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AN ACCOUNT OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACT IN NYAKYUSA PERSONAL NAMES

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ABSTRACT The impact of intercultural contact in African societies may be well articulated by examining personal names bestowed to children. The contact between different cultures yields different naming systems, apparent in the trends in personal names of children in the Nyakyusa community in Tanzania. Qualitative analysis of a sample of 220 personal names collected by the author yielded three layers: a layer of names with words and clauses with meaning in Nyakyusa language, another layer of names starting with **mwa-** which indicates the descent of the family, and yet another layer of nativized English, Swahili and/or Christian names. The findings were consistent with another sample of 786 names of primary school pupils in rural areas, foreign names accounted for about 60 percent of all names outnumbering, by far, the indigene names. It may follow that most parents in the Nyakyusa community opt for foreign names rather than native ones. This paper is a testimony that traditions in the Nyakyusa naming system are diminishing.

Key Words: Intercultural contact; Languages-in-contact; Personal names; Nyakyusa; Tanzania.

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the impact of the contacts between the Nyakyusa people and the missionaries, colonialists, and the Swahili people reflected in personal names. The author's interests in the Nyakyusa names are five-fold. Researchers have assumed that East African societies do not easily incorporate into the western (European) culture even after the imposition of Christianity and colonial administrative structures about 200 years ago. Hyden (2014: 3) pointed out that colonial powers "wanted them to embrace Christianity and they provided—albeit more selectively—opportunities for education," whereas the African elites helped to maintain African culture: "this was arguably the most extensive social transformation that African societies have ever experienced but it was cut short by the growing African educated elite" (2014: 3). The Nyakyusa people in southwestern Tanzania and northeastern Malawi came into contact with missionaries and colonial administrators around the 1890s (Charsley, 1969; Kalinga, 1983; Wilson, 1958). Both missionaries and colonial administrators brought Christianity and education into Nyakyusaland, mainly to Rungwe by the Berlin Missionaries (Moravian Church) and to Rwangwa (Manow) by the British Missionaries (Lutheran Church). This paper will illustrate the immense sociolinguistic impact of the imposed Christianization and colonization, articulated through personal names among the Nyakyusa speakers of Tanzania.

An examination of personal names in Nyakyusa will show the effects of intercultural contact which is a common phenomenon in African societies. The African people have had constant contact with other cultures, with neighboring ethnic groups pre-colonially, with foreign persons and especially European colonialists during the colonial period, and with the governmental officials of the elite clique after independence. These intercultural contacts impacted the naming systems and semantics of names in many African societies. Swilla (2000a) found that half of the Ndali names were Nyakyusa origin due to Christian evangelization and presence of colonial administrative headquarters at Tukuyu in Nyakyusaland. Mashiri (1999) found that forms of address and first names changed in Shonaland of Zimbabwe due to the encounter with the Western Christianity and the White domination. It follows that the impact of interethnic contacts can well be examined using an onomastic approach. This paper deals with some names attesting to Ndali-Nyakyusa contacts, but mainly examines Swahili-Nyakyusa and Nyakyusa-English contacts. This is because, in Tanzania, it appears that colonization and Christianity helped the penetration of European names and naming system into the Ndali speakers of southwestern Tanzania (Swilla, 2000a), Hadzabe people around Lake Eyasi (Lusekelo, 2014a), and Ruhaya speakers around the interlacustrine region (Muzale, 1998), among others. Thus, the impact of intercultural contact will also be examined through proper names of school children in Nyakyusa villages in this paper.

In the literature, the impact of religion is found to be a major cause of change in naming practices and names in African societies. Resani (2016) suggested that Christianity had become a determinant in bestowing personal names to children among the Bena community of Tanzania. Ikotun (2014) similarly suggested that the imposition of foreign religion such as Christianity dismantled the traditional naming system in most African communities among the Yoruba people in Nigeria. These claims will be examined against the author's data obtained from a list of students registered for primary school examinations in rural primary schools in Busokelo, Kyela and Rungwe Districts of Tanzania.

The third motivation for this paper has been inspired by the literature on languages-in-contact in Tanzania which underscore the outcomes related to lexical borrowing, particularly from the lexicon of Swahili into lexicons of many Tanzanian Bantu languages (cf. Amani, 2013; Lusekelo, 2016; Mapunda & Rosendal, 2015; Swilla, 2000b; Yoneda, 2010). It is evident that "since most personal names are also ordinary words, the taboo affects the articulation of everyday vocabulary" (Matras, 2009: 171). However, the outcome of languages-in-contact with regard to onomastics does not feature in any existing literature hence the call for this paper.

The fourth motivation for this paper is inspired by the pitfall in the literature on the onomastics of personal names in Tanzania that often underscore how circumstances at birth tend to dictate the names given to children. Studies by Manyasa (2008), Muzale (1998), Resani (2016) and Swilla (2000a) found that circumstances and events at birth compelled parents to bestow their children names that circumnavigate such events. This author will argue in this paper that the data does not support the primacy of the circumstances at birth in determining names

in Nyakyusa society, i.e., circumstances at birth no longer determine the name of a Nyakyusa child in rural Tanzania.

The last and fifth interest to use data from rural primary schools is to challenge the prior findings of naming in Ndali and Nyakyusa. Swilla (2000a: 54) insisted that "Nyakyusa personal names account for at least 50% of Ndali names." This author will point out that many Ndali-Nyakyusa names belong to the category of first (personal) names, whereas a detailed examination of full names reveals that family names in Nyakyusa tend to attest to patrilineal and matrilineal systems. In short, the **mwa-**names denoting family, peculiar to Nyakyusa, do not manifest in Ndali community.

