

LINGUISTIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS IN INTERLACUSTRINE BANTU NAMES¹

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Although naming is a natural phenomenon in all human societies, there are differences not only in the process(es) used by different societies to assign names to people, things, animals, places, or natural and supernatural phenomena, but also in what these names tend to stand for. Whereas in some societies names are either arbitrarily picked up or inherited, and bear very little, if at all any, of both semantic and socio-cultural significance, in many Bantu societies and *Interlacustrine* groups in particular, names have synchronic meanings and are intended to play a certain role in the people's social life and, thus, *naming is essentially meaning*.² Such names and onomastics in general could, therefore, help us in creating another channel in both Sociolinguistics and Historical Linguistics for studying historical and socio-cultural issues of the linguistic communities concerned. They can give us clues on the people's life, their attitudes, way of thinking, as well as social and cultural behaviour which is part and parcel of a society and her history. One of the best recorded examples showing explicitly the society or community's goal in naming is the Roman *Rituale* (Tit. II, cap. I, n. 70) as quoted by Attwater (1939: ix) that,

Since those who are brought to baptism are thereby reborn in Christ as children of God and enrolled among his followers, care should be taken that obscene, mythical or ridiculous names or those of false gods or heathen heroes be not given; rather, so far as is possible, should be given the names of saints, whose example may encourage the faithful to holy living and to put themselves under the protection of their namesakes.

It appears that the belief that a name has power to determine the behaviour and destiny of its bearer has prevailed for more than 4000 years now (Brender, 1986). The same principle, though not written as in the *Rituale*, seems to guide the naming phenomenon in Interlacustrine communities as implied by the following proverbs: **eiþara libí liita nyinâlyo** 'A bad name destroys its owner' (Ruhaya), and **izína níryo muntu** 'the name is the person him/herself', or **hiita imáana** 'It is God who gives names' (Kirundi).

This paper therefore, aims at analysing names from Interlacustrine languages which appear to bear something more rather than just being identification labels. Basically and typically, they carry messages with them. Names which seem to be more revealing and a bit fascinating are those given to people. However, since the linguistic area referred to is extensive and with a good number of languages and dialects whose other aspects are less homogeneous, this paper will draw specific examples from Rutara (R) and Western Highlands (WH) languages in which case, Ruhaya and Runyambo on

the one hand and Kinyarwanda and Kirundi on the other would even suffice to represent the two groups respectively but not exclusively (*cf.* Schoenbrun 1990, Rugemalira 1994, and Muzale 1998). The basic method applied in this study is morphological analysis in which case names are broken down into functionally meaningful morphemes (attached to roots/stems) which help to decipher the meaning of the entire name. Then, by grouping names with related forms and/or meanings, we are able to determine the collective sense underlying the group - under semantic analysis. As a result, the paper suggests a morphological model of classifying these names. Using this model, names from other (related) languages could be analysed to test its validity and reliability, thus leading to relevant modification(s).

2.0 NAMING PROCESS

Brender (1986) realizes ten psycho-social factors that influence the choice of an infant's name. The major difference between those factors and this study is that Brender's observations are mainly based on psycho-social factors whereas this study is using a linguistic analysis to reveal psycho-semantic factors. It is also possible that some of Brender's factors might not be directly applicable to the communities under this study. Since Interlacustrine languages are patriarchal societies, the first privilege of naming the child is assumed by the father (or grandfather). It is worthy pointing out here that, the concept of *first*, *second*, and *family* names might be very confusing, if not misleading, given the nature of the naming process in these societies. As far as traditions are concerned, in Buhaya for instance, a child would be given a native name immediately after birth or after a few days.³ There being no institutionalized or socio-culturally accepted *family names*, a person would be identified first by his/her own name and then by his/her father's name. With the advent of foreign religions/culture, people came to possess two names; generally, the traditional name being the *first* and the religious one being the *second* in terms of acquisition. Then, under the influence of both the imported concept of *family* or *surnames* and some religious pressure against native names, together with the fact that some people (children in this case) acquire religious names right after birth, people came to imitate the idea by adopting their father's or grandfathers' native names as family names. They swapped their name positions to match the foreign culture, in that now religious names are called *first* names and the rest *surnames*, *second* or *family* names - which, indeed, signifies a combination of a socio-cultural clash and sociolinguistic dilemma. To make this clear, we will use the following example which shows three members of the same Haya family, a man, his son and grandson:

Let us take it that **Mwijage Bentham** is son of **Mutabi Benedict** who is son of **Kitunzi Peter**. Given both the current socio-cultural and sociolinguistic situations facing the society, **Mwijage** will presumably take **Bentham** to be his *first* name; but in fact, he generally has at least ten options of forming a combination for his formal identification from two sets of the 30 permutations from Table 1: **AB**, **AC**, **AD**, **AE**, and rarely **AF** from the first set and **BC**, **BD**, **BE** and, rarely **BA**, or **BF** from the second set.

Table 1: Possible name combinations in Ruhaya

<i>(native)</i>	second name <i>(religious)</i>
Katunzi E	Peter F
Mutabi D	Benedict C
Mwijage B	Bentham A

Moreover, a married woman has an additional set of combination in that she can also adopt his/her husband's second name depending on the combination that the husband himself has selected. Therefore, Mwijage would be known as either Mwijage Bentham or Bentham Mwijage or Bentham Benedict, and so on as expressed by the matrix above! From this observation therefore, even the term "given name" is also inadequate for such societies from the fact that both **Mwijage** and **Bentham** are "given names" and he could use only these two for his identification and reference.

A universal pathetic fact in naming is that the namee appears to have no major role (or is denied it, to be precise) in deciding who should be called what or, in Cottle's (1983) words, whether a name comes logically, imaginatively, or inevitably, the privilege of possessing it and the right to change it are jealously guarded. Probably, this agrees with Njessel's (1992) notion that to give up one's name is in a certain sense to surrender a part of one's identity. This might raise a question as to whom the name really belongs, the namer or the namee? Although on the face of it the question might seem absurd, what prompts it might be more intriguing by considering the various ways in which people in different languages introduce themselves or ask about other people's names. Compare, for instance, the following languages and their approximate literal translations with which the point in argument would be in italics.

English:

- (1) *What is your name?* **My name is John.**

Kiswahili:

- (2) **Unaitwa nani?** **Ninaitwa Yohana.**
'Who are you called?' *'I am called John.'*

- (3) **Unaitwa-je?** **Ninaitwa Yohana.**
'Who/What are you called?' *'I am called John.'*

- (4) **Jina lako nani?** *Jina langu (ni) Yohana.*
 'Your name is *who*?' 'My name (*is*) John'.

Ruhaya:

- (5) **Eibára lyawe olí óha(i)?** **(Eibára lyange) ndi Kabánza.**
 'Who are you by name?' '(My name) I am Kabanza'.

- (6) **Noyétw' óha(i)?** **Ninyetwá Kabánza.**
 'Who are you called?' 'I'm called Kabanza'.

