A morphological analysis of Kemunasukuma personal names

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Abstract

Personal names and naming practices are among the linguistic topics that have occupied scholarly attention from diverse fields: philosophy, history, anthropology, linguistics, and psychology. This paper investigates personal names from a linguistic perspective. It examines Kemunasukuma personal names by focusing on their structural patterns and the morphological processes involved in their formation. The study followed a qualitative approach as it deals with textual data (personal names). Data was collected through interviews and documentary review, and morphological approaches were adopted in data analysis. Personal names were broken down into meaningful morphemes to trace their structural patterns as well as determine the word-formation processes involved. The findings indicate that Kemunasukuma personal names exhibit seven structural patterns that range from simple to complex. Also, the findings indicate that three word-formation processes: inflection, derivation, and compounding are productive and responsible for the formation of Kemunasukuma personal names. The structure of Kemunasukuma personal names not only points to the structure of the Sukuma language but also gives vital clues about their semantics.

1   Introduction

Personal names and naming practices are among the linguistic topics that have occupied scholarly attention from different fields: linguistics, history, anthropology, psychology, and philosophy. This has been the case because personal names and naming practices are significant socio-cultural aspects observable in all cultures and societies around the globe. In every society or culture, personal names are important (Ennin/Nkansah 2016: 70); and they are conceptualized by Mphande (2006: 106) as tools people can use to understand or talk about reality. The reality in question is the people's beliefs, culture, ideology, religion, language, thought, philosophy, etc. Personal names are, therefore, meaningful as they reflect all these realities. They are, in fact, "storerooms for keeping historical records and for sustaining the shared beliefs and identity of a linguistic community" (Chipalo 2019: 75). Thus, children are given names upon birth in order "to differentiate, to recognize and finally to know" (Agyekum 2006: 209).

This paper examines the morphology of personal names in Kemunasukuma, one of the four dialects of the Sukuma language (cf. Maho 2009: 44; Shigini 2020: 14). Names are studied under a branch of semantics called onomastics. Onomastics is concerned with the origin and history of proper names (cf. Crystal 2008: 339). It captures both personal names and place

names. Personal names are under a branch of onomastics called anthroponomastics or anthroponymy (the focus of this paper) while place names are under the onomastics' branch called toponomastics or toponymy (cf. Al-Zumor 2009: 16). As previously mentioned, the fact that anthroponomy has caught scholarly attention from different specialties suggests that personal names are inherently multidisciplinary and can be analysed using a single or a mixture of frameworks such as linguistic, anthropological, psychological, historical, and philosophical. This study employs a linguistic framework to analyse the morphology of Kemunasukuma personal names. The intent is to shed light on the structural patterns of personal names, as they help in understanding the meanings of personal names.

Many recent studies about personal names conducted on African languages have used diverse perspectives. These approaches include sociolinguistics (cf. Nnamdi-Eruchalu 2018; Abdul 2014), morphology (cf. Kabaso 2016; Mwangi 2015), semantics (cf. Asheli 2017), pragmatic (cf. Chipalo 2019), anthropology (cf. Chauke 2015; Mandende 2009), and morphosemantics (cf. Gerba 2014; Kinyua 2020). These studies have, among others, focused on the semantics and typologies of personal names, and the factors that influence naming practices or name selection in the languages investigated. Moreover, these studies unanimously agree that personal names have semantic contents, reflecting diverse socio-cultural realities, and their choices are not haphazardly made. In most African cultures or societies there are always compelling reasons or circumstances behind a name's choice. However, the reasons for name choices are as diverse as the cultures themselves. For instance, among Yoruba speakers, the choice of names may be motivated by factors such as family situations, birth circumstances, religion, profession, and death situation (cf. Ehineni 2019). In Algerian society, Azieb/Qudah (2018) noted that naming practices relate to aspects of religion, politics, family, history, culture, the musicality of the name, and other unspecified reasons. In Ethiopia, Didena (2021) reports that the social and cultural contexts and the economic circumstances into which children are born determine the personal names that Dawro speakers give to their newborns.

One intriguing observation in the studies just mentioned above is that the morphological domain of personal names seems to have not been given much attention. Thus, unlike the previous studies, this paper takes a departure by examining the morphological aspect of personal names. The studies which have focused attention on the morphological patterns of personal names report that personal names, like other words, have their own structures and that personal names are a product of different word-formation processes. For example, Tahat (2020) reports that Jordanian personal names exhibit structural patterns resulting from derivation and inflection processes, i. e. Jordanian personal names are morphologically classified as derived and inflected names. Personal names also may demonstrate simple or complex structures. Minkailou/Abdoulaye (2020) support that the traditional personal names in Songhay show structures that go from simple words (nouns, adjectives, and verbs) to full sentences. Likewise, Onumajuru (2016) observed that Igbo names structurally fall into three broad categories: lexical, phrasal, and sentential. Furthermore, there are different word-formation processes through which personal names are formed. Gerba (2014) and Malande (2011) report that most Oromo and Lulogooli names, respectively, are derivatives of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs; and the formation processes involved (derivation and affixation) are semantically motivated (cf. ibid.). Thus, this

paper studies the morphology of Kemunasukuma personal names in an attempt to validate the aforesaid results.