Furthermore, Swilla (2000a) wrote that Swahili names were fewer in Ndali and Nyakyusa, implying less penetration of Swahili names than from other lexical entries (mainly common nouns), found plentiful in Ndali (Swilla, 2008). To the contrary, personal names of Swahili origin have penetrated plentifully into Nyakyusa.

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND ONOMASTICS IN AFRICA

This section offers a review of the literature on onomastics in relation to the imposition of foreign cultures in African communities. The author discusses intercultural contact as an orientation to the study of personal names, then the naming practices in Bantu-speaking communities of Eastern Africa to demonstrate the penetration of English-cum-Christian and Swahili-oriented names into African societies. Finally, there will be discussion of the native and foreign names in Nyakyusa.

I. Intercultural contact as a research paradigm

Intercultural contact involves the contact of groups of people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The intercultural contact approach emanates from the intergroup contact theory which emerged within the studies in social sciences and group psychology in the 1950s (Dornyei & Cszer, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). In this theory, some conditions are assumed as prerequisites for changes in culture to unfold. Dornyei and Cszer (2005: 328) outlined these essential conditions: "equal status between the groups within the contact situation, the shared pursuit of common goals, the perception of common interests, and institutional support for the contact."

The fourth condition, namely institutional support for the contact, is especially important in the analysis of the penetration of foreign names into the naming culture of the Nyakyusa. The "support of the authorities, law and customs" (Pettigrew, 1998: 67) entails that intergroup contact yields positive results when it is supported by institutions including the military, business, and religious institutions. In the case of Nyakyusa personal names, authorities, such as religious leaders and school regulators, permitted the use of formal names, and consequently,

Christian, Swahili, and English names penetrated into the target group of the Nyakyusa community.

In fact, intercultural contact as an approach to studies of societies rests on the "contact hypothesis," which, stated briefly, is that contact changes the attitudes and behavior of groups and individuals towards one another which, in turn, leads to further contacts (Dornyei & Cszer, 2005; Pettigrew, 1998). Continued contacts of group members with other members of other groups tend to yield in-group reappraisal, which applies to this paper which examines the impact of the contact between Nyakyusa people, missionaries and colonialists, and the Swahili people. In line with Dornyei and Cszer (2005), the acquisition of new naming practices and personal names may be a result of continued contact between different groups.

Change is associated with the assimilation of a new group's culture, mainly through acculturation. Nauck (2001) argued that the continuity of change is associated with one generation which obtained a new culture from another group affecting the next generation of children. This is possible by the transmission of the new cultural trait to the next generation, hence realisation of acculturation of the group. The Nyakyusa personal names evaluated in this paper come from people in three cohorts, namely the elderly people aged 80 and above, adults aged between 40 and 79, and the young aged below 18. These cohorts assist to reveal the intergeneration transfer of the naming system in this community.

This kind of onomastics analysis is supported by Coskun and Zeidler (2005) who argued that the genesis of some names in European countries could be examined using the intergroup contact theory. Thus Latin and Greek names could be deduced by examining the reflexes of names in contemporary societies. The nexus of the indigenous and foreign names is examined in this paper.

II. Personal names and naming practices in Eastern Bantu

Naming practices and personal names in Bantu-speaking communities in Eastern Africa are similar, with a few exceptions. The main similarity is that naming and personal names commemorate numerous events and circumstances at birth, and the environment at large (cf. Chauke, 2015; Katakami, 1997; Manyasa, 2008; Mutunda, 2016; Muzale, 1998; Swilla, 2000a). The meaning of the name for a new born is determined by the nature of relationships within a family and clan, events during the pregnancy, physical environment of birth or birth place, as well as any other happening that ensued.

The semantic analyses of personal names in Bantu-speaking communities reveal some factors in psycho-semantics and the name-giver's attitude in choosing a name. Muzale (1998) found that names in Ruhaya speaking people in Tanzania marked deaths and the aftermath, difficulties associated with poverty, commemoration of events and fear of supernatural power. Therefore, name-givers may have wished to reveal circumstances at birth such as emptiness in the family. Hence the meaning of the name, **Kashangaki**, is "he who found nothing," and **Tiirengwera** is "misfortunes cannot be demonstrated." Fear of supernatural powers is expressed in **Binamungu**, "with God," and a child born in a journey is

Karugendo, "pertaining to a journey." Both the name-giver and circumstances surrounding a birth control the essence of personal names.

Personal names in Bantu-speaking communities in Eastern Africa are also associated with family ties with ancestors and spirits of the deceased grandparents. For instance, among the Vatsonga people of Mozambique and South Africa, newborn children are bestowed with names of the ancestors for protection (Chauke, 2015). The name and naming practice is a well thought out event whereby a name connects a child meaningfully with the family members, both past and contemporary. Likewise, the Luvale speaking people of Zambia interact with the spiritual life of the community through a personal name. Mutunda (2016) stated that the Luvale people believed in reincarnation, perpetuated spiritually through a good name given to a new-born child. Among the Mbeere speaking people of Kenya, Katakami (1997) found that a child was named after its grandparent in order to mark a new generation-set. Therefore, a personal name bestowed in this community is meant to connect the past and present generations.

Existing literature on the onomastics of personal names in Bantu-speaking communities reveal that circumstances at birth tend to dictate names given to children. The circumstances at birth include the status of the pregnancy, the state of father-mother relationship, the family status, time of birth, and the environment at birth, work done at birth, etc. In the Luvale community, Mutunda (2016: 79) found that the name **Mudzinga** was used when a child was born with the umbilical cord around the neck or body. In Mbeere society, some names commemorated an animal attack or intrusion survived by a pregnant woman, e.g., the name **Ireri** is associated with the baboon (Katakami, 1997: 206). Manyasa (2008) found that circumstances at birth compelled Sukuma parents to bestow names that denoted circumnavigation of such events.

