Research article

Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the use of names, their meaning and the naming system among speakers of Iraqw, a Southern Cushitic language spoken in Tanzania. This preliminary documentation of personal naming practices considers naming as an important socio-cultural aspect of Iraqw people: names are not arbitrary but rather have historical and cultural functions and meanings. Names offer significant insights into the socio-cultural, historical, political, and personal circumstances of pregnancy, the child's birth and family as well as environmental elements. The meanings of names reflect various activities and cultural practices in Iraqw. Further, namesaking is a common practice, whereby Iraqw name their children after the paternal ancestral names with the belief that ancestors may be near the child and protect it from all evils as well as recalling ancestors. The majority of personal names bear a high tone on the final syllable. Names are derived from ordinary nouns by marking high tone on this syllable. Moreover, they are derived from verbs, adjectives, and ideophones by using nominalising suffixes in addition to the final high tone. The majority of names are used to refer to both sexes, therefore the gender of the name cannot be determined by the gender of the noun from which the name is derived, rather, it can be determined by the sex of the referent. Contact with Datooga has resulted in heavy borrowing of Datooga names. Swahili, and recently Christianity too, have also influenced names and naming. The latter seems to strongly influence the semantics of names.

KEY WORDS: naming system, Iraqw, personal names, linguistic observations

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
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1. Introduction

Every society in the world bestows names to new-born children as part of their personal identity. Personal naming is thus a universal cultural practice (CHAUKE 2015). Although universal, the systems of naming, the selection of names and meanings, as well as the interpretation of names, diverge greatly from one community to another. Differences can be traced to the motivations for names and name-giving. In African cultures, personal names and naming practices give significant insights into patterns of historical, political, and socio-cultural organisation of communities. Focusing on the Malawi context, MOYO (2012) asserts that naming systems in Africa typically reflect the socio-cultural and ideological beliefs of a particular society. Consequently, a name is a message by means of which the name-giver communicates to society through the name bearer. Personal names are not a mere label: they carry socio-cultural, circumstantial, historical, and environmental information. This is in line with MUTUNDA (2016), who argues that a name is like a document in which one can read the history, culture and heritage of the individual or the family in time and space. With regards to the name-giver in Africa, different ethnic groups exhibit disparities. For instance, in Sukuma (Tanzania), Akan (Ghana), Yoruba (Nigeria) cultures, the male parent is the name-giver (AKINNASO 1980, AGHYEKUM 2006, MANYASA 2008) while in Amharic (Ethiopia) culture, the responsibility for naming newborns often lies with the mother (MESSING 1974). This is to say that in African communities either a father or a mother bestows the name on a child. Additionally, naming is sometimes associated with a specific ceremony conducted after the birth of the child. This differs from one society to another.

The majority of African personal names provide an important component of African cultural identities and distinguish one member of the community from all others (AGYEKUM 2006). The name has a psychological role in establishing a person's identity, i.e., a name conveys the origin and meaning, the social and cultural experience which created them (GBENGA et al. 2018). Personal names depict how members of the community regard the name-bearer (LUSEKELO and MTENGA 2020). In other words, names reflect values, traditions, and events in people's lives. MASHIRI (1999) echoes this point that naming in African societies often reflects socio-cultural and ideological realities. In Zulu, VANSINA (1962) revealed that personal names were unique and meaningful, emerging from circumstances of the child's birth or the mother's pregnancy. Traditionally, the giving of a name to a child has significance within the larger family, clan, and community (SHIGINI, 2020). Meanwhile LUSEKELO and MTENGA (2020) articulate that the penetration of the Catholic Church, which prohibits the use of personal names in vernacular languages, eroded first names among the members of the

Chagaa community. Moreover, following the rise of Christianity and colonialism children are often given traditional names (those of the ancestors) as well as religious names (AREGA 2016). This study aims to examine the traditional naming system used by the Iraqw society. The focus is on personal names, a field of study referred to as anthroponomastics. In accordance with ALVAREZ-ALTMAN (1981), anthroponomastics studies are based on the theory that there is a strong interface between a language that is spoken by an ethnic group and their cultural norms. This study thus uses onomastics to comprehend the habitual community activities in relation to personal names and naming system among the Iraqw.

2. Methodology and sources of data

This qualitative study was conducted in Mbulu District in Manyara Region, Tanzania. Kweramusl and Gunyoda villages were selected for most of the data collection. Mbulu District is typical indigenous territory of the Iraqw community. The data were collected through elicitation, the researcher's introspection, and documentary review (registers). Elicitation involved 22 informants from the two villages. Informants were targeted based on criteria that they are native speakers of Iraqw who were born, raised and are still living in the study areas. Their selection also considers their knowledge and practices regarding Iraqw indigenous personal names and naming practice. The research was guided by questions that sought to uncover (a) the native personal names (including family and Iraqw clan names), (b) patterns of indigenous names, including gender patterning (female vs. male or both female and male names), (c) the person or persons who have the right or the responsibility of naming a child, (d) the time when a child receives their name, (e) who is involved in naming, and (f) socio-cultural practices and rituals associated with naming a child. In addition to the information provided by informants, the researcher draws on her own knowledge as an Iraqw mother-tongue speaker as well as a socially and culturally competent member of the group. Additionally, school, church, and village government registers provided a number of Iraqw personal names. The intention of the researcher was to collect only indigenous personal names and not modern religious names. Through the three techniques employed, the researcher collected about 1000 indigenous personal names which suffice for the purpose of this study. Personal names were coded and categorised based on a naming typology to be outlined below. These names might have included some items with Datooga etymology, as the two communities have had intensive contact for a long time. The following sections present naming practices, typology/sources of personal names, and linguistic aspects of Iraqw personal names as well as a conclusion.

3. Naming practice in the Iraqw community

Iraqw is a patriarchal society where the father or a male elder has absolute authority over the family group. Traditionally, the name-giver is a paternal grandfather, father and/or paternal grandmother, or mother. Traditionally, the name-giver is a paternal grandfather, paternal grandmother, father or mother. The role of giving names is fairly strictly limited to the paternal grandfather, the paternal grandmother, or the father. However, both the paternal grandmother and the mother should choose the name of the child from the paternal family or clan lineage, not otherwise. In rare cases, the mother takes the name-giver role by consulting old relatives of the child's father. The act of naming is based on paternal kin because children are given names from the father's clan lineage. Iraqw culture strictly does not allow children to be given names from the maternal clan lineage and no counterexamples have been found in the data. Children are strictly named after patrilineal ancestors such as paternal grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, and aunts.

However, there is no systematic succession (no systematic order in which names are given) of names of paternal grandparents, uncles or aunts (who have passed away). A first baby boy can be named after the paternal grandfather and a baby girl inherits the paternal grandmother's name. This seems to mean that naming brings to life (replaces) the old people of the clan who have died long ago. It is improper for a child to inherit the name of a grandparent who is still alive. The practice therefore is that if the grandfather or grandmother is alive, the child is not called after him or her. The belief is that if the grandson or granddaughter is named after a living grandfather or grandmother (respectively), the older person may subsume the younger one. It is also believed that naming a child after someone still alive implies that one would wish that person dead; hence such names are avoided. If the child is indeed given the grandfather's or grandmother's name, one possibility is that the name is avoided, and another name is used instead. However, if the child is named after the grandparents who are still alive (traditionally taboo), a male child may be given the names **Akó** 'grandfather', **Akoniiná**, 'young grandfather', and **Akona/aáy**[1] 'grandfather's child', whereas **Amá** 'grandmother', **Amaniiná** 'young grandmother', and **Amna/aáya** 'grandmother's child' are expected for a female child, though no female with such names was found in the data. It is regrettable that **Amá**, **Amaniiná**, and **Amna/aáya**, which are all designated to be bestowed on female children, are exclusively given

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[1] We use the Iraqw orthography with the following sound correspondences: **hh** = [ħ], **/** = [ʕ], **'** = [ʔ], **sl** = [ɬ], and **tl** = [tɬ].

to male children. These names are not unique to certain clans but rather cut across all Iraqw clans. They were originated from women's avoidance of the names of their mother's in-laws. Thus, women's reference to their in-laws' names is one of the sources of personal names among the Iraqw.

