
Morpho-semantic analysis of extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic features in personal and kinship names of the Nandi

Rhoda Jepkorir Tarus^{1*}, Isaac Nilson Opande², Evans Gesura Mecha³, Aberi George⁴

¹⁻⁴Department of Languages, Linguistics and Literature, Kisii University, Kenya, rhochep@gmail.com

*Corresponding author

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Abstract: Nandi is a subtribe of the larger Kalenjin people, majority of whom live in the rift valley region of Kenya. The community has a unique naming system that defines their personal and cultural identity, yet few studies have examined the intrinsic and extrinsic features of the Nandi naming system. This study examined the extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic features inherent in the Nandi personal and kinship names. The study adopted an exploratory research design. The target population included all native Nandi dialect speakers drawn from 30 Nandi County administrative wards. The respondents were purposively sampled and comprised 240 local elders. Data for the study was collected using focus group discussions with 30 groups (each with 8 elders). Data was analysed morpho-semantically. In this approach, semantic analysis of Nandi personal and kinship names was done using the constituent morphemes to access the underlying meaning of names. The study found that the Nandi naming system was guided by the nature of childbirth and activities depicted, and that the names were in relation to various circumstances, such as the presence of visitors, migration, harvest, famine, locus invasion, among others. The names were also assigned based on time, season, place of birth, nature of labour pregnancy, birth of twins, and order of birth. The study contributes to linguistic theory and practice as it underscores the value of cultural sensitivity in addressing the Nandi.

Keywords: Extrinsic linguistic features, Intrinsic linguistic features, Kinship names

Biographical notes: Rhoda Jepkorir Tarus is a PhD student specializing in Applied Linguistics, at the Department of Languages, Linguistics and Literature; School of Arts and Social Sciences, Kisii University.

Dr. Isaac Nilson Opande is a Lecturer of Theoretical Linguistics at the Department of Languages, Linguistics, And Literature: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Kisii University.

Dr. Evans Gesura Mecha is a Lecturer in Theoretical Linguistics at the Department of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Kisii University.

Dr. George Aberi is a Lecturer in Applied Linguistics at the Department of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature: School of Arts and Social Sciences, Kisii University.

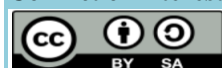
1. Introduction

Personal names are particularly relevant in societies where individuality is valued, since such names encapsulate individual's essence and in so doing personifies individual (Finch, 2008). Behnaz (2009) defines a personal name as a proper name that is used to identify a person individually, and is normally composed of a name bestowed at birth or given at a young age. Perhaps, the most comprehensive input into the subject of personal names is the one by Campbell (1968), cited in Behnaz, (2009). According to Campbell, a personal name is a name given to a person and which comes in various categories. The first category delineated by Campbell (1968) is the given name which he defines as the name assumed by a person at birth or sometimes after. The next category is that of family name, also called last name or surname. This is the name passed on over generations. Women in most cultures adopt the husbands' family name at marriage.

Kinship remains a vital cog that connects societies. A salient feature of any linguistic community is the existence of a set of lexical items that constitutes a network of relationships between its members. Sarfo et al. (2022) carried out a study on morpho-syntactic analysis of Asante's family names. On the morphological items, the study identified aspects

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such as stem, compounding, affixation, reduplication and nomination. The confluence on morphological and syntactic web illuminated the lexical categories of the current studies and equally identified with the morphological aspects in family names. Onwukwe, Ofoha and Nwaeze (2021) examined the semantic properties of kinship terminology in Ibeme by analysing internal organization of the terms, as well-meaning properties of the terms as constituting a semantic field. The findings of the study guided the current studies during the semantic analysis of our study. Naming remains a significant symbolic system of identification. Rosenhouse (2002) argues that naming relates to a specific linguistic act which is intimately connected with traditions, values, fears, hopes and events in people's lives.

According to Rosenhouse, names reveal the diverse preferences of their owners or name givers in relation to real life objects, features, actions and beliefs. Practices used in personal names for instance, offer important sneak previews into the patterns of social and cultural settings within communities, and in so doing provide an avenue for broader cultural changes. Rosenhouse posits that names inform on categorization of the new born infant in terms of sex, social group and others. Besides, names are able to give the background and circumstances at the time of birth. Mandillah (2022) also used both morphosyntactic and semantic approaches to examine how the Luhya people of Kenya employ agglutination of affixes, prefixes, suffixes and roots or stems to build words to establish their morphological structures. The Bantu languages noun morphological surface structures generally are either a stem only or a root or prefix + stem, augment + prefix + stem and augment + stem (nurse). Similarities in morphological approaches of the Luhya names and Nandi names are notable in the two studies.

2. Literature review

Several studies have explored the linguistic features in the context of kinship and personal names. Wegener (2013) used both the anthropological and linguistic perspectives to present the kinship terminology system employed in the easternmost Papuan language. Wegener demonstrated existence of a close connection between terminological distinction made for talking about kin and social organization of the Savosavo speech community. Suffice it to say that it was therefore necessary to find out whether such an approach could be replicated in the Nandi context. Meanwhile, Deutsch (2008) compared German family-children and orphans' acquisition of kinship terms as a way of determining the conceptual impact of linguistics input. The basic aim was to examine how linguistic input of the social environment influences children's acquisition of word meaning. Using an experimental approach that brought together 84 children drawn from families, and 84 orphans, Deutsch determined that the actual difference in the ability to use kinship terms was independent of familiarity interpretation. The question the researcher sought to answer was therefore whether such a result would be replicated in Nandi kinship using a descriptive approach.