Kirundi:

- (7) **Witwa ngw-iki?** (8) **Witwa nde?**
 'What do they call you?' 'Who are you called?'

- (9) **Izina ryawe ni nde?** (10) **Witwa gúte?**
 'What is your name?' 'How are you called?'

French:

- (11) **Comment vous appelez vous?**
 or **Comment t'appelles tu?** **Je m'appelle John,**
 'How do you call yourself?' I call myself John'.

Looking at the structures above, we realize at least three major ways of recognizing one's name: (1), (4) and (5) presume that the namee accepts the possession of that name, and in (1), and (4) the focus of expression is the name itself rather than the person. (2), (3), (6), and (8) appear to be telling the "fact" that it is the people or society that call him/her so. (11) sounds very personal in that they appear to be excluding all other people from calling her what (s)he is. Furthermore, (2), (4), (5), and (6) (all of which are Bantu languages) presuppose an attributive factor of a name to the namee. Otherwise, they raise a question mark as regards their surface structure because, had it been naming for the sake of naming, that is, the referential function only, probably their alternative structures would respectively be as (12) all of which focus on the "name/naming" rather than on the "person" like (1) and (4).

- (12)
- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| a. Unaitwa jina gani? | 'What/which name are you called?' |
| b. Jina lako ni lipi? | 'What/which is your name?' |
| c. Eibará lyawe ni liha(i)? | 'What/which is your name?' |
| d. Noyetwa ota(i)? | 'What/how are you called?' |

3.0 BACKGROUND TO THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAMES

It is agreed that some names are more common and frequently used than others within the same linguistic community, and some are therefore older than others in that they have been in use from time immemorial. As a result, each name tends to acquire its own rate of usage in terms of its inter-generation cycle, intra-generation frequency (or occurrence), and its psycho-social value. It is for this reason and also from the fact that people tend to regard a person and his/her name as one entity that some names, at some point in time, are regarded as belonging to older people and that, therefore, are unsuitable for the younger generation. Interestingly as well, very few people would dare to call their children a name which already belongs to a mad person in the vicinity, as if it is the name that determines the person's destiny! This might be a result of what Zabeeh (1968) calls the transformation of proper-names to common names (i.e. the name of a type of things) if they absorb the qualities of their bearers in virtue of their association. And if that is true, then we could also argue that that is a manifestation of the underlying essence and nature of names and that they were originally meant for two functional levels, reference (i.e. referential function) and explanation (i.e. semantic function).

Brender (1986) introduces three approaches of studying names: the etymological, socio-anthropological, and psychological approach. This paper's approach differs slightly from Brender's in that it is more linguistic oriented while raising both linguistic and socio-cultural issues. The linguistic part is based on the meaning(s) of the names and the psycho-social contribution to their construction, the two of which are manifestations of, and hence the term, psycho-semantic motive(s) underlying the name. This is achieved through on the formal analysis of names. The socio-cultural aspect is indispensable in this regard since it provides the environment and background for transmission, assessment and transformation of names.

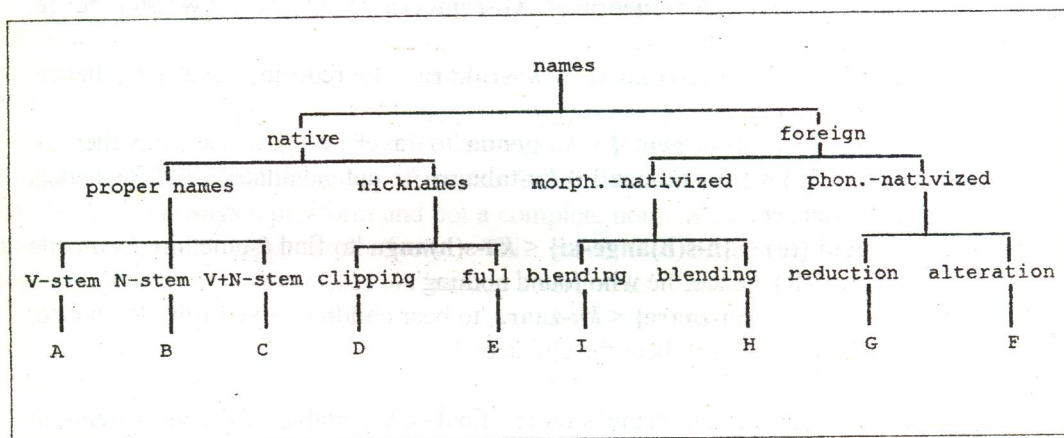
4.0 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

4.1 The Morphological Structure of Names

It is a common practice that languages will always have names with an indigenous origin and those with a foreign one, and that every language will thus try to accommodate foreign names by nativizing them. Interlacustrine languages are no exception and, consequently, all names can be classified into two major groups, apparently native and foreign ones. Native names are either proper or nicknames.⁴ The morphology of proper native names can be generally classified into three major groups namely, those with a *verb-stem* (V-S) which appear to be the majority, those with a *noun-stem* (N-S), and those which have both a verb and a noun in their stems (VN-S). It is to these stems that prefixes and suffixes are agglutinatively attached in constructing names. Nicknames on the other hand are either full names or clippings of proper names. Names with foreign

origin(s) tend to undergo two types of nativization process namely, the phonological and/or morphological. The former aims at accommodating the new name into the existing phonological system of the recipient language. This can be achieved by simple alteration which includes tone adjustment and adding or dropping single phonemes, or by reducing a significant part of the name (i.e. dropping several phonemes). Morphological nativization is achieved by combining part of or all the foreign name with native morphemes as it will be demonstrated below. All these processes upon both native and nativized foreign names result into a total of at least eight major subgroups, as indicated by the terminals A-E and F-I in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Morphological classification of names



With reference to Figure 1, we will try to analyse the eight terminals while giving specific and relevant examples from both Rutara (R) and Western Highlands (WH) languages. It should be noted here that these terminals do not constitute an absolute classification of the names being studied since further branching and modification could be pursued. Noun-stem names, for instance, could be expressed in terms of "simple noun-stem names" and "compound noun-stem names".

