

Semantics, Morphology and Gender-Marking in Datooga Personal Names

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Abstract

This paper describes the Datooga personal names in terms of their semantics and morphology as well as how gender is marked in those names. Based on a sample of 490 personal names, the paper re-affirms that Datooga personal names are meaningful as they reflect various events and activities in the society. The meaningfulness of personal names is attributed to the fact that they are derived from the said events and activities. The major morphological processes involved in the derivation of the personal names are affixation, conversion, verbal negation, borrowing and compounding. In marking the gender of personal names, an array of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors is involved for gender differentiation in the Datooga naming system. Further, the meaning of certain lexical items is central in determining how gender is marked in personal names. Female names derive from lexical items with the themes beauty, docility and small size while male names are associated with the themes bad looking, big size and dangerous/destructive events/activities. The semantics of the names are best captured through an encyclopaedic view of meaning since their meanings are interwoven with the general culture of the Datooga community.

Key words: *Datooga, gender, gender-marking, naming, personal names*

Introduction

Naming is a powerful vehicle for promoting identification with the past and locating oneself within the wider network of memory (Alderman, 2008:195). Datooga⁹ personal naming is semantically based on an array of factors surrounding the birth process. The factors that determine the naming of a newborn in Datooga call for personal names to be morphologically derived from existing lexical items that refer to events or activities taking place at the time of birth. Gender marking has been identified as a core component of the naming of new-borns in Datooga. Cross-linguistically, two types of gender have been identified: grammatical gender, which regulates agreement between words; and natural gender, which is depicted in

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⁹ Datooga is a Nilo Saharan language spoken in different parts of Tanzania. LoT (2009) puts the total number of speakers to be 13 7000. The ethnologue (2020) gives a much higher figure of 161 000 Datooga speakers. Rottland (1982) divides the language into six dialects namely: Rotigenga, Bianjiida, Buraediga, Gisamjanga, Barbaiga and Isimjeeg dialects.

individual words that carry natural gender information. Dimmendaal (2000) terms these two genders as the agreeing and non-agreeing genders. Although not all lexical items are overtly marked for gender in Datooga, gender marking is a characteristic of personal names in Datooga and other Southern Nilotic languages (Rottland 1892; Chet & Creider 1989; Mietzner 2015, 2016). The factors that determine the naming of newborns in Datooga call for the personal names to be morphologically derived from existing lexical items. Based on the way personal names are derived in Datooga, the present study establishes how unmarked lexical items are integrated in the marked gender system of Datooga personal names, focusing on their morphological derivation and their semantics. In achieving this, the paper shows how gender is linguistically and extra-linguistically manifested and differentiated in the Datooga naming practice. As it is shown by Klima (1964, 1970) and Blystad (2000, 2004), the Datooga society is patriarchal in nature although women maintain their rights to various aspects of life, thus making their status higher in some aspects of the Datooga lifestyle. In describing some of the aspects in which women have a higher status, Klima (1964:13) shows points out that there are certain magical-religious rituals that are exclusively carried out by women. This is one of the many aspects in which women are accorded a higher status in the society.

Findings from previous studies and the author's fieldwork experience point towards a stratified Datooga society characterized by gendering of social chores. Language study is viewed as a cultural resource and speaking as cultural practice (see Durant, 1997). According to Farb (1993), the language of particular speech community serves as an exit valve through which their beliefs and thoughts, cognition and experiences are articulated. In line with these assertions, this paper explores how the Datooga community expresses gender by looking at both the linguistic and extra-linguistic strategies employed in naming newborn babies. The article is guided by the Cognitive Semantic theory. The theory has several assumptions but only three of them are central to this study. The assumptions that guide this study are the encyclopaedic view to meaning, metaphor and profiling. After this introduction, the methodology of the paper is explained. The semantics of the personal names followed by their morphology are then explained. The aspect of gender marking in personal names is then discussed after which a conclusion to the study is provided.

Methodology

The study investigated personal names from three Datooga dialects, namely, Buraediga, Gisamjanga and Barbaiga. The three dialects were randomly selected from the six dialects of Datooga. The speakers of Buraediga dialect are found in Igunga district in Tabora region while the speakers of Gisamjanga and Barbaiga are respectively found in Mbulu and Hanang districts in Manyara region.

The study informants were purposively selected whereby two informants were picked from each dialect. All the informants were aged between 45 years and above. The researcher selected informants of that age since they are deemed to be conversant with the social, political, economic and cultural issues of their society. Among the Buraediga informants, one could speak Barbaiga dialect too. Likewise, one of the Gisamjanga informants had command of Barbaiga dialect. The informants were deemed enough for the study as they helped the study to obtain an overall picture of the naming scenario in Datooga. As suggested by Vaux and Cooper (1999), the presence of more than one informant in each dialect helps in exercising quality control over the information being collected while triggering each informant's memory of elusive forms and constructions.