In other Bantu-speaking communities, foreign names have been incorporated into the structure of words of the target languages. Muzale (1998: 36) reported on numerous foreign words altered phonologically and blended to suit the Ruhaya language: e.g., **Mariyamu** for "Mariam" and **Maragarita** for "Margret." Penetration of foreign personal names is reported in other African communities as well (Ikotun, 2014; Lusekelo, 2014a; Swilla, 2000a). In Nyakyusa and Ndali communities of southwestern Tanzania, Swilla (2000a) found that personal names of foreign origin came from Swahili and English. Nonetheless, the nativisation processes tend to differ from one language to the other (Thomason, 2001; Matras, 2009).

This phenomenon of the penetration of foreign names is reported numerously for other African communities (Agyekum, 2006; Chauke, 2015; Lusekelo, 2014a; Muzale, 1998; Swilla, 2000a). For example, Lusekelo (2014a: 91) encountered three layers of foreign names in Hadzabe, namely, those associated with Christianity, e.g., **Matayo** (Mathew), names from neighboring communities, e.g., **Bura** [<**burra**: Iraqw (alcohol and local brew)], and nativized Swahili names, such as **Mindiko** [**mahindi**: Swahili (maize)]. Chauke (2015: 309) reported Christian names concocted using Tsonga vocabulary, e.g., **Nyiko** (gift) and **Musa** (mercy).

III. Personal names and history of the Nyakyusa people

Swilla (2000a: 44–47) discussed the different kinds of personal names of Ndali and Nyakyusa origin, but not the history of naming practices in Nyakyusa. This section draws some inference on the origin of personal names in Nyakyusa from the existing literature, namely Charsley (1969), Ellison (2002), Schumann (1898) and Wilson (1951, 1954, 1958, 1959).

Swilla (2000a) gave examples of the personal names encountered in the Ileje, Kyela, and Rungwe Districts of Tanzania, tracing the naming practices in the 1970s as well. The author's data comes from three cohorts as mentioned above encountered between 1981 and 2001, and the first cohort of the elderly persons born in the 1930s. The members of the second cohort of adults were born around 1960s. The oldest names were named in the 1930s. The third cohort of the youth aged 18 and below has names from the contemporary naming system, to be discussed in comparison with the data in Swilla (2000a).

Historically, family names across all the Nyakyusa clans in the Selya area (Busokelo District), Lake Plains (Kyela District), and Ukukwe in the northern mountains (Rungwe District) began with the nominal prefix **mwa-**, meaning "child of X." Older publications have popularized the notion that **Mwakyusa** and **Mwamukinga** began as the generic names for the people of the Lake Nyasa Plains and Selya and/or Rungwe mountains respectively (Wilson, 1958; Charsley, 1969). While the essence of the name **Mwakyusa** is **Kyusa**, the homestead, the name **Mwamukinga** refers to the children of Kinga mothers (Ellison, 1999).

Swilla reported that praise names, glorifying or honorific names which exhibit respect to a clan head and/or family descend, known as **imbaalo** were numerously used in Nyakyusa community (2000a). These names are maintained. The Moravian Church, whose services are widespread in Nyakyusaland, approves the use of praise names during baptism. Here are a few examples of praise names in Nkunga ward:

(1) Kang'osi (a small sheep)
Kiliba (a foundation)
Kimelo (a seedling)
Nsengandete (a cutter)

Historically, the Nyakyusa (and/or the Konde) people lived under an approximate patrilineal system. First of all, age-villages were established and occupied by age-mate male persons (Wilson, 1951). Only male children inherited the chieftainship (Charsley, 1969). Recent studies have found that "the Nyakyusa do not entertain women and girls inherit property from their husbands and fathers" (Fumbo, 2013: 116).

Below, (2) shows that the **mwa-**names denote paternal descendent. Nonetheless, there is evidence of a maternal naming system which manifest in a number of family names that bear the second prefix **-sa-**. In these **sa-**names, this secondary nominal prefix signifies the "son of mother X," shown in (3).

(2) Mwabwite (son of a fighter)
Mwaitete (son of a reed)
Mwakololo (son of kind person)
Mwalupale (son of a calabash)
Mwalwiba (son of weed)
Mwandisi (son of a rope)
Mwanjala (son of hunger)

(3) Mwasakafyuka (son of mother of a climber)
Mwasakilali (son of mother of firewood)
Mwasakyeni (son of mother of forehead)
Mwasambili (son of mother of body)
Mwasambogo (son of mother of buffalo)
Mwasandube (son of mother of tree species)
Mwasanjala (son of mother of hunger)

Both the **mwa-**names and **sa-**names comprise lexical words, found in the dictionary by Felberg (1996). Likewise, the **sa-**names bear the notion, the "son of mother X" where X is a common noun.

A matrilineal system is evident in the Nyakyusa marriage system. Iliffe (1979: 19) described two kinds of marriage known to the Nyakyusa: "marriage by cattle, practiced by the rich, where children belonged to the father and marriage by service to the bride's parents, who then owned children." While the former is typically patrilineal, the later practice is matrilineal. In contrast to the names of Ndali people who are typically patrilineal (Swilla, 2000a), the clan names in a Nyakyusa community, therefore, reveal both patrilineal and matrilineal descent, affirmed by the **mwa-**names and **sa-**names, respectively.

