

**MORPHOLOGY AND SEMANTICS OF TONGA ANTHROPNYMS: A CASE OF
TONGA GIVEN NAMES AND NICKNAMES.**

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FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN LINGUISTIC SCIENCE**

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2015

DECLARATION

I, Hang'ombe Khama, declare that this dissertation:

- a) represents my own work
- b) has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other university, and
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APPROVAL

This dissertation of KHAMA HANG'OMBE is approved as fulfilling in part the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science of The University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

Many ethnic groups of Africa, the Tonga people inclusive, predominantly prefer culture-bound and meaningful personal names. African, names define who one is, where one comes from, make reference to events surrounding one's birth and identify that which the namer(s) and bearer(s) hates or cherishes in their lives.

The aim of the study was to present the morphology and meaning of Tonga anthroponyms. A Unified Theory of Names which argues that names have denotative and connotative meaning was used. The study used qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. It was conducted among the Tonga people in four villages of Mbabala area in Southern province in Zambia.

Using purposive sampling, the researcher carried out semi-structured interviews. Collected names were then grouped according to their semantic categories. The morphology of the anthroponyms was analysed using hyphens. Tonga noun class system and derivation were used in the analysis.

The study revealed that fathers give given names to their children at one week of age while nicknames are either self-imposed or given by other community members. Through anthroponyms namers express what they approve and disapprove and endearment. It was also found out that these anthroponyms are derivatives hence can be analysed morphologically. Furthermore, it was found out that Tonga anthroponyms have both denotative and connotative meaning. This is because they are taken from existing stock of Tonga vocabulary. Some of the Tonga anthroponyms have positive meaning while others have negative meaning.

The study concluded that anthroponyms derived from verbs are made up of complex or compound nominal stems. On the other hand, Tonga anthroponyms derived from nouns are made up of simplex noun stems. It was also concluded by the study that Tonga anthroponyms are meaningful and are used to minimise conflict, teach, advise, inform and to show endearment.

Anthroponyms can be studied from different perspectives. The study recommends that future research on Tonga anthroponyms focus on the syntax or their phonology.

DEDICATION

To my late father Benson Hang'ombe. May your soul rest in eternal peace father.

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To my mother who is my pillar, you have always been there for me. Even at a very old age, you still keenly follow my academic steps and keep encouraging me. May God richly bless you and sustain your life. Let Him protect you as He has done before. Thank you a million times.

Above all, I owe everything I do to God the One who sustains my life. It is by His grace and love that I have come this far and I know He will never leave me alone.

ABBREVIATIONS

CI.	CLASS
CN	COMMON NOUN
DM	DERIVATIONAL MORPHEME
END	ENDING
EXT	EXTENTION
INF	INFINITIVE MOOD
IND	INDICATIVE MOOD
NEG	NEGATIVIZER
NP	NOUN PREFIX
NS	NOUN STEM
OP	OBJECT PREFIX
PM	PERFECTIVE MORPHEME
SP	SUBJECT PREFIX

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 GENERAL

This chapter presents background to the study. It briefly focuses on Tonga language and its speakers. The chapter proceeds by stating the statement of the problem and also notes down the rationale of the study. This is followed by the objectives which guided the research questions and the theoretical framework which guided the study. Thereafter, the methodology used in data collection and analysis is presented. The chapter ends by giving the scope of the study and outline of the dissertation.

1.1.0 Background to Tonga Language and the Tonga People

1.1.1 Tonga Language

According to Guthrie (1948) Tonga (M64) is found in group 60 of zone M where it is the fourth language with three dialects; Tonga, Toka and Leya. Doke (1959) in his classification of Bantu languages, Tonga (40/3/1) is placed in zone 40 in group 3 where it is a language with four dialects; plateau Tonga, valley Tonga, We and Totela.

Tonga, which is also known as ciTonga is spoken in the Southern Province and in the Central Province in Kabwe rural and Mumbwa district in Zambia. The language is closely related to other languages such as Ila spoken in Namwala and Itezhi-tezhi districts, and Lenje and Sala spoken in some parts of Central Province. Tonga is also spoken by a Bantu ethnic group called Batonga in some parts of Zimbabwe especially around the Gokwe North, Gokwe South, Nkayi, Nyaminyami and Victoria Falls areas. This is according to some Zimbabweans that were spoken to.

The two major dialects of Tonga in Zambia are Valley Tonga which is spoken in Siavonga, Sinazongwe and Gwembe districts and Plateau Tonga spoken in Mazabuka, Monze, Pemba, Choma, Kalomo and Zimba districts. The present study is concerned with Tonga anthroponyms found in the research area regardless of whether they are

from Valley Tonga or Plateau Tonga. However, the study maintains the pronunciation of Plateau Tonga because it is the standard pronunciation.

1.1.2 The Tonga People

This section presents crucial cultural facts about the way of life of people in the research area. These facts will enhance the understanding of the meaning of Tonga anthroponyms. It is important to underline that the study presents only those cultural aspects relevant to the purpose of study in light of the objectives.

Firstly, the Tonga society is a matrilineal one. A matrilineal society is one in which the relationship between mother and children continues in a family across generations. It is also defined as relative, behaviour or other characteristic that is traced through a mother's lineage (Kato, 1978). However, the Tonga community is a male dominated society in which male chauvinism is more pronounced. However, with gender equality advocacy this state of affairs is slowly diminishing. The society is also polygamous. Some men marry up to six or even more women.

Secondly, many Tonga people are Christians. The common church is the Seventh Day Adventist Church (SDA). Other prominent churches found among the Tonga people include the Roman Catholic Church and Brethren in Christ Church. Even if these churches encourage prayers to God in every situation one finds themselves, there are times when the Tonga people seek the intervention of their ancestral spirits. These are such times as when one is faced with life-threatening situations such as critical illness. As a result, one finds it difficult to confidently point out whether the Tonga people are full-time Christians or full-time African Traditional Religionists. One may, therefore, find it safe to say that these people partly practise Christianity and partly African Traditional Religion.

Furthermore, Tongas are traditional cattle keepers. They value cattle so much that without cattle, one is regarded as incomplete and/or poor. Cattle are source and pillar of their livelihood.

Most of the activities the Tonga people engage in are reflected through the names they give to their children as well as those given to grown people as nicknames. Their names tell a lot of stories about their ways of life, what they approve and disapprove. Apart from cattle keeping, the Tonga people grow various kinds of crops. Each one of them, children inclusive, is expected to work hard.

1.1.3 The Study of Names

The study was grounded in onomastics particularly anthroponomastics. Onomastics is the science or study of the origin and forms of proper names or places (Raper, 1987, Cobuild 1987). The term anthroponym comes from the Greek word anthropos 'man' or 'human' (Koopman 2002:10) and it refers to personal names. Anthroponomastics then refers to the study of personal names.

The subdivisions of anthroponym (Neethling , 1995) include Given names, Surnames, Clan names, Matronyms, Patronyms, Teknonyms, Nicknames and Ethonyms among others. The study was concerned with Tonga given names and nicknames only. A person's given name, or in Western contexts, a first name, forename or Christian name, is a part of his or her personal name and identifies and differentiates the person between members of a group, especially in a family, all of whose members usually share the same family name (surname). A given name is purposefully given to a child in contrast to an inherited one such as a family name. A given name is sometimes legally changed through a name change legal process. However, the study did not consider name change. A nickname on the other hand is a familiarly, humorously, or ridiculously used name given to people instead of using the real or complete name of that particular person (Yakubu,2012).

Many ethnic groups of Africa, the Tonga people inclusive, predominantly prefer culture-bound, meaningful personal names that act as badges of “. . . basic group identity” (Isaacs 1975:27) that produce “. . . a web of signification” (Wittenberg 2000:2). To this end, to borrow from Evans, it can be said that personal names are “. . . social documents which fix a person’s position in the social structure” (Evans-Pritchard 1939:237). They define who one is, where one comes from, make reference to events

surrounding one's birth and identify that which the namer(s) and bearer(s) hates or cherishes in their lives, among other things (Lieberson 1984:7).

Personal names serve a lot of purposes, not only as reference devices but also for social and interactional purposes. In fact, personal names, just like any other category of proper names are oral records. From this angle, an investigation into African names and naming practices is of paramount importance as it helps in the recovering or reconstructing of the African heritage (Makondo, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the problem

African anthroponyms have meaning and serve various functions in society. They have denotative and connotative meaning. The various functions that these names perform include teaching, criticising, advising, reminding and informing. Through these verbal acts in naming, most African communities have been conditioned to work hard, live lives of togetherness and to look to one another for assistance in needy situations. As a result, the naming system or name selection for an individual is done carefully. African anthroponyms are also made up of different morphemes or parts that perform various functions. They are derived or coined from existing words such as verbs, common and proper nouns. However, among the Tonga speaking people of Zambia, little attention has been given to the naming system, meaning, functions and morphology of anthroponyms. Studies in anthroponomastics among the Tonga people have concentrated on the literal or first meaning of names at the expense of the second or onomastic (connotative) meaning which when combined in studying meaning of names result in a precise and full meaning. Furthermore, little attention has been given to the morphology of names. The naming system such as who gives names, when and why, and what determines the name an individual is given has equally been neglected. The present study sought to bridge the information gap on the naming system, meaning and morphology of Tonga anthroponyms by studying their denotative or linguistic and connotative or cultural meaning as well as comprehensively analysing them structurally.

1.3 Significance of the Study

The study may contribute to the general field of onomastics by adding to the already existing literature in onomastics and anthroponomastics in particular. It may also be

useful to the general public particularly those who wish to know the Tonga culture because the naming system is inextricably intertwined with culture. Furthermore, the study may be useful to Tonga language curriculum specialists and morphologists.

1.4 Aim and objectives

The aim of the study was to present the meaning and morphology of Tonga anthroponyms.

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- a. To investigate the Tonga naming system in relation with given names and nicknames.
- b. To analyse Tonga given names and nicknames morphologically, and
- c. To present the meaning of Tonga given and nicknames.

1.5 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

- a. Among the Tonga speaking people;
 - i) When are names given?
 - ii) Who gives names?
- b. What is the morphology of Tonga given names and nicknames?
 - i) How are Tonga given names and nicknames derived from other parts of speech?
 - ii) What are the various morphemes that make up Tonga anthroponyms?
 - iii) What are the constructional patterns of Tonga given names and nicknames?
- c. What do Tonga given names and nicknames mean?
 - i) What is the denotative meaning of Tonga given names and nicknames?
 - ii) What is the conotative meaning of Tonga given names and nicknames?

- iii) Why are specific names selected for specific individuals?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

1.6.1 Unified Theory of Names

A Unified Theory of Names is a theory which reconciles Frege (1874)'s Sense and Reference Theory with Mill (1874)'s Direct Reference Theory. It argues that the Sense Theory and the Direct Reference theory of names have both strengths and shortcomings but if these theories are seen as complementing each other, they provide an insightful framework in the study of names, especially the meaning of names (Justice 1998).

Frege (1980)'s Sense and Reference theory holds that names have referent-determining senses; a name has a sense and a referent. By sense Frege meant a "mode of presentation" of the referent that "illuminates only a single aspect." (Frege 1980). Swian (1957) holds that the various attributes and characteristics associated with a name and its sense is what makes that name to be meaningful. The challenge that Frege had was to state these senses; denotative and connotative. However, Sense and Reference theory fails to account for the fact that names never change referents with a change in the circumstance of evaluation because it sees a name's sense as an attribute independent of the name itself. In other words, it sees names as having connotative sense only. Frege did not see that there are two sorts of sense — connotative (term-independent) and denotative (term-reflexive) because of his persistent conception of content as independent of language (Justice 1998).

Mill (1874)'s Direct Reference Theory, on the other hand, argues that names have no senses and his followers such as (Kripke 1980) have added that names have no sense instead are rigid designators. The theory further argues that if names had senses, their referents would vary among possible worlds. The weakness of this theory is that it fails to explain the apparent cognitive content of names which can only be explained when names are seen as having senses. Therefore, Kripke (1980) was right to assert that names are rigid designators but opposed himself by agreeing with Mill that names have

no senses. He may have forgotten that rigid designation is the same as denotation (Justice 1998).

Justice (1998) suggested that when the views of Mill and Frege are understood as complementary, the problems that have faced the divided theorists of names vanish. This study took on board this suggestion hence used the Unified Theory of names which sees the Millian theory and Fregian theory as complementing each other in the study of anthroponyms.

According to the Unified theory of names (Justice 1998), a denotative term is one which signifies a subject only, or an attribute only. A connotative term is one which denotes a subject, and implies an attribute. The difference between the two terms is that the connotative term does something in addition to what the denotative term does. To use Mill's examples, both 'Socrates' (a denotative term) and 'virtuous' (a connotative term) denote Socrates. We can truly say of this man both that he is Socrates and that he is virtuous. What connotative and denotative terms have in common is that they each have a range of correct application — an extension. However, the two terms differ in the ways in which they come to have their extensions. The connotative term 'virtuous' applies to Socrates, and others, "in consequence of an attribute which they are supposed to possess in common, the attribute which has received the name of virtue." (Mill, 1874 in (Justice 1998).

By contrast, the denotative concrete term 'Socrates' and the denotative abstract term 'virtue' apply to the man and the attribute respectively in consequence of these terms' having been bestowed on these individuals to be "simply marks used to enable those individuals to be made subjects of discourse." The attribute in consequence of which a denotative term applies is not one that is independent of the term; rather it is just the attribute of bearing the term as a "mark" (name) (Justice 1998).

The conditions of application is the crucial difference between the terms. A connotative term is one that applies to an individual because of some term-independent attribute that the individual possesses. A denotative term is one that applies to an individual simply because the term has been bestowed on it as a label. One consequence of this

distinction is that a connotative term may either be general or singular depending on whether the attribute that "gives the name" is shareable, but a denotative term will always be a singular term applying just to the individual that bears the term as a proper name. The extra that they are said to do is to "imply an attribute." This is, of course, not something that connotative terms do independently of denoting. They denote just those individuals that have the "implied" attributes. To predicate a connotative term is to ascribe an attribute. However, denotative terms also denote only in virtue of certain attributes. They denote just the individuals that bear the terms as names. Consequently, to predicate a denotative term is to ascribe the attribute of bearing the term as a name (Justice 1998).

The Unified Theory of names sees denotative and connotative senses as so inextricably intertwined that they are both meaningful, information conveying, terms. Both sorts of term apply only to those individuals that satisfy certain conditions, and both will serve to assert that designated individuals satisfy those conditions. It also sees names as part of language in which they exist (Justice 1998). However, this should not be interpreted to mean that denotation is the same as connotation; that the two give exactly the same information in a similar way so much that the absence of one of them cannot affect the meaning of a name. In fact the two types of senses depend on and complement each other in arriving at a precise and detailed meaning of a name. One would argue that connotation begins where denotation leaves off. This is in the wake of Ntahombaye (1983)'s observation that the linguistic meaning does not exhaust the onomastic meaning of a name, it can only help construct, deconstruct or understand it.

The linguistic meaning does not exhaust the onomastic meaning of a name, it can only help construct, deconstruct or understand it. Most African onomasticians agree that, as Ntahombaye (1983:18) puts it: "the linguistic structure of the name offers a basis for the first level explanation from which the other levels will branch off." This first level explanation is called, first meaning, semantic meaning, denotative meaning, or literal meaning. The other level is described as second meaning or connotative meaning. This second level is of paramount importance to the onomasticians and is reached through a

reconstruction of the motivations behind the name, that is, the reasons why a name has been bestowed on a name bearer.

This theoretical position is supported by a considerable number of research results that have proven the embodiment of connotative meanings (Katz 1977) and denotative or associative meanings (Searle 1958; Carroll 1985) in names. This theory is handy as it will provide an insight in the study of the meaning of Tonga anthroponyms. It will provide the study with a platform on which to explain the connotative and denotative meaning of Tonga anthroponyms especially that the linguistic meaning does not exhaust the onomastic meaning of a name, it can only help construct, deconstruct or understand it. Most African onomasticians agree that, as Ntahombaye (1983:18) puts it: “the linguistic structure of the name offers a basis for the first level explanation from which the other levels will branch off.” This first level explanation is called, first meaning, semantic meaning, denotative meaning, or literal meaning. The other level is described as second meaning or connotative meaning. This second level is of paramount importance to the onomasticians and is reached through a reconstruction of the motivations behind the name, that is, the reasons why a name has been bestowed on a name bearer.

The study used the Unified Theory of names which argues that names have both denotative and connotative senses and that each of these senses has a range of correct application — an extension. However, the two terms differ in the ways in which they come to have their extensions. The theory holds that for a complete sense (meaning) of a name to be arrived at, both its parts of meaning should be blended together; the linguistic (denotative) and onomastic or cultural (connotative) meaning. Furthermore, the theory regards names as part of language, therefore language dependant.

1.7 RESEARCH DESIGN

1.7.1 Methodology

The study used qualitative approach. Qualitative research consists of an investigation that seeks answers to a research question, systematically uses a predefined set of procedures to answer the question, collects evidence and produces findings that are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of the study. Additionally, it seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves. Qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Furthermore, qualitative research aims to get a better understanding through first-hand experience, truthful reporting, and quotations of actual conversations. It aims to understand how the participants derive meaning from their surroundings, and how their meaning influences their behaviour (Nkwi, Nyamongo and Ryan 2001). Mason (1990) understands qualitative research to be concerned with how the world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. This entails understanding a people's mental categories, interpretations, perceptions, feelings and motives which is only achievable when one exploits qualitative research method in comparison with quantitative research method.

1.7.2 Study Area and Sample Size

The study was conducted among the Tonga people in four villages of *Mbabala* area in Choma District of Southern Province of Zambia because it is one of the areas where plateau Tonga is spoken in Zambia. The study used a purposive or deliberate sampling. Respondents were selected depending on their age and rich cultural knowledge. Primary data were collected from ten elderly people; one senior headman, three headmen, four elderly women and two Tonga language teachers. The senior headman is head of a consortium of villages. He has sixteen villages under his headmanship. One of the villages in the sample has fifty-five families, the second has sixty-eight, the third has fifty-two while the one under the senior headman has seventy families (the senior

headman, besides being leader of a consortium of villages, also has a village under his rule). In total there were five men and five women who were the main respondents in the study. However, the study was flexible as it involved other community members who were recommended by any of the ten respondents. The involvement of Tonga language teachers was vital because these teachers have knowledge about the meaning of names and the naming system among the Tonga people. All the respondents were above 30 years. Secondary data were also collected from village and school registers and from Tonga novels. These names were then discussed with the ten leading respondents.

1.7.3 Data collection methods and instruments

The researcher carried out semi-structured interviews with the ten respondents. An interview guide (see appendix A) was developed, which the researcher utilised during semi-structured interviews. These semi-structured interviews were recorded, with full consent of respondents, using digital voice recorder. The researcher asked the respondents to mention the Tonga given names and nicknames, who the namers are, the circumstances and motivations or when and why such names are given to which individuals and the meaning of such names. Apart from recording the interviews, the researcher also took notes. The researcher asked for permission to collect Tonga names from village and school registers from village headmen and school authorities respectively.

1.7.4 Data collection procedure

The data collection exercise was undertaken within a period of four weeks. All the recordings done during semi-structured interviews were noted down in a note book for easy location of a given recording in the files in the recorder. The date of the recording, time, duration together with brief notes about the interview as well as the participants' names and their ages were noted down. During data collection, the researcher carefully went through the data collected each day to check for the prospects of new data.

1.7.5 Data Analysis

The recorded files were put on the computer and Express Scribe software was used to listen to the recorded files during which all the names and their meaning were noted down. The linguistic and cultural meanings of names were given in the light of the theoretical framework, which argues that names have both linguistic and connotative meaning. The collected names were then grouped according to their semantic categories. The morphology of the names was analysed using hyphens. The Tonga noun class system was also used in explaining the meaning of the collected names. Derivation was used to help provide an in-depth understanding of the structure of the names. This was necessary as the linguistic levels of analysis, structure, semantics and syntax, among others, are not independent from each other.

1.8 Scope of the Study

There are many types of personal names but the study focussed on *given names* and *nicknames* only. The study used the terms speaker, addresser or namer to refer to the name giver. The study investigated the Tonga naming system, presented the meaning of personal names in the light of denotative and connotative senses. It also presented an analysis of Tonga personal names structurally as this enhances the understanding of meaning of names. The study did not in way claim to have discussed all the Tonga given names and nicknames. Instead, it discussed enough given names and nicknames to allow for a well informed conclusion. Whereas English language orthography uses the prefix /chi-/ for Tonga names, this study used the grapheme /ci-/ for Tonga names because it is Bantu languages inclined. The study used the terms denotative, first meaning, linguistic meaning and literal meaning interchangeably to refer to the explicit or direct meaning or set of meanings of a word or expression. Similarly, the terms connotative meaning, second meaning, cultural meaning and actual meaning were used interchangeably to refer to an associative or secondary meaning in addition to the primary meaning of a word or expression.

1.9 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation has four chapters. Chapter One gives the introduction to the study. The Second Chapter presents literature review while Chapter Three presents and

discusses the findings. Based on the entire study, the conclusion and recommendations are presented in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on various studies that have been done on personal names. The literature review is divided into the following themes: baptism, names as part of language, meaning of given names, nicknames and structure of anthroponyms.

2.1 Baptism

According to Searle (1976) baptism is when semiotic relation between the subject as individual and the name of that individual is established under the given conditions enabling the community subsequent acceptance and use of proper name. Wittgenstein (1967) sees baptism, a philosophical term (Bratislava 2009: 11), as having the character of speech act in relation to the subject and the community. Nagy (2012:11) understands baptism as any moment when a proper name is given in the procedure which various communities and cultures consider appropriate. Probably most communities have regulated conditions for introducing names (Pavel Trost 1995a:27).

Nagy (2012:11) carried out a study among the Wishram tribe (found in the United States of America) and found out that this tribe has ritual specialists who are the only ones authorized to choose a child's name. Another related study carried out by Nagy (2012:11) in Czech, revealed that Czech parents at City Office in Hradec Králové choose a name for their children. However, they have to confirm it with their signature (i.e. with their proper name in the individualized format; they have right to do it if they introduce their proper name and produce evidence with the document containing the name). In tribe Ga in Ghana when an infant is given a name, members of all four branches of his kindred must be present. Delaware (a tribe found in India) child's name is first spoken to the Creator and then repeated reverently so that the Creator will remember the child by name. What is common to these events is that by the act of baptism, the new bearer is socially individualized inside the given community. In other words, the individual enters a community as a rightful individual (Bean 1980).

Moyo (1996) observes that fathers and grandfathers of the husbands confer names on children among the Ngoni-Tumbuka people of northern Malawi. In Angola, the first boy and girl children are usually named after their paternal grandfather and paternal grandmother respectively, with uncles and aunts from the father's side giving the second and third names. They leave the mother to name the fourth child. In Kenya, paternal fathers give Giriama boys clan names before they are one year old (Parkin 1989:66) while the mother chooses at birth the *dzina raku-gerwa* (the given name) like Kadii (Long gestation period or length birth), among the non-Muslim Mijikanda people. In Jamaica, Nigeria and Cameroon (Puckett 1937), the tendency of fathers naming children after the day of birth was rampant.

Baptism is largely circumstantial. This does not matter whether the name is given at birth or even later in life. The events taking place at a particular time determine the name that the identified person gets. Kahari (1990: 28) sums up the situational aspect of the naming practice by asserting that:

The custom of giving proper names to human beings, domestic animals, modern transport and places operates under a system determined by social conditions and the environment. In this respect, Shona names have significance – even if the meaning is lost – and are 'situation tied'.

In the above words, Kahari (1990) makes it clear that, the namer, through the naming act conscientizes and mobilises the community into analysing and appreciating their situation or that of others in their immediate environment. Some of the issues that are addressed in Shona name-giving include the socio-economic, socio-political and religious ones (Makondo 2012).

Names are not just identity tags that make the named subjects of their immediate environment. They are also expressions of knowledge. They may be given to express sorrow, disappointment, to boast or even to show appreciation. To give a name may also mean to teach as well as to express value judgements, especially when one gives

a nickname for either endearment or to express dismay and protest. Names can also be used to express fear and awe (Nyota and Mapara 2010).

Sibusiso (2012:28) referring to baptism comments that name-giving in Zulu is accelerated by a number of social, religious, and other cultural activities during the time the child is born. The name-giver is an adult person who gives a name to a child, and this family person could be a parent - father or mother, grandparents, uncles, aunts, brothers or sisters, and outside the family.

According to Batoma (2009) some individuals are given at birth or before birth ontological names. These are names whose function is to express, and to preserve the true qua ontological identity of the name bearer over time. The true identity of the name bearer, as opposed to his multiple socio-cultural identities, is often determined in the Kabre naming practices through divination. According to Kabre metaphysics, children come into the world with pre-world identities and are assigned specific missions. Ontological names are also sometimes called big names or secret names (Batoma 2009). They are rarely used in everyday communication, and when they are used they are used with care. The belief in the expression of the true identity of the name bearer through ontological names is so entrenched in the Kabre metaphysics that these names can be used, and are often used as a last resort in life-and-death situations. For instance, after every medicinal means has been tried, in vain, to save a person's life, one can attempt, in an ultimate effort, to call him or her back to life by uttering his or her ontological name in a ritualistic manner.

In a study of anthroponyms in South Africa, Kahari (1990) observed that the choice of a personal name among the Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana and Pondo people of South Africa is influenced by several factors. These are religious, consistent with Nyota and Mapara, (2010), commemorative (names marking an event, date or person), 'derogatory protective' names (used as distracters to make the ancestors think the child is unwanted, owing to previous deaths or misfortune in the family and names which encode social commentary (Hunter 1979:155).

In another related study, Herbert (1999) also postulated that the South African Tsonga people use personal names to keep their history, protest socio-political discriminatory practices like apartheid. Names in this category are *Khuduego* (A Tswana name given to a boy after the 1985 political uprisings meaning riots), *Nqobile* (Conquered) a Zulu name which celebrates political freedom and *Lindokuhle* (Waiting for good things) a Zulu name which express hope for the future. In this community, it was noted, the name chosen for a particular individual performs a dual role as it demonstrates the particular social tie which the namer wishes to exploit and as well as the degree of familiarity of the namer. It was also noted that in this society there are a large number of names associated with negative qualities and experiences because they want to outwit misfortune like *Mengi* (Many) and it is given to a boy or girl born after the mother had often aborted.

2.2 Names as part of language

Names exist as part of the sociolinguistic milieu. They are part of every society that gives them and they act as a window through which the world is understood and appreciated (Mutunda 2014). Through names, members of a community can express their experiences, feelings, joys or even sorrows. Names function as conduits of information, especially on society's attitudes or observations towards the named (Mapara et al 2009: 9). For one to appreciate these names there is need to have good knowledge of the imagery and metaphor of the language. The value of names as a case of language in action (Ngugi 1987: 15) is very well captured in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Mazrui 2004: 41). Mazrui states that according to Sapir, human beings are very much at the mercy of the particular language, which is part of the medium of expression of their society. Sapir observes that the fact of the matter is that what people consider to be the real world is largely built upon the language habits of the group. He goes further to express the idea that there are no two languages that are ever sufficiently similar though they can be considered as representing the same social reality. Whorf in (Mazrui 2002: 41) shares a similar opinion with Sapir and states that speakers of different languages will map the world in different ways. This is so because each person's basic ontology or worldview is structured or determined and organised by

language. According to Whorf, each language is encoded with a particular mode of thought, a metaphysics that affects the speaker's experience at the level of perception. The views that are expressed in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis ring true when they are applied to the study of Shona names (Nyota and Mapara 2010).

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that language emanates from society and the same society uses language to communicate through words and symbols. Through words and symbols, it enables people to evaluate and appreciate the world that they live in. One of the ways in which people use language to this appreciation is through the names that they adopt (Nyota and Mapara 2010). As an aspect of language, names can be used to fuel or minimise conflict because they become conduits through which people communicate their emotions and perceptions. Finnegan (1970: 170) aptly captures this value of names when she asserts:

There have been many different interpretations of these names. They have ranged from the psychological functions of names, in providing assurance or 'working out' tensions to their connection with the structure of society, their social function in minimising friction, or their usefulness in expressing the self-image of their owner or in providing a means of indirect comment when a direct one is not feasible.

A study of Shona names by Mapara, Mutasa and Nyota (2005: 9) also reveals that names like the languages that carry them are dynamic. They compared this dynamism of names to a river that picks what it can and some items along the way. They also likened it to a snake that casts off its slough for another. They further argued that in an environment where new objects and experiences are constantly coming up as a result of language contact, it is imperative that new names and terminologies to reflect and carry new realities do come up. Some of these realities are captured in the names that the Shona people give to their newborn children, or as nicknames to members in their society. An example of one such name is *Mushayabhachi* (one without a jacket). This name contains an adoptive, *bhachi*, (jacket). This name refers to one's socio-economic status. It again refers to one who is of limited financial means, or who has none at all,

one who cannot even afford a jacket. The name is sentential and made up of subject, *mu-*, verb, *-shaya-* and object *-bhachi*. The name means one who is so poor that he cannot afford to buy a jacket of his own. The poverty may be a result of unknown misfortune, or some other calamities that members of the public may not realise or fail to sympathise with, so the name becomes a symbol of lack and want. The name *Mushayabachi* like the many others among the Shona, confirm that naming conventions are strongly by culture. The same names are also human resources for identifying and categorizing different people according to culture and other related issues. The name *Mushayabhachi* is also a modern version of the idiomatic expression: *Musvuuganda dzvinyu risina gushe*. (Plain skin, a lizard without a single fur). This idiom means one who is of limited or no means at all. The named is one who is looked down upon. Yakubu (2012:40), posits that language is an embodiment of African native languages, as embodied in names, beliefs, history and worldviews of the people.

The foregoing is also true at grammatical level. According to Yakubu (2012) the Agatu personal names reflect the grammar of Agatu language. Agatu personal names reflect the grammar of the Agatu people and the structure of Agatu personal names may be said to constitute the grammar of Agatu language. To understand the structure of Agatu personal names, it is essential to understand the grammatical structure of the language. The lists of the structural properties of Agatu reflected in names are as follows: noun phrase, sentential names, questions, declaratives and calquing or desententialization. Calquing is a process of nominalization, which involves writing or reducing a whole phrase or even a sentence to form a single noun. This process is very common mostly in the realm of human nouns in Agatu (Yakubu 2012).