In yet another study, Mthobeli (2001) used a historical and linguistic analysis approach to infer the cultural meaning of names in the context of the Basotho of Southern Africa. Mthobeli was buoyed by the understanding that among the Basotho, names embody attributes such as social experiences, status roles and authority, social norms and values, personality, and other individual attributes. The study determined that a Mosotho person is given a name associated with the self, which indicates identification with one's family, lineage or clan. On the basis of such a study by Mthobeli, this study sought to determine if features of names of the Nandi people reflected specific social and individual attributes.

Marjie-Okyere (2015) used a linguistic survey to decipher types of names among the Babukusu of Kenya. The essence of Marjie-Okyere's study was to explain types of names used in the community from a linguistic context. The study determined that among the Babukusu, place names, personal names, and names of things tended to consist of some form of morphological pattern. Moreover, the study revealed that Kibukusu personal female and male names consist of prefixes used to draw differences by gender although they share the same root. Such findings provided the impetus to conduct a linguistic examination of the Nandi names, to ascertain how gender differences could be determined from prefixes. Ifeoma (2018) carried out a linguistic appraisal of Igbo Anthroponomy. The appraisal was buoyed by the understanding that naming is normally given a peripheral role in linguistic studies. In the findings Ifeoma noted that, just like other Africa names, Igbo names were mostly lexical, phrasal or compound and consisted of sentential underlying structures making them distinct and unique. This study therefore focused on underlying structures in Nandi names with a view to finding out whether they were also lexical, phrasal or compound. Unlike the study by Ifeoma, this study included kinship names alongside personal names.

Al-Zumor (2009) conducted a socio-cultural and linguistic analysis of personal names of Yemeni Arabic. Using close to 300 personal names collected using a questionnaire, and then classified into different categories on the basis of their sources, the study revealed that the land and people of Saadah and adjacent places have been experiencing changes in social, political and linguistic influences, which have left an impact on naming patterns. This has led to divergent naming practices. In view of such findings by Al-Zumor it became necessary to establish whether similar changes in naming patters among the Nandi were experienced.

3. Research methodology

The study was carried out in Nandi County, Kenya. The choice of the six constituencies was informed by the need to have a representative sample of Nandi personal and kinship names. This is in recognition of the fact that the Nandi community remains one of the human societies blessed with unique societal values anchored on culture and traditions that have been handed down over generations. An understanding of the naming system among the Nandi provides a platform to protect such a tradition and pass it on to the next generations, considering the changing human society occasioned by modernization and technology. The study adopted an exploratory research design, which according to

Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007), is ideal when abundant descriptive information is required about a phenomenon that has hitherto been unclearly defined. The choice of the exploratory design for this study was therefore based on the knowledge that the phenomenon of personal and kinship names is a complex one, which requires an abundance of descriptive information.

The study targeted both male and female personal and kinship names used by the native speakers of Nandi. Consequently, the target population was all native speakers of the Nandi dialect of the Kalenjin language drawn from the 30 wards of Nandi County. Considering that Nandi County has a notably large number of Nandi native speakers, the study used a study population that included 8 local elders drawn from each of the 30 wards of Nandi County. Our choice of 8 elders from each ward was based on suitability for a focus group discussion. This was in line with the proposal by Nyumba et al. (2018) that the ideal size for a focus group discussion is between 8 and 10 subjects.

Meanwhile, choice of elders was made on the premise that they would be in a position to share incisive knowledge on birth order terms, circumstantial names and other meanings, and structural components. A sample of 240 elders was drawn, from whom 50 personal and 50 kinship names were identified. The choice of 50 names in each category was based on recommendations by Morse (1994), who reiterates that for grounded theory studies, such as exploratory studies, 30-50 participants are ideal to avoid saturation. In this context, purposive sampling procedures were used to select the required elders from each ward.

The main approach to data collection was the focus group discussion sessions held with 30 groups of 8 elders, each consistent with the 30 wards under study. The principal investigator identified and recruited 3 pairs of research assistants to help in conducting the discussions. For each pair, one individual was briefly trained as a facilitator and the other as an assistant. The facilitator took on the role of discussion moderation, managing existing relationships, as well as overseeing a relaxed and comfortable discussion environment. On the other hand, the research assistant was tasked with non-verbal interactions and documentation of the general content of the discussion. The second instrument was the document analysis checklist, used to explore Nandi culture as depicted through the Koitalel arap Samoei Museum. The checklist was particularly focused on the social structure of the Nandi. For this reason, the checklist had three key items. First, it sought to establish the role of the family in Nandi culture; secondly, the checklist probed responsibilities in households, while the third item focused on child-naming ceremonies. Data was analysed morpho-semantically. In this approach, semantic analysis of Nandi personal and kinship names was conducted using the constituent morphemes.

The aim of this approach was to get access to the underlying meaning of names. In promotion of ethical considerations, the study upheld integrity and objectivity by declaring the intention of the research. Permission was sought from all participants without coercion or undue influence. The study avoided any situations that could cause harm to the participants. The researcher did not use any vulnerable or special populations in the development of the study without seeking their consent. Privacy of the subjects was upheld. Besides, voluntary discretion of involvement of participant and withdrawal from the study was allowed. Confidentiality of data was also observed with much keenness. The researchers refrained from irresponsible analysis of data and reporting of findings.