4.1.1 Native Names

Verb-stem (V-S): This seems to be the largest group. However, it should be borne in mind that it is very rare to have a name that exists entirely in verb form. Stems are morphologically nominalized through derivation, and inflection is added as well for semantic effect. In this case, verb-stem names will appear in derived forms like (13a-f), inflected forms as in (13g, h), or a combination of both. On the other hand, (13c) and partly (13h) are equivocal because their structural meanings depend on the tone employed by the speaker in a given dialects.⁵

(13)

- a. **Rutáremara (m)** < {ru-tá-remara} < *ku-rémara* 'to become crippled' (WH), hence, 'he who never gets crippled'.
- b. **Rugarama (m)** < {ru-garama} < *ku-garama* 'to lie on one's back' (WH/R), hence, 'he who lies on his back'.
- c. **Karemeera (m)** < {ka-remeera} < *ku-remeera* 'to be heavy' (WH/R), hence, 'he who/that which is heavy'.
- d. **Murókozi (m)** < {mu-rokozi} < *ku-rókora* 'to redeem, save' (R), hence, 'redeemer/saviour'.
- e. **Mugé(e)nzi (m)** < {mu-genzi} < *ku-genda* 'to travel' (WH), hence, 'traveller'.
- f. **Mutabaazi (m)** < {mu-tabaazi} < *ku-tabaara* 'to defend/attack' (WH/R), hence, 'defender/attacker'.
- g. **Ns(h)angeki (m)** < {n-s(h)ange-ki} < *ku-s(h)anga* 'to find (something/someone somewhere)' (R), hence, 'he who found nothing'.
- h. **Muzaare (m)** < {mu-zaare} < *ku-zaara* 'to bear children, give birth' (R), hence, pleading: 'You give birth/bear the child(ren)'.

Note the morphological changes on the final -CV syllable of the verb stems in (13d-f) where /-r+a/ results to /-z+i/ in the de-verbal nouns. It should also be noted that /mu-/ in (13d-f) is semantically different from /mu-/ in (13h). Whereas the former is a nominal prefix marker for the /mu-, ba-/ class, the latter is the third person singular object marker which could also become the second person plural subject marker by playing around with tone. /-ki/ in (13g) is an interrogative enclitic attached to names for denoting a question or worries.

Noun-stem (N-S): Names based on N-S involve all types of nouns found in these languages, varying from concrete to abstract noun, count to mass nouns, and single nouns to NPs and PPs. They also include compound names which are blending two or more nouns, as in (14h) (*cf.* (20–21) below). Like V-S names, some N-S names also contain inflections. However, some names lose the verbal or nominal parts, and the part thus retained has a morphological nominal marker as head of the phrase, as in (14d-f).

(14)

- a. **Ntambara (m)** {*-ntambara*} 'war' (WH); 'fault' (R).
- b. **Nyangoma (f)** {*nya-ngoma*} 'owner/mother of the drum' (WH/R).
- c. **Kanyamayugi** {*ka-nya-mayugi*}/**Kamayugi** {*ka-a-mayugi*} (m) 'pertaining to hunting/jingle bells', hence, 'One with hunting/jingle bells' (WH/R).
- d. **Byenobi (f)** < {*bya-e-nobi*} 'pertaining to hate', hence, 'They were prompted by hate' (R).
- e. **Karugendo (m)** < {*ka-aha-rugendo*} 'pertaining to journey/way', hence, 'He who was born on the way' (R).
- f. **Byeitima (m)** < {*bya-(e)itima*} 'pertaining to spite/malignancy', hence, 'They were prompted by spite' (R).
- g. **Gáabo (m)** < {*gá-abo*} < *amaryo gáabo* 'their pride' (R).
- h. **Mukaabombeki** < {*muka-a-bombeki*} 'wife of builders' (R).

Verb-Noun Stem (VN-S): The underlying structure of these names has a verb and noun as integral parts forming one whole. The verb part, however, could appear in the form of a noun which renders the name into a noun phrase as in (15a), (15c) and (15d). On the other hand, the verb part may retain its verbal form and thus create a name which constitutes a clause as in (15b) and (15e). Although names under the V-stem group (terminal A) could also appear in the form of clauses containing an NP element, that element is always a pro-form and not a complete noun as exemplified by /-(z)i-/ and /-ba-/ in (15f) and (15g) respectively. This group also differs from N-stem group (terminal B) in that the latter does not include a verb in its form.

(15)

- a. **Kamarampaka (m)** < {*ka-mara + -mpaka*} < *ku-mara + e/i-mpaka* 'to resolve disputes', hence, 'he who resolves disputes' (R/WH).
- b. **Twagirimana (m)** < {*tu-a-gira + imáana*} < *ku-gira + imáana* 'to have/be with God', hence, 'May God be with us'; also *ku-agira* 'to beseech', hence 'We beseech God' (WH).
- c. **Mugyabúso (m)** < {*mu-gi + wá + -búso*} < *ku-gya + obúso* 'to attend at the chief's palace', hence, he who attends at the chief's palace (R).
- d. **Kagyabukama (m)** < {*ka-gya + a-bukama*} < *kugya + aha-bukama* 'to be enthroned', hence, 'he who becomes enthroned' (R).
- e. **Vunaabandi (m)** < {*vuna + a-bandi*} < *ku-vuna abandi* 'to rescue others' (WH).
- f. **Tiirengerwa (m/f):** {*ti-i-reng-er-w-a*} 'they misfortunes/miseries cannot be demonstrated' (R).
- g. **Baraányanka:** {*ba-ra-n-(y)anka*} 'they hate me' (WH).

Clippings: These are names which are reduced to simplified forms from originally relatively long ones. Almost every name can undergo such a transformation by using

morphological markers. The aim might be to create cute and pet names or just making fun, amusement, and the like, as examples shown below:

(16)

- a. **Kareebo (f)** < {ka-reebo} < **Kokureeba** < ka-o-ku-reeba 'to look at', hence, 'the one admired' (R).
- b. **Karêngyo (f)** < {ka-rengyo} < **Kokurengya** < ka-o-ku-rengya 'to beautify/decorate', hence, 'the decorated one' (R).
- c. **Kóoku (f)** < (any name beginning with **Koku-** as in (16a-b)) (R).
- d. **Ntibá (m)** < {nti-ba} < **Ntibaantŋgaanya** < nti-ba-n-tunganya 'They don't do me justice' (WH).
- e. **Bizooza/Bizo (m)** < {bi-zoo-za} < **Bizoozabiŋsaaka** < bi-zoo-za + bi-ŋsaaka 'They will come when they like to' (WH).

Full nicknames: From a few attested names in Ruhaya such as (17), a great many names which refer to animals, insects and plants began as nicknames and were gradually upgraded to proper names. This upgrading takes place either through reassigning a formerly nickname to another person as a proper name, or across generations whereby a new generation finds a person being referred to by a particular name, and their lack of background information leads them to take it as proper name. Although a good number of nicknames tend to take the form as in (16), others such as those in (17) would easily be classified semantically under "epithet" or "opaque" (see §5 below).

(17)

- a. **Kapi(t)si (m)** < {ka-pi(t)si} < e-m-pi(t)si (also m-pi(t)si) 'a small leopard/hyena' (R, WH).
- b. **Bwaazi (m)** < {bu-azi} < o-bu-azi '(red) safari ants' (R).
- c. **Mpúnu (m)** < {m-punu} < e-m-punu 'pig' (R).

4.1.2 Foreign Names

Phonemic alteration: Names which are morphologically short and phonemically simple tend to undergo alterations to fit into the system of the target language. This alteration, which is normally a simple one, could be at the tonal level like (18a), insertion or deletion of a phoneme in order to make the name sound native as in (18b-c).

