 indicate that 18 (60%) participants use the Iraqw linguistic form *maamay* 'uncle' while 12 (40%) participants use its Swahili equivalent term *mjomba*. The interview data denote that the Swahili kinship term *mjomba* 'uncle' is more regularly used by children and youths than its Iraqw counterparts.

The results show that both kinship terms are used side by side by the participants when addressing uncles in the Iraqw speech community. The Iraqw kinship term for uncle is used by some participants in the middle-aged group (21–35) and more by participants in the 36–50 age group, as well as the elderly (51+), while its Swahili counterpart is more preferred by children and youths. The analysis shows that the majority of the research participants prefer the Iraqw kinship term for addressing uncles. However, there is a changing attitude, with the participants (10–20 years) and some 21–35 years old prefer using the Swahili kinship term *mjomba* when designating their uncles. This implies that in the future, Swahili kinship term for uncle may replace the Iraqw equivalent. Borrowing of kinship term for uncles was also found in English (Durkin, 2014 cited in Honkola & Jordan, 2023). The term uncle in English was borrowed from French during the old English period. In English, the term *ēam* was used to show mother's brother before being replaced with the borrowed French kinship term *uncle*. This means that English had lost its lexicon used to denote mother's brother, which possibly had resulted in the loss of knowledge attributed to such a term.

4.1.7. Kinship terms for cousin

The findings in Table 2 also illustrate the use of kinship terms for addressing cousins in the Iraqw community. The results show that 16 (53%) participants use the Iraqw linguistic forms for addressing cousins, specifically *ayir niina* 'aunt's daughter' or 'father's younger wife' and *babu niina* 'aunt's son' or 'father's younger brother'. In the context of this study, the phrase *ayir niina* is used as a kinship term for an aunt's daughter. The phrase *babu niina* is used also for addressing the father's younger brother in the Iraqw speech community and he is accorded the same respect as one's biological father. Moreover, the findings show that 14 (47%) participants preferred using the Swahili equivalent *binamu* for designating cousins during their encounters. The participants, aged 10 to 20 years, and most in the 21–35 age group, demonstrated that they are unfamiliar with the Iraqw kinship terms for cousin, and therefore they use its Swahili equivalent. This shows borrowing of the Swahili kinship term for cousin among young Iraqw speakers.

The Swahili kinship term *binamu* 'cousin' is more frequently used among the participants aged 10–20 and 21–35 years old. The findings show that the Iraqw kinship terms for cousins are more preferred by the participants aged 36 years old and above. Though the Iraqw kinship terms for cousins are used by many research participants, the results indicate that the Kiswahili equivalent is encroaching on the uses of Iraqw kinship terms for cousin. This suggests that over time, the uses of the Swahili kinship term for cousins will replace the Iraqw equivalent term.

4.1.8. Kinship terms for brother

Moreover, the results in Table 2 denote the terms used by the participants to refer to their genetically related brothers. The findings indicate that 22 (73%) participants refer to their brothers using the Iraqw kinship term *hhiyaa* 'brother', while 8 (27%) participants use the borrowed Swahili term *kaka*. The participants aged 10 to 20 years claimed that they use the Swahili kin term *kaka* 'brother' more frequently when addressing their elder brothers. Though many participants maintain the use of the Iraqw term for brothers, there is a sign that its Kiswahili counterpart has penetrated and it is increasingly being used by the younger Iraqw generation. The younger generation prefers to address their elder brothers using the Swahili kinship term *kaka*. The penetration of such a kinship term is associated with the influence of Kiswahili on the Iraqw language. The results correspond with the findings by Yoneda (2010), who reports borrowing of Swahili kinship term *kaka* 'brother' in the Matengo language. The use of Swahili kinship term for brother in ethnic community languages exemplifies its prestige and status over them, by attracting speakers from those minority languages to borrow terms including kinship terms.

4.1.9. Kinship terms for sister

When addressing sisters, the results in Table 2 reveal that 22 (73%) participants employ Iraqw kinship term *hhoo*, while 8 (27%) participants use the Swahili kinship term *dada*. The eight participants who reported using the Swahili kinship term *dada* 'sister' demonstrated that, while they are familiar with the Iraqw kinship term for sister, they prefer using the Swahili equivalent when referring to their sisters.