A German missionary, Carl von Schumann, lived in the Nyakyusa community and collected language-related material between 1891 and 1896 under the auspices of Berlin Missionaries (Schumann, 1898: 1). The personal names listed in the book show names with meanings, e.g., **Kyamba** (hill, mountain), and **mwa-**names such as **Mwankenja**, the "son of a spinster." Monica Hunters Wilson who conducted anthropological research among the Nyakyusa people in Rungwe District of Tanganyika in the 1930s listed **mwa-** 'child of X' names (e.g., Wilson, 1951: viii), as shown in (4). Most of the **mwa-**names are clan and/or family names, but Wilson's informants with no formal schooling possessed a single name with **mwa-**structures.

(4) Filombe (corn, maize) Mwandesi (son of banana rope)
Kakuju (a ficus tree) Mwangoka (son of a grass species)
Kasitile (It refused) Ndembomi [Ndimbumi] (I am saved)
Mwamputa (son of wind) Nsusa (grass species)
Mwafula (son of rainfall) Mwaipopo (son of Ipopo)
Angombwike [Angumbwike] (He remembered me)

Some names are associated with fauna. Other names have meanings related to environment. Supernatural powers are also invoked.

Wilson (1959) also listed Nyakyusa chiefs with **mwa-**names. The anthropologist Simon R. Charsley (1969: 123) observed that the Nyakyusa people of southern Tanzania had names after kings, which began with **mwa-** to denote the 'child of X," as shown in (5):

(5)

NAME OF THE CHIEF	ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICT
Mwamukinga (son of a Kinga clan)	Busokelo (Selya)
Mwakisumusya (son of a morning crier)	Busokelo (Selya)
Mwakagile (son of a founder)	Busokelo (Mbaka)
Mwakatundu (son of a banana spoon)	Kyela (Ntebela)
Mwakatumbula (son of a heart)	Rungwe (Mpuguso)
Mwankenja (son of a spinster)	Kyela (Ntebela)
Mwangoka (son of grass species)	Rungwe (Ukukwe)

The names in (5) above are found in male names among the Nyakyusa people today, or convey the same connotation with the people, e.g., **Mwakifuge** (child of corn food), **Mwampiki** (child of a tree), **Mwasanu** (son of grass species), and **Mwamwejo** (son of a broom).

Some **mwa-**names contain words whose meanings are unknown. The list of such names of princes (kings) in Charsley (1969: 123) is provided in (6):

(6)

Mwaihojo	Busokelo (Selya)
Mwaipopo	Busokelo (Selya)
Mwandosya	Busokelo (Mwakaleli)
Mwaipasi	Rungwe (Lutengano)
Mwakibuti	Rungwe (Lutengano)
Mwasogi	Rungwe (Ukukwe)
Mwakyembe	Kyela (Ipinda)
Mwaisaka	Kyela (Ntebela)
Mwakalinga	Kyela (Ipyana)

Other historical information concerns the first names. The first names are usually Nyakyusa common nouns. Examining Ndali and Nyakyusa names, Swilla (2000a: 43) wrote that "names selected from the two languages have a semantic content." Ellison (2002) enlisted the following persons from Nyakyusaland as interviewees during his research as shown in (7). Since the **mwa-**names have been discussed above, here the author's concern will be just the first names:

(7)

NAME	AREA AND DISTRICT
Ambilike Mwasakyeni	Ilolo, Rungwe
Ambwene Mwasambungu Mwansele	Lupata, Busokelo
Anangisye Mwakigali Mwakyusa	Lupata, Busokelo
Andulile Mwafingulu	Ikombe, Busokelo

Andwele Mwambepo Mwalupufu	Lupata, Busokelo
Angubuka Mwakyusa	Lupata, Busokelo
Kunyatuka Mwambepo Mwalupufu	Inguti, Busokelo
Kunyonywa Lujelo	lundo, Rungwe
Mungongege Mwambingu Mwankumbi	Mbaka, Busokelo
Tumbwene Kilasi	Ilolo, Rungwe

The names in (7) above show that the names which invoke the supreme power are numerous among the Nyakyusa. The first five names are associated with the supreme (supernatural) power: **Ambilike** (He heard me), **Ambwene** (He saw me), **Anangisye** (He showed me), **Andulile** (He helped me), and **Andwele** (He brought me). It appears that circumstances at birth dictate the choice of the meaning carried by the first names because each name reflects the desire of the parents. The above names show that these desires may be directed to the supernatural power which Wilson (1954) termed **kyala**, the supreme ancestral chief to whom the Nyakyusa people sacrificed.

Some first names above describe a second person in both singular and plural. For example, **Kunyatuka** (You leap), **Kunyonywa** (You need), and **Tumbwene** (We saw him), all involve another party. Some first names describe the first person, e.g., **Mungongege** (You should follow me).

The meanings of names in (7) above are associated with the supernatural power. The meanings of the first names in Nyakyusa point at the first or second name. This is evidence that first names bear meanings linked to circumstances at birth. The circumstances at birth may point to supernatural powers or secondary important person, reflected by second person pronoun (Agyekum, 2006; Akinnaso, 1980; Asheli, 2017). These senses are a testimony of being associated with the circumstances at birth.

The penetration of English words into the Nyakyusa language in general is a common phenomenon (Lusekelo, 2014b). The same phenomenon applies to personal names. Wilson (1958) had two informants who had formal education and used foreign names: **Leonard Mwaisumo** and **John Brown Mwaikambo**. These two informants had completed Standard VII, which perhaps allowed them to have two or more names, one from the English naming system. In the theory of intercultural contacts, the authorities, such as schools and churches, tend to authenticate the use of foreign names.

The foreign names are found in abundance. The author uses names listed by Swilla (2000a), to highlight the nativisation of foreign personal names in the Nyakyusa community.