The data were collected by using elicitation and extraction from various secondary sources of information. Bown (2008) suggests that it is a good idea to start any linguistic fieldwork with elicitation of the general knowledge about the language being studied. The study elicited a total of 144 personal names from the study informants. From secondary sources, personal names were obtained at Chagana primary school, which registers Datooga students in Igunga District. Here, personal names were extracted from the school admission book. A total of 350 personal names were collected. Once collected, the personal names were cross-checked by identifying the linguistic information contained in them. The information was obtained through focus group discussions with the study informants whereby the meaning, pronunciation and other relevant details related to the names were made clear.

The Semantics of Datooga Personal Names

Datooga personal names derive their meaning from different circumstances related to child birth. Various circumstances come into play when it comes to the naming of newborns in Datooga. The circumstances that influences naming in Datooga are: place of birth

as shown in (1), nature of birth/ labour (2), time of birth (3), parents' behaviour (4), physical appearance of the newborn (5) and the event(s) happening in the society during birth (6) below:

(1) Personal Names Reflecting the Place of Birth

Name Source Gloss and Meaning

Gidabádbɔda *bádbɔda* 'escarpment' born under an escarpment

Gidábwalbwalabwalbwala 'road' born on the road side

Ucikɔɔn *jíkɔɔni* 'kitchen' born in the kitchen

Gidámuhekeɛdamuhekeɛda 'plain' born in the plain

(2) Personal Names Reflecting the Nature of Birth/Labour

Name Source Gloss and Meaning

Gidamuɔ́da *muɔ́da* 'evade blood' excessive bleeding during labour

Gafufɛɛni *gafufɛɛni* 'resting' prolonged labour which came in turns

Mɛɛfufa *mɛɛfufa* 'not resting' labour was not prolonged

Gidámarɔɔca *marɔɔca* 'not sleeping' labour pangs caused sleepless nights

makeina *makeina* 'not weakening' mother was strong during labour

(3) Personal Names Reflecting Time of Birth

Name Source Gloss/Meaning

Gísakteida *sakteida* 'morning' born in the morning

Udáskweer *askwer* 'noon' born at noon

Udewɛɛda *ewɛɛda* 'night' born at night

Utakɔ́nɔɔda *taknɔɔda* 'sunshine' born during bright day

Gidáragɛɛda *ragɛɛda* 'grazing time' born during grazing time

(4) Personal Names Reflecting Parent's Behaviour

Name Source Gloss and Meaning

Udáwadini *wadini* 'loiter' born of a loitering father

Mɛɛkulamɛɛkula 'not castrated' father was a petty womanizer

Udáhaɓɓɔda *haɓɓɔda* ‘stubbornness’ born of a stubborn mother

(5) Personal Names Reflecting Physical Appearance of the Newborn

Name	Source	Gloss and Meaning
<i>Udábuubun</i>	<i>buubun</i>	‘soft’ soft skinned newborn
<i>Gidáfaafi</i>	<i>faafi</i>	‘pale’ pale skinned newborn
<i>Ghuutadu</i>	<i>ghuuta du</i>	‘mouth’ ‘black’ black mouthed newborn
<i>Duseeniduseeni</i>		‘blackish’ born black the whole body
<i>Udágwadeeni</i>	<i>gwadeeni</i>	‘fist size’ born small

(6) Personal Names Reflecting Events Taking Place during Birth

Name	Source	Gloss and Meaning
<i>Gílugɔɔda</i>	<i>lugɔɔda</i>	‘invasion’ born during an invasion by an enemy
<i>Udágwajɛɲf</i>	<i>gwajɛɲf</i>	‘skinning’ born as an animal was skinned
<i>Udáqhamuf</i>	<i>qhamuf</i>	‘plastering’ born during house plastering
<i>Gídaɲadiida</i>	<i>ɲadiida</i>	‘lion’ born when lions had killed an animal
<i>Gidámucurusi</i>	<i>mucurusi</i>	‘brokers’ born when there were brokers in the land

As shown in (1)- (6) above, personal names in Datooga literally derive from an array of factors. This makes them meaningful rather than just labels for identifying persons. The meaningful nature of most African names has been observed in various languages. For instance, some scholars have shown the meaningfulness of personal names in Nilo-Saharan group of languages (see Storch, 2014; Mietzner, 2016; Asheli, 2017). Although Datooga has uniqueness in the naming of newborns as it has been explained in the subsequent sections, the meaningful nature of the personal names reflects that of other African languages. The meaning of a personal name can only be understood from an encyclopaedic view since it is normally interconnected with the general culture of the Datooga people.