The majority of the participants use the Iraqw linguistic form when referring to their sisters. Such an Iraqw term is used more by the participants in the middle age group (21–35), (36–50), and elderly age groups (51+) when addressing their sisters. By contrast, the participants aged 10 to 20 years adopt the Swahili kinship term *dada* when addressing their elder sisters. This means that as the elder generation passes away, the use of the Iraqw kinship term for designating sisters diminishes while that of Swahili equivalent term increases. The findings relate to the results by Malik (2010), who also found the borrowing of kinship terms for *sister* in the Punjabi language. The results denote that the term *bhain* 'sister' was borrowed from Urdu, a national language of Pakistan. This could be due to the influence of Urdu as the national language on Punjabi as a minority language.

4.1.10. Kinship terms for grandchildren

The findings in Table 2 reveal the maintenance of Iraqw kinship terms for grandchildren. The results show that 30 (100%) participants report that the term *nang'wnango* is used for male grandchildren and *hat'nango* for female grandchildren. These terms are maintained because they are used by elderly people to call their grandchildren. The elderly people are considered knowledgeable or more familiar with their Iraqw kinship terms because they grew up in the environment in which those kinship terms are frequently used. Their familiarity acts as a barrier against borrowing of kinship terms. They are less affected by the influence of Kiswahili than the younger people. The findings align with Ulfa (2017), who reports that Acehnese people maintain the use of Acehnese address terms in the home domain because of regular use of those terms among family members. This indicates that the frequent use of kinship terms among the speakers of a particular language supports their maintenance.

4.1.11. Kinship terms for the son of mother's sister

Furthermore, the results in Table 2 denote that 16 (53%) participants use Iraqw kinship term *nang'waama* to address sons of the mother's sister, while 14 (47%) participants stated that they do not know the Iraqw term for addressing the sons of mother's sister. Though many elderly participants use the Iraqw kinship term for the sons of the mother's sister, there is a growing number of children and youths who are not familiar with some kinship terms used to address relatives in the Iraqw community including the one for the sons of the mother's sister. Such unfamiliarity results from a lack of frequent contact with some relatives, which has become difficult for the children to hear the use of some kinship terms within the community. Secondly, the education system has also contributed to such a disconnection between the relatives. Children have no time to visit their relatives as it was in the past. Moreover, change in life style also contributed to a lack of knowledge on some Iraqw kinship terms whereby people focus more on improving their economic conditions

Table 3. Affinal kinship terms used by participants.

Indigenous Iraqw affinal kinship terms	Kiswahili affinal kinship terms	English gloss
akowi	mume wangu	This husband
amari	mke wangu	This wife
tatohare	baaba	Father-in-law
ayi	mama	Mother-in-law
amari (used by men for women)	shemeji	Sister-in-law
dena (used by women for women)	wifi	Sister-in-law
kumbaa (used by men for men)	shemeji	Brother-in-law
nangw'ay (used by women for men)	shemeji	Brother-in-law

Table 4. Frequencies and percentages of affinal kinship terms used.

Kinship terms	Iraqw		Kiswahili		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	Status
Husband	22	73	8	27	30	Co-exist
Wife	20	67	10	33	30	Co-exist
Father-in-law	2	07	28	93	30	Co-exist
Mother-in-law	22	73	8	27	30	Co-exist
Sister-in-law	20	67	10	33	30	Co-exist
Brother-in-law	16	53	14	47	30	Co-exist

than social life, thereby reducing the tendency to visit relatives which in turn contribute to loss of lexicon as well as knowledge associated with it.

4.2. Affinal kinship terms

These are terms used to address people connected by marriage (Majumdar, 2018). For English speakers, affinal kinship terms include mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law, daughter-in-law, and son-in-law (Dwight, 2015). In Iraqw, affinal kinship terms are used to address or refer to people connected through marriage. In the current study, participants were asked to provide affinal kinship terms they use to address people in Iraqw. The findings on affinal kinship terms are presented in Table 3 and Table 4 demonstrate their frequencies and percentages. Table 3 presents both the indigenous Iraqw affinal kinship terms and their Kiswahili equivalents that have entered the Iraqw language. The table also provides the English gloss for each affinal kinship term.