The dual status of the proper names in language (the name as an element of the vocabulary of a language and simultaneously an element of an onymic set) is a crucial starting point in comprehending its special status and the valuation of proper names in a language. In onymic nomination (in the philosophy of language, the term “baptism” is used) an individual of a given class is named as an individually existing object. In naming, any language form (grammatical form, prepositional phrase, minimal utterance) is possible (Bratislava 2009: 11).

2.3 Meaning of Anthroponyms

Olawale (2005:9) notes that in Africa, "...there is much meaning in a name. If you are given the right name, you start off with certain indefinable but very real advantages". This is the reason why Mbiti (1975:213) sees naming in Africa as "...a big social event" because personal names accomplish multiple functions.

Giving names among the Bantu cultures reflects the socio-cultural circumstances of the group and or clan. Moyo (1996) observes that the Ngoni-Tumbuka-speaking people of northern Malawi prefer names with historical importance like *Mapopa* (Wilderness-named after the death of several children) and *Tafwachi* (What is wrong with us). These names comment on the society or family condition.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the names *Mbuuyi* and *Mwape* among the Aushis and the Lalas, which are 'comeback' names, are dominant (Munday 1948:40). In these cultures, a name will be given one evening and will be changed if the child continues to cry. Within this context, to receive someone's name is to inherit or receive that person's qualities, faults and destiny (Makondo, 2009).

After a study of meaning of names among the Zulu society, Koopman (1990) concluded that namers and bearers of names are aware of the meaning of the name, and the literal meaning of the name is always directly related to the reason for giving it. The ability to read between the lines, as it were, depends upon a cultural continuity in which language is embedded, and which is not open to all. This is where pragmatics comes into play complimented by semantics by looking at the use of context to make inferences about meaning. Epstein and Kole (1998:266) and Löbner (2002:9) refer to this prerequisite condition as "context of situation" or "context of utterance" respectively. Epstein and Kole (1998:26) by context of situation point out that every utterance occurs in a culturally determined context of situation. Therefore, the meaning of a name can only be understood by understanding the context in which the naming occurs. This is imperative as the meanings of names are the result of complex social negotiations, learned and interpreted through socialization (Leslie and Skipper 1990:273). This

means that only those who grow up within the community can, perhaps, participate fully in this expanded communicative interaction (Beattie 1957:37). She adds that “It is well known that African names have meaning and that speakers readily identify that meaning”. African names retain their meaning-bearing function and are much less arbitrary, their meaning generally being transparent and accessible and often recording complex details about their bearers (De Klerk and Bosch 1995:69).

According to Finnegan (1970) and Campbell (1972), most African communities draw most of their names from proverbs. For instance, among the Swahili people, there is a proverb that says if you inherit a name you must also adopt its affairs. The Ganda (also called Baganda) people of South central Uganda are said to have thousands of proverbial names among them Nyonyintono [from *Nyonyitono yekemba byoya*] ‘a small bird, to appear big, must clothe itself in many feathers’. The female equivalent name is Ganya which comes from the saying ‘when a wife begins to disrespect her husband it shows that she has found another place where she intends to go and live’ (Nsimbi 1950:20). On the other hand, the Nyoro have *Rubojja* meaning, ‘it pecks as a fowl does’ -just as one does not know which exact grain will be picked up next by a fowl, only that some grain will be attacked, so one cannot tell who will be attacked next by death (Beattie 1957:101). In the same way, the use of Baganda personal names demonstrates that those traditional names “. . . have deeper meanings than is generally apparent” (Nsimbi 1950:20). In fact, these names are a summary of the society’s values. The first born male twin is commonly named *Singoma* while the female is named *Nangoma*, both names derived from the Banyoro people (Musere and Byakutaga 1998:9).

Mwizenge (1988) carried out studies on indigenous Tonga names among the Tonga speaking people of Southern province of Zambia. He concluded that Tonga personal names fall into four broad categories linguistically; nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Mwizenge’s study, just like many other studies on personal names, did not focus on the naming system, meaning (both connotative and denotative) and structure of names. In unison with Kahari (1990: 54)’s findings, he posits that Tonga personal names are descriptive as they describe the character and qualities of the bearer.

Nyota and Mapara (2010), consistent with Epstein and Kole (1998:26), observes that the meanings of names are best understood in a cultural context. Those who know and understand the language metaphorically and figuratively are the ones who can best appreciate the meanings that the names convey. In a study of some Shona nicknames, they established that to analyse some of them is not just to go through a goldfield, but is also to negotiate a dangerous minefield.

The study further reviewed that in socio-economic situations people are usually identified by their prowess and status in society. Those of limited means at times got names that described their station in life. Three names stand out in his study. These are *Masimirembwa*, *Nhokodzembudzi* and *Mautsahuku*. These names refer to high levels of poverty that can be observed in the named and their families. These names have become family names (surnames). It was established that names like *Masimirembwa* (one who wears dogs) refer to dire poverty. In the pre-colonial society food gathering was part of the economic life, and to adequately provide for the family one had to be a successful hunter, ironsmith, farmer, or in any venture that one chose to specialise. If one was a professional hunter (maisiri), he was expected to kill big animals like elephant, kudu and buffalo. Even when one went out on hunting safaris with others, he was expected to be among those who brought down big game. If one was always killing rabbits and daisies, he was derided and viewed as poor. This was largely because the hides of bigger game were also used for making nhembe (skin aprons) that were the major dress item in traditional and pre-colonial Zimbabwe. The name *Masimirembwa* came about as a result of colleagues challenging the unsuccessful hunter by stating that he would have to kill dogs to get their hides so as to get skins for making aprons for himself and his family since he could not kill the proper animals (Nyota and Mapara 2010).

Another name in the socio-economic realm that captures the idea of abject poverty is *Nhokodzembudzi* (Goat droppings). The first impression one may get when this anthroponym is mentioned is that it refers to the richness or wealth that the named possesses. This is so because goat droppings are known to be good manure. For those with an inclination towards African Traditional Medicine (ATM) also known as

alternative medicine, goat droppings remind one of their values as a cure for snake bites. However, names like Nhokodzembudzi are not as straightforward (Nyota and Mapara 2010). They are the ones that Finnegan (1976: 173) describes as:

The colourful often figurative quality of many of these names should be brought out. There are, of course, many names which are relatively straightforward with little overt meaning. Others, however, are richly allusive.

But it is also known that for one to successfully decipher the meaning of names of a particular language, he or she should have adequate knowledge of that language's imagery and metaphor. Most Shona speakers would understand the name to also mean poverty of high propositions. The image that is created when one visualises goat droppings is that of waste that gets scattered as soon as it hits the ground. It is this image that is transferred to a person who after making efforts to ensure that he is successful in his ventures; he sees his efforts coming to nought in circumstances that seem inexplicable and difficult to comprehend. It is this loosening up of his enterprise that would have led people to describe him as Nhokodzembudzi, which when produced, come out as one lump but break into different lesser droppings when they hit the ground (Nyota and Mapara 2010).

Mautsahuku is a name that the bearers have as a surname but originally was a nickname and is found in *Nyatate*, *Nyanga* District in *Manicaland*. In the *Manyika* dialect *kuutsa* means to herd. The name therefore means one who herds domestic fowls. In pre-colonial times, as well as in most rural areas in colonial Zimbabwe, cattle were a status symbol. They are still up to this day. People are known to herd cattle and goats, with the less fortunate ones herding donkeys as well as sheep. It is unheard of that one can herd fowls. The name, as the other two discussed above, implies that one is in dire poverty. The poverty is of such magnitude that the only livestock that he has is that of free-ranching fowls. It is these that people in the local society would see as the only livestock that the named has and that the society mocks him by stating that he can only herd these. The name is significant because it implies that since the named can only herd fowls, which means that he cannot cloth his family since fowls have no hides.

Its meaning is therefore equally loaded like the one that is found in the name *Masimirembwa* (Ibid).

Nyota and Mapara (2010)'s study of Shona onomastics also reflects a religious slant, especially one that relates to the burden and misery caused by death. While death is inevitable, and is viewed among the Shona as a rite of passage as is reflected in the statement 'Apfuura' (She/He has passed on), its frequent occurrence in certain families has led to a naming practice whereby members have given names to children that reflect this frequent happening. The names are also indicators of those families' acceptance and resignation to this fate. Some of the names that reflect this resignation include the following: *Tarusenga*, *Tarusikirwa*, *Chandiringa*, *Hapazari*, *Hakuzari* and *Nyamayavo*.

The name *Tarusenga* is a cry of despair from a family that feels that death would have become too common a visitor to their family such that they end up feeling that they are carrying it. The name therefore means we have carried it. The same is true of the name *Tarusikirwa* (we were created for death). In both names, *Tarusenga* and *Tarusikirwa* death is not mentioned by name but is referred to through the use of /-ru-/ the subject concord (Ibid). *Chandiringa* means 'It has targeted me.' The name like the other two in the foregoing paragraph is a statement of helplessness. According to informants, the family could have been named as a result of the head of the family responding to being consoled and asked by other family members, "*Zviri kumbodini samusha?*" (What is happening?). His response is said to have been, "*Hameno. Chandondiringawo.*" (I do not know. It has just targeted me). From this time on he was referred to as *Chandiringa* and his children and descendents acquired the family name *Chandiringa* (Ibid).

The names *Hapazari* and *Hakuzari* are also related to death and its inevitability. The first name refers to earth and is a statement that despite the fact that people have been dying, the earth has not filled up. The name may be a shortened version of the statement *Pasi hapazari* (The earth does not fill up). The second name implies that the heavens do not fill up. In full, the name is rendered as *Hakuzari kudenga*. This comes from the Shona belief that spirits of the dead ascend to heaven. As far as the Shona are

concerned, people have been dying since time immemorial but the heavens where they are believed to ascend have never filled up. The name is therefore, a statement of the acceptance of the permanence of death in people's lives (Ibid).

Names can have powerful effects on behaviour, and this is vividly illustrated among the *Ashanti* people of West Africa. *Ashanti* children are named according to the day of the week on which they are born, and there is a widespread consensus among the Ashanti that these names are strongly associated with personality. Thus Monday boys are supposed to be quiet and well behaved, whereas Wednesday boys are seen as quick-tempered and aggressive (Batoma 2009). A study by Lahoda (1954) in Makondo (2009) showed that the proportion of Monday boys who were delinquent was indeed significantly smaller than would be supposed by pure chance, and that Wednesday boys were more likely to commit offences against the person than were others. These findings provide some support for the notion that people "live up to their names."

2.4 Nicknames

Some studies reviewed have shown that some family names have evolved from nicknames. Nicknames are familiarly, humorously, or ridiculously used names given to people instead of using the real complete name of that particular person or different full name other than his first name (Koopman 2002:15). Nicknames tend to be unofficial and are seldom recorded on an individual's official documents, such as birth certificates, school certificates, driver's license, and so on. These nicknames are often used to label an individual or express one's dislikes towards another person's attitude or behaviour, or they may simply be used to provide a form of ridicule and repressed antagonism (Turner (1997:54).

Kahari (2009:54) best sums up the importance of nicknames in an argument that a nickname is a name that an individual is given by the community which is usually descriptive because it sums up that individual's character and physical shape or idiosyncratic indications:

From these names, it is possible to see which qualities they endorse and which they discourage, and to derive a hierarchy of values constituting the Shona world view.

From Nyota and Mapara (2010), some of the nicknames that have evolved into family names among the Shona people include *Karadzandima*, *Kasiyandima*, *Karimanzira*, *Kagurabadza* and *Muhlamaenza (Mutyamaenza)*. This is also true about names like *Tarusenga*, *Tarusikirwa*, *Chandiringa*, *Hapazari*, *Hakuzari* and *Nyamayavo*.

The name *Karadzandima* (One who lets the field lying unattended) is an apt description of a lazy person. It is a miniature statement that sums up the behaviour of the one who has this as a nickname. This name and others in this category, does not come about overnight but is a product of a long period of observation that may span over several farming seasons. Usually the person who ends up being called *Karadzandima* would have become known for giving lame excuses that cause him not to attend to his fields. Such a person is also known for embarking on an agricultural activity but never pursues it to the end. The result is that his family is perennially one that is always begging for food. In pre-colonial times, such families ended up pledging their daughters into marriages so that they could keep hunger at bay. This name has evolved into a family name. Those who carry it today are not necessarily lazy, but its meaning is a pointer to its origins (Ibid).

Kasiyandima is related to *Karadzandima*. The name means one who abandons his patch of land. The Shona people do not always speak of large areas or quantities. The reference to something small does not mean that one really means it. Hodza (1980: 14) gives a very good example in the poem "*Mukwerera*" when the people who are asking for rain from their ancestral spirits ask for 'donhwe' (a drop). To the Shona it is a polite way of asking for a lot. Therefore, when one is referred to as one who abandons his patch; it means that the person is lazy because he does not complete the agricultural task that he would have set out to do.

When one is named *Karimanzira* (One who tills the path), it means one who never makes an effort to get into the field to do some tilling. This person is known for being always on some type of journey that does not allow him to settle down and attend to his fields. The community gives the name when it realises that this person's journeys always come up during the rain season when agricultural activities are at their peak. The name may also have come about as a result of the fact that the named person would even pass through areas where others would be working on their plots. It is normally after such a person would have passed by that the others working in their fields might comment, "*Uyu ndiKarimanzira chaiye*" (This one only tills thoroughfares) (Nyota and Mapara 2010).

Kagurabadza (Hoe breaker) is one of those names that refer to a person who is not just lazy and does not till his plot, but one who ensures that the agricultural implements are not there because he breaks them to create an excuse. The name does not mean that he breaks hoes only. He may not bring his oxen into the pen so that he has a justifiable reason for not going to work his fields. In some instances, the person may assist a neighbour with his implements in the off-season and conveniently forget to collect them so that he does not go to his fields giving shortage of implements as the main reason.

There are also nicknames that are derived from full personal names. A long name can be reduced in order to conform to the restrictions on the word size and other morphological rules in the language. This is known as Calquing or desententialisation (Timoye,1991 in Yakubu 2012) or truncation (McCarthy in1986:56 in Yakubu 2012). McCarthy and others have noted that truncated words are not chopped to fit by leaving off prosodic units, but "instead, starting at some designated point, the melodic elements of a word are associated with a template" (McCarthy 1986:56). In Nguni this process of truncation is employed to form nicknames:

<u>Full name</u>	<u>Short form or nickname</u>
<i>Sibongile</i>	<i>Bongi</i>
<i>Thandeka</i>	<i>Thandi</i>

Them bani *Themba*

Dingiswayo Dingi

It goes without saying that some nicknames are complete words with a particular meaning and others are a shortened form with or without a particular meaning.

2.5 Structure of Nicknames

Langendonck (1990) carried out an investigation of Dutch personal names. It was observed that personal names constitute the most diversified category of proper names. Proper nouns and pronouns are better means of reference than common nouns. This is so as cross linguistically and even within one language (dialect), a number of different patterns are encountered. Functionally, primary names are those that fulfil the three main functions of personal names; address (talk to), identification (talk about) and a wide possibility of sub categorisation as to gender and expressivity (especially combinability with diminutive and augmentative morphemes) (Langendonck 2001). He points out that,

. . . personal names tend to display rich derivational functions of a classificatory and expressive (emotive) nature. The semantic and formal diversification ultimately derives from the fact that personal names constitute the unmarked subcategory of proper names since they refer to humans. The feature 'human' has been said to be the unmarked one vis-à- vis other features. From an experiential-cognitive viewpoint, indeed, it is obvious that human beings interact most with other human beings. This fact engenders the extensive use of personal names and the proliferation of subclasses (Langendonck 2001:204).

Houis (1983: 8) observes that "... they [names] are practically not distinct from other linguistic signs [words] at the level of form and morphology..." It is from this background that Nkolola (2013) asserted that names can be analyzed from morphological, syntactic, semantic or etymological perspectives among others.

Shona anthroponyms fall into the category of substantives in Shona morphology. The Shona substantives include nouns and qualificatives, namely, adjectives, pronouns, enumeratives, quantitatives, selectors and demonstratives. Because of the nature of their being names, Shona anthroponyms fall into the category of nouns, despite the fact that some of them may be made up of adjectives, selectors and even copulatives. As nouns, they share the same constructional pattern with other nouns. The general structure of Shona nouns is: noun prefix + stem. Shona nouns have twenty-one (21) classes and they are classified according to their prefixes. Ordinary human beings are in classes 1, 1a, 2, 2a, 2b and 6. Other human beings depending on other qualifications like size, profession and the like can be found in the following classes: 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 19 whose prefixes are commentary. In class 1, for example are ordinary nouns like *murume* (man). The constructional pattern of this noun is:

noun prefix + noun stem
mu- + -rume

When most nouns in class 1 are pluralized, they fall into class 2, whose noun prefix is /*va-*/, hence *murume* becomes *varume*. Some class 1 plurals are also found in class 6, whose prefix is /*ma-*/, for example, *mapurisa* (policemen). The singular form is *mupurisa* (policeman). Names in noun class 1a refer to personal names. These have the / \emptyset -/ symbol that represents the noun prefix. For example, the name *Nyika* is divided into its least meaningful units as: \emptyset - + **-Nyika** (Fortune 1988).

Some Shona anthroponyms are sentential in nature. This means that they can be deverbative, nominal or a combination of both nominals and deverbatives. The overall effect of this is that their general constructional pattern remains the same, that of **noun prefix + noun stem**, but when the stem is further analysed it can be broken into even lesser units as the following examples highlight (Fortune 1988).

The name *mu-nhu-rume* has two stems *-nhu* and *-rume*. The constructional pattern of '*munhurume*' is as follows:

Noun prefix + complex stem
mu- + -nhurume

The complex stem is made up of two stems derived from the names 'munhu' and 'murume'. It is -nhu- + -rume (noun stem + noun stem)

The examples given above are of complex nouns or complex nominal constructions at their easiest. When it comes to the actual practice of name creating, any combinations are possible. This is so because in Shona anthroponyms one can come across those that combine nouns, verbs and even idiophones, for example,

'Goremusandu'. This is constructed as follows:

∅- [Gore- mu - sandu].

noun prefix- [noun - mu - idiophone].

The name Chandiringa, is a deverbative noun. This is constructed as:

∅ - [Cha-ndi-ring-a]

noun prefix - [complex stem]

The stem is an inflected verb phrase whose constructional pattern is:

Ch – a – ndi - ring-a

sc/sp-ts-op – vr – tv (subject concord/prefix - tense sign - object prefix - verb radical - terminal vowel)

Some names are sentential, in that they are made up of a subject and a clause as in the name, 'Munhundiani'. This anthroponym is a combination of subject or noun phrase, 'munhu' and a copulative phrase as a predicate, 'ndiani'. Its constructional pattern is:

∅ - [munhu - + - ndiani]

noun prefix - [noun prefix + copulative phrase].

(Fortune 1988)

In an article on Nguni names, Lupenga (2006:52) notes that of all Bantu languages, Nguni has perhaps the more elaborate and overt morphological and derivational semantic processes for naming, and therefore offers an interesting opportunity to adequately describe and account for the morphological and semantic processes involved in naming. His emphasis in the article is on the construction of proper names,

particularly the process involved in naming children. He observed that there are many ways in which names in Nguni are constructed, depending on the semantic import that the name-giver wants to convey, but focussed only on three that involve some form of derivational affixation – a very distinctive feature of Bantu languages.

In Nguni, as is the case in most Bantu languages, affix morphemes appear as either prefixes, as in noun class markers, or as suffixes, as in verbalizers. Stems are fully formed "independent" words at the lexical level. However, some stems can be turned into verbal stems by affixing verbal suffixes, and some verb stems in turn can be turned into names by suffixation. Therefore, there are two types of name formation: lexical and derivation.

In Nguni, an agglutinating language just like many other Bantu languages, the process of naming is largely based on the deployment of a network of affixes that are harmonized by the relevant phonological rules (Lupenga 2006). In the morphological processes, the noun or verbal conjugation is the main source for deriving meaning. Context affects the interpretation of linguistic items such as names, and therefore there can be no semantic systematic theorizing because context determines what can be intuitively said about a lexicon in a natural language. Names are thus like implicatives, and we need a declaration to provide the input to implicatives which are pragmatic. You do not just draw from the lexical parts. Thus in a name like *Thandeka*, "the loved one," it is not clear who is loved: the child, mother, or ancestor? The morphology of names also has fundamental implications for syntax because names tend to be both words and sentences, for example: *Thembinkosi* is "We trust in the Lord," or *Bonangani*, "How do you see?" (Lupenga (2006:52).

Most of the names in Zulu culture result from the process of verbal conjugation, where derivational affixes turn specific categories of morphemes into corresponding morphemes in another category. These affixes can be as small as a single vowel:

/themb + a/ → *Themba* (trust, hope)

Typically, all verbs in Bantu languages end in a final vowel [a], which is a default absolute tense feature in verbs. In Nguni languages this is a common source of proper

personal names. But names are also morphologically related to other grammatical categories, and in the following example the derivational process affixes [o] or [i] as a final vowel to verb stems (Nyota and Mapara 2010):

/vusa/ (revise) → *Vuso* (revival) /hlaza/ (embarrass) → *Hlazo* (disgrace)

/zonda/ (hate) → *Mzondi* (hater) /thakatha/ (bewitch) → *Mthakathi* (witch)

Derivational affixes thus change the syntactic category of the lexical morphemes to which they are attached, turning verbs into nouns, which then become another source for personal names. Plural appeal is also indicated by either prefix **si-**, as in *Sibongile* (we are thankful), or suffix **-ni**, as in *Bongani* (be thankful). Using this process of affixation, name-givers take the verb forms with which they are familiar, and play with them in a creative way to re-create new names that convey a meaningful reflection on what the new birth means to the community (Nyota and Mapara 2010).

There is another process that prefixes the nominal nasal morpheme to the verb stem as shown below:

thakatha (verb, bewitch) → thakathi (noun) → *Mthakathi* (witch, wizard)

zonda (verb, hate) → zondo (noun, hatred) → *Mzondi* (the hater)

bonga (verb, thank, praise) → bongo (noun) → *Mbongi* (praiser)

Plural appeal is also indicated by either prefix **-si**, as in *Sibongile* (we are thankful), or suffix **-ni**, as in *Bongani* (be thankful). Using this process of affixation, name givers take the verb forms with which they are familiar, and play with them in a creative way to re-create new names that convey a meaningful reflection on what the new birth means to the community (Lupenga 2006).

The overwhelming majority of names in Nguni are derived from the process of verbalization by which a verbalizer suffix is attached to the verb stem to indicate the state of the action denoted. The three most popular suffixes used in Nguni languages are the causative extension **[-se]**, the applicative extension **[-le]**, the simple passive suffix **[-we]**, and passive suffix **[-ka]**. There are two observations to be made about

verbalizers. First, each verbalizer behaves uniquely and second, some verbalizers are more frequent than others. Note also that although both [-se] and [-ka] are causative extensions and are used to name or define a quality in the individual bearing the name, there is a qualitative semantic distinction between them in the way they indicate capacity or potential for something. All the four suffixations are very common in the Nguni naming practice.

thanda (verb, love) → thando (noun) → *Thandeka/Thandwa/Thandiwe* (the loved one)

lunga (verb, correct) → lungo (noun) → *Lungile* (the one set right)

nhlanza (verb, purify) → *Nhlanzo* (noun) → *Nhlanzekile* (the cleansed one)

linda (verb, wait) → lindo (noun) → *Lindiwe* (the awaited one)

dinga (verb, need) → dingo (noun) → *Dingile/Dingase* (the needed one)

These suffixes not only convert the stem into different phonological and grammatical realizations, but also impart different semantic impulses of the social meaning. It is these semantic impulses that help interpret the related activity implied in the verbal extension such as applicative, causative, intensive and passive. The {-ka} extension, for instance, indicates a stative condition with respect to social space, as in *Bongeka* (be thanked), or *Thandeka* (the favorite one). The name with a {-le} suffix indicates a semantic element of persistence: *Hlanzekile* (purified, continuously cleansed), or *Lungile* (be righteous, consistently well behaved). The {-se} suffix indicates a cause-and-effect intensity, causing or being caused, as in the forms *Dingase* (cause to need), and *Mzondwase* (the one caused to hate) (Lupenga 2006).

The intensification can be further reinforced by the affixation of another pronominal suffix {-yo} onto the causative one, as in *Dingiswayo* (the needy one), or *Sunduzwayo* (the one made to be pushed aside, forced out). The plural suffix {-ni} is also used in Nguni names as an appeal or form of command: *Bongani* (be thankful), *Kholwani* (be faithful), *Themhani* (be trusting), and *Tholani* (give birth, adopt, offer shelter). The {-ni} suffix also indicates collectivity, an appeal to a group rather than to a single individual, and should not be confused with the locative of the same form. Thus, while /mzonde/, “hate her/him,” refers to a single addressee, in *Mzondeni* more than one addressee is

referred to. Although there are several morphemes in Nguni languages that can be attached to various verbal stems to turn them into different types of words of different categories, only a few can be used in this way to form verb-based names. Personal and place names are derived from different parts of speech. It is here emphasized that personal and place names are derived from nouns and verbs. With personal names, the morphological derivation is prefixal or suffixal. The use of **-so-**, **-no-**, **-ma/-ka-** extra morphemes are prefixally applied (Lupenga 2006).

.Ògúnwálé (2012:176), attempted to expatiate the morphological structures of the Yoruba names and found that despite their composite structures, their tokens in the language do achieve both lexical and sentential status. The first reason which make this to be so is that the language employs the linguistic repertoires mechanism of morpho-syntax to derive the particular class of Yoruba sentential nominal which the name – words encode.

2.6 Conclusion

A review of literature on given names and nicknames has shown that the following factors greatly influence the selection of personal names in various parts of Africa: birth circumstances, character or health background, a name given to commemorate a deceased relative or friend, one that makes reference to the physical features of the child at birth, specific names for twins and the following children, names which refer to the 'state of mind' of the parents, disputes and friction within the family or with in-laws or neighbours, names that criticise or approve a certain behaviour and names adopted from the Bible. The literature reviewed has also shown that names are meaningful. In addition, the review has shown that names exist as part of the sociolinguistic milieu. Not only that, the literature reviewed have also shown that, just like the languages that carry them, names have meaning. Finally, it is noticeable from the various studies reviewed that names can be analysed morphologically. However, there is a gap in the literature because none of the reviewed studies focussed on the naming system, meaning and morphology of anthroponyms.

CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings and discussion on the meaning and morphology of Tonga anthroponyms. It also analyses the structure of the anthroponyms. The section begins by presenting and discussing the findings on Tonga naming system. It presents information about the name givers, why, when and how names are given. This information is very crucial to the understanding of the meaning of Tonga anthroponyms.

3.1 Morphology of Tonga anthroponyms

3.1.1 Introduction

This section analyses the morphology of the anthroponyms discussed in **3.2**. It is hoped that an analysis of these anthroponyms morphologically will enhance the understanding of their meaning. The discussion of the morphology of given names and nicknames was done with an understanding, according to Houis (1983: 8) that "... they [names] are practically not distinct from other linguistic signs [words] at the level of form and morphology..." and that names can be analyzed from morphological, syntactic, semantic or etymological perspectives among others (Nkolola 2013). However, the study is aware that the assertion by Houis (1983:8) is only true to some extent. For instance, names are not similar to prepositions and pronouns in structure. The study used the Tonga noun class system and derivation to analyse the anthroponyms structurally and to explain their meaning.

The section discussed the structure of given names and nicknames with reference to derivation. However, there is a chicken- and - egg question as to what was derived from what, for instance whether a name was derived from a verb or a verb from a name. The present study does not seek to answer this question. Instead, for its purpose which is to

fully explain the meaning of names, it takes a stance that anthroponyms are derived from other parts of speech such as verbs, common nouns, proper nouns and adjectives in very rare cases. This position is motivated by the fact that names do not exist independent of language and that language emanates from society and the same society uses language to communicate through words and symbols. Through words and symbols, people are able to evaluate and appreciate the world that they live in (Fromkin and Rodman 1983).

3.1.2 Tonga Noun Classes

Tonga is a noun class language with eighteen classes. All proper names, all given names and nicknames therefore, belong to class 1a. The unmarked constructional pattern of all Tonga personal names is **Noun Prefix (NP) + Noun Stem (NS)** such as in the name \emptyset -*Hamalijikila*: where \emptyset - is a zero Noun Prefix (NP) and **-hamalijikila** is a Noun Stem (NS). The NP is sometimes complex hence it can be analysed further as in

\emptyset - [**ha-ma-li-jikil-a**].

1a-[DM-SP-TM-cook-END]

A noun class language is a language in which nouns are systematically grouped into a number of semantically based classes, with each of the classes having its own distinct class marker. According to Trauth and Kazzazi (1996: 332),

Languages with noun classes (such as Bantu, West Atlantic), with up to twenty classes are often grouped in singular/plural pairs, often the classification is more or less semantically motivated, with the distinction between animate and inanimate playing a major role.

This is true to Tonga language.

Guthrie (1948) pointed out that Bantu languages, such as Tonga language, are characterised by, *inter alia*, a class system: noun classes belong to various classes, the sign of a class being a prefix and the type of concord prefixes a given noun governs. In

addition, there is a regular association of classes in pairs to indicate the dichotomy singular/plural. Table 1 shows the Tonga nominal prefixes.

Table 1: Tonga Nominal Prefixes

Class	Prefix	Example
1	mu	Muntu (mu-ntu) 'person'
1a	∅	Suntwe (∅-suntwe) 'hyna', Ceelo (∅-Ceelo) proper name
2	βa	Bantu (ba-ntu) 'people'
3	mu	Mucecete (mu-cecete) name of a tree (singular)
4	mi	Micecete (mi-cecete) name of a tree (plural)
5	li	Linso (li-inso) 'eye'
6	ma	Menso (ma-inso) 'eyes'
7	ci	Cisani (ci-sani) 'cloth'
8	zi	Zyisani (zi-sani) 'clothes'
9	n	Mpongo (n-pongo) 'goat'
9 a	∅	Bbola (∅-bbola) 'ball'
10	n	Mpongo (n-pongo)
11	lu	Luwo (lu-wo) 'wind'
12	ka	Kasamu (ka-samu) 'small tree'

13	tu	Tusamu (tu-samu) 'many small trees'
14	bu	Buumba (bu-umba)'loneliness'
15	ku	Kulila (ku-lila) 'to cry'
16	a	Ansi (a-nsi) 'on the ground'
17	ku	Kumbo (ku-mbo) 'to the western direction'
18	mu	Mucintoolo (mu-cintoolo) 'in the shop'

The ∅ symbol means that the class exists but has no nominal prefix.