(18)

- a. **Ma(a)riyam(u)** < **Ma(a)riam(u)** (f) < **Mariam** (R/WH).
- b. **Jooni (m)** < **John** (R).
- c. **Chairesi, Chandesi, Chaidesi (m)** < **Charles** (R).

Phonetically reduced: Longer names and with relatively "complicated" pronunciation will be clipped. As opposed to (21) where a native morpheme is added to the foreign name after the clipping process, here it is only the clipped part which is adopted. It should be made clear that the same name could end up with more than one nativized form depending on firstly, how the original name is clipped and secondly, which part of the two clips is adopted. Thus, (19c) could also result into **Furutu**.

(19)

- a. **Musoori/Musoorini (m) < Mussolini (R/WH).**
- b. **Garita (f) < Marigarita < Margareth (R);**
- a. **Garita/Mara/Rita < Maragarita < Margareth (WH)**
- b. **Zaabeeti/Rizabe(e)ti/Riza (f) < Erizabeti < Elizabeth (R/WH).**
- c. **Furutúna (m) < Fortunatus (R).**
- d. **Siribwesita/Siribesito/Sirivesito / Siribwe/Sirive / Bwesito/Besito/Vesito (m) < Sirivesiteri < Sylvester (R/WH).**

Simple blending: Simple blending involves attaching native morpheme(s) to a foreign name or part thereof without any further complex morphological transformation(s). In (20a-c) the morphemes {**muka-**} (a diachronically reduced form of **mukazi wa** 'wife of') is added to foreign names or titles to form compound names. The same applies to (20d) where the attached native morpheme is **nyira-** meaning 'mother of'; (*cf.* (14h) above. for the blending of purely native stems like **muka + a-bombeki**: 'wife of' + 'builders').

(20)

- a. **Mukaarúitira (f) < muka + Hitler 'Hitler's wife' (R).**
- b. **Mukaabwana (f) < muka + Bwana 'Mr/Master/Lord', hence, 'Master's wife' (R).**
- c. **Mukaabóosi (f) < muka + Boss, hence, 'Boss' wife' (R).**
- d. **Nyirababirigi (f) < nyira + a-ba-birigi 'Belgians', hence, 'mother of Belgians' (WH).**

Complex blending: Complex blending involves more transformations at the morphological level than simple blending and might also include morphological alterations or reduction. Normally, a non-native name will be clipped and then a native morpheme added to the clipped name. As it will be explained later (see §5.0), some of the syllables taken from foreign names tend to resemble native morphemes to the extent that the end-product might have a deceiving form that looks like native while it is not. (21a) is such an example since one would easily think that /**ki-**/ in **Kiri** and **Kitoofa** is the same as the nominal marker of the /**ki-**, **bi-**/ class! The fact is, only the /**ki-**/ of the complex blending **Ki-toofa** could be regarded as the nominal marker, while the one in **Kiri** is the original (foreign) initial sound in the name **Christopher** when pronounced as

Kiristoofa, breaking the consonant cluster **kr** by inserting a vowel to form a CV Bantu syllable.

(21)

- a. **Kitoofa/Kiri (m)** < {ki-toofa} < **Kirisitoofa** < **Christopher (R)**; **Kirisoofa/Kiri** < **Christopher (WH)**.
- b. **Katori (f)** < {ka-tori} < **Anatolia (R)**.
- c. **Kateefa (f)** < {ka-teefa} < **Stephania (R)**.

5.0 SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

Lyons (1977) realizes two characteristic functions of names in everyday language-behaviour, namely referential and vocative. The former is applied in using a name as a referring expression for a particular individual, and the latter is applicable when a name is used to attract the attention of the person being called or summoned. This paper treats both of them as belonging to one and the same level of function, that is the referential, and then identifies the second level as the semantic function. The former is more general, universal and relatively more consistent. It is general and more universal because every name in any language is used to refer to a particular person on the one hand and, on the other, every individual has a name to which (s)he is the referent. It is also relatively consistent in that most names tend to maintain their referents and vice versa and, of course, without any absolute possession since the *same* name is likely to change its referent especially in the case of *family names*. The semantic function deals with the meaning of the name whether it is known to the namer only, to both the namer and namee, to only a group of individuals, or to the entire community. It is under this semantic function that you would hear people asserting, in Ruhaya for instance, upon a person called **Byera** 'Happiness' that **Ni byera amazima!** meaning 'She is really happiness indeed!' where the name bearer has proved to be a source of amusement.

Based on the semantic function of names, we can identify several significant topics which seem to attract more attention in giving names. They range from personal (i.e. psychological, philosophical, egoistic) to social behaviour and relationships, from natural to supernatural phenomena, and from concrete and practical things to abstract and theoretical thinking. However, there are some problems which one should be prepared to meet in this kind of study. Firstly, some of these names have lost meaning in that the roots on which they are built belong to obsolete lexical items which are no longer in use and thus their meaning unknown, owing to the fact that these languages have no written records going a good number of decades back. Secondly, several names have overlapping meanings which renders them ambiguous in their interpretation, that is they could have more than one interpretation. Thirdly, some of the names might have been "transferred" from other languages. Some of such names transferred from closely related languages have a deceiving appearance of looking like native ones. Others have

undergone some modifications or transformation just to result into apparently "new" names which later generations might regard as native, such as '**Furgence**' > **Kafuru** in Ruhaya and **Nicolaus** > **Niikorá** in Kirundi, or **Ndikora** in Ruhaya. In these particular examples, the resulting names are exactly the same as the native lexemes or structures: /**ka-furu**/ 'small fish', /**ni-i-kora**/ < /(**Imaana**) **ni-yo** + **i-kora**/ 'it is Him (God) who does', and /**n-ri-kora**/ 'I will work' respectively. It is likely that the transformation was geared towards that end result of having a name sound native-like or seeking native semantic approximation. Another example of misleading names from Ruhaya is **Kibe** which, although it sounds like the native verbal unit /**ki-be**/ 'let it be', it is, in fact, a blending of the foreign syllables /**ki-**/ and /**be-**/ from the names **Christopher** (hence pronounced [**Kirisitoofa**], see (21)) and **Bernadetha** (normally clipped to **Berena** or **Ireete**). These are names of the couple that married the day **Kibe** was born. Kibe's mother was a close friend of the bride, thus she coined the name in honour of her friend's wedding. All this leads us to suggest that the acceptability of Lyons' (1977) argument that names do not have sense is very relative. The truth contained in such a claim would only be based on two aspects: Firstly, the level of institutionalization of names in a given society and, secondly, the semantic nature of the names vis-a-vis the lexical system of that language. In this case, therefore, one should not treat a name like 'John' (in the English language system) to be at the same level of lexical function with **Kas(h)asira** (in Rutara language systems) in all respects. The two names, and consequently the two naming systems, belong to two different pragmatic planes and are, therefore, functionally different as well. As regards semantic analysis, the following sub-themes are attested cases in these languages.

