Personal naming practices and modes of address in the Chasu speech community

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ABSTRACT

This paper gives an account of sociolinguistic aspects of Chasu personal names and some ways in which they relate to the modes of address among the Vaasu people of Same District in the Kilimanjaro Region of Tanzania. It reveals that Chasu personal names are both linguistic and sociocultural phenomena and are formed by both lexical and affixation processes. From the linguistic point of view, Chasu names demonstrate meaningful morphological and derivational processes that are linked to gender marking and hierarchy of birth. From a sociocultural perspective, personal names are linked with circumstances surrounding the birth, such as time and day of delivery, place of birth, and natural events. This study describes how personal names are chosen and bestowed upon children, and how beliefs, values, social practices and human experience are reflected in the naming practices. This paper further demonstrates that names are not only labels for individual or group identification but are also inseparable from the modes of address and manner of expression in the Chasu speech community.

Keywords: Chasu language, identity, modes of address, personal names

Fields of study: Sociolinguistics and Anthropology

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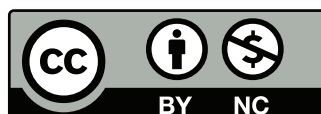
Introduction

This study of personal names and modes of address is carried out in one of the more than 128 Ethnic Community Languages (hereafter ECLs) spoken in Tanzania. Specifically, the study focuses on the language known as Chasu, spoken in the Pare Mountains of the Same District found in the Kilimanjaro Region of Tanzania. The Pare Mountains are said to extend from 60 to 70 miles South Eastward from Kilimanjaro Region along the banks of Pangani River. Same District, whose coordinates are 4°15′S, 37°55′E, borders upon the Usambara Mountains in the Tanga Region in its Southern ward, and Mwanga District in its Northern ward. Generally, the inhabitants live in small, disjointed villages, often separated by mountains, valleys, forests, small bushlands, or rivers of various dimensions (Yohana 2009).

It is estimated that a population of almost 500,000 people known as Vaasu or Vampare speak Chasu in the North Eastern part of Tanzania, particularly Southern Kilimanjaro. *Pare* is a name derived from the mountains and hills, which form the greater part of Same District. The inhabitants are called *Vaasu*, after the name of the language, or *Vampare*, referring the name of the mountains. Of the Chasu community, approximately 5% are monolingual, 63% are bilingual in Chasu and Swahili, and 32% trilingual in Chasu, Swahili and English (Lewis 2009). Like any other ECL in Tanzania, Chasu is spoken in domains such as homes, several religious contexts, and non-official settings like funerals, local markets and wedding ceremonies (Yohana 2009; Sebonde 2015). This distribution of language use reflects the sociolinguistic status and the reputation of ECLs in Tanzania, where it is assumed that individuals are competent from birth with at least one of their ECLs. This language may be complemented by the acquisition and use of Swahili or Swahili and English languages. In the last case, all three languages are employed in definite assigned domains.

Several published records of Chasu designate the existence of two main dialects spoken in two areas of Kilimanjaro Region (Mreta 1998), namely Mwanga District (Northern Chasu dialect) and Same District (Southern Chasu dialect). This study is based on the latter. In narrating the history of Tanzania of the years1500-1900, Kimambo (1969) estimates that almost sixteen generations ago, groups of immigrants from Taita-hills of Kenya trekked via Lake Jipe searching for new settlements to Ugweno and Mwanga. The first groups spread in several waves to southern parts of Same District, particularly Bwambo, Gonja, Mbaga, Vudee and later Mamba (Kimambo 1969).This theory of population movement is based on the evidence of their comparable traditional practices, such as burial customs and worshipping the heads of their ancestors (*kutasa nkoma),* their practices of youth initiations (*Ngasu ya mshitu)* and the pottery industry. Another group of speakers of Mbughu (sometimes spelt Mbugu) and the Shambala people from the Usambara Mountains have shifted into the South Pare Mountains, particularly in Mamba, Hedaru, Makanya and Gonja. Consequently, the Northern Chasu dialect is grammatically influenced by northern neighbouring languages such as Gweno and Taita, while the Southern Chasu dialect is greatly affected by the southern neighbouring languages such as Shambala, Mbughu, and Zigua. For these reasons, based partly on linguistic features (mainly morphological and phonological) and to some degree on geographical considerations, Guthrie (1948) categorised Chasu as G22, part of the Shambala group in zone G (Mreta 1998).