In Tanzania, some efforts to study personal names and naming practices, in general, have been made (cf. Asheli 2017; Buberwa 2017; Charwi 2019; Chipalo 2019; Lusekelo 2018; Msuya 2021; Sebonde 2020; Shigini 2020 a. o.). Sebonde (2020) examined Chasu personal names and modes of address in the Chasu speech community. Among others, the paper reveals that Chasu personal names are sociocultural and linguistic phenomena and are a product of both lexical and affixation processes. The paper further indicates that Chasu names reveal meaningful morphological and derivational processes that relate to gender marking and the hierarchy of birth. Chipalo (2019) investigated Cigogo personal names for the purpose of identifying the determinants of name choices and the implications involved in naming. The paper revealed that Cigogo personal names derive originally from, among others, lineage, seasons, socio-economic activities, calamities, surroundings, and birth circumstances; which together carry two implicatures: recording and recalling, or wishes and prayers. Similarly, Charwi (2019) analysed the semantics of Datooga personal names and found that the naming in the said society is associated with diverse phenomena mainly the time of birth and prevailing situations, traditions, norms, and customs. Lusekelo (2018) provided an account of the impact of intercultural contact in African societies with reference to Nyakyusa personal names. The paper demonstrates that most parents in the studied community select foreign names rather than the native names. The paper concludes that the traditions in the naming system of Nyakyusa are gradually fading. Asheli (2017) looked at personal names and naming practices among the Kuria, Iraqw, and Maasai. The study established that naming practices in the three communities are governed by some principles some of which are culture-specific while others are shared between cultures. Buberwa (2017) dealt with the form and use of Swahili personal names. Manyasa (2009) and Shigini (2020) examined Sukuma personal names with a particular focus on semantics. Although some efforts have been made to investigate personal names in many languages, the morphological patterns of personal names in most indigenous languages, including Sukuma, are still not yet documented. This paper is an attempt to fill this gap in the body of knowledge about personal names by focusing attention on morphology.

It has been claimed by Lusekelo (2018: 51) that the personal names' semantics is determined by many factors which include events during the pregnancy, relationships within a family and clan, the physical environment of birth or birthplace, and any other occurrence that ensued. In this paper, we argue that the morphology of a name is equally significant in contributing to the understanding of the meaning of a particular name. In other words, having a good understanding of the structure of a name helps to easily trace its meaning. Katamba/Stonham (2006: 308) explain the morphology-semantics relationship and argue that "a phrase is semantically compositional – i. e., its meaning can be inferred from the meaning of its parts." This argument can be applied to individual words (personal names included) and even sentences. Personal names are words similar to other words in the vocabulary of a language; so, they are creatively formed out of different morphemes. The processes such as derivation, affixation, and compounding are involved in the formation of personal names. Thus, knowing the morphological patterns of personal names is crucial to understanding their meanings. This paper takes a departure from the previous ones by analysing the morphology of Kemunasukuma personal names; specifically, it

examines the way Kemunasukuma personal names are structured and the processes responsible for their formation. This paper aims at providing answers to the question that relates to the way Kemunasukuma personal names are morphologically structured.

1.1 Theoretical underpinning

This study is based on the assumptions of Lexical Morphology (LM) by Kiparsky (1982). LM, as a theory, was then advanced by Katamba (1993) and Katamba/Stonham (2006). This theory adopts a morphological analysis in which words (in our case personal names) are decomposed into small lexical units that are functionally meaningful and whose grammatical meanings are readable (cf. Mwangi 2015: 259). LM arose as a critique of the American Structuralist morpheme-based models. The morpheme-based models emphasized the morpheme as a vital unit for any morphological analysis. The LM theory, as a word-based model, focuses on a word as a fundamental unit for any morphological analysis. The major claim of LM is that the word-formation process is a product of the interaction between morphological and phonological rules that operate within a single lexicon. The morphological rules determine the structure of a word and the phonological rules determine its pronunciation (cf. Katamba/Stonham 2006). The present paper dwells on the morphological rules, especially the rules of word formation, to guide the morphological analysis of personal names. The inflection, derivation, and compounding rules, which are rules responsible for word formation, bring the morphological processes to the surface (cf. Mwangi 2015: 260). Therefore, LM theory was considered adequate as the basis for the investigation of the morphological structures of Kemunasukuma personal names.

2 Methodology

A case study design under the qualitative research approach was adopted in both the collection and analysis of data. According to Mack et al. (2005: 1), qualitative research methods are very beneficial in gathering and analysing cultural-specific data concerning opinions, values, and social settings of a particular society. The data collected was inherently textual (personal names). The study was done in the Shinyanga Region, mainly in the Shinyanga Rural District, specifically in the Imesela ward in Nyika, Imesela, and Maskati villages. The data was collected from 12 elderly, competent, and reliable Kemunasukuma native speakers of either sex (aged 50 years and above) selected from the aforementioned villages. The sample involved was obtained through a deliberate sampling technique. The sample of 12 was enough given the nature of the study. Besides, as stated by Daymon/Holloway (2010), a sample of between 4 and 40 is enough in qualitative studies. Native speakers aged 50 years and above were preferred since age is a crucial variable as it influences language competence and determines people's amount of experience in language-related matters. Therefore, older speakers were assumed to be more competent and experienced in language- and culture-related matters than younger speakers.

A total of 12 semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with four (4) elders from each of the named villages were conducted. The choice of respondents was based on the premise that they are native Kemunasukuma speakers who were born and dwell in the villages where the Kemunasukuma dialect is spoken. By virtue of their age, respondents were considered to have knowledge about the typical Kemunasukuma personal names. A documentary review was also used by the authors to collect the data for this study. The authors consulted and reviewed the

Standard Four National Assessment (SFNA) – 2019 Results for Shinyanga Rural District. The results for four (4) schools in the Imesela ward were reviewed and pupils' personal names that are typical Sukuma and reflect Sukuma originality and cultural orientation were extracted. Interviews and documentary reviews were the data collection methods employed in this study. The interview was used because Sukuma personal names in general and Kemunasukuma names precisely are still not officially documented. The documentary review was also used on the premise that documents are stable records and can be revisited regularly, and this is regardless of whether they are physical or electronic. The names collected were decomposed into their constituent morphemes to determine their morphological structures and classify them into different categories based on their structural patterns.