Male children may also be named after paternal uncles while girls can inherit names of paternal aunts. Since children are named after people in the family who have died, with or without children (the latter either because they died too young or did not have children of their own) then the names of those who died without children are not lost and forgotten. For instance, my first daughter is named after her paternal aunt **Hhookí,** who passed away a long time ago. When elderly people visit their grown-up offspring, they always ask the names of the grandchildren to find out if any of the old and long-past family members have been remembered as a sign of love. Common naming practice among the Iraqw community involves naming their children after the paternal deceased relatives with the belief that ancestors may be near the child and protect him/her from all evils (i.e. fear of **gi'i** 'spirit of the dead'). It is sometimes believed that if ancestors' names are not given to a child, he/she may bring troubles and harms like sickness, abnormality, and death to family members, especially children. So, children are named after them in order to avoid such troubles. Children inherit ancestors' names as signs of respect, cherishing and commemorating them. Ancestors' names are used in order to preserve the paternal family and/or clan lineage names. The ancestral names should be taken from the stock of names of the male family's clan lineage as far back as can be remembered. That is, the family wishes the child to bear the name of outstanding members of the ancestors. The ancestral names should be taken from the stock of names of the male family's clan lineage as far back as can be remembered. That is, the family wishes the child to bear the name of prominent members of the ancestors in order to maintain and extend the clan of the male parents by copying and restoring the names of the paternal clan. However, in closely related languages Alagwa and Burunge, a child receives names from both the father's and the mother's sides, a system which might have been adapted from the Bantu Langi community. Generally, the practice of inheriting ancestors' names was not arbitrary. The choice and adaptation of particular names is based on criteria such as an ancestor's physical character, material possession, and behaviour. For instance, names of famous ancestors like chiefs, healers, or rich, hardworking people, are more highly favoured than names of those who are indolent, poor, bullies, sorcerers, blood shedders, mentally ill, etc.

If an ancestor of a new-born baby has a unisex name, a newborn of the opposite sex cannot receive that name to commemorate that (opposite-sex) ancestor. The

common practice is that a female child inherits the names of paternal female ancestors and likewise a male child inherits the names of paternal male ancestors; vice versa is not true. However, in unusual circumstances, a child can inherit the name of an ancestor of the opposite sex. This may happen when an infant experiences or exhibits unusual illnesses before acquiring their birth name, such as crying a lot, sleeplessness, frequent sickness and other complications. A healer is consulted to make a fortune-telling in order to find out the cause or source of the troubles. If the trouble is that the ancestral spirit needs its name to be inherited, then a child is given this name regardless of the sex. In this particular circumstance, a newborn can receive a name of the ancestor of the opposite sex. This is done before the child is given the **umuú do'** or **xwaante** 'birth name', because the Iraqw do not have the custom of changing names after a child receives their traditional birth/given name.

Regarding the appropriate day of naming a newborn, in Iraqw, children are named after the seventh day when the umbilical stump is healed (drops off). In other words, the ceremony takes place a few days after a newborn's navel has healed, which usually occurs from seven days after birth. Traditionally, it is a taboo to name a child before the birth. This waiting period guarantees that the family has proved the continued existence of the child. Traditionally, naming a child is allied with a ceremony called **umuú na/aay tsata** or **xwaantér na/aay** 'a ceremony of naming a child some days after birth'. The phrase **xwaantér na/aay** is composed of two nouns, **xwaante** 'soft porridge and other special foods for the mother during maternity' and **na/aay** 'child'. It is an evening gathering of neighbouring children and family members. This is the period when the mother is still convalescing and is helped by another woman (traditionally, her mother in-law, or female sibling on either side of the child's family, or any other female relative or neighbour) in the preparation of food for the child's mother (whole family, visitors), and in attending to other household chores. Normally, the helper moves to the house of the child's mother for a period of between a week to one month and more. This is referred to **xwaantér qaasár eér** or **xwaantér eér** 'she went to help (cook for) a woman who gave birth recently'. For this naming ceremony, the family of the newborn has to prepare a special dinner which is normally **na/amis** 'food made from a mixture of maize and beans' or **/aamu** 'food made from a mixture of maize and pumpkin' or **/amír /atlesi** '*ugali* (stiff porridge made of pumpkin)' and special drinks like **chaayi** 'tea', **muqús** or **xwaantér biimbila** 'a kind of drink made by the mixture of maize flour, millet flour and water'. After the dinner, the children are given freedom to pronounce the child's names collectively or in turns. Children consider the time, circumstance, behaviour, physical appearance/morphology, and the like of the newborn, under the

guidance of the responsible family member. Usually, any responsible member of the family informs some children in advance of the name they want to give the child, and then the children are asked to name their fellow child. The children utter the name of the child as previously indicated, but sometimes new names may arise from those who have not been informed. On this occasion, children may give a child a name or nickname. Most often, nicknames are derived from behaviour, appearance, jokes, etc. The children are not the name-givers, but rather they utter the name of their fellow child as prior directed by the responsible family member mostly paternal grandparents. The interesting point is that the children utter the name ceremonially. It is in this ceremony that the child receives **umuú xwaante** (**umuú do'**), **soko'oomi**, and recently **umuú dini** 'religious name' (see next paragraph). However, it should be noted that not all children receive names through this type of gathering. In other words, the naming is also done by the family members or parents alone. Moreover, these days, this ceremony seems to be being abandoned.

Traditionally, there are two layers of names given to a newborn. The patterns of Iraqw personal names include the birth name **umuú xwaante** or **umuú do'** and **soko'oomi** '(poetic) name'. More recently, a third type, **umuú dini** has been added after the introduction of Christianity. **Umuú do'** is synonymous to **umuú xwaante** 'birth name'. This is because children normally possess two names: a birth or given name and a poetic or alternative name. Moreover, **umuú xwaante** is equivalent to **umuú do'** and is given to a child during the naming ceremony with the consent of the newborn's accountable family member. Furthermore, when informants were asked to tell their **umuú xwaante** or **umuú do'** they referred to the same name. However, they were able to tell the difference between **umuú xwaante** (**do'**) and **soko'oomi**, especially for those who have two traditional Iraqw names.

The core name of a child is his or her birth name, which is typically a family name or clan name. As an example, the birth name of my younger brother is **Sukum Hhaawu Margwet Sukum**, whereby **Sukum** is both his first name and surname, **Hhaawu** is a **sok'oomi**, and **Margwet** is his second name. Our clan is known by the name **Hhay Sukum**, 'Clan of Sukum.' **Sakri** is my first name, **Bura** is my **soko'oomi**, **Margwet** is my second name, and **Sukum** is my surname. Regrettably, none of my traditional names are used in official capacities. The second name is the **soko'oomi** 'poetic name', that is used by a mother to call her child in order to avoid the child's real name (**umuú do'** or **xwaante**) when the child is named after either her father-in-law or mother-in-law. This is because Iraqw women observe name avoidance especially of their in-laws; women are strictly not allowed to say their in-laws' names. To strengthen this kind of taboo of in-law name avoidance,

some fathers-in-law give a cow to their daughter-in-law, so that she doesn't say his names at any time or in any place. So, a child's mother uses **soko'oomi** as one of the strategies to avoid in-law names. Another strategy of avoidance is for a woman to use alternative or synonymous words for names that are similar to ordinary things. For example, if the name is **tluway** 'rain', or **buura** 'beer' a woman would avoid these names by using words like **baafay** 'drizzle, light rain' for **tluway** and **xuufo** 'drinking' for **buura**.

4. Typology of Iraqw personal names

Iraqw typically bestow names from the clan lineage and also on the basis of certain historical circumstances that surround the pregnancy, the birth of the child (including time and place), socio-cultural aspects of the family, their environment, the behaviour of the child, plants, and animals, objects, and famous people. This means that names are not just a haphazard label for identifying an individual person from others, but they portray certain meanings that reflect historical, socio-cultural and circumstantial properties of a name-bearer to the community. Thus, personal names reflect the language and culture of Iraqw though there are names from other cultures and languages that enter the system through contacts with Datooga, Swahili, Christianity, and Islam. The next section discusses the typology of Iraqw personal names.

4.1 Family or clan lineage names

Family or clan names are names that children inherit from the clan lineage stock of names of ancestors, as mentioned above. It is an Iraqw tradition to name children after the family name or the name of the clan, and especially after the dead ancestors of the child's father. Based on the data gathered there is no clear system for inheriting such names, but in some cases a first-born male child inherits his paternal grandfather's name and the first daughter takes the name of her father's mother. The belief of naming children after the names of dead people has started to be abandoned by some family members. In the course of data collection, I found some grandparents' names are inherited while they are still alive. This indicates that naming practices are changing as the Iraqw community abandon certain prohibitions previously regarded as taboo. During interviews, I also found a case where a grandfather named a child with his own name. Also, my mother's birth names were inherited by her two granddaughters.