The Vaasu people formed a patrilineal society that was organised into small chiefdoms before the independence of Tanganyika (now Tanzania), when local leadership had been abolished by the independent government. The local chiefs were known as *Mfumwa,* and usually came from the Vamjema clan. The Vamjema were known to be rainmakers who were strong and powerful in witchcraft. This situation convinced other clans to give the Vamjema leadership, which

was to be carried on by inheritance. Other clans include the Vabwambo, who were among the clans in the first group to move from Taita to Pare land. Still others are the Vampare, Vankeni, Vamwala, Vamhezi and Vachome. A group of Shambala which is comprised of the clans such as Vatewe, Vakirindi, Vambuzii and Vambughu, moved from the Usambara Mountains to Pare Mountains. Currently, it is difficult to identify people based on their clan names except those who have maintained the surnames which originated from their clan names, as discussed below. The Vamjema are an exceptional group, as they like to be recognised as official former local leaders, as are the Vabwambo, who previously owned the water reserves known as *Ndia,* the sacred forests (*mshitu wa Ngasu*), where they used to conduct their youth initiations, and the ritual places or shrines known as *itasio* where they worshipped their ancestors (Yohana 2009).

The concept of naming

Names, particularly personal names, are considered to be "iconic representations of composite social variables that indexicalise and relate the name to the person" (Agyekum 2006, 209). Agyekum adds that personal names are given to individuals so as "to differentiate, to recognize and finally to know". Compared to other language forms, personal names reflect different social and attitude relationships, social barriers, the way in which social groups behave towards language, and other aspects of society (Raper 1983). From historical and sociocultural points of view, personal names embody individual or group experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority, as well as personality and individual attributes (Guma 2001). "Names are not arbitrary lexemes that have no meaning" (Al-Zumor 2009, 25); rather, the choice of names is inseparable from "social and cultural considerations" (Al-Zumor 2009, 25) including beliefs, values and customs of a social group of people. In African settings, personal names are meant not only for identifying an individual, but also are lexical items that designate circumstances of birth, sex, and family hierarchy, as well as physical features of a baby at the time of birth and day of delivery. Speaking about pragmatic and symbolic values of Hausa traditional names, Chamo (2016, 249) claims that names convey "cultural values and traditions" of people's "daily experiences", documenting valuable information about the period, circumstances and manners of the community in which the child was born. Naming practices may transpire in each speech community, but they traditionally vary depending on the interpretation attached to the names from each ethnic group or based on the cultural background. Muzale (1998)states that although naming is a worldwide phenomenon, "there are differences not only in the processes used by different societies to assign names to people, things, animals, places or natural and supernatural phenomena", but also in what these names mean. In Akan society for instance, factors that influence naming "include sex, hierarchy in birth, circumstances surrounding the birth", physical features of the baby at the time of birth, day of delivery, "the person's structure, power [and] status" (Agyekum 2006, 209 and elsewhere). In discussing the issues pertaining to the naming system in Haya community of North Western Tanzania, Rubanza (1995) asserts that "like in many African societies, Haya names are typically meaningful". He further says that such meanings surround circumstance of birth, family continuity, family friction, and conflicts in society in general, and in relation-based family structure. Ubahakwe (1982), as quoted in Onukawa (1998, 73), adds that an "indigenous African name on the whole…tells some story about the parents or family of the bearers, and in a more general sense points to the value of the society in which the individual is born". Likewise, in Igbo society, personal names display close connections to

events in the lives of name bearers, their families and in Igbo society at large (Weischhoff 1941, 212). In addition, a name may reflect or correspond to the mental and social behaviour of the name bearer. Based on this notion, Zawawi (1993, 6) argues that "a name constructs a person because the name one bears may create an attitude in those who hear it before they meet the name bearer". Together with behavioural and sociocultural aspects, personal names, like other lexemes, may designate some significant grammatical information including a nominal prefix for gender constructions, and diminutive aspect. Mphande (2006, 106) adds that "names are the most meaningful lexicon in the vocabulary of any language" and that "they are an important part of the language inventory". Names highlight certain "phonological processes" and "linguistic structures" that may be found in a language (Mphande 2006, 104).

