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Naming, Power, and Gender: The Socio-Cultural and Linguistic Analysis of Personal Names Among the Kiga of Southwestern Uganda

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Abstract

In this paper, we examine personal names among the Kiga people of southwestern Uganda. We demonstrate how naming practices reflect gender power relations, cultural beliefs, values, and traditions among the Kiga. Based on a dataset of about 7,000 Kiga personal names collected mainly through reviewing tax collection registers and interviewing older individuals, we analyse the contribution morphology and semantics make to reinforce gendered ideologies in the Kiga society. The findings show that certain morphological affixes and connotations of some names appear to contribute to gender-connotative and stereotyped meanings, constructing males as superior to females. The study further shows that names portray differences in social status, gender roles, and physical attributes. The study employs Butler's (1993) gender performativity theory to unravel how past naming practices culturally perpetuated gender inequalities and explores how later naming practices resisted them. Our study underscores the role of naming in apportioning roles and assigning social status based on one's gender, offering insights into the worldview of the Kiga people on gender.

Keywords: Kiga, personal names, gender, power dynamics, morphological affixes

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1 Introduction

Many studies on personal names in the African context demonstrate that names are not mere labels for identifying individuals; they are loaded with cultural meanings (Akinnaso 1980; De Klerk and Bosch 1996; Obeng 1998; Koopman 2002; Agyekum 2006; Ngade 2011; Mensah 2015; Matiza-Mtombeni 2023). Importantly, the meaning of a name requires contextual interpretation. This indicates that names are cultural symbols (Mamvura 2021). In many African societies, names serve as cultural encyclopedias, storing information about their philosophy, culture, religious beliefs, linguistics, and way of life. Personal names communicate the name-giver's general outlook on life, often capturing the circumstances surrounding the child's birth. A name can have both positive and negative connotations, even possessing the ability to protect the bearer from death (Agyekum 2006; Mamvura 2021).

A critical examination of personal names among the Kiga of western Uganda reveals that they are a vital aspect of their socio-cultural existence, reflecting their values, customs, and norms. They act as diaries, preserving their life stories and the prevailing circumstances at the time of their birth. Furthermore, personal names implicitly express the feelings, emotions, values, and traditions of the name-giver at the time the name is given (Cisternino 1977; Muranga 1990; Kabananukye 2016). Names also communicate the aspirations of the name giver and portray the child's physical attributes, the time or season in which the child is born, and the religious or political atmosphere at the time of birth. Notably, the influence of foreign religions changed the tradition of communicating life's hardships through the majority of historical Kiga names (Cisternino 1977).

Recent studies such as Orie (2002), Mensah (2022), Mensah et al. (2022), Lusekelo and Manyasa (2022), Ndlovu (2023), and Mensah et al. (2026) have explored how naming practices in the African context construct gender. These studies have reflected on how names perpetuate societal beliefs and norms, create a binary division between males and females, label a specific gender in a certain way, impact how society views a particular gender, and propagate gender-based hierarchies. Drawing on these studies, the current study explores how the morphological and semantic features of Kiga personal names reinforce gender imbalances. Specifically, it interrogates how the Kiga names endorse the elevation of men as the holders of power and owners of all wealth, hence relegating women to the periphery. The study further examines how the Kiga society valued boys more than girls, and how this was reflected in their naming system. It further explores personal names that designate social roles and responsibilities in relation to the male and female gender categories. This study also highlights how girls are objectified based on their beauty. Through gender performativity theory (Butler 1993), we show that the historical Kiga naming customs mirror the profoundly entrenched patriarchal frameworks common across many African societies.

2 The culture of naming among the Kiga

In Africa, many cultural traditions risk erosion due to technological advancements and external cultural contacts. This study is part of a broader project, which was aimed at documenting old personal names of the Kiga as an important marker of their cultural heritage, history, and identity. It also aimed to promote respect for cultural diversity, and encourage efforts to foster the preservation of Kiga personal names as a way of keeping the social and cultural memories of the Kiga society alive. The Kiga people are a Bantu-speaking society of Uganda and the custodians of the Rukiga language (classified as JE14 in Maho (2009); ISO code 639-3 [cgg]). The language is natively spoken by approximately 1.78 million people (Uganda Bureau of Statistics

[UBOS] 2024). The Kiga predominantly live in southwestern Uganda in the vast Kigezi region bordering Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Their language and culture align closely with those of the Nkore people, who speak a similar language, Runyankore (JE13; ISO code 639-2 [nyn]). In terms of political organization, the Kiga society has never been a monarchy, and is therefore a decentralized society. This means that there are no names related to kingship, nor are there any initiation-related names (Cisternino 1977).

Regarding the culture of naming, Karwemera (1994) shows that historically, a Kiga child would be named four days after birth. When a mother gave birth, she would be secluded, *okwarama*, which normally lasted four days. During the four days, the umbilical cord was expected to fall off. After the falling off of the umbilical cord, both the mother and child would be taken out of seclusion, out into the sun, *okuruga aha kiriri*, for the first time since the child was born, for the name-giving ceremony.[1] Name-giving was not the monopoly of one relative. Depending on the prevailing circumstances, the grandmother would first provide a name, with the grandfather following. Any other family member, especially the child's parents, could also provide the child with a name.[2] A small feast would then follow (Cisternino 1977). Our study focuses on names given to children after birth.

In terms of the structure of names, Kiga names, as in many other African languages, reflect the grammar of the language. Some names are lexicalized, possessing an internal morphosyntactic structure with semantic or pragmatic meanings (Asiimwe 2022). Diverse word formation processes are involved during name formation. Some personal names are derived by simple derivational processes, while others are a result of complex linguistic processes. As illustrated in Table 1, agglutination, for instance, makes it possible to derive multiple names from a single verb, as demonstrated with the verb root *-kund-* 'love/like'. Asiimwe (2022) offers a detailed linguistic analysis of the formation of Kiga personal names.

Table 1: Names derived from a single verb root *-kund-* 'love/like'

Personal name	**Translation**	**Personal name**	**Translation**
Rukundo	Love	Tumukunde	Let us love Him
Atukunda	He loves us (habitual)	Tukundane	Let us love one another
Naatukunda	He loves us	Mukundane	Love one another
Nankunda	He loves me	Bakundana	They love each other
Ankunda	He loves me	Beekunda	They love themselves
Akankunda	He loved me	Kukundakwe	His love
Akatukunda	He loved us		

Source: Elicited Kiga names

[1] The study focuses on historical and traditional aspects of naming practices. Current practices are not explored.
[2] We are thankful to one reviewer who asked whether the distribution of naming power reflected the broader social hierarchy or patriarchal structure of Kiga society. We suggest further research to draw conclusions regarding the relationship to the broader societal hierarchy or patriarchal structure of Kiga society.