(8)

MASCULINE	FEMININE
Johani (<Johann or John)	Malija (Maria)
Joswa (Joshua)	Mele (Mary)
Paulo (Paulo)	Jeneeti (Janet)
Petelu (Peter)	Laheli (Rachel)
Luti (Ruth)	Esitala (Esther)
Mose (Moses)	Ane (Anne)

Solomoni (Solomon)	Elika (Erica)
Enoki (Enock)	Salume (Salome)
Ndabiti (David)	Sala (Sarah)
Maiko (Michael)	Eneja (Eneah)

The incorporation of English names into Nyakyusa involves vowel insertion, which is a common phonological process that brings in the CV-syllable structure, e.g., insertion of /a/ and /i/ in **Jo-ha-ni** [<Johann: German or <John: English]. It also comprises changes to segments which do not manifest in the inventory of Nyakyusa sounds, e.g., the replacement of /r/ by /l/ as in **La-he-li** [<Rachel].

METHODOLOGY

The data used in this paper are divided into two sets. The first is about 220 individual first names collected by the author for persons inhabiting the Kyimo, Nkunga, and Kiwira wards in Rungwe District. The second is 786 names of pupils from five primary schools in three districts predominantly inhabited by Nyakyusa speakers, namely Busokelo, Kyela, and Rungwe.

The choice of Kyimo, Nkungwa, and Kiwira wards is consonant with the researcher's experience of the area and first-hand knowledge of the specific persons as typically Nyakyusa by descent. In addition, the literature attests that Nyakyusa is the main vehicular of communication in these wards. For example, the atlas of languages of Tanzania indicates that Nkunga and Kiwira wards are predominantly occupied by persons who speak Nyakyusa as a first language (LOT, 2009: 63). The compositions of the populations of these wards are provided in Table 1.

It is noteworthy that Kiwira ward used to be a mixed settlement (half-urban and half-rural) in the 1988 census (URT, 1988), but was categorized into an urban settlement in the 2012 census (URT, 2013c). As it is a market place for the people from neighbouring wards of Kyimo and Nkunga, the influence of urbanization and Swahilization cannot be ignored. Kyimo and Nkunga remained rural wards in the 2012 census. Hence the domination of Nyakyusa speakers cannot be exaggerated.

Table 1. Nyakyusa Wards: Composition of Population (URT, 2013c: 115)

WARDS	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL	HOUSEHOLD SIZE
Kyimo	7,321	6,712	14,033	4.2
Nkunga	8,152	7,987	16,139	4.5
Kiwira	13,308	11,936	25,244	4.1
TOTAL	28,781	26,635	55,416	4.2

It is obvious that there are layers of native and foreign names in the lexicons of most Tanzanian languages (Lusekelo, 2014a; Muzale, 1998; Swilla, 2000a). Most studies, however, analyze only the indigenous names in given speech communities (cf. Asheli, 2017; Manyasa, 2008; Resani, 2016). Therefore, the author will describe the personal names used by primary school pupils in rural Tanzania with the intention to ascertain the penetration of foreign words in Nyakyusa. This paper works with 786 full names of primary school pupils in rural areas of the Nyakyusa speaking community in Tanzania, gathered from the list of registeration for primary school examinations: Busokelo District (Bujesi Primary School), Kyela District (Ngonga Primary School) and Rungwe District (Ibililo, Lupale and Lupepo Primary Schools).

The selected primary schools are located in remote areas of Busokelo, Kyela, and Rungwe Districts. The remoteness ensures the enrollment of children from typical Nyakyusa families in the schools. According to LOT (2009: 61) Nyakyusa is the dominant language in the districts.

One caution to note here is that the second dominant languages in the areas are Kinga and Ndali (LOT, 2009: 60). Historically, the Kinga and Nyakyusa lived adjacent to Busokelo District (Charsley, 1969), while the Ndali and Nyakyusa lived in neighbouring villages in Rungwe District (Wilson, 1958). The presence of Kinga and Ndali pupils in the selected schools may not be totally nill.

FINDINGS

Two kinds of analyses are provided in this section. First, the author conducted a qualitative analysis of names to detect the impact of languages-in-mutual contact within the Nyakyusa community. Section I analyzes the first names of selected persons in Kyimo, Nkunga and Kiwira wards. Second, a quantitative analysis of names reveals the trends in bestowing names in the community. Section II discusses the penetration of foreign names into Nyakyusa, as well as whether there will be domination and/or elimination of **mwa-**names.

I. Encounters with first names of the Nyakyusa speakers

The author gathered 220 personal names from Kyimo, Nkunga and Kiwira wards. These names were gathered purposely from two relatively older cohorts: (i) very elderly persons aged between 80 and above, born before independence and around the 1930s; (ii) adults aged between 50 and 79. Some of these persons were born before independence, around the 1940s, and others were born after independence, around the 1960s.

Some representative examples of the sample of the first names of male and female persons in Nyakyusa villages are shown in (9).

(9)

FEMALES	MALES
Anyubatile (He holds me)	Afyusisye (He promoted me)
Kilasa (to poke, to be outspoken)	Asegelile (He is close to me)
Kisalwe (beans vegetables)	Angolile (He called me)
Tumwimbilege (Let us sing for him)	Kimelo (seedlings)
Sakabeju (a potatoes leaf)	Kanyasa (a tree species)
Salubaga (a house style)	Lasalo [Lazaro: Swahili]
Sakasote (----)	Lindima (tremble, roar)
Sibagege (Let matters face you)	Tondola (to harvest)
Syapakisu (worldly matters)	Tukuswiga (We are surprised)
Sakabwesye (to win)	Jusufu [Yusufu: Swahili]
Salujoja (of the feathers)	Undule (You help me)
Sakalenge (made of flowers)	Uswege (You forgive me)
Samalasele (a kind of bird)	Mwabulesi (of millet)
Sakabwesye (some burnt food)	Mwangengele (of plant species)

Circumstances at birth influence names, and most names, both feminine and masculine, bear a connection to physical environments such as vegetation, as well as a connection to the spiritual world. The circumstances at birth are also connected to the supernatural power, as Wilson (1951, 1954) reported of the presence of the supreme power called **Kyala** in Nyakyusa community. The circumstances at birth influencing names is not a phenomenon unique to Nyakyusa. Rather, it pervasively determines naming across African cultures (cf. Agyekum, 2006; Akinnaso, 1980; Manyasa, 2008; Muzale, 1998; Asheli, 2017).