The Morphology of Datooga Personal Names

Morphologically, personal names derive from various circumstances which refer to a name, an activity or an adjective. This makes the names to be related to other lexical items in Datooga. The personal names are derived from other lexical items through various linguistic processes that are described below:

Personal Names Formed through Prefixation

Rottland (1982) mentions affixation as a pole process in the derivation of Datooga personal names. Prefixation, which is one form of affixation, is the most common method used to derive personal names from other syntactic categories in Datooga language. There are two prefixes that are prominently used to differentiate between male and female personal names. The masculine derivational prefix is *gida-* which is realized as *gi-* or *gid (V)-*. The feminine derivational prefix is *uda-* which is realized as *u-*, *uda-*, or *ud(V)*. These two prefixes are used to derive personal names from different lexical categories as shown in (7)- (9) below, whereby various personal names are derived from different lexical items in Datooga. The biological genders represented by the personal names are shown in brackets, where (M) represent masculine gender and (F) represent feminine gender.

(7) Personal Names Derived from other Nouns

Personal Name	Source	Gloss	Meaning
<i>Gícáɓɔda</i> (M)	<i>jaɓɔda</i>	‘outside’	born outside the house
<i>Udáǵɛǵɛda</i> (F)	<i>ǵhɛ□ǵɛda</i>	‘famine’	born during famine
<i>Gídabuyɛda</i> (M)	<i>buyɛda</i>	‘funeral’	born during a funeral

(8) Personal Names Derived from Verbs

Personal Name	Source	Gloss	Meaning
<i>Gídabeedi</i> (M)	<i>qabeedi</i>	‘fall’	child was dropped during birth’
<i>Gidahuuta</i> (M)	<i>ghahuuti</i>	‘lose’	born when a certain animal was lost
<i>Udáwadini</i> (F)	<i>wadini</i>	‘walk’	one of the parent was a loiterer

(9) Personal Names Derived from Adjectival Colour Terms

Personal Name	Source	Gloss	Meaning
<i>Udeɛf</i> (F)	<i>ɛf</i>	‘white colour’	newborn had a light skin
<i>Gidafaafi</i> (M)	<i>faafi</i>	‘pale colour’	newborn had pale colour
<i>Gíɲawif</i> (M)	<i>awif</i>	‘greenish’	newborn had skin rushes on the body’

As shown in (7)- (9) above, the feminine and masculine prefixes are the most productive in the derivation of personal names in Datooga. Of the 494 personal names collected from the field, 60% are derived through the affixation. This makes the structure *prefix + lexical item* the common way of forming personal names in Datooga. This structure is not prevalent in the formation of common nouns in Datooga as shown in Mdoe (forthcoming), thus earmarking it as a means of differentiating gender in personal names.

Personal Names Formed through Conversion

This is another morphological process by which personal names are derived in Datooga. It has been found that, with this morphological process, various syntactic categories are converted into personal names without undergoing any change in their morphological structure. Some of the morphological conversions are exemplified in (10)- (13) below:

(10) Personal Names Converted from Nouns

Personal Name	Source	Gloss	Meaning
<i>Jaleɛdi</i>	<i>jaleɛdi</i>	‘quarrel’	born during a family quarrel
<i>Udágwańdu</i>	<i>udágwańdu</i>	‘monkey’	born when monkeys weremany
<i>Guweńga</i>	<i>guweńga</i>	‘bow’	born during a war
<i>Sabiida</i>	<i>sabiida</i>	‘fig tree’	born under a fig tree

(11) Personal Names Converted from Verbs

Personal Name	Source	Gloss	Meaning
<i>Gafuufɛni</i>	<i>gafuufɛni</i>	‘exhausted’	labour made the mother exhausted

Lɛɛku *lɛɛku* ‘weaken’ pregnancy made the mother weak

Sípuuti *sípuuti* ‘drop’ child was dropped during birth

(12) Personal Names Formed through Verbal Negation

Name Affirmative Gloss Meaning

Mɛɛ-rɛɛkwa *rɛɛkwa* ‘unshaved’ born during a funeral, bereaved do not shave

Mɛɛ-fufa *fuufa* ‘restless’ labour caused restlessness

Mɛɛ-fuɲa *fuɲa* ‘not hidden’ born after a funeral, bereaved uncovered their faces

(13) Personal Names Derived from Colour Adjectival Terms

Personal Name Colour Term Gloss Meaning

Gísíghɛɛda *síghɛɛda* ‘brownish’ born in a dry season

Gínawíɲawíɲ ‘yellowish’ born with body rashes

Personal Names formed through Compounding

Compounding is another morphological process used to form of personal names for the newborns in Datooga. Like common nouns, some personal names too are formed through a combination of different syntactic units. There are Noun+Noun and Verb+Noun compounds, mostly occurring as endocentric ones. Some of the compound nouns are shown in (14) below:

(14) Personal Names Formed through Compounding

Personal Name Component Gloss/Meaning

Ghuutamuhɔɔga *ghuuta, muhɔɔga* mouth, calves, born when calves were dying

Barímɛɛida *bar, mɛɛida* kill, winnowed calves, after birth calves died

Bwafghɛɛda *bwaf, ghɛɛda* divide, house, born in a new homestead

In terms of the meanings of the personal names, this strategy appears to be used metaphorically as a means to do way with any

negativity associated with the birth event of a female baby. For instance, the personal name for a female newborn in (14) is *Ghuutamuhɔɔga* ‘born when calves were dying’ instead of *Bar̥mɛida* (male name) ‘the one who killed calves or heifers’. The component nouns *ghuuta* ‘mouth’ and *muhɔɔga* ‘calves’ are used to literally mean one who ate calves, which is metaphorically translated to mean one born during a period of time when calves were dying. This practice of avoiding the terms which have negative connotations in relation to the feminine gender is described in the subsequent sections.

Personal Names formed through Borrowing

This is another morphological process of forming personal names in Datooga. Nouns are the most borrowed items from other languages. Some of the personal names are as exemplified in (15) below:

(15) Personal Names Formed through Borrowing

Name	Origin	Donor Language	Gloss
<i>Udágíjiku</i>	<i>kijiko</i>	Swahili	‘spoon’
<i>Gídamúcúrusi</i>	<i>mchuuzi</i>	Swahili	‘middlemen’
<i>Udábwasínga</i>	<i>basi</i>	English through Swahili	‘bus’
<i>Udámútúku</i>	<i>mútúku</i>	English	‘motor car’
<i>Gídarakta</i>	<i>dárakta</i>	English	‘tractor’

The personal names above are loanwords from English, Swahili, and English through Swahili. The names reflect when such people, objects started to appear or began to be used in the community.

Linguistic and Extra-Linguistic Means of indicating Gender in Datooga Names

The feminine and masculine prefixes are the major means of classifying Datooga personal names (Rottland 1982; Charwi (2019). In other Nilo-Saharan languages, it has been found that personal names are divided along gender lines using different methods, with affixation as the major method (Tucker & Brian 1965; Storch 2005; Mietzner, 2016). The personal names derived by using sex-denoting affixes in Datooga show variation depending on the nature of the lexical category selected to take either of the masculine or feminine prefixes. The selection is not haphazard; there are various extra-linguistic factors that come into play during the process of deciding

which affix a lexical category has to take in the derivation of a personal name as it is explained in the following sections.

Personal Names from Animal Names

This study has found that the naming of newborn babies is associated with both wild and domesticated animals. Personal names derived from animal names have shown a clear demarcation of gender boundaries. Personal names derived from names of animals that are big and dangerous are only derived using the prefix *gida* or have zero derivation when they are meant to refer to masculine babies. Some of the names derived from big, dangerous animals in Datooga are shown below:

(16) Gender Differentiated Names along Animal Names

Personal Name	Derivation	Gloss	Name	Meaning
<i>Marílda</i>	<i>marílda</i>	'leopard'	born	when a leopard invaded a village
<i>Gídahabiye</i>	<i>habiyeda</i>	'hyena'	born	during a hyena attack
<i>Gídamúwēsta</i>	<i>muwēsta</i>	'buffalo'	born	when there were many buffalos
<i>Gídanadiida</i>	<i>nadiida</i>	'lion'	born	when a lion killed animals
<i>Giswombi</i>	<i>swombi</i>	'eagle'	born	when an eagle took away a lamb

As shown above, female names are not derived from names of big and dangerous animals. Thus, when the birth scenario is associated with one of the big/dangerous animals, another naming strategy is applied. Animals associated with feminine personal names are as shown in (17) below:

(17) Personal Name Source Gloss Meaning

<i>Udagwańdu</i>	<i>udagwańdu</i>	'monkey'	born	during a monkey season
<i>faghēru</i>	<i>faghērōda</i>	'ostrich'	born	when ostriches were many
<i>Udabiśyo</i>	<i>udábiśyo</i>	'a type of bird'	born	when these birds were many

As shown in (17) above, feminine names are associated with animals that are small, docile and less destructive. Male personal names are not derived from names of animals that are small and less dangerous. This reflects the overall culture of the Datooga people in terms of how gender is viewed in the society as explained in the discussion below.