3 Methods and data

This study adopted a qualitative approach under the interpretivism paradigm, because power and gender dynamics encoded in Kiga personal names are constituted in social practice, memory, and discourse rather than in measurable population parameters. The goal was to conduct an in-depth exploration of the context and a deeper analysis of the data (Saliya 2022). Data used in this study were collected in March 2020 and February 2021. We collected personal names mainly from pre-colonial and post-colonial tax registers, baptismal and church records, and administrative files, all accessed from the Kyanamira Subcounty Headquarters, in present day Kabale district. Kyanamira was purposively selected because it is the oldest administrative unit in Kabale and all these documents used to be kept at the subcounty offices. As the tax registers did not contain female names, because, during that era, only men paid taxes, we obtained additional female names through in-depth interviews with elderly participants. The interviews were conducted with 20 elders, 12 males and 8 females, who were purposively selected based on their age and knowledge of the naming practices of the Kiga community. By mutually triangulating these data sources, a corpus of 7,000 traditional personal names was compiled. The corpus provided a breadth and historical anchoring of names.

Through quota sampling, names were placed into three categories according to whether they exhibit morphological gender marking. The first category (quota) contained names that carry an attested morphological gender marker, which is usually a prefix. The second quota consisted of names whose morphological gender marking could not be established with confidence. The third quota was for names with no morphological gender cue. Although the socio-cultural categorization of names could have been possible, we noted that morphological gender marking would provide a clear nexus between naming, power, and gender. However, some names with gendered socio-cultural attributes were also examined.

The first quota constituted the highest percentage at 64% (448 names), the second quota was at 33% (228 names), and the last category, the ungendered category, constituted 3% (24 names). The names discussed in this paper were purposively selected from the first quota, i.e., those that exhibited clear morphological gender marking. Gender marking of names in the second and third quotas could not be established with a significant degree of certainty and these names were henceforth excluded. Out of the 448 names we purposively selected 68 names for analysis and illustration; we could not identify additional names with different meanings (themes), which indicated data saturation. In qualitative research, data collection and analysis continues until no new concepts emerge to signify new properties of undiscovered patterns (van Rijnsoever 2017).

The names selected were analysed and subsequently discussed with custodians of the Kiga language and culture. The 20 elders who were interviewed were purposively selected with the help of two research assistants who had lived in the study area for some time. The initial contacts were well known to the research assistants. From the initial contacts, the rest of the participants were selected through snowball sampling. We restricted the referrals for each participant and oversaw the recruiting procedure to guard against over-representation, thus minimizing sample bias and guaranteeing varied representation. The selected participants were varied in terms of age, religion, clan, gender, and geographical location. The saturation point was reached when those selected started referring us to participants we had already interviewed and we were not getting any new referrals. Given that we were engaging a homogeneous group, saturation was reached by the 20th participant, with no further themes emerging or new participants suggested. This is in line with previous studies. Data saturation is often reached within 12 interviews and is generally between 9 and 17 in qualitative studies (Guest et al. 2006).

Data analysis employed a combined deductive and inductive coding criteria. First, codes were based on the study's key variables, namely power, gender, and morphological forms. Additional codes came from the interview data. Coding was done in two phases: first, identifying the name forms, their morphology and origin, followed by identifying broader themes and patterns. Codes were accordingly assigned to them and the broader themes identified constituted code categories. We then examined the underlying meanings of those names with gendered nuances. The study ensured trustworthiness by keeping a reflexive journal to reduce researcher bias, and by providing information about the participants and the naming system.

While the study ran the risk of recall bias and generation filtering due to the advanced age of some participants, we relied on first-hand knowledge from those who had taken part in naming, or were name bearers, as well as transmitted knowledge, which includes information received from parents, grandparents, or other elders, and information remembered or interpreted later based on family experiences, community accounts, or observations. We also employed other methods to reduce memory errors, such as by cross-checking with the records and asking the same questions of different participants. We acknowledge that some information can be lost as stories are passed from one generation to another. Thus, transmitted accounts are treated mainly as evidence of how people remember and understand naming practices rather than as accurate historical accounts. We nonetheless acknowledge the older individuals for being able to recall and share such valuable information, even when some of them struggled to remember the events and circumstances under which some names were bestowed. We credit oral accounts for providing information about how communities remember and interpret names of the past.

This research was approved by the AIDS Support Organization (TASO) Research Ethics Committee (TASOREC/086/2021-UG-REC-009). We sought permission before accessing records stored at Kyanamira Subcounty and obtained consent from the participants before interviews were conducted. The names analysed in this study are newly documented. The study targeted historical names that were prevalent before the East African revival (Muranga 2018), specifically *amaziina ag'obunyakare*, or 'names of long ago', before people converted to Christianity. However, some names in the dataset may fall on the borderline between contemporary and historical personal names. Our primary focus is therefore on personal names expected to have no straightforward foreign religious connotation or to have been affected by contemporary shifts in the naming system.

4 Gendered names and societal roles

Gendered names are bestowed based on a person's gender (feminine or masculine). Studies on the interconnectedness between naming and gender have shown that names are not only labels but also embodiments of societal perceptions about gender (Amoakohene 2004; Ajíbóyè 2011; Mensah 2022; Ndlovu 2023). Naming, as a component of any given culture, has contributed significantly to the shaping of gender roles and identities in the African context. Notably, studies have established that patriarchal structures are firmly entrenched in African societies. This elevates men to higher positions, hence making them more powerful, and rendering women inferior and of low status (Falola 2003). Naming practices in Africa, and beyond, often show gender biases by assigning certain names to either females or males, leading to gender imbalances and stereotypes. Many African traditions typically uphold male dominance over women, dividing social and economic roles and responsibilities along binary gender lines. As Pilcher (2017) observes, names, whether forenames or surnames, contribute to gender identities, differences, and inequalities. In patriarchal families, men are culturally mandated to control their

households, provide for their families, and protect communities, while women are largely restricted to childbearing, domestic chores, and spousal servitude (Amoakohene 2004; Ndlovu 2021, 2023).