In Tanzania specifically, very little scholarly research has been conducted on the subject of naming system in general, and personal names in particular. Studies on Tanzanian naming practices include Rubanza (1995), who investigated the semantics and morphology of Haya names; Muzale (1998), who examined the linguistics and sociocultural aspect in interlacustrine Bantu names in North Western Tanzania; and Resani (2012), who gave a sociolinguistic and semantic analysis of Kurya personal names. Mwang'eka (2013) and Hamad (2015) integrated the study of naming with gender construction and gender stereotyping in the Kindali and Zanzibar Swahili languages, respectively. Perhaps the most recent study was conducted by Lusekelo and Muro (2018) on naming practices in contemporary Machame-Chagga culture. This study sought to examine the impact of foreign religion (Christianity and Islam) to formal names of school children from Machame-Chagga families, revealing that the integration of foreign religion in Machame-Chagga community has "eroded" (Lusekelo and Muro 2018, 634) the traditional naming system, as children are currently bestowed with Christian and Islamic names. These studies contribute noteworthy information on aspects of naming, including semantics, morphology and gender stereotyping, and the impact of contemporary religions on naming practices. However, Chasu personal naming practices constitute very interesting distinctive features, especially when related to non-naming modes of addressing. The latter practice occurs when there is a "situation or social relationship" in which, instead of using personal names, "various forms of address" are used (Katakami 1997, 203). Hence, this research addresses issues pertaining to meanings of names, social and cultural aspects which determine name conferment, and morphological constituents that reveal gender marking. It also addresses the morphological processes surrounding the personal naming practices and modes of addressing people in Chasu speech community.

Methodology

This study was conducted in the Same District, particularly the Mamba-Vunta division in Myamba ward. The data were collected from 20 elderly people (60–90 years) selected from Kirore, Mang'a, Kambeni, Goha and Kitubwa villages; four respondents from each village were interviewed. The elderly people were selected on the basis that they are native speakers of Chasu who were born, raised and are still living in the Chasu speech community. Considering their age, it was supposed that they had knowledge regarding Chasu indigenous names. Speakers were selected without regard to their sex, education, religious belief or occupation, because the researcher wanted to examine only the indigenous Chasu personal names. The data were collected through interviews, because Chasu names have not been officially documented. Among

the questions asked during the interview sessions were the following: What are the most common indigenous personal names (both first and surnames) in their clan? Which ones are female names and which ones are male names? What is the meaning of each name? What social and cultural criteria are considered when giving names to infants? Which criteria are used to name or address the adults after marriage, and how do names relate to various forms of address? Besides conducting interviews with elders, collection of personal names and their meanings also involved the knowledge of the researcher, who is a native speaker of Chasu, born and raised in the Chasu speech community. In most cases, information gathered from elders verified the author's previous knowledge about personal names and their meaning and addressing mode in the Chasu speech community. The researcher's intention was to collect only typical indigenous names and not Christian or Arabic names, which may, respectively, reflect Christianity or Islamic naming practices. About two hundred names were collected for the purpose of this study. Names were coded and grouped with consideration to sex, as well as circumstances surrounding birth such as events, time of the day, flora and fauna names, emotions, names after marriage, and various forms of address.

Data presentation and discussion

In the Chasu speech community, personal naming practice involves both sociocultural and linguistic phenomena. Therefore, this section presents first, the morphological aspects of Chasu naming practices, and then the social-cultural aspects will follow. Tonal data that seems to be important in the indigenous languages will be given its due attention in future studies.

Morphological processes in Chasu personal naming practices

Chasu, like many other Bantu languages, marks elaborate and overt morphological and derivational semantic processes for naming. In Chasu, some personal names are formed by lexical processes and some by affixation. Names can be derived from nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

Nouns can be object names, events, place names, colours, animals, birds, and plants. These nouns mark their prefix for noun class of various kinds both in plural and singular forms. However, Chasu personal names that are derived from nouns take a singular form, as marked by noun-class prefixes. Masculine and feminine name prefixes come before noun class prefixes. Feminine names derived from nouns can be marked with feminine prefixes *na-* (general feminine name prefix) and *ko-* (meaning 'mother of'). Masculine names derived from nouns can be marked with a masculine name prefix *se-*, or they can be unmarked for gender. Prefix *se-* can also mean 'father of'. For example, the class 7 noun, *ki-ete* 'market' (*vi-* for plural), can be used to name a child born in the vicinity of the market or when the mother was on her way to the market. *Ki-ete* is pre-prefixed when used as a name: a female will be called *Na-ki-ete,* and a male will be *Se-ki-ete*. A class 9 noun like *n-gasu* 'traditional ceremony' can be used for a child born during any traditional ceremony; the child will be referred to as *Sengasu* (for a male child) and *Na-n-gasu* (for a female child). Similarly, names can be derived from a noun such as *nkondo* 'war': a female child born during war time will be called *Na-n-kondo*, while a male child will be called *N-kondo* or *Se-n-kondo*. In this category of noun, some names can only be

masculine, and some can only be feminine. For instance, *Namburi,* 'of news', *Na-m-wai* 'of a maiden', *Na-n-kware* 'of quail' are female names only, while *Se-m-nkande* 'of food', *Se-n-kuku* 'of chicken' and *Se-n-kando* 'of wall' can only be used for males.