3　　　Results and discussion

3.1　　　Morphology of Kemunasukuma personal names

The structural patterns of nouns (personal names included) in Bantu languages and Sukuma language, in particular, can be explained in two ways: first, in terms of the noun class system which is very pronounced in Bantu languages, and second, in terms of the word-formation processes involved: inflection, derivation, and compounding (cf. Kitwili/Ligembe/Kiura 2022: 129). The two ways aforementioned will unfold systematically in the present section as results are presented. Before we go into detail, we, first of all, present a brief description of the Sukuma noun class system. The essence of providing a description of the Sukuma noun class system is to enable an easy understanding of the structure of Kemunasukuma personal names and the morphological processes involved in their formation.

3.1.1　　Sukuma noun class system

Nouns are common to all languages of the world and Bantu languages (including Sukuma) in particular; which are classified into numerous noun classes. The noun class system is one of the most prominent features of Bantu languages (cf. Petzell 2008: 47). The number of noun classes differs across Bantu languages, but a maximum of 21 noun classes are evident (cf. Batibo 1985: 212; Maho 1999: 51; Morrison 2018: 38). Sukuma language has a noun class system that encompasses eighteen (18) noun classes that cluster into 18 different singular/plural pairings (cf. Maho 1999: 53; Matondo 2003: 5) as shown in Table 1. For instance, the noun classes that occur in singular/plural pairs include 1/2, 3/4, and 5/6. However, there are exceptions with some noun classes, such as classes 15, 16, 17, and 18 which never appear with their counterparts (cf. Luhende 2018: 28). Luhende adds, further, that classes 9, 14, and 15 have their plural counterparts in class 6, while class 11 has its plural counterpart in class 10 (cf. Luhende 2018: 34). In Bantu languages, the classification of nouns into different classes is historically related to or motivated by certain semantic properties such that there are specific noun classes only for humans, animals, trees and plants, locations, objects, etc. (cf. Matondo 2003: 7; Morrison 2018: 40). For instance, class 1/2, in several Bantu languages including Sukuma, characteristically include humans, class 7/8 include instrumental artefacts, and class 9/10 include animals. However, Morrison (2018: 40) noted that less consistency is observed in other classes, though certain semantic tendencies may exist. For instance, classes 3 and 4 commonly include plant-related nouns, but the two classes also include other non-plants-related nouns.

Class (CL)	Aug.	Prefix	Stem	Example	Gloss	Semantic field
1	*ʊ-*	*m-*	*nhu*	*ʊmu: nhu*	'person'	human
2	*a-*	*βa-*	*nhu*	*aβa: nhu*	'people'	human
3	*ʊ-*	*m-*	*ti*	*ʊmti*	'tree'	plant/object
4	*ɪ-*	*mi-*	*ti*	*ɪmiti*	'trees'	plants/objects
5	*ɪ-*	*li-*	*we*	*ɪliwe*	'stone'	argumentative
6	*a-*	*ma-*	*we*	*amawe*	'stones'	things/animals
7	*ɪ-*	*ji-*	*looti*	*ɪjilo: ti*	'dream'	object
8	*ɪ-*	*ji-*	*looti*	*ɪjilo: ti*	'dreams'	objects
9	*ɪ-*	*n-*	*buli*	*ɪmbuli*	'goat'	thing/animal
10	*ɪ-*	*n-*	*buli*	*ɪmbuli*	'goats'	things/animals
11	*ʊ-*	*lu-*	*goye*	*ʊlugoye*	'rope'	long/thin object
12	*a-*	*ka-*	*ana*	*akaana*	'a small child'	diminutive
13	*ʊ-*	*tʊ-*	*ana*	*ʊtwana*	'small children'	diminutive
14	*ʊ-*	*βʊ-*	*saatu*	*ʊβʊs: atu*	'sickness'	abstract entities
15	*ʊ-*	*gʊ-*	*cha*	*ʊgʊcha*	'dying'	verbal infinitive
16	*a-*	*ha-*	*nuumba*	*ahanu: mba*	'on the house'	location
17	*ʊ-*	*gʊ-*	*nuumba*	*ʊgʊnu: mba*	'at the house'	location
18	*ʊ-*	*m(ʊ)-*	*nuumba*	*ʊmʊnu: mba*	'in the house'	location

Table 1: Sukuma Noun Classes
Adopted from Batibo (1985) and Matondo (2003).

Luhende (2018: 26) also argues that the structure of nouns in Sukuma consists of an initial vowel (IV) (also called augment or pre-prefix) followed by a noun class prefix (NCP) and finally a noun stem (NS). Personal names, like other nouns, correspond to the noun class system of a particular language. Likewise, Kemunasukuma personal names reflect the Sukuma noun class system in their structure. However, unlike common nouns, most Kemunasukuma personal names usually delete the initial vowel, which is a common behaviour of noun class shift. This implies that personal names have a unique morphology distinct from other ordinary words (e. g. common nouns) in a language. The structure of personal names consists of a noun class prefix (NCP), the noun stem (NS), and a final vowel (FV) (for derived personal names).

The morphological analysis generally indicates that the morphology of Kemunasukuma personal names exhibits seven structural patterns. Four structural patterns are presented in this section while the remaining structural patterns are in section 3.2.3. These structural patterns range from simple to complex ones. There are personal names whose structure involves only an NS. This segment of Kemunasukuma personal names has an NS standing on its own without an NCP and FV. The structure of a portion of personal names is described, in this paper, as structural pattern type 1: [Ø + NS + Ø]. The Ø symbolizes the absence of the NCP or FV. Consider the examples in (1).