Death/Procreation: This appears to be one of the most dominant focuses of naming in older generations. The two aspects of death and procreation reflect high mortality rate and infertility among these societies which precipitated namers to express their feelings and experiences through the names given to their children who happened to survive. Hearing (or reading for that matter) names like (22a-g), from a semantic function point of view, arouses the sense of lamenting, worries, desperation and pity that might have been the psycho-semantic motive for the namer to construct or adopt that name. Note that the nominal marker /-ru-/ in (22) refer(s) to 'death'. Nevertheless, a more or less same theme seems to show up in non-Bantu names as in (22h-j) though in some cases they appear to have the opposite connotation such as (22h-i).

- a. **Tirutoijerwa (m): {ti-ru-toij-er-u-a}** 'it (death) cannot be sued' (R).
- b. **Tirugánya (m): {ti-ru-ganya}** 'it (death) is never sympathetic' (R).
- c. **Tirubaza (m): {ti-ru-baza}** 'it (death) never seeks advice' (R).
- d. **Suurwβmwē (m): {si-urwa-umwē}** 'it (death) is not meant for a single person' (WH).
- e. **Ntampuuwhe (m): {nta-mpuwhe}** 'it (death) is pitiless' (WH).
- f. **Kas(h)angaki (m): {ka-s(h)anga-ki}** 'he (who) found nothing' (R).
- g. **Ntukamazina (m): {n-tuke-a-mazina}** 'let me insult names' (WH).

- h. **Ambrose** (*Ambrosius*), Greek 'immortal'.
- i. **Anastasia** (*Anastasia*), Greek 'who will rise from the dead'.
- j. **Barnaby** (*Barnabas, -æ*), English form of Hebrew 'son of consolation'.

Whereas (22f) implies that the child's parent(s) died before or during his birth, (22g) indicates how the namer is desperately discouraged by giving names to children who will ultimately die; hence he feels like insulting the names. On the other hand, some namers went to the extent of giving strange names to their children thinking that such unpalatable names would scare death away!

Difficulties: This is the second sub-theme which shows up in the names focussing on issues like poverty, calamities, hunger, trouble, misfortune, tragedy, and so on, which tend to result into misery, self-pity, disillusionment and sometimes admitting defeat. They normally portray the namer's experience in life as regards natural phenomena, environmental pressure, and one's destiny, as (23) shows. However, this sub-theme appears as well in other Bantu languages like Kiswahili as the names in (23k-m) indicate.

(23)

- a. **Tiirengerwa** (m/f): {**ti-(z)i-reng-er-u-a**} 'they misfortunes/miseries cannot be demonstrated' (R).
- b. **Igirákwo** (m/f): {(z)**i-gira-kwo**} 'that's what/how miseries do' (R).
- c. **Itaanísa** (m): {(z)**i-taan-is-a**} 'Miseries cause people to separate' (R).
- d. **Tinázairwékwo** (f): {**ti-na-zair-we-kwo**} 'I wasn't born like this' (R).
- e. **Nkyagiráki** (f): {**n-ky-a-gira-ki**} 'what else can I do / what else do I have' (R).
- f. **Keemerwa/Byemerwa** (f/m): {**ka-(y)emer-wa**}/{**bi-(y)emer-wa**} 'what comes/happens has to be braved', hence, problems should be faced courageously' (R).
- g. **Nzaabarinda** (m): {**n-zaa-ba-rinda**} 'I will protect them', 'I will be ready to face them' (WH).
- h. **Ntuuyéhe** (m): {**n-tu(r)-ye-he**} 'where do I live?' (WH).
- i. **Vunabaandi** (m): {**-vuna + a-bandi**} 'to rescue others', hence, go for the rescue of others' (WH).
- j. **Suurwámwé** (m): {**(urubaánza) si-urwa-umwe**} 'a journey/ affair/case/cerebration is not (meant) for a single person' (WH).
- k. **Tabu** (f) 'difficulty'.
- l. **Shida** (f) 'problem(s)'.
- m. **Majuto** (m) 'regrets'.

Feelings/Attitude: As opposed to (23) this group tends to focus on issues which are more related to social life, thus portraying the namer's point of view and assessment. Names under this group display a sense of realization, disillusionment, wonder, surprise, worry, annoyance, and the like, whose manifestations on the one hand and connotations

on the other include mistrust, warning, ill-will, pride, bragging, love, hatred, temperaments, and personal complexes as shown in (24). Note that /-ba/ in (24a-d, h-k) refers to people who are the topic of the names.

(24)

- a. **Tibaijuka (m): {ti-ba-ijuka}** 'they never remember', hence, 'they are ungrateful' (R).
- b. **Baanyanga: {ba-n-(y)anga}** 'they hate/reject me' (R).
- c. **Baraányanka: {ba-ra-n-(y)anka}** 'they hate me' (WH).
- d. **Bamánye (f): {ø-ba-manye}** (subjunctive) 'you should know them', hence, 'you must be careful with them' (R).
- e. **Ndabakénga (m): {n-ra-ba-kenga}** 'I suspect them' (WH).
- f. **Baandora (m): {ba-n-rora}** 'they watch me' (WH).
- g. **(Boona-)Báisi (m): {ba-óna+báisi}** 'all are killers/betrayers' (R).
- h. **Byeitima (Byeitima)/Byorwango (m): {bya-e-i-tima / bya-o-rwango}** 'pertaining to spite/ malignancy' (R).
- i. **Byenobi (Byenobi) (f): {bya-e-nobi}** 'pertaining to hatred' (R).
- j. **Gáabo: {(a-maryo) + gá-(a)-bo}** 'their pride' (R).
- k. **Baregu (m): {ba-regu}** 'they are fools' (R).
- l. **Bangiréki/Bingiréki (m): {ba/bi-n-gire-ki}** 'they cannot affect me' (R).
- m. **Baritawénte: {ba-li-ta-ho-ente}** 'it will cost them a cow', hence 'it will cost them highly' (R).
- n. **Banyenzaki (m): {ba-n-(y)eza-ki}** 'what do they need from me' (R).

Epithet: These names mainly focus on the namee and their meanings include a sense of expressing hope, optimism, praise, blame, encouragement, heroism, and victory, which are expressed metaphorically or in some form of eulogy (including 'self-praise' or 'recitals': **ebyebugo/ibyivugo**), as in (25) below. In some cases, therefore, they also include nicknames such as names of animals which are regarded as tricksters, fearful, strong, and the like, such as (25h).

(25)

- a. **Karikwera (f/m): {ka-ri-ku-era}** 'with a fair complexion' (R).
- b. **Is(h)aabairu (m): {is(h)e + a-bairu/-beiru}** 'father of commoners' (R).
- c. **Mukabajungu (f): {muka + a-bajungu}** 'wife of Europeans/white men' (R).
- d. **Kyaremire (m): {kya-rem-ire}** 'he who was never defeated / who survived' (R).
- e. **(Kée)Byéra (f): {(ka-e)-byéra}** 'Happiness' (R).
- f. **Mubirigi/Babirigi (m): {mu-birigi/ba-birigi}** 'Belgian(s)' (WH/R).
- g. **Muhiigi (m): {mu-hiig-i}** 'hunter' (WH/R).
- h. **Ntáre/Ntáre (m): {ntare}** 'lion' (WH/R).
- i. **Nyirákwézi (f): {nyira-kwezi}** 'mother of the moon' (WH).