As mentioned above, the prefixes *ko-* and *se-* are used to mean 'mother of' or 'father of', respectively. For example, if a female child's name is *Na-ki-ete*, parental names will be *Ko-na-ki-ete* 'mother of Nakiete' and *Se-na-ki-ete* 'father of Nakiete'. If a male child's name is *Se-ki-ete*, *Ko-se-ki-ete* will be the name for 'mother of Sekiete'. For male names with *se-* as prefix, *se-* as 'father of' is not used; rather, *vavavo* is used instead to mean 'the father of'. More examples are given in the section below on multi-naming in Chasu.

There are names given to male children that are directly derived from nouns, without added gender prefixes. In Chasu culture, these are names that portray the male gender as strong and dominant in the community. These include *M-weta* 'river', *M-shitu* 'forest', *N-yika* 'wilderness', *M-ramba* 'baobab tree', and *Ki-kore* 'respected strong male person'. When these names are bestowed to a female child, they mark gender using the prefix *na-* for *Na-m-weta, Na-m-shitu* and *Na-n-yika.* The names *M-ramba* and *Ki-kore* are used only for male children. With the exception of non-gender-marked names derived from diminutive forms (see below), only one female name unmarked for the gender of the name-bearer, *Ki-rindi*, was found in the category of nouns.

Concerning those names derived from verbs, a subject prefix is affixed before the verb root. These prefixes mark gender as well. Names derived from verbs use the first-person singular subject prefix. Female names derived from verbs are expressed in the anterior (perfect) aspect, marked with *na-* (first-person singular subject prefix + anterior prefix *a-*). The male names derived from verbs take the first-person singular (unmarked) present subject marker *ni-* and the 3rd person singular object marker *-m-*, or the second-person plural imperative hortative form expressed in a bare verb form suffixed with *-ni*. For example, a verb *zihir-wa* 'be happy', for female gender is *Na-zihir-wa* 'I am happy', while *Ni-m-zihirwa* 'I am joyous for him' or *Zihirwa-ni* 'may you (plural) be joyous' are the male versions of this verb-derived name. Other names derived from verbs are; *togola* 'praise': *Na-togola* 'I have praised' for female, *Ni-m-togola* 'I praise him' or *Togola-ni* 'let you (plural) praise' for male; and *kaza* 'honour', *Na-kaza* 'I have honoured' for female and *Ni-m-kaza* 'I honour him 'or *Kaza-ni* 'let you (plural) give honour'.

So, generally speaking, gender markers are the prefixes *na-* for female and *ko-* for 'mother of'; *se-* for male or 'father of', and *ni-m-* or the plural form *ni* attached after the verb root for masculine names.

The diminutive class 13 subject *ka-* can be prefixed to nouns and adjectives and can be used to form both male and female names, especially for very small or prematurely born children. The name *Ka-dori* or *Na-ka-dori* 'very small', is used for female children, and the names *Ka-jiru* 'small and black', *Ka-zuva,* 'small sun' are used for male children.

Only a few names are derived from adverbs and adjectives. These also take the prefix *na-* for feminine names and *se-* for masculine names. For example, *Na-mpoa* 'of slowly', *Semkae* 'of old' are examples of names derived from an adverb and an adjective respectively.

Sociocultural aspects in Chasu naming practices

In the African context, as already mentioned, different factors determine the conferment of personal names. These factors include personal beliefs, "belief in reincarnation, environment, social class, lineage system, ethnic affiliation, gender, day of the week, day of the month, time of the year, conditions of parents at birth, circumstances surrounding the birth, historical and political events, [and] family occupation (Olatunji et al. 2015, 78). These factors, however, vary from one community to another and from time to time. In studying Igbo society, for instance, Weischhoff (1941) reveals that personal names may display close connection to events in the lives of name bearers, their families, and the society at large. In the Chasu speech community, there are numerous distinctive social factors, which determine the conferment of children's names, as discussed below.