(1) a. *Dalali*   'nothing   b. *Fumbuka*   'appear or emerge'
     c. *Komanya*   'separate/sort'   d. *Cheyo*   'broom'
     e. *Shija*   'spare'   f. *Geni*   'foreign'

The examples provided in (1) demonstrate that they are independent nouns or verbs that are used as personal names without any inflection or derivation. This informs us that there is a segment of personal names in Kemunasukuma that are lexical items (nouns, verbs, etc.) functioning as personal names denoting individual human beings. The personal names that fall into the structural pattern type 1 have the NS as the obligatory component. However, there are other Kemunasukuma personal names that take only NCP and NS. The structure of these personal names is described as structural pattern type 2: [NCP+NS]. Personal names that have only two obligatory elements are usually formed through an inflectional process, specifically prefixation. Consider the examples in (2)

(2) a. *N-songanya* [*nsonganya*]   b. *ßu-deßa* [*ßudeßa*]
        CL1-instigate   CL14-correct
        'he who instigates quarrels'   'he who gets things right'
     c. *M-gema* [*mgema*]   d. *Lu-ßinza* [*lußinza*]
        CL1-try   CL11-break
        'he who tries'   'he who breaks things'

As can be seen in (2), the stem remains intact; only the prefixes (NCP) *m-* (and its allomorph *n-*), *lu-* and *ßu-* are added to the NS to form personal names. Personal names in this category typically reflect inflectional processes as the added NCPs only serve a grammatical function, that is, they denote an individual who does the action described by the verb.

Apart from the personal names described in (2) which are formed through inflection, there are personal names that are derived from verbs. These personal names are made up of three obligatory constituents: the NCP, verb root (VR), and FV; and their structure is described as structural pattern type 3: [NCP + VR + FV]. Consider the examples in (3).

(3) a. *Ma-yoomb-o* [*mayoombo*]   b. *N-chemb-i* [*nchembi*]
        CL6-speak-FV   CL1-cut-FV
        'he who likes quarreling'   'he who cuts things'
     c. *N-gand-u* [*ngandu*]   d. *ßa-heß-e* [*ßaheße*]
        CL1-slim-FV   CL2-dominate-FV
        'he who is born slim'   'he who dominates others'

The names given in (3) indicate a common phenomenon, derivation. These personal names are derived from the verbs *yoomba* 'speak', *chemba* 'cut', *ganda* 'be slim', and *heßa* 'dominate' respectively. The final vowels [**-e, -i, -o, -u**] are derivational suffixes; they derive verb roots into nouns and subsequently personal names. The NCP is attached at the initial position to complete the meaning of a derived personal name.

Furthermore, there are some Kemunasukuma personal names that take two NCPs: the singular marker *ji-* in class 7 and the negative (NEG) marker *da-* in Sukuma that are attached to the NS. This category of personal names provides us with yet another segment of personal names with a variant structure, structural pattern type 4: [NCP + NEG + NS]. Consider the examples in (4).

(4)   a. *Ji-da-ongeja* [*jidongeja*]   b. *Ji-da-zuga* [*jidazuga*]
          CL7-NEG-add   CL7-NEG-cook
          'one who never adds'   'one who never cooks'
       c. *Ji-da-tuba* [*jidatuβa*]   d. *Ji-da-sigwa* [*jidasigwa*]
          CL7-NEG-hungry   CL7-NEG-gossiped
          'one who is never hungry'   'one who is never gossiped'

The structural pattern type 4 demonstrated by the personal names in (4) shows that the names in this category are primarily derived from verbs like the personal names in (3). What is unique in the personal names in (4) is the insertion of the NEG marker morpheme **da-** between the NCP and NS. The verbs are negated to describe the opposite meaning, i. e. denoting 'a person who never does…' as is the case with the examples given in (4).

3.2   Word-formation processes in Kemunasukuma Personal Names

3.2.1   Inflection in Kemunasukuma personal names

Inflection processes, especially prefixation, are very productive in the formation of nouns and personal names in particular. A large number of personal names are formed through the addition of a prefix to the stem as seen in 3.1.1. As stated earlier, a noun in Sukuma, and in other Bantu languages, has a stem and affixes. One of the noun affixes in Sukuma is the classifier, that is, a noun class prefix (cf. Mbuki 2019: 26) as shown in Table 1. Likewise, most Kemunasukuma personal names (whether inflected or derived) have a prefix (usually a noun class prefix or an initial vowel) and a stem. Specifically, personal names formed through inflectional processes fall under structural pattern type 2 as already demonstrated. Consider Table 2 on the prefixation in Kemunasukuma personal names.

Class	Prefix	Stem	Name	Meaning
1	*m*	*-gema*	*Mgema*	'One who tries'
2	*βa*	*-tano*	*βatano*	'Five people'
4	*mi*	*-hayo*	*Mihayo*	'Many words'
5	*ɪ*	*-nongu*	*ɪnongu*	'The big ostrich'
6	*ma*	*-shimba*	*Mashimba*	'Big lions'
7	*ji*	*-lunguja*	*Jilunguja*	'One who brings hope'
9	*N*	*-temi*	*Ntemi*	'Chief'
11	*lu*	*-gendo*	*Lugendo*	'Journey'
12	*ka*	*-dama*	*Kadama*	'A small calf'
14	*βu*	*-lugu*	*βulugu*	'War or conflict'
15	*ku*	*-lindwa*	*kulindwa*	'To be awaited'

Table 2: Prefixation in Kemunasukuma Personal Names

Three interesting observations can be noted in the data presented in Table 2. First, the Kemunasukuma personal names formed through prefixation involve a variety of NCPs from eleven (11) noun classes, with the exception of classes 3, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17, and 18. This implies that the whole Sukuma noun class system can be learned almost by just studying the prefixes in the structures of PNs. In this study, however, we did not go further to scrutinize the reasons for such exclusion. Second, canonically the noun classes 1/2 are specifically for humans in singular

and plural, respectively. But when NCPs from other noun classes are used in forming personal names, they take features of noun class 1 in their corresponding concordial forms. This is the case because personal names refer to and identify a specific individual in the universe. For instance, in the proximal demonstrative (DEM) 'this' the name *ßulugu* (CL14) should take a demonstrative *ʊßʊ* from class 14, but when used as a personal name it takes features of class 1 and takes a demonstrative *ʊyʊ* from class 1. Consider the following examples in (5).