Another pervasive pattern seen in (9) above is the presence of the **sa-** names for females and **mwa-**names for males. The former represents a feminine nominal prefix which is fewer than the latter prefix used only for masculine names. These prefix is pervasive in family names discussed in next section, the penetration of foreign names into Nyakyusa.

There are only two foreign names, **Lasalo** [Lazaro: Swahili] and **Jusufu** [Yusufu: Swahili] in (9) above which may indicate the scarcity of foreign names in Nyakyusa. Both names come from Swahili, as the former is associated with a biblical name while the latter is an Islamic name. The main point to underscore here is that foreign names are fewer among the elderly persons in the selected wards. This is an indication that the impact of western Christianity and colonial education found across Africa (Mashiri, 1999) had not yet made a clear impact in the Nyakyusa community in the 1930s.

The first names from the second cohort is given in (10) below.

(10)

FEMALES	MALES
Aneti [<Annett: English]	Anyelwisye (He cleansed me)
Jeneeti [<Janet: English]	Amelika [America: English]
Kisa (grace)	Bigeleko (They closed it)

Ndimbuni (I am saved)
Ndinhesya (I am a stranger)
Ndigwako (I am yours)

Samajengo (building materials)
Subilaga (to have patience)
Sansuupa (daughter of Suupa)
Tumbopile (Let us love him)
Tunganege (We ran to him)
Tupokigwe (We have been saved)

Jesaja [<Isaiah?: Christian]
Kumwenda (to a cloth)
Tungibwaga (We should not forget)
Tungigwaga (We should not fall)
Osija [<Osiah: Swahili?]
Lihuti [<Eliud: English]
Saiti [<Said: Swahili]
Danken [<Dunken: German?]
Johani [<Johann or John]
Mwankenja (a bachelor)
Mwakikuti (a species of tree)

The three patterns seen in (9) are manifest in (10) as well. The first, the circumstance at birth is prominent in Nyakyusa children named in the 1960s. Such circumstance at birth may involve the supernatural power and mercy.

The second pattern concerns the **mwa-**names, which still manifest as first names for some Nyakyusa people.

The last pattern is the penetration of foreign names. Incorporation of these foreign words had been possible through insertion of vowels to break sequences of consonants to suit the Nyakyusa locution. Lusekelo (2009) showed that Nyakyusa used primarily CV-syllables because sequences of some consonants are disallowed. Hence the German name **Johann** [or English name: **John**] becomes **Johani**. Likewise, Method (2008) presented an inventory of Nyakyusa sounds which excluded the voiced plosive /d/. Hence: **Said** becomes **Saiti**.

To conclude for this section, data have exhibited three layers of personal names in the Nyakyusa community. Some indigenous names are made of **mwa-**names and **sa-**names. The former is associated with patriarchal relations while the latter involves feminine descent. Other names are composed of meaningful words. In most cases such names are associated with circumstances at birth and a relationship between name-givers and supernatural power. The last layer concerns foreign words which come from Swahili and/or English. All these three layers of personal names are used in formal settings such as schools and religious institutions and informal settings, i.e., at home and villages.

II. The penetration of foreign names into Nyakyusa

The author analyzed the names of 786 Primary VII pupils from a sample of six primary schools in rural areas of Nyakyusaland. The analysis focused on the first, second, and family names, given in different columns below. These names are used at school, religious institutions, during political rallies, and during other informal activities. Therefore, it is obvious that personal names in the Nyakyusa society are influenced by the formal institutions such as schools and church.

(11)

FIRST NAMES	SECOND NAMES	FAMILY NAMES
Amina	Lusekelo	Mwaisaka
Ashura	Kasalila	Mwalwiba
Atupokile	Mpoki	Mwasilabi
Efelisa	Mungolege	Silingi
Gidion	Rubeni	Mwakosya
Gwantwa	Edward	Rubeni
Halima	Michael	Amulike
Nehemia	Anangisye	Mwampiki
Sekela	Subisye	Gwandumi
Victoria	Ngolile	Mwaisanila

The names above were selected randomly, and include **Atupokile** (He saved us), **Anyisile** (He came back for me), **Amulike** (He made me shine), **Lusekelo** (happiness), **Mpoki** (savior), **Mwampiki** (son of a tree), **Mwalwiba** (son of grass species), **Sekela** (be happy), **Tukupasya** (We fear). Other names in these columns are foreign to Nyakyusa. They come from Swahili and English, e.g., **Amana** [<**Amina**: Swahili], **Halima** [<**Halima**: Swahili], **Rubeni** [<**Ruben**: English], **Silingi** [<Shilingi: Swahili], and **Victoria** [<**Victoria**: English]. This is the reason that the discussion of all full names used in (11) and other examples to be used later in the paper will be disassociated from definitions (meanings).

The individual names analyzed were 2,358 names in total because each of the 786 individual Primary VII pupils was registered with three names as shown in (11) above. The percentages for each cluster of names are given in Table 2.