There is one interesting observation concerning the gender issue. It appears that, as regards appreciation portrayed in names with partial foreign origin, it is only women who are called **muka-** 'wife of ...' (25c) and **nyina-** (R) or **nyira-** (WH) 'mother of ...' (25i), but very rarely would a man be called 'husband of ...'! One would take this to imply that these societies regarded it as prestigious for a woman to get married to such people mentioned in the names concerned, and that such a factor was not applicable for men. Thus, a man becomes **Boosi** 'boss', **Riitira** 'Hitler' or **Mubirigi** 'Belgian', but a woman **Muka-boosi** 'boss's wife', **Muka-riitira** 'Hitler's wife' or **Nyira-babirigi** 'the Belgians' mother' respectively. Nevertheless, as in other preceding groups, this sub-theme of epithet appears as well in other non-Bantu languages such as English, as shown below (Attwater, 1939):

(26)

- a. **Adelaide** (*Adelhaidis*), German 'Adelheid': 'noblewoman'
- b. **Adele** (*Adela*), French form, from Teutonic: 'noble'
- c. **Adolf, Adolph** (*Adolphus*), Teutonic: 'noble wolf'
- d. **Aelred** (*Ælredus*), Teutonic: 'counsellor'
- e. **Afra** (*Afra*), Teutonic: 'ruler in peace'
- f. **Agatha** (*Agatha*), Greek: 'good'

The supernatural: The underlying meanings connoted in this group include trusting in God, deities, and spiritual or divine powers. Owing to lack of immediate ways of solving personal and social problems expressed in (22-24), people tended to put their trust, hope and destiny in the hands of these powers as indicated by the names in (27). Again, the same sub-theme appears in English Christian names as given in (28) (Attwater, 1939).

(27)

- a. **Biinamungu (m):** {bi-ri-na-mungu} 'they are with God', hence 'God knows / God's wish' (R).
- b. **Byarugába (m):** {bya-rugaba} < {ku-gaba} 'dispense/give out', hence, same meaning as (27a). (Note that there are several other ways of referring to 'God' like **Mungu**, **Ruhanga** 'enunciator', **Rugaba** 'Dispenser', **Katonda** 'Creator', etc.) (R).
- c. **Abééra (f):** {a-beera} 'Gog helps' (R).
- c. **Asiimwe (f):** {a-siim-u-e} 'thanks be to God' (R).
- d. **Habyarimaana (m):** {ha-byara-imaana} 'it is God who bears children' (WH).
- e. **Habonímaana (m):** {ha-bona-imaana} 'it is God who sees', hence, almost same meaning as (27a) (WH).
- f. **Nsengimaana (m):** {n-senga-imaana} 'I pray God' (WH).

(28)

- a. **Anselm** (< *Anselmus*): Teutonic, 'divine helmet'.
- b. **Angela** (< *Angela*): Latin, 'angel'.
- c. **Angelina** (< *Angelina*): diminutive of **Angela**.
- d. **Beata** (< *Beata*): Latin, 'blessed'.

Commemoration: These are comparatively few and most of them tend to have a foreign structure or origin. They normally depict significant events and phenomena that take place at a particular point in time which have direct association or impact to the namer or namee as individuals, or to their families or society at large. They include names of days or months and historical events or incidents, and they take various forms ranging from acronyms, blending to compounds. Such names are also attested in many other non-Bantu linguistic communities which happen to have experienced socio-political, socio-cultural, or socio-economic sudden changes. Davis (1986) reports such cases from Soviet Russian names as in (30).

(29)

- a. **Karugendo/Kamuhanda (m):** {ka-a(ha)-rugendo}/{ka-a(ha)-mu-handa} 'pertaining to a journey/on the way', hence 'He who was born on the journey' (R).
- b. **Jamuhuri (m):** (From Kiswahili: *Jamhuri*) 'Republic' (R).
- c. **Demokarasi (m)** 'democracy' (WH).
- d. **Kaarukiiko (m), Korukiiko (f):** {ka-a(ha)-rukiiko}, {ka-o-rukiiko}
- e. 'pertaining to the council day', hence, 'the one who was born on the council day' (R).

(30)

- a. a. **Oktjabr/Oktjabrina (f)** 'October', referring to the October Revolution (1917) in Russia.
- b. **Revoljucija** 'Revolution', same as (30a).
- c. **Lorikèrik** an acronym of initial letters of Russian words for: 'Lenin, October Revolution, Industrialization, Collectivation, Electrification, Radio Installation, and Communism'.

Distinction: This group consists of names which are specific to particular people of particular qualities like twins. Basically, they cannot be given anyhow to anybody who does not possess such qualities. Thus, twins have special sets of names from which parents select the one(s) they prefer (31). In some of these communities, even a child of breach-birth is considered a twin of a special kind. Additional examples are given from other Bantu languages in (32). These systems are different from Plank's study (1964) (Nuessel, 1992) in which he studied 187 pairs of twins and discovered three patterns: (a) Names with same initial letters, like **Arthur & Allan, Mary & Maureen** (62%); (b) Names that rhymed such as **Mary Sue & Gary Lou, Arlen & Charlen**, or had accentual

structure similarity, like **Billy Joe & Peggy Sue** (17%); and c. Names with no similarity at all (21%). The major difference between Plank's study results and the system of names in (31) and (32) is that the former is based entirely on form while the latter focuses on meaning.

(31)

- a. **Kabanza (f): {ka-banza} (R); Nyambere. (f): {nya-mbere} (WH)** 'who comes first', hence, 'the elder twin'.
- b. **Kakuru/Bukuru (m): {ka-kuru}/{bu-kuru}** 'the elder one', hence, meaning as (31a) (R/WH).
- c. **Nyakáto (f): {nya-ka-to} / Káto (m): {ka-to} (R); Butoóyi: {bu-tooyi} (WH)** 'the younger one', hence, 'the younger twin'.
- d. **Nyamwiza (f): {nya-mu-(y)iza}** 'born after twins' (R).
- e. **Kaiza (m): {ka-(y)iza}** 'born after twins' (R).
- f. **Kiiza/„iiza (m, f): {ki-(y)iza}** 'born after twins' (R/WH).
- g. **Kyaruzi/„aaruzi (m): {Ki-(y)aruz-i}** 'born after **Kaiza/Kiiza**, etc' (R).
- h. **Nkurikiye: {n-kurikiye}** 'I follow', hence who follows „iiza (WH).
- i. **„oongera: {ki-(y)ongera}** 'which adds', hence who follows **Nkurikiye** (WH).