Among the Owe of Nigeria, some names are given to girls to influence the way they should approach marriage as an important institution, while other names are meant to prepare them for future motherhood (Mensah 2022). Such names are intended to instill in them the belief that a woman is only worthy if she can get married and produce children. In this society, as a girl grows up she is aware that she is a potential future wife and mother because it is believed that an unmarried woman has no place in society. In addition, when a woman gets married, she is expected to produce and take care of children. As every couple is expected to have children, Mensah (2022) reports that childlessness is stigmatized. Hence, certain names are constant reminders of these societal expectations. In the Zulu society of South Africa, names reflect the preference for boys (Ngubane 2013). Ndlovu (2023) reports the same among the Ndebele of Zimbabwe. As part of the culture in these societies, a family with boys is assured of continuity as well as sustenance for the clan, underscoring the economic and social privileges the male offspring receives. Thus, naming is a powerful tool that prescribes roles based on a person's gender, normalizing gender imbalances sustained through patriarchy. How this is done through linguistic structures is discussed in the subsequent section.

5 Linguistic structure of gendered names in the African context

Van Langendonck and Van de Velde (2016) assert that the semantic status of a name is reflected in its morphosyntactic construction, a view that aligns with Frege's (1949) principle that names derive their meaning from their semantic content. Naming is never done arbitrarily; a name reflects the linguistic, sociocultural, ethnic, and religious inclinations of a given society. Across many African languages, gendered names are derived through phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic strategies. In Yoruba names, Ajíbóyè (2011) reports that male names incorporate lexical elements such as *baba*, which means 'father', *akin* 'valour', and *ogun* 'war'. Notably, while the Dahomey women of Benin are warriors (Falola 2003), historically, in most African societies, women were not expected to go to war. As such, names with the *ogun* affix could only be given to males. Ajíbóyè's (2011) study shows that the male gender is associated with bravery. Female names in Yoruba take prefixes such as *iya*, which means 'mother', to prepare girls for motherhood. Besides this, certain roots, such as *ewa* 'beauty', are often used to form female personal names, which portray girls' beauty. Indeed, among the Datooga of Tanzania, beautiful and attractive colour terms are associated with female names, as Mdoe (2020) observes.

Among the Nyamwezi and Sukuma of Tanzania, the diminutive prefix *ka-,* which denotes smallness, derives female names, and the augmentative prefix *ma-* is affixed to plant names to be used as male personal names. The use of diminutives in the Sukuma and Nyamwezi societies, according to Lusekelo and Manyasa (2022), is a strategy to represent women as weak and of low status, while the *ma-* prefix portrays men as strong and superior beings. Ndlovu (2023) contends that among the Ndebele of Zimbabwe, certain prefixes such as *ma-* are used to derive female names, as in *MaNdlovu*. The prefix *ma-* means 'miss'. The masculine name is Ndlovu, which takes a Ø gender marker. The prefix *no-,* which means 'mother of', is also used to form feminine names. The masculine *so-* 'father of', however, is not used because, as Ndlovu (2023) notes, there is no need to attach the prefix *no-* to other words to derive masculine names because the Ndebele language is thought to be naturally masculine. Ndlovu (2023) further shows that

feminine names are compound forms because women are taken to be derivatives while men are natural beings (Ndlovu 2023, 357). He asserts that the prefix *no-* has a sexist connotation, as it indicates that women are used as reproductive devices to produce men.

As Ndlovu (2023) further notes, Ndebele uses the passive suffix *-iwe* to form female names from active verb forms that form male names. Likewise, Ngubane (2013) reports that some Zulu female names are presented in the passive voice. In Ndebele, for example, the name *Sipho*, according to Ndlovu (2023), is an expression of gratitude by parents as they have received the gift of a boy from God. The passive suffix *-iwe* is added to this verb form to derive a female name, *Siphiwe*, 'we have been given', or *Simphiwe*, 'she has been given to us'. Thus, Ndlovu (2023) explains that boys are regarded as God-given gifts. When the passive affix is added to derive a feminine name, the pragmatics of the word changes from gratitude to acceptance, which is an indication that the parents expected the gift of a boy but instead got a girl, whom they have to accept anyway. The passive generally positions women at the vulnerable and receiving end, while men are at the higher end, ruling with supremacy, power, and privilege. The causative suffix is also used to form masculine names in IsiNdebele. Males, according to Ndlovu (2023), are regarded as agents who cause events to happen. Women are not in a privileged agentive position to make things happen; they do not play the role of agent in the formation of names with the causative morpheme. For example, the name *Mandisi*, as Ndlovu (2023) explains, means that men are responsible for family or clan multiplication, not women, because women get married into other clans and help men in those clans to expand.

While many names uphold patriarchy, some challenge gendered norms (Mensah 2022). Some personal names are voices of change aimed at resisting gendered stereotypes, inequalities, and patriarchal tendencies. Some of them are given to girls by their mothers to condemn and resist cruelty and abuse at the hands of their husbands and in-laws and generally reveal bad experiences in marriage. Additionally, some show resistance to forced marriages, while others challenge polygamy. Ndlovu (2023, 346) argues that gender as a social construct is part of the extra-linguistic functions of language. As we analyse the structure of Kiga names, we focus on morphological elements with gendered undertones. We also examine the underlying meanings of certain names with gendered nuances, as explained by the study participants. We further reveal contemporary shifts in the naming system, enabling more inclusive names while reducing explicit gender biases.

6 Theoretical approach

The study is anchored in Judith Butler's (1993) theory of gender performativity. Butler argues that gender is constructed through the linguistic act of naming and through a naming culture that establishes what is socially accepted as masculine or feminine and eventually naturalizes the social hierarchies as legitimate. She postulates that the body is a passive medium on which cultural meanings are inscribed and mapped using language. Importantly, she argues that language itself functions as power. The theory is important in explaining how historical Kiga naming practices legitimize patriarchal hierarchies through the linguistic device of naming. Butler observes that in gender power relations, a name functions as a kind of prohibition, as well as an enabling occasion. We argue that some morphological devices, such as augmentatives, are used in the formation of male names to amplify male supremacy and social significance. Female names, on the other hand, linguistically embed diminutives, generally to reduce female identity to the commodification of the body (beauty); this aligns with Butler's assertion that a name is a

linguistic token that designates sex. Given Butler's assertion that gender is a cultural construct which is imposed upon the surface of the matter (body), it is worth exploring how Kiga names attach cultural meanings to gendered bodies. Butler argues that the body is simply linguistic stuff and that through the locutionary act of speaking, language gains power to create what she termed 'the socially real'. Butler further contends that when locutionary acts are repeated, they become entrenched practices that are mundane and ultimately institutionalized. She maintains that an act of discourse (language) has the power to create that which it declares or refers to.