The Vaasu people seem to persist in maintaining the traditions and sociocultural components of the community in spite of outside influences. Yohana (2009) explains that, before the coming of missionaries, this community was known for its animistic belief about children. They believed that those children who were born as twins or the new-born child who turned his eyes to his mother during birth were all ill-fated. These children were categorised as *Ndeni Mbivi* 'misfortune pregnancy'. They never survived to be given names. The parents could be sure of the survival of a child upon the appearance of teeth, as those whose teeth appeared first from their upper jaws were also said to be ill-fated. If the child happened to be under these categories, he was killed by a specialist in a grinding wooden vessel known as *Kikonti* that was filled with water, and then the child was placed in it with his head upside down. Otherwise, they could be taken to what is known as *Ibwe la Vana,* 'children's stone'; a special stone for killing "misfortunate children". The said misfortunate children were taken when they were asleep and laid on the "children's stone", so that when they woke up, they would fall into the surrounding marshland and die.

However, like in many other Tanzanian rural communities, due to the intrusions of Christianity and Islam, as well as to the currently economic improvements considered to be sustained by the accessible transport and communication system which support interaction with outsiders, twins now survive and the above-mentioned norms are no longer taken into consideration when the baby is born. Vaasu are presently given both traditional and modern religious names. Unlike, for example, the Dagomba people of Ghana, where the name is "determined by a soothsayer or by the father of the child" (Dakubu 2000, 54), children within the Chasu speech community are given names agreed upon by both parents right after the birth of a child. Culturally, all newly born babies are given indigenous names, which they may use up to the baptismal time, when a Christian name may possibly be added, depending on one's denomination. Some may use their indigenous names until marriage or the birth of their children, at which time the new status and roles may lead to the addition or change of a name. This habit of changing names after acquiring a new status is also noted by Beidelman (1974). Beidelman reports that in Kaguru society in Tanzania, each person has "a series of names" which fit changing social circumstances and "roles in the cycle" of the individual's personal development throughout life; and furthermore, that these names are related to social kinship status (Beidelman 1974, 281). Generally, there are several social and cultural factors which are considered when giving personal names in the Chasu speech community such as inheritance, circumstances surrounding birth, sex, hierarchy and feelings.

Inherited names

In most societies, sex (whether the child is male or female) is considered to be the main determining factor of name giving. Together with this and other sociocultural factors which will be discussed below, in the Chasu speech community, the hierarchy of birth order is important in relation to the bestowal of grandparents' names. Personal naming practice in Chasu community is both patronymic and metronymic. Patronymic naming involves taking a personal name which is based on a name of one's father, grandfather, or an earlier male ancestor, while metronymic naming grants a personal name based on one's mother or female ancestors. However, the fact that Chasu is a patrilineal speech community has highly influenced the personal naming practices, along with hierarchy of birth. The first child in the family is named after the grandmother/father, the parents of the child's father, except for a baby born before marriage, which is named after the grandparents or ancestors from the mother's side. The second child bears the name of one of the grandparents from the child's mother's side, the third from the father's side, and the fourth from the mother's side. Yet since the patriarchal system is still considered dominant in this community, the first baby boy will always take the name from his father's side regardless of the hierarchy. This implies that names, especially patriarchal names, circulate within the family for generations, keeping the family and clan alive. A child may be given a second, modern religious name in addition to this grandparent's name upon baptism. Some elderly respondents from the community argued that, if giving a traditional name is neglected in favour of a Christian or Islamic name, the child may sometimes be a victim of misfortune, experiencing odd circumstances like crying unnecessarily or falling sick mysteriously until the grandparents or clan's ancestors are consulted. Naming children after their grandparents serves religious, political and social functions by linking grandparents and grandchildren together. Although the Chasu people are different from the Basotho, it is also reported that in the Basotho community of Lesotho, naming children after their grandparents helps "to perpetuate the names of ancestors and…brings grandparents and grandchildren closer to one another" (Guma 2001, 267). However, the main reason for giving grandparents' names, particularly in the hierarchical form seen in the Chasu speech community, is to respect and maintain a patriarchal dominance and to ensure lineage continuity.

Circumstantial names

Circumstantial names may be drawn from events taking place during the time and place of birth, manner of birth, or the weather during birth. Based on a study of Akan names, Agyekum (2006, 219–221) says that these names relate to the "place of birth" (anthro-toponyms), "period or time" (tempronyms), "manner of birth", and "festival or sacred days". In the Chasu community, there are names given based on the circumstances surrounding the child's birth. Nevertheless, since names are also inherited from grandparents, these circumstances may have surrounded the birth of the grand parent whose name is inherited. These kinds of names areas described below.