4. Finding and discussions

The study sought to establish extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic features that determine naming among the Nandi people. From an extrinsic perspective, five features associated with Nandi personal and Kinship names were discerned as discussed below.

4.1. Extrinsic features

The first extrinsic feature that was discerned in relation to naming among the Nandi people is the birth names. The Nandi people, like other communities, revere children and derive immense pleasure when children are born. Sometimes, giving birth to children comes with the pleasure of the parents acquiring new names. Table 1 shows some of the activities that were carried out by traditional Nandi, which effectively yielded words that generated names.

Table 1: Nature assigned at child birth and activity depicted

Nature of birth	Activity	Interpretation
Girls or boy present in delivery room	Special name such as Kimeli / Jemeli and some bestowed	Indicates presence of girls or boys
Normal delivery	Ululations by birth attendants	Thanking God Marketing the delivery
Birth of boy	Ululations four times	Notifying men who are not allocated in delivery room of the birth of a boy
Birth of girl	A ritual performed whereby ululations are rendered three times	Notifying men of the birth of a girl
Preceded by one or more sibling death	Special ritual to disassociate the new born to the family	Appease the Gods Deceive the evil one.
Persistent prolonged labour	Ritual to recite the names of the departed kinship members	Appease the Gods to enable delivery.

The second extrinsic feature observed in Nandi personal and kinship names was praise. This feature is spared for girls only and conducted between the second and the fifth day of birth. According to the Nandi culture, a male ought not to be praised by other males. For this reason, praise names are not bestowed upon boys. Assigning of praise names to a girl child among the Nandi people is an elaborate ritual involving the elder members of the family who offer the name to be

bestowed. The study revealed that this is normally done by the child's grandmothers or aunts from the neighbouring family from where milk (*keba abbai*) is sought. The given names have the prefix *tap* to signify praise.

Such names include *Tapkili*, *Taprandich* and *Taplulei*, among others. A key significant purpose of praising girls is the notion that, being in transition to marriage, they deserve to acquire names from outside the family. Of importance also is the use of bull names to praise a girl. As per the members of the focus group, praises emanated from the bull names of the family giving the name. The elders pointed out that the use of praise names is fading rapidly in the community and that rarely do contemporary female members of the society subscribe to it.

The third extrinsic feature determined to be at the forefront of bestowing names among the Nandi people is ancestral lineage names (renaming/rebirth of a departed kin). This finding is consistent with notions that despite respected elders of the family having died, they continue to live through their grandchildren (Adelaide, 2016). Following this, the Nandi families enjoy ancestral names that bind them together, in which case, up to fifty families share a family name. These families use a bent, short traditional horn commonly referred to as *Mwendet* as their common symbol or totem that serves as their emblem. Among the Nandi people, the study established that ancestral names not only act as identity tags for individuals, but also serve to prevent marriage among members of the same ancestry. Moreover, renaming departed kin through a new-born ensures reincarnation of family members.

Another significant extrinsic feature that informs naming among the Nandi people is initiation. This is a ritual that is spared for boys aged between 18 and 25 years. During this ceremony, fathers bestow names to their sons either by using the root word of their birth name, after their bulls, or after their brothers' names. In this category, names, such as *Arap Ruto*, given by a father whose birth name is *Kipruto* and *Arap Arusei*, in praise of a grey bull, or *Arap Leley* in praise of a white bull, have commonly featured among Nandi people's initiation names.

On the contrary, the study revealed that although girls underwent circumcision in traditional Nandi society, they were given marriage names since marriage immediately succeeded circumcision. Marriage in the Nandi community, as in the case of other communities marks a change of status for the new bride from a girl to a mother. Moreover, marriage names among the Nandi people are given by elder women drawn from the marrying family, and they are sometimes used to praise family bulls or to recognize the departed male members of the family. Some of the typical names in this category include *Bot Seurey*, which means mother of the bull with locking horns, and *Bot Kibiwot* indicating mother of *Kibiwot* – a departed member of a family. *Kobot* is a common respectful title preferred for marriage names, which implies mother of. Furthermore, the idea of giving the referred title to every newly married woman is to ensure that those who do not give birth are equally honoured. Notably also, it was taboo to refer to a married woman by her birth name or the maiden name.

Extrinsic features prevalent in kinship terminologies identified by the FGD 10 are three. These were identified as consanguine, affinal and social. From the discussion group, it emerged that each of these three groups play a vital role in the coexistence of family members and the society at large. Families in a community are interdependent and there is no family that is an island. Families exist for one another through blood, affinity or societal. The researcher learned from the elders that blood relations are divided into two; namely patrilineal blood group and collateral blood group. Though both of these groups are of blood relations, it emerged that lineal blood groups are of patrilineal descent only and does not include their matrilineal members. According to the Nandi people patrilineal blood relations are the nuclear family and are therefore the first line to address issues bedeviling nuclear families. Such issues, for instance, include betrothal of their daughters, wedding arrangements, and calamities befalling the family among many other roles bestowed in kinships. Patrilineal family members mostly co-exist and share detailed intricate family affairs of successes, failures and downfalls responsively. The eldest member of the nuclear family, in most cases the senior most, is bestowed the onus to be in charge and is responsible for all deliberations, recommendations and implementations of the family's resolutions.