7 Data presentation and discussion

In this section, we analyse the names extracted from a dataset containing over 7,000 personal names to establish how historical naming practices expressed gendered norms in the Kiga society through morphology and semantics. Six key gender-related thematic categories of names emerged from the dataset, established through interviews, namely: (i) gender-specific virtues and expectations, (ii) superiority of males over females, (iii) patriarchal control of economic resources, (iv) societal preference for male over female children, and (v) physical features present at birth. The analyses demonstrate that the Kiga society traditionally conceptualized gender through rigid role differentiation, reinforcing patriarchal hierarchies and augmenting uneven social values of masculinity and femininity.

7.1 Gender-specific virtues and expectations

One category of names in the dataset expresses the value of a male child as a family's and society's helper and rescuer. Some of the names construct males as strong pillars and fighters. Other names designate males as breadwinners. There are morphological features, specifically nominal prefixes, that are used exclusively in the formation of male names in this category. A typical example is the prefix *ru-* for noun class 11[3] (Cisternino 1977; Asiimwe 2022). The prefix *ru-* in the noun class system of Bantu languages typically signifies straight, long, and strong things (Maho 1999), such as *orutindo* 'bridge', *orushozi* 'mountain', *orubaaho* 'wooden plank', and *oruhaburizo* 'billhook'. As indicated in Table 2, the prefix combines with nominal and verbal stems to create names that depict males' strength and might.

Table 2: Male names formed with noun class 11 prefix, *ru-*

Name	Literal meaning	Cultural ideology expressed
Ruguuza	adamant/unpersuadable	courage
Rutairuka	one who does not flee	martial power
Rutahigwa	unmovable/unshakable one	firm and unwavering
Rugangura	fierce fighter	physical aggression
Rurara	sword	protection or leadership
Rukiramacumu	one who surpasses spears	dependable protector
Rumanzi	brave one	duty to defend family and clan
Rutahunga	one who does not run away from a threat	courage

The prefix *ru-,* which is associated with long and strong things, is metaphorically extended to construct men as powerful, strong, superior, and brave, portraying them as societal infrastructure.

[3] Rukiga, like most other Bantu languages, categorizes nouns into classes. Rukiga has up to 20 noun classes.

In the face of conflict, names such as *Rutahunga* or *Rutairuka* 'one who does not flee from a threat' suggest that a man is expected to act courageously and bravely to protect his family or community. Names such as those presented in Table 2 enact asymmetrical gender power relations skewed toward male supremacy and brave character. This is echoed in participant WT87's[4] account, that "having many boys meant having strong security".

> *"Nkoraho zikurye!" Okugira aboojo baingi kikaba kireebwa nk'okugira oburinzi bw'amaani munonga okukira okugira abaishiki, n'omu kurwana engamba, eka ezaabaire zirugwamu aboojo abarwani zikaba ziheebwa ekitiinisa kingi.*
>
> "Touch me and you will see!" Having many boys meant having strong security, not like having girls; even on the battlefield, families that sent the highest number of boys received more respect.[5] (WT87, interview, February 16, 2021)

The augmentative function of *ru-* is further demonstrated in names such as *Rumanzi* 'brave one', where prefixation enhances the root *-manzi* 'brave' to express indispensable male behaviour encoded in societal power systems and echoed in Irvine's (1989) findings on lexical intensification in African honorifics. The prefix was reserved for the masculine names, a demonstration of a society that supports patriarchal dominance. WT's words above connect the morphological marking to tangible patriarchal advantages, especially in conflict situations. This is consistent with the research among the Haya of Tanzania, where *ru-* serves as a gendered morphemic marker of typical male behaviour (Buberwa 2018). These naming practices act as the linguistic inculcation of a gendered body as defined by Butler (1993). Therefore, particular masculine behaviours are normalized through naming, as demonstrated in Judith Butler's concept of gender performativity and as implied, for instance, in the name *Rutairuka* 'one who does not run away'. The lack of female names in the database comparable to these male names confirms the cultural ideology that "it was unacceptable for women to go to war".

7.2 Gendered power hierarchies

Kiga personal names mirror and reinforce societal power hierarchies, reflecting broader African patriarchal norms (Ngubane 2013; Ndlovu 2023). Historically, men were constructed (and still are, in some societies) as superior, naturally powerful, and more rational than women (VK90, interview, March 11, 2020). This cultural ideology is embedded in names such as *Rutakirwa* 'one who is above all the others', *Ruteebemberwa* 'one who cannot be preceded', *Rutabuuza* 'one who does not ask', and *Rutaremwa* 'one who does not fail'. The name *Rutabuuza*, for instance, implies that a man does not need to consult his wife before he does anything, framing a male's decisions as final, and therefore presuming the logical supremacy of the male gender. Morphologically, the names are constructed with the noun class 11 prefix *ru-*, which we have already shown to carry masculine power, with the negative prefix *-ta-* linguistically framing men as intellectually faultless. Society always elevated men to a higher status and expected them to live by these high standards. The idea of male supremacy was further supported by certain nicknames that husbands gave their wives after getting married, called *amaziina g'obukazi* 'married women's names'. As VK90 (interview, March 11, 2020) recalled, the choice of the nickname depended on what the husband's expectations were of his newly married wife. If the husband wanted to explicitly exercise his superiority over his wife, he would give her a

[4] The number in brackets indicates the age of the participant.
[5] The translations are our own.

name such as *Baacureera*, which means 'they are humble', or *Baayoroba*, 'they are obedient'. This indicates that the husband wished to remind her that a woman should never question her husband, but always obey him, and refrain from responding after he has spoken. Prejudices and preconceptions against women were conveyed by such names. Nicknames like *Baacureera* are an example of how society generally preferred to avoid morphological devices that directly target women by presenting female tyranny as a communal cultural norm rather than as individual male domination. For instance, the third-person prefix *ba-* 'they' would be used to suggest generalized submission as a feminine virtue rather than coining the name with the second-person singular prefix marker, *o-* 'you', to refer directly to the wife.