Events and periodic names

In the Chasu community, names may identify an individual with phenomena that are prevalent

in one's area of habitation or within the family, particularly during the child's birth. These events are hunger/famine, rain or dry seasons, the coming of locusts, etc. Names linked to these events are given to both male and female children. Examples of names are presented in Table 1.

Names	Translation	Description
Nzota	'hunger/ famine'	a male child born during famine
Kazuva	'small sun'	a male child born during the sunny season
Nanza	'of hunger'	a female child born in time of famine
Navuri	'of the rainy season'	a female child born during the short rainy season (November- January)
Namvua	'of rain'	a female child born on a rainy day
Nanzighe	'of locusts'	a female child born during the invasion of locusts
Senzighe	'of locusts'	a male child born during the invasion of locusts
Kilonzo	'of noise'	a male child born when it is noisy
Mashika	'long rainy season'	a male child born during the long rainy season
Nkondo/Senkondo	'of war'	a male child born during war time
Nankondo	'of war'	a female child born during war time

Table 1: Names based on events

Besides these names, which are linked to the events happened in a certain period of time, there are other personal names which are connected to times of the day such as morning, afternoon, evening, or night. From the collected data, it was realised that only female names were obtained. There was no explanation as to why corresponding male names do not exist. Children born in these periods of the day are given names as described in Table 2.

Names	Translation	Description
Nakio	'of night'	a female child born in the night
Nasero	'of yesterday night'	a female child who was born yesterday night
Namsi	'of day'	a female child born during the day time
Namagheri	'of evening'	a female child born in the evening

Table 2: Names based on periods of the day

Place of birth

In the Chasu speech community, there are also names given according to the place of birth. A mother may happen to give birth on her way to the market or any location, when she has gone to fetch water, or when she has gone to the bush or forest to collect firewood. Some of these names are conferred to both male and female children, as shown in Table 3.

Name	Translation	Description
Nanzia	'of way'	a female child born when the mother was travelling
Senzia	'of way'	a male child born when the mother was travelling
Nampombe	'of water'	a female child born near a water body
Sempombe	'of water'	a male child born near a water body
Mweta	'of river'	a male child born near a big river
Namweta	'of river'	a female chid born near a big river
Kisaka	'a bush'	a male child born when the mother was in the bush
Kiete/Nakiete	'market'	a female child born in the vicinity of the market
Sekiete	'market'	a male child born at the vicinity of the market
Isanzu	'of cow shed'	a male child born close to or at the cow shed

Table 3: Names based on place of birth

Personal names for expressing emotions

Through names, parents can express their experiences, feelings, joys, sorrows, or thanksgiving to the child giver (the deity). There are names given to children based on circumstances, which surrounded parents hence the expression of their feelings to the child giver, mostly feelings of thanksgiving, happiness and joy. Parents' experiences may be associated with the delaying of having children after marriage or having subsequent miscarriages or death of children after birth. As a result, when the mother gives birth after passing through difficult circumstances, and the child happens to survive, the parents may express their emotions through giving these names. Most of these personal names are derived from verbs, as in the examples presented in Table 4.

Name	Gender	Translation
Natogola	female	'I have praised'
Togolani	male	'You (plural) give praise' (imperative)
Nazihirwa	female	'I have been made happy' (someone has made me happy)
Zihirwani	male	'May you (plural) be happy'
Nimkaza	male	'I glorify him (God)'
Nakaza	female	'I have glorified'
Mbonea	male	'Mercy: someone has shown mercy'
Mbazi	male	'of mercy'

Table 4: Names for expressing emotions

Flora-oriented personal names

The following personal names bear the same features of names based on the place of birth as discussed above. However, they carry another feature, as well: they are adapted from the names of flora. These names are given to children who were born in the forest, under a banana tree, or under a baobab tree.

Name	Gender	Translation
Mshitu	male	'forest'
Namshitu	female	'of forest'
Nkinda	male	'banana tree/plantain'
Kisaka	male	'bush'
Mramba	male	'baobab tree'

Table 5: Flora-oriented personal names

Fauna-oriented personal names

These are names which are adapted from the names of animals. They express the physical appearance of the child. The child might, for example, be beautiful or have a dark complexion, and these characteristics can be reflected in the given name. For example; the personal names *Nankima* 'of chimpanzee' and *Nankoo* 'of monkey' were given to dark-coloured children after the names of animals that have dark faces, while *Nankware* 'of quail' is name given to beautiful baby girls after the name of the bird. These names may be conferred parallel with other names. Table 6 gives examples of these names.