(5)   a. *ʊßulugu ʊßʊ*   b. *ʊßulugu ʊyʊ*
          ʊ-ßu-lugu ʊßʊ   *ʊ-ßu-lugu ʊyʊ*
          Aug-CL14-war-DEM   Aug-CL14-lugu-DEM
          'this war'   'this is βulugu'

It can be noted that in (4) a. the noun *ßulugu* denotes an abstract entity corresponding to class 14 while in (4) b. it denotes a concrete entity (a person) in class 1. The same is true with classes 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, and 15. Finally, the other observation is that the initial vowel *ɪ-* in class 5 is canonically an augment (AUG) or pre-prefix (PP). Yet, it manifests itself as an NCP in a number of Kemunasukuma personal names. Since it takes the features of class 1 prefix just like the NCP from other classes shown in Table 2, we have treated it, in this study, as an NCP. The resulting personal names thus take the structural pattern type 2 that encompasses the NCP and the NS. Consider the examples in (6).

(6)   a. *ɪ-nongu* [*ɪnongu*]   b. *ɪ-nyanza* [*ɪnyanza*]
          CL5-ostrich   CL5-lake
          'one big ostrich'   'one big lake'
          c. *ɪ-golola* [*ɪgolola*]   d. *ɪ-gembe* [*ɪgembe*]
          CL5-unbend   CL5-hoe
          'one who unbends things'   'one big hoe'

As presented, the inflection process is heavily involved in the formation of Kemunasukuma personal names. Most of the personal names resulting from this process demonstrate a morphological structure labeled, in this study, as structural pattern type 2 [NCP + NS], while a few fall under the structural pattern type 4 [NCP + NEG + NS]. Personal names in this category can be classified into several groups on the basis of the NCP involved: **m-, ßa-, mi-, ɪ-, ma-, ji-, lu-, ka-, ßu-,** and **ku-**. Of all the ten (10) NCPs, the prefix **ma-** which is a class 6 plural marker for singular nouns in class 5, which denote augmentations and miscellaneous entities such as things and animals (cf. Luhende 2018: 29), is commonly involved in the formation of most Kemunasukuma personal names, followed by the prefix **m-** and its allomorphs **n-** and **ɲ-**. A few Kemunasukuma personal names are formed by involving **ßa-, mi-**, and **ɪ-**. Although some of the NCPs are plural markers, the meaning of the resulting personal names refers to individual bearers in their singularity. A summary of these groups is provided in Tables 3(a) and 3(b).

m- [CL1]	*βa-* [CL2]	*mi-* [CL4]	*ɪ-* [CL5]	*ma-* [CL6]
M-lekwa	βa-lekele	Mi-hambo	ɪ-βengwe	Ma-geni
M-hoja	βa-luhya	Mi-hayo	ɪ-nongu	Ma-chimu
M-pelwa	βa-heβe	Mi-sana	ɪ-kandilo	Ma-gesa
M-salika	βa-lahaya	Mi-soji	ɪ-golola	Ma-ganga
M-lela	βa-tano	Mi-lumbe	ɪ-nyanza	Ma-duhu
M-sheshiwa	βa-langwa	Mi-yuguyu	ɪ-kumbo	Ma-bula
M-sangwa	βa-laseka	Mi-ligo	ɪ-kelenga	Ma-kolo

Table 3(a): Noun Class Prefixes and the Distribution of Kemunasukuma Persona Names

ji-(shi-) [CL7]	*lu-* [CL11]	*ka-* [CL12]	*βu-* [CL14]	*ku-* [CL15]
Ji-shosha	Lu-kenagula	Ka-dama	βu-yobe	Ku-sekwa
Ji-sinza	Lu-nyili	Ka-βelele	βu-tamo	Ku-malija
Ji-misha	Lu-gwisha	Ka-lunde	βu-gumba	Ku-long'wa
Ji-ganga	Lu-taja	Ka-sheku	βu-haβi	Ku-shoka
Ji-lomela	Lu-kanya	Ka-nogu	βu-deβa	Ku-lindwa
Ji-sandu	Lu-tema	Ka-temi	βu-sungu	Ku-βoja
Ji-sena	Lu-βinza	Ka-dogosa	βu-lemela	Ku-yela
Ji-lala	Lu-poja	Ka-pina	βu-donho	Ku-ilasa
Shi-linde	Lu-βango	Ka-munda	βu-dede	Ku-zenza
Shi-lunguja	Lu-hemeja	Ka-lekwa	βu-temi	Ku-yeyema

Table 3(b): Noun Class Prefixes and the Distribution of Kemunasukuma Personal Names

3.2.2 Derivation in Kemunasukuma personal names

Kiango (2000: 74) defines derivation as "a process of word formation which uses morphological rules in forming new lexemes from the base forms of other lexemes." Personal names, like other words in a language, may be formed out of other existing words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. Kiango (2000: 76) adds that derivatives (the resulting new words or lexemes) are formed by derivational rules, which are typically morphological. The rules which contrast between languages, attach derivational affixes to the roots or bases of other words. Kiango (2000: 87–112) mentions that derivational processes in Bantu languages are classified into four main types: nominal derivation, verbal derivation, adverbial derivation, and adjectival derivation. Since this paper deals with personal names, we will focus on nominal derivation rather than on the other types. In nominal derivation, nouns (personal names inclusive) are derived from roots or bases of other nouns or roots and bases of other words of different grammatical categories. According to Kiango (2000: 87), nominal derivation manifests itself in two forms: class-changing derivation (where nouns are derived from non-nominal roots or bases) and class-maintaining derivation (where nouns are derived from nominal roots or bases). The class-changing derivation includes deverbals and deadjectivals, while denominals are under class-maintaining derivation. Thus, there are deverbal, deadjectival, and denominal personal names.