Apart from being an Iraqw person, every individual belongs to a certain clan as a marker of identity in the society. This means that the clan name has been used as the only way to identify or distinguish individuals so that their clan affiliation can

be determined within Iraqi society. Usually, Iraqw people who have never met each other before start introducing each other by the personal name and then by the clan name. **Hhay** 'means people of, or clan of' for instance, **HHay Sukumu** 'clan of Sukum, people of Sukum'. In Iraqw There is a distinction between family (given) names and clan names, since the former may include a clan name, such as **Sukum** in **Sukum Margwet Sukum**, or names derived from other sources, such as circumstances, fauna, or flora, such as **Sakri** in **Sakri Margwet Sukum**, whereas this is not possible for family names. In this case, **Sakri** is a generic name that means 'helmeted guinea fowl'. The child is given one of the names in the family line or he is bestowed a name of the clan of a given family as a first name. I say 'he' because the name of the clan is used for a male child as a first name since Iraqw naming practice follows the paternal clan lineage. However, the female children belonging to that clan use the clan name as their surname (for identity purposes). The point I wish to make here, as far as personal naming is concerned, is that a male child can be given a name of the clan as **umuú do'** or **umuú xwaante** 'given name'. Regarding family names, there is no set of unique family names based on each clan in Iraqw; most family names cut across Iraqw clans. Family (given) names are mostly derived from diverse circumstances surrounding pregnancy and the child's birth. In other words, there are very few names that are special for a certain clan.

The Iraqw clan names point to stories of interethnic contact in the past. Historically, the Iraqw lost many people in the fight with the Datooga which took place between Kondoa and Hanangw when they were on their way to Mbulu (which is regarded as their homeland). This loss has an implication in the sense that many clans have ceased to exist as a consequence of many young men being killed in the war. The remaining clans are **Hhay Irqa**, **Hhay Tipe**, **Hhay Haymu**, and **Hhay Naman**. Strategically, since most men were killed after the Iraqw lost this battle to the Datooga, and many women lost their husbands, and there were few Iraqw men to marry Iraqw girls, outsiders were allowed to marry Iraqw women on the condition that children born would be Iraqw; hence, new clans were introduced by some servants (helpers) from other communities. It is said that the **Mandaá doó Bayo** clan originate from Ihansu (this clan is of rainmakers and chiefs), the **Sukum** clan from Sukuma, the **Matiya** from Maasai, the **Male** from Datooga, the **Tsaxara** from Rangi, the **Suule** from Shashi, and the **Loolo** from Mbugwe. Though the Hadzabe were in contact with the Iraqw, there is no clan name from this community. This is because the Hadzabe are unable to live outside their community as servants in other communities, though detailed investigation is needed to substantiate this claim. However, further investigation on the meaning and origin of each clan is needed.

Family names include **Akona/aáy, Burá, Ni/imá, Kwa/aáng'w, Amna/aáy, Tluwaáy, Amsí, Axweesó, Matlé, Tlatlaa/á**, just to mention a few. Some clans in Iraqw society have their own distinctive family names, some of which are derived from circumstances, such as **Hhando, Amí, Akona/aáy, Axweesó, Matlé**, etc. which are found across Iraqw clans. Despite the fact that some naming is after the paternal ancestral clan lineage, the sources of other Iraqw names are meaningful and can be traced back to day-to-day events/activities, historical events, the times of the day or seasons of the year, the baby's skin complexion (appearance, body morphology), circumstances during the pregnancy, and the state of affairs within the family. The name of a child must usually come from the 'stock' of names in the lineage, but among those names, a name which fits the circumstances is chosen. We will now look at each of these sources in turn. In some cases, the prerequisites for receiving an **umuú xwaante** (**do'**) are the same as those for receiving a **soko'oomi** because they are all conferred upon a child at the naming ceremony. Nonetheless, the mother of the child should have a backup name that she may use as a coping strategy to avoid using their in-laws' names if she is unable to use both the **umuú xwaante** and **soko'oomi** of the child due to avoidance of in-law names.

4.2 Names from avoidance names

In Iraqw, it is a taboo for a married woman to say the names of her in-laws. A woman is required to avoid the names of her father and mother in-law, brothers of her father in-law and their wives, as well as paternal and maternal aunt, even if they are dead. However, at the same time, this community has a tradition of giving children the names of paternal grandfather and grandmother. If the child is indeed given the grandfather's or grandmother's name, or any other name that is avoided by the mother of the child, one option is that the name is not used, and instead the mother creates another name to use with that child. As a result of this taboo of in-laws' names, strategically, women created names such as **Akona/aáy, Amna/aáy, Akó, Amá, Amaniiná**, and **Akoniiná**. Four names in (1)-(4) have complex morpho-semantic significance, while two names **Amá** and **Akó** are morphologically simple as illustrated below.

(1) **aako-**   **na/aay**
     grandfather/old man   child
     'grandfather child'

(2) **aama-**   **na/aay**
     grandmother/old woman   child
     'grandmother child'

(3) aako-   niina
     old man/grandfather   young
     'young brother of grandfather'

(4) aama-   niina
     old woman/grandmother   young
     'young sister of grandmother or wife of young brother of grandfather'

These names inform us that if the child is named after the grandfather or grandmother who is alive, the male child may be called **Akona/aáy**[M] 'grandfather/old man's child', or **Akó**[M] 'grandfather/old man', while **Amna/aáy**[M] 'grandmother/old woman's child' or **Amá**[M] 'grandmother or old woman' is for the female child as far as the meaning is concerned. Other names are **Am(a)niiná**[M] 'young grandmother (young wife of grandfather)' and **Akoniiná** 'young grandfather (young brother of the grandfather)'. This is to say that **Akoniiná**[M] is used for a male child named after the younger brother of his grandfather, while **Am(a)niiná**[M] is for a female child given the name of 'young grandfather's wife (as far as polygyny is concerned) or any wife of any younger brother of the grandfather'.

Based on the morphological and semantic properties, these names appear to be created as the result of women's avoidance of the names of in-laws (father, mother and others). Women used these names as one way to avoid the names of in-laws when children are named after their paternal grandparent's names. **Amna/aaý**[M], **Amaniiná**[M], and **Amá**[M] were used by the mother to avoid the name of the child who inherits a name from her mother in-law. These names can also be used by the father because he is supposed to avoid the names of his mother (children avoid names of their mother) and his mother-in-law. On the other hand, **Akona/aáy**[M], **Akoniiná**[M], and **Akó**[M] are used by the mother when the child is named after the father in-law. When a child is named after the paternal grandfather or grandmother, the child's mother looks for an alternative way or alternative name to call/refer to the respective child. Another strategy is the use of **soko'oomi** which seems to subsume the innovation of other names, and the constant use of **Akona/aáy**[M], **Akoniiná**[M], **Akó**[M], **Amna/aáy**[M], **Amaniiná**[M], and **Amá**[M] for avoidance purposes. Pragmatically, when inheriting the name from his grandfather or grandmother, the child is regarded in some way as a 'grandfather' or 'grandmother'. Thus, women's avoidance of in-laws is one of the sources of personal names among the Iraqw. Unfortunately, **Amna/aáy**[M], **Amaniiná**[M], and **Amá**[M] are no longer used to name female children. In other words, traditionally these were female names, but they are currently only given to male children. The reason for the functional shift of these names may be that people may not have known why women introduced these names (for reasons of avoidance). Other

causes may be the use of **soko'oomi** which has developed and became popular as another avoidance strategy for in-laws' names. Previously, **Soko'oomi** was used as an alternative name in case the mother avoided her in-laws' names. Tradition dictated that every child born was given **Soko'oomi**, whether or not they were called by their mother-in-law's name. The tendency is for the child to take both **ummú xwaante (do')** and **soko'oomi** of the grandfather or grandmother. For example, I was given the **umuú do'** of my grandmother, which is **Sakrí**, and her **soko'oomi** which is **Burá**. Thus, **soko'oomi** might have killed the creativity and innovation of names in avoiding names of their in-laws. For these reasons, these names became common/popular, while the ones used for female children came to be used for males. They are no longer used as avoidance names and instead are inherited by only male children. The introduction of religious names has become a new strategy to avoid the names of in-laws. For instance, my second daughter inherited my mother in-law's name **Matlé**, and we did not give her a **soko'oomi** because she has a religious name. So, I used her religious name to avoid her given name which is my mother in-law's name.