During one of group discussions, an elder emphatically noted that Nandi lineal blood relations are patrilineal and all powers in the family setup rest upon them. He reiterated as follows:

Daughters and in-laws (*kapbamwai*) do not belong to the lineal blood relationships because they have their own consanguine lineage in their respective families. Each family is independent, and no family is a subset of another family ('*maamei go go*' – literally translated to mean 'no home feeds from another home').

It also emerged that the aspects of family totems dictate lineal relations among the Nandi, making these relations patrilineal. Several families form a clan which in turn share a common family totem. Female members of the lineal group acquire the totem of their marital family hence the omission of their membership in their maiden family's lineage. The researcher however observed that although the Nandi argued against including female members of the nuclear family as part of the primary kin, most studies daughters are part of this set. *Kemunto* (2016), nonetheless, concurred with the patrilineal kinship system of the Nandi in the study of the semantic analysis of *Ekegusii* kinship terms. *Kemunto* concluded that a wide range of the kinship terms employed by the *Abagusii* people were patrilineal. It was further discerned from the discussion group that blood relations are identified in two sets. One contains patriarchal lineal blood relations and the other collateral blood relations. Listed below are the two different consanguine relationships of the Nandi community (Table 2).

Table 2: Consanguine Relations of the Nandi People

Patrilineal Relationships	Collateral Relationships
Parents (father and mother)	Mother's siblings (male and female)
Sons and daughters(siblings)	Father's sisters
Father's brothers	Sister's off springs
Brother's sons	Brother's daughters
Father's brother's sons	Mother's father
Father's father	Mother's mother
Father's mother	Mother's sibling's children

Both sons and daughters belong to this patrilineal blood group, but daughters cease their membership upon marriage. Affinity kinship terms on the other hand emanates mostly from marriage and twofold according to the discussion findings. These two types of affinal relationships are primary and secondary. Primary (direct) affinal kinship is the bond between spouses. It is the direct relationship formed as a result of marriage. The only direct affinal relations recognized worldwide is between husband and wife. Secondary affinal kinship is from their relatives from either side. In general, secondary kinship refers to the primary kin relatives. These are a mass of relationships from the woman's and the man's family members. Using documental evidences, it emerged that affinal relations are based upon a legality or contract which can be dissolved if the marriage dissolves. One member of the discussion group pointed out that although affinal relations seem to be on the periphery in terms of closeness in family matters, their role in propagation ensures that families expand. The research identified the following affinal relations of the Nandi people as the extrinsic features of the study: spouses, in-laws, step parents and stepsiblings, stepchildren, and siblings of one's spouse's siblings.

Like most African communities, the Nandi revere kinship terminologies. Accordingly, these terminologies do not only knit the families together but highlights the social respect among members. The elders further pointed out that addressing a family member using kinship terminology is valued than using a proper name. Addressing an individual using kinship terminology shows the love and the emotional feelings between the participants. Furthermore, it was pointed out that it is a taboo to address elders using proper names which degrade their societal status and roles but rather they should be addressed by kinship terms. During a discussion group an elderly woman commented that kinship names bestow honour and respect to the community. She further elaborated that a mother-in-law cannot address a son-in-law using a proper name and vice versa.

In conclusion, extrinsic features prevalent in the naming system of the Nandi are in tandem with the symbolic Interactional Theory. The theory presupposes that our social world is constructed through the mundane acts of everyday social interactions. Names on the other are derived from the words formed from the social activities. The findings of the study concluded that Nandi names are majorly derived from everyday social events where individuals interact and constitute symbolic and shared meaning.

4.2. Intrinsic features

Several intrinsic features that inform naming among the Nandi people were delineated in the study. Among the significant features included events surrounding the birth, order of birth, calamity warnings, and day and time of birth. The intrinsic features revealed in the study were guided by the Social Semiotic Theory which was one of the theories adopted for this study. The theory attaches names to the social dimensions of meaning. Using social meaning, practices of all types of nature are focused in the naming system of a people whether visual, verbal or aural. The study discovered that the meaning of Nandi names is reciprocal to social dimensions of meaning, underscoring the significant fact that names reveal the way in which signs communicate ideas attitudes, and beliefs in the society. Lungu's (2019) semantic analysis of Namwanga personal names confirmed that Namwanga names are grouped into categories based on cultural and social significance. Nandi names were found to base name meanings on the same parameters. It was apparent from the study that meanings attached to names pivoted on cultural and social undertakings in the community.

4.2.1. Events surrounding the birth

Prevailing events or circumstances being experienced during child birth has been a critical intrinsic feature in naming children among the Nandi people. Focus group discussion with the sampled elders, together with the analysis of documents from the Koitalel Arap Samoei Museum revealed that circumstances, such as presence of visitors, being away from home, visits to other places, migration, harvest, first arrival of maize, drying of cereals, locust invasion, famine, hunger and enemy invasion were central to naming of children in the Nandi culture. Typical names assigned during such events are as displayed in Table 3.