Deverbal personal names refer to the category of personal names that are derived from verbs (cf. Hang'ombe 2015: 41; Kabaso 2016: 78). Kiango (2000: 88) puts it that deverbals are formed through de-verbal nominalization where nominal derivational affixes are added to verbal roots or bases to derive new names. According to Kiango, deverbal nouns in Bantu languages are created by using nominal derivational suffixes and prefixes, though these affixes contrast across Bantu languages (2000: 88). The vowels [**-i, -e, -o, -u**] are the most common nominal derivational suffixes while the class prefixes form the nominal derivational prefixes in Sukuma. Names in this category reflect structural pattern type 3: [NCP+VR+FV]. Consider the examples in (7).

(7)   a. βu-cheyek-i [*βucheyeki*]   b. Ji-lang-i [*jilangi*]
      CL14-dance   CL7-teach
      'state of dancing'   'one who teaches others'
    c. Mi-hay-o [*mihayo*]   d. Ma-koy-e [*makoye*]
      CL4-speak   CL6-suffer
      'one born amid rumours'   'one born during hardships'

As exemplified in (7), the personal names *βucheyeki, Jilangi, Mihayo* and *Makoye* are derived from the verbs *-cheyeka* 'dance', *-langa* 'teach', *-haya* 'speak', and *-koya* 'suffer' respectively. Moreover, the final vowel *-a* in these verbs, which is the canonical final vowel in most Bantu languages, is replaced by the nominal derivational suffixes *-i*, *-o*, and *-e*. The noun class prefix is also placed at the initial position to complete the derivation process.

Deadjectival personal names are personal names that are derived from adjectives (cf. Kabaso 2016: 80). Deadjectival names are formed through deadjectival nominalization where nominal derivational affixes are added to adjectival roots or bases to derive new names (Kiango 2000: 87). Hang'ombe (2015: 78) remarks that this category constitutes a small segment of personal names because adjectives are simply descriptive with no rich meaning. These personal names are formed through the attachment of the class 14 prefix *βu-* to the adjectives. The personal names in this category usually denote a sense of being something else, that is, they denote a sense of abstractness and correspond to structural pattern type 2: [NCP + NS], as shown in (8).

(8)   a. *βu-tamo* [*βutamo*]   b. *βu-gumba* [*βugumba*]
      CL14-starve   CL14-barren
      'starvation'   'barrenness'

    c. *βu-haβi* [*βuhaβi*]   d. *βu-dede* [*βudede*]
      CL14-poor   CL14-loose
      'poverty'   'looseness'

It is evident in (8) that the meaning of personal names formed through the affixation of the noun class 14 prefix *βu-* is directly linked with the source adjective(s). For instance, the adjective *-gumba* 'barren' when affixed with the *βu-* leads to the creation of an abstract noun *βugumba* 'barrenness', which implies 'the state of being barren'. The same is the case with the other remaining examples given in (8).

Denominal personal names are a kind of personal names that are derived from both common and proper nouns (cf. Kabaso 2016: 76). They are usually derived from nominal roots or bases.

Denominal personal names are made up of two morphemes only (Hang'ombe 2015: 72), usually a noun class prefix and a noun stem. The personal names in this category are formed by the affixation of the class 5/6 noun prefixes *ɪ-* and ***ma-*** and the class 12 prefix ***ka-*** to common nouns. Personal names in this group are mostly formed by what Kiango (2000: 87) describes as "class-maintaining derivation", which demonstrates structural pattern type 2: [NCP+NS]. Consider the examples in (9).

(9) a. *Ka-dama* [*kadama*] b. *Ka-dala* [*kadala*]
    CL12-calf CL12-leaf
    'one small calf' 'one small leaf'

    c. *Ka-βula* [*kaβula*] d. *ɪ-ɲanza* [*ɪɲanza*]
    CL12-rain CL5-lake
    'a small rain' 'one big lake'

    e. *ɪ-gembe* [*ɪgembe*] f. *Ma-kolo* [*makolo*]
    CL5-hoe CL6-sheep
    'one big hoe' 'many big sheep'

    g. *Ma-chimu* [*machimu*] h. *Ma-duka* [*maduka*]
    CL6-spear CL6-shop
    'many big spears' 'many big shops'

The examples given in (9) indicate that denominal nominalization mostly leads to augmentative (with pejorative meaning) and diminutive (with ameliorative meaning) (cf. Katamba/Stonham 2006: 229). In other words, the personal names just exemplified denote bigness or smallness as well as an attitude towards the name (cf. Petzell 2008: 73). For example, if the nominal root -*dama* is allocated into classes 5/6, the nominal forms *ɪdama/madama* 'big calf/big calves' are derived. But when the same is allocated to noun class 12, the nominal form *Kadama* 'small calf' is derived. Diminutive is used to make the name bearer smaller, while augmentative is used to comment on the size of the name bearer as well as on the name giver's attitude to the name bearer. This is the case with *Kaβula* (female) and *Maβula* (male). From *Kaβula* and *Maβula* we realize that smallness is equated to being beautiful and bigness is equated to being ugly, on the one hand. On the other hand, smallness may denote a negative attitude whereas bigness may denote a positive attitude.