The findings in Table 4 show the current status of affinal kinship terms in the Iraqw speech community. In Tabe 4, the affinal kinship terms are presented in English. The corresponding terms used by the participants are categorized as either Iraqw kinship terms or borrowed Kiswahili kinship terms, along with their frequencies (F) and percentages (%) to determine their current trend.

4.2.1. Kinship terms for husband and wife

The results in Table 4 depict that 22 (73%) participants indicated that wives use the Iraqw affinal kinship term *akowi* 'this husband' for addressing their husbands, while 8 (27%) participants reported that husbands use the borrowed Swahili affinal kinship phrase *mume wangu* 'my husband'. The use of the Kiswahili phrase *mume wangu* 'my husband' reflects the speakers' preference for using terms or phrases from a dominant language, as demonstrated by the participants during the interviews.

The findings show that wives predominantly use the Iraqw kinship term when calling their husbands. The maintenance of this term is because many spouses are from the same community and using the same language. Others use Swahili kinship phrase to address their husbands, possibly due to intermarriage or as a mark of prestige. When addressing wives, 20 (67%) participants stated that husbands use the Iraqw affinal kinship term *amari* 'this wife', while 10 (33%) research participants reported that the husbands use the Swahili kinship phrase *mke wangu* 'my wife'. Like wives, husbands also prefer the Iraqw affinal kinship term when addressing their wives. However, the younger husbands and wives tend to prefer Kiswahili affinal kinship phrases when addressing their wives or husbands. The findings are in line with Metsäranta et al. (2023) who found that borrowing of terms for husband and wife is also observable in Uralic languages. The authors revealed two factors contributing to the borrowing of terms for husband and wife in Uralic languages. These factors are intermarriage and close contact with other languages which influence speakers to borrow terms, including kinship terms.

4.2.2. Kinship terms for father-in-law

In addressing fathers-in-law, the findings in Table 4 reveal that 2 (7%) participants use the Iraqw affinal kinship term *tatohare* 'father-in-law', while 28 (93) participants use the borrowed Swahili kinship term *baaba* 'father'. The two participants who stated that they used the Iraqw kinship term for father-in-law were elderly people aged 51 years old and above. This indicates that the Iraqw kinship term for father-in-law is used by very few participants than its Swahili equivalent, which is used by the participants across all age groups. The use of the borrowed Swahili kinship term for father-in-law by many participants is because in the Iraqw community, father-in-law is also designated as father, and the term used to address fathers is borrowed from Kiswahili.

4.2.3. Kinship terms for mother-in-law

In designating mothers-in-law, the results in Table 4 indicate that 22 (73%) research participants use the Iraqw affinal kinship term *ayi* 'mother', while 8 (27%) participants use the Swahili kinship term *mama* 'mother'. Many participants prefer using the Iraqw kinship term when addressing their mothers-in-law because in Iraqw culture, mothers-in-law are also addressed as mothers. However, with the increasing influence of Kiswahili, some participants use Swahili kinship term when addressing their mothers-in-law. The results relate to Morozova (2019), who reports borrowing of a term for the mothers-in-law in Markovići language. The term *tasta* 'mother-in-law' was borrowed from the Balkan Slavic languages. Borrowing of the term *tasta* 'mother-in-law' in the Markovići language is attributed to intermarriage. The borrowing of kinship terms from one language to another significantly impacts the change in kinship terms, as demonstrated in this study and the Markovići borrowing of kinship terms from the Balkan Slavic languages.