Table 3: Names bestowed during various circumstance

Event depicted	Name bestowed to baby	
	Boy	Girl
• Presence of visitors	Kiptoo	Jeptoo
• Away from home during birth (visiting)	Kipruto	Jeruto
• Migration		
• Escape from hostile neighbours	Kirior	Kirior
• Harvest		
• First harvest seen as an appeasing birth	Tongoi	Tongoi
• Main harvest perceived as a period of food in plenty	Kipkesbai	Jepkesbai
• Locus invasion	Kiptalam	Jeptalam
• Famine	None	Jerubet
• Hunger	Kiprugut	Jerugut
• Enemy invasion	Kiboen	None
• Premature drying of cereals	Kipkessio	Jepkessio
• Availability of local brew	Kimaiyo	Jemaiyo
• Collection of beer chaff	Kimisik	Jemisik
• Raining	Kiprob	Jerop
• Mother seeking for food	Kesumo	Kesumo
• Presence of girls in delivery room	Kimeli	Jemeli

4.2.2. Time of birth

Time of birth also emerged as a significant intrinsic feature in naming among the Nandi people. Consequently, time of birth is recognized through the different personal and kinship names bestowed upon boys and girls (Table 4).

Table 4: Names Bestowed following the Time a Birth Occurs

Time of Birth	Name bestowed to baby	
	Boy	Girl
• Dawn (Korir)	Kipkorir	Jepkorir
• Sunrise (Koech)	Kipkoech	Jepkoech
• Early morning	Kipyego	Jepyego
• Cows resting before milking	Kiplimo	Jelimo
• Post milking	Kipkinyeny	Jepkinyeny
• Mid-morning		
• Cows have been taken out for grazing	Kipngetich	Jepngetich
• Midday denoted by noon	Kibet	Jebet
• Early evening denoted by sheep returning from grazing	Kiprono	Jerono
• Late evening depicted by cows returning from grazing	Kiprotich	Jerotich
• Early night depicted by the setting in of night	Kiplagat	Jelagat
• Entire night from early night to dawn	Kipkemboi	Jepkemboi
• Pitch night depicted by a very dark night	None	Jemesunde

4.2.3. Season when birth occurs

The season when a birth occurs was also determined as an intrinsic feature that defines naming among the Nandi people. In this context, seasons were delineated into three distinct categories namely; rainy season, dry season and the period when it is actually raining. The names bestowed upon boys and girls were then as in Table 5.

Table 5: Names Bestowed on the Premise of Season

Season of Birth	Name bestowed to a baby	
	Boy	Girl
• Rainy season (often between March and August)	Kibiwott	Jebiwott
• Dry season (often between November and Early March)	Kipkemei	Jepkemei
• When raining (child born when it is actually raining)	Kiprob	Jerop

4.2.4. Place where birth occurs

A place where birth actually occurs emerged from the focus group discussion as another significant intrinsic feature when it comes to naming in the Nandi sub-tribe. Occasionally, expecting women are overwhelmed and end up delivering in unexpected places. Such places are intrinsically recognized by bestowing names that signify the said places. Typical places and names bestowed are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Names Bestowed basing on Place of Birth

Place of birth	Name bestowed to Baby Boy	Name bestowed to Baby Girl
• Outside the house	Kipsang	Jesang
• At the doorstep	Kipkurgat	Jepkurgat
• The Verandah	Kipketer	Jepketer
• Granary	Kipchoge	Jepchoge
• Near the Pantry	Kipsoimo	Jesoimo
• Incomplete house	Kipsanga	Jesanga
• Cows' boma	Kibiiy	Jebiiy
• Kitchen shelves	Kipsaina	Jesaina
• Hospital	Kipchumba	Jepchumba
• Firewood shelves	Kiptabut	Jeptabut

4.2.5. Nature of labour / pregnancy

A child's birth comes with various pleasant and unpleasant experiences to the woman who is in labour. Consequently, through the focus group discussion, it was established that the Nandi people identify the nature of labour as a critical intrinsic factor worth remembering through bestowing names that depict the nature of labour to children. Some labour may be hard, prolonged, delayed, quick or even catastrophic. As shown in Table 7, various names will be bestowed to both boy and girl children to depict the manner in which the labour progressed, and the nature of pregnancy.

Table 7: Names bestowed Basing on Nature of Labour/Pregnancy

Nature of labour / pregnancy	Name bestowed to baby Boy	Name bestowed to baby Girl
Turbulent labour (mother had hard labour)	Kipkosgei	Jepkosgei
Prolonged labour (this labour persists overnight)	Kimaru	Jemaru
Delayed labour (Child is born the following day)	Kimutai	Jemutai
Complicated labour (Caesarean/bridge)	Kibichii	Jebichii
Labour that kills mother	Kiplilan	None
Quick labour (labour takes under 3 hrs)	Kipchirchir	Jepchirchir
Unnoticed pregnancy (the pregnancy is so tiny)	Kibungei	Jebungei
Overdue pregnancy (beyond 9 months)	Kipkeny	Jepteckeny
Baby faints at birth	Kiptanui	Jeptanui
Baby resuscitated at birth (In this case water is used)	Kiptarbei	Bekyibei
Baby underweight (applies to girl child only) it is perceived that boys are never underweight	None	Tele/Jematia
Baby born with umbilical cord round baby's neck / body	Kipkogei	Jepkogei

4.2.6. Birth following death of preceding siblings

The sixth intrinsic feature associated with child naming among the Nandi people as discerned from the focus group discussion with the groups of elders, is giving birth to children after the death of preceding siblings. The elders observed that special ceremonies were undertaken when naming a baby born after its predecessors died. Included in the ceremonies was to bestow animate names that depict objects and insects in the environment. The idea behind such names was that they were to act as a decoy to the evil eye that no child had been born. In the ceremonies, the baby was immediately after birth taken to particular places and assigned names depicting the places or objects in the place. In this way, it was believed that the baby did not belong to the respective parents, and therefore any sins committed by parents could not follow the baby.