Following Butler's (1993) assertions in gender performativity theory that language is a means through which physical bodies are perceived and gendered, naming acts are a tool of social positioning that produces hierarchies. The case of Kiga naming practices demonstrates male-centred supremacy, while *amaziina g'obukazi* 'married women's names' served as a linguistic tool of oppression, making gendered power asymmetries socially acceptable through morphology and semantics.

7.3 Patriarchal control of economic resources

Historically, in many African societies, customary laws and kinship structures systematically prohibited women from owning property. Instead, women were positioned as dependents within male-controlled economic systems (Kuper 1982; Amadiume 1987). This is exemplified in the paying of bridewealth, where women were transacted as part of male lineage wealth (Kuper 1982, 72). Traces of this hierarchy are seen through naming when, for instance, the plural prefix markers are attached to male names (Table 3), semantically marking men as owners of wealth and power, while singular prefixes on female names (Table 4) reduce women to males' possessions.

Table 3: Plural prefixes marking male names

Male name	**Meaning**
Byabashaija (ebya abashaija)	things of men
Byabakama (ebya abakama)	of the rich
Byabazaire (ebyabazaire)	things of parents
Byakika (ebya ekika)	of the family
Byamugisha (ebya omugisha)	of luck

Table 4: Singular prefixes marking female names

Female name	**Meaning**
Kyarisiima (eki arisiima)	that which he/she will appreciate
Kinahairwe (eki naahairwe)	that which I was offered/given
Kyokunda (eki okunda)	that which you love
Kyobutungi (eky'obutungi)	that which is valuable
Ekyompaire (eki ompaire)	that which you gave me

Names therefore reveal a gender imbalance, as the plural forms for masculine names suggest that girls owned no property because they were expected to get married when they came of age. The semantics of some female names suggest that their fathers or paternal uncles expected to get wealth from the girls when they got married, as, for instance, the name *Kyobutungi* suggests, and as participant VK90 (interview, March 11, 2020) notes:

> *Abakazi nibo baabaire bareeta obugaiga omu ka kurabira omu njugano, okukora emirimo n'ebindi nk'ebyo ahabwokuba abaishiki ku barikukura nibagyenda.*
>
> It is women who brought wealth into the home through bride wealth and labour. In fact, resourcefulness is for the other family where she is married because, when girls become of age, they go [get married].

By incorporating oppressive frameworks into names, language acts as a channel through which gender imbalances are normalized. This aligns with Butler's (1993) theory of gender performativity when she argues that language produces that effect, which it names, through naturalization of the body. The asymmetry of plural/singular morphemes (Tables 3–4) ritualizes male dominance as 'common sense', while female names such as *Ekyompaire* 'that which you gave me' linguistically enact women's status as passive gifts to be exchanged between families. Although the use of plural suffixes was predominantly associated with male names, a few female names bearing plural prefixes were also found in the dataset.

7.4 Societal preference for male children over female offspring

In the African context, every woman was expected to get married and bear children (Mensah 2022). When a woman delayed or failed to conceive, she was ridiculed and criticized by her in-laws and the community in general. Moreover, a woman would be expected to produce boys. If she took longer to conceive a boy, or if she did not produce boys at all, she would live a miserable life. She would be held solely responsible if she failed to conceive or if she produced only female offspring. A woman's failure to bear children was likely to lead to marital problems, including divorce. Some of the names from the dataset, whose semantics convey how society valued boys more than girls, are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Names which connote that boys were valued more than girls

Name	Gender	Meaning
Ntegyereize	F	I am waiting
Tindikyeitira	F	I will not kill myself for it
Kihangirwe	F	whatever God has created
Boonabaana	F	They are all children
Titugaineyo	F	We do not have hope
Bakandusya	M	I am tired of their mockery
Nkarwemera	M	I put up with all the mockery
Rukanyangira	M	I failed to conceive
Tugaineyo	M	We have hopes of getting more boys

One of the participants (MT81, interview, March 11, 2020) shared the experience of one family she knew. The man, after getting married, expected that his firstborn would be a boy. Instead, the wife gave birth to a girl, and the father named her *Ntegyereize*, meaning 'I am waiting'. He then hoped to get a boy as his second born. The second child was again a girl. The father named her *Tindikyeitira*: 'I will not kill myself for it.' The third born was also a girl, and he named her *Kihangirwe*, 'whatever God has created', meaning that he would accept anything God has created. When the fourth child came, and it was a girl again, he named her *Boonabaana*, which means 'They are all children'. He tried to comfort himself that girls are as valuable as boys. In reality, the father of these girls was not satisfied that he had not sired a boy. When the fifth girl was born, she was named *Kanduhuukye*, which means, 'Let me relax; let me have peace.' The father had now lost all hope of getting a boy. The participant added that *Titugaineyo*, which means 'We have no hopes', would be an alternative name for a father who had lost hopes of siring a boy to give to one of his girl children. We also found other names such as *Ensiyareeta* 'what the earth has brought'. The participants' interpretation of *Ensiyareeta* was that 'this is not the gender that I desired to have, but that is what we have been offered. We have no option but to accept it.' Men openly expressed more desire for boys than girls, especially for family continuity. Producing boys earned women respect in both the family and society. Family members and the community blamed the woman for failing to produce boys. A woman who did not produce boys was mocked and despised. In some cases, she would be sent away, or the man would marry another woman due to his desire to have boys. It was never the man's fault when the woman produced only girls, or even when the woman failed to produce.

In some families, it was reported that, when a boy finally arrived, it was the mother's turn to name the child. Through certain names, the mother of the child would express her feelings of resentment towards the family and community members for mocking and scorning her when she was producing only girls. Names such as *Bakandusya* 'I grew weary of their scorn' signalled that the mother of the child was tired of being mocked for not giving birth to boys. Some of the other names included *Rukanyangira*[6] 'I failed to conceive or to give birth to boys', and *Nkarwemera*[7] 'I tolerated the humiliation'. The bearer of the name *Karwemera* (FK92, interview, March 10, 2020) recounted the story told to him by his mother about the ordeal she went through for producing a boy after multiple girls.