4.3 Times and periods of the day

Different times and/or periods of day considerably contributed to a number of personal names. Some Iraqw names were derived from the time of the day when the child is born. These names apply to both male and female newborns. For instance, **Matlé**[M/F] from **matlaatle** or **maatle** 'morning' refers to a child born in the morning, while **Mama(o)/ó**[M/F] is the name given to a child born during **maamu(o)/o** 'herding cattle in the morning around the homestead' or the related verb **maamuu/**. **Tlemaí**[M] after **tlemai** is for a child born between 9 and 10 in the morning - which means time to take the livestock from near the homestead to the fields for grazing. Similar to **Tlemaí**[M] is **Tlemú**[M] 'get up, sunrise' used for a male child born during the period when people wake up. A child born in **tlatla/angw**, i.e. between midday and 3pm, is named **Tlatlaa/á**[M/F]. **Tse/amá**[M/F] 'sunshine, midday sun, warmth', used to name children of both sexes. Moreover, **Axweesó**[M/F] is bestowed on a child born during **axweeso** - the period between 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. in the evening. **Axweeso** is the time older people talk about the events of the day and children are told stories. Similarly, children born after **axweeso**, between midnight and before cock crow, are named **Amsí**[M/F] after this period which is called **amsi**. Other names include **Daafí**[M/F] and **Daafáy**[M] derived from a verb **daaf** 'return cattle home from pasture' used to name a child born during the evening when cattle are returning home.

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
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SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
matlaatle[F]	'in the morning'	Matlé[M/F]
konkoomo[M]	'cock , 'time of the first cock-crow, dawn'	Koonkomó[M]
tleema'i[F] > tleemaa	'between 9 and 10 in the morning'	Tlema'í[M]
tlaaw	'sunrise, getting up, sun rising'	Tlemu[M]
tlatla/angw[M]	'between midday and 3pm'	Tlatlaa/á[M/F]
mamuu/ > mama/o[F]	'morning during herding cattle around the homestead'	Mamaa/ó[M/F]
axweeso[N]	'before or immediately after the dinner'	Axweesó[M/F]
amsi[F]	'midnight'	Amsí[M/F]
tse/ama[M]	'midday during the sunshine'	Tse/amá[M/F]
daaf > daafi[F]	'in the evening'	Daafî[M/F] Daafáy[M]
loo'a[F]	'sun, sunrise'	Lantá[F]
/awaak > /awaakukuu	'sun rising, sky is getting clear/white'	/Awaakí[M/F] >
yaahhi[F]	'getting dark'	Yahhí[M]
miislo[N]	'during moonshine'	Misláy[M]
haymu[F]	'a big star sight in the early morning before sunrise'	Hay(u)má[M]
loot > looto[F]	'milking, milking time'	Lootó[M]

Table 1 – Names derived from times and periods of the day

As can be seen in Table 1, the time or period of the day referred to here is a certain point of time or period such as morning, afternoon, time of moonshine, night etc. On the other hand, it may also be defined in terms of activities that usually take place at a certain point of time or period of the day. Such activities include the period of taking cattle outside for herding, milking cattle, returning cattle home for herding. **Daafî, Daafáy, Yahhí** are used to avoid **tsiindi**[F] 'sunset' while **Lantá**, and **/Awaakí** refer to dawn or sunrise. Only the poetic term, **lanta** which is analogous to **loo'a** 'sun', is used in naming female children. The sun is considered to be a goddess with female genitalia in Iraqw. **Boo/í** or **Boo/áy** 'darkness' are also used to name children born when it is getting dark or in the early morning when it is still dark. **Boo/áy** can also be given to a child born on the day when there is a gathering like a meeting, cattle market, etc., where in this context it refers to 'crowd of people'. The time when the sun is setting **tsiindi** or **tsiindo** 'sunset (red sky)' is believed to be the time of cursing. At this time of the day nobody is supposed to go to bed or to be asleep, according to the taboo observed among Iraqw. Thus, from this belief children are not named by terms referring to this period. This is to say that this taboo influences the choice of children's name referring to times or periods; alternative ordinary words for

naming children are used. The majority of names derived from the time of the day and associated activities are shared by both sexes.

4.4 Names derived from fauna

The analysis of personal names has also revealed that the Iraqw naming system involves deriving names from both domestic and wild animals. The Iraqw are an agro-pastoral community. Although these socio-economic activities are a source of food, income and socio-cultural prestige, they are also among providers of personal names. A number of names as shown in Table 2 are derived from the animals Iraqw keep as well as wild animals they encounter in their everyday life.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
naweét[F]	'name of a cow'	**Naweét**[M]
aara[N]	'goats, name of a cow'	**Aará**[M]
koonki[F]	'hen'	**Koonkí**[M]
koonkomo[M]	'cock, cock-crow'	**Koonkomó**[M]
qwandu[M]	'ram, male sheep'	**Gwandú**[M/F]
gurtu(a)[M]	'he-goat'	**Gurtú**[M] **&Gurtí**[M/F]
bee/i[F]	'female sheep'	**Bee/i**[M] & **Bee/í**[F]
awee[M]	'bulls'	**Aweé**[M/F]
bee/a[F]	'name of the female cow bought by selling **bee/aang'w** ('sheep')'	**Bee/á**[M]

Table 2 – Names derived from domestic animals

A number of names are used to name both sexes while some are restricted to one sex. For instance, **Bee/î** 'sheep' with high tone is strictly for males, while **Bee/i** 'sheep' with a low tone is for both sexes. This pattern is also evident in **Tluwaáy**[M] and **Tluway**[F] 'rain'. Tonality is not the distinctive feature elsewhere because names like **Gurtí**[M/F], and **Gwandú**[M/F] are named for both sexes while a high tone is maintained. The Iraqw draw names from domestic animals, like sheep, cows, goats, and fowl because these are the common valued domestic animals which remain important for them. Naming children after these animals illuminates the source of wealth and is also a means of teaching children the significance of animals, as a source of income, food, and manure (cf. SANE 2016), cultural prestige, and respect. The Iraqw house which does not have any of these domestic animals is less valued. These names seem to be a means of motivating Iraqw to keep domestic animals.

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

A number of names are derived from the category of wild animals, as listed in Table 3:

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
baha[F]	'hyena'	Bahá[M/F]
du'uma[M]	'leopard'	Du'umá[M]
gwareehhi[F]	'dikdik'	Gwareehhí[M/F]
samti[F]	'porcupine'	Samtí[F]
umaali[F]	'hedgehog'	Umaalí[F]
hhawu[F]	'hyena'	Hhawú[M/F]
sare/a[F]	'buffalo'	Sare/á[M]
kwaa/áng'w[M]	'hare'	Kwaa/áng'w[M]
/awatu[M]	'monkey'	/Awatú[M]
diraáng'w[M]	'lion'	Diraáng'w[M]

Table 3 – Names derived from wild animals

Criteria for which names taken from wild animals are given to which sex is not predictable because names for all sizes of wild animals have been seen to be used for male children, while some other names are shared by both sexes. However, **Samtí**[F] 'porcupine' and **Umaalí**[F] 'hedgehog' are given to female children only, with no counter examples from the data for a male child. The sighting of, invasion, and damage caused by certain animals in the environment during the birth of the child is also considered. Morphological structure and appearance of the child could be another reason for the choice of the name. Names of various types of bird are significantly used for naming children as shown in Table 4.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
sakri[F]	'guinea fowl'	Sakrí[F]
kuuray[M]	'black kite, hawk'	Kuuráy[M]
tsir/i[F]	'bird'	Tsir/í[M]
sikáy[M]	'African fire finch'	Sikáy[M]
/aláy[M]	'bird-cattle egret (greyish bird with a red beak)'	/Aláy[M]
ma/ara[M]	'bird sp.'	Ma/ará[M]
hhooki[F]	'dove, pigeon'	Hhookí[F/M]
genang'w[M]	'swift, hawk'	Genángw[M]
sakweeli[F]	'ostrich'	Sakweelí[M]
xooyaangw[M]	'francolin bird'	Xooyaángw[M]

Table 4 – Names derived from birds

Names derived from this category are mostly used to name male children, and a few are shared by both sexes. Only **Sakrí**[F] is used for female children. Insects' names are given to children either according to their sighting, usefulness, or damage to the people and crops during the birth of the child. For instance, the

name **Seehhá**[M/F] 'tsetse flies' came to be used during the operation of clearing bushes in order to kill tsetse flies that harm people. This was introduced by the British colonial government in Tanzania around 1952 and 1954.

Commonly, the Iraqw people derive names of their children from animals due to specific reasons. Animals, especially domestic ones, are valued because they are a source of food, income, and are used in sacrifice (sheep, chickens). Other reasons could be the sighting and/or encountering of certain animals during the birth of the child. Sometimes naming after animals is due to the destruction or damage caused by a certain animal to the property, livestock or lives of people. For example, when a **diraang'w** 'lion' attacks or kills people, a **baha** 'hyena' cries, or attacks domestic animals, or **/awtú** 'monkey' invade crops. Moreover, naming children after animal names, especially certain domestic animals like **aara** 'goat', **bee/angw** 'sheep' or names of female cows like **naweét, qulá** etc., could be a way of giving thanks to God for blessings realized through the increase in the number of these animals or a way of motivating people to keep these animals. In Iraqw, names of female cows were a major source of names for children.