Although the elders indicated that with the coming of Christianity this system of naming is being phased out, and that having enlightened knowledge of what courses of infant mortality, traditional rituals are no longer performed; it was necessary to interrogate some of the names bestowed during such special ceremonies (Table 8).

Table 8: Names Bestowed to a Birth Following Death of Preceding Siblings

Place where baby taken to and adopted name	Name bestowed to baby Boy	Name bestowed to baby Girl
• Inside a hole (Son or daughter of the hole)	Kipkering	Jepkering
• Inside ant bear hole (Son /daughter of ants)	Kimagut	Jemagut
• On the road	Kibirech	Jebirech
• On the path	Barabara	Barabara
• Named after a snake (Called long animal)	Kibor	Jebor
• Trans a stream (Called the one across water)	Tiongoi	Tiongoi
	Aiyabei	Aiyabei

The study revealed that the naming of children in Nandi followed various extrinsic and intrinsic features that manifested in the Nandi culture. Features such as nature of birth, praise, initiation, marriage, ancestry, time of birth, seasonality, birth locality, and nature of labour were given a lot of prominence and were often remembered through names bestowed to children. However, besides deriving intrinsic and extrinsic satisfaction from names bestowed to children, there were certain features like bearing twins and order of birth that were not perceived positively.

4.2.7. Birth of twins

Results of the focus group discussions revealed that the birth of twins was not acceptable among the Nandi. One elderly male remarked that: “A woman who delivered twins was considered to be unclean and carried this unclean tag for the rest of her life” (Participant, FGD 10). Another elderly woman in the same group chipped in by stating that: “In fact such a woman was prohibited from entering anyone’s house until she was cleansed by sprinkling a calabash full of milk on the subject and the ground” (Participant, FGD 10). From another focus group, one old man indicated that: “...a woman who gave birth to twins was given her own cow, and was not allowed to touch milk or blood of any other animal. As a matter of fact, she was not allowed to cross the threshold of a Kraal” (Participant, FGD 3).

Although most of the present-day Nandi people hardly relate to these rituals which were mainly pre-independent, the naming of babies born as twins took cognizance of the order in which they were born. Under this manner of naming, the first twin was given the name Simatwo denoting from same stem. Meanwhile, the second twin was bestowed animal names such as depicted in Table 9.

Table 9: Names Bestowed to Second Twin

Second Twin name		Interpretation
Cheptiony		One who belongs to the animals
Chepsepet		Unknowledgeable or meaningless
Chemaket		One who belongs to the Hyenas
Chemakut		One who belongs to the aardvark

It also emerged from further focus group discussions that, twins in contemporary Nandi society are regarded as blessings. One participant from group 10 noted the following: “Since religion came, we have realized that twins are a blessing from God. We refer to twins as Kipasiso which means one who is from the sun. In doing so, we protect the twins from evil spirits” (Participant, FGD 10).

4.2.8. Order of birth

It also emerged from the focus group discussions that naming children according to the order of birth was not entertained among the Nandi. One elder drawn from group 2 revealed the following: “We Nandi have never counted our children or cattle. To us, children are children and no common name is adapted to refer to more than one child (Participant, FGD 2). The discussions revealed that in the case of many children, sequential positions were used to indicate firstborns, middle born and last born. Family members opted for pet or praise names as opposed to real names in referring to these sequential positions. For instance, firstborns were given the pet name he/she who opened the way and were called Taita / Kipyator in the case of boys and, Chepyator in the case of girls. Meanwhile, an only child was called Kitur (one last heap), especially if born after the death of other siblings.

4.2.9. Intrinsic features depicting kinship terms of the nandi people

Intrinsic features that formed kinship discerned from the study consanguine and affinal kinship relations. The researcher through the responses of the elders in the focused group was able to discern kinship names from the kinship terms prevalent in Nandi. The kinship names highlighted in the study were effectively analysed as the intrinsic features. The kinship terms used by the Nandi are shown on the tables below, depicting English and corresponding Nandi equivalent terms. Table 10 indicate consanguine relations and Table 11 are affinal.

Table 10: Showing Intrinsic Consanguine Nandi Kinship Terms

Type		English Kinship Names	Nandi Kinship Names
		Patrilineal Terms	
Parents		Father	Abba /Baba
		Mother	Karke / Mama
Siblings		Son	Werit
		Daughter	Chepto
Father’s father		Grandfather	Agui
Father’s mother		Grandmother	Koko
Father’s brothers		Uncle	Abba /Baba
Brother’s sons		Nephew	Ornyo
		Collateral Terms	
Mother’s Father		Grandfather (Maternal)	Agui

Mother's Mother		Grandmother (Maternal)	Koko
Father's Sisters		Aunt	Senge
Mother's Brother		Uncle	Maama
Mother's Sister		Aunt	Mama / Karke
Brother's Daughters		Niece	Chepto
Sister's Sons		Nephew	Weri-bo-tie
Sister's Daughters		Niece	Chebo-taptel
Second generation off springs		Great grand children	Mochokoret

Table 11: Showing Kinship Terms depicting Affinal Relations

Type		English Kinship Name	Nandi Kinship Name
Spouses		Husband	Manongotiot/ Boiyot
		Wife	Kwondo / Osotiot
In-laws		Father-in-Law	Basuben/Boiyob-yugoi
		Mother-in-Law	Karucho/Korkob-yugoi
		Brother-in-Law	Oboiyo/Bamuru
		Sister-in-Law	Kamati/Bamuru
Siblings marriages		Men who marry sisters	Lemenyi
		Women married to brothers	Sionik
Women in polygamous union		Co-wives	Sionik
Stepparents		Father	Baba/ Aba
		Mother	Karke/Mama
Stepsiblings		Brother	Ornyo
		Sister	Chepeiyo
Stepchildren		Son	Werit
		Daughter	Chepto
Third generation off- springs		Great great grandchildren	Mechekwer

The third generation off springs no longer have any collateral relations, and in such situations, intermarriage is permitted.