There are few animal names which have been found to feature in both feminine and masculine nouns. Notable examples are *fureyɔɔda* 'jackal' and *gujońɔɔda* 'hare' whereby both *Udafureyɔɔda* and *Gidafureyɔɔda* *Uɔńɔɔ* and *Gíɔńɔɔ* are identified. Such a finding contrasts with Asheli (2017) who has established that in Iraqw (a Cushitic language that has much contact with Datooga), animal names are only associated with male newborns. In Datooga, both masculine and feminine names are associated with animals but on a strict gender demarcation as shown in the personal names exemplified in (16)- (17) above. In Cherang'any, a sister language to Datooga, the masculine-feminine distinction with regard to personal naming is not a prominent feature. For instance, a masculine or feminine name can be derived from any animal. For instance, the feminine name *Chemwetuny* and its masculine counterpart *Kimwetuny* are from the noun *nyeitunyi* 'a lion'. The same pairing is available for names derived from a leopard, a dog and a baboon (Mietzner, 2016). This is not the case in Datooga in which, as shown in (16)- (17), animal names are gendered in terms of personal name derivation.

Datooga's gendered naming scenario explained above reflects the socio-cultural nature of this society. The study informants attested that dangerous and destructive animals are not associated with female newborns since women in the Datooga culture are expected to be humble, caring and loving. Thus, associating their names with anything dangerous goes against such traits and, therefore, when the birth of a female baby is surrounded by events involving dangerous animals, another naming technique is applied. The same applies to male newborn babies, who are not named after docile animals. Datooga men are supposed to be hardworking and aggressive especially in protecting the family and society against any form of danger. Thus, giving to a female baby an animal name associated with docility contravenes with the obligations that a Datooga boy is required to undertake for the family and the society. These sentiments are also echoed in Klima (1970) who shows that men are supposed to be strong and aggressive in protecting the society and its sources of livelihood against external aggression.

Male-female Sphere Distinction

Another strategy that is used in gender differentiation is naming along activities that are specific to each gender in the Datooga society. The study found that some names are given to the female babies only because they are associated with the feminine sphere and reflect chores carried out by women in the Datooga society. Such names are as shown in (18) below:

(18)

Personal Name	Activity	Gloss/Newborn's Meaning
<i>Udágawísci</i> being milked	<i>ghawisci</i>	'to milk' born when cows were
<i>Udámuuf</i> being plastered	<i>qhamuuf</i>	'to plaster' born when the house was
<i>Udagɛɛwosci</i> was cooking	<i>gɛɛwosci</i>	'to cook' labour came when mother
<i>Udagíjiku</i> to be used	<i>gíjiku</i>	'spoon' born when spoons started
<i>Ucikɔɔni</i>	<i>cikɔɔni</i>	'kitchen' born in the kitchen
<i>Ujɛɲfi</i> skinned	<i>qhajɛɲf</i>	'skinning' born when an animal was

The personal names in (18) above refer to events and activities related to the female sphere of life. Given the fact that they are derived from gendered activities/events related to the female sphere of life, they are special for female persons (Field work notes). Of all the personal names collected by this study, no any masculine personal name is associated with the female sphere of life. The study informants' views reflected the gendered nature of the various aspects of Datooga life. Such gendering of activities has also been observed by Klima (1964) and Blystad (2000) who have shown a strict division of social activities along gender lines. Data from the field also provide evidence for this strict division of societal chores along gender lines in the Datooga community. Some of the activities are mythologically associated with a given gender, thus making it impossible for them to be associated with its opposite gender. For instance, the act of milking was originally done by men but later, through mythical association and under the influence of the Datooga

belief in female deity/ goddess (*udameesilgwa*), the activity shifted to the female gender and up to date Datooga men do not engage in milking cows. This made the names derived from the activity of milking to be given to female babies only: that is, only female babies born while the activity of milking (or any other activity related to it) is taking place would be given names derived from that activity. For instance, the female name *udágawisci* is derived from the verb *qawa* ‘to milk’. To the contrary, the name **gidagawisci* does not exist since male children cannot be given names associated with milk or milking even if they are born at the time when milking or any other activity associated with milking is taking place.

On the other hand, Datooga masculine personal names in (19) and (20) below reflect the sphere of male activities. As shown below, hunting, war and fighting are associated with the masculine world; so, the names for female newborns cannot be derived from lexical items that refer to such activities.