As indicated in table 1, some classes are paired to express singular and plural. The common pairs are as follows: 1/2, 1a/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 9a/6, 11/10, 11/6, 12/13, 14/14, 14/6 and 15/6. The following observations can be made from table 1:

- a. Some uncountable nouns are either always in the singular or plural form, for example, *maanzi* 'water', *masusu* 'hair', *twe* 'ash'
- b. Most of the nouns in class 14 are singular abstract nouns that do not take the plural form as in *bulemu* 'respect', *butolo* 'laziness', *bulondo* 'neatness'.
- c. Classes 16, 17 and 18 are locative classes corresponding to English language prepositions: 16 = **on** (*aciluli* 'on the roof), 17= **at/to** (*kunyika* 'to the North) and 18=**in** (*mumulonga* 'in the river).
- d. Some classes are also used to form derivatives. For example, augmentatives/perjoratives are formed using class 7 and class 8, diminutives are formed using classes 12 and 13 while abstract nouns using class 14.

3.1.3 Tonga Phonemes

Table 2: Phonemic Chart of the Consonants and Semi-vowels in Plateau Tonga

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d			k g		
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ		
Fricative	β	s z	ʃ ʒ		ʁ		h ɦ
Affricate			tʃ dʒ				
Lateral		l					
Approximant				ɟ		w	

Sibajene (2013:58)

Table 3: Tonga Vowel Phonemes

Height of Tongue	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

Musale (2009:8)

3.1.4 Derivation in Tonga

Derivation processes form new words (generally of a different category) from existing words, in English this is mainly done by adding affixes. In the formation of *drinkable* from *drink*, or *disinfect* from *infect*, for example, one sees the formation of new words, each with its own grammatical properties. It is common to talk of derivational processes involving stems and affixes (rather than words and affixes). Derivation morphemes are affixes which change the meaning of the base or root in some important ways, or change it into a different word class. They turn adjectives into nouns, adjectives into verbs, nouns of one type into nouns of other types, verbs into nouns and so on. They add new meanings to the verb. They are readily followed by inflectional suffixes, and in many cases more than one derivational suffix can be found in the same word (Ardini, 2008). This state of affairs is true to Tonga and many African languages in general to some extent.

The study regarded Tonga anthroponyms as derivatives because names do not exist independent of language; they are part of language in which they exist (Mapara et al 2009: 9, Ngugi 1987: 15 and Mazrui 2004: 41). Anthroponyms, just like any other category of proper names are given from an existing stock of vocabulary of a language (Leyew (2003), and Tonga anthroponyms are not an exceptional. The vocabulary of a language include, among others, verbs, nouns and adjectives. Languages are dynamic; new concepts or words in a language can be developed through borrowing depending on technological advancement. Names, just like the languages that carry them, are dynamic. The dynamism of names was compared to a river that picks what it can and some items along the way. It was also likened to a snake that casts off its slough for another. It follows therefore that in an environment where new objects and experiences are constantly coming up as a result of language contact, it is imperative that new names and terminologies to reflect and carry new realities do come up (Mutasa, 1990). From this angle one can argue, as pointed out already, that names are dependant on the language in which they exist. It is from this perspective that the study considers

Tonga anthroponyms as derivatives. If anthroponyms are derivatives, the study argues that it is possible to analyse them into their structural parts or to show how they are derived or formed.

3.1.5 Morphology of Given names

This section presents the morphology of de-verbal, de-nominal and de-adjectival given names.

3.1.5.1 De-verbal given names

Given names derived from verbs are known as de-verbal nouns. It has already been mentioned that Tonga anthroponyms, just like many other African anthroponyms, are made up of a noun prefix and a noun stem. Given names in this category have complex stems. The complex stem is generally made up of a derivational morpheme (DM), root and an ending (END). There are cases when the noun stem is made up of four morphemes. This is such case as when a given anthroponym has an English translation equivalent to a clause as in example (13), (18) and (22) and when there is an extension in verbal root which has a derivational morpheme as in example (16). The most productive derivational morpheme is **mu-** which has eleven scores in the names discussed in this category followed by **lu-** with eight scores and the **ci-** with seven. Other derivational morphemes are **tu-**, **ma-**, and **mi-** and the nasals which are very rare. Twenty-one de-verbal names are discussed.

(1) *Mpimpa* (one who folds) and *Nsanzya* (one who washes)

The name *Mpimpa* is derived from the verb *pimpa* (to fold). To form the anthroponym *Mpimpa*, addressers prefix a nominal nasal morpheme, which is a derivational morpheme **m-** to the verb stem which becomes part of the noun stem to which class 1a prefix marker (\emptyset -) is prefixed. The process of adding a nasal morpheme to the verb stem is known as nasalisation. This is consistent with Lupenga (2012)'s findings in his study of Shona anthroponyms in which he contended that a nominal nasal morpheme **m-** is prefixed to verbs to form nouns. The other verb, to which a nominal nasal morpheme **n-** can be attached to derive a noun is *sanzya* 'to wash' giving the name *Nsanzya*.

pimpa (verb, fold) → *m-pimpa* (one who folds) > ∅- Mpimpa

sanzya > *sanzya* (verb, wash) → *n-sanzi-a* (one who washes) > ∅-Nsanzya

∅ - Mpimpa [mpimpa]

NP + NS

∅ -M-pimp-a

1a-DM-fold-END

∅ - Nsanzya [nsãỹã]

NP + NS

NP-N-sanz-i-a

1a-DM-wash-EXT-END

(2) *Nsole* (let me try)

This name is derived from the verb *so/a* (try) to which a derivational morpheme which is a nominal nasal morpheme **n-** which stabilises the verb root –sol-(try) is prefixed.

According to Carter (2002), stabilisation is a process by which a noun, adjective or other form is made into a predicate. The end vowel is also raised to form the name as follows:

so/a (verb, try) → *n-sol-e* (let me try) > ∅-Nsole

∅-Nsole [nsole]

NP + NS

NP-N-sol-e

1a-DM -try-END

(3) *Mulumbi/Mukomi/Mulindi/Mucaili/Mwiimbi*

These names are derived from verbs by both suffixation and vowel rising. Through vowel raising, the low vowel /-a/ becomes a high vowel /-i/. At the same time, a derivational morpheme **mu-** which becomes part of the noun stem is attached to form the anthroponyms.

lumba (verb, be thankful) → *mu-lumb-i* (one who thanks) > ∅-Mulumbi

imba (verb, sing) → *mu-imb-i* (one who sings) > ∅-Mwiimbi

koma (verb, defeat) → *mu-kom-i* (one who is late) > ∅-Mukomi

linda (verb, wait) → *mu-lind-i* (one who waits/watches) > ∅-mulindi

The constructional pattern of these names is as follows:

∅-Mulumbi [mulumbi]

NP + NS

NP-mu-lumb-i

1a-DM-thank-END

∅- Mwiimbi [mwiimbi]

NP + NS

NP- mu-imb-i

1a-DM-sing-END

∅-Mukomi [mukomi]

NP + NS

NP- mu-kom-i

1a-DM- Conquer-END

∅- Mulindi [mulindi]

NP + NS

NP- mu-lind-i

1a-DM-wait-END

(4) *Cimuka, Cilala and Cilenga*

The name *Cimuka* is derived from the verb *muka* (be late), *Cilala* is derived from *lala* (sleep) and *Cilenga* is derived from the verb *lenga* (create) to which a derivational morpheme **ci-** is attached to the verbs and becomes part of the noun stem.

muka (verb, be late) → *ci-muk-a* (one who is late) > ∅-*Cimuka*

lala (verb, sleep) → *ci-lal-a* (one who slept/sleeps) > ∅-*Cilala*

lenga (verb, create) → *ci-leng-a* (one who creates) > ∅-*Cilenga*

The constituent parts of these names are as follows:

∅- Cimuka [jimuxa]

NP + NS

NP-Ci-muk-a

1a-DM-be late-END

∅-Cilala [jilala]

NP + NS

NP- ci-lal-a

1a-DM-sleep-END

∅-Cilenga [jilenga]

NP + NS

NP- Ci-leng-a

1a-DM-create-END

(5) *Nalulenga* and *Mulenga*

Both anthroponyms *Nalulenga* and *Mulenga* are derived from the verb *lenga* (create) as follows:

lenga (verb, create) → *na-lu-leng-a* (one who creates) > ∅-*Nalulenga*

lenga (verb, create) → *mu-leng-a* (creator) > ∅-*Mulenga*

∅-Nalulenga [nalulenga]

NP + NS

NP- Na-lu-leng-a

1a-SM-DM-create-END

∅-Mulenga [mulenga]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-leng-a

1a-DM-create-END

(6) *Mutinta* and *Mulinda*

The name *Mutinta* is derived from the verb *tinta* (change) while *Mulinda* is derived from the verb *linda* (wait) both to which a derivational morpheme **mu-** is added and become part of the complex noun stem.

tinta (verb, change) → *mu-tinta* (one who changed) > ∅-Mutinta

linda (verb, wait) → *mu-linda* (watchperson/waiter) > ∅-Mulinda

The noun stems are formed as follows:

∅- Mutinta [mutinta]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-tint-a

1a-DM-change-END

∅-mulinda > [mulinda]

NP + NS

NP-Mu-lind-a

1a- DM-wait-END

(7) *Lweendo*, *Lulangilo*, *Lutangalo*, *Lukondo*, *Lulekelelo*, *Lushomo* and *Luyando*

The anthroponym *Lweendo* is derived from the verb *-enda* (walk), *Lulangilo* is derived from the verb *langila* (wait), *Lutangalo* is derived from the verb *tangala* (be happy), *Lukondo* is derived from *konda* (love), *Lulekelelo* is derived from the verb *lekelela* (forgive), *Lushomo* is derived from *shoma* (trust) while *Luyando* is derived from the verb

yanda (love) by raising the vowel /a/ to the mid back vowel /a/ and prefixing a derivational morpheme **lu-**.

enda (verb, walk) → *lu-end-o* (journey) > ∅-Lweendo

langila (verb, wait) → *lu-langil-o* (hope) > ∅-Lulangilo

tangala (verb, be happy) → *lu-tangal-o* (happiness) > ∅-Lutangalo

konda (verb, love) → *lu-kond-o* (love) > ∅-Lukondo

lekelela (verb, forgive) → *lu-lekelel-o* (forgiveness) > ∅-Lulekelelo

shoma (verb, trust) → *lu-shom-o* (faith) > ∅-Lushomo

yanda (verb, love) → *lu-yand-o* (love) > ∅-Luyando

The complex noun stems are formed as follows:

∅-Lweendo [lwe:ndo]

NP + NS

NP- lu-end-o

1a-DM-walk-END

∅-Lulangilo [lulangilo]

NP + NS

NP- Lu-langil-o

1a-DM-wait-END

∅-Lutangalo [lutangalo]

NP + NS

NP- Lu-tangal-o

1a-DM-be happy-END

∅-Lukondo [luχondo]

NP + NS

NP- Lu-kond-o

1a-DM-love (verb)-END

∅- Lulekelelo [luleχelelo]

NP + NS

NP- Lu-lekelel-o

1a-DM-forgive-END

∅- Lushomo [luhyomo]

NP + NS

NP- lu-shom-o

1a-DM-trust-END

∅- luyando [lujando]

NP + NS

NP- lu-yand-o

1a-DM-love-END

(8) *Ciloto*, *Cileleko* and *Cishomyo*

The given name *Ciloto* is derived from the verb *-lota* (dream), *Cileleko* is derived from ‘*-leleka*’ (bless) while *Cisyomyo* is derived from the verb *syomya* (promise). Derivational morpheme **ci-** is attached to the verbs forming complex noun stems at the same time the end vowel /a/ is raised to middle back vowel /o/.

Lota (verb, dream) → *ci-lot-o* (a dream) > ∅-Ciloto

Leleka (verb, bless) → *ci-lelek-o* (blessing) > ∅-Cileleko

Syomya (verb, promise) → *ci-shomi-o* (promise) > ∅-Cishomyo

∅-Ciloto [jiloto]

NP + NS

NP- Ci-lot-o

1a-DM-dream-END

∅-Cileleko [jileleko]

NP + NS

NP- Ci-lelek-o

1a-DM-bless-END

∅-Cishomyo [jihomyo]

NP + NS

NP- Ci-shom-i-o

1a-DM –trust-EXT-END

(9) *Muyumu*

The anthroponym *Muyumu* is derived from the verb *yuma* (be strong) by prefixing a derivational morpheme **mu-** forming a complex noun stem as well as raising the end vowel to the high back vowel /u/.

yuma (verb, be strong) → mu-yum-u (the strong one) > ∅-Muyumu

∅-Muyumu [mujumu]

NP + NS

NP- mu-yum-u

1a-DM-be strong-END

(10) *Bulelo*

This given name is derived from the verb *lela* (rule) to which **bu-** a derivational morpheme is attached at the same time raising the end vowel to the mid back vowel /o/:

lela (verb, rule) → bu-lel-o (rulership) > ∅-Bulelo

∅-Bulelo [βulelo]

NP + NS

NP- Bu-lel-o

1a-DM-rule-END

(11) *Kkomana*

The name *Kkomana* is derived from the verb *kkomana* (be happy) through a morphological process of conversion.

Kkomana (verb, be happy) → *kkomana* (be happy) > ∅-Kkomana

∅-kkomana [komana]

NP + NS

NP- Kkomana

1a-be happy

(12) *Ciiyo* and *Lwiito*

The anthroponym, *Ciiyo* is derived from the verb *iya* (learn) while *Lwiito* is derived from the verb *ata* (call) by prefixing **ci-** and **lu-** to the verbs respectively and raising the end vowel to the mid back vowel as follows:

iya (verb, learn) → *ci-ia-o* (lesson) > ∅-Ciiyo

ita (verb, call) → *lu-it-o* (a call) > ∅-Lwiito

∅-ciiyo [ji:yo]

NP + NS

NP-Ci-iy-o

1a-DM-lesson-END

∅-lwiito [lwi:to]

NP + NS

NP- Lu-it-o

1a-DM-call (n)-END

(13) *Twalumba*

The anthroponym is derived from the verb *lumba* (thank/be thankful) to which the morpheme **tu-** is prefixed as follows:

lumba (verb, thank) → *tu-a-lumb-a* (we are thankful) > ∅-Twalumba

∅-twalumba [twalumba]

NP + NS

NP- Tu-a-lumb-a

1a-DM-PM-thank-END

(14) *Jolezya*

The anthroponym *Jolezya* is another form for the expression *jokezya* (take back).
Jolezya (verb, take back) → *jolezya* (take back) > ∅-*Jolezya*

∅-*jolezya* > [jolefha]

NP + NS

NP- jolez-i-a

1a-take back- EXT-END

(15) *Twaambo* and *Maambo*

Both *Twaambo* and *Maambo* are derived from the verb *amba* (talk) to which derivational morphemes **tu-** and **ma-** are attached respectively at the same time raising the end vowel /a/ by one degree as follows.

amba (verb, talk) → *tu-amb-o* (cases/issues) > ∅-*Twaambo*

amba (verb, talk) → *ma-amb-o* (big cases/issues) > ∅-*Maambo*

∅-*Twaambo* [twa:mbo]

NP + NS

NP- tu-amb-o

1a-DM-talk-END

∅-Maambo [ma:mbo]

NP + NS

NP- ma-amb-o

1a-DM-talk-END

(16) *Meelezyo*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb *elezya* (be last or end). When the morpheme **ma-** prefixed and the end vowel is raised, the anthroponym *Meelezyo* is formed.

elezya (verb, end or finish) → *ma-elezi-o* (last one) > ∅-Meelezyo

∅- Meelezyo [me:hyo]

NP + NS

NP- ma-elez-i-a

1a- DM-end-EXT-END

(17) *Sibajene*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb *jana* (find) by adding a negatviser **si-** and a derivational morpheme **ba-** which is actually an object marker to the verb root:

jana (verb, find) → *si-ba-jen-e* (i did not find them) > ∅-Sibajene

∅-sibajena [siβajene]

NP + NS

NP- si-ba-jen-e

1a-NEG-OP-found-END

(18) *Mulinde*

The anthroponym *Mulinde* is derived from the verb *linda* (wait) by prefixing **mu-** to the verb and raising the end vowel as follows:

linda (verb, wait) → *mu-lind-e* (the awaited one) < ∅-*Mulinde*

∅-mulinde [mulinde]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-lind-e

1a-DM-wait-END

(19) *Watupa* (he/she has given us)

This anthroponym is derived from the verb *pa* (give).

pa (verb, give) → *u-a-tu-pa* (s/he has given us) > ∅-*Watupa*

∅-Watupa [Watupa]

NP + NS

NP- U-a-tu-pa

1a-SP- PM-OP-give

(20) *Masowe/ Cisowa*

The given names *Masowe* and *Cisowa* are derived from the verb *sowa* (throw away):

sowa (verb, throw away) → *ma-sow-e* (one thrown away) > ∅-*Masowe*

sowa (verb, throw away) → *Ci-sow-a* (one who is thrown away) > ∅-*Cisowa*

∅-Wasowe [masowe]

NP + NS

NP- Ma-sow-e

1a-DM-throw away-END

∅-Cisowa [jisowa]

NP + NS

NP- ci-sow-a

1a-DM-throw away-END

(21) *Milimo*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb *lima* (to cultivate)

lima (verb, cultivate) > *mi-lim-o* (work) > ∅-Milimo

∅-Milimo [milimo]

NP + NS

∅- Mi-lim-o

1a- DM-work-END

(22) *Mweendalubi*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb *enda* (walk) and an adjective *lubi* (bad) to which a derivational morpheme **mu-** is prefixed.

enda (walk) + *lubi* (bad) → *mu-a-end-a-lubi* (you travelled a bad journey) > ∅-Mweendalubi

∅-Mweendalubi [mwe:ndaluβi]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-a-end-a-lubi

1a-DM-PM-walk-END-bad

3.1.5.2 De-nominal given names

Anthroponyms in this category are those that are derived from common nouns and proper nouns. There are two types of given names in this category: those derived from common nouns and those derived from proper names.

3.1.5.2.1 De-nominal given names from common nouns and week days.

De-nominal given names in this category are made up two morphemes; class 1a prefix and a simplex noun stem. The analysis shows clearly how these anthroponyms are formed from common nouns by showing the class of the common noun. The study discusses fifty-eight names in this category.

(23) *Mainza*

Mainza (CN, Cl.6, rain season) > ∅-*Mainza*

∅-Mainza [mainza]

NP + NS

NP- Mainza

1a-rainy season

(24) *Miyoba*

mi-yoba (CN, Cl 4, torrential rains) > ∅-*Miyoba*

∅-Miyoba [mijanda]

NP + NS

NP- Miyoba

1a-torrential rains

(25) *Mazuba*

ma-zuba (CN, Cl. 6, days) > ∅-*Mazuba*

∅-Mazuba [mazuβa]

NP + NS

NP- Mazuba

1a-sun

(26) *Coolwe*

ci-olwe (CN, Cl. 7, luck) > ∅-Coolwe

∅-Coolwe [jo:lwe]

NP + NS

NP- Coolwe

1a-luck

(27) *Makondo*

ma-kondo (CN, Cl.6, wars) > ∅-Makondo

∅-Makondo [ma^ɔondo]

NP + NS

NP- Makondo

1a-wars/problems

(28) *Mayaba*

ma-yaba (CN, Cl. 6 problems) > ∅-Mayaba

∅-Mayaba [majaba]

NP + NS

NP- Mayaba

1a-problems

(29) *Kalonga*

ka-longa (CN, Cl. 12, small river) > ∅-Kalonga

∅-Kalonga [ʔalɔŋga]

NP + NS

NP- Kalonga

1a- small river

(30) *Kalungu*

ka-lungu (CN, Cl.12, small bead) > ∅-Kalungu

∅-Kalungu [ʔalɔŋgu]

NP + NS

NP- Kalungu

1a-small bead

(31) *Makani*

ma-kani (CN, Cl.6, discussions/issues) > ∅-Makani

∅-Makani [maʔani]

NP + NS

NP- Makani

1a-discussions/issues

(32) *Milandu*

mi-landu (CN, Cl.4, court cases) > ∅-milandu

∅-Milandu [milandu]

NP + NS

NP- Milandu

1a-cases/issues

(33) *Misozi*

mi-sozi (CN, Cl.4, tears) > ∅-Misozi

∅-Misozi [misozi]

NP + NS

NP- Misozi

1a-tears

(34) *Mabeta*

ma-beta (CN, Cl.6, judgements) > ∅-Mabeta

∅-Mabeta [maβeta]

NP + NS

NP- Mabeta

1a-judgements

(35) *Malilwe*

ma-lilwe (CN, Cl.6, funerals) > ∅-Malilwe

∅-Malilwe [malilwe]

NP + NS

NP- Malilwe

1a-funeral

(36) *Ceelo*

ci-elo (CN, Cl.7, ghost) > ∅-Ceelo

∅-Ceelo [je:lo]

NP + NS

NP- Ceelo

1a-ghost

(37) *Muuka*

Mu-uka (CN, Cl.1, big insect/ creature) > ∅-*Muuka*

∅-*Muuka* [mu:ʎa]

NP + NS

NP- *Muuka*

1a- big insect/ creature

(38) *Cinyama*

ci-nyama (CN, Cl.7, huge/ugly animal)

∅-*Cinyama* [ɟinyama]

NP + NS

NP- *Cinyama*

1a- huge/ugly animal

(39) *Bulongo*

bu-longo (CN, Cl. 14, soil) > ∅-*Bulongo*

∅-*Bulongo* [bulɔŋgo]

NP + NS

NP- *Bulongo*

1a-soil

(40) *Mavwu*

Mavwu (CN, Cl.6, sand) > ∅-*Mavwu*

∅-*Mavwu* [ma-fu]

NP + NS

NP- Mavwu

1a-soil

(41)Cipego

ci-pego (CN, Cl.7, gift) > ∅-Cipego

∅-Cipego [ji-pego]

NP + NS

NP- Cipego

1a-gift

(42)Mupeyo

Mu-peyo (CN, Cl.3, cold season) > ∅-Mupeyo

∅-Mupeyo [mupejo]

NP + NS

NP- Mupeyo

1a-cold season

(43)Bucedo

Bu-cedo (CN, Cl. 14, dawn) > ∅- Bucedo

∅- Bucedo [βujedo]

NP + NS

NP- Bucedo

1a-dawn

(44)Busiku

Bu-siku (CN, Cl. 14, night) > ∅- Busiku

∅- Busiku [βu-siʁu]

NP + NS

NP- Busiku

1a-night

(45) *Ntolongo*

Ntolongo (CN, Cl. 10, jail) > ∅-Ntolongo

∅-Ntolongo [ntoloŋgo]

NP + NS

NP- Ntolongo

1a-jail

(46) *Mwaka*

mu-aka (CN, Cl. 3, year) > ∅-Mwaka

∅-Mwaka [mwaʁa]

NP + NS

NP- Mwaka

1a-year

(47) *Malawo*

Ma-lawo (CN, Cl. 6, temporal shelters) > ∅-Malawo

∅-Malawo [malawo]

NP + NS

NP-Malawo

1a-temporal shelters

(48) *Cilawo*

ci-lawo (CN, CL. 7, temporal shelter) > ∅-Cilawo

∅-Cilawo [jilawo]

NP + NS

NP- Cilawo

1a-temporal shelter

(49) *Mavwuka*

ma-vwuka (CN, Cl.6, many temporal shelters) > ∅-Mavwuka

∅-Mavwuka [maɦuʔa]

NP + NS

NP- Mavwuka

1a-grass many temporal shelter

(50) *Civwuka*

ci-vwuka (CN, Cl.7, big temporal shelter) > ∅-Civwuuka

∅-Civwuuka [jifɦuʔa]

NP + NS

NP- Civwuka

1a-grass thatched temporal shelter

(51) *Buumba*

bu-umba (CN, Cl.14) > ∅-Buumba

∅-Buumba [βu:mba]

NP + NS

NP- Buumba

1a-sadness

(52) *Beenzu*

ba-enzu (CN, Cl. 2, visitors) > ∅-*Beenzu*

∅-Beenzu [βe:nzu]

NP + NS

NP- Beenzu

1a-visitor

(53) *Micelo*

mi-celo (CN, Cl. 4, fruits) > ∅-*Micelo*

∅-Micelo [mijelo]

NP + NS

NP- Micelo

1a-fruits/charms

(54) *Miyanda*

mi-yanda (CN, Cl.4, roots) > ∅-*Miyanda*

∅-Miyanda [mijanda]

NP + NS

NP- Miyanda

1a-root

(55) *Nzala*

n-zala (CN, Cl. 9, hunger) > ∅-*Nzala*

∅-Nzala [nzala]

NP + NS

NP- Nzala

1a-hunger

(56) *Maleele*

Ma-leele (CN, Cl.4, miracles) > ∅-Maleele

∅-Maleele [male:le]

NP + NS

NP- Maleele

1a-miracles

(57) *Nzila*

n-zila (CN, Cl.9, path) > ∅-Nzila

∅-Nzila [nzila]

NP + NS

NP- Nzila

1a-path

(58) *Mugwagwa*

Mu-gwagwa (CN, Cl. 3, road) > ∅-Mugwagwa

∅-Mugwagwa [muggwaggwa]

NP + NS

NP-Mugwagwa

1a-road

(59) *Malindi*

Ma-lindi (CN, Cl. 6, pits) > ∅-Malindi

∅-Malindi [malindi]

NP + NS

NP- Malindi

1a-pits

(60) *Mulindi*

mu-lindi (CN, Cl. 3, big pit) > ∅-Mulindi

∅-Mulindi [mulindi]

NP + NS

NP- Milindi

1a- big pit

(61) *Cuumbwe*

ci-umbwe (CN, Cl.7, grave) > ∅-Cuumbwe

∅-Cuumbwe [ju:mbwe]

NP + NS

NP-Cuumbwe

1a-grave

(62) *Maumbwe*

ma-umbwe (CN, Cl.6, graves) > ∅-Maumbwe

∅-Maumbwe [maumbwe]

NP + NS

NP- Maumbwe

1a-grave

(63) *Malundu*

ma-lundu (CN, Cl. 6, hills) > ∅-Malundu

∅-Malundu [malundu]

NP + NS

NP- Malundu

1a-hills

(64) *Cilundu*

ci-lundu (CN, Cl7, big hill) > ∅-Cilundu

∅-Cilundu [jilundu]

NP + NS

NP- Cilundu

1a-big hill

(65) *Nkolola*

n-kolola (CN, Cl 10, initiation ceremony) > ∅-Nkolola

∅-Nkolola [ŋkolola]

NP + NS

NP- Nkolola

1a-initiation ceremony

(66) *Cisozi*

ci-sozi (CN, Cl. 7, swarm of locusts) > ∅-Cisozi

∅-Cisozi [ʃi-sohi]

NP + NS

NP-Cisozi

1a-locust

(67) *Kaluba*

ka-luba (CN, Cl. 12, small flower) > ∅-Kaluba

∅-Kaluba [ʎaluβa]

NP + NS

NP- kaluba

1a- small flower

(68) *Buluba*

bu-luba (CN, Cl.14, flowers) > ∅-Buluba

∅-Buluba [βaluβa]

NP-NS

∅-Buluba

1a-flowers

(69) *Ciluba*

ci-luba (CN, Cl.7, big flower) > ∅-Ciluba

∅-Ciluba [ʃaluβa]

NP-NS

∅-Ciluba

1a-big flower

(70) *Lubomba*

lu-bomba (CN, Cl.11, mercy) > ∅-Lubomba

∅-Lubomba [luβomba]

NP + NS

NP-Lubomba

1a-mercy

(71) *Nkumbu*

n-kumbu (CN, Cl.9, mercy) > ∅-Nkumbu

∅-Nkumbu [ŋkumbu]

NP + NS

NP- Nkumbu

1a-mercy

(72) *Luse*

Luse (CN, Cl.11, mercy) > ∅-Luse

∅-Luse [luse]

NP + NS

NP- Luse

1a-mercy

(73) *Lumamba*

lu-mamba (CN, Cl.11, war) > ∅-Lumamba

∅-Lumamba [lumamba]

NP + NS

NP-Lumamba

1a-war

(74)*Mucado*

mu-cado (CN, Cl.3, wedding) > \emptyset -Mucado

\emptyset -Mucado [mujado]

NP + NS

NP-Mucado

1a-wedding

(75)*Lubono*

lu-bono (CN, Cl. 11, wealth) > \emptyset -Lubono

\emptyset -Lubono [luβono]

NP + NS

NP- Lubono

1a-wealth

(76)*Bubala*

bu-bala (CN, Cl.14, migration) > \emptyset -Bubala

\emptyset -Bubala [βuβala]

NP + NS

NP- Bubala

1a-migration

(77)*Lwiindi*

lu-indi (CN, Cl.11, beer/traditional ceremoy) > \emptyset -Lwiindi

∅-Lwiindi [lwi:ndi]

NP + NS

NP- Lwiindi

1a-beer/ceremony

(78) *Nsabata*

n-sabata (CN, Cl.9, Saturday) > ∅-Nsabata

∅-Nsabata [n-saβata]

NP + NS

NP- Nsabata

1a-Saturday

(79) *Nsondo*

n-sondo (CN, Cl.9, Sunday) > ∅-Nsondo

∅-Nsondo

NP + NS

NP- Nsondo

1a-Sunday

(80) *Mujibelo*

mu-jibelo (CN, Cl.3, Friday) > ∅-Mujibelo

∅-Mujibelo [mujiβelo]

NP + NS

NP- Mujibelo

1a-Friday

(81) *Muvwulo*

mu-vwulo (CN, Cl.3, Monday) > \emptyset -Muvwulo

\emptyset -Muvwulo [muʔulo]

NP + NS

NP- Muvwulo

1a-Monday

3.1.5.2.2 De-nominal given names from proper names

Given names in this category are made up of two morphemes only. These morphemes are class 1a prefix and the simplex noun stem. The reason why these names have two morphemes only is because they are already proper nouns. There is nothing much to illustrate in terms of how these anthroponyms are formed because they already have a status of proper nouns. The study discusses twenty-two names in this category. A vast majority of the names in this category are those names adopted from the Bible.