Name	Gender	Translation
Nankware	female	'of quail'
Nankoo	female	'of monkey'
Senkuku	male	'of chicken'
Nankima	female	'of chimpanzee'

Table 6: Fauna- oriented personal names

Multi-naming among the Vaasu

Like any other lexical items in a language, personal names have a "life cycle", as they occur, develop, change and die (Rosenhouse 2002, 97). This is true not only over time in the vocabulary of a language, but also across the lifetime of an individual. Names may change upon baptism, and when a new social status is acquired new names may be used to address a person. These practices lead to what Mandende et al. (2017) refer to as multi-nominality. This is a phenomenon of naming that marks different stages of an individual's lifetime (Brendler 2012) through the assumption of multiple identities. In the African context, it is common for an individual to be given more than one personal name, with different manifestations. In describing Basotho society, Guma (2001, 272), citing Ashton (1967), explains that "marriage gives both men and women a new status in society with concomitant rights and privileges" such as multiple names. In the Chasu speech community, new couples are addressed particularly by in-laws using different names, while people other than in-laws will address them using their personal names. After the wedding, the bride is no longer addressed by her maiden name: her mother in-law will call her with the name *mwai* 'new bride' and her father in-law will address her with the name *mcheku* 'daughter or mother in law'. The bridegroom will be addressed by his mother in-law as *enga*[1] while his father in-law will call him *ambiere*[2] 'in-law'. Since this community is patrilineal, a bride loses her surname and starts using the name of her husband or father in-law as her new surname, except in formal contexts such as passports and academic certificates, where a married woman's personal names may be maintained. Giving a bridal name to a newly married woman is also practised by the amaXhosa in South Africa, where the bride is called *igamalomzi* (Thipa 1987; Simelane-Kalumba 2014) and a bridal's maiden names are completely avoided. Change of personal names may also occur upon giving birth to the first-born baby when the couples earn a very important new status; hence teknonyms are used. Teknonyms are names given in the practise of naming parents or grandparents with reference to the names of their children or grandchildren. In the context of the Chasu speech community, gender marking morphemes such as **ko-** and **se-** are prefixed before the name of the first-born baby to mark 'mother of', and 'father of' respectively. If, for instance, the first baby's name is *Nanzia*, the mother will be called **Ko**-*Nanzia*, 'the mother of *Nanzia*', and the father will be called **Se**-*Nanzia*, 'the father of *Nanzia*'. When the couples have more children, they are also referred as *mama-wavo Nanzia* or *mlalawavo* 'mother of them (Nanzia)'and *vava-wavo Nanzia*; 'father of them (Nanzia)', implying that there is more than one child. The amaZulu people in South Africa practise

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[1] Normally, *enga* is used to refer to 'aunt' (a sister to one's father) but in this context it refers to 'son in-law'.
[2] This form expresses an in-law relationship between son and father.

this tradition in different way: they use the eldest child's name but may alternatively use the second child's name if the eldest child is a girl and the second is a boy (Koopman 1986, as cited in Mandende et al.2017). To the amaZulu, the sex of the child plays a more significant role than in the Chasu community.

Family names

The practice of using family names is common in most cultures around the world. However, this practice is not universal, as family name conferment depends on the ethnic group or cultural background. In Chasu, a family name is a surname (third name or name of grandfather) or clan name, or a surname together with a clan name. A family name in Chasu is always a patriarchal traditional name i.e. not a borrowed name that may come through religion especially after baptism. Common family names include *Idafa, Isanzu, Kisaka, Mramba, Mshitu, Kikore, Chambegha, Mruma, and Mghamba*. Some clan names are meaningful, as Table 7 below illustrates, and most of them originate from place names.

Clan names	Meaning
M-bwambo (Va-)	after Bwambo where Vabwamboclan live
M-sangi (Va-)	after Vusangi where Va-sangi clan live
M-mbagha (Va-)	after Mbagha where Va-mbagha clan live
M-pare (Va-)	after the Pare mountains where Va-mpare clan live
M-chome (Va-)	after Chome where Va-chome clan live
M-gonja (Va-)	after Gonja where Va-gonja clan live
M-dee (Va-)	after Vudee where Va-mdee clan live
M-nkeni (Va-)	after people who were known to be poor and other communities used to say *va-ink-e-ni* 'you (pl imperative) give them' hence were known as Vankeni.
M-jema (Va-)	Known to be a chiefdom clan. All chiefs, i.e. *Vafumwa*, came from this clan (Yohana 2009)
M-shana (Va-)	after people who were known to be iron smiths