(19)

Personal Name	Activity	Gloss	Newborn’s Meaning
<i>Gifagheeta</i>	<i>fagheeta</i>	‘hunting game’	born during hunting games
<i>Gitabegheega</i>	<i>begheega</i>	‘Maasai’	born during a war with the Maasai
<i>Guwen□ga</i>	<i>guwen□ga</i>	‘bow’	born when men were making bows
<i>Gitanwala</i>	<i>nwala</i>	‘arrow sharpening’	born when arrows were made

Another group of male-specific activities which were found to be associated with several male personal names comprises of activities and events surrounding brew making and brew drinking. A number of male personal names associated with this group of activities/events were identified. Such names are as shown in (20) below:

(20)

Personal Name	Source	Gloss /New-born’s Meaning
<i>Bogíti</i>	<i>bogiti</i>	‘being drunk’
father was drunk during birth		

Bom□boda *bom□boda* ‘brew remains’ born when men were drinking brew remains

Gidakhamuní *Khamuníga* ‘honey brew’ born when honey brew was being prepared

Gidakeyida *keyida* ‘drunkard’ father used to be a drunkard

The masculine personal names in (19) and (20) above are related to activities that belong to the male sphere in the Datooga society. Datooga women do not hunt, are prohibited from drinking alcohol and are also not involved in war activities (field work notes). No any female personal name was associated with these activities. When the birth of a female baby is associated with such an activity, the morphology of the feminine name was modified to accommodate the feminine aspect. For instance, the name *lugoda* ‘invasion army’ is associated with the male sphere but when a female baby is born during an invasion, she would be named *gwe□lugoda* ‘one brought by the invasion’ as the verb *gweedu* means ‘one who is brought’. This name (as suggested by the informants) is only used when the invasion is successful. For a male new born, regardless of the outcome of the invasion, the name could be either *lugoda* or *gilugoda*.

Again, gender differentiation in naming says more about the nature of societal chores in Datooga society. The naming stresses on the strict division of societal activities among the Datooga people. There are activities that are purely for women and there are others which are purely men. The study also observed that even male informants were not well informed about the activities done by women. In one of the cases which involved slaughtering cattle, the male informant only described the suffocating process: the rest of the processes (skinning, cutting the meat, names of various meat parts) required a female informant. Unlike Charwi (2019) who reports that gendered naming lowers the status of women in the society, this study supports Klima’s (1964) finding that Datooga women have the same rights as Datooga men as there are specific spheres in which women have total autonomy as depicted in the naming system which is based on the activities/events taking place during the time of birth.

Gender Differentiation along Connotations of Datooga Names

This is another technique used in gendered naming among the Datooga. Words with negative connotations are highly associated with masculine newborns while those with positive connotations are

associated with feminine newborns. To explain this, the following masculine Datooga personal names in (21) are associated with negative connotations in the Datooga society.

(21)

Personal Names Derived from Gloss and Motive to Naming

- Múŋiida* *muŋiida* ‘quarrel’ born when there was family quarrel
- Gidabεεghεεga* *bεghεεga* ‘Maasai’ born when there was a war with Maasai
- Gídasayida* *qhasayi* ‘running stomach’ born and started to diarrhoea

The personal names in (21) above further reflect the social fabric of the Datooga society in which men are considered quarrelsome. In no way can a feminine newborn be named after a quarrelsome parent or troublesome event. Further, the names tell us more about the bitter relationship that exists between the Maasai and the Datooga (see Mhajida, 2019). The Datooga consider the Maasai as their worst traditional enemies and, therefore, killing one of them is a sign of bravery which puts someone in a higher status in the society. Thus, a male child can be given a name that connotes the Maasai invasion or the day that a Maasai was killed.

On the other hand, words with positive connotations are associated with the feminine gender as exemplified in (22) below:

(22)

Personal Name	Source	Gloss/Meaning
<i>Manan</i>	<i>manan</i>	‘small’ born small but pretty
<i>Udámijn</i> □ <i>ga</i>	<i>mijn</i> <i>ga</i>	‘star’ born at night when sky was clear
<i>Udabon</i> <i>ga</i>	<i>bon</i> <i>ga</i>	‘charming’, born charming/of a charming parent
<i>Udabuńda</i>	<i>buńda</i>	‘extra beautiful’ newborn was very attractive
<i>Udabuubuni</i>	<i>buubuni</i>	‘soft’ newborn had a soft skin

As shown in (22) above, names with positive connotations are associated with the feminine gender. Prettiness is associated with

the feminine gender as is evidenced in (22) above where feminine names are associated with soft skin, beauty and charming behaviour.