4.5 Names derived from flora

Names of plants species found in Iraqw area have significantly contributed to a number of personal names in Iraqw. Surrounding plant species are among the leading providers of names in Iraqw as illustrated in Table 5:

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
duraán[M]	'stalks, reeds, the name of the river'	Duurú[M]
hhaarí[F]	'grass with seeds that blow away when dry'	Hhaarí[M]
lomáy[M]	'tree sp. used to make sticks'	Lomáy[M]
naari[F]	'Acacia' (*Acacia xanthophloea*)	Naarí[M]
ombaáy[M]	'flower' (*Pavonia sp.*, *Hibiscus sp.*)	Ombáy[M]
siroóng[M]	'tree sp.'	Siroóng[M]
slarhhí[F]	'Carix, grass, papyrus'	Slarhhí[M]
wahaari[F] or wahaaru[M]	'Dombeya plant (for making sticks)' (*Dombeya sp.*)	Wahaaró[M] / Wahaarí[M]
gaara[F]	'forest'	Gaará[M]
tsiriimí[F]	'seeds with wings spread by winds (*Compositae sp.*)'	Tsiriimí[F]
qaresi[F]	'plant sp. (used for firewood)	Qaresí[M]
baqaari[F]	'tree sp.'	Baqarí[M]
hhangaali[F]	'type of bushy tree (with yellow fruits when ripe)	Hhangaalí[M]
ti'ita[F]	'Ficus tree (often used as a meeting point)' (*Ficus thoningii, Ficus stuhlmanni*)	Ti'itá[M]
ufaaní[F]	Lippia plant (leaves are used as broom)' (*Lippia javanica*)	Ufaaní[M]

Table 5 – Names derived from flora

Both singular **Waharó**[M] and plural **Waharí**[M] for 'Dombeya sp.' is used. The majority of the attested names drawn from the plants are male names, but very few like **Tsiriimí**[F] 'seeds with wings spread by winds (Compositae sp.)' are given to a female child. This name is derived from a type of small seed from a species of grass. The reason why the majority of names are used for male children might relate to the gendered division of labour. Men are often outdoors and women are indoors. This division of responsibility based on sex starts from the moment a child is born, whereby a male child is called **múk sla/a** 'of the bush/wild' while a female child is referred as **hhekuuse** or **hhekusa'o** 'who fetches water'. Other names like **Duurú** might have been derived from the place name **Durú**, famous for the cultivation of vegetables. This is a valley plain on the western side of Mount Guwaang'w in Mbulu town. This means that plant names are used to name people and places. Thus, plants as an environmental component are very useful for the Iraqw society who are agro-pastoral people. Plants provide foods (both wild plants and cultivated ones), pastures, herbs, building materials, places of rituals (forests), firewood, protective tools (shepherd's sticks), bows, sticks, arrows and other tools (handles of hoe, axes, knives,) etc. There is a strong relationship between people and the plants in their surroundings. As a result, these social-cultural, environmental, and economic values of plants have been realized by naming children using some names of ordinary plants.

4.6 Weather, time, and seasons of the year

Names of children are also derived from the time of the year, weather conditions or the season of the birth of the child as shown in Table 6. For example, a male child born during the humid period after the short rains and before the beans (grown during the short rains) begin to form pods is **Axwarí**[M]. **Axwari**[F] refers to the time of the year after the short rains and when the beans begin to flower. However, there are no specific names for a female child born during this period. Another name is **Doomú**[M], which is 'the period of long rains' called **doomu**[M]. A male child born during **tluway**[M] 'rain' is named **Tluwaáy**[M] while a female is named **Tluwáy**[F]. **Lawe'í**[M] is a name for a male child born during heavy rain which spreads from the west to east in Iraqw land. **Tsaqwaá**[M] means coldness or period of coldness and male children can be named after it. **Baa/í**[M] 'mud' which is usually found during **doomu** (a long rainy season) is given to a male child.

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
axwari[F]	'season characterised by hardship and food scarcity' (December-January)	Axwarí[M]
doomu[M]	'continuous long rain' (April-May)	Doomú[M]
tluway[M]	'rain'	Tluwáy[F]
laweei[F]	'heavy rain (west to east)'	Lawe'í[M]
tsaaqwa[F] > tsaqutamo[M]	'coldness period (especially July)'	Tsaqwá[M]
baa/i[F]	'mud'	Baa/í[M]
huunki[F]	'cloud'	Huunkí[M]
tsee/ama[M]	'sunny, hot season'	Tsee/amá[M/F]

Table 6 – Names from weather, time, and seasons

The majority of personal names here are for male children except **Tluway** 'rain' and **Tsee/amá**, which are attested to be used for both sexes. Names of months which are used to name persons are **axwaari** (**axwaarír hhoo'** 'December' and **axwaarír tlaakw** 'January'), **Doomu** (for April and May), and **Tswaaqwa** from **Tsaqutamo** 'July'. I would argue that personal names like /**Awakí** and **Boo/í** might have also be derived from **Doomuú boó/** 'April' or **Doomuú /awaák** 'May'.

Names of months which are not attested in the data of personal names are **Tlufuqa** 'February', **Huyaa'a** 'March', **Qu'a** 'June', **Tlambo/amo** 'August', **Tarqwaay** 'September' **Qadoó kahhár** 'October' and **Qadoó maár** 'November'. Rain and the different types of rain also provide names for Iraqw people. Formation of names from weather, time and seasons of the year is the indication that some environmental elements are sources of names in Iraqw.

4.7 Historical and political events

Historical events from which personal names have been derived include the invasion of the Iraqw land by insects like red locusts around 1935. Male children born during that period were often named **Ingí**[M] from **ingiigi**[F] which means 'locusts'. Moreover, drought and famine **qwari**[F] and **giyeét**[F], respectively, in the Iraqw area around 1948 resulted in names for male children **Qwarí**[M] and **Giyeét**[M] 'hunger, famine'. Additionally, children born during the campaigns to clear forests in order to eliminate **sehha**[F] 'tsetse fly', were named **Sehhá**[M/F]. The campaign took place during British colonial time which was around 1952 and 1954. Other events are war or conflict with their neighbouring communities (like Datooga and Maasai who are Iraqw's cattle raiders) or war at the global level, e.g., World Wars I and II resulted in male children born at that time to be named **Slaqwará**[M] from the word **slaqwara**[F] 'war, fighting, conflict, social unrest'. Since **uu'i**[F] 'cry of alarm' is a means of gathering or informing people for war, it is likely possible that children born during this social unrest were named **Uu'ó**[M] for male

and **Uu'í**[F] for female children. **Uu'i** is also used in other day-to-day events. Other names related to war are **Tseré** 'blood', **Lawaalá** 'spear', **Tsaxará** 'throwing of weapons', and **fi'iit** 'going to ambush or fight the enemy' just to mention a few. Other names are derived from international events, such as the name **Hitilá**[M] 'Hitler' for male children born during World War II. Also, male children were named **Keyá**[M] or **Kehá**[M] from K.A.R pronounced among the Iraqw community as a short form for the regiment formed in East Africa known as the King's African Rifles. **Fitá**[M] is derived from a Swahili word *vita* 'war' and was also used to name children. The name **Idí**[M] came to be used during the war between Tanzania and Iddi Amini Dada of Uganda. During the struggle for independence of Tanzania and particularly the attainment of **uhuru**[M] 'independence' in 1961, some male children were named **Uhurú**[M]. Other names commemorate famous politicians like **Kawaawá**[M], **Moí**[M], and **Nyereré**[M]. The source of **Moí**[M] could also be from an ordinary noun **mooyi**[F] 'pleasant smell'. These relate to political events, activities or figures as depicted in Table 7.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
ingiigi[F]	'locusts'	Ingí[M]
laqwara[M]	'war, fighting, conflict'	Slaqwará[M]
K.A.R	King's African Rifles	Keyá[M] and Kehá[M]
uu'i[F]	'cry of alarm for help/ambush'	Uu'ó[M] and Uu'i[F]
qwari[M]	'hunger'	Qwarí[M]
giyeét[F]	'famine'	Giyeét[M]
seehha[F]	'tsetse fly'	Sehhá[M/F]
lawala[F]	'spear'	Lawaalá[M]
tsere[F]	'blood'	Tseré[M]
tsaxar	'throw weapons'	Tsaxará[M]

Table 7 – Name from historical and political events

As seen in the names above, events from which Iraqw formed personal names are family, social, national, and international ones. Names are derived from events and/or from the names of people involved in such events. I have observed that mostly historical events were used to name male children except **Uu'í**[F]. One possible reason might be that many events (particularly relating to war) involved men more than women. Major events like war/social unrest, famine and politics have a great impact in any society. This impact is also felt in the choice of names.