(82) *Bulawayo* (one of the towns in Zimbabwe)

This nickname is derived from the name of a town in Zimbabwe a Southern African country:

\emptyset -Buluwayo [βulawayo]

NP + NS

NP-Bulawayo

1a-name of a town

(83) *Monze* (name of a town)

This nickname is derived from the name of a town in southern province of Zambia.

\emptyset -Monze [monze]

NP + NS

NP- Monze

1a-name of a town

(84) *Mazabuka* (name of a town)

This nickname is derived from the name of a town in southern province of Zambia.

∅-mazabuka > [mazaβuʔa]

NP + NS

NP- Mazabuka

1a-name of a town

(85) *Mapanza* (name of a chiefdom)

This nickname is derived from the name of chiefdom in southern province of Zambia.

∅-Mapanza [mapanza]

NP + NS

NP- Mapanza

1a-name of a chiefdom

(86) *Maliya* (Mary)

∅-Maliya [malija]

NP + NS

NP- Ma-liya

1a-Mary

(87) *Simoni* (Simon)

∅-Simoni [simoni]

NP + NS

NP- Simoni

1a-Simon

(88) *Johani* (John)

∅-Jovwani [johani]

NP + NS

NP- Jovwani

1a-john

(89) *Zakaliya* (Zachariah)

∅-Zakaliya [zaʔaliʔa]

NP + NS

NP-Zakaliya

1a- Zachariah

(90) *Elizabethi* (Elizabeth)

∅- Elizabethi [elizaβeti]

NP + NS

NP- Elizabethi

1a-Elizabeth

(91) *Isawu* (Esau)

∅-Isawu [isawu]

NP + NS

NP- Isawu

1a-Esau

(92) *Jakobe* (Jacob)

∅-Jakobe [jaˠoβe]

NP + NS

NP- Jakobe

1a-Jacob

(93) *Nawomi* (Naomi)

∅-Naomi [nawomi]

NP + NS

NP- Nawomi

1a-Naomi

(94) *Lute* (Ruth)

∅- Lute [lute]

NP + NS

NP- Lute

1a-Ruth

(95) *Muusa* (Moses)

∅-Muusa [mu:sa]

NP + NS

NP- Muusa

1a-Moses

(96) *Eliya* (Elijah)

∅-Eliya [eliya]

NP + NS

NP- Eliya

1a-Elijah

(97) *Abulahamu* (Abraham)

∅- Abbulahamu [abulahamu]

NP + NS

NP- Abbulahamu

1a-Abraham

(98) *Nowa* (Noah)

∅- Nowa [nowa]

NP + NS

NP- Nowa

1a-Noah

(99) *Josefwa* (Joseph)

∅-Josefwa [josehwa]

NP + NS

NP- Josefwa

1a-Joseph

(100) *Daniyele* (Daniel)

∅-daniyele [daniyele]

NP + NS

NP- Daniyele

1a-Daniyele

(101) *Izaya* (Issaiah)

∅- Izaya > [izaja]

NP + NS

NP- Izaya

1a-[Issaiah]

(102) *Jelemiya* (Jeremiah)

∅- Jelemiya [jelemija]

NP + NS

NP- Jelemiya

1a-Jeremiah

(103) *Solomoni* (Solomon)

∅- Solomoni [solomoni]

NP + NS

NP- Solomoni

1a-Solomon

(104) *David* (David)

∅- David [ddavidda]

NP + NS

NP- Davida

1a-David

3.1.5.2.3 De-adjectival given names

A de-adjectival name is a name derived from an adjective. Stems of these given names are made up of between one and three morphemes. This category has a small number of names because adjectives have no rich meaning apart from describing. It is true that African anthroponyms are descriptive (Kahari, 1990: 54) but the main aim of these names is to teach, criticise and inform (Finnegan, 1970, Campbell, 1972). To these aims of anthroponyms, one can add reminding, requesting, cautioning, encouraging and indicating social conflict. These speech acts are well expressed in nouns and verbs. This could explain the reason why there are more anthroponyms coined or derived from verbs and nouns than there are from adjectives. The study discusses five of these names.

(105) *Ncimunya*

∅-Ncimunya [ɲcimu^hɲya]

NP + NS

NP- Ncimunya

1a-the same

(106) *Musaante*

saante (holy) → *mu-saante* (holy one) > ∅-Musaante

∅-Musaante [musa:nte]

NP + NS

NP-Mu-saante

1a-DM-holy

(107) *Banji*

ba-nji (many) > ∅- Banji

∅- Banji [βanji]

NP + NS

NP- Ba-nji

1a-DM-many

(108) *Cabota*

The anthroponym *Cabota* is derived from the adjective *-botu* (good).

botu (good) → *ci-a-bota* (it is good) > ∅- Cabota

∅- Cabota [jaβota]

NP + NS

NP- Ci-a-bota

1a-DM-PM- good

3.1.5.2.4 Given names derived from animal clan names

These are names that begin as *Ntembauzyo* (praise) and later become given names. Due to the fact that these names begin as *Ntembauzyo* and that they are clan names (common names), they take a plural form. These names are derived from common clan names which are made up of two morphemes; class prefix marker, which is always **mu-**, and a nominal stem. As anthroponyms, this category does not have derivational morphemes. The class prefix marker becomes part of the noun stem, forming a simplex noun stem. To the noun stem, class 1a prefix marker is prefix- meaning that anthroponyms derived from clan names are made up of two morphemes. In Tonga, there are twelve clan names.

(109) *Muntanga*

Mu-ntanga (CN, Cl.1 clan name) > \emptyset -Muntanga

\emptyset -Muntanga [muntanga]

NP + NS

NP- Muntanga

1a-clan

(110) *Muyuni*

mu-yunu (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Muyuni

\emptyset -Muyuni [mujuni]

NP + NS

NP- Muyuni

1a-clan

(111) *Muleya*

mu-leya (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Muleya

\emptyset -Muleya [muleja]

NP + NS

NP- Muleya

1a-clan name

(112) *Muloongo*

mu-loongo (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Muloongo

\emptyset -Muloongo [mulo:ŋgo]

NP + NS

NP- Muloongo

1a-clan

(113) *Mucindu*

mu-cindu (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Mucindu

\emptyset -Mucindu [mu**j**indu]

NP + NS

NP- Mucindu

1a-clan

(114) *Munsanje*

Mu-nsanje (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Munsanje

\emptyset -Munsanje [mun**s**anje]

NP + NS

NP- Munsanje

1a-clan

(115) *Mudenda*

Mu-denda (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Mudenda

\emptyset -Mudenda [mud**e**nda]

NP + NS

NP- Mudenda

1a-clan

(116) *Mweetwa*

Mu-etwa (CN, Cl.1, clan) > \emptyset -Mweetwa

∅-Mweetwa [mwe:twɑ]

NP + NS

NP- Mweetwa

1a-clan

(117) *Munsaka*

mu-nsaka (CN, Cl.1, clan) > ∅-Munsaka

∅-Munsaka [munsaʔɑ]

NP + NS

NP- Munsaka

1a-clan

(118) *Mukonka*

mu-konka (CN, Cl.1, clan) > ∅-Mukonka

∅-Mukonka [muʔonka]

NP + NS

NP- Mukonka

1a-clan

(119) *Muzyamba*

mu-zyamba (CN, Cl.1, clan) > ∅-Muzyamba

∅-Muzyamba [mufɥamba]

NP + NS

NP- Muzyamba

1a-clan

(120) *Mwiinde*

mu-inde (CN, Cl.1, clan) > ∅-Mwiinde

∅-Mwiinde [mwi:nde]

NP + NS

NP- Mwiinde

1a-clan

3.1.6 Nicknames

Most of the Tonga nicknames are sentential. Tonga nicknames can be deverbative, denominal or a combination of both de-nominals and de-verbatives. The overall effect of this is that their general constructional pattern remains the same as that of given names. They are made up of a noun prefix (NP) and a noun stem (NS). The noun stem is made up of morphemes of various kinds. Nicknames have between one and eight morphemes. The reason why some of these nicknames have up to eight morphemes is because they are sentential. Some nicknames have simplex noun stems, most of them have complex noun stems while few have compound noun stems.

3.1.6.1 De-verbal nicknames

A deverbal nickname is a nickname derived from a verb. Most of the anthroponyms in this category have nominal stems made up of between three and eight morphemes; a derivational morpheme, a verb root and an ending. Only one anthroponym with a stem made up of eight morphemes has been discussed. The derivational **mu-** is highly productive, for instance, in thirteen names discussed in this category, it scored six instances. The other derivational morphemes are **ha-**, **ka-**, **ci-** **ku-** and **ma-**. Thirteen deverbal nicknames are discussed.

(121) *Hamalijikila*

The anthroponym is derived from the verb *jika* (cook):

Jika (verb, cook) → *ha-ma-li-jikila* (one who cooks for himself) > ∅-Hamalijikila

∅- Hamalijikila [h̥amalijikila]

NP + NS

NP- Ha-ma-li-jik-il-a

1a-DP-SP-TM-cook-EXT-END

(122) *Nyikululwa* (be soaked again)

This nickname is derived from the verb 'nyikulula' (unsoak):

∅-Nyikululwa [nyĩʉululwa]

NP + NS

NP-Nyik-ulul-a

1a-soak- EXT-END

(123) *Kamamanya*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb '-mamanya- (be stingy):

Mamanya (verb, be stingy) → *ka-mamanya* (one who is stingy) > ∅-Kamamanya

∅-Kamamanya [ʉamamaŋa]

NP + NS

NP- Ka-maman-a

1a-DM-be stingy-END

(124) *Gogolola*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb 'gogolola' (undress): gog-ulul-a

Gogolola (verb, undress) → *gogolola* (undress) > ∅-Gogolola

∅-gogolola > Gogolola

NP + NS

NP- gog-ulul-a [**gogolol-a**]

1a-dress- EXT-END

(125) *Muzya*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb 'zya' (come).

zya (verb, come) → *mu-zi-a* (one who came) > ∅-Muzya

∅-Muzya [mufya]

NP + NS

NP- mu-zi-a

1a-DM-come-END

(126) *Mutoloki* (interpreter)

The anthroponym *Mutoloki* is derived from the verb 'toloka' (interpret) by prefixing a derivational morpheme **mu-** to the verb and raising the end vowel to a high front vowel 'i':

toloka (verb, interpret) → *mu-tolok-i* (interpreter) > ∅-Mutoloki

∅-Mutoloki [mutoloxi]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-tolok-i

1a-DM-interpret-END

(127) *Katafwa* (it may die)

This given name is derived from the verb '-fwa' (die) by adding a derivational morpheme and -ta-, an indicative morpheme.

fwa (verb, die) → *ka-ta-fu-a* (it might die) > ∅-Katafwa

∅-Katafwa [xatahwa]

NP + NS

NP- ka-ta-fu-a

1a-DM-IND-die-END

(128) *Muciswa* (one who is ever sick)

This nickname is derived from the verb ‘-*ciswa*’ (be sick) by prefixing class 1 noun prefix to the verb.

ciswa (verb, be sick) → *mu-cisu-a* (one who is ever sick) > ∅-*Muciswa*.

∅-Muciswa [mu^hjiswa]

NP + NS

NP- mu-cis-u-a

1a-DM-sick- EXT-END

(129) *Sikupalapala/Mulembalemba/Muyakayaka*

Sikupalapala, *Namulemba-lemba* and *Mayakayaka* are made up of a reduplicated verb stem *pala* (dig). *Lemba* (write) and *yaka* (build) respectively to which derivational morphemes are prefixed:

pala (verb, scratch) → *si-ku-pal-a-pal-a* (one who scratches often) > ∅-*Sikupalapala*

lemba (verb, write) → *mu-lemb-a-lemb-a* (one who writes often) > ∅-*Mulemba-lemba*

yaka (verb, build) → *ma-yak-a-yak-a* (one who builds often) > ∅-*Mayakayaka*

∅-Sikupalapala [hi^hupalapala]

NP + NS

NP- si-ku-pal-a-pal-a

1a-DM-INF-scratch-END-scratch-END

∅-Mulembalemba [mulembalemba]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-lemb-a-lemb-a

1a-DM-write-END-write-END

∅-Muyakayaka [mujaɣajɣa]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-yak-a-yak-a

1a-DM-build-END-build-END

(130) *Cisombabeendeenda*

The anthroponym is made up of the verb –*somba-* (serve) and a reduplicated verb stem –*enda* (walk):

somba (serve) + *endeenda* (walk around) → *ci-somb-a-ba-end-a-end-a* (one who serves visitors) > ∅-Cisombabeendeenda

∅-Cisombabeendeenda [jisombaβe:nde:nda]

NP + NS

NP- ci-somb-a-ba-end-a-end-a

1a-DM-serve-END-OP-walk-END-walk-END

(131) *Kwaambwa*

This anthroponym is derived from the verb *amba* (talk):

amba (verb, talk) → *ku-amb-u-a* (to be talked about) > ∅-Kwaambwa

∅-Kwaambwa [kwa:mbwa]

NP + NS

NP- ku-amb-u-a

1a-INF-talk- EXT-END

(132) *Mundeenge(lele)*

The anthroponym is derived from the verb *-engelela* (forgive):

engelela (verb, forgive) → *mu-ndi-engelele* (feel pity on me) > ∅-Mundeengelele

∅-Mundeengelele [munde:ŋgelele]

NP + NS

NP- mu-ndi-engelel-e

1a-DM-OP-forgive-END

(133) *Jumbabula* (push belly)

This anthroponym is made up of the verb *jumba-* (push) and noun *-bula* (belly):

∅-Jumbabula [jumba-βula]

NP + NS

NP- Jumb-a-bula

1a-push-END-belly

(134) *Mainga(na)*

This name is derived from the verb *ingana* (be conceited/be self-important)

inga(na) (verb, be self-important) → *ma-inga(na)* (one who is conceited) > ∅-Mainga

∅-Mainga [mainga]

NP + NS

NP- Ma-ing-a

1a-DM- be conceited-END

(135) *Tazyimanikubota*

The nickname is made up of the verb *mana* (finish) and the adjective *bota* (verb, nice/good) with a derivational morpheme **ta-** expressing negation prefixed:

Mana (verb, finish/end) + *bota* (verb, be good/nice) > \emptyset -Tazyimanikubota

\emptyset -Tazyimanikubota [taɦimaniʋuβota]

NP + NS

NP- Ta-zi-man-i-ku-bota

1a-NEG-SP-finish-END-INF-good

3.1.6.2 De-nominal nicknames

Names in this category are derived from nouns. Twenty-three names in this category are discussed. Most of the names in this category have simplex stems. None of the anthroponyms in this category has morphemes above five. Those with complex noun stems have their stems made up of a derivational morpheme and a common noun and sometimes another common noun.

(136) *Kanamujanza*

This anthroponym is made up of two nouns; *kana* (child) and *janza* (hand) which are joined together by a locative prefix **mu-**

Ka-na (CN, Cl.12, child) + *mu-janza* (CN, Cl.18, in the hand) → *kana mujanza* (child in the hand) > \emptyset -Kanamujanza

\emptyset -Kanamujanza [ʋanamujanza]

NP + NS

NP-Ka-ana-mu-janza

1a-DM-child-18-hand

(137) *Nkukwe /Ndala*

n-kukwe (CN, Cl.9, left-over food) > ∅-Nkukwe

∅-Nkukwe [ŋkukwe]

NP + NS

NP- Nkukwe

1a-left-over food

n-dala (CN, Cl.9, left-over food) > ∅- Ndala

∅- Ndala [ndala]

NP + NS

NP- Ndala

1a-left-over food

(138) *Sibbuku*

This anthroponym comes from the noun *bbuku* (book, Cl.9a) to which a derivational morpheme **si-** is attached.

bbuku (CN, Cl.9a, book) → *si-bbuku* (owner of the book) > ∅-Sibbuku

∅-Sibbuku [hibuku]

NP + NS

NP- Si-bbuku

1a-DM-book

(139) *Sicuuno*

This anthroponym comes from the noun *cuuno* (stool/chair, Cl.7) to which a derivational morpheme **si-** is attached.

ci-uno (CN, Cl.7, owner of the stool) → *si-cuuno* (owner of the stool/chair) > ∅-Sicuuno

∅-Sicuuno [hi:ju:no]

NP + NS

NP- Si-cuuno

1a-DM-stool/chair

(140) *Hacitima*

This anthroponym is derived from the noun *citima* (train) by prefixing a derivational morpheme **ha-** to it.

ci-tima (CN, Cl.7, one fond of a train) → *ha-citima* (one fond of the train) > ∅-Hacitima

∅-Hacitima [hajitima]

NP + NS

NP- Ha-citima

1a-DM-train

(141) *Nyeleti* (needle)

n-yeleti (CN, Cl.9, needle) > ∅-Nyeleti

∅-Nyeleti [neleti]

NP + NS

NP- Nyeleti

1a-needle

(142) *Simunyewu*

Simunyewu (CN, Cl.1a, black ant) > ∅-**Simunyewu**

∅-Simunyewu [himunewu]

NP + NS

NP- Simunyewu

1a-black ant

(143) *Sikahonda*

ka-honda (CN, Cl.12, motorbike) → *si-kahonda* (one fond of a motor bike) > ∅-Sikahonda

∅-Sikahonda [hiʔahonda]

NP + NS

NP- si-ka-honda

1a-DM-12-motor bike

(144) *Sibuluba*

bu-luba (CN, Cl.14, cotton) → *si-buluba* (one fond of cotton) > ∅-Si-buluba

∅-Sibuluba [hiβuluβa]

NP + NS

NP- Si-bu-luba

1a-DM-14-cotton

(145) *Hamagamba*

ma-gamba (CN, Cl.6, pathed clothes) → *ha-magamba* (one with patched clothes) > ∅-Hamagamba

∅- Hamagamba [hamagamba]

NP + NS

NP- Ha-ma-gamba

1a-DM-6- patch

(146) *Mabbesu*

bbesu (CN, Cl.9a, old and torn piece of cloth) → *ma-bbesu* (*old and torn clothes*) > ∅-Ma-bbesu

∅-Mabbesu [mabesu]

NP + NS

NP- Ma-bbesu

1a-DM-old and torn piece of cloth

(147) *Munyengwe*

This name is derived from the name of a snake; mamba.

munyengwe (CN, Cl. 1, mamba) > ∅-Munyengwe

∅-Munyengwe [munjengwe]

NP + NS

NP- Munyengwe

1a-mamba

(148) *Kayunikabuci*

This name is derived from the noun *yuni* (bird) and *buci* (honey) to which both the morpheme **ka-** is added as a derivational morpheme and getitive pronoun respectively.

Ka-yuni (CN, Cl. 12, small bird) + *buci* (CN, Cl. 14, honey) → *ka-yuni-ka-buci* (honey bird) > ∅-Kayunikabuci

∅-Kayunikabuci [ɔ̣ajuniɔ̣aβuɔ̣ji]

NP + NS

NP- ka-yuni-ka-a-buci

1a-DM-bird-12—Genitive -honey

(149) *Mududu* (big belly button)

The anthroponym *Mududu* is derived from the name ‘-*dudu*’ (belly button)

mu-dudu (CN, Cl. 3, big belly button) > ∅-Mududu

∅-Mududu [mududu]

NP + NS

NP- Mududu

1a-big belly button

(150) *Hamududu*

The anthroponym is derived from ‘-dudu’ (big belly button) with the following form:

mu-dudu (CN, Cl. 3, big belly button) > ∅-Hamududu

∅- Hamududu [ha:mududu]

NP + NS

NP- Hamududu

1a-DM-big belly button

(151) *Mpundu*

m-pundu (CN, Cl.9, twins) > ∅- Mpundu

∅- Mpundu [mpundu]

NP + NS

NP-Mpundu

1a-twin sibling

(152) *Maanga* (twin sibling)

Maanga (CN, Cl.9a, twins) > ∅- Maanga

∅- Maanga [ma:ŋga]

NP + NS

NP- Maanga

1a-twin sibling

(153) *Cinguni and Cimpama* (hard-to-hear)

These names are derived from the name of an attribute hard-to hear or notorious:

∅- Cinguni

NP + NS

NP- Cinguni [jinguni]

1a-hard to hear/ sturbbon

∅- Cimpama [jimpama]

NP + NS

NP- Cimpama

1a-be hard

(154) *Bbule* (honey badger)

bbule (CN, Cl.9a, honey badge) > ∅-Bbule

∅-Bbule [bule]

NP + NS

NP- Bbule

1a-honey badger

(155) *Kkabicci* (cabbage)

Cabicci (CN, Cl. 9a, cabbage) > ∅-Kabicci

∅-Kkabicci [kabicci]

NP + NS

NP- Kkabicci

1a-cabbage

(156) *Shimbi-lombe* (woman-man)

This anthroponym is made up of two nouns: *shimbi* (huge girl/woman) and *lombe* (boy/man):

∅- **Shimbilombe** [himbilombe]

NP + NS

NP- Shimbi-lombe

1a-girl-man

3.1.6.3 De-adjectival nicknames

De-adjectival nicknames are nicknames derived from adjectives by means of conversion. Anthroponyms in this category have simplex nominal stems. There are very few names in this category. The reason or argument given in (3.3.5.2.3) about the limited number of de-adjectival given names holds even to de-adjectival nicknames. The study discusses only two de-adjectival nicknames.

(157) *Mupati*

This name is an adjective. It describes the bearer in relation to another person; a sibling.

pati (adjective, big) → *mu-pati* (big one) > ∅-Mupati

∅-**Mupati** [mupati]

NP + NS

NP- Mupati

1a-big one

(158) *Muniini*

This name is also an adjective. It also describes the bearer in relation to another person; a sibling.

niini (adjective, small) → *mu-niini* (small one) > ∅- Muniini

∅- Muniini [muni:ni]

NP + NS

NP-Muniini

1a-small one

3.1.6.4 De-nominal plus de-verbal nicknames

These are nicknames which are made up of a noun and a verb together with derivational morphemes and other morphemes such mood markers, ending and extension depending on a particular anthroponym. Due to the fact that these anthroponyms are made up of two words or stems, they give a compound nominal stems. Ten nicknames are discussed in this category.

(159) *Hadomolitopota*

The anthroponym *Hadomolitopota* is made up of a noun *domo* (huge mouth) and the verb *topota* (talkative) a derivational morpheme **mu-** is prefixed while a morpheme indicating mood, **li-** is used to join the two words together.

domo (CN, Cl.9a, huge mouth) + *topota* (verb, talk) → *ha-domo-li-topot-a* > ∅-
Hadomolitopota

∅-Hadomolitopota [hɑ:domolitopota]

NP + NS

NP- ha-domo-li-topot-a

1a-DM –mouth-IND-talkative-END

(160) *Kalimanzila*

The nickname *Kalimanzila* is made up of the verb *-lima-* (till/plough) and the noun ‘*nzila*’ (road) to which a derivational morpheme **ka-** is prefixed and the two words are written conjunctively.

lima (verb, till/plough) + *nzila* (CN, Cl.9, road) → *ka-lim-a-nzila* (one who tills the road) > Ø-Kalimanzila

Ø-Kalimanzila [ʔalimanzila]

NP + NS

NP- ka-lim-a-nzila

1a-DM-till-END-road

(161) *Mweendanjangula*

This nickname is made up of a verb *enda* (walk) and noun *njangula* (long journey) to which the derivational morpheme **mu-** is prefixed:

enda (verb, walk) + *njangula* (CN, Cl. 10, long journey) → *mu-end-a-njangula* (one who walks long journeys) > Ø-Mweendanjangula

Ø-Mweendanjangula [mwe:ndanjangula]

NP + NS

NP- mu-end-a-njangula

1a-DM-walk-END-long journey

(162) *Mutabwajulu* (one who is held back by the sky)

This anthroponym is made up of a verb *taba* (hold back) and *julu* (sky) to which the derivational morpheme **mu-** is prefixed.

taba (hold back) + *julu* (CN, Cl.9a, sky) → *mu-tabu-a-julu* (one who is held back by the sky) > Ø-Mutabwajulu

Ø-Mutabwajulu [mutabwajulu]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-tab-u-a-julu

1a-DM-hold back- EXT-END-sky

(163) *Mutalabalajulu*

The name is made up of a verb *talabala* (reach) and the noun *julu* (sky) plus a derivational morpheme **mu-**

talabala (verb, reach) + *julu* (CN, Cl.9a sky) → *mu-talabal-a-julu* (one who reaches the sky) > ∅-Mutalabalajulu

∅-Mutalabalajulu [mutalaβalajulu]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-talabal-a-julu

1a-DM-reach-END-sky

(164) *Simweendanjanji* This name is made up of the verb *-enda-* (walk) and noun *-njanji* (rail line) to which two morphemes **si-** and **-mu-** are attached:

enda (verb, walk) + *njanji* (CN, Cl.9a, rail line) → *si-mu-end-a-njanji* (one who walks the rail line) > ∅-Simweendanjanji

∅-Simweendanjanji [himwe:ndanjanji]

NP + NS

NP- si-mu-end-a-njanji

1a-DM -SP-walk-END-rail line

(165) *Simutobelanjanji* (one who follows the rail line)

The name is made up of the verb *-tobela-* (follow) and noun *-njanji* (rail line) to which the morphemes **si-** and **-mu-** are attached:

tobela (verb, follow) + *n-janji* (CN, Cl.9a, rail line) → *si-mu-tobel-a-njanji* (one who walks the rail line) > ∅-Simutobelanjanji

∅-Simutobelanjanji [himutoβelanjanji]

NP + NS

NP- Si-mu-tobel-a-njanji.

1a-DM-SP-follow-END-rail line

(166) *Mucele{la}mba*

The anthroponym is made up of the verb *-celela-* (collect [food] for) and noun *-mba* (belly) to which **mu-** morpheme is attached:

cela (verb, pluck/collect) + *mba* (CN, 9a, belly) → *mu-celel-a-mba* (one who collects [food] for the belly) > ∅-Mucelemba

∅-Mucele{la}mba [mujelemba]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-celel-a-mba

1a-DM-collect-END-belly

(167) *Mweelanyika*

The name is made up of the verb *-ela-* (fit) and noun *-nyika* (world) with **mu-** morpheme prefixed.

ela (verb, fit) + *n-yika* (CN, Cl.9, world) → *mu-ela-nyika* (one who fits in the world) > ∅-Mweelanyika

∅-Mweelanyika [mwe:laniʔa]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-ela-nyika

1a-DM-fit-world

(168) *Mulalapondo*

This anthroponym is made up of the verb *-lala-* (sleep) and noun *-pondo* (shrub) with **mu-** a derivational morpheme prefixed.

lala (verb, sleep) + *pondo* (CN, Cl.9a, shrub) → *mu-lala-pondo* (one who sleeps in the shrubs) > Ø-Mulalapondo

Ø-Mulalapondo [mulalapondo]

NP + NS

NP- Mu-lala-pondo

1a-DM-sleep-shrub

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3.1.7 Conclusion

The section has analysed Tonga anthroponyms according to their structure. The various morphemes and parts that make up these anthroponyms have been shown. The first part is class 1a prefix to which all proper names belong. The second part is the nominal stem. Nominal stems are of three types; simplex, complex and compound stems. Morphemes that make up complex stems include a derivational morpheme, base or root, extension and ending, time and negative marker depending on the word class from which a particular anthroponym is derived. Some derivational morphemes are highly productive while others are not. The derivational morpheme **mu-** is generally very productive in both given names and nicknames. Given names and nicknames derived from verbs are the ones with derivational morphemes and have many morphemes or parts; some up to eight parts or morphemes. Those derived from nouns have mostly simplex nominal stems.

3.2 Tonga Naming System

According to Herbert (1995), there are socio-cultural issues that should be addressed in any research paper dealing with anthroponomastics. These include: Who names a child? When is a child named? How is a name selected? Is name bestowal marked publicly or privately? Are names drawn from a stock of available names or coined freely? In the light of the foregoing, this section presents findings on some of the socio-cultural issues in relation to naming among the Tonga people.

The study found out that the act of naming a child among the Tonga speaking people is regarded highly and is ceremonious. They believe that the name a child is given is an important ally of the child in life, which is responsible for the success or failure of that child. This is consistent with Madubuike (1994)'s observation that in most parts of Africa, naming a child is a big ceremonial event involving the immediate family and sometimes villagers. It is believed that the name a child is given has a huge bearing on the life of that child. This is consistent with Olawale (2005:9) who noted that in Africa there is so much meaning in a name that if one is given the right name, one starts off with certain indefinable but very real advantages. As a result, people in the research area see the act of giving names as a very important act. In the same way, Mbiti (1970:213) sees naming in Africa as "...a big social event" because personal names accomplish multiple functions. These functions include teaching, criticising, advising, reminding, thanking and requesting.

Traditionally, when a woman is in labour, two or three seasoned old women are at hand to receive the baby. Immediately the baby is born, the lead old woman, usually the oldest old woman ululates before the other(s) join. After ululating, the lead old woman names the child after herself if the child is a girl or after her husband if a boy. This woman may also decide to name the child after a departed community member so as to connect the child to the spiritual world. The name that this old woman gives the child is known as ontological. According to Batoma (2009) some individuals are given at birth or before birth ontological names. These are names whose function is to express, and to preserve the true qua ontological identity of the name bearer over time. Regardless of the importance of the name, the present study is not interested with this type of name.

The baby is not taken out of the house until after seven days from the day of birth. On the seventh day early in the morning, the child's father gives the child a name. The baby is then put on the back of a young boy, if it is a baby boy, or a young girl who is given instructions on what to do and say, if it is a baby girl. The boy takes the baby out of the house with an axe and goes straight to any nearby tree or log and cuts while saying '*Utakabi mutolo*' (do not be lazy) while mentioning the name the father gave the baby. If it is a baby girl, the girl takes it out of the house with a broom and sweeps a small portion while saying '*Utakabi mutolo*' (do not be lazy) while mentioning the name the father gave the baby.

It is important to underscore that the name the father gives may either be a Tonga name or not. This study is concerned with the Tonga names that a father gives a child. This name is referred to as the *given name* in this study. There are many factors that may dictate the name the father selects as given name for a child. These are: *order of birth, occupation, character, clan, appreciation, request, travelling, attitude towards work, fertility, social conflict, wealth, disaster, length of gestation period, social caution, hope, social critic, place, Joy, love, events, time, death and religion.*

After the father has given the child a name, the other names are given by relatives from both the paternal and maternal side. These two names may cease overtime because they are seldom used. The present study was not interested in these names. Instead, it was premised on Tonga first names given by fathers.