(32) Kisukuma

- a. **Kulwa (m/f)** (same meaning as in 31a-b).
- b. **Doto (m/f)** (same meaning as in 31c).
- c. **Shija (m/f)** (same meaning as in 31d-f).

Opaque names: These are pragmatically opaque names some of which are even dummy semantically or socially. Names in this group have only one level of referential function and lack the semantic function. A name in this category might have lexical meaning but its psycho-semantic value seems unrecoverable from a pragmatic point of view. The list includes names of plants and places, and animals or things which do not show direct significance in people's lives (33). The list also includes names which have lost their meaning(s) or origin to contemporary societies either through semantic fading or lack of records if they were transferred from other languages. These names pose a challenge to the linguistic analysis and reconstruction.

(33)

- a. **Bukende (m)** 'small monkeys' (Ruhaya).
- b. **Kimonyo/Kinyomo (m)**'ant (kind of)' (WH/R).
- c. **Kašaaku/Gašaahu (m)** (unknown) (WH/R).
- d. **Kabeja (m)** (unknown) (WH).
- e. **Kimeje (m)** (unknown) (R).

6.0 SOME POSTULATES ON THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NAMES

With specific reference to Interlacustrine languages, and by drawing conclusion from the discussion and examples provided in the sections above, we can generate a set of postulates which guide the nature and development of names. These are characteristics of names whose intensive analysis and reconstruction lead to a system that brings together linguistic, psychological, historical, and socio-cultural aspects of the society: the psycho-semantic motive, morphological analyzability, attributability to meaning, and susceptibility to transformation.

a) There is a *psycho-semantic motive* behind each name as regards its cause, source or origin. This concerns a collection of intention and personal feelings of the namer, the message he wants to convey, the subject matter involved and the reasons behind it - which influence the choice or construction of the name to communicate the message. Attwater's (1939: ix) quotation of the English Chronicler Camden expresses the same idea though for a different community that "it seemeth to have been the manner, at giving of names, to wish the children might perform and discharge their names, as when Gunthram, King of the French, named Clotharius at the font, he said, '*Crescat puer et huius sit nominis executor*' - May the boy prosper and live to his name (which means 'renowned warrior')". This correlates with the case of a mad person's name which was given above (§2). In this case, every namer in the community under this study has personal aims in mind when he names the child, and sometimes he wants to pass that information to other members of the society through that name. As a result, some names in Interlacustrine languages talk about either the namee, the namer, the society (individuals, group, or community in general), events, or nature. The namer wants to make a statement which might be personal, existential, political, social, aesthetic, or philosophical (Kimenyi, 1989). Nevertheless, from the above observations and as it will be demonstrated later in this paper, this aspect is not exclusive to Bantu communities, but a historically universal feature. For this reason, names and naming in various societies change with time as regards cultural, political, technological, and socio-economic changes.

b) Names are *morphologically analysable* following the same agglutination principles of Bantu morphology. This is based on the fact that names are part of the language and are thus derived from the lexicon. Therefore, failure for the name to be analyzed might be a result of diachronic transmutation which tends to affect some morphemes of a particular name such that the name finally appears as irregular, unique or exotic. It should be borne in mind that names vary and range from monomorphemic to polymorphemic ones. In the case of monomorphemic names, and short ones in particular, transmutation might be at the phonemic level. A native name will basically be based on either a noun stem (N-S) or a verb stem (V-S) which undergo either inflection or derivation in their construction and development.

c) Basically, every name is *attributable to a certain meaning*. This follows logically from the first and second postulates above that, if the namer had an intention in mind, and names are formed by analysable morphemes derived from the lexicon of the language, then any name thus formed should have meaning. However, this does not appear to be always the case for all names, especially those belonging to past decades and centuries. It is postulated here that failure to decipher the meaning could be caused by semantic, morphological, or phonological change(s) undergone by the name or lexeme(s) concerned. There is no way a person of this era can know the meaning of a lexeme that dropped out of the language a century ago without leaving traces behind, as these languages have no written history going that much back. For instance, to date names like **Buyenje**, **Banyomi**, and **Ito** pose a problem in Ruhaya to determine their meaning as there are no current lexemes with stems like **-(y)enje**, **-nyomi**, or **i-toro** in the language. On the other hand, names like **Bitindi** will soon pose the same challenge because the lexeme concerned, **e-bi-tindi**, is becoming obsolete in this generation given the current socio-cultural situation in which such treatment and its concomitant beliefs are gradually being abandoned.⁵ The same applies to WH names as reported by Kimenyi (1989:62) that it is difficult to identify the meanings of names like **Semavenge**, **Sendagari**, **Sendarasi**, and **Sendinga**. Furthermore, some of the names appear to have been transferred from other languages, such as **Mabuye** 'stones' from WH to Rutara. And probably, the name **Senyabuzana** whose meaning in WH is not clear might have come from Rutara from the term **o-bu-zána** which means 'a form of (domestic) slavery'. Again, this principle applies to other languages as substantiated by the following "English" names with their respective origins in brackets, as well as their original meaning (Attwater, 1939):

(34)

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|--------------------|
| a. | Cuthbert: | (Old English, <i>cuthbryth</i>) | 'famous splendour' |
| b. | Catherine: | (Greek, <i>katharos</i>) | 'pure' |
| c. | Constantine: | (Latin, <i>constans</i>) | 'firm, constant' |
| d. | Bernard: | (German, <i>biornhard</i>) | 'bold as a bear' |
| e. | Charles: | (Teutonic, <i>kerl</i> through French) | 'man' |

The argument here is that, given any of such names in English a person might not be able to determine its meaning or even believe there have ever been meaning attributed to them without recourse to Onomastics, etymology or Historical and Comparative Linguistics.

d) Every name is *susceptible to morphological or phonological transformation and semantic shift or fading*. Various names tend to change in form with time, space and situation so as to suit goals and needs of the namer, namee or society. The best examples from Ruhaya are those names which originally ended with **/-ki/** hence implying a question (or exclamation); such as **Banyenza(a)ki** 'what do they need from me'; **Nkyagiraki / N...aagiraki** 'what else can I do / what else do I have'; **Murengeki** 'What can I compare him with'. As a result of morphological transformation, and stemming

from a calculated psycho-semantic motive, these names have come to lose the interrogative particle /-ki/ and have become affirmative, thus now appearing as **Banyenza**, **Nkyágira** / **N...ágira**, and **Murénge** respectively. This signifies a slight semantic shift of the names, in which case the latter no longer express worries or distress but confirmation and encouragement. Some names however, are so long and complex in structure that they contain more than one word. There is a tendency to prune such names so that they become shorter by losing their other parts just to retain and remain as single words. Some examples are given in (35) below:

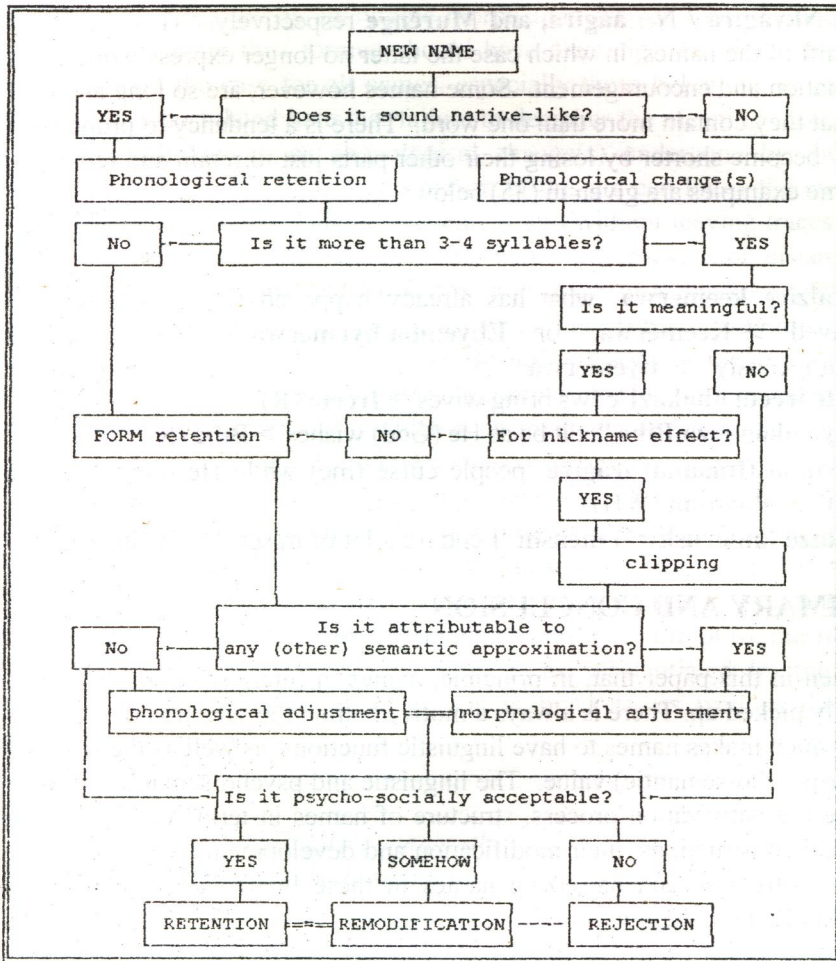
(35)

- a. **Akaizire. keemerwa** 'what has already happened (i.e. problems) should be braved' > **Keemérwa**; or **Ebyemba byemerwa** 'problems should be faced courageously' > **Byemérwa**.
- b. **Ente ireeta abakazi** 'cows bring wives' > **Ireeta** (R).
- c. **Ebyo akagonza Bibe** 'let it be as He (God) wishes' > **Bíbe** (R).
- d. **Bavuma (Imáana) irágiye** 'people curse (me) while He (God) takes care (of me)' > **Bavuma** (WH).
- e. **Ndinze (amarushwá) ménshi** 'I endure a lot of misery' > **Ndinze**.

6.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

We have seen in this paper that, in principle, names in Interlacustrine communities are not arbitrarily picked up. There is always a motive behind the selection or construction of each name which makes names to have linguistic functions, as well as the referential and semantic (or psycho-semantic) value. The linguistic and psycho-semantic functions tend to determine the nativization process, structure of names in terms of phonological and morphological constructions, their modification and development in general. The entire process of constructing and nativizing names in these linguistic communities can be summarized in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Nativization and development of names in Interlacustrine languages



Every new name will have its phonological patterns tested and if it does not sound native-like, it will be modified to fit into the existing phonological system of the recipient language. Other factors that determine the acceptability or need for change(s) on a given name are its morphological structure, its apparent meaning or at least approximation of meaning in the target language system, its desired end effect, and its psycho-social acceptability. Foreign language names which undergo nativization tend to be adjusted through alteration, clipping and blending. Now some people are aware of acronyms in other languages; therefore this technique is very likely to be employed gradually into the systems as was the case of **Kibe**. Most of these names which are acronyms or blends of solely foreign morphemes are likely to fall under the “opaque” subgroup soon or later since time lapse and lack of records can render them apparently unanalyzable or

senseless. Finally, it is the psycho-social acceptability of the name which determines its fate as to whether it should be retained, re-modified, or ultimately rejected; and this can be initiated by the name bearer, one's parents or relatives, or the society at large.

It should be pointed out, however, that these are in no way absolute rules, but major tendencies which are subject to exceptions in time and space. Furthermore, it is clear that the classification subgroups suggested in Figure 1 tend to overlap, in which case some names could easily fall under other groups depending on the aspect that the analyst takes to be the central focus and interpretation of the psycho-semantic motive underlying the name(s) concerned. The sub-themes which tend to overlap most and which could be confused easily are "difficulties" and "feelings/attitude" on the one hand, and "epithet" and "commemoration" on the other, depending on the theoretical framework.

NOTES

- 1 I would like to thank all those who contributed to this paper in terms of comments, suggestions or data, such as Dr. D. Nurse, D. Bukuru, B.F.Y.P. Masele, Dr. C.M. Rubagumya, Prof. A.M. Khamisi, C. Bwenge, and many others. However, the usual disclaimers apply with regard to the content.
- 2 Interlacustrine languages are found in East Africa between lakes Victoria, Tanganyika and Albert. Major languages of the group include: Ruhaya, Runyambo, Runyankore, Rukiga, Rutooro, Runyoro, Ruzinza and Kikerebe (i.e. Rutara subgroup); Kishubi, Kihangaza, Kinyarwanda, Kirundi and Kiha (i.e. Western Highlands subgroup); and Luganda, Lusoga, and Lugwere (i.e. North Nyanza sub-group). However, apart from this label of Interlacustrine (Nurse & Philippson, 1980), there are other terms used to refer to the same linguistic communities as either a genetic or geographical group, such as *Interlakes* (Schoenbrun, 1990), Ehret's *Lacustrine* (Schoenbrun, 1990), *Zone D60* and *E10-20* (Guthrie, 1967/71), and so on.
- 3 The traditional rituals formerly performed for solemnization of the child's name have nowadays ceased.
- 4 The term "nickname" is here and elsewhere used in a broad sense to include pet names, cognomen, and the like. *Abbreviations*: "(m)" / "(f)" = *male* and *female*, respectively; "NP" = noun phrase; "PP" = prepositional phrase; "N-S" = noun stem(s); "V-S" = verb stem(s).
- 5 The presentation of names is phonemic, hence the use of /r/ consistently for the liquid sounds. Tone is only indicated where it applies to virtually all languages concerned; otherwise, it is omitted. It should also be noted that (R) and (WH) stand for the groups Rutara and Western Highlands, respectively, in general; thus the names cited are not

necessarily found across the entire group, but are attested in at least one linguistic community of that group. Consequently, we should expect slight semantic differences.

6 The term refers to an *incubation-like* treatment given to a baby after birth before it can be taken out in public.

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