5. Discussion

The study identified birth names bequeathed immediately after birth as a symbol of identity among the Nandi sub-tribe. The study further determined that these birth names were rooted in the culture of the Nandi and reflected their sociocultural elements. Naming was often symbolic and was accompanied by rituals and celebrations. This finding was consistent with naming in other communities. For instance, among the Yoruba's of Nigeria, it has been shown that naming was an exercise symbolizing their sociocultural aspects and passed on historical traditions. Moreover, naming was a festive occasion to celebrate the community (Ehineni, 2019). Similar views were shared by Faleye and Adegaju (2012) who contend that names in African communities were social emblems given to every human. Meanwhile, names have also been used to signal gender, class, ethnicity, and personal characteristics (Yusuf et al., 2014). The Gogo also uses birth names to convey important information such as parental feelings and perceptions, child background before, during, and after birth, and parental and child behaviour (Mjiga, 2017). Similarly, the Akan in Ghana revere naming ceremonies reflecting birth circumstances. The finding that naming among the Nandi reflects their social-cultural lineage is consistent with naming among the Akamba in Kenya and the Umtata in South Africa (Ohaja & Anyim, 2021).

In determining that praise names were given to girls among the Nandi, the study corroborated other findings that have documented bequeathing of praise names to girls. For instance, the Igbo of South East Nigeria name girls 'Ada' in praise of a first daughter of noble descent (Igwe et al., 2020). Similarly, Arabic girls were granted the name 'Andhra' to praise their purity (Ibrahim, 2021). Meanwhile, the Bantu-speaking people of Zimbabwe bequeath the name "Zandaia" to girls in praise of God's gift (Mchombo, 2017). Another extrinsic feature in the personal and Kinship names of the Nandi was the ancestral lineage inherent in the names. Such names were meant to bind the community and maintain its sociocultural values. This finding underscores the dynamism of naming in African society. For instance, among the Basotho of South Africa, names immortalize the ancestors hoping that the social virtues of the ancestors would be inherited (Olatunji et al., 2015). The belief system among such communities that revere ancestral names is that ancestors gift the child and, therefore, they deserve recognition through naming. On the contrary, the Akan of Ghana is based on family deities in naming infants with the belief that in addition to social identification, it serves sociocultural, religious, and psychological functions (Arko-Achemfuor, 2018).

The study extracted initiation as another critical extrinsic linguistic feature in Nandi's personal and Kinship names. Initiates are bequeathed names following the root words of birth names, such as Arap Ruto, or based on household bulls, such as 'Arap Arusei,' denoting a grey bull. Bequeathing of names during initiation among the Nandi people is not an isolated phenomenon. The Basotho, who consider the initiation system a long-standing cultural institution, have also conferred specific initiation names (Hala-hala, 2021). It is argued that both boys and girls undergo initiation representing naming that is viewed as the most secretive cultural practice of the Basotho (Ashton, 2018). Moreover, scholars have argued that naming in the African context is akin to initiating the child into an identity. Consequently, rituals such as

initiations are more dramatic and are usually accompanied by name changes (Askuri & Kuipers, 2019; Cekiso & Meyiwa, 2014). Therefore, it is no wonder that the Nandi subtribe finds it ideal to fit the initiates into an existing identity by bequeathing names that link them to respected aged men or bulls. The essence is that after initiation, the Nandi people are expected to take on responsibilities in society, which is why initiation ceremonies are greeted with dramatic scenes and pomp. This extrinsic linguistic feature of initiation naming and changes in responsibility is consistent with the views of other scholars. Turner and Abrahams (2017) argue that changes in naming at initiation took cognizance that initiates were moving from one social status to another. For example, from a boy to a man. Similarly, Hockey and James (2017) contend that circumcision as a rite of passage is aimed at moving an individual from one stage of life to another and results in changes in the individual's life while affirming the individual's status and identity in society.

Therefore, it is apparent that circumcision among the Nandi is a rite of passage that comprises an educational role that benefits the Nandi social structures, given that the initiates assume new social responsibilities with the society. This rite of passage significantly impacts the personal and Kinship names of the Nandi people because of the expected changes in status. However, circumcision was solely patronymic and exclusively applied to boys in the age bracket 16yrs to 24yrs. Girls, on the contrary, were bestowed new names during their marriages. Consistent with the Amakhosa of Southern Africa, marriage is an initiation ceremony meant to move girls into the marriage status (Cekiso & Meyiwa, 2014). The finding in this study that events surrounding birth are an intrinsic feature inherent in personal and Kinship names among the Nandi reflects widespread practice in naming among African communities. The events surrounding the birth of a baby have linguistically defined the names bequeathed. The names are usually complete sentences and depict positive or negative circumstances occurring at the time of birth. This study, for instance, determined that when mothers experience extreme difficulties during birth among the Nandi, the baby is bestowed the name Kiptanui for a boy or Cheptanui for a girl. Similarly, names like Kimaiyo and Jemaiyo have been bestowed on children whose births coincided with men partaking in locally brewed beer. Similar naming based on pleasant or unpleasant events has been practiced among the Lunda of Northwestern Zambia (Mutunda, 2011). According to Lunda, such names govern the child's fate in one way. Therefore, naming depends on various events, as highlighted here. Children born at the start of a rainy season are called 'Musanvu', while those born on a rainy day are named 'Muzowa'. The family's social and economic status also defines the naming of the child among the Lunda. For instance, a child born in good harvest or prosperous times is called 'Kamanyi'. On the contrary, children born in poverty or during a famine, loneliness, war, and suffering are bestowed a name from the following 'Makabi,' 'Mpwila' or 'Kankawendi' (Mutinda, 2011).