Later in life, a person can earn oneself a name or can select oneself a name. This name is known as a nickname. A nickname is a familiarly, humorously, or ridiculously used name given to people instead of using the real or complete name of that particular person (Koopman 2002:15). A nickname is unofficial and is seldom recorded on an individual's official documents, such as birth certificates, school certificates and driver's license. The study is also interested with nicknames. The following are some of the circumstances a nickname can come about: *work culture, occupation, social status, history, possession, behaviour, place and travelling.*

3.3 Semantics of Tonga Anthroponyms

This section presents meaning of Tonga anthroponyms as found out from interviews. Two types of meaning are presented for each name. These are literal, linguistic, denotative or first level meaning and cultural, connotative, onomastic, actual meaning or second level meaning. The two levels result into a complete and full meaning of a name. The names are arranged thematically.

According to the findings, Tonga names have both denotative and connotative. For one to fully understand and appreciate the meaning of a name, one has to take into consideration both meanings. While the denotative meaning is apparent, the connotative meaning is not always apparent. This finding is consistent with Kimeyi (1989) who also observed that the meaning of a name is sometimes clear while at other times, it is not. The denotative or linguistic meaning of Tonga given and nicknames is apparent because names are not distinct from some of the parts of speech they are derived or coined from at various levels including morphology and meaning. This fact about Tonga names is in line with Houis (1983: 8)'s observation about African names that:

...it is necessary that names be first identified as signs of the language. They are practically not distinct from other linguistic signs at the level of form, signifiers and morphology. It is generally easy to explain their literal meaning.

However, Houis (1983) may have forgotten to qualify his argument because names are not similar with all parts of speech such as pronouns in form.

As indicated already, the connotative or cultural meaning of Tonga anthroponyms is not always clear. Tonga names are deeply embedded in Tonga culture so much that for one to understand and appreciate their full meaning, one needs to have a rich knowledge of the Tonga culture; one needs to have grown within the Tonga community. Referring to understanding of cultural meaning of African anthroponyms, and consistence with the present study's findings, after a study of meaning of Shona names, Koopman (1990) observed that the ability to read between lines, as it were, depends upon a cultural

continuity in which language is embedded, and which is not open to all. By cultural continuity, Koopman (1990) refers to cultural knowledge. Epstein and Kole (1998:266) and Löbner (2002:9) refer to the need for cultural knowledge as “context of situation” or “context of utterance” respectively. Beattie (1957) refers to cultural knowledge as expanded communicative interaction. We argue here that only those who grow up in the Tonga community are able to participate fully in this expanded communicative interaction. To this end, we submit that one’s ability to decipher the cultural meaning of Tonga names is a result of complex social negotiations, learned and interpreted through socialization.

The foregoing proves both wrong and correct De Klerk and Bosch (1995:69)’s view that African names retain their meaning-bearing function and are much arbitrary, their meaning transparent and accessible and often recording complex details about their bearers. The assertion is wrong in the sense that African names, as will be seen from Tonga anthroponyms, are not transparent and fully accessible. De Klerk and Bosch (1995:69) may have forgotten to qualify their assertion that these names are transparent and accessible on condition; the condition of context of utterance or situation which is culture. This is to say, they are transparent and accessible only to those who participate in the expanded communicative interaction as Beattie (1957) captures it, which is culture. Outside of that, it is not true that African names are transparent and accessible. The assertion that African names record complex details about the bearer is true, as will be seen later; both given names and nicknames do say volumes about the bearer and Tonga culture at large. This is consistency with Makondo (2009)’s observation that African personal names are not only reference devices but are also oral records which are a tool that one can use in recovering or reconstructing the African heritage; African culture. This means that names in the Tonga society, just like many other African communities, are used as communicative tools in community, that is, they communicate the culture, beliefs and values of the society (Mashiri, 2002). As such, gender allocation in Tonga anthroponyms is obliterated. A vast majority of these anthroponyms, especially given names, are unisex.

Furthermore, Tonga anthroponyms, as hinted already, have both denotative and connotative meaning. This finding is against Mill (1874) and Kripke (1980) who postulated that names have no sense. Sense here as used by Mill and Kripke is synonymous with meaning. And, it is clear from Tonga anthroponyms analysed that they do not only have meaning but have two levels of meaning culminating into a 'unified meaning'; a precise and full meaning. In the present study, the levels of meaning are referred to as denotative, literal, first or linguistic and connotative, cultural, second level or onomastic meaning.

It is also clear from the findings that Tonga personal names do tell stories and experiences about Tonga people. For example, there are names that express the community's experience at a particular time such as *Maliilwe* (funeral) and other similar names. This name informs others, even those outside the community the bearer lives but share in the expanded communicative interaction, (Beattie, 1957) that the bearer was born at a time of a funeral in the family. If the listener wants to know when exactly the loved one passed away, they can ask the bearer the year he or she was born. There are also names which express joy and happiness such as *Komana* (be happy) and *Lumba* (be thankful). This is commensurate with Mapara et al (2009: 9)'s view that members of a given community can express their experiences, feelings, joys or even sorrows and that names function as conduits of information, especially on society's attitudes or observations towards the named. The observation that names are conduits of information is an apt summation of Tonga anthroponyms because these anthroponyms are all meaningful and informative. Mbiti (1970) sees African names, Tonga names are not an exception, as an oral record which can be used in the recovering or reconstructing of the African heritage. Finnegan (1970: 170) aptly captures this value of names by asserting that:

There have been many different interpretations of these names. They have ranged from the psychological functions of names, in providing assurance or 'working out' tensions to their connection with the structure of society, their social function in minimising friction, or their usefulness in expressing the self-image of

their owner or in providing a means of indirect comment when a direct one is not feasible.

One has to underline that some of the Tonga anthroponyms are drawn from proverbs or maxims. From the study, the following names are drawn from proverbs: *Simunyewu* (black ant) from the proverb '*Simunyewu uleenda angoma yakwe*' (a black ant moves with its drum), *Kabuca* (as it dawns) from the proverb '*kabuca uleta tunji*' (each day has its own happenings), *Mazuba* from the proverb '*Mazuba ngunamasandu*' (days are never the same) and many other names whose address is motivated by proverbs and maxims such as *Lumba* from *Uutalumbi mubwa* (He who does not appreciate is a dog). Finnegan (1970) and Campbell (1972) confirm this connection between naming and proverbs in African communities when they observe that most African communities draw most of their names from proverbs. Proverbs are known to give advice, say something which is generally true and teach. From this perspective, the present study seeks to draw an analogy between Tonga anthroponyms and proverbs and other Tonga dicta. This analogy comes in the wake that Tonga names, just like proverbs, teach, advice, others are general statement about life and most of them are figurative.

In relation to the foregoing, note need to be made that most of the Tonga anthroponyms are metaphorical or figurative. For one to appreciate the meaning of these names there is need to have good knowledge of the imagery and metaphor of the language. A metaphor is an implied comparison between two unlike things that actually have something important in common. If Tonga anthroponyms were not metaphorical, there would be no two levels of meaning; the first meaning and cultural meaning. To understand the cultural meaning, one has to employ one's cultural or metaphoric knowledge of the Tonga language. This is not different from Leyew (2003)'s findings that Amharic names are especially interesting for the bulk of them are based on metaphorical expressions.

3.3.1 Given names

This section presents and discusses given names according to themes. These themes are *order of birth, behaviour, clan, appreciation, request, travel, fertility, social conflict,*

wealth, disaster, gestation, social caution, occupation, hope, joy, love, event, time, bereavement and religion. The names and their meanings were given by respondents while very few were found from Tonga novels. In some cases, the researcher used introspection.

3.3.1.1 Order of birth oriented names

Names in this category are given in accordance with the order in which a child was born in relation with its siblings. Six names all of which are unisex are discussed in this category.

(169) *Ncimunya*

This name literally means *the same as before*. Culturally, the name means that the addressee is the same sex as two or more immediate older siblings. In fact, some respondents pointed out that the name is actually a complaint that it is too much of the children of same sex. If this happens, the family will be waiting for a child of an opposite sex who will change the sex pattern. This child, as discussed below, is known as *Mutinta*.

(170) *Mutinta*

This name is derived from the verb '*tinta*' (to change). Literally, it means *one who has changed*. Therefore, culturally, the name refers to a child, either a boy or a girl, who was born immediately after two or more children of the same sex. For instance, if two or more girls have been born in a sequence followed by a boy, that boy is named *Mutinta*. It implies that the boy has changed the sex order of the children.

(171) *Mpimpa*

This name literary means *one who folds or packs* and is derived from the verb '*pimpa*' (to fold or to park). Connotatively, this name refers to the first born of the twins. According to participants, this is the individual who led the way out of the womb of the mother. They draw an analogy between *Mpimpa* as an anthroponym and a person who first leaves off a given place for another, parking his or her belongings, experiencing the difficulties of a new place and prepares the way for someone else left behind.

(172) *Banji*

Literary, the name means *many*. It is actually an adjective or is derived from the adjective '*banji*' (many). Culturally, this name refers to a second born of the twins. The name describes the babies. It gives information that it is not one baby but many. According to participants, when a woman is giving birth, old women are at hand to receive the baby. After the baby has been born and these women realise that there is yet another to be born, the old women remark; '*Mbanji, mbanji. Mooye, kotonka*' (They [children] are many, they are many. Woman, keep on pushing). The child who comes out is addressed as *Banji*.

(173) *Nsanzya*

The name *Nsanzya* is derived from the verb '*sanzya*' (wash). This name literally means *one who washes* or *washed*. The denotative sense that one gets from this name is about a person who washed something or washes something or cleansed or cleaned. Culturally, this name is given to a person born after twins, triplets or more. One of the participants explained that giving birth to twins, triplets or more is dangerous and dreaded by many in the research area. This is because there are risks of the mother dying during labour. The participant explained that if a woman gives birth to twins, triplets or more, she is given herb to bath for one month to outwit this bad fortune in the next pregnancy. When the mother conceives and gives birth to one child, the child is addressed: '*Wasanzya, nduwe Nsanzya*' (you have washed [the bad fortune], you are the one who has washed). Eventually, the child is named *Nsanzya*.

(174) *Meelezyo*

The given name *Meelezyo* literally means *the end*. At second level meaning it refers to the last born child in a family. In Tonga, the last born person is referred to as *Keela*. A *keela* is named *Meelezyo* so as to indicate to other community members that the namer does not intend to have any more children.

3.3.1.2 Behavioural names

Behaviour related names are names which describe the bearer's behaviour or meant to state the kind of behaviour the giver wants to instil in the bearer. The study found out

that there are two types of behaviours which namers approve and advocate for. These are meekness and hardwork. It is believed that meekness and hardwork are fundamental to societal unity which the Tonga people believe is of essence in their lives. The study did not find any names which denote bad behaviour. Most of the names in this category are unisex.

3.3.1.2.1 Meekness

There are five names in this category. These are names associated with humbleness, well culturedness and moral uprightness.

(175) *Musaante*

The name translates literally as *holy one*. The name has religious connotations. It implies that the bearer is holy. It is a speech act aimed at conditioning the bearer to be holy. According to respondents, holiness goes hand-in-hand with meekness, submissiveness, humbleness, respect, love and humility which attributes are sought after by people in the community under investigation because these attributes foster togetherness.

(176) *Mutete and Moote*

The name *Mutete* literally means *wet one* while *Moote* literally means *meek one*. Culturally, both names mean a humble and approachable person. Such a person is regarded with high esteem in the research area because he or she is a unifier, friend to all and helpful. These attributes are crucial as they foster social unity and love on which happiness is hinged in the research area.

(177) *Beenzu*

Literally, this anthroponym means *visitors*. This name is common among the people in the research area. The name *Beenzu*, according to participants, is given to a child born at a time when a distinguished guest(s) visits a family. The researcher was informed that people in the research area love to be visited and to visit. Some visitors come from faraway places while others are from within the community. Some are distinguished while others are common visitors. At times, a family may have many visitors at once. If a child is born at a time when there is a distinguished visitor or many visitors, he or she is

given this name. A girl named *Beenzu* in *Mandala* village was born in August 2009 when a Ph D student from Denmark named Nana Clemensene visited *Beenzu's* family during her field work in Choma district and stayed with this family for more than three months. Being a white woman, Nana was regarded as a special visitor. At the time Nana started staying with the family, *Beenzu's* mother was seven months pregnant. Two months later, the pregnant woman gave birth to a baby girl. One week after birth, the father gave the baby the name *Beenzu* to remind the family of the visit they had from Nana. The child was nicknamed Nana later. Such a child can also be named *Habeenzu* literally translating as *one fond of visitors*.

Most importantly, according to participants, a humble, considerate, understanding, meek and loving person will always be visited. As a result, a person fond of visitors has the foregoing characteristics.

3.3.1.2.2 Hard Work oriented names

Everyone is expected to work hard among the Tonga people. Laziness is disapproved and condemned to an extent where names which are thought to encourage a spirit of hard-working are given to children. Seven names are discussed under this theme.

(178) *Muyumu*

The name linguistically means strong one. It is usually given to boys but it is not common in the research area. The name *Muyumu* is a rhetorical statement by the father addressed to a child whose older siblings are lazy. By this name, the addresser hopes that the child will rise to the challenge of hard work unlike his older sibling. One headman gave an example of a man whose children were all lazy. The man decided to give his last born child the name *Muyumu*. This boy, according to the participant, and confirmed by other community members, is very hard working even at his tender age; fifteen years. Even if this given name is common among males, respondents noted that it can also be given to females.

(179) *Milimo*

Milimo literally means *works*. The name signifies a hard working person. Among the Tonga people in the research area, there are various kinds of jobs or work done at

different times of the year. Prior to planting, people prepare their fields. After planting, they weed their crops, followed by harvesting. If a child is born during any one of these periods of the year he or she is given the name *Milimo*. The expectation is that the child will be a hard worker. However, there are season specific names such as, *Mwaka* and *Miyoba*.

(180) *Mukomi*

The name literally means *conqueror*. The name onomastically is meant to instil optimism in the child that he or she will be a conqueror in every struggle hence be successful later in life. Respondents indicated that life is a journey with lots of struggles. One respondent noted that for one to succeed in these struggles, a positive mind is needed. The respondent added that a positive mind and hard work are always a formidable combination in one's life and that positivity of mind directly results in hard work and zeal to soldier on in life's struggles. The name can also be used as show off about the addresser's successes that are a result of hard work in life. The name is masculine.

(181) *Mukoni*

The name literally means *successor* or *inheritor*. At onomastic level, this name is addressed to a child whom the addresser yearns should take after himself or someone else. Respondents advised that this name is associated with good characteristics such as hard work, responsibility, generosity, success and many others. Participants further advised that it is hoped by the addresser of this name that it will imbue in the addressee these qualities or any other related qualities from either the addresser himself or any other family member whose attributes the addresser hopes the addressee to inherit. This name is given to baby boys.

3.3.1.3 Clan related names

The study also found out that some given names are in fact clan names. According to Chitauka (1967), among the Tonga people, human clan names are named after animal clans. He lists the following clans; *Bayuni*, *Baleya*, *Baloongo*, *Bacindu*, *Bansanje*, *Badenda*, *Beetwa*, *Bansaka*, *Bakonka*, and *Bayinde*. Every Tonga belongs to one of

these clans and each group of people belonging to a certain clan are praised in a particular way in relation to the animal belonging to that clan. *Bayuni* is a clan for most of the birds, *Baley* is a clan for goats, *Baloongo* is a clan for monkeys, *Bacindu* is a clan for lions, *Bansanje* is a clan for hares, *Badenda* is a clan for elephants, *Beetwa* is a clan for crocodiles, *Bansaka* is a clan for dogs, *Bakonka* is a clan for cattle and *Bayinde* is a clan for doves. Each animal clan is known to behave in a certain way, for example, *Badenda*, a clan to which elephants belong is known to be a clan of strength.

The study found out that given names derived from clan names are selected in relation to the characteristics of animals belonging to that clan. Secondly, most of the given names derived from clan names are names named after a relative whether deceased or still alive. Thirdly, given names derived from clan names are common among the people belonging to a specific clan. For example, the name *Muleya* is common among people who belong to the *Baley* clan. Lastly, the study found out that names derived from clan names are mostly found as surnames in the research area. All the names in this category are unisex.

(182) *Muyuni*

Muyuni as an anthroponym is derived from the clan *Bayuni* to which most of the birds belong. It literally means bird. Due to their ability to fly, birds are capable of going to many places even very far away places. At second level meaning, it connotes success in life. The ability of the bird to fly is what attracts namers of this name. In this context flying is associated with success. The name also connotes a person who travels to many places and is exposed hence has knowledge on many things. Among the people in the research area, people that travel to different places and are exposed are admired. These people tend to explain the outside world (other places sometimes within the province or outside) to others. They are also associated with technological advancement due to their exposure. As a result, giving this name to a child is proclaiming the kind of person the parent wants the child to be.

(183) *Muleya*

The anthroponym is derived from the animal clan name *Baleya* to which goats belong. Goats are known to be active and troublesome animals. A goat is too hyperactive to a point that it can enter an open bedroom, climb onto a bed and even defecate on it. It is also known to be exceptionally active sexually. Some people who are weak sexually are encouraged to drink water in which goat droppings have been soaked.

The name *Muleya* connotes a troublesome, quarrelsome and talkative person. Informants added that the name also connotes a very sexually active person to a point that such a person becomes loose sexually. As a result, some people have reservations with this name. Participants also added that some people from other clans have reservations about marrying people from the clan *Baleya* among whom the anthroponym under focus is common because they are seen as being sexually immoral, talkative, quarrelsome and troublesome.

(184) *Muloongo*

This anthroponym is derived from the clan *Baloongo*. It is a clan for monkeys and other animals belonging to the monkey family. These animals are known to love playing in trees and imitating human beings. As a result many people find them funny and interesting to watch.

At second level meaning, the researcher found out that some people name their children *Muloongo* just because they love the play of monkeys in trees. It also strongly came out that this name is mostly given to a child as a name-after; it is named after a close relative whether deceased or still alive due to specific attributes that relative had or has which the namer hopes to embed in the named through the name.

(185) *Mucindu*

The given name *Mucindu* is derived from the clan *Bacindu* to which lions belong. Lions are known to be powerful, dangerous, and vicious and meat eaters. The lion is said to be the king of the jungle. The given name *Mucindu* connotes a hard-working person, a short tempered and hunter. Such a person is feared in society. When an addresser

chooses this name, the addresser is making known what attributes he wants his child to have.

(186) *Munsanje*

The given name *Munsanje* is derived from the clan name *Bansaje* which is the clan name for hares. This animal is known to be incredibly intelligent. In many tales told among the people in the research area, this animal is superman with outstanding intelligence and wisdom. This animal's intelligence as portrayed in these stories is admired by many. The given name *Munsanje* connotatively announces incredible intelligence and quick of mind to discern things and make decisions the bearer possesses or the namer wishes the bearer to possess.

(187) *Mudenda*

The first name *Mudenda* is derived from the clan name *Badenda* to which elephants belong. An elephant is a big and strong animal. The given name connotes strength and is synonymous with hard work. These are the attributes that the namer has in mind as he gives the name *Mudenda*.

(188) *Mweetwa*

This given name *Mweetwa* is derived from the clan name *Beetwa* to which crocodiles belong. A crocodile is an animal which spends much of its life in the water. According to informants, most of the people bearing this name as a first name are named after someone else because of the characteristics they had or because the namer wants to appease the spirit of the departed if the person named after is dead. Informants indicated that people in the research area are not familiar with crocodiles because the area has no big rivers with crocodiles and most of the people in the area have never seen the crocodile. However, there are so many people with this name as a surname.

(189) *Munsaka*

This given name is derived from the clan name *Bansaka* to which dogs belong. In the research area, one of the uses of dogs is hunting. At second level meaning, the name

connotes a person who loves dogs and hunting. Respondents also indicated that as a first name *Munsaka* is usually named after a close relative, usually one who passed away, due to his or her good attributes which are hoped to live-on in the named or to appease the spirits.

(190) *Mukonka*

The given name *Mukonka* is derived from the clan name *Bakonka* to which cattle belong hence denotes cattle. Cattle among the Tonga are highly treasured and have various uses. There is so remarkable an attachment Tonga people have to cattle to an extent that a Tonga person is incomplete without cattle (Nkolola, 2013). This is emphasised in one of the sayings among the Tonga people: '*Konabula mukowa ng'ombe kojisi*' (it is better not to have kindred than not to have cattle). This adage summarises the way of life of the Tonga people. Without cattle, a Tonga person is regarded as poor and helpless. The study found out that cattle make a Tonga person's life very easy than would kindred. For instance, cattle provide cheap labour during ploughing and many other village ventures, source of food such as milk, manure for the fields, source of money by selling milk and the animal itself among many others.

At cultural level, the name *Mukonka* connotes cattle or a lover of cattle. The bearer of this name as a given name can also be given the name *Hang'ombe*. The addresser of this name is simply telling other society members that he wants the child to be a cattle lover and owner. The addresser is aware that cattle is pillar of life for the Tonga people and by selecting this name, the addresser is simply suggesting that he does not want the bearer to suffer later in life but to be self dependant through cattle.

(191) *Mwiinde*

The anthroponym *Mwiinde* is derived from the animal clan name *Bayinde* which is a clan name for doves. According to informants, doves are birds associated with peace and calmness. As a given name, *Mwiinde* connotes peace, calm and humility. Among the Tonga people in the research area, peace and humility are crucial as they foster togetherness which is a key to community unit.

3.3.1.4 Appreciative names

This section discusses Tonga names that have an undertone of appreciation. The study presents seven names associated with appreciation. Most of the given names in this category are unisex.

(192) *Twalumba*

This anthroponym literally means *we are thankful*. At second level meaning, the anthroponym is meant to express appreciation by the addresser to either another person or a Supreme Being for favour or help in a certain way. Some addressers have used this anthroponym to express their profound appreciation to God for giving them a child after a long time of failing to have one. Others have used it to thank other community members for the help rendered to them at a critical needy time when they would have failed otherwise.

(193) *Cileleko*

The anthroponym *Cileleko* literally means *blessing*. The anthroponym is a pronouncement that the family in which the child is born is blessed. The name is actually a testimony of God's favour on the family. According to informants, the coming of the baby into the family may be a blessing enough to address the very baby as *Cileleko*. This name can be used alternatively with the name *Cipego*.

(194) *Cabota*

The anthroponym *Cabota* literally means *it is good or nice*. At second level meaning, the name is a declaration that the addresser has been favoured and is happy, for instance if a child is born at a time when the addresser has achieved something big, such as having a bumper harvest. The name can also be a declaration by the addresser that the coming of the new baby is good. This name is wide spread because there are many things that make people happy in the research area and is unisex.

(195) *Coolwe*

The literal translation for this name is *luck*. The addresser of this anthroponym is making a pronouncement about how he has been favoured by a Supreme Being. According to respondents, if a child has been born around a time a family feels that luck has moved

into their way in life, for instance, they have bought a vehicle or any other big item or any other fortune has visited them, that child is named *Coolwe*. The addresser is simply announcing to others how fortunate as a family they have been in life. One of the respondents added that the coming of a child in a family is a big event or fortune enough for the baby to be named *Coolwe*. This anthroponym is unisex and widespread because there are many occasions when the Tonga people feel luck has been on their side.

(196) *Cipego*

This name means *gift*. At second level meaning, the namer is simply informing other community members that the child is a gift from a Supernatural Being. The name connotes how much the child is cherished by the parents; that it is cherished just like one cherishes a gift.

(197) *Maleele*

The name *Maleele* literally means *miracles*. *Maleele*, as an anthroponym, connotes that something miraculous happened at or at about the time someone was born. The other connotative sense of this name is that the birth or conception of the bearer was miraculous. One participant gave an example of a circumstance which led to a certain child be named *Maleele*. The participant said that the father of the girl *Maleele* went fishing in *Mbabala* River. As the man was fishing, a crocodile attacked him and he fell into the water. Quickly, the man pushed his fingers into the beast's eyes. The beast then let go of the man with bruises. That the man had courage to push his fingers into the eyes of the crocodile and that the crocodile let go of him without either killing him or brutally injuring him was perceived as a miracle by the community members and the man himself. This happened when the man's wife was six months pregnant. When his wife delivered three months later, the man named the baby girl *Maleele*. The name is unisex.

(198) *Watupa*

The name is a clause literally meaning *He has given us*. At another level of meaning, this name is a verbal act of announcing to other community members that the namer

has been blessed with a child by a supreme. The namer may also be announcing that the child has been born at a time when the family has been blessed or favoured by a supreme being. The alternative name to *Watupa* is *Cileleko*.

3.3.1.5 Request Suggestive Names

According to respondents, request suggestive names are meant to minimize conflict in society. Some are meant to appeal to other community members for help. This is consistent with Finnegan (1970: 170) states that names are used to work out tensions and friction in society. Six names all of which are unisex with a request undertone are discussed.

(199) *Luumuno*

This name literally means *silence* or *peace*. At second level meaning, the name is actually a reprimand to a quarrelsome neighbour; a call for peace from a quarrelsome person. The addresser is also telling the neighbour that the namer is a peaceful person.

(200) *Lulekelelo*.

The name literally means *forgiveness*. At second level meaning, the name indicates that the bearer was born at a time when there was forgiveness between his or her family and another. The forgiveness may also be between the parents themselves who previously had misunderstandings leading to fighting. The name is a declaration that misunderstandings have ceased and an assurance that peace and love prevail. The other connotative sense of this name is an appeal to an unforgiving neighbour or family member that there is forgiveness and should practice it.

(201) *Lubomba/Nkumbu/Luse*

These anthroponyms are identical and literally mean *mercy*. At onomastic level, the names are an appeal by the addresser to other family members and society at large to have mercy and sympathy on the addresser and his family including the born baby. Respondents advised that the names are usually given to children whose parents are of low status in this society. Through these names, such parents are begging for help from other society members. The names are a call to other community members to look at

the addresser and his family with pity for his suffering and then come to his aid. At times, the bearers of these names may be or may have been physically challenged in one way or another. As a result, the name itself may be a call for help from others.

(202) *Mizeezo*

The name *Mizeezo* literally means *ideas*. At connotative level, the name refers to a person in a dilemma, one who is tormented day and night by thoughts of how to dodge away a particular unfavourable situation. The situation may be a predicament such as hunger, bereavements in a family, financial instability or poverty among several. The name is an appeal for assistance to other community members by the addresser.

3.3.1.6 Travel names

Travel related names are names given to children born at a time when parents are either relocating from one place to another or when they are on a journey. Eight unisex travel names are discussed.

(203) *Bubala*

Bubala literally means *migration* which is a time when people move from one place to settle or live in another place. When people move from one place to another, they first live in grass thatched temporal structures as they wait to finish building permanent structures. The name *Bubala* connotes a child who was born at a time when people were relocating from one place to another. If born when the family is still living in grass thatched temporal shelters, *Bubala* can alternatively be named *Mavwuka* or *Cilawo*.

(204) *Lweendo/Nzila/ Mugwagwa*

The name *Lweendo* literally means *journey* while *Nzila* and *Mugwagwa* literally mean *path* and *road* respectively. The names connotatively refer to an addressee who was born at a time when the mother was on a journey. People in the research area, just like people in all societies, take journeys, sometimes by train or by bus and at other times by bicycle or feet. Some pregnant women find themselves in such journeys when labour calls. If there is a health centre nearby, they are rushed there but if there is none, they

deliver anywhere under the delicate care of any elderly women nearby at that particular time. Respondents gave numerous examples and circumstances when expectant mothers had to give birth while in transit. There were examples of woman giving birth whilst on the train. Some women gave birth in the bush as they moved from their homes to give birth at their parents' homes on feet. There were examples of women whose labour begun while on trucks on bumpy roads and had to be rushed to a health centre. Children born under these circumstances were given either the name *Mootokala* or *Citima*. These names are unisex. One of them, *Lweendo*, is widespread in the research area.

3.3.1.7 Fertility oriented names

Fertility suggestive names are used to insinuate that the parents had to use herb or 'experimented' their fertility for the child to be conceived. There are very few names in this category. The study only discusses three such names.

(205) *Micelo*

This name has two first meanings according to the informants. This has an implication at the second level meaning as will be see shortly afterwards. In Tonga language '*mu celo*' (singular noun), from which the given name *Micelo* is derived firstly means charm. Secondly, it means fruits from tree. Culturally, this name is given to a child, firstly, whose parents, usually the mother, had to use traditional medicine to conceive. The name in itself is a testimony of how an individual was conceived.

Secondly, though rarely according to the participants, this name is addressed to a child by parents who are proclaiming to the rest of the community that they are a 'tree' that brings forth fruits. That is to say the parents are not barren. By extension, the parents may be referring to the fact that they are not just productive but also produce children who are relevant and responsible to the community. The name is given to both boys and girls.

(206) *Miyanda*

Literary or the common noun '*miyanda*' (plural) means *roots*. Among the people in the research area, roots are commonly used as herb. This name, just like *Micelo*, connotes an individual whose birth was facilitated by the use of traditional medicine usually tree roots by the parents. By giving this name, the namer is telling other community members that medication was sought after for the child to be conceived.

(207) *Nsole*

Linguistically, the anthroponym means *let me try*. The name connotes a prenuptial child. The researcher found out that most of the people bearing this name were born or conceived before the parents got married. While in courtship, a man and woman may want to 'experiment' whether or not they are productive by having sex during the woman's fertile days. If the woman conceives, the couple addresses him or her as *Nsole*, meaning we were just trying.

3.3.1.8 Social conflict oriented names

These are names which comment on conflict in society. Seven names are discussed in this category. Most of the names in this category are discouraged in the research area hence are not widespread. They are discouraged because they awaken memories of the disputes that existed at a certain time in society. All the names in this category are unisex.

(208) *Twaambo/Makani/Maambo/Kaambo*

The names linguistically mean *discussions* or *issues*. According to respondents, the addressee of any of these names was born at a time when the family or community in which he or she was born was locked up in disputes with another family or community at second level meaning. It can also be given to a child who is born or conceived at a time when the parents had issues to settle between themselves. One prominent example of such issues given by respondents is marital disputes from infidelity, for instance, if a spouse is discovered to have extra marital affairs. Such disputes may be settled by the village headman or the chief and sometimes by the local court. However, these names do not settle well with some respondents. These respondents feel that

these names are a constant reminder of the issues which prevailed prior to or during the birth of the child hence awakening memories of the disputes and the bad effects that it carried. They are of a view that such names should be avoided especially if the people involved in the disputes forgave each other. Other names that respondents had mixed feeling about and discouraged include is the name *Milandu* and *Mabeta*.