> *Maawe ku yantaire ahansi tatenkazi aija nairuka maawe akaba azaire abahara bana, baamuhwire amasiko kandi baatandikire n'okumuhaahuuza ngu yaacwa oruganda ngu mbwenu aba abaishiki ku baraashwerwe egi ka nihasigaramu enki? Tatenkazi ateera empundu ati ai… n'omubazi gw'enka ahabwokuba yaazaara omutabaazi. Ngu nkarwemera; nkeemera orwari, orwanju, orubwa barikunkyeena. Mbwenu arikumanyisa ngu kuri ntararwemeire kuri ntakibaga omuri egi ka.*
>
> When my mother gave birth to me, my paternal aunt came running. My mother had four girls, and they had lost hope of ever getting a boy. They had already started blaming her, saying that she was going to cause the clan's discontinuity. 'When all these girls get married, who will remain in this family?' My paternal aunt made ululations, saying 'It is medicine for the family because she has brought us good news!' 'The name Nkarwemera means that I put up with all the ridicule, the mockery, and

[6] The *ru-* prefix here refers to *oruzaaro* 'offspring'.

[7] The actual name is *Nkarwemera* but the name bearer informed us that the grammatical subject prefix *N-* was dropped when he started school.

> the scorning when they were taunting me. The name meant that I would not have remained in this family if I had not persevered through it all.

Indeed, Cisternino (1977, 468) asserts that certain names express the joy and happiness of mothers when a boy child is born, such as *Mutabaazi* 'Traveller'. He came as if from a long journey, bringing happy news, being the first boy born after many girls. *Mugarura*, 'the one who takes things back', according to Cisternino (1977), was a boy and the firstborn and was as precious as the dowry his father paid for his mother. Additionally, names such as *Nkurunungi* 'good news' and *Muruhuura* 'he brings solace' were bestowed to convey the happiness and joy the mother of the boy felt after producing a boy. Names like these entrenched the notion that sons were culturally more valuable, coding male preference in the cultural realm. Moreover, there would be jubilation and celebrations when a boy was born, as further explained by Karwemera (1994, 108):

> *Omukazi ku yaabaire ateera ati omwana w'omwojo ahansi, abakazi abari na nyina ahu yaazaarira bakorakora akaana omu maguru, bakishanga kari akoojo bateera empundu; n'abari aha muryango bakihurira empundu bamanya ku yaazaara omwojo.*
>
> When a woman gave birth to a boy, the women who would be with her would check the baby in between the legs. If they found that it is a boy, they would make ululations of joy. When those outside heard ululations of joy, they would know that she had given birth to a boy.

Names were public notices communicating the stigma women who were producing only girls endured while raising them. Such practices demonstrate the invisible, subtle nature of gender asymmetry, where women were pushed to accept the blame for not being able to produce male heirs. Boys were received with much joy due to the high status society accorded to men. If a woman was unable to produce boys, society had it that *yaacwa oruganda*, 'there will not be continuity of the clan', as asserted by one participant.

> *Abamwe ngu obu yaazaara abaishiki yaacwa oruganda. Kandi owaazaara aboojo yaayombeka oruganda; ekyo kituma abaishiki baguma barabareeba kubi.* (GK75, interview, March 10, 2020)
>
> Some would say that since she has given birth to girls, there will be no clan continuity. When one gives birth to boys, he is multiplying the clan. That is why girls were not valued.

Relatedly, another participant (BT75, interview, March 10, 2020) noted that a family name was important. This family name would not be bestowed on girls even if the man had no boys. This meant that the girls had no connection to their family heritage.

> *Eshonga y'okweta amaziina ekaba eri nkuru, kandi abaishiki bakaba batenda kubaha eiziina ry'ekika noobu omushaija yaabaire aba ataine mwojo.*
>
> The issue of child naming was significant, and girls would not receive the family name even if the man had no sons.

The Kiga society held the belief that boys were of more worth than girls; girls only counted as numbers (Cisternino 1977). Like among the Ndebele, boys are precious (Ndlovu 2023). Ndlovu notes, for example, that the name *Mandisi*, which means 'multiplier', is a masculine name, which signifies that men are multipliers of clans. The family is assured of continuity when boys are born, as manifested in some of the names. He further observes that "women do not multiply the clan because they are married off to help other clans multiply; only men can cause a family and clan to grow" (Ndlovu 2023, 362). The low status and value that the Kiga society afforded girls contributed to gender bias, and disadvantaged them. This is because the girls grew up with the belief that they were less important than boys. Although naming traditions may have shifted due to factors such as modernity and cultural contact, the historical naming perspectives have left a strong mark on how gender power relations operate through language and cultural expressions.

7.5 Physical body attributes presented at birth

Morphological markers were systematically used to encode a child's physical characteristics. We have already noted that the morphological prefix *ru-* was traditionally used to form masculine names. The same prefix was used to form male names based on the physical attributes and behaviours the boy presented at birth or shortly after birth. The name *Rwenduuru* was given to *omwana endizi*, a (male) child who cried a lot after birth (Cisternino 1977, 468).[8] It is derived from the noun *enduuru* 'loud noise', to which the prefix *ru-*, commonly used to derive male names, is attached (*Ru-enduuru*). An alternative name was *Rwemirengye*, derived from the noun *emirengye. Okuteera omurengye* is a kind of singing at the top of one's voice made by someone, especially when drunk. These names depicted that the boy cried too much. Another name was *Kajuga*, derived from *kujuga,* meaning 'to yell' (BT75, interview, March 10, 2020). We did not come across similar names for girls in the dataset. When we enquired from the participants why morphologically parallel names were not given to girls, their view was that names that were likely to bring shame to girls and subsequently lead them to fail to get suitors to marry them were avoided (VK90, interview, March 11, 2020). Indeed, many more names were given to boys depicting the not-so-pleasant physical features that the boys presented at birth, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Male names depicting the smallness of the child at birth

Name	Literal meaning
Katwe	small head
Kabeba	small rat
Kahungu	small butterfly
Kanyonyi	small bird
Kabumburi	small and in a cyclical shape
Kabuzi	small goat
Kainganabusha	very small in size
Kafukuzi	small mole

[8] The name *Kanyonza*, according to Cisternino (1977, 468), could also be given to a baby boy who cried a lot after birth. The baby was likened to the bird *Kanyonza*, the chattering robin-chat, or 'early bird', which sings in the morning at dawn.

The prefix *ka-* is a noun class 12 marker, a diminutive marker that typically symbolizes smallness. Such names as shown in Table 6 meant that, at birth, the child was small in size, or a certain part of his body was smaller than the normal size. For example, a child named *Kanyonyi* was very small in body size at birth. The dataset contains no feminine names of this nature, which does not necessarily suggest that there were no girls born with small physical body attributes. Girls were treasured and protected from anything that would bring them shame and sabotage their chances of getting husbands when they came of age.