Table 2 shows a high percentage of 59.74 for foreign, either English or Swahili, names. Some foreign names emanate from Christianity, the foreign religion introduced in the 1890s (Swilla, 2000a; Wilson, 1958) and English language in general, the official language in the country. Swahili has known to have impacted Nyakyusa names, because some names of Swahili and Islamic origin are attested to in Nyakyusa community. In line with Mashiri (1999), the author finds it plausible to argue that intercultural contact yielded newer names in Nyakyusa culture.

These Nyakyusa names may still suggest that the pressure from major and prestigious foreign languages, namely Swahili and English, have not quite managed to push the Nyakyusa people away from their traditional naming system. Almost 40 percent of all names are native Nyakyusa names. This may support Hyden (2014), who argued that African communities held fast to their traditions and customs. Nonetheless, the following analysis (12) shows that the utilization of native names may be diminishing, and there is increasing penetration of foreign names.

Table 2. The distribution of names of pupils in Nyakyusaland

SOURCE LANGUAGES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Foreign (English and Christian) names	1,025	43.46
Native Nyakyusa names	949	40.24
Foreign (Swahili) names	384	16.28
TOTAL	2,358	100

(12)

FIRST NAMES	SECOND NAMES	FAMILY NAMES
Alinanine	Ahadi	Mwakapyanila
Anjera	Anyisile	Mwanselela
Ashura	Kasalila	Mwalwiba
Elisha	Asangalwisye	Mwabulesi
Enoki	Agrey	Elieza
Getrida	Anyasime	Andondile
Gwantwa	Edward	Rubeni
Ikupa	Joeli	Mwambalaswa
Joshua	Juma	Mwakibasa
Liliani	Japheti	Ndekile
Mudi	Halisi	Mposi
Neema	Adamu	Njole
Neva	Simoni	Gwalugano
Tabu	Aroni	Asilisye
Tukupasya	Danken	Malamula
Victoria	Adamu	Pilika
Upendo	Nakege	Mwaisumo

The three clusters of the names are invariably used by almost all of the pupils, and reveal a three layer/cohort name structure: the first, personal names of pupils (column one), the first names of male-parents (column two), and family names (column three). The first name represents the children, the second name their elders (parents), and third name, the elderly grandparents.

1) The contemporary family names in Nyakyusa

The main assumption of the author here is that family names resemble names of the elderly persons analyzed in Section III above. This assumption is obtained from the sequence of names, i.e., family names are from elderly members of community, mid-names (second names) are from adults, and first names belong to the children.

The author found that the traditional Nyakyusa names accounted for 742 names, which constitute 94.40 percent of all family names. Two kinds of family names manifest in (13) and (14).

(13) Asilisye (He made me faint)
Asangwile (He sacrificed)
Gwalugano (He is merciful)
Gwantwa (He belongs to Lord)
Mposi (soup, iron smith)
Ndekile (I stopped)
Njole [<**jola**: to fetch]
Pilika (to hear)

(14) Mwaikeke [<**keke**: young]
Mwaisumo [<**isumo**: a style]
Mwakagali [<**gali**: a car]
Mwakaleke [<**leka**: to leave, to stop]
Mwalwiba [<**lwiba**: a weed]
Mwalupale [<**lupale**: a calabash]
Mwambope [<**bopa**: to run]
Mwamfise [<**fisa**: to hide]
Mwampiki [**<mpiki**: a tree]

The examples in (13) demonstrate names which are typically nouns and clauses. These names constitute about 38.29 percent (301 names), indicating that native Nyakyusa names follow the common pattern as in other African languages such as Yoruba of Nigeria (Akinnaso 1980). The list (14) shows the **mwa-**names, the typical feature in Nyakyusa personal names, constituting the family names. These names amount to about 56.10 percent, because there are 441 names.

There were fewer Swahili-derived names than found by Swilla (2000a: 43), constituting about 1.14 percent (9 names). These names include Swahili words, e.g., **Kokoto** (gravel) and **Afrika** (Africa), and Islamic names such as **Musa** and **Shaibu**. English and Christian-derived names counted 35. There were **Adamu** (Adam), **Elieza** (Eliezer), **Rubeni** (Reuben), **Simoni** (Simon), **Solomoni** (Solomon), **Jordani** (Jordan), **Paulo** (Paul), **Waiti** (white), etc. These accounted for only 4.45 percent of all family names.

2) Names of contemporary adults in Nyakyusa

This section analyses the second names in the second cohort which involves parents whose ages were between 35 and 55 years. This assumption is obtained from the custom that Nyakyusa girls and boys traditionally marry between age of 20 and 25, respectively (Wilson, 1951; URT, 2013b). Since the pupils whose names the author analyzed were of a certain age, Nyakyusa girls who married at age 20 became mothers to Primary VII children by age 35. Likewise, Nyakyusa boys who married at age 25 became fathers to Primary VII children by age 40.

The author made an analysis of the second name of each of the 786 individual Primary VII pupils. Statistics show that the first cluster of the names of adults constitutes about 161 indigenous second names. Out of 786 individual names, the indigenous names comprise 20.48 percent of all the names analysed. This percentage indicates that many grandparents bestowed native names because the percentage is lower by 14.63. On the basis of the whole list of names analysed in this paper, this comparison portrays the commonness of native names such as **Anyasime** (He borrowed me), **Anyisile** (He came for me), **Mungolege** (Let you hold me), **Nakege** (Let me disappear), etc.