(209) *Milandu/ Mabeta*

The name *Milandu* literally means *cases* while *Mabeta* means *trial*. These names, just like *Twaambo* or *Makani*, culturally connote a child who was born at a time when the family or a family member, usually the addresser had court cases in which he paid damages. The court can either be at community level or government's local court or, in rare cases, a higher court.

(210) *Ntolongo*

Ntolongo literally means *prison or jail*. Prison is a building where people are kept as a punishment for a crime they have committed, or while they are awaiting trial. The name *Ntolongo* connotes that the bearer's parents, mostly the father, or any other close relative was in prison when the bearer was born. It is meant to serve as a reminder of the imprisonment of that particular person in future. Further, according to participants, it connotes that the bearer did not enjoy the comfort that other children enjoy at birth especially if it was the mother who was in prison.

3.3.1.9 Wealth oriented name

Names in this category indicate the status of the bearer in society. One main name with four others in this category is discussed.

(211) *Lubono*

The name *Lubono* linguistically means *wealth*. The name *Lubono* connotes high status of the addresser. According to informants, no one can successfully be regarded rich in the research area without having cattle. As a result, being wealthy is synonymous with having many herds of cattle. Among the people in the research area, a rich person is one with lots of cattle. Therefore, the anthroponym *Lubono* (a unisex name) is

synonymous with having lots of cattle. This is the reason why there are names such as *Hang'ombe* (one with lots of cattle), *Hamatanga* (one with many herds of cattle), *Hamacila* (one with many tails [of cattle]) and *Mweembezi* (shepherd [of cattle]) which all connote wealth though they are surnames which started as nicknames. The name *Lubono* may also be an emphasis of the love the addresser has for the addressee. People in the research area cherish their cattle which are synonymous with *Lubono* (wealth). They have so indescribable attachment and love for cattle that some of them do not eat beef. As a result, giving a child the name *Lubono* is a demonstration of the love and attachment the addresser has for the child.

3.3.1.10 Disaster related names

Disaster related names have a nuance of adversity. They indicate that the community in which the bearer was born had a calamity at some time in past. Eight disaster related names were discussed. Names in this category are very rare because it is very rare to have disasters in the area.

(212) *Cisozi/ Cikwikwi*

The names linguistically mean locusts. Locusts are large insects that live in hot countries and fly in large groups, destroying all the plants and crops of an area. As far as one of the oldest participants remembers, he first and last experienced a locust raid in the research area in the year 1934. A locust raid is regarded as a calamity due to the devastating impact it has on crops.

These names connote a person who was born at a time when a swarm of locusts attacked an area eating up grass and crops such as maize. However, these names are very rare in the research area because it is also rare for the locusts to attack. The oldest participant, born in the year 1928, remembers a person given the name *Cisozi* in the beginning of the year 1934. The name is meant to serve as a reminder of the calamity which usually results into hunger the following year. According to respondents, it is not uncommon to find *Cisozi's* immediate young sibling named *Nzala* in those families where parents have family planning in such a way that they have a child every year.

(213) *Nzala*

The name *Nzala* linguistically means *hunger*. Among the Tonga people in the research area, hunger is dreaded and people work hard to avoid it. Culturally, *Nzala* is given to a child, either a boy or a girl, who was born in the year when there was hunger. Even if people work hard in the research area to avoid hunger, there are natural calamities beyond their control such as drought, army worms, locusts and flooding among others, which can render very poor or no harvest at all. Participants gave an example of the year 1994 when there was drought in the research area, as was the case in many parts of Zambia, which resulted in crop failure entailing hunger the following year. People had to rely on wild roots and food supplied by government known as '*civwole-wvwole*' (free food). Participants said that more than half the number of children born in 1995 in the research area was named *Nzala* to serve as remembrance of the hardships people went through. The name is unisex.

(214) *Lumamba*

The name literally means *war*. Culturally, among the Tonga people, the name *Lumamba* refers to anything that disturbs the peace of people. As far as the respondents remember, the Tonga speaking people have not gone to war with another group of people or tribe. It means therefore that the name is used symbolically. Some of the things which are likened with war among the people in the society under study are death, diseases and hunger. If a child is born at a time when there is bereavement in the family or when there is hunger in society, the child may be given the name *Lumamba*. The person born when there is hunger, a disease affecting the whole society such as '*Ntomba*' (small pox) which struck the research area in 1924, and hunger can also be given the names *Mapenzi*, *Makondo*, *Mayaba* and *Kalonga*.

3.3.1.11 Long Gestation period

Names in this category indicate that the bearer was born after nine months. There are few names related to gestation period. The study discusses two names in this category.

(215) *Cimuka/Cilala*

The name *Cimuka* is derived from the verb '*muka*' (be late) and literally means *one who is late*. On the other hand, *Cilala* comes from the verb '*lala*' (lay down or sleep) and literally means *one who slept*. The names connote a person whose gestation period took longer than normal. The "normal" gestation period is about 40 weeks, but may range from 37 to 42 weeks and still be considered a normal (New Health Guide, 2014). However, there are rare cases when a gestation takes more than the normal period, for instance eleven months or 44 weeks. One respondent narrated how one woman in the late 1970s did not give birth up to the eleventh month. She was taken to traditional healers at ten months but to no avail. She kept asking and complaining saying '*Mwati mwana buya ngwemitide? Ncinzi eci nobantu? Mwami aandigwasye*' (I am I carrying a human being? What is the matter with me? God help me.) At ten months three weeks, she was taken to Macha Mission Hospital in Choma District where she gave birth to a baby boy at eleven months. When the baby was born, some people addressed him as *Cimuka* (you who came late or was born late) while others said *Cilala* (you who slept [in your mother's womb instead of being born]). A week later, the father gave him the name *Cilala*. A baby born under this circumstance can also be given the name *Hasweeka*, literally meaning *one who was lost*.

3.3.1.12 Social caution names

Names in this category are used as warning about uncertainty of life to community members with an aim of advising other community members to ever be mindful of the future in whatever they do. Three names are discussed in this category.

(216) *Ciiyo*

The anthroponym *Ciiyo* literally means *lesson*. At second level meaning, the anthroponym is admittance that the namer has learnt a lesson from something which he did wrongly. Informants advised that this name is usually a result of a reflection leading the namer notice that a mistake was made in the past, near or distant past. The name is actually an assurance that the mistake made will never be repeated. One of the examples given is about unmarried youths who have been advised to stay away from sex but disobey after which a girl becomes pregnant. The child may be named *Ciiyo*

connoting that the namer has regretted the action. If a child is born at a time when the parents have done something wrong and, for example, are made to pay, the parents may decide to give the child this name as a way of cautioning other community members that they should learn from the addresser's mistake and avoid finding themselves in the same circumstance. This name is unisex. If the mistake committed led parents to pay, the child can alternatively be named as *Milandu* or *Mabeta*.

(217) *Kabuca*

The anthroponyms *Kabuca* literally means *let dawn come*. Dawn is the time of a day when light appears. It is also known as daybreak. The name is taken from the proverb: '*Kabuca uleta tunji*' (each day has its own happenings) or '*Kabuca bujisi kayuni*' (each day comes with its own experiences).

At onomastic level, the name *Kabuca* (a masculine name mostly) is a caution to other community members by the addresser that days are never the same. The addresser himself usually may have had several encounters in life about bad times which motivated the selection of this name. The name is an urge to other community members to be prepared for happy, sad and challenging moments in life. Apart from cautioning, the namer may also be warning a rich or well to do person who behaves as though they will remain in the same status the whole of their life. The warning to such a person through the name is that one day tables will turn upside down by either losing that which such a person depends on or any eventuality capable of robbing away the hinge of the high status of that person making him or her at par with others in community.

(218) *Mazuba*

This anthroponym literally means *days*. According to participants, this name is a result of calquing from the proverb '*mazuba ngunamasandu*' (days are never the same). It was found out that this name is given to a child whose parents' socio-economic status is low in comparison with other community members. Through this name, the namer is indirectly telling society that one day he will also rise to high status because things

change with the passing of time. The name is both self-assurance and announcement to society that better days are yet to come. It is a unisex anthroponym.

3.3.1.13 Occupational related names

Names related with occupation indicate the kind of job the name giver does, likes or would like the bearer to do when he or she grows. Two names all of which are unisex are discussed in this category.

(219) *Lwiito*

The name *Lwiito* literally means *a call*. At second level meaning the name indicates that which someone does well. Participants observed that each person, especially men, is prosperous in one way or another. For example, some are prosperous in cattle keeping-meaning they have many herds of cattle, some in hunting, and others in maize growing. As a way of boasting to other community members about what one does well, an addressee can give the name *Lwiito* to his child. For example, those who feel they have been called by God to have many herds of cattle, they can address their child *Lwiito*. Such a person can then nickname himself *Hang'ombe* (one with a lot of cattle).

(220) *Mwiimbi*

This anthroponym literally means *singer*. It is given to a person who is a musician. Culturally, this name can also be named to a child after a departed relative whose characteristics the addresser likes. Usually, the person named after was a lover of music.

3.3.1.14 Hope oriented names

All the names in this category have an overtone of optimism and hope. In this category, eight names are discussed.

(221) *Ciloto*

The given name *Ciloto* literally means *dream*. The anthroponym, at second level meaning, is an announcement that the namer's dream or wish has come true. This name is commonly given to children, both boys and girls whose parents have achieved something they have fought for over a considerable period of time. An example of such

a dream, as found out, is buying a television set or any such big achievement according to the namer's capabilities. The name can also be used to imply that the coming of the baby has been the prayer and dream of the parents who did not have a child for a long time. If a child is given this name under this circumstance, he or she can alternatively be given the name *Cileleko, Cabota, Lutangalo* or *Cipego*.

(222) *Lushomo*

The anthroponym *Lushomo* literally means *faith*. Faith is trust in somebody's ability or knowledge or trust that something or someone will do what has been promised. The name has many connotations. Firstly, it connotes the faith the parents have that one day they will achieve their dreams. Secondly the name connotes the faith the parents have in their child; that he or she will grow into a responsible and dependable person. Furthermore, the name connotes the faith the parents have in each other as a couple that they will remain faithful to each other. Finally, the name connotes the faith and trust they have in divine power. It is widespread among females.

(223) *Linda/Lindila/Mulindila*

The first two names literally mean *wait* while the third one means *the one waiting*. At second level meaning, the names are assurance that in the near future things will be better. According to informants, a husband who fails to provide for his wife as needed may decide to name a child *Linda* or *Lindila* as an act of assuring his wife that all will be fine, it is just a matter of time. The addresser can also be telling other family and community members that even if he is not doing fine economically, for example, they should wait and see how he will improve economically in the near future. The name *Linda* is common among females while the other two among males.

(224) *Mulinde*

The name literally means the *awaited one*. The name connotes that the child has been awaited for a long time. Participants noted that one circumstance that may cause the delay of the coming or birth of a child in a family is infertility by either the wife or husband or both. If this is the case, traditional medicine is sought after. When the wife finally conceives and gives birth, the father may address the child as *Mulinde* (the

awaited one). It was pointed out that a child bearing this name can also be given the names *Miyanda* or *Micelo* if the conception of the mother delayed due to infertility which was addressed using traditional medicine. At times, according to participants, the child may be given this name because he or she is born after the normal gestation period which is nine months. Usually, when a woman is nine months pregnant, she and her husband begin to prepare for the coming or birth of the baby. If nine months elapse before she gives birth, the family and community get concerned, hopes become high and the waiting becomes tense. When finally the baby is born, the father may choose to address him or her as *Mulinde*. If a child is born under this circumstance, he or she may alternatively be given one of the following names; *Cimuka*, *Cilala* or *Hasweeka*.

(225) *Lulangilo*

This anthroponym linguistically means *hope*. At second level meaning, the name connotes an expectantly waiting person. The name is self-assurance by the addresser that he will hopefully wait for good things to come in his life, for instance. Secondly, through this name, the addresser who could not produce a child for a long time may be announcing to other community members by giving this name to a child that the baby itself has been hoped for and was waited for. The alternative name for *Lulangilo* is *Ciloto* and both are unisex.

(226) *Mulinda*

The name *Mulinda* connotatively means *watchperson or waiter*. The name connotes watchfulness or waiting in anticipation on the part of the addresser. One of the respondents aged fifty-seven named his last born daughter *Mulinda*. The girl was born the year his first born daughter completed her two-year nursing course at Macha Mission Hospital in Choma district. The respondent narrated how expectant he was after his daughter's graduation. He was then looking forward to her daughter starting work and getting paid. Six months later, his daughter was employed by government. The week his daughter was deployed, his wife gave birth to a baby girl. Since at this time the addresser who is also the respondent was waiting in anticipation for good things such as a constant supply of sugar, bread, cooking oil, clothes and many other

things from his daughter, he named the baby *Mulinda* indirectly telling his daughter that he was waiting to receive good things from her. The respondent said he was motivated by the Tonga adage '*yakula yanyonka moombe*' (when it [cow] ages, it sucks from its calf). Alternatively, the name *Mulangi* (literally meaning observer) and *Mulindila* can be addressed to a child born in this circumstance.

3.3.1.15 Social critic names

Social critic names point out or insinuate that which community members disapprove. The idea behind these names is to inform of and discourage certain bad traits in certain individuals. Two names both of which are unisex are discussed in this category.

(227) *Bulelo*

The name literally means *leadership*. Onomastically, this name is meant to underscore someone's leadership. It carries with it a sense of bad leadership. One of the circumstance this name is given is when a village headman mistreats his people. As way of highlighting the way he rules in a bid to make him reflect and change, a parent may decide to address the child as *Bulelo*.

(228) *Lumba*

The name *Lumba* literally means *be thankful*. Thanking comes about when something good has been done to someone. Culturally, this is a name aimed at criticising someone to whom something good has been done but that person has not appreciated. The person referred to could be a neighbour who is usually a close relative. According to respondents, the addresser may not necessarily be looking for verbal appreciation but appreciation even through actions. If someone does something good for someone, the receiver of the good action is expected to reciprocate with a good action even in different form from the one received. For example, if someone helps a neighbour in building a house, the helper expects a neighbour to help him whenever need arises. If one person keeps on doing someone a favour without reciprocation, that person can address the name *Lumba* to a baby to indirectly castigate, at the same time reminding the unappreciative person to appreciate.

3.3.1.16 Place oriented names

Place oriented names are names which locate someone's birth in place. They can also indicate the namer's fondness of a specific place by naming a child after a place the namer is fond of. Seven place oriented names all of which are more pronounced among males, are discussed in this category.

(229) *Cilawo/Malawo/Civwuka/ Mavwuka*

The name *Cilawo*, plural *Malawo*, just like *Civwuka*, plural *Mavwuka*, literally refers to *grass thatched temporal shelter*. These are shelters that people make temporally when they move to live in a new area before they build permanent houses. They are also constructed when people go out hunting or for church gatherings which usually last for one week. These names connote an individual who was born at the time the family was occupying temporal shelters.

(230) *Monze*

Monze is a name of a chief in Southern province of Zambia. The nearby town to the chief is named after this chief as well as the district. *Monze* as a district is known for successful cattle and maize farming. It houses twelve huge stores of maize used during the Kenneth Kaunda era when maize farming used to perform extremely well. Most people in the research area like the town.

At second level meaning, as given name, it shows the *attachment* the namer has with *Monze* town or district. A person who has lived in *Monze* or who goes to *Monze* often times may announce his fondness and familiarity with the town by naming his child *Monze*.

(231) *Mazabuka*

Mazabuka is a town in Southern province of Zambia nicknamed as 'Sweet Town' due to huge sugar cane plantations. Many people from the research area flock to this town in search for employment in these sugar cane plantations.

At second level meaning it shows the attachment the namer has with *Mazabuka* town or district. A person who has lived in *Mazabuka* or who goes to Mazabuka often times may announce his fondness of and familiarity with the town by naming his child *Mazabuka*.

(232) *Mapanza*

Mapanza is a name of a chiefdom within Choma district in Southern province to which the research area belongs. Most people within this chiefdom, the research area inclusive, refer to the area as 'World number one'. They say about the chiefdom: "Nkokuno Leza nkwaakatalikila kulenga nyika. Kooshi Mapanza ku World number. Koondye kaaka" (it is here God started his creation [created this area first before any other place in the world]. In *Mapanza* 'World number one' [a better place to be]. Where there is food in abundance) as a way of praising themselves and the area.

At another level of meaning, some people have named their children *Mapanza* as a way explicitly expressing their patriotism and love to the area or the chiefdom.

3.3.1.17 Names Suggesting Joy

Joy suggestive names show that there was happiness in society or family when the bearer was born. Four unisex joy related names are discussed.

(233) *Lutangalo/Lukondo*

Lutangalo literally means *happiness* while *Lukondo* means *Joy*. The two anthroponyms are synonymous. Functionally, the anthroponyms are an expression of joy and happiness for something good which has happened to the addresser. If a child is born at a time when the family has a joyous moment or days, to serve as remembrance in future, the child is named either *Lukondo* or *Lutangalo*. There are many things that may bring joy to a family such as having a very good harvest, buying a big item such as a solar panel and or a radio or television set and many more uncommon items in this particular society. The very coming of the baby into the family may be so joyous to the family that they may decide to name the child after their feeling; happiness and joy.

(234) *Kkomana*

The name *Kkomana* is derived from the verb '*kkomana*' literally translating as *be happy*.

At second level meaning, it is a cheer urging one to be happy. One of the participants had a grandchild with this name. He narrated how her daughter in-law complained when she gave birth to a baby boy when she so much wanted a baby girl because she had had two boys already. Her husband and other family members encouraged her to be happy as it is God who decides what child one will have. A week later, the father to the baby addressed the child as *Kkomana*. Other participants pointed out that this name is given to a child, be it a girl or a boy, as a way to encourage someone who is not happy about something to be happy.

(235) *Twalumba*

The name literally means *we are thankful*. Connotatively, the name is an expression of appreciation to either a Supreme Being or other family or community member(s). The addresser may be thanking a Supreme Being for the gift of the child or any other gift that may have been given to the addresser the time the child is born. The name may also be an act of thanks giving to a family member or community members for something done to the addresser. The choice of this name is motivated by the adage: '*Utalumbi mubwa*' (He who does not appreciate is a dog). This adage criticises unappreciative people.

3.3.1.18 Love oriented names

Names in this category depict love. According to respondents, names in this category have the capability to foster community and family unity. The study discusses four love oriented names.

(236) *Luyando and Kalungu*

The literal translation for the name *Luyando* is *love* while *Kalungu* literally means *small bead*. A bead is a small piece of glass or wood with a hole through it which can be put on a string with others of the same type and worn as jewellery. In the past beads were highly valued among the people in the research area for body decoration. *Kalungu* is derived from the love expression among the people in the research area: '*kalungu kaamoya*' (one dearly loved).

These anthroponyms connote love. Some respondents noted that the name *Luyando* is an announcement that the parents still love each other whether the name is given to the first born or last born child. According to respondents, the name is also given to express the love that abounds in the family or community the child is born. The names *Luyando* and *Kalungu* also connote the love the parents have to the child bearing the name.

(237) *Kaluba*

Kaluba literally means *small flower*. A flower is a plant grown for the beauty of its flowers. Some flowers smell sweetly and are loved by nearly everyone and are used to beautify or decorate many things. Connotatively, by this anthroponym, the addresser is simply expressing, figuratively, how much he loves the addressee. The name is used to show that the namer cherishes, adores and values the addressee.

(238) *Mpande*

The anthroponym *Mpande* linguistically refers to decoration made up of beads. This decoration was common among chiefs in the olden days. It is expensive, valuable and symbol of high status. The name culturally expresses the love that the addresser has for the addressed. Further, the name announces how valuable and cherished the bearer is.

3.3.1.19 Event oriented names

Event oriented names are names given to an individual depending on the event taking place at or about the time the bearer is born. Three event-related names are discussed.

(239) *Lwiindi/Halwiindi*

The name *Lwiindi* literally means *beer*. It also literally means a ceremony when this beer is taken or drunk. Chitauka (1967) writes that “*Eli zyina Iya Lwiindi Iyaamba bukoko butaindi mulyango...buzuba mboluzemba, boonse balatola bukoko bwabo kumalende. Elyo oko nkokuyocitwa milimo...*” (the name *Lwiindi* refers to the beer which every household should make...on the day it is celebrated, every household bring their beer to the shrine. It is here where all rituals are done...). However, people in the research area do not actively participate in *Lwiindi* despite there being a shrine within the chiefdom for chief *Mapanza* where people nearer to chief *Mapanza*'s palace go for *Lwiindi* shortly after harvest.

At second level meaning, the name connotes that the bearer was born on the day *Lwiindi* was celebrated. The addresser believes that a child is blessed by being born on this special and eventful day when ancestors are thanked and appeased. By this name, the addresser is also endeavouring to link the child to or put the child right in the hands of the spirits for protection in life. This name is unisex but not wide spread in the research area.

(240) *Nkolola*

The name literally means *initiation ceremony*. An initiation ceremony is a process or event that girl takes part in to become an official member of a group. During this ceremony, girls are taught many things such as how to take care of the husband, how to cook and how to conduct oneself in marriage at large. According to respondents, it is the preparation of a Tonga girl into cultured adulthood.

This name is given a child who is born on the day an initiation ceremony is held. Functionally the name is meant to serve as a reminder of the events that took place during the child's birth. It also connotes a bearer who is well cultured, an epitome of a well cultured individual. Even if the name is unisex, it is much pronounced among females.

(241) *Mucado*

The name *Mucado* literally means wedding. A wedding is an important and memorable day among the people in the research area. A person who is married through a wedding unlike through elopement is respected. The name connotes that the bearer was born on a wedding day. The name is meant to serve as a reminder of the day when a close family member married. It also meant to influence the bearer to be wedded instead of eloping. It is a feminine name.

3.3.1.20 Time oriented names

Names in this category are generally meant to serve as a reminder of the events surrounding one's birth; that is, the time an individual was born. Twelve names in this category are discussed.

(242) *Mainza*

The name *Mainza* literally means *rainy season*. In Zambia there are two main seasons; the rainy season (November to April), corresponding to summer, and the dry season (May to October/November), corresponding to winter. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Climate_of_Zambia). During the rainy season, people plant and harvest their rain watered crops. Tonga people are very busy during this period tilling the land and tending their crops leaving their homes as early as 04:00 hours and coming back home as late as 15:00 hours. For those that drink beer, there is hardly any time for them to be drunk- they are sober throughout the period. Furthermore, during this period, there are few quarrels as families are very busy in their fields giving them little if no time to interact with other families. In other words, people have temperance in many things as they concentrate on farming which is the major source of life in the research area.

This name connotes a person who was born in the rainy season. The name is associated with hard work. It implies that a person bearing this name is hard working. When a parent gives a child this name, the parent is simply calling the baby to industry and sobriety late in life as an adult. This name is related to the one to be discussed next and both are unisex names.

(243) *Miyoba*

The given name *Miyoba* literally means *torrential rain* and is a name of a particular period within the rainy season, usually March, when there are continuous heavy downpours. Actually the Tonga name for the month of March is *Miyoba*. During this period of the rainy season, the Tonga people plant sweet potatoes. This name implies that the bearer was born during the month of March amidst torrential rains. Just like the name *Mainza*, the name also connotes that the bearer has attributes of hard work and responsibility.

(244) *Mujibelo*

The anthroponym literally means *Friday*. The anthroponym connotes a child who was born on a Friday. It is usually meant to serve as a reminder to the addresser about the particular day the child was born. It is a male name.

(245) *Mupeyo*

This name linguistically refers to the cold season which falls between May and August. The name connotes that the addressee was born between May and August. However, among the people in the research area, the cold season time proper is the month of June and July. As a result the name *Mupeyo* precisely refers to a person who was born either in June or July.

(246) *Bucedo*

The name literally refers to *dawn*. Dawn is the time of a day when light appears. It is also known as daybreak. The name implies that the bearer was born at dawn or in the morning. At another level dawn signifies the beginning of something, for example development or civilisation. One of the village headmen pointed out that the name *Bucedo* can be given to a child, either a boy or a girl, born at the time when the parents or family the child is born begin to make significant strides towards becoming rich, reconciliation with another family after a long period of misunderstanding between the two or any circumstance the parents or family may see befitting this name.

(247) *Busiku*

This name denotes night. Among the Tonga people in the research area, as may be the case with all indigenous African societies, night is dreaded because it is associated with many evil acts. It is believed that witchcraft activities are done during this time. It is also believed that many people die during this time. The name connotes an individual born at night. The name has an overtone of fear in the parents of the child considering the time the child was born. Respondents observed that if a child is born at night, witches, wizards and ghosts may take away the shadow of the baby. Among the Tonga people in the research area, taking away of someone's shadow implies killing that person. Respondents added that the name is a constant reminder of the risk the bearer was

exposed to at birth and how he or she survived. The name is also given to children born at a time the family has a dark moment such as funeral or any predicament.

(248) *Mwaka*

Literally, *Mwaka* means *year*. This is the time of the year, September to October, when people prepare their fields for planting. The name connotes a child, either a boy or a girl, who was born at a time people were busy preparing their fields and putting in place farming implements for the next planting season. It carries with it senses of a hard worker. The alternative name to this name is *Milimo*.

(249) *Nsabata*

Nsabata translates in English literally as *Saturday* which is the seventh day of the calendar week. This is an important day to those who worship on it. As an anthroponym, it connotes a child born on Saturday. This day is regarded as a holy day by those who worship on it. As a result, someone named after it is expected to be holy. He or she is expected to possess attributes of humbleness, truthfulness and all other attributes that are Christ-like.

(250) *Nsondo*

Nsondo translates literally in English as *Sunday* which is the first day of the calendar week. This is an important day to those who worship on it. As an anthroponym, *Nsondo* connotes a child born on Sunday. This day is regarded as a holy day by those who worship on it. As a result, someone named after it is expected to be socially and morally upright. He or she is expected possess attributes of humbleness, truthfulness and all other attributes that are Christ-like.

(251) *Muvwulo*

This anthroponym literally means *Monday*. Culturally, this name is given to children born on Monday. However, it is not a common name because it has no important meaning according to respondents. It is simply meant to serve as a reminder of the day the child was born.

(252) *Jolezya*

Jolezya linguistically refers to a time when people finish eating dinner. Most of the people in the research area eat dinner between 19:00 hours and 20:00 hours. The time after dinner is believed to be a time when ghosts and other malevolent spirits start moving around. This name is given to a child born after people have their dinner. Among the people in the research area, this time generally ranges from 19:00 hours to 20:00 hours. The name is meant to act as a reminder of the time the bearer was born. It also announces the fears that the addresser had considering the time the baby was born. The fear is that a ghost may see the baby and harm it.

(253) *Itwi* (month of August)

The anthroponym *Itwi* is derived from the name of the month August. This is the seventh month of the year. The name *Itwi* comes from the common noun '*kutwi*' (an ear). This is the month when tree leaves start shooting on trees and look more like an ear. Most of the people like this period because fresh growth on trees are interesting to watch.

The name *Itwi* is given to an individual who is born in the month of August to serve as a reminder of a time the bearer was born. Some fathers give this name as a name-after of a relative whose attributes the namer admires to be in the named.

3.3.1.21 Names with a Bereavement Overtone

All the names in this category have an undertone of solemnity. The study discusses twenty-six names in this category. A vast majority of names in this category are unisex.

(254) *Misozi/ Malilwe*

The name *Misozi* literally means *tears*. Tears are shed mostly when someone is in pain, for instance, when someone has emotional pains of losing a beloved one. However, some people shed tears when they are extremely happy but this is very rare. *Malilwe* literally means *funeral*.

These names culturally mean that the bearer was born prior to, during or shortly after a bereavement in the family. The names have overtones of sombreness. Even if some

people shade tears when they are happy, and people are happy when a child is born, this name is not given under this circumstance. Actually there are specific names (such as *Kkomana* 'be happy') given to a child born when there is joy in a family or community. Otherwise *Misozi* and *Malilwe* are indicative of an individual born at a time when the family had a dark moment; a funeral.

(255) *Ceelo/Muuka/Cinyama/Bbole/Bulongo/Mavwu/Masowe/Cisowa*

The name *Ceelo* literally means *ghost*. A ghost is a spirit of a dead person that a living person believes they can see or hear. Among the Tonga people, ghosts are feared and dreaded because they are believed to harm people at times by inducing sicknesses and sometimes leading to death. Some people refer to a ghost as *Muuka* with the literal meaning *creature*, others refer to it as *Cinyama* with the literal meaning *ugly animal*, still others refer to it as *Bbole* literally meaning *scarily creature*. *Bulongo* and *Mavwu* both literally mean *soil*. *Masowe* and *Cisowa* both literally mean *one who was thrown away*.

At cultural level, these names indicate that the bearer lost his or her immediate elder sibling(s). They are meant to remind the family or community that the bearer has no immediate elder sibling or no elder sibling at all. Some respondents had mixed feelings about these names because they perpetually remind the family of the child who passed away.

(256) *Cuumbwe/Maumbwe /Mulindi/ Malindi/Dindi/Cilundu/ Malundu*

The linguistic meaning of the names *Cuumbwe*, plural *Maumbwe* is grave while *Milindi*, plural *Malindi* and *Dindi* literally mean *pit* and *Cilundu*, plural *Malundu* means hill. All these names culturally mean *grave*. They are given to a child whose immediate elder sibling passed away.

(257) *Mapenzi/Makondo/Mayaba/Kalonga*

The first three names literally mean *trouble or problems* while *Kalonga* literally means *river*. Among the people in the research area, a river symbolises problems. These names, at second level meaning, refer to a person who was born at a time when there were problems in a family. The problems may range from social to economic ones.

According to participants, these names are commonly given to children born during or shortly after a loss of a close family member or a parent.

(258) *Mweendalubi /Mweenda/Lubi*

The name *Mweendalubi* literally means *you have a bad journey*. It has two short forms *Mweenda* and *Lubi*. *Mweenda* means *you have you walked* while *Lubi* literally means *bad one*. Both short forms can be addressed as given names with full understanding of the literal meaning of the full form of the name. Culturally, the names mean that the bearer was born prior to, at a time or shortly after the death of a close relative in the family or even one of the parents.