Table 7: Meaningful clan names in Chasu

Most of the Chasu people use a surname as their family name, and it is hard to identify people according to their clans except those few who keep their clan name as their family name. As stated above, the Vamjema clan are exceptional as they like to be recognized as official former local leaders and rainmakers (Yohana 2009). Although the chiefdom was abolished, the clan still exists and currently leads the society largely in the environmental conservation campaign. The Vabwambo also like to be acknowledged because they own traditional water reserves

known as *ndia*, and sacred forests known as *mshitu wa ngasu*. They are known to worship the heads of their ancestors –*kutasa nkoma*– a practice in which they secretly perform some annual rituals in their shrine called *itasio* or when the clan members have problems associated with misfortunes or incurable diseases. Thus, most of the people from these two clans prefer the use of a clan name as a family name. To the rest, there must be special reasons for an individual to use a clan name. For instance, when people bear two first names that are alike, they will be distinguished through a third clan name. In addition, those who are expected to be heads of the clans, especially the first sons in the family, may have the opportunity of being conferred a clan name to carry the image of the clan. Those who are expected to inherit a clan's shrine headship or family enchantment are likely to bear a clan name as their family name. As mentioned above, the Chasu community is patrilineal, but if the child's paternity was unknown, or the alleged father refused to take paternity responsibilities, the newborn child will acquire the clan name of the mother. Similarly, Agyekum (2006) explains that in the Akan community, family names are given based on the twelve patrilineal clans; however, unlike Chasu, where clan names are related to place names, in Akan, the family names are derived from certain deities whom the Akan ancestors worshiped in past times.

Modes of address

In the Chasu community, people are addressed based on their social status, based on factors such as age, marital status and gender. People of the same age or peer group address each other using the second person singular prefix *u-/wa-*. Normally, children and youths address parents or elderly people using second person plural prefix *m-/mw-*, to show respect to a person who is older, or use the suffix *-ni* after the verb root, which also indicates plural form.

Together with those different prefixes used to address people of different ages, status also determines the mode of address whereby kinship names are used. In the previous section, it was explained that children are named after their grandparents. This naming practice also determines the way children are addressed within a family circle, i.e. depending on the grandparent's one is named after, whether one is named after the grandmother or grandfather from one's mother or father's family, or whether it is the name of aunt or uncle from one's mother or father's family. The mode of address is determined based on whose name one is using. Like in the practice of the naming system of Mbeere community of Central Kenya (Katakami 1997), in the Chasu community, the father will address his daughter who took the name of his mother-in-law in the way he could address his actual mother-in-law, *mcheku*, and all forms of expression are addressed to the daughter in plural affixes *m-*, *mwa-* and *ni-*. Likewise, if the son has taken the name of father in-law, the father addresses him as *Ambier*e 'father-in-law', but with no plural affixes in the expressions. However, the mother also addresses her son whose name comes from the father in-law as *Vava*, together with plural forms in all expressions. The daughter whose name comes from a mother-in-law will be addressed by her mother as *mama* 'mother-in-law' but with no plural affixes. This implies that a father always gives more respect to his mother in-law, even through a daughter who has taken the name of the mother-in-law. Likewise, the mother respects the father in-law even through his son who bears the name of the father-in-law. Therefore, the way people are addressed, whether using plural forms or singular affixes, depends, in general, on the relationship between the people involved, but within the family circle, the name one bears determines the address mode.

Conclusion

This paper has presented some aspects of personal names among the Vaasu people of Same District in Kilimanjaro. It has outlined how personal naming practice is manifested in the address system, especially at the family level. Personal names in the Chasu speech community have both cultural and linguistic implications. Lexical and affixation processes are key aspects of the linguistic element. Categories of personal naming practices reflect contextual, cultural and human social behaviour, experiences and circumstances. Names have relationships with hierarchy in birth, day and time of birth, circumstance, manner and place of birth, seasons and events during the time of birth. With names, people express their feelings of thanksgiving to the child-giver. Chasu personal names are also used to describe patriarchal dominance. Morphologically, personal names mark gender distinctions through affixation processes.

Finally, Chasu personal names are not only labels for individual or clan identification but also portray an interface between naming practises, the mode of address and manner of expression: plural and singular forms attached to verbs reflect the social status attached to personal names. This study was based on indigenous personal names only. Since Chasu is affected by contemporary culture and technology, it is recommended that a further study should be conducted to examine the effects of language contact, and cultural influences such as foreign religions and science and technology into Chasu naming practices.

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