4.8 Day-to-day events and/or activities

The Iraqw derive personal names from some day-to-day events and activities, such as when the child is born when there are **dahaye**[F], **dahayamo**[M], **dahayita'o**[F]

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

visitor(s) in the home; the male child may then be named **Dahayé**[M] and **Dahayá**[M]. A child born on the day of a wedding in the family is named **Sikuukú**[M/F] (Swahili for holiday), or **Duuxó**[M] 'wedding' for a boy, or **Daqaró**[M/F] 'skinning the slaughtered animal for wedding' or **Ni/imá**[M/F] 'dance' for a male or a female child. **Sikuukú**[M/F], which denotes all kind of ceremonies, is used for both sexes. **Nadá**[M/F] and **Nadé**[M/F] is used for both male and female children born on the day of an open cattle market in the village called *mnada*, a Swahili word for 'open market', whereby the nasal sound /m/ is dropped to simplify pronunciation. On the other hand, a child born when a mother goes to collect firewood is named **Migiré**[M/F] from the word **migír**[M] 'firewood'. The data below provide more examples of names and the event or activities from which they are formed.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
luuq > sluqoo[F]	'kill a big/dangerous animal'	Sluqó[M]
buura[F]	'beer'	Burá[M/F]
slaqwe[F]	'communal work (goes with local beer)'	Slaqwé[M]
tleeh	'make, build house'	Tlehhemá[M]
tlaaq	'cut tree for building house'	Tlaqá[M]
doosl	'cultivate, dig, farm'	Dooslá[M]
gadyeét[F]	'work'	Gajeé[M/F]
de'eem	'herd, tend livestock'	De'éng'w[M] / De'eemáy[M]
qadweé[F]	'women's prayer vigil outdoors -Datooga'	Qadweé[M]
fi'iit	'run/going to ambush/fight'	Fi'itá[M]
marmo[F]	'initiation for (girls)'	Marmó[M]
migiir > migír[F]	'to collect firewood'	Migiré[M]
qaali[F]	'decoration'	Qaalí[F]
daqaro[F]	'skinning an animal'	Daqaró[M/F]
kwaslema[F]	'council, meeting'	Kwasleemá[M]
maasay[M]	'medicine (general term)'	Maasáy[M]
sanka[F]	'make offering to dead'	Sanká[M]
mislay[M]	'magic, power for traditional healer'	Mislaáy[M]

Table 8 – Names derived from day-to-day events and/or activities

As seen in Table 8, common events and activities undertaken by the Iraqw provided them with words for naming their children. Iraqw are an agro-pastoral community, so their names also reflected mostly whatever they do and/or whatever happens in everyday life. Such activities include cultivation, herding, milking, building, collection of forest materials, general work, clearing bush, hunting, etc. Events are things like ceremonies, market day, cry for alarm, meetings, initiations, giving offerings and prayers, killing of dangerous animals, etc. So, names are formed from verbs (activities) and from ordinary nouns (events) as one way to honour those activities and/or events.

4.9 Place names and place of birth

Darmá[M] 'wilderness', **Sla/á**[M] 'bush', **Qaymó**[M] 'farm, field', **Loohí**[M/F] 'path' **Looháy**[M/F] 'migrate' represent a few examples of names from the place of birth, migration of the parents to that place, or when father visited (travelled), or a person/relative from that place visited the family at the time of the child's birth. Using the place where a child was born as a name has also introduced Swahili names. A male child born in hospital is sometimes named **Magangá**[M] derived from the Swahili word **mganga** 'doctor' but a girl is named **Yayá**[F] derived from the Swahili word **yaya** 'nurse'. **Sipltalí**[F/M] 'hospital' is given to both sexes. **Maganga** is also a Sukuma name, so it is therefore possible that it was also borrowed from the Sukuma as a result of the contact between the Iraqw and Sukuma people. Nowadays these borrowed personal names are quite common as shown in Table 9.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
darma[M]	'wilderness (large and far from domestic land)'	**Darmá**[M]
sla/a[F]	'bush'	**Sla/á**[M]
xaday[M]	'place with dense trees, groves, wood'	**Xadáy**[M]
qaymo[F]	'farm, field'	**Qaymó**[M]
deeli[F]	'fallow land, field left uncultivated for some years'	**Deelí**[M]
tango[F]	'place where there was a house'	**Taango**[M]
tsee/a[F]	'outside'	**Tsee/a**[M/F]
yaa'e[F]	'river', 'born near the river'	**Yaa'é**[M]
looh > loohi[F]	'path, way'	**Loohí**[M/F]
looh > loohay[M]	'move house, migrate'	**Looháy**[M]
tlawi[F]	'lake'	**Tlawí**[M]
tlooma[F]	'mount'	**Tlomá**[M]

Table 9 – Names derive form place of birth

Other personal names came from place names like villages, districts, regions and geographical names in order to remember a visit to or from these places, and maybe a birth of a child in that place. Hence, names like **Karató**[M], **Arushá**[M], **Marísh**[M], **Imborí**[F/M], **Imboru**[M], **Muuráy**[M], **Oliyaaní**[M] (Oldiani – famous for coffee cultivation in Karutu, Arusha Region), **Mbulumbulú**[M] (famous for wheat cultivation), **Moshí**[M/F], etc. Both native and non-native names for places significantly contributed to naming children among the Iraqw. Place names were used for two situations. The first was when a woman gave birth in that place and the second when a member of the family, especially the father, travelled to the place or a relative from that place visited the family with the newborn child, or when the mother was pregnant or during the birth of the child.

4.10 Behaviour, colour or morphology

Children are born with different skin appearances which at times may trigger a name choice. For example, a child born with a dark complexion is named **Boo/áy**[M] for a boy and **Boo/í**[M/F] for both sexes. **Boo/í**[M/F] is synonymous with **Bo/ó**[M]. The name is derived from the adjective **boo/** which means 'black' or 'dark'. When a child is between dark and light, it is named **Mehhí**[M/F] whether a boy or a girl. The name comes from the adjective **meehh** meaning 'mixed colour'. A light-skinned child may be named **/Awakí**[M/F] or **Da/atí**[M/F] or **Da/atá**[M] meaning 'white' or 'red' where **/Awakí**[M/F] comes from the adjective **/awaak** 'white' and **Da/atí**[M/F] or **Da/atá**[M] comes from **da/aat** 'red'. Both **/Awakí**[M/F] or **Da/atí**[M/F] are given to boys or girls, while **Da/atá**[M] is given to boys only. **Bifá**[F/M] comes from the adjective **biif** 'spotted colour for goats', **Hansa/aáy**[F/M] from the adjective **hansa/ay** 'a cow colour – white spot on the head'. Other names referring to colour are **Fara/áy**[F/M] 'cow colour term for a white spot on the head' and **Manyarí**[F] 'green' and **Kaláy**[M] 'spots'.

However, this does not mean the name depicts features of the bearer. The bearer does not always have such a colour (cow or goat colour like white, spotted, or mixed colour), because names attributing colour may also be inherited from ancestors of the patrilineal lineage or may be derived from the time of the day. It is taboo to use the ordinary name **tsiindo** 'evening' or **sagw loo'a** or **loo'a tleemu** 'sunrise'. In naming, a child born at these points of time is called **Daafi** or **Yahhii** 'evening', **Boo/i**, **Bo/o**, or **Boo/ay** 'evening' (getting dark) or early morning (but still dark) and **/Awaaki**, **Lanta**, 'sunrise'. **Lanta** poetically means 'sun'. Table 10 provides the derivations of personal names from colours.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
boo/a	'blackness, darkness, evening'	Boo/áy[M]
boo/	'black, dark, evening'	Boo/í[M/F]
meehh	'mixed colour for goats'	Mehhí[M/F]
awaak	'white, nice, clear'	/Awakí[M/F]
da/aat	'red'	Da/atá[M] & Da/atí[M/F]
biif	'spotted colour for goats'	Bifá[F/M]
fará/	'cow colour term for a white spot on the head'	Fara/áy[F]
hansa/ay	'a cow colour – white spot on the head'	Hansa/aáy[F]
manyari	'green'	Manyarí[F]
kalay	'spot'	Kaláy[M]

Table 10 – Names derived from colours

Other names that depict appearance or the morphology of a child are **Hhalahhaláy**[M] which comes from **hhalahhali** 'polydactyl (six fingers)'. It is given to a child with six fingers. **Yaqaambá**[M] from **yaqamba**[M] 'biggest male cow,

uncastrated bull' meaning 'strong' is used to name a male child. Most likely the child's appearance and morphology influence the selection of the name. However, not all children who receive one of these names necessarily present one of these morphological or appearance characteristics.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
hhalahhali[F]	'polydactyl (six fingers)'	Hhalahhaláy[M]
yaqamba[M]	'biggest male cow, uncastrated bull'	Yaqaambá[M]
naanga'	'to walk with difficulty because of weakness'	Naangalí[M]

Table 11 – Names from morphology/appearance

Other names derived from human (animal) body parts are **Muna** 'heart', **De'e** 'liver', **Kwahh(i)a** 'scapula', **Wakri** 'chin', **Daamo** 'moustache', etc. Although these names refer to the parts of the body, their choice may be influenced by what a pregnant woman preferred (usually very selective of foods) to eat during pregnancy. Pregnant women are usually given uncooked animal liver.