There were other personal names for boys that were formed by attaching an augmentative prefix to a nominal word. If at birth there was a part of his body that was bigger than normal, a boy would be given a name referring to that body part. We give examples in Table 7.

Table 7: Names with augmentative prefix

Name	**Meaning**
Kikundi	very big umbilical cord
Rwakitwe	a big (physical) head
Rwakinwa	big lips
Kinyindo/ Binyindo/ Manyindo	big nose
Biisho	big eyes
Bishuyu	big cheeks
Rukooko	big animal
Rushaija	big man

Studies on Bantu languages associate the augmentative noun classes with a pejorative meaning (Di Garbo 2013; Grandi and Körtvélyessy 2015; Barbaresi 2015; Mtavangu 2016; Asheli 2020). As illustrated in Table 7, the class prefix *ki-* is used augmentatively in the name *Kikundi* to show that the boy had a big umbilical cord. In the name *Rwakitwe*, there are two prefixes attached to the nominal stem *-twe*, 'head'. Both prefixes, *ru-* and *-ki-*, are used augmentatively to announce that the name bearer was born with a very big head, the reason for the use of double augmentative prefixes. The plural *bi-* of class 8 is also used, as seen in names such as *Biisho*, 'big eyes', and *Bishuyu*, 'big cheeks'. The prefixes *ma-* (class 6), *ki-* (class 7), *bi-* (noun class 8), and *ru-* (class 11) are used augmentatively, although the four noun class prefixes are not canonically meant to denote an augmentative meaning. There were no names in the database that referred to body parts formed with the prefixes *gu-* (noun class 20) or *ga-* (noun class 21), which are typical augmentative noun classes in Rukiga (Katushemererwe 2013, 48). It is plausible that name givers avoided denoting their children as being outright gawky or unwieldy. It would be at the discretion of the name giver to either use a singular prefix, in this case *ki-* or *ru-*, or a plural prefix *ma-* or *bi-*, depending on the body part that the name giver wants to refer to augmentatively. Names of this nature were not given to girls.

Participants FK92 and CS78 (FK92, interview, March 10, 2020; CS78, interview, February 17, 2021) reasoned that the appearance of a man never mattered. Participant FK92 said, "*Omushaija tayangwa*", meaning that no man is ever rejected for his looks, underscoring how male social power renders their bodily peculiarities unproblematic. Names with derogatory meanings were never seen as stigmatizing men since male offspring were valued for clan continuity rather than physical appearance. It is, therefore, unsurprising that, based on the data

collected, the handsomeness of boys was not celebrated through naming, but the beauty of girls was praised. A beautiful girl at times received a name underscoring her beauty or a part of her body that stood out. The nominal prefix *ka-*, a class 12 (diminutive) marker, and the proclitic *nya-*[9] were found to be used in the formation of female names depicting their beauty (see Asiimwe 2022). Diminutives are typically associated with smallness (Appah and Amfo 2011; Asheli 2020). Additionally, Appah and Amfo (2011) and Schneider (2012) establish that other than the general meaning of 'smallness', they are associated with various other pragmatic meanings, including 'young', 'feminine', 'unimportant' or 'non-serious', 'endearment', and 'affection' or 'admiration'. Regarding the formation of Kiga female names, the diminutive *ka-* expresses positive attitudes of affection, endearment, admiration, and tenderness, among other positive attributes. A girl born with beautiful (big) eyes, a long neck, or generally beautiful would be given a name to illuminate her beauty or to indicate the particular body part that stands out (Table 8).

Table 8: Female names portraying female beauty

Female name	**Literal meaning**	**Cultural meaning**
Karungi/Kabarungi	the beautiful one	beautiful
Kenyonyozi	of the stars	luminous
Kemitooma	of the ficus tree	with a long beautiful neck
Kenyangye	of an egret	as beautiful as an egret
Kamashanyu	of smiles	with a beautiful smile
Kabajungu	of the light complexion	light complexioned

Names such as those presented in Table 8 were prevalent in the old times, but some are still used in the present to frame girls' bodies as objects of endearment or admiration. When a female child was born, parents had expectations of getting bride wealth, and therefore, parents at times chose a name that would easily attract men. Moreover, these names reflected societal expectations of women as beautiful, and as carers and homemakers. The noun class 12 (*ka-*) prefix, as in many Bantu languages, is pragmatically a marker of positive attitudes that evoke feelings of beauty, affection, well-formedness, or tenderness. One often hears phrases like *Akaishiki kangye*, meaning 'my beautiful/dear girl'. Smallness is therefore associated with appreciation and the expression of feelings of praise, admiration, or affection. As for the proclitic *nya-*, besides its meaning as 'mother of' (Cisternino 1977; Asiimwe 2022), it is found to portray the beauty of girls. One participant (FB78, interview, March 10, 2020) told us that she named her daughter *Nyakwezi*, which in full is *ni murungi nk'okwezi*, 'mother of moonlight; radiant beauty', because she was as beautiful as the moonlight. Such names were intended to explicitly praise the beauty of the girl child so that she would, perhaps, be easily noticed by a future potential husband. The absence of female augmentative names (for example, no *Rwakinwa* for girls with big lips) demonstrates how this discursive practice among the Kiga community attempts to bring into being (enact) what it names. This is consistent with Butler's (1993) assertion about

[9] Only *ka-* is discussed in this study because there are quite a number of male names which take the *nya-* proclitic as well. When used with male names, it is not clear what its meaning is. When the *nya-* proclitic is used in the formation of female names, it is the short form of *nyina* 'mother of' (Cisternino 1977; Asiimwe 2022).

the reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it constrains and regulates, thus erasing nonconforming female bodily attributes while magnifying male ones.