The second cluster of the names of adults constitutes about 160 second names which are of Swahili origin. This makes 20.35 percent of the total names analyzed. This percentage is lower by 7.0 percent compared to the whole sample of names of adults. This comparison with the second cluster above entails that grand-

parents preferred Swahili and Islamic names. Such Swahili-cum-Islamic names include **Ahadi** [<**ahadi**: Swahili] (gift), **Adamu** [**adam**: Swahili], **Halisi** [<**halisi**: Swahili] (truth, reality), etc.

The third cluster of the names of adults involves English names which comprises about 59.16 percent because a total of 465 names were counted. As compared with first names, data show that parents had 7.63 percent fewer foreign names. The common English-cum-Christian names include **Joeli** [<**Joel**: English], **Aroni** [<**Aron**: English], **Japheti** [<**Japhet**: English], etc. This entails that many grandparents preferred indigene names for their children. The implication here is that the youth obtain many foreign names while the mid-elderly persons possess few foreign names.

3) The contemporary first names in Nyakyusa

The first names for all primary school pupils used in the sample revealed new trends. The school pupils were 15 years of age by average, because Primary VII children are aged between 12 and 18 (URT, 2013a). Therefore, these first names are representative of all the Nyakyusa children under 20, who inhabit the rural villages in Busokelo, Kyela, and Rungwe Districts of Tanzania. Some of the names analyzed here come from examples in (11) and (12) while others come from the sample of 786 full names of pupils.

A total of 46 first names were indigenous, and few parents gave Nyakyusa native names to their children, accounting for about 5.85 percent of the sample of 786 names analyzed. These Nyakyusa names include **Alinanine** (He is with me), **Angetile** (He looked on me), **Atufigwege** (Let him be praised), **Gwantwa** (He belongs to Lord), **Ikupa** (She is a giver), **Lusajo** (blessings), **Tukupasya** (We fear), etc.

The second cluster contains a total of 215 first names of Swahili origin. This comprises about 27.35 percent of all names examined in this section. The Swahili names include words with Swahili meanings, e.g., **Neema** (grace), **Tabu** (difficulties), **Upendo** [<**upendo**: Swahili] (love), etc. Other Swahili names are of Islamic (Arabic) origin, e.g., **Halima** [<**Khalima**: Arabic], **Juma** [<**Jouma**: Arabic], **Mudi** [<**Mohamed**: Arabic], etc. This percentage, 27.35, attests to the Nyakyusa parents' prefererence for Swahili names. Swilla (2000a) argued that Swahili impacted the Lake Corridor languages mainly from the 1970s. Three decades later, the author witnessed expanded influence of Swahili on the Nyakyusa, perhaps even into the Ndali community. This is evident in the many Swahili oriented names presented in this section.

In Bantu languages of Tanzania, Swahilisation of the lexicons is commonplace (Yoneda, 2010), and Nyakyusa is not exceptional in this regard. Even though there are many English- derived words in languages of the Lake Corridor (Lusekelo, 2014b; Swilla, 2000b), penetration of Swahili words into Nyakyusa has already taken place.

Third, the majority of first names (525 names) have origins in English. This constitutes 66.79 percent of personal names whose origin is either the English language, as exemplified by **Anjera** [<**Angel**: English], **Liliani** [<**Lillian**: English],

Michael [<**Michael**: English], **Neva** [<**Never**: English], **Victoria** [<**Victoria**: English], or biblical names such as **Enoki** [<**Enoch**: biblical name]. The statistics demonstrate that many Nyakyusa parents prefer bestowing foreign names to their children.

CONCLUSION

Traditionally, the Nyakyusa people of southwestern Tanzania maintained three clusters of names, i.e., personal names, praise names, and family names. These names were associated with vegetation, supernatural powers, cultivation and crops, physical environment, etc. These names were bestowed to Nyakyusa children by parents in order to capture the circumstances and events surrounding the pregnancy and birth. Such personal names as **Anyasime** (He borrowed me), **Mungolege** (Let you hold me) and **Samajengo** (of building materials) were commonplace. The first names were distinct from names denoting family and/or clan, which usually began with the **mwa-**prefix. Historians and anthropologists conducting research in Nyakyusaland found many **mwa-**names of chiefs, e.g., **Mwankenja**, **Mwaipopo**, **Mwakyusa** etc. (Charsley, 1969; Schumann, 1898; Wilson, 1951). These family names are maintained to date.

The author demonstrated change in the trends for bestowing names among the Nyakyusa on the basis of intergroup contact theory. In short, first names bestowed on children adhere to a formal structure: the first name followed by the father's name and then the clan name, e.g., **Atupakisye Lusekelo Mwamakombe**. Since childhood names were highlighted by Swilla (2000a), intercultural contact yielded different patterns of personal names in Nyakyusa. In addition, numerous English- and Christianity-derived names attest to their cultural impact on the language, e.g., **Johani** [<**Johann**: German or <**John**: English] and **Tumwimbilege** (Let us sing for him). Many children under 20 years of age have these names, together with Swahili-oriented names such as **Neema** (grace) and **Furaha** (happiness). The **mwa-**names remain for family names only. Naming children in the community shows preference for foreign names to traditional names.

The trend in the naming practice is likely to be of European influence, even more so than it had been in the 1890s when missionaries and colonial administrators arrived in Kyela and Rungwe Districts. Almost all school pupils maintain the three layer/cohort name structure. Although the use of praise names, which is a very welcome practice amongst the Nyakyusa, have remained in rural areas, the expansion of primary education into rural areas strengthen the use of formal names. Therefore, contrary to the 1970s pattern suggested by Swilla (2000a), the presence of foreign names in the three layer/cohort name structure is a setback for the maintenance of the traditional naming system of the Nyakyusa. The names which were meant to be used for the outside world (school, working station, polling registration, etc.) have now become regular names among the Nyakyusa.

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