The behaviour of parents is reflected in names like **Harweerí**[M] 'wandering' form a verb **harweer** 'encircling', (wandering refers to behaviour of either mother or father but not the child). Other names are **Giisá**[F] 'etiquette' and **Hhawaáy**[M] 'one who wastes time, is idle' is derived from the verb **hhaw** or **hhawahhaw** 'be late, waste time, be idle'. It can be the behaviour of one of the child's parents or of the child during birth. It should be noted here that the behaviour of the bearer can be relevant for the naming choice, but most likely it is from the parents and their general manner. This is captured by the example names in Table 12.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
harweer	'wandering, encircling'	Harweerí[M]
gisiim	'etiquette, subdued behaviour (sign of respect for girls)'	Giisá[F]
hhaaw	'one who wastes time, idle'	Hhawaáy[M]
weem	'loitering, dawdling, roaming'	Weemá[M]

Table 12 – Names Derived from Behaviour

As seen above, names derived from behaviour, physical appearance or morphology of the child are adjectives (attribute colour) and adjectival nouns. Also, this typology of names shows that some names are shared by both female and male children, some are given to female children only like **Giisá**[F] 'etiquette' comes from **gisiim** 'subdue (for girls)' and some others for male children, e.g., **Yaqaamba** 'biggest male cow, uncastrated bull' and **Harweeri** 'wandering' is used for male children. This shows that the decision of which name should be given

only to a female child or only to a male child is based on the basic meaning of the relevant name.

4.12 State of affairs or conditions

Each family has affairs that are unique to it. These affairs may come to be known to the wider public from the way the family handles them. For example, it is believed among the Iraqw that sometimes pregnancy may last for much longer than the normal nine months. This state is known as **hootay**[M]. Male or female children born after such a long period of pregnancy may be named **Hootáy**[M/F]. Another name, **Hhando**[M/F], is given to a child of either sex whose father died before it was born. **Meetá**[M] is a name given to a male child who is born when the family has been bereaved and is under **meeta**[N], a condition in which they are not allowed to mix with other people. **Dawiité**[M] and **Daawiít**[M] derives from the verb **daawiit** 'have trouble' and is a name given to a male child born after the family has gone through a lot of trouble and annoyance. **Nangay**[M] is a name given to a baby boy whose mother died after it was born, from **nangw'aay** (lit. child-of-mother). Other names derived from conditions are **Baalí**[M] 'defeat', **Muuré**[M] 'shyness', **Nunuqá**[M/F] 'sweet', **Tuu'á**[M] from **tuu'a** 'corpse' or **tu'a** 'constipation', and **Baaytá**[M] 'apprehension' and **Ba/aata**[F/M] 'getting better (for a sick person)'. These states of affairs or conditions of a mother or father of the child or any member of the family can most likely influence the choice of the name for the newborn. They are commemorated by using names.

4.13 Contact-induced names

Data analysis has also confirmed that some of the personal names in this community are derived from the names of the neighbouring tribes. The Iraqw community do not live in isolation but have had contact and interaction for centuries with the Datooga, Maasai, Nyaturu, Ihanzu, Nyiramba, Hadzabe, and others. The Iraqw have a referent name for each of these communities as in Table 13.

LANGUAGE FAMILY	IRAQW NAME	MEANING
Nyaturu, Nyiramba, Ihansu (Bantu)	Mandaá /uwa	'west Bantu people'
Mbugwe (Bantu)	Mandaá da/aaw	'east Bantu people'
Barabaig (Nilotic)	Tara	Datooga, Barabaig
Maasai (Nilotic)	Duwaanqeéd	Maasai people
Hadzabe (Isolate)	Hagiite	Hadzabe people

Table 13 – Names derived from contact with neighbours

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

As seen, the Bantu-speaking communities, Nyiramba, Nyaturu, and Ihanzu are collectively referred to as **Mandaá/uwa** 'west Bantu people' because they are geographically situated west of the Iraqw land. Mbugwe, who are found in the eastern part of Iraqw lands, are termed as **Mandaá da/aaw** 'eastern Bantu people'. The Nilotic communities Maasai are referred to as **Duwaanqeéd** while Datooga or Barabaig are **Tara,** and Hadzabe are called **Hagiite**. Thus, the Iraqw name their children after these reference names used for their neighbours as shown in Table 14.

NAME	MEANING
Mandá[M]	'Bantu people'
Mandáy[M/F]	'Bantu people'
Manimó[M]	'male Bantu'
Tará[M]	'Datooga people'
Tarmó[M]	'male Datooga'
Tarto'ó[F]	'female Datooga'
Duwanqeé[M].	'Maasai people'
Wachakí[F]	'Chagga people'

Table 14 – Names originating from names of neighbouring communities

As seen above, **Duwanqeé**[M] 'Maasai people' is used for male children; there are no counter examples for females in the data. This name is given during the war and raiding of cattle by Maasai. The name **Ero** for a male child might have been taken from the Maasai address term **ero**. Contact with Bungwe (**mandaá da/aaw** 'east Bantu people'), Nyaturu, Nyiramba, and Isanzu (**mandaá /uuwa** 'west Bantu people') results in names such as **Mandáy**[M/F], **Mandá**[M], and **Manimó**[M]. **Wachakí**[F] Chagga is not as well-known as the other neighbouring communities.

Iraqw and Datooga have been in close contact for many centuries. The Datooga are regarded as the good neighbours although they had fought and also used to steal cattle from the Iraqw. This interaction has led to intermarriage. As a result, there has been an exchange of some socio-cultural practices between the two communities, one, among others, being manifested in the exchange of personal names. There are a number of Datooga personal names adapted by the Iraqw and vice versa is also true. Although the exchange of names between these communities needs an independent study, this article attested names from Datooga such as **Tara** and **Tarmo** 'male Datooga', **Tarto'o** 'female Datooga'. Name exchange has been so extensive that one cannot always easily recognize Datooga personal names used by the Iraqw. Other Datooga names found in Iraqw are **Margweé**[M] 'kind of Datooga beer', **Baraán**[M/F] 'journey', **Muchú**[M/F] 'morning', **Salahoót**[M] 'twins', **Habiiyeé**[M] 'hyena'. However, this needs to be given its due attention in future studies.

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

Although Hadzabe are in contact with Iraqw, which made the two communities exchange products like spears, herbs (from the Hadzabe), and grains (from the Iraqw), the Iraqw did not use **Hagiite** 'Hadzabe' to name their children. Moreover, contact between African societies and foreign societies/nations through trade, missionary activities and colonization, brought foreign names into the stock of Iraqw personal names. This is shown in the list below, which are common names among the Iraqw. Personal names in Table 15 among others enter Iraqw via Swahili, the national language and regional lingua franca.

NAME	MEANING
Masoóng'[M]	*Wazungu* 'white men'
Angaaresí[M]	*Waingereza* 'English men'
Mihindí[M]	Hindi 'Indian man'
Sumarí[M]	'Somali'
Chiná[M]	'Chinese'

Table 15 – Names from contact with foreigners

Some children are named after Swahili personal names such as **Tabú**[F] derived from **taabu** 'troubles', **Juma'iné**[M] from the Swahili word *Jumanne* 'Tuesday', **Nadá**[F/M] from *mnada* 'cattle market day', **Kasí**[F/M] from *kazi* 'work' with the Iraqw synonym **Gajeé**[M/F], and **Kalamú**[M] from *kalamu* 'pen'. Other names are **Gafná**[M] from the English word 'governor', **Shawrí**[M] 'from *Bwana shauri* 'a district officer next to DC during colonial government', where the Iraqw synonym is **Kwaslemá**[M] 'case, affair, consult', **Karaní**[M] from *karani* 'clerk', **Safarí**[M] or **Safari**[F] from *safari* 'journey' (the Iraqw synonym is **Aaé**[M/F] derived from verb **aai** 'travel, journey').