Further, when naming is associated with events that are not good in the Datooga society, feminine names tend to be derived from other terms to connote such events in an indirect way. For instance, a male child born during a funeral is named *gidabunɛda* after the Datooga word *bunɛda* ‘funeral’. To avoid such a name for a female child born during a funeral, feminine terms are used as it has been found by this study. The feminine names are derived by making use of negation (negation strategy) in order to neutralize the negativity associated with the core terms. They are exemplified in (23) below:

(23)

Datooga Name	Datooga Form	Gloss
<i>Udamɛɛkwa</i>	<i>mɛɛkwa</i>	not covered
<i>Udamerɛɛkwa</i>	<i>merɛɛkwa</i>	not to be shaved
<i>Udameenasɛɛyu</i>	<i>meenasɛɛyu</i>	who brought bad news

The first two personal names in (23) above involve negation of the affirmative verbs ‘cover’ and ‘shave’. They are used metonymically to refer to the funeral period given the fact that during this period the members of the deceased’s family do not cover themselves with many clothes. Also, they do not shave their heads until the bereaving period is over (Field work notes). This affirms the strongly held Datooga practice of not naming female newborns after events that are associated with bad omen or calamities.

To avoid having female names that are associated with bad omen, creatively formed compounds are employed in naming female newborns. An instance was found where a male newborn baby was named *barmɛida* ‘one who killed calves’ and a female was named *udaghuutimuhɔga* ‘one with a mouth of calves’, meaning one who ate calves instead of ‘one who killed calves’. Both these babies were born at a time when many calves and heifers were dying. However, through creative compounding the female newborn name was designed in such a way that it does not make direct reference to the scenario of bad omen in the society. Thus, the metonymically formed compound ‘*udaghuutimuhɔga*’ avoids direct association of the feminine gender with events that are deemed as bad omen in the Datooga society.

Another instance is when a female baby is born during a quarrel or is born of a family whose parents had a quarrel. Instead of being named **udamuɲiida*, *muɲiida* or *jálɛɛdi* ‘quarrel’, a feminine newborn is named *udagwadɛɛni* to mean ‘not straightened’. This depicts the extent to which connotation is central in determining the name to be given to a newborn in the Datooga society. Thus, the semantics of the lexical items from which personal names are to be derived dictate the choice of names for newborn babies of a respective gender. As it can be observed in the names presented above, the semantics of the deriving lexical items is best understood from a cognitive view of meaning.

Further, in associating male gender with brutal social ordeals, there exists a set of masculine-only personal names that denote some of the oppressive rules minted to the Datooga throughout history. As with other negative connoting names and events, these names are not in any way used for feminine newborn babies. Some of the identified masculine names are shown in (24) below:

(24)

Name Event/ Person Related to Gloss

<i>Gítighen</i>	German rulers	associated with donkey
<i>Mkali</i>	a District Commissioner who harshly punished the Datooga	a District Commissioner
<i>Mútírɛsi</i>	post independent police	post independent police
<i>Gidabwalis</i>	police	borrowed from police

The Datooga people refer to the periods associated with the names in (24) above as periods of suffering and death in the society. As shown in Mhajida (2019), the Datooga society has gone through long periods of harsh treatment by various ruling classes, from the German rule to post-independence. Thus, a male child born during any of the said periods was given a name associated with the law enforcing agents or leaders who exercised the brutal rule.

The above names indicate some of the historical political rules that the Datooga people have gone through. Datooga names such as *Gitighen* ‘Germans’ and *Hińdíłasi* ‘Hitler’ depict the German rule. The Germans were associated with donkeys ‘*dighenika*’ because they came with horses, which (to the Datooga speakers) are more like donkeys: hence the name *Gitigheni* came into being under such a circumstance. After the Germans, the British rule was introduced in

the Datooga land. Names like *gidańgaresa* were used to reflect the Britons who were then ruling the Datooga land. However, the British rule is not much reflected in the naming of newborn babies in Datooga.

During the post-independence period, naming was associated with the brutality exercised by the government against the Datooga people. This too is expressed using male personal names. Among these names are *Gidábwalisi* ‘police officer’ and *Gidamutirees* ‘post-independence police officers’. One Datooga name which typically depicts the brutality of the rulers is *Mkali*. The derivation of this name was associated with a District Commissioner in Mbulu, *Mkali*, who mistreated the Datooga people and male newborn babies born during his tenure to be referred to by the name *Mkali*.

Such names show the prominence given by the Datooga to their fight in defence of their land and livelihood against aggressors. Even before the colonial and post-colonial rule, names associated with the *bēeghēega* ‘Maasai’ (the Datooga people’s traditional enemies) were only assigned to male newborns, for instance the name *bēeghēega* or *gídábēeghēega*. As it is shown by Mhajida (2019), the Datooga people value their independence and they cannot give in easily to anyone who interferes with their livelihood.

Gender Differentiation along Colour Terms

Colour terms and the physical appearance of a newborn baby are also gendered in that the colours which are deemed attractive and shining are associated with the feminine gender while the non-attractive ones are associated with the masculine gender. The names in (25) exemplify this.