Order of birth, time, season, and place were also critical intrinsic features that informed naming among the Nandi. The study found that time of birth, such as dawn, sunrise, early morning, and early evening, and seasons like rainy season, dry season, and rain were determinants of names given to babies. Similarly, the order and place where the birth occurs, including outside the house, in cow boma, and in the granary, among others, determined names to be bestowed to the children in question. Once again, these findings are reminiscent of African communities and other communities. In Bali and Ireland, birth order is a recognized intrinsic feature in naming (Coleman, 2016). For example, the Indonesians name firstborns as 'Wayan', 'Gede' 'Putu', or 'Nengah'. Second-borns are bestowed with names like 'Made' or 'Kadek.' Third-born Nyoman or 'Komang', while fourth-born are simply known as 'Ketut' (Pradhana, 2021). On the contrary, Irish children are given the names of family members relative to the number of brothers and sisters. The first boy born is bestowed the name of the paternal grandfather; the second boy is bestowed the name of the maternal grandfather; the third boy assumes the father's name; while the fourth boy gets the eldest uncle's name. The same order is maintained for a girl child, with the first girl getting the maternal grandmother's name (Coleman, 2016).

The naming dynamics that involve intrinsic features such as time, season, and place of birth are common phenomena in African cultures. For instance, among the Akan of Ghana, children born on Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday are given the names 'Kwasi/Akosua, Kwadwo/Adwoa, Kwabena/Abenaa, Kwaku/Akua, Yao/Yaa, Kofi/Afua, and Kwame /Ama respectively depending on whether boy/girl (Olatunji et al., 2015). The Babukusu of Kenya has elaborate naming of personal names based on seasonality and place of birth. For instance, children born during famine are given the names 'Wanjala/Nanjala' depending on whether the child is a boy or a girl. Similarly, children born along the road are bestowed the names 'Wangila/Nangila'; those born during festival times are 'Wanyama/Nanyama or Nanjekhi, and those born during the dry or hot season are 'Simiyu/Nasimuyu'. The birth of twins also emerged as an important intrinsic feature in bequeathing personal and Kinship names among the Nandi community. The study analysis revealed that although birth of twins was abhorred, whenever it happened, the twin's names reflected the order of birth. From the typical names bequeathed the second twin, it was clear that the second twin was greeted with disdain. This finding showing disdain to the second twin was consistent with scholars who have previously associated birth of twins with bad omen (Marroquin, 2017). According to Marroquin (2017) some African cultures made it a routine to kill twins at birth following the belief that the gods were angry with the parents or the community for some reason. Just like women who delivered twins among the Nandi's was prohibited from entering anyone's house, other African communities also punished women for delivering twins. Livingstone (2012) points out that such mothers could be driven away from the village or have their clothes torn. Imbua (2012) adds that such women were believed to have engaged in sexual encounters with evil spirits. By and large, Nandi personal and Kinship names have been characterized by diverse extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic features that have been used to define them. However, this is a practice that is not isolated to the Nandi but one that cuts across most African communities.

6. Conclusion

The study examined the intrinsic and extrinsic features in the Nandi personal and Kinship names. A significant finding is that the naming system among the Nandi is largely consistent with naming systems of other African communities. Therefore, in retrospect Nandi personal and Kinship names are based on features depicting great pleasure both extrinsically and intrinsically. Among the popular extrinsic features depicting Nandi personal and Kinship names are nature of child birth, praise spared for girls, initiation, and ancestral lineage. On the contrary, intrinsic features defining Nandi personal and Kinship names are events that surround the birth, time birth takes place, season, place where the birth occurs, nature of pregnancy/labour, death of preceding siblings, birth of twins, and order of birth. These features manifest sociocultural aspects of who the Nandi perceive themselves to be and how they interact with the world. The findings show that, etymologically, the Nandi personal and Kinship names are referential in nature and derive from birth circumstances, lineage, calamities, socio-economic activities and seasons among others. This finding implies that prior to literacy, the Nandi were able to use personal names to maintain a rich cultural heritage that recognized family history, birthday, and clan legacy.

Actualization of social motives in name giving and their reflection in the meaning of linguistic units and the society remains paramount and relevant societal values and norms that should not only be passed through generations but should also seek to sustain rules and conditions of upped connotative aspects that reflect functional missions and extrinsic and intrinsic linguistic features inherent in personal and kinship names. To maximize such linguistic features, deliberate interception should be undertaken to ensure that the younger Nandi generations do not jeopardize the intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics and relationships inherent in personal names. In this way, an amicable society receptive to its values and roles that has symbolized the Nandi community will be sustained.

7. References

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