(259) *Sibajene*

The name literally means *i did not find them*. The name connotes that the bearer's father died before he or she was born. It is also given to a child whose mother died during labour. It can also be given, though rarely, to a child whose grandparent(s) died before his or her birth. It has a sense of sombreness, needy and self-pity which appeals to other members of a community for sympathy on the bearer. Sympathizers will usually offer assistance in any way possible

(260) *Buumba*

The name *Buumba* literally means *sadness*. Among the Tonga people in the research area, there are many things which can bring about sadness and one of such things is death. The name *Buumba* has connotations of a solemn mood. It is usually given to a person who was born at a time of a bereavement; a time when a family member or close relative died.

3.3.1.22 Religious Names

Anthroponyms with a religious bearing are due to the fact that the Tonga people are influenced by Christianity. Such names are names of saints, Apostles and God's messengers. Most of the people in the research area go to church either on Sunday or Saturday where they are exposed to the Bible in which there are numerous characters. Most of these characters have good attributes while a few are portrayed or reported as

having been bad people. Many Bible characters with good attributes have their names among the Tonga people as given names. This is due to the fact that Tonga people believe that names have influence on the bearer. Olawale (2005:9) has a similar view about African names, "...there is much meaning in a name. If you are given the right name, you start off with certain indefinable but very real advantages". These people believe that names with positive denotation and connotation are capable of influencing the bearer to live a positive life. On the other hand, very few characters with bad personality have their names as personal names among the people in the research area. This is due to the fact that such names are believed to be capable of influencing the bearer negatively hence be a nuisance to society. Religious names are in two parts. There are those religious names explicitly mentioning God and those adopted from the Bible.

3.3.1.22.1 Names explicitly mentioning God

Names in this category are actually praises to God. Three names are discussed in this category.

(261) *Nalulenga/Mulenga/Cilenga*

These given names literally mean *creator*. At second level meaning, the names are praise to God that He is the source of life. The names connote the attachment that the addresser has or wants the addressee to have with God.

3.3.1.22.2. Names adopted from the Bible

Names in this category include names of God's messengers, saints, disciples and priests. It is important to underscore the fact that all the adopted names are neither original Tonga names nor do they originate from any Tonga word family. The best word to use perhaps is that these names are borrowed from other languages such as English and Geek among others. As a result, these names are changed both phonologically and morphologically to suit the phonology and morphology of Tonga. In a similar study conducted among the Amharic people, Leyew (2003) found out that most of the Amharic non-indigenous anthroponyms are borrowed from the Bible. He further noted that most of the names in this category undergo phonological modifications and hence are pronounced and spelled slightly differently in Amharic. These names of saints have

biblical origin and therefore are borrowings either from Hebrew or Latin or Greek. Some respondents indicated that telling children about stories of great men in the Bible is not enough rather some parents go a step further to name their children after these great men. Twenty-four names adopted from the Bible are discussed.

(262) *Maliya*

Maliya, in English Mary, is believed to be the mother of Jesus according to the Bible. According to the book of Luke chapter 1 verse 31, an angel came to Mary and told her: "And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS". Some Christians see Mary as their mediator between them and Jesus.

This name connotes humility, selfless love, blessedness, righteousness and forgiveness among other Christ-like attributes. Addressing a child by this name entails instilling such attributes to the child with the hope that the name will influence the child to have Mary's attributes. The name is feminine.

(263) *Simoni*

This name is Simon in English. In the Bible, there are two prominent people with this name. One of them is Simon from Cyre'n who helped Jesus carry his cross as reported in the book of Luke chapter 23 verse 26:

And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyre'nian, coming out of the country, and on him they laid the cross, that he may bear it after Jesus.

His carrying of Jesus' cross demonstrates how humble, sympathetic and blessed he was.

The other Simon was actually one of the disciples of Jesus named Simon Peter who was called by Jesus to stop catching fish but to catch men as documented in the book of Luke chapter 5 verse 10 in the Bible "...And Jesus said unto Simon, fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men."

That Simon Peter was recruited by Jesus to help in the preaching of the good news shows how blessed, humble and hard working he was.

This name connotes blessedness, humility and lack. Simon of Cyre'n is believed to be blessed for helping Jesus carry the cross. Respondents think by so doing he secured himself a place in heaven. Equally, Simon Peter is believed to have done the work of Jesus of catching men and is waiting to be rewarded by having eternal life when Jesus comes to take the righteousness from a Christian perspective. As a result, according to respondents, the addressee of this anthroponym is expected to be active in preaching and doing the work of God which calls for meekness, hard work and consideration for those in problems which brings about favour and blessings of God.

(264) *Johani*

This name is translated in English as *John* in the Bible. In the Bible, there are two prominent people with the name *John*. One of them is the Baptist the son of Zacharia the priest and Elizabeth the cousin to Mary the mother of Jesus. *John* the Baptist was full of the Holy Spirit right from birth:

...for he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall neither drink strong wine nor beer and shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even in his mother's womb (Luke 1:15).

The other *John* was Jesus' disciple as reported by Luke chapter 5 verse 10 in the Bible. As a disciple of God, he laboured with Simon Peter to preach the word of God.

The name *Johani* has overtones of being perfect, blessed, lover of God's work and being closer to God. Informants added that addressers of this name intend to instil holiness, perfectness and any Christ-like attribute in the addressee. Addressing this name to a child is linking the child to Jesus.

(265) *Zakaliya and Elizabeti*

The English name for *Zakaliya* is Zacharia while *Elizabeti* is Elizabeth. *Zakaliya* was a high priest and father of John the Baptist described together with his wife *Elizabeti* in the Bible in Luke chapter 1 verse 6 as being righteous in the eyes of God because they obeyed his commandments.

These names are used to instil Christ-like attributes in the bearers. *Zakaliya* is a male name while *Elizabeti* is female name. It is hoped by namers of these names that the

bearers will be influenced to lead lives of righteousness as did priest Zacharia and his wife Elizabeth.

(266) *Isawu and Jakobe*

Isawu, Esau in English, was a twin brother with *Jakobe*, Jacob in English. *Isawu* lived, as reported in the Bible in Genesis Chapter 25 verse 19 to 34, a life of self-gratification and centering all his interest in the present. He was a hunter. On the other hand, Jacob was thoughtful, diligent, and caretaking and ever thinking more of the future than the present. His patient perseverance, thrift, and foresight were valued by his mother. Due to self-gratification and lack of foresight, Esau is said to have sold his birthright to his brother and later stole his brother's blessings from their father Isaac. Even if Esau succeeded in deceiving his father hence robbing Jacob of his blessings, he ended up in trouble. The Bible describes Esau as a profane person.

As anthroponyms, *Jakobe* connotes good personality while *Isawu* connotes ill-character. Among the people in the research area, the name *Jakobe* is preferred to the name *Isawu*. Actually, *Isawu* is among the names people have reservations with. The fear is that addressing this name to a child may be assigning self-gratification, lack of foresight and theft to a child which attributes are dreaded as they foster disunity in community. On the other hand, giving the name *Jakobe* is understood as assigning responsibility, thoughtfulness, frugality, diligence, and caretaking and ever-thinking more of the future than the present. These attributes are what every parent wishes to see in their children even at a tender age because they are key to one's success and relation with others in society

(267) *Nawomi and Lute*

According to the book of Ruth in the Bible *Nawomi*, Naomi as captured in the English Bible is a woman who lost her husband and later her two sons leaving her with her two daughters-in-law one of them being *Lute* (Ruth in English). Naomi decided to go back to her people in Bethlehem alone. However, Ruth insisted and went with Naomi to Bethlehem demonstrating true love and friendship.

As given names among the people in the research area, the names *Nawomi* and *Lute* are synonymous with true and unfailing friendship and love. The names connote that the bearer is a true friend of people and have unselfish and unconditional love for others.

(268) *Muusa*

The name *Muusa* which is Moses in English denotes a faithful man to God in the Bible. His story is recorded in the book of Exodus in the Bible. He was sent by God, (Exodus chapter 9 verse 1), to deliver the children of Israel from Egypt in the hands of Pharaoh. He is known to have been a prayerful and righteous man in the eyes of God. Through God's guidance, he delivered the children of Israel from the hands of Pharaoh. Through him, God did many wonders such as killing all the first born of the Egyptians, (according to Exodus chapter 12 verse 30), bringing forth water out of the rock and separating the water of Red Sea for the Israelites to pass. The water closed after the children of Israel had passed swallowing up the Egyptians as they tried to cross.

The name *Muusa*, at second level meaning, connotes a purified heart and follower of Jesus. It carries senses of an individual who is formidable because of his dependency on the unfailing power and love God. Being Christians, most of the people in the research area try to teach their children about stories of these great men of ancient times such as Moses and implore them to be like them.

Other names of great men who depended on God in the Bible whose attributes are sought after by many people in the research area are Elijah, Abraham, Noah, Joseph, Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Solomoni, Ezekiel, Esther, Sarah, and David. All these men devoted their lives to God and totally depended on God and emerged victorious in everything because God fought their battles. The names of these men are found as anthroponyms among the people in the research area in the Tonga version as follows: *Eliya* (Elijah), *Abulahamu* (Abraham), *Nowa* (Noah), *Josefa* (Joseph), *Daniyele* (Daniel), *Isaya* (Isaiah), *Jelemiya* (Jeremiah), *Solomoni* (Solomon), *Ezekiya* (Ezekiel), *Esita* (Esther) *Saala* (Sarah), *Sitifana* (Steven), *Paulu* (Paul) and *Davida* (David).

3.3.2 Nicknames

Nicknames are familiarly, humorously, or ridiculously used names given to people instead of using the real complete name of that particular person or different full name other than his first name (Koopman 2002:15). Nicknames tend to be unofficial and are seldom recorded on an individual's official documents, such as birth certificates, school certificates, driver's license, and so on. The study found out that there are two types of nicknames among the Tonga speaking people. There are positive nicknames which are self-selected and negative nicknames which are imposed on bearers. Positive nicknames have overtones of self-praise and bragging. There is a tendency for the addressee to resist the negative nickname, thus indirectly encouraging peers or members of the community to use the name more frequently. Nicknames are only used to address the addressees directly by friends or acquaintances. The other members of society may only refer to the names in secret. A vast majority of Tonga nicknames are masculine. This is due to the fact that the community under investigation is male dominated. As a result, most of the speech acts such as praising, informing, cautioning, criticising and teaching that names perform are directed towards men.

3.3.2.1 Order of birth names

Names in this category depict the order of seniority of the bearers. Only two nicknames in this category are discussed.

(269) *Muniini* and *Mupati*

The name *Muniini* literally means *small one* while *Mupati* means *big one*.

The name *Muniini* connotes a person with a second rank in leadership. For example, a deputy head teacher can be nicknamed *Muniini* while his head teacher can be nicknamed *Mupati* which connotes a person first in command. The researcher also found out that siblings can also nickname each other *Muniini* and *Mupati*. For example, an elder sibling can decide to call a young sibling *Muniini* while a young sibling can call the elder sibling *Mupati*.

3.3.2.2 Behavioural nicknames

A vast majority of behaviour related nicknames are used to criticise and disapprove certain bad behaviours in society consequently promoting good or positive behaviour in society. These nicknames are derogatory in nature. The study discusses ten kinds of behaviour.

3.3.2.2.1 Bachelor hood

Names in this category criticise bachelors in an attempt to 'force' them to marry. Five names which criticise bachelors are discussed.

(270) *Hamalijikila*

This name, as is the case with most Tonga nicknames, is sentential. As will be seen later, this name is formed by bringing together various morphemes which perform various functions. This name literally means '*one who cooks for himself*'. Connotatively, in this name, one gets a sense of a man who, mostly but not always, is not married and cooks for himself. According to participants, there are also married men who have earned themselves this name because of wanting to cook '*kakulya kaambali*' (side food) mostly relish. Such food is a delicacy in comparison with what the rest of the family will eat. It therefore implies that such a man is greedy. Informants also added that giving such a name is an act of criticising a man who cooks for himself. Among the Tonga people, a man is not expected to cook for himself. A man who is married and wants to cook for himself is regarded as a bad man whose act should be condemned without reservation.

Alternative names to the name *Hamalijikila* are *Hampoto*, *sikapika* and *Hamipika* all literally meaning *one fond of pot(s)*. It is important to note that these nicknames have overtime evolved into surnames. In their study of nicknames among the Shona people of Zimbabwe, Nyota and Mapara (2010) also noted that some of the Shona nicknames have evolved into family or surnames overtime. It could be an interesting study to explore how nicknames evolve into family names. The present study is tied by its objectives hence has no space and time to look into how this evolvment happens.

3.3.2.2.2 Gluttonness

Gluttonnes related names are names that disapprove stinginess, meanness and tight-fistedness. Only two names are discussed in this category. All the names in this category are masculine.

(271) *Mucelemba*

This nickname literally means *one who plucks/hunts for the belly*. Among the Tonga people in the research area, bringing fruits from the bush and hunting is a male responsibility. As a result this name is given to males. Culturally, this name means a man who is irresponsible, stingy and not caring to other family members such as wife and children by not bringing home whatever they find such as food. If for example he collects honey from a bee hive, such a man would eat up all the honey without reserving some to bring home. All he thinks of when he finds something is self. Such attributes make a bad husband and or father and renders an individual irrelevant to community.

(272) *Kamamanya*

The name *Kamamanya* literally means one who is stingy. Stinginess is seen as bad vice among the people in the research area and is preached against or discouraged. The name connotes a person, usually a man, who is not generous, someone who is tight-fisted. Such a person would rather wait to be given something rather than buy for himself and will wait to be given rather than giving even when he has something to give to others. This name is derogatory. As a way of discouraging this attribute in someone, this nickname is addressed to such a person. This name does not exist as a surname in the research area because of its derogatory nature.

3.3.2.2.3 Laziness oriented names

Names that are laziness motivated are used to discourage and encourage hard-work among community members. Six laziness names, all of which are prominent among men, are discussed.

(273) *Sikupalapala*

This anthroponym literally means *someone who scratches the soil*. At cultural level, the name refers to a person who is never serious with farming. Instead of concentrating on

one portion or field, such a person moves from one portion or field to another without having done a good or enough work on the abandoned portion. It connotes a lazy person, one who does not have enough food because he does not concentrate on farming.

(274) *Kalimanzila / Hamweendo munzila / Mweendanjangula*

The name *Kalimanzila* literally means *one who tills the path*, while *Hamweendo Munzila* literally means *one whose leg is ever on the road* and *Mweendanjangula* literally means *one who walks long journeys*. Culturally, these names have a similar meaning. They all mean a person who moves a lot from one place to another. Such a person never makes an effort to attend to his field. For example, such a person is known for being always on some type of journey that does not allow him to settle down and attend to his fields. The community gives the name when it realises that this person's journeys always come up during the rainy season when agricultural activities are at their peak. Sometimes *Kalimanzila*, just like *Hamweendo munzila* and *Mweendanjangula*, is used to simply describe a person who so moves a lot that his other responsibilities suffer. All these are male names aimed at restraining a man who moves a lot from doing so. The names conjure up a picture of a lazy, poor and irresponsible man who always embarks on a journey when he should provide for the family through hard work.

(275) *Tazyimanikubota*

This name linguistically means *ever nice or beautiful*. At another level the name connotes a person who is lazy because he concentrates on being ever smart at the expense of other productive activities such as farming. This implies that such a person cannot do anything productive or of benefit to other family members or society because his object is ensuring being clean and smart. The name is given to men because men are not expected to concentrate on being smart at the expense of providing for the children, wife and being useful to society. A person bearing this name can also be named *Mupaale* which literally means smart one.

(276) *Namulembalemba*

This anthroponym literally means *one who writes often*. It is a name given to a goat because it is always busy looking for food. Culturally, this name refers to a person who does not take time to rest but is ever busy working. However, this person does not do his or her work perfectly due to the fact that he or she is lazy. Such a person is busy with petty kind of jobs such as making unnecessary errands at the expense of jobs that can earn him food and money.

3.3.2.2.4 Sexual looseness names

According to respondents names in this category are more pronounced among women. The reason why these nicknames are more pronounced among women or given to women is because it is considered a more serious case and unaccepted for women to have more than one sexual partner than for a man to have more than one sexual partner in this society. This explains why a man can have as many wives, including concubines among the Tonga people. Seven names are discussed in this category.

(277) *Simweendanjanji/Simutobelanjanji*

The nickname *Simweendanjanji* linguistically means *one who walks the rail line* while *Simutobelanjanji* literally means *one who follows the rail line*. The names connote a prostitute. They are given to a woman who moves from town to town looking for money in exchange for sex.

(278) *Cisomba beendeenda*

This nickname linguistically means *one who gives [food] to visitors*. The name culturally means a prostitute. Just like *Simweendanjanji/Simutobelanjanji*, it is given to a woman but unlike *Simweendanjanji* and *Simutobelanjanji*, it is given to women who do not leave home for town but are at home and are loose sexually. People in the research area consider a sexually loose woman as a prostitute. Just like *Simweendanjanji* and *Simutobelanjanji*, *Cisomba beendeenda* is highly derogatory and offensive.

(279) *Nkukwe/Ndala*

These nicknames literally mean *leftover nsima*. At second level meaning, the names mean a woman who was either married and divorced or never married before but has a child. It also has an overtone of a sexually immoral woman. As a way of discouraging men from going for her, such a woman can be given any of these names which describe her as someone who is second hand; only as good as left-over food.

(280) *Habasimbi/Habakaintu*

The names *Habasimbi* and *Habakaintu* literally mean one *fond of girls* and *one fond of women* respectively. Culturally, the names refer to a man who is ever in the company of females. Usually, such a man's decisions are influenced by females. The women may include his wife and or friends. According to informants, the reason for being in the company of women is usually because such a person is sexually immoral. To ridicule such a man, his peers may say to him: '*Habasimbi jendo lyaloka*' (one who is fond of girls has dropped off his leg), meaning that a man who is ever in the company of women is confined to one place, a home for instance, because women rarely move. Such a person is usually reminded of the dangers of associating with women more than with fellow men in the Tonga proverb: '*Simunvwa twabakaintu yakamukola lyoolokwa*' (He who listens to women's advices suffered from hunger at harvest time) which means that nothing beneficial and productive can come out of a woman. The name is also used to refer to a man who is promiscuous.

3.3.2.2.5 Nomadic life oriented names

Nicknames related to nomadic life are intended to criticise a person who does not settle in one place for a long period of time. Such nicknames are very few and are given to men. The study discusses one name in this category.

(281) *Mayakayaka*

The nickname literally means *one who builds more often*. At cultural level, the name means a person who never settles in one place but moves from one place to another. The nickname is given to men because they are the head of families and take central stage in deciding, for instance, whether to stay in a place or to move to another place. If a family stays in one place for a year, moves to another place the following year and

another place the other year, the head of that family, the husband, can be nicknamed *Mayakayaka* as an indirect criticism for his nomadic life.

3.3.2.2.6 Nicknames depicting Stubbornness

Nicknames in this category are used to criticise people who do not listen to advice. These nicknames are unisex. Four unisex nicknames in this category are discussed.

(282) *Cingwindi/ Cinguni/Cimpama/Bbule*

All the first three anthroponyms literally mean *stubborn person* while the nickname *Bbule* literally means *honey badger*. A badger is a tenacious small carnivore that has a reputation for being, pound for pound, Africa's most fearless animal despite its small size. It is even listed as the "most fearless animal in the world" in the Guinness Book of Records. This animal is capable of picking honey from a bee hive amidst bee bites because it is notorious.

The names connote a notorious and stubborn child who does not heed to advice from parents and elders. Among the people in the research area, failure to heed to instructions and advice from adults is tantamount to disrespectfulness. As such the names carry a sense of a disrespectful, unintelligent and useless person. People in the research area, especially children, feed so much from adults' advice and guidance so as to be successful and useful in life. These nicknames are very derogatory and are used to discourage young people from being stubborn, disrespectful and notorious. The names are actually offensive and addressees do everything possible to avoid them ranging from fighting those who call them by these names to disassociating themselves from the attributes that give these names.

3.3.2.2.7 Talkativeness

Talkativeness related nicknames are used or given to people who talk more than is expected to a point that they are capable of causing havoc in society. The study discusses two names related to talkativeness.

(283) *Hadomolitopota*

This anthroponym literally means *one with a mouth which talks a lot*. The name actually names by describing the attribute of the individual bearing it. At second level meaning, in connection with the linguistic meaning above, this name connotes a person who is very talkative. Note here the use of a stronger verb –*topota* ‘talking too much [including insulting and other bad things]’ than the use of a more palatable one – *ambaula* ‘talk’. The nickname, according to participants, is given to people who do not ‘hold their tongues’ hence say anything to an extent where they emotionally injure others. Participants warned that such people sometimes end in problems because they do not ‘tame their tongues’. One participant drew an analogy between *Hadomolitopota* and a match stick capable of setting ablaze a huge forest. The participant noted that people who bear this name have the capacity to cause mayhem in society. It was pointed out by all participants that giving such an anthroponym is actually a speech act of criticising a person with such attributes. The researcher was informed that this nickname does not exist as a surname among the Tonga people. The informants think that this is as a result of its derogatory nature.

(284) *Kayuni kabuci*

The nickname *Kayuni kabuci* literally means *honey bird*. This bird is known to sing continuously when it sees a bee hive. If there is no human being nearby when it sees the bee hive, it waits until it sees a human being in the area and starts singing while flying in the direction of the hive. Those who are familiar with it follow it until they come to the hive. After seeing the hive, men usually pick the honey. After a person has picked the honey, this bird eats the remaining honey or the parts that are left or thrown nearby the hive. Experienced honey pickers will deliberately place little honey, but enough for this bird, at a strategic point where the bees cannot hinder it from eating. The fact to underscore is that this bird is an informer about a bee hive to people.

The name *Kayuni kabuki* culturally means a talkative woman. A talkative woman is associated with being sexually loose, a liar and is capable of causing turmoil in society. Men avoid marrying such a woman because she is also seen as a disrespectful woman.

3.3.2.2.8 Witchcraft oriented names

These are nicknames which are related with witchcraft. They are meant to thwart a witch from witchcraft practise. These names are common among men. Four such nicknames are discussed.

(285) *Minyengwe*

Literally, *Minyengwe* means *mamba*. A *mamba* is a green or black poisonous African snake. This snake is feared and its poison is believed to have no antidote. At second level meaning, the name refers to a vicious person, feared by many in society. The name connotes a person who is capable of causing disunity and untold hatred in society following that person's ill-behaviour such as telling lies about others in community, evil schemes about others and many other destructive kind of behaviour which are likened to a snake's venom. These features are tantamount to witchcraft.

(286) *Nyeleti*

The nickname *Nyeleti* literally means *needle*. A needle is a thin piece of metal used for sewing. A needle is dangerous because of its ability to prick thereby causing severe pain if mishandled. Culturally, the name means a person who causes pandemonium and capable of harming others in society through supernatural powers. Just as one needs to be careful when handling a needle, living with *Nyeleti* in society requires that one be careful otherwise one may find themselves in problems such as sicknesses. This name is actually a criticism about someone's behaviour. It is very common among women.

(287) *Cekwecekwe*

This name literally refers to a kind of fish which has strong fins capable of penetrating human skin. Fishermen dread this fish because it is dangerous and relatively poisonous. The nickname actually means a witch or wizard. Both witches and wizards are feared by many people in society due to their ability to harm or kill others supernaturally. Such people are regarded as poisonous to community. The name is aimed at warning other community members about the threat the bearer poses to lives

of others in society. Usually the bearer may not know that this is his or her nickname or will know about it very late. This name does not exist as a surname among the people in the research area.

(288) *Hamunyono*

The anthroponym *Hamunyono* literally means *one full of jealous*. This anthroponym culturally refers to a person who is destructive, someone who is never happy to see others achieve and progress in life. It invokes senses of a person who does not work hard, a stone-hearted selfish person and one capable of using any means to harm others who appear to be better than him socially and economically. It was noted that a jealous person is as good as a witch or wizard and that a witch or wizard rarely work hard. Respondents indicated that a hard-working person and unselfish person can never be covetous. The nickname is imposed on the bearer as a way of warning others about the destructive nature of the bearer to society.

3.3.2.2.9 Drunkardness Related Nicknames

Nicknames in this category are given to those people, mostly men, who drink irresponsibly. Three names in this category are discussed.

(289) *Hangoma/Mantabe/Gankata*

The nickname *Hangoma* literally means *one who loves drums*. A drum is a musical instrument made of a hollow round frame with plastic or skin stretched tightly across one or both ends. In the research area, some families brew beer commonly known as *gankata* (seven days because it takes seven days for the beer to be ready). A day prior to the sixth day, a drum is drummed by experts to alert other community members that the beer will be ready the following day. During the actual day of drinking, the drumming is intense. Songs are sung and there is drinking and dancing. The nickname refers to a person who drinks beer excessively, irresponsibly and is ever on the lookout for the direction of the drums. It also connotes an irresponsible man. This person can also be nicknamed *Mantabe* literally meaning beer. The name has also evolved into a surname.

3.3.2.2.10 Anti-social behaviour

Nicknames in this category are used to criticise people who are not social. There are very few names in this category. These nicknames are common among men. The study discusses two such names.

(290) *Hambaya*

The nickname *Hambaya* literally means *yard lover*. If someone puts his house in a yard, it is difficult for others outside to see what is happening inside. The name culturally refers to someone who loves to keep secrets even about issues that other community members should know. According to respondents, one man earned himself the nickname *Hambaya* when he did not make public the sickness of his wife for over three years. His wife was suffering from cervical cancer. Other community members only came to know about the woman's sickness when the sickness was at an advanced stage. Community members argued that this man should have made known the sickness to elders in the area who would assist in curing it. They added that the Tonga proverb '*Cikoye vwuna liso kukkala limwi mbunyina*' (eyebrow help the eye because living together is brotherhood) summarises the way of life in the research area that people should help each other and that for them to help each other, no one should fence up his or her life- problems must be shared. They explained that fencing up one's life can be in form of keeping serious issues and problems to oneself. This nickname exists also as a surname in the research area. As a nickname, it is a masculine name.

(291) *Sikatungu*

The anthroponym literally means one, usually a man, whose house is isolated and lives alone. Such a person rarely mixes with other community members, hence does not participate in most communal activities. The name culturally refers to a person who spends most of his life alone. Furthermore, such a person is anti-social and is a bachelor and is of little help to the community he lives in. The alternative name to such a person is *Hamalijikila* (one who cooks for himself).

3.3.2.3 Ill-health nicknames

Ill-health nicknames are a category of nicknames that indicate the sickling state of the bearer. The nicknames are common among children regardless of sex.

(292) *Kanamujanza/ Katafwa/ Muciswa*

This nickname *Kanamujanza* literally means *a child (is) in the hand* while *Katafwa* literally means *it may die* and *Muciswa* literally means *one who is ever sick*.

These nicknames connote a child who is usually sick to an extent that his or her survival is a matter of concern. The names are lamentation of the ill-health of the child. They describe the child, as we saw from the linguistic meaning, which is ever in the hands or laps or back of the mother whose health is a matter of great concern because he or she is always sick. The names are an expression of a pessimistic feeling that the namer has about the life of the child.

3.3.2.4 Travel related nicknames

Travel related nicknames are given to people who travel to different places oftenly as a way of praising them. These names are common among men. Three nicknames in this category are discussed.

(293) *Hicitima/Sicitima/Simaloli*

The anthroponym *Hicitima* and *Sicitima* literally mean *one fond of the train* while *Simaloli* literally means *one fond of trucks*.

The name connotes a person who travels frequently to different towns and is very exposed. As the name suggests, the person travels by train because the train is known to be the cheap and reliable mode of transport in the research area. So, the bearer of this name is named after the mode of transport he uses. This nickname is given to men and it is a praise name about the addressee's exposure because it is normal for a man to travel. However, if a woman travels often times and is exposed, she is suspected of being a prostitute and risks being nicknamed *Simweendanjanji* or *Simutobelanjanji*. According to informants, these names are found as surnames in the research area.

3.3.2.5 Self-defence nicknames

In this category, nicknames are usually self-given as a defence mechanism by those people who feel they have been strongly criticised for certain behaviour which society disapproves. There are very few names in this category and only three are discussed.

(294) *Kwaambwa/Hakwaambwa*

Both anthroponyms literally means *being talked about or being subject of discussion*. These names, at second level meaning, are self encouragement by someone who is talked about by many people because he has a bad attribute according to society. These names are mostly self-given by the bearer as counter-reaction to society's criticism about the bearer's attributes which society preaches against. For example, a person whom society nicknames *Kamamanya* may comfort himself by saying '*Ndime mwana kwaambwa; uutaambwi tali muntu*' (I'm a child whom they talk about; the one who is not talked about is not a person [as long as someone lives, people will always talk about that person]). He can then call himself *Kwaambwa*. The alternative name is *Caambwa* which means the same as *Kwaambwa* at both linguistic and cultural level. These names exist as a surname in the research area.

(295) *Simunyeyu*

The nickname literally means black ants. Traditionally, these ants are believed to move with their drums because most of the time they carry items as they move together in a line. There is a very common maxim that '*Simunyeyu uleenda angoma yakwe*' (a black ant moves with its drum) referring to the drum-like item these ants carry which is actually food.

This name connotes a man who usually moves with his wife wherever he goes. People who have earned the nickname *Simunyeyu* are those who have been criticised for being with their wives always. To justify their actions, they have always said '*Simunyeyu uleenda angoma yakwe*' (a black ant moves with its drum).

3.3.2.6 Social status nicknames

Nicknames in this category encode the status of the bearer in society. Social status encoding nicknames are of two types: poverty and wealth motivated nicknames. These names are mostly masculine.

3.3.2.6.1 Poverty/self-defenceless related nicknames

Poverty nicknames in this category are given by society members to a person whose social and economic status is low. Three names in this category are discussed. Due to their negativity, these nicknames are short-lived.

(296) *Hamagamba/ Mabesu*

The name *Hamagamba* which can also be *Simagamba* literally means *a person whose cloths are patched* while *Mabesu* literally means *old and torn clothes*. Patched clothes are usually associated with mentally disturbed people. These names connote a poor person who cannot afford to get himself decent clothes instead keeps patching torn clothes making him a laughing stock. The names are mockery to the addressees for failing to afford descent clothes. They also connote a person ever-in-need; one who does not work hard.