Like Iraqw traditional names, these non-native personal names are used as a child's **umuú xwaante** 'birth or given name'. The choice of these names is triggered by the sighting (encountering) of a person from these communities, or by a visit by one of them to the family of the newborn, or by invasion of the village to steal cattle (or for any other reason) or when the mother gives birth to a child in the area where a certain community lives. Generally, it should be noted that varied (environmental elements, historical, socio-cultural, political, etc.) sources of names give the meaning of names. These meanings may or may not depict the feature or behaviour of the name bearer. Lexical meanings usually depict the origin of the name. People perhaps used these sources either to commemorate (for any reason), or for socio-cultural reasons. It is therefore worth arguing that people's surroundings, varied circumstances, family or societal, political affairs were very important in naming their newborns. Thus, a name is a referential meaning label for people, and there is a relationship between personal names and their meaning.

5. Some linguistic observations regarding personal names

This section offers highlights of some linguistic features, especially those featured in the course of this study. However, detailed analysis of linguistic properties of personal names needs to be given its due attention in future studies.

Iraqw personal names are formed from ordinary lexical items, mostly nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The formation process from nouns involves the placement of tone on the final vowel for the majority of nouns of different types as illustrated in Table 16.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
aama[F]	'old woman/grandmother'	**Amá**[F]
seehha[F]	'tsetse fly'	**Sehhá**[M/F]
yaa'e[F]	'river, leg'	**Yaa'é**[M]
maasay[M]	'medicine (general)'	**Maasáy**[M]
buura[F]	'beer'	**Burá**[M/F]
qwari[F]	'hunger'	**Qwarí**[M]
lawee'i[F]	'heavy rain, starting from west'	**Lawe'í**[M]
kwasleema[F]	'meeting, discussion'	**Kwasleemá**[M/F]

Table 16 – Names derived by a final high tone

However, for some names, the high final tone in source nouns is maintained as depicted in Table 17. In other words, if nouns end in a high tone, this high tone is maintained in the derived name.

SOURCE	MEANING	NAME
giyeét[F]	'famine'	**Giyeét**[M]
geeweé[F]	'disease, epidemic'	**Geeweé**[M]
gadyeét[F]	'work'	**Gajeé**[M]
/awatú[M]	'monkey'	**/Awatú**[M]
/antsí[F]	'cactus, fig tree'	**/Antsí**[M]

Table 17 – Names identical to source

An indirect relationship between high tones and definiteness or individuality has been observed (MOUS 1993: 83), and high tones can be used to derive names in Iraqw (MOUS 1993: 21). Furthermore, a number of personal nouns are formed from verbs and adjectives through nominalisation. This derivation manifests through morphophonological processes with different nominalizing suffixes and placement of the final high tone. Deverbal personal names are formed from varied day-to-day activities and/actions undertaken by Iraqw as shown in Table 18.

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

SOURCE (VERB)	MEANING	NAME
fi'iit	'run to help'	Fi'itá[M]
xuuf	'drink beer'	Xuufó[M]
uu'	'cry for alarm'	Uu'í[F] or uu'ó[M]
baal	'defeat'	Baalí[M]
sii'	'refuse, reject'	Si'imá[M/F]
tleehh	'to do, to build'	Tlehhemá[M]
tlaaq	'cut, cut tree'	Tlaqá[M]
tlaaw	'get up, wake up'	Tleemú[M]
daaf	'return home from herding'	Dafí[M/F] / Dafáy[M]
deel	'remain fallow, remain, postpone'	Deelí[M]
slaa'	'want, like, love'	Sla'amá[M]
sluuq	'kill a big/dangerous animal'	Sluqó[M]

Table 18 – Names derived from verbs

These names are derived by using nominalising suffixes, such as **-a**, **-o**, **-i**, **-iima**, **-emu**, **-ema**, **-ama**. They also end with a final high vowel as a distinctive feature of Iraqw personal names. Moreover, some other personal names are formed from adjectives as listed in Table 19 below.

SOURCE (ADJECTIVE)	MEANING	NAME
boo/	'dark, black, darkness, blackness'	Boo/áy[M], Boo/o[M], Boo/í[M/F]
/awaak	'white, light, clear, nice'	/Awakí[M/F]
da/aat	'red'	Da/atá[M], Da/atí[M/F]
meehh	'mixed colour esp. goat's colour'	Mehhí[M/F]
biif	'spotted colour for goats'	Bifá[F/M]
fará/	'cow colour term for a white spot on the head'	Fara/áy[F/M]

Table 19 – Names derived from adjectives

The data above showed the derivation of personal names from adjectives by nominalising suffixes such as **-ay**, **-o**, **-i**, **-a**, and by adding final high tones. The name **Hhipú**[M] is derived from an ideophone **hhip** 'very black kind of colour'.

Based on the analysis of personal names from different sources discussed above, and from both core and derived ones, it is revealed that the unique property of the Iraqw personal names is the high tone marked on the final vowel. Another observation is that the gender of a noun is not predictable by its meaning in the sense that the gender of the noun is different from the sex of the referent and

words with a similar meaning can be of either gender as depicted in Table 20 below.

SOURCE (VERB)	MEANING	NAME
aama[F]	'old woman/grandmother'	Amá[F]
seehha[F]	'tsetse fly'	Sehhá[M/F]
yaa'e[F]	'river, leg'	Yaa'é[M]
buura[F]	'beer'	Burá[M/F]
qwari[F]	'hunger'	Qwarí[M]
lawee'i[F]	'heavy rain, starting from west'	Lawe'í[M]
tsee/ama[M]	'sunny, hot season'	Tsee/amá[M/F]
tluway[M]	'rain'	Tluway[F] &Tluwaáy[M]

Table 20 – Difference in gender between name and its source

As can be seen in (20), As can be seen in (20), there are ordinary feminine nouns which can be derived to make male names. However, some ordinary masculine nouns can be used to derive both male and female personal names. Although a number of the personal names are derived from ordinary nouns which specify gender, the gender of personal names is determined by form and meaning rather than the sex of the person. Gender reflects the sex of the person even if the names are identical or the same name is used for both male and female referents. This tells us that the formation of personal names from ordinary nouns does not consider the gender of the source noun as shown. Although the majority of personal names are used for both sexes, some are restricted to females while others are for male children only. The grammatical gender of the noun does not necessarily reflect the sex of the person to whom the name is given. A grammatically feminine noun can be used to name a male child and a grammatically masculine noun can be used to name a female child. Thus, names like **Axweesó, Nadé, Matlé** among others are grammatically masculine or feminine according to the gender of the person to whom they are given. A number of names are restricted to females such as **Umalí, Sakrí**, and/or male person like **Diráng'w, Du'umá, Duxó**, etc.

6. Conclusion

This article has addressed personal names and the practice of naming in Iraqw, a Southern Cushitic language of Tanzania. The analysis has revealed that, traditionally, a child is named by paternal kin because naming practice follows a patriarchal system. Naming is customarily accompanied by a ceremony. The paper has shown that names are not a mere label that distinguishes an individual from the rest of the members of the family or community; they instead have rich meanings in the worldview of the Iraqw. Names have indexical relationships to

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

historical, political, socio-cultural meanings, and functions and places, activities, people, environmental elements, behaviour, morphology, and physical appearance of people. This implies that the act of naming actually describes the way names are bestowed to a newborn. Names commemorate important family, societal, national, and international historical events. They refer to language communities that have been in contact with the Iraqw for several centuries. This contact has significantly influenced Iraqw personal names through heavy borrowing from Datooga, a Nilotic language, and some from Swahili. Recently, Christianity has strongly influenced and continues to influence Iraqw naming practices, the pattern of names and traditional names to the extent that some families no longer give their newborn the traditional names. Iraqw personal names are morphophonologically derived from ordinary words including nouns, verbs, adjective, and ideophones. The derivational process involves placing a high tone on the final syllable. Nominalising suffixes together with high tone derive names from verbs, adjectives and ideophones. High tone on the final syllable is a distinctive feature of the Iraqw name. Most personal nouns do not distinguish the gender of the referent, because nouns of masculine or feminine gender can be used for both male and female children. In other words, the gender of the child does not determine the gender of the noun used as a noun.

CHRISPINA ALPHONCE
Iraqw personal names and naming practices: Some linguistic observations

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