3.2.3 Compounding in Kemunasukuma personal names

Compound words are words formed by the blending of at least two independent linguistic items of the same or different word category (cf. Katamba/Stonham 2006: 55). For instance, the word *classroom* is formed by the two nouns, *class* and *room*. The process is called compounding. Likewise, there are personal names formed by combining two or more words. Compound names refer to those personal names formed by the combination of two or more words. In the language under study, compound personal names exhibit three combination patterns: noun-noun compounds, noun-concord-noun compounds, and noun-concord-adjective compounds.

The noun-noun compounds are one of the categories of Kemunasukuma personal names formed through compounding. This category of names result from the combination of two nouns. The outcome is a personal name whose meaning is distinct from the meanings of its constituents.

Put differently, the meaning of compound personal names may be transparent or opaque. The personal names formed through the compounding process are common in Kemunasukuma and may involve a combination of nouns belonging to the same noun class or nouns belonging to different classes. Structurally, this category of personal names is made up of two NCPs and two NSs because they involve a combination of two independent nouns. They yield a structural pattern type 5: [NCP+NS+NCP+NS]. Consider the examples in (10).

(10) a. M-sha + N-dete [*mshandete*]
   CL1-grind + CL10-seeds
   'one who grinds seeds'

  b. M-sha + M-hindi [*mshamhindi*]
   CL1-grind + CL1-evening
   'one who grinds in the evening'

  c. *Ma-kono + Ma-lonja* [*makonomalonja*]
   CL6-hand + CL6-care
   'one who takes care of others'

  d. *Lu-kala + N-ges-e* [*lukalangese*]
   CL11-finish + CL10-weed
   'one who finishes weeding'

  e. Ji-dula + Ma-bambasi
   [*jidulamabambasi*]
   CL7-pierce + CL6-desert
   'one who can pierce deserts'

The resulting compound personal names, as stated earlier, have either transparent or opaque meanings. The meanings of personal names in (10) are somewhat generally transparent. The structural pattern of these personal names is suggestive of their meanings. It is interesting to note that compounds generally have heads. According to Kitwili/Ligembe/Kiura (2022: 122), the head, in compounds, is the element that determines both the part of speech and the semantic kind denoted by the compound as a whole. In personal names, the head dictates the meaning of a compound name for it is prominent. For example, *Msha* in *Mshandete* and *Mshamhindi* controls the semantics of these names as exemplified above.

Noun-adjective compounds are yet another category of Kemunasukuma personal names resulting from compounding. The Kemunasukuma compound personal names in this category have a structural pattern that involves a noun and an adjective (ADJ), that is, a noun-adjective combination. These PNs have an NCP, NS, and ADJ at the final position. The structural pattern that befits the names with such constituents is the one that includes the NCP (optional), NS, and ADJ, that is, structural pattern type 6: [(NCP)+NS+ADJ]. In most cases, the adjective usually relates to colour as shown in the examples given in (11).

(11) a. *Noni + yapi* [*noniyapi*]
   CL9-bird + black
   'one black bird'

  b. *N-dama + yape* [*ndamayape*]
   CL9-calf + white
   'one white calf'

  c. ŋ-g'ombe + *yapi* [*ng'ombeyapi*]
   CL9-cow + black
   'one black cow'

  d. *ŋ-g'ombe + yape* [*ng'ombeyape*]
   CL9-cow + white
   'one white cow'

  e. *M-lya + kado* [*Mlyakado*]
   CL1-eat + small
   'eater of small one'

The adjectives ***yapi***, and ***yape*** are colour adjectives as shown in (11a) - (11d) while ***kado*** in (11e) is an adjective of size. However, there might be other adjectives that co-occur with the nouns that form personal names but were not diagnosed in the data during the analysis.

The noun-genitive-noun compounds are the last category of Kemunasukuma personal names formed through compounding. The compound personal names in this group are those whose pattern involves the insertion of a genitive marker (GEN) in between the two combined nouns. The nouns involved may belong to the same or different noun classes. Precisely, these personal names have a structure that encompasses an NCP (which is sometimes optional, especially in the first noun composing a compound name), two NSs, and the GEN. This category of personal names gives structural pattern type 7: [(NCP)+NS+GEN+NCP+NS]. Consider the names given as examples in (12).

(12) a. *Mi-ti-ya-ŋ-g'hwani* [*mitiyang'hwani*]   b. *N-twe-go-m-biti* [*ntwegombiti*]
         CL4-tree-of-CL9-coast   CL9-head-of-CL9-hyena
         'coastal trees'   'hyena's head'
      c. *Si-ya-n-temi* [*siyantemi*]   d. *Sa-ya-ßa-logi* [*sayaßalogi*]
         CL5-land-of-CL1-chief   CL4-watch-of-CL2-witch
         'chief's land'   'witches' watch'
      e. *Ma-gulu-ga-shimba* [*magulugashimba*]
         CL6-leg-of-CL9-lion
         'lion's legs'

As seen in the examples in (12), the ***-ya, -go,*** and ***-ga*** are GENs that form part of the morphology of some Kemunasukuma personal names as shown. The GENs have no meaning other than serving to show the relationship between the two nouns in terms of the agreement. In (12a) the GEN points to the originality of the initial compound element *Miti* 'trees', whereas in (12b), (12c), (12d), and (12e) the GENs serve to show possession. Nevertheless, the compound personal names involving the noun-genitive-noun combination are very few in Sukuma. This suggests that the formation of personal names involving this combination is less productive, though it exists.