(297) *Muzya*

The anthroponym *Muzya* literally means *someone who came*. It is a short form of the expression '*muzyaanyina*' (someone who came with his or her mother). Culturally, the name means a child whose biological father is not the one his or her mother is married to. When asked about the child by other community members, the step father and step brothers and sisters can introduce the child as '*ngu Muzyaanyina*' (one who came with the mother). The name is common to children whose mothers re-marry after a divorce or those who have never married before but have children they bring with them when they marry. The name has derogatory sentiments and renders the child vulnerable and defenceless to mistreatment and abuse after all he or she is not a rightful child to the husband of his or her mother, is not a proper sibling to the children of the man who married his or her mother and has no say to the affairs of the home. In other words, it shows that the child's social status is that of an outcast, a second class person in the

family the mother is married. The name connotes an intruder in a family. This name is usually short-lived because the bearers usually leave the home of the step father later when they grow and go to live with their mother's relatives or any close relative available to keep them.

3.3.2.6.2 Wealth-related nicknames

Wealth indicative nicknames encode high status in society. These nicknames masculine evolve into surnames overtime because of their positivity. Six nicknames in this category are discussed.

(298) *Hamacila*

The nickname *Hamacila* literally means *owner of tails*. The name culturally refers to a person who is rich. Being rich in the research area is synonymous with having lots of cattle. The name is masculine and can either be self-given or imposed. It is self-given if a person feels he has lots of cattle and may address himself as *Hamacila* (owner of tails of cattle). If community members observe that a person owns many herds of cattle, they may address that person as *Hamacila*. Alternative names are *Hang'ombe*, *Hamatanga* and *Hameja*.

(299) *Hamasenke*

The nickname *Hamasenke* literally means *one fond of iron sheets*. Culturally, this anthroponym is given to a person who uses iron sheets more than many other people in the research area. Until recently, a house with iron sheet roofing was very rare to find among the Tonga people. Those with iron sheet roofed houses were considered rich; an iron sheet roofed house was a symbol of wealth. However, today, three in five families will have at least one iron sheet roofed house which is referred to as the 'main' or 'big house'. The rest of the structures such as the kitchen, piggery, bathroom, barn, stockroom and other houses will be roofed by grass. This is so because iron sheets are far more expensive than the locally fetched grass for roofing. However, there are few people whose houses and other structures such as the kitchen, piggery, bathroom, barn and stockroom are iron sheet roofed. Such people have earned themselves the name *Hamasenke* and considered to be rich because iron sheets are a symbol of high status in the research area. The name, therefore, connotes a rich person.

(300) *Hang'ombe/Hamatanga*

The nickname *Hang'ombe* literally means *owner of cattle or one fond of cattle* while *Hamatanga* literally means one with many herds of cattle. The names, at another level of meaning, are given to a person who has many herds of cattle hence considered rich. Such a person has extraordinary passion and love for cattle. *Hang'ombe* or *Hamatanga* is respected because he is a first class person. He is one of the pillars in community where most of the people run to for help. It is a masculine name which has evolved into a surname. This name can also be listed under possession names.

3.3.2.7 Leadership nicknames

Leadership nicknames are given to those people who have good leadership qualities. Five nicknames all of which are given to men are discussed.

(301) *Sibbuku/Mwami/Sicuuno/Baal/Mwaalu*

The anthroponym *Sibbuku* literally means *headman*, *Mwami* literally means chief, *Sicuuno* literally means chairperson while *Baal/Mwaalu* literally means elder.

These nicknames connote a person who is wise and capable of solving cases of various kinds. It is a common nickname given to young men who are wise and capable of providing solutions to various problems. A person who is exposed and capable of explaining the outside world to others and capable of operating modern gadgets such as computers and other electronic devices can earn himself any of these nicknames. A pupil who is intelligent in class can be nicknamed *Sibbuku* or *Sicuuno* as well.

3.3.2.8 Occupational nicknames

Occupational nicknames indicate the activity the namer is involved in. Some of the nicknames in this category are self-given as self-praise while others are given by community members. The study discusses four male nicknames in this category.

(302) *Mutoloki*

The name *Mutoloki* linguistically means *interpreter*. This nickname connotes a person who is good at interpreting from one language to another. Secondly, it connotes a person who does not present the truth, for example, a person who does not report

exactly what was said by someone in a bid to cause turmoil by exaggerating issues; a liar in simpler terms.

(303) *Mwiimbi*

This name literally means *singer* or *musician*. Culturally, this name means a person good at singing. The nickname can also be used to refer to a liar. Singing is sometimes used figuratively to mean telling a lie.

(304) *Kabicci*

The anthroponym *kabici* literally means cabbage. Cabbage is a round vegetable with green leaves that can be eaten raw or cooked. This vegetable is planted for relish and sale. The name connotes a person who grows more cabbage than others. It can either be self-given as a boast that the bearer grows more cabbage than others or given by others to describe the bearer that he grows lots of cabbage.

(305) *Hamasamu*

The anthroponym *Hamasamu* literally means *one fond of trees*. This nickname culturally refers to a person who cuts trees indiscriminately. The name connotes an individual, usually a man, whose business is connected with tree products such as timber, charcoal, firewood, collecting wild fruits from trees or a witchdoctor whose source of medicine is mostly trees. The name is imposed on the bearers who are mostly men. This name is also used as a surname in the research area.

3.3.2.9 Possession oriented names

Some nicknames related with possession do overlap with wealth oriented nicknames and are mostly given to men. They are intended to mark that which the bearer has. In fact, one can argue that all wealth related nicknames fall under possession nicknames. Five nicknames are discussed.

(306) *Sikahonda*

The name *Sikahonda* literally means *a person fond or owner of a motorbike*. At second level meaning, the name simply defines the bearer that he usually rides a motorbike.

(307) *Habuluba*

The anthroponym *Habuluba* literally means *one fond of or owner of cotton*. At second level meaning, the name points out the crop the bearer grows. It connotes that the bearer grows cotton more than any other crop.

(308) *Mududu/Hamududu*

The anthroponym *Mududu* literally means *big belly button* while *Hamududu* literally means *someone with a big belly button*. Some children have big protruding belly buttons. These nicknames are common among children and connote someone with a big belly button. The names are mockery about someone with a big belly button. The names die out as the addressee grows into a teenager.

(309) *Hampongo*

The nickname *Hampongo* literally means *one fond of goats*. At second level meaning it refers to someone who has many goats.

3.3.2.10 Praise nicknames

Praise nicknames are either self-given as self-praise or given by community members to eulogize the bearer for a splendid trait of character. Some of the praise nicknames are feminine while others are masculine. The study discusses three names in this category.

(310) *Mulalapondo*

The anthroponym literally means *one who sleeps in the shrubs*. Under normal circumstances, a person would fear to sleep in a shrub because many dangerous things such as snakes, animals and criminals can possibly be found in shrubs. This name connotes brevity. It is mostly, self-given as a self-praise for the bearer's brevity. The bearer usually undertakes high risk ventures that many would not dare and is a strong-willed person. The name is also associated with hard work and success. It is a masculine name.

(311) *Shimbi-lombe*

The anthroponym literally means *woman who is a man*. The nickname culturally refers to an extremely hard-working, determined and iron-willed woman. Such a woman does not fear and is not an ideal woman according to respondents because she is physically strong and capable of fighting with men including her husband if she marries. According to participants an ideal woman is a woman who works hard (not extremely hard), one not too determined, (as this attribute of extreme determination is reserved for men), and meekly willed.

(312) *Mweelanyika*

The nickname *Mweelanyika* literally means *one who fits in everywhere he or she goes*. This name connotes a person, usually a man, who is strong, influential and knowledgeable, or possesses any such attributes to a point where he is easily identified and fits in wherever he goes. Many traditional healers have been nicknamed *Mweelanyika* because they are feared and respected in many places they go.

3.3.2.11 Physique motivated nicknames

In this category of nicknames are found those nicknames which describe the physical status of the bearer. They are given to people with certain marked physical features. These nicknames are unisex. There are five such nicknames that the study discusses.

(313) *Jumba bula*

This anthroponym literally means *belly pusher*. The anthroponym connotes a person with a very big belly. Even if there are people whose bellies are big because they are sick, the nickname connotes a person who drinks beer heavily. This name actually ridicules the addressee for his or her big belly.

(314) *Mutabwajulu/ Mutalabalajulu/ Mulamfwu*

The nickname *Mutabwajulu* literally means *one who is held down by the heavens* while *Mutalabalajulu* literally means *one who reaches the heaven*. On the other hand, *Mulamfwu* literally means *tall one*. At second level meaning, the anthroponyms refer to

an extraordinarily tall person. The nicknames are actually a hyperbole or an over statement. In reality, no person is tall to a point where he or she reaches heaven. The anthroponyms are meant to underscore that the bearer is extremely tall.

3.3.2.12 Request nicknames

Nicknames in this category are very rare. This is because Tonga people are generally hard-working. Those who tend to be lazy strive to work hard when they are given nicknames which criticise laziness such as names in section **3.3.2.2.3**. As a result, one nickname has been identified in this category.

(315) *Mundeenge(lele)*

The name *Mundeenge* literally means *feel pity on me*. This name connotes a poor and ever-in-need person seeking public sympathy. It is usually a self-given nickname. Furthermore, it carries senses of a person who is a drunkard and causes trouble and each time this person finds himself in problems, he asks for forgiveness. Whenever such a person is in trouble, he tells the people he has offended that ‘*Mundeengelele*’ (feel pity on me). This nickname is common among men. The nickname also connotes an irresponsible man who also drinks irresponsibly.

3.3.2.13 Place nicknames

Place nicknames are nicknames given to individuals, usually men, depending on places such as town they visit oftenly or have stayed for a long time. Four names have been identified and discussed in this category.

(316) *Buluwayo*

The anthroponym *Buluwayo* literally refers to a town known as Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. It was common in the 1960s for men from the research area to go to Zimbabwe to work; some of them coming back home as late as 1990s in their old age. At second level meaning, the name refers to a person who spent most of his life working in Bulawayo.

(317) *Monze*

Monze is a name of a chief in Southern province of Zambia. The nearby town to the chief is named after this chief as well as the district. *Monze* as a district is known for successful cattle and maize farming. It houses twelve huge stores of maize used during the Kenneth Kaunda era when maize farming used to perform extremely well. Most people in the research area like the town.

As a nickname, it can either be self imposed or an earned name. A person who has lived in *Monze* or who goes to *Monze* often times may brag about it by calling himself *Monze*. Other community members may nickname such a person *Monze* to mean that he frequently goes to *Monze* hence knows the town better.

(318) *Mazabuka*

Mazabuka is a town in Southern province of Zambia nicknamed as sweet town due to huge sugar cane plantations. Many people from the research area flock to this town in search for employment in these sugar cane plantations.

As a nickname, it can either be self imposed or an earned name. A person who has lived and or worked in *Mazabuka* or who goes to *Mazabuka* often times may brag about it by calling himself *Mazabuka*. Other community members may nickname such a person *Mazabuka* to mean that he frequently goes to *Mazabuka* hence knows the town better.

(319) *Mapanza*

Mapanza is a name of a chiefdom within Choma district in Southern province to which the research area belongs. Most people within this chiefdom, the research area inclusive, refer to the area as 'World number one': The say "*Nkokuno Leza nkwaakatalikila kulenga nyika. Kooshi Mapanza ku World number. Koondye kaaka*" (it is here God his creation [created this area first before any other place in the world]. In *Mapanza* 'World number one [a better place to be]. Where there is food in abundance) as a way of praising themselves and the area.

At another level of meaning, some people have given themselves the name *Mapanza* as a way of praising themselves and explicitly expressing their patriotism to the area or the chiefdom.

3.3.2.14 Historical nicknames

Nicknames drawn from historical events are meant to serve as reminder for the past or to link the abilities and qualities of the bearer to an outstanding historical figure. These nicknames are mostly masculine and are rare. The study discusses five such names.

(320) *Gogolo(la)*

The name *Gogolo* from the word '*gogolola*' literally means *undress*. It was commonly used in the late 1920s when the disease known as '*Ntomba*' (small pox) was common. When treating this disease, elders would tell the children that '*Gogolola ukandwe*' (Undress we treat the disease). The nickname *Gogolo* connotes a person who was born in the late 1920s when there was small pox in the research area. This name is not common as a nickname. However, one of the respondents remembers that his elder brother was given this name as a nickname. This name today exists as a surname in the research area.

(321) *Mpundu/Maanga*

These nicknames literally mean *twins*. At second level meaning, the nicknames refer to a person whose twin sibling passed away. They are meant to remind society about the birth of the bearer; that he or she had a twin sibling who passed away.

(322) *Nkumbula*

Nkumbula is one of the Zambian freedom fighters. As a militant, articulate and uncompromising opponent of the Federation, Nkumbula was elected president of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress in 1951. The party was soon renamed the African National Congress (ANC). He was born in the village of *Maala* in the Namwala district a few villages away from *Mapanza* chiefdom.

The name is usually self-given by those who think they are courageous as was Harry Mwanga Nkumbula. However, the nickname is not common today because most of the people are not familiar with *Nkumbula*.

(323) *Haazita*

This is the Tonga version of the name Adolf Hitler. Hitler lived from 1889 to 1945. He was a German politician who was the leader of the Nazi Party. He was chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945 and dictator of Nazi Germany. Hitler was at the centre of Nazi Germany, World War II in Europe, and the Holocaust all of which gave him world fame. A mention of his name sent shudder to those who knew what he was capable of doing.

This name, according to respondents, was common between 1940 and 1960. It was mostly self-given as self-praise by those people who thought they were strong hence famous as Hitler was. This nickname means power and strength.

3.3.2.15 Temper and power oriented nicknames

In this category of nicknames are found those nicknames that depict hot temper and extra-ordinarily strength. Bearers of these nicknames who are usually men are feared in society. Four nicknames in this category are discussed.

(324) *Munyati*

The nickname *Munyati* literally means *buffalo*. A buffalo is known to be a very strong and dangerous if wounded. The nickname culturally refers to a strong and hot-tempered person. Such a person is feared in society and does not make a good friend. The name is masculine and is also found as a surname among the Tonga people.

(325) *Ndavwu*

The nickname literally means *lion*. A lion is a powerful animal of the cat family that hunts in groups and lives in parts of Africa and southern Asia. It is a very vicious and dangerous animal hence feared. The nickname culturally refers to a person who is hot-tempered and powerful. It also connotes a person who hunts and eats meat.

(326) *Halumamba/Hankondo*

The nicknames *Halumamba* and *Hankondo* literally mean *fighter*. At second level meaning, the names refer to a person who is intolerant, hot-tempered and quarrelsome. The names are imposed on the bearers so as to warn other community members about the intolerant and hot-tempered nature of the bearer.

3.3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the meaning of names based on themes. The themes are *order of birth, character, clan, appreciation, request, travel, work, fertility, social conflict, health, disaster, gestation period, social caution, occupation, hope, social critic, place, joy, love, event, time, death, names explicitly mentioning God and names adopted from the Bible*. A vast majority of Tonga given names and nicknames are given or coined from the existing stock of vocabulary. Most of the given names are unisex while most of the nicknames are masculine because most of the speech acts are directed towards men. Non-indigenous names are taken from the Bible. All Tonga given names and nicknames have both linguistic and cultural meaning. They are not just identity tags that make the named subjects of their immediate environment. They are also expressions of knowledge. They may be given to express sorrow, disappointment, to boast or even to show appreciation. To give a name may also mean to teach as well as to express value judgements, especially when one gives a nickname for either endearment or to express dismay and protest. Tonga given names and nicknames can also be used to express fear and awe.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented and discussed the findings in line with the objectives. The present chapter presents an overall conclusion of the dissertation and the recommendations arising from the findings.

4.1 Conclusions

4.1.1 Naming among the Tonga

The study concluded that among the Tonga people, given names are given by fathers after one week of the birth of a child. The name a child is given depends on the events or circumstances surrounding that child's birth. Nicknames are either self-imposed or given by community members. Depending on the reason why a name is given and events at the time a person is born, the following are the categories of names among the Tonga people: order of birth, occupation, character, clan, appreciation, request, travelling, attitude towards work, fertility, social conflict, wealth, disaster, length of gestation period, social caution, hope, social critic, place, Joy, love, events, time, bereavement and religion. Through anthroponyms, Tonga people express what they approve and disapprove in society, express hope for the future, inform others about their past and express endearment.

4.1.2 Morphology of Tonga Anthroponyms

The study concluded that Tonga anthroponyms as derivatives from verbs, common and proper nouns and adjectives. The study also concluded that Tonga anthroponyms are made up of a noun prefix and a noun stem. Some noun stems of Tonga anthroponyms are simplex while others are complex. Most of the anthroponyms with simplex nominal stems are those derived from common nouns and proper nouns. On the other hand, most of the anthroponyms with complex noun stems are those derived from verbs. Complex nominal stems are made up of different morphemes or parts performing

different functions depending on what part of speech the anthroponym is derived from. Some of them have up to eight morphemes. The most common morpheme is a derivation morpheme. Others include tense and mood markers, root, ending and extension for deverbals, common noun for those derived from other nouns and morphemes indicating negation.

4.1.3 Meaning of Tonga anthroponyms

It was also concluded that Tonga anthroponyms are meaningful and perform various functions. These anthroponyms have both denotative and connotative meaning which when considered together give a full and precise meaning of a given anthroponym. Most of the Tonga anthroponyms are drawn from Tonga proverbs, dicta and other maxims. This is because the anthroponyms are dependent on the Tonga language. Some of the functions of Tonga anthroponyms include requesting, teaching, criticising, advising, informing, reminding, thanking, and indicating. These functions are possible because of the meaningfulness of these Tonga names. In fact, the primary role of anthroponyms which is to identify as it were in many communities in the world is not first priority in Tonga anthroponyms. Identifying comes after what one may term the critical functions which have been captured as verbal acts above have done their role. Therefore, Tonga anthroponyms are used to shape and re-shape society, to foster community unit, to encourage hard work and to inform and to show endearment.

The study has also concluded that there are certain anthroponyms that people have mixed feelings about or rather avoid because of their negativity. These are such names as those that encode social conflict, bereavement related names and names which depict bad behaviour. Instead, anthroponyms with positive meaning are encouraged and sought after because the Tonga people believe that positive anthroponyms encourage hard work, foster community unity and capable of influencing the bearer to live a positive life at large.

4.2 Recommendations

Anthroponyms can be studied from different perspectives. The present study approached anthroponyms from a morphological and semantic perspective. The study recommends that future research on Tonga anthroponyms focus on the syntax or their

phonology. It is also recommended that future research investigate how Tonga nicknames have evolved into surnames overtime. It is also possible to carry out a pyscholingustics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics study of Tonga anthroponyms.

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Appendix A

Interview guide

This interview guide is designed to collect information for academic purpose only, on Tonga given and nicknames. Kindly share your knowledge with the researcher and your confidentiality is guaranteed.

1. What is your name and age?
2. What is your occupation?
3. What is your position in this community if any?
4. What is your level of education?
5. What is your religion if any?
6. Among the Tonga speaking people
 - i) Who gives given names to children? Why?
 - ii) When are given names addressed to children? Why?
 - iii) How are given names addressed to children? Why?
 - iv) Who gives nicknames?
 - v) Who is given a nickname?
 - vi) When are nicknames given?
 - vii) Why are nicknames given?
7. Would you tell us the Tonga given names that you know together with their meanings?
8. Give us the circumstances when these names are given. Why?
9. What Tonga given names do you prefer? Why?
10. What Tonga given names do you have reservations with? Why?
11. Would you tell us the Tonga nicknames that you know together with their meaning?
12. What Tonga nicknames do you prefer? Why?

13. What Tonga nicknames do you have reservations with? Why?

Appendix B: DATA

i. Tonga Given Names

S/N	NAME	GLOSS	SEX
1	Abulahamu	Abraham	M
2	Banji	Many	U/S
3	Bbole	terrifying creature	U/S
4	Beenzu	Visitors	U/S
5	Bubala	migration	U/S
6	Bucedo	Dawn	U/S
7	Bulelo.	leadership	U/S
8	Bulongo	Soil	U/S
9	Busiku	Night	U/S
10	Buumba	sadness	U/S
11	Cabota	It is nice/good	U/S
12	Ceelo	Ghost	U/S
13	Ciiyo	Lesson	U/S
14	Cikwikwi	swarm of locusts	M
15	Cilala	one who slept	U/S
16	Cilawo	temporal shelter	U/S
17	Cileleko	blessing	U/S
18	Cilenga	Creator	M
19	Ciloto	Dream	U/S
20	Cilundu	Hill	U/S
21	Cimuka	one who is late	U/S
22	Cinyama	Animal	U/S
23	Cipego	Gift	U/S
24	Cisowa	one who throws away	U/S

25	Cisozi	Locusts	U/S
26	Citima	Train	M
27	Civwuka	temporal shelter	U/S
28	Coolwe	Luck	U/S
29	Cuumbwe	Grave	M
30	Daniyele	Daniel	M
31	Dauida	David	M
32	Dindi	Pit	M
33	Eliya	Elijah	M
34	Elizabethi	Elizabeth	F
35	Esita	Ester	F
36	Ezekiya	Ezekiel	M
37	Habeenzu	one fond of visitors	M
38	Halwiindi	one fond of Lwiindi ceremony	M
39	Hamacila	one fond of tails	M
40	Hamatanga	one fond of herds of cattle	M
41	Hasweeka.	one who was lost	M
42	Kaluba	Flower	U/S
43	Isawu	Esau	M
44	Isaya	Isaiah	M
45	Itwi	August	U/S
46	Jakobe	Jacob	M
47	Jelemiya	Jeremiah	M
48	Johani	John	M
49	Jolezya	take back	U/S
50	Josefa	Joseph	M
52	Kaambo	Reason	U/S
53	Kabuca	let/as it dawns	U/S
54	Kalonga	River	U/S
55	Kalungu	Bead	U/S

56	Kkomana	be happy	M
57	Linda	Wait	F
58	Lindila	you wait	U/S
59	Lubi	Bad	U/S
60	Lubomba	Mercy	U/S
61	Lubono	Wealth	U/S
62	Lukondo	Love	U/S
63	Lulangilo	Hope	U/S
64	Lulekelelo	forgiveness	U/S
65	Lumamba	War	U/S
66	Lumba	be thankful	U/S
67	Luse	Mercy	U/S
68	Lushomo	Faith	U/S
69	Lutangalo	happiness	U/S
70	Lute	Ruth	F
71	Luumuno	Peace	F
72	Luyando	Love	F
73	Lweendo	Journey	U/S
74	Lwiindi	Traditional ceremony	U/S
75	Lwiito	call (n)	U/S
76	Maambo	Issues/cases	U/S
77	Mabeta	Cases	U/S
78	Mainza	rain season	U/S
79	Makani	Issues/cases	U/S
80	Makondo	problems	U/S
81	Malawo	temporal shelter	U/S
82	Maleele	Miracles	U/S
83	Malilwe	Funerals	U/S
84	Malindi	Pits	U/S
85	Maliya	Mary	F

86	Malundu	Hills	U/S
87	Mapenzi	problems	U/S
88	Masowe	one thrown away	U/S
89	Maumbwe	Graves	U/S
90	Mavwu	Soil	U/S
100	Mavwuka	temporal shelters	U/S
101	Mayaba	problems	U/S
102	Mazuba	Days	U/S
103	Meelezyo	last one	U/S
104	Micelo	herb/fruits	U/S
105	Milandu	Cases	U/S
106	Milimo	Works	U/S
107	Misozi	Tears	U/S
108	Miyanda	Roots	U/S
109	Miyoba	torrential rains	U/S
110	Mizeezo	thoughts/ideas	U/S
112	Moote	meeek one	U/S
113	Mootokala	Vehicle	M
114	Mpande	decoration made up of beads	U/S
115	Mpimpa	fold/pack	U/S
116	Mucado	Wedding	U/S

117	Mucindu	clan name	U/S
118	Mudenda	clan name	U/S
119	Mugwagwa	Road	M
120	Mujibelo	Friday	M
121	Mukomi	conqueror	U/S
122	Mukoni	inheritor	U/S
123	Mukonka	clan name	U/S
124	Mulangi	observer	U/S
125	Mulenga	Creator	U/S
126	Muleya	clan name	U/S
127	Mulinda	Waiter	U/S
128	Mulinde	awaited one	U/S
129	Mulindi	waiter/watchperson	U/S
130	Mulindila	waiter/watchperson	U/S
131	Muloongo	clan name	U/S
132	Munsaka	clan name	U/S
133	Munsanje	clan name	U/S
134	Mupeyo	cold season	U/S
135	Musaante	holy one	U/S
136	Mutete	wet one	U/S

137	Mutinta	one who changed	U/S
138	Muuka	big insect/creature	U/S
139	Muusa	Moses	M
140	Muvwulo	Monday	M
141	Muyumu	strong one	U/S
142	Muyuni	Bird	M
143	Mwaka	Year	U/S
144	Mweembezi	shepherd	M
145	Mweenda	you walked	U/S
146	Mweendalubi	you walked bad one	F
147	Mweetwa	clan name	U/S
148	Mwiimbi	Singer	U/S
149	Mwiinde	clan name	U/S
150	Nalulenga	one who creates	U/S
150	Nawomi	Naomi	F
151	Ncimunya	the same one	U/S
152	Nkolola	initiation ceremony	U/S
153	Nkumbu	Mercy	F
154	Nowa	Noah	M
155	Nsabata	Saturday	U/S

156	Nsanzya	one who washes	U/S
157	Nsole	let me try	U/S
158	Nsondo	Sunday	U/S
159	Ntologongo	Jail	U/S
160	Nzala	hunger	U/S
161	Nzila	Path	U/S
162	Paulu	Paul	M
163	Saala	Sarah	F
164	Sibajene	I did not find them	U/S
165	Simoni	Simon	M
166	Sitifana	Steven	M
167	Solomoni	Solomon	M
168	Twaambo	issues/discussions	U/S
169	Twalumba	we are thankful	U/S
170	Watupa	he has given us	U/S
171	Zakaliya	Zacharia	M

Key

F= Female,

M= Male

U/S= Unisex

ii. Tonga Nicknames

S/N	NAME	GLOSS	SEX
1	Baalu	Elder	M
2	Bbule	honey badger	U/S
3	Buluwayo	name of a town in Zimbabwe	M
4	Caambwa	subject of discussion	M
5	Cekwecekwe	name of a poisonous snake	U/S
6	Cimpama	stubborn person	U/S
7	Cinguni	stubborn person	U/S
8	Cingwindi	hard-to-hear person	U/S
9	Cisomba beendeenda	one who serves/gives food to visitors	F
10	Gankata	seven days beer	M
11	Gogolo(la)	Undress	U/S
12	Haazita	Hitler	M
13	Habakaintu	one fond of women	M
14	Habasimbi	one fond of women	M
15	Habuluba	one fond of cotton	M
16	Hadomolitopota	one with a talkative mouth	M
17	Hakwaambwa	one being talked about/discussed	M

18	Halumamba	one fond of fighting	M
19	Hamacila	one fond of tails	M
20	Hamagamba	one fond of patched clothes	M
21	Hamalijikila	one fond of cooking for himself	M
22	Hamasamu	one fond of trees	M
23	Hamasenke	one fond of iron sheets	M
24	Hamatanga	one fond of/ who has many herd of cattle	M
25	Hambaya	one fond of yards	M
26	Hameja	one fond of horns	M
27	Hamipika	one fond of pots	M
28	Hampongo	one fond of goats	M
29	Hampoto	one fond of pots	M
30	Hamududu	one with a big belly button	M
31	Hamunyono	one who is full of jealous	M
32	Hamweendo munzila	one whose feet are ever on the road/on the move	M
33	Hangoma	one fond of drums	M
34	Hang'ombe	one fond or with many herds of cattle	M
35	Hankondo	one who likes fighting	M
36	Hicitima	one who loves travelling by train	M
37	Jumba bula	Belly pusher	M

38	Kabicci	Cabbage	M
39	Kalimanzila	one who ploughs/makes roads/paths	M
40	Kamamanya	stingy one	M
41	Kanamujanza	child in the hand	U/S
42	Katafwa	It may die	U/S
43	Kayuni kabuki	honey bird	U/S
44	Kwaambwa	to be subject of discussion	M
45	Maanga	Twin	U/S
46	Mabesu	worn out clothes	M
47	Mantabe	Beer	M
48	Mapanza	name of a chief	M
49	Mayakayaka	one who builds often	M
50	Mazabuka	name of a town	M
51	Minyengwe	Mamba (name of a snake)	M
52	Monze	name of a town	M
53	Mpundu	Twin	U/S
54	Mucelemba	one who collects for belly	M
55	Muciswa	one always sick	M
56	Mududu	big belly button	U/S
57	Mulalapondo	one who sleeps in shrubs	M

58	Mulamfwu	tall one	U/S
59	Mundeenge(lele)	forgive me	M
60	Muniini	small one	U/S
67	Munyati	Buffalo	M
68	Mupaale	smart one	M
70	Mupati	big one	U/S
80	Mutabwajulu	one held down by heavens	U/S
81	Mutalabalajulu	one who is as tall as the heavens	U/S
82	Mutoloki	Interpreter	U/S
83	Muzya	one who came [with the mother]	U/S
84	Mwaalu	Elder	M
85	Mwami	Chief	M
86	Mweelanyika	one who fits in the world	M
87	Mweendanjangula	one who walks long journeys	M
88	Mwiimbi	Singer	M
89	Namulembalembe	one who often writes	M
90	Ndala	left-over food	F
91	Ndavwu	Lion	M
92	Nkukwe	left-over food	F
93	Nkumbula	name of a freedom fighter	M

94	Nyeleti	Needle	U/S
95	Shimbi-lombe	woman-man (half woman, half man)	F
96	Sibbuku	Headman	M
97	Sicuuno	Chairperson	M
98	Sikahonda	one fond of a motorbike	M
99	Sikatungu	one who lives alone	M
100	Sikupalapala	one who scratches	M
102	Simaloli	one who love travelling on lorries	M
103	Simunyeyu	blank ant	M
104	Simutobelanjanji	one who follows the line of rail	F
105	Simweendanjanji	one who walks the line of rail	F
106	Tazyimanikubota	being nice does not finish	M

Key

F= Female,

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