7.6 Naming in the Christian era

The influence of foreign religions has significantly reshaped naming practices in many African societies (Agbontaen-Eghafona 2007; Ngade 2011; Mashiri et al. 2013; Mensah et al. 2021). Christian movements across many African societies led Africans to abandon their beliefs and practices, which the Christian missionaries deemed pagan. Among the Kiga, in contemporary times, the Christian God is at the centre of naming (Cisternino 1977; Muranga 1990). At the time of baptism, converts to Christianity were compelled to drop their names given to them at birth, which were regarded as *amaziina g'ekikafiire*, or associated with the dark past. For one to become a new creation, *ekihangirwe kisya*, one had to denounce one's name. Contemporary surnames or family names mostly communicate the relationship humans have with the Supreme Being, and generally carry positive connotations, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9: Examples of surnames in the post-revival era

Name	**Meaning**
Andinda	He protects me
Ahuumuza	He comforts
Ainamaani	He is powerful
Kamusiime	Let me thank Him
Niwagaba	It is He who gives
Naabaasa	He is able
Naabimanya	He knows it all
Tayebwa	He never forgets
Tumuheki	What shall we render Him?
Tusaasiirwe	We are forgiven

Source: Elicited Kiga names

In the Christian era, parents have a new outlook on life. Names that carry a positive message are adopted. Moreover, norms have changed, and the pragmatic meaning that the name carries may not matter as much. Today's parents consult the internet and friends, and are always looking out for *trendy* names. Due to the influence of foreign religions, contact with other cultures, and the technological era, gender prejudices and stereotypes have been reduced. Even when life may prove to be difficult, today's parents do not want to bestow names that portray negativity outright. Parents are more enlightened about the value of both boys and girls, and gender prejudices and stereotypes can now be resisted. Naming seems no longer to be explicitly used as a channel for expressing male supremacy over females. The present-day religions preach gender equality and respect for one another. Therefore, unfavourable cultural beliefs and stereotypes can now be challenged.

The majority of the participants we consulted concur that a bad name has a negative impact on the name bearer, saying *Eiziina ribi riroga nyinaryo* or *Amaziina mabi gariinaza* 'a bad name brings a curse to the bearer' (e.g., FB78, interview, March 10, 2020; DB79, interview, February 16, 2021). One participant (VB67, interview, February 16, 2021) recounted that if, for example,

a child is named *Rwabibi* 'of bad things', it is likely that this child will always be in trouble (see also Cisternino 1977). Names based on peculiarities in terms of the physical appearance of male children also seem to have faded, although we noted that female names which convey beauty have persisted, such as *Karungi/Murungi/Kirungi* 'the beautiful one' or *Kimuri* 'flower' – 'as beautiful as a flower' – reinforcing aesthetic valuation. Such names are, however, criticized by some participants, who believe that these names escalate pride or might invite undue attention; this reveals unresolved tensions between tradition and evolving gender awareness.

Despite the progress made so far in terms of gender equality, societal expectations are still rife with regard to women's reproductive roles. Although modern couples tend to stick together in the face of barrenness, one participant indicated that marriages thrive well when there are children (EK68, interview, February 16, 2021). It makes no sense to stigmatize couples with no biological children. However, it is an undesirable fact that modern families are also bound to fail, or that a man may opt for polygamy, due to the desire to have biological children or to have boys if the wife has produced only girls. It is also true that, even when it is the man with the medical condition that prevents the couple from having children, or when the couple has only girls, society still looks at the woman as the problem. Society's expectations of a woman in terms of childbearing are still strong, but parents do not bestow names that directly send a message of what they went through as they waited for a child or for a boy to be born.

Some of the participants, especially the female informants, greatly value girls. One female participant reported that even when they have boys, it is the girls who show more care and concern about them, especially in their old age (MT81, interview, March 11, 2020). Another female participant (EK68, interview, February 16, 2021) added that it is no longer the case that when one has not produced boys, one will have no one to bury one, since girls have been empowered and can play any role that boys play. Modern societies look at a woman as a key figure in a family. She is an important person in the home, economically and in many other ways (Dipio 2019). Her value should not only be about her beauty and her role as a mother. However, names such as *Kemanzi*, which would be the feminine form of the masculine name *Rumanzi*, 'the brave one', are not found in the database because the Kiga society still views women as weak. Such a name could be used to portray the bravery of women, given that a name secures the identity of the subject over time. Yet names like *Kenyena*, 'one who is expected to bring in cows in the form of bride price', are still being used, an indication that the role of naming in contemporary times as an emancipatory tool is not yet fully entrenched, which further signals that the patriarchal family frameworks are not fully dismantled yet.

8 Conclusion

In this paper, we set out to examine the gender prejudices and stereotypes embedded in some traditional Kiga personal names. The sociocultural setting of the Kiga influences personal name choices and the choices of linguistic forms intended to portray given genders in a certain way. The Kiga society, like many African societies, still holds boys in high esteem. Males are superior and strong, while women are their subordinates. Personal names connote physical attributes, behaviours, attitudes, or feelings, portraying females as being generally attractive and weak. Men are framed as strong and powerful with more privileges and entitlements. Such connotative meanings are presented in elaborate structures derived from the Rukiga grammar. We have observed that prefixes such as the noun class prefixes *ka-* and *ru-*, for instance, express meanings that appear stereotypical, suggesting differences in apportioning power and depicting differences in social behaviour, roles, and characteristics between men and women. Thus, the

structure of names is informed by meaning, although such structures have not been common in linguistic descriptions.

With the dynamic nature of culture, names and naming practices will continue to change as people's experiences and worldviews change. It is therefore important that the cultural names among the Kiga people, *amaziina ag'obyanyakare,* as well as in other societies across Africa, are preserved as part of their intangible cultural heritage and as a great component of their identity. If such knowledge is not documented, future generations will have been denied an opportunity to learn from the philosophies, lived experiences, and rich heritage of their forebears. Given that gender is performative, and in the case of naming, a name is a site where gender identification is at play, a person repeatedly performs acts that constitute masculinity and femininity, as espoused in performativity theory. The Kiga community should be aware of the likely consequences of the names given to their children. As Butler (1993) contends, the discursive practice of naming has the potential to wield the power to produce that which it declares. This study has contributed to understanding this identity formation among the Bakiga, with regard to power dynamics and declarations of gender power identity.

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FK92, interview by Asiimwe Allen, Rugarama, March 10, 2020.
VK90, interview by Asiimwe Allen, Kirigime, March 11, 2020.
MT81, interview by Asiimwe Allen, Kizinga, March 11, 2020.
MM69, interview by Asiimwe Allen, Kirigime, March 11, 2020.
AB69, interview by Mugisha Joshua, Rwakaraaba, March 11, 2020.
GK75, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Rwakaraaba, February 16, 2021.
RM72, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Upper Bugongi, February 16, 2021.
RA84, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Upper Bugongi, February 16, 2021.
DB79, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Rwakaraaba, February 16, 2021.
CS78, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Bunyonyi, February 17, 2021.
WT87, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Rwakaraaba, February 16, 2021.
EK68, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Bunyonyi, February 16, 2021.
NK70, interview by Musinguzi Peter, Kakabano, February 16, 2021.
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