(25)

Personal Name	Colour Term	Gloss
<i>Udef</i> (F)	<i>ēf</i>	‘white colour’
<i>Gidafaafi</i> (M) <i>faafi</i>		‘pale colour’
<i>Gínawif</i> (M)	<i>awif</i>	‘greenish’
<i>Ghuutadu</i> (M)	<i>du</i>	‘black’

As shown in (25) above and as explained by the study informants, white colour is associated with beauty, hence, it is only associated with feminine names. A male newborn baby, even if he is light-skinned, cannot be named by referring to the white colour. Even when

a female baby has any of the male-associated colours, it cannot be named with reference to that colour. Only the colours which are not attractive are associated with masculine names

Gender Neutral Names

Some personal names in Datooga do not reflect any form of gender distinction directly or indirectly. Such names have both feminine and masculine forms. Personal names found in this class are those which are related to the time and place of birth. Some of the personal names are shown in (26) below:

(26)

Masculine Name	Feminine Name	Gloss
<i>Gícémɔga</i>	<i>Ucémɔga</i>	born in an animal shed
<i>Gidábádɔda</i>	<i>Udábádɔda</i>	born in an escarpment
<i>Gidamuheekɛda</i>	<i>Udamuheekɛda</i>	born in the plains
<i>Gidabasɔda</i>	<i>Udabasɔda</i>	born near a lake

There are names that refer to the time and place of birth but they are not gender-sensitive. Such names just depict the physical structure of the Datooga land. It is a land with rivers, lakes, escarpments and plains. The names also reflect the names of various towns and villages where the babies were born.

Although places are not indicative of gender, when a baby is born in a place where gender-related activities are carried out, gender categorization arises. For instance, if a child is born in a kitchen, for which the Swahili word ‘*Jikoni*’ is borrowed, the newborn baby will be named after the kitchen if it is female. Thus, the name *Ucikɔni*, a sphere that is associated with the female sphere is used for female babies. This form of gender distinction is also achieved in other borrowed terms such as *gíjiku* ‘spoon’ which is named after a feminine newborn baby. Another borrowed noun that shows gender distinction based on its less attractive appearance is *darákɔta* ‘a tractor’ whereby only masculine names are associated with it, for instance the personal name *Gídarakɔta*. On the other hand, *mutúku* ‘a motor car’ is deemed attractive by the Datooga people. Hence the feminine name *Udámútúku* means a female child whose birth is associated with events that involve a motorcar.

It was revealed that, apart from marking gender, the names tell us plenty of information about different aspects of the Datooga life. For

instance, they tell us about the political history of the Datooga people, ranging from their wars with the Maasai, their mistreatment during the German and British rules to their post-colonial life. The names also tell us about other various events related to the socio-economic fabric of the Datooga society and the various calamities they have gone through across time, for instance famine, drought and massive deaths of their cattle, which are important animals in the Datooga life. Gender marking and all the information carried in personal names reflect the social, economic and political fabric of the Datooga community which is part of the semantics of Datooga personal names.

Conclusion

From the discussion above, it is clear that personal names in Datooga are not mere labels used for identification. Rather, they are meaningful labels used to reflect various events and activities in the Datooga culture. They are linguistically constructed through various morphological processes that include affixation, zero derivation, negation and compounding. Morphologically and semantically, the processes are used in several aspects to indicate how gender manifests in the naming of newborn babies. Gender differentiation is achieved by means of different linguistic and extra-linguistic strategies. Linguistically, there are gender-related prefixes which differentiate between female and male names. Further, the semantics of a lexical item also influences the choice of a name to be given to a newborn baby. Personal names that revolve around the themes aesthetics (beauty), small size and docility are associated with feminine gender. Contrary to that, personal names revolving around conflicts, big size and negative connotations are associated with the masculine gender. As shown in this study, the morphological processes involved in the derivation of personal names help in achieving the gendering function in the language as it is done with prefixation and some instances of compounding and verbal negation that are used to evade the masculine semantic themes that would have been associated with the feminine gender. Also, extra-linguistic factors contribute to gender differentiation in the naming of newborn babies whereby the activities related to each gender in the society derive names related to that specific gender only. Further, there exists a set of names that are neutral and can be associated with any of the genders. The names refer to shared societal experiences and places as well as some animals that are not associated with specific semantic themes related to any of the two genders. Thus, when selecting a name for a newborn, one profiles

(from a possible list of activities and events surrounding the birth event) a name that will best suit the newborn, taking into consideration the naming norms of the Datooga culture.

The study has further revealed that, within the personal names, there are other various pieces of information which detail and describe the Datooga people's political history, their environment and their socio-economic fabric. Thus, as shown in this paper, much information is carried by personal names in Datooga and, in order to clearly capture the meaning of the personal names, an encyclopaedic view to meaning needs to be employed since the semantics of personal names are interwoven with and are part of the Datooga culture.

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