4.2.4. Kinship terms for sister-in-law

When addressing sisters-in-law, the findings in Table 4 show that 20 (67%) participants use the Iraqw affinal kinship terms, while 10 (33%) participants prefer Swahili kinship terms. Among the Iraqw, men address their sisters-in-law, or brother's wife, as *amari* 'this wife', socially exercising the same dominion as a husband over his wife. Women indicated that they use *dena* when addressing their sisters-in-law. Although the majority of the participants still prefer the Iraqw affinal kinship term for sister-in-law, there is a gradual increase in the use of the Swahili kinship term. Some male participants reported that they reciprocally use the Swahili kin term *shemeji* with their brothers' wives, and the female participants reported that they symmetrically use the Swahili affinal kinship term *wifi* with their brothers' wives. The Swahili affinal kinship term *wifi* is recently becoming common and most frequently used between sisters and their brothers' wives in the Iraqw speech community. The phenomenon of borrowing kinship terms for sister-in-law also appeared in other languages like Slavic, which borrowed the term for sister-in-law (*balgaza*, *balduza*) from Turkish due to its influence on Slavic languages (Morozova, 2019). The borrowed terms retained their original meaning and also acquired the additional meaning of daughter-in-law.

4.2.5. Kinship terms for brother-in-law

The findings in Table 4 show that 16 (53%) participants use Iraqw kinship term to designate their brothers-in-law, while 14 (47%) participants use Swahili kinship term. In Iraqw, men address their brothers-in-law as *kumbaa*, a term reciprocally used among the interlocutors. Women use *nangw'ay* when addressing their brothers-in-law, though it is less common among the youths. The younger generation prefers the Swahili kinship term *shemeji* when addressing a sister's husband. The Swahili kin term is used more frequently by participants aged 10–20 years and it is also common among some middle-aged individuals (aged 21–35 years old). The use of the Iraqw kinship term *nangw'ay* by women when addressing their sisters' husbands is likely restricted to the elderly people in society. The results relate to the findings by Metsäranta et al. (2023), who report the borrowing of terms for brothers-in-law in Uralic languages. The authors observed that in Uralic languages, the category of kinship denoting in-laws, especially brothers-in-law have a higher instances of borrowing. They provide the example

of the borrowed affinal kinship term *lanko* 'brother-in-law' in Finnish which has also acquired additional meanings, such as wife's brother, husband's brother, and sister's husband. The term is assumed to be borrowed from the German term *gilang* 'brother-in-law, relative'. Affinal kinship terms in many cases are termed as terms for denoting distant family members and therefore less frequently used by the family members. In this case, many family members are less familiar with them, a situation which facilitates their borrowing.

5. Conclusion and recommendation

This study examined changes in Iraqw kinship terms. The findings indicated several changes, including the penetration of Swahili kinship terms into the Iraqw language. The study identified Swahili kinship terms that have replaced indigenous Iraqw terms, Swahili and Iraqw kinship terms that coexist in social interactions, and indigenous Iraqw kinship terms that are maintained. The changes in kinship terms are influenced mainly by formal education, intermarriage, and language contact. The findings of this research support the assumptions of the marked bilingualism model because the changes in kinship terms were influenced by prestige and status differences between Iraqw and Kiswahili. The differences in status and prestige attracted Iraqw native speakers to borrow kinship terms from Kiswahili. All the kinship terms borrowed have their equivalents in the Iraqw language, highlighting that they were borrowed for prestige.

In some cases, borrowing of linguistic elements, including kinship terms, serves as a resource for a recipient language. However, in other contexts, it can be seen as a loss. It is a resource when a language borrows terms to incorporate new concepts that previously did not exist in its vocabulary. Conversely, it is a loss when a language borrows terms for which equivalent words already exist in the recipient language. Moreover, the borrowed kinship terms may exist side by side with indigenous kinship terms within the community at some point. Over time, the use of borrowed kinship terms may supersede that of indigenous kinship terms, leading to their replacement. This is supported by Yoneda (2010), who states that when loanwords are used alongside their equivalents from the recipient language without distinction, the term that surpasses is always a loanword. This indicates that the period during which the loanword and indigenous word coexist within a community marks a transition toward the extinction of the original term. In this case, borrowing can result in the loss of original forms of words in the recipient languages, leading to the loss of indigenous knowledge embedded in those terms. The loss of original forms of words in the recipient language paves the way for the penetration of new terms from the donor language associated with a new culture, thereby eroding the culture of the recipient language. This study recommends documenting indigenous kinship terms in other minority languages. Such documentation is crucial due to changes resulting from the influence of dominant languages, which may lead to the disappearance of indigenous kinship terms. Therefore, preserving kinship terms will help to maintain cultural heritage and enable revitalization processes in the future.

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