From the foregoing, it is evident that personal names, like any other words in a language, have structures that are analysable in terms of the constituents forming each particular name. The findings of the morphological analysis of personal names in the language under investigation generally show that Kemunasukuma personal names show both simple and complex structures. Mensah/Offong (2013: 47) found that the structure of the Ibibio death prevention names ranges from simple lexical items (words) to complex sentences. This observation is congruent with Minkailou/Abdoulaye (2020) and Onumajuru (2016). Minkailou/Abdoulaye (2020: 55) realized that Songhay personal names demonstrate structures that range from simple words to full sentences. Similarly, Onumajuru (2016: 307) observed that Igbo names structurally fall into three broad categories, namely lexical, phrasal, and sentential. On the basis of these authorities, personal names generally demonstrate morphological structures that may go from simple to complex.

Moreover, the analysis indicates that personal names in Kemunasukuma are either derived, inflected, or compounded. This informs that names are the results of derivation, inflection, and

compounding processes. This observation in Kemunasukuma personal names concurs with that of Gerba (2014: 252) and Malande (2011: 211) on Oromo and Lulogooli personal names, respectively. The personal names in the two languages are from different word-formation processes; and most Oromo and Lulogooli personal names are derivatives of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and verbs. Likewise, Tahat (2020: 573) remarks that Jordanian personal names are morphologically classified as derived or inflected names, that is, they are formed through derivation and inflection processes. Mensah/Offong (2013: 47–49) mention that nominalization, adjectivization, and compounding are the prevalent morphological processes involved in forming Ibibio death prevention names. Mwangi (2015: 266) observes that morphological processes: affixation, compounding, derivation, and reflexivization are involved in forming Gĩkũyũ personal names. Kinyua (2020: 47) observes that compounding, derivation, and inflection contribute to the formation of Turkana personal names. It can be noted that the morphological processes involved in the formation of personal names are diverse and contrast between languages. However, from the empirical studies mentioned, it appears that the formation of personal names, in many languages, revolves mainly around three morphological processes, namely compounding, derivation, and inflection.

Furthermore, the degree of productivity of these processes varies from one language to another, such that one process may be very productive in language Y while less productive in language Z. For example, compounding is involved in forming Kemunasukuma personal names but it is less productive when compared to inflection and derivation. Compound personal names in Sukuma involve only three word categories: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This suggests that compounding is limited in forming personal names. Based on lexical morphology theory, this implies that while some morphological rules (e. g., inflectional and derivational) are more productive in forming words, including personal names, other rules (e. g., compounding rules) are less productive. That is, some morphological rules are relatively more general (hence productive) while others are specific (hence less productive) (Katamba/Stonham 2006: 69). On the contrary, Jauro/Ngamsa/Wappa (2013: 3) report that compounding is very productive in forming personal names among the Kamuə. Mandende (2009) demonstrates that Tshivenḓa personal names are mostly derived from different word categories. Likewise, Al-Zumor (2009: 24) reports that Yemeni female names are derived from male names by the addition of a derivational morpheme (**-ah**), a gender-distinguishing morpheme in Yemeni Arabic. Tahat (2020: 584) mentions that derivation and inflection are both more productive in forming Jordanian personal names. It can be inferred from the foregoing that one or more processes may be more productive in forming personal names (and even other words) in a given language. The same is true in the language under investigation where derivation and inflection are more productive than compounding. This implies that though different word-formation processes may be responsible for forming personal names in a given language, the degree of productivity varies between processes such that some are very productive and others are less productive as observed in Sukuma. Moreover, a process may be effective in one language and less effective in another language. For example, compounding is very productive in Kamuə (cf. Jauro/Ngamsa/Wappa 2013) while less productive in Sukuma.

It is worth noting that, the personal names presented and discussed in this paper are solely typical Sukuma names. Personal names whose origin is not in Sukuma did not feature entirely

in the analysis for they were beyond the focus of this paper. However, it is an irrefutable fact that borrowed names, that is, western names are found in almost all African societies owing to the colonization of Africa by Western countries. The dominance of Western countries over Africa impacted greatly the total way of life of the Africans; it included naming practices where Africans were given western names or biblical names upon baptism. This is very evident even at present, as Lusekelo (2018) also observed, African parents have come to prefer giving their newborns borrowed names that are not rooted in African traditions. As noted by other scholars (cf. Mutunda 2016), Western names are very different from African names in terms of their semantics.

Similarly, the typical Sukuma personal names are different from the borrowed names. While the typical Sukuma personal names reflect important circumstances prior to the birth of a child, the borrowed names do not reflect any circumstances related to the birth of the child other than serving a referential function. Even if the borrowed names may be meaningful originally, after being borrowed and accommodated into the borrowing language their meanings get lost, and they cannot be segmented morphologically in the borrowing language. For example, the names John, Ally, Anna, Juma, Jane, etc. are borrowed names serving only a referential function but do not reflect anything in Sukuma and cannot be analysed morphologically with respect to the Sukuma language.

4   Conclusion

Kemunasukuma personal names are vital pointers to the beliefs, experience, culture, aspiration, worldview, language, etc. of the Kemunasukuma speech community. The present paper has investigated Kemunasukuma personal names from their morphological standpoints. The matter that this paper brings to light is that personal names, just like other words in a language, have structures that are analysable in terms of different constituents forming a given name. The paper demonstrates that Kemunasukuma personal names have different structural patterns that range from simple (e. g. *Dalali*) to complex (e. g. *Jidulamabambasi*). Furthermore, Kemunasukuma personal names are a product of different word-formation processes: inflection, derivation, and compounding. The present paper is a contribution to the study of Sukuma anthroponomastics, particularly on the morphology of personal names. The structure of Kemunasukuma personal names not only points to the structure of the Sukuma language but also gives important clues about their semantics. The structure of personal names is as important as the circumstances surrounding the child's birth in determining and/or contributing to the meaning of a particular given name. Since the current paper only focused on investigating the morphology of typical Sukuma personal names, examining how borrowed personal names are morphologically and/or phonologically adapted into the Sukuma or other languages could also be interesting.

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