

The Influence of Multilingualism, Christianity and Education in the Formation of Bakalanga Identity

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Abstract

Unlike many onomastics studies which focus on meanings of names and circumstances surrounding the way they are assigned, this study uses names as a prism for investigating the effects of multilingualism, history, education and Christianity on the Bakalanga naming practices and identity formation. The data used in the study indicates that the names used by the Bakalanga ethnic group are drawn from various languages (Ikalanga, Setswana, Shona, Ndebele, English) and reflect various socio-cultural and religious practices found in the region. The names point to a cosmopolitan and transitory society whose names and identities are very much responsive to changes in language use, socio-cultural and historical links and connections. Such an investigation and analysis of names is meant to further elucidate the far reaching effects of multilingualism which include bilingualism, acculturation, language attitude and shift. Further, the study is meant to present names as evidence or a map of a community's historical, social, cultural and linguistic course.

Keywords: Personal Names, Ikalanga, Christianity, Multilingualism, Education, African identity

1. Introduction: who are the Bakalanga?

The Bakalanga, who are the second largest ethnic and linguistic group in Botswana, have a population of about 150 000 people. This number represents only 8% of the population when compared to the dominant Setswana speaking ethnic groups which make up about 78% of the population (Botswana Government 2003). Bakalanga are mostly found along the Zimbabwe – Botswana border in the entire North East District and some parts of the Central District of Botswana in the villages of Masunga, Mapoka, Mosojane, Tutume and Zwenshambe, to name a few. The ancestors of the Bakalanga are believed to be the Balilima and Varozvi of Zimbabwe and the Bapedi and Bakaa of Transvaal (Tlou and Campbell 1997, p.128). The Bakalanga are actually a mixture of people from distinct ethnic groups which include Rolong, Pedi, Senete, Shona, Nswazwi, and Wumbe who came together three hundred years ago and settled in Botswana. They speak Ikalanga, a Niger Congo language. The dialect of Ikalanga that is mostly found in Botswana is called Lilima.

Though in certain Setswana ethnic groups circles the Bakalanga are perceived as foreigners and less authentic Batswana (Botswana natives), see Nyamnjoh (2006), over the years they have had lots of social integrations with Setswana ethnic groups through inter marriage and mobility to the extent that the Ikalanga and Setswana ethnic and cultural identities have become blurred. In fact, most Bakalanga are Ikalanga–Setswana bilinguals with the educated elite speaking English. The assimilation of the minority Bakalanga group into the dominant Setswana and English groups is imminent given the small population of Bakalanga and the statuses of national and official language that Setswana and English enjoy unabated in a country where Ikalanga is confined to home use and intra ethnic communication only.

The shift towards Setswana and English can be explained by Giles and Powesland's (1997, p.234) accommodation theory which suggests that an individual seeking social approval can induce another to evaluate them favourably by reducing the dissimilarities between them. According to this theory, linguistic adjustments can be made in a drive to approximate one's language if they are regarded as socially desirable or if a speaker wishes to identify with them or demonstrate good will towards them. Giles and Powesland hypothesize that people who are high on a scale of need for social approval are more likely to accommodate than those with a low need.

1.1 What is a personal name?

Mphande (2006, p.104) states that among many African cultures a name tells a lot about the individual that it signifies, the language from which it is drawn and the society that ascribes it. He argues that a name may indicate the collective history and life experiences of the people surrounding the individual. Thus, in African societies, a personal name is argued to be meaningful, symbolic, purposeful and to have a logical link to the person to whom it refers, see Machaba (2003); Sumbwa (1997); Neethling (2003); Pongweni (1983); Obeng (2001); De Klerk and Bosch (1995). In their studies, these onomastic researchers illustrate with ample examples the meanings portrayed by African names and their logical link with their bearers. Sumbwa (1997, p.51) states that amongst the Barotse of Zambia a baby whose survival is doubtful may be called *Kekela* meaning “he won’t see the setting of the sun,” and Obeng (2001, p.15) says in Akan a child born in peaceful times may be called *Okoto* and Pongweni (1983, p.16) says in Shona a child born in peaceful times may be called *Runyararo*. Neethling (2003, p.47) claims that Xhosa names are semantically transparent and have a lexical meaning that is immediately clear to anyone who understands Xhosa. De Klerk (1999, p.2) also believes that “speakers can readily identify that meaning which is generally fairly transparent and accessible, often recording complex details about their givers or the circumstances surrounding the birth of the name bearer.”

This paper argues that such a view about the meaning of a name is too simplistic because the only meaning that is clear to everybody who understands the language is the dictionary or lexical meaning, but the symbolic meaning of a name is usually less transparent. According to De Klerk and Bosch (1996, p.170) when a word is selected as a name it assumes a symbolic power. In many cases the symbolic meaning that is intended by the name giver is only clear to the name giver and close family members whereas other speakers only have a general knowledge of the meaning of the word or the name. For example, everybody in the Ikalanga speaking community understands what *Chevula* (of water), *Wandipa* (s/he has given me), *Chandida* (that which has loved me) or *Ludo* (love) mean. But the actual onomastic meanings of these names might actually be different for every individual who bears these names in the Ikalanga speaking community. Thus two or three individuals can share the same name but each given under its own circumstances and therefore each having its meaning.

Raper (1987, p.79) argues that there are three levels of meanings for names, viz the lexical, the associative and the onomastic level. In many cases when a name is given to an individual the lexical meaning becomes irrelevant and in due course it may even undergo semantic shift or may completely disappear. Moyo (1996, p.29) agrees that though names usually reflect the socio circumstances surrounding the birth of the child, the name giver’s explanation is of primary importance because social circumstances differ from one situation to another. For example, a common Setswana name *Lorato* (love) can be given to a child to mean that the child is a product of her parents’ love. The name can also mean that the child is a gift of love from God or a mother who is in a loveless marriage may call her daughter *Lorato* as a plea to her husband that she wants to be loved.

In this way most African names are actually summaries of long stories or to use Pongweni’s (1983, p.16) definition, an African name is “a long experience summarized in a cryptic expression.” Unfortunately, the summary is often so brief and so skillfully presented that it is not readily understandable without prior knowledge of the long story surrounding it. Thus, a study which attempts to classify personal names according to their lexical meanings runs the risk of leaving out important information about the socio- circumstances in which the names were given. This is the information that determines the meaning of the name and that is essential in any onomastic study. In this study names are used as mirrors of Bakalanga’s linguistic, historic, cultural, and social experiences.

2. Data

The data (names) for this study were collected between 2007 and 2009. Most of it comes from primary and secondary school class lists in the villages of Masunga, Mapoka, Zwenshambe, Marapong, Nswazwi and Makaleng which are found in the North East district of Botswana. Headmasters and class teachers in these schools provided the researcher with copies of class lists. A small percentage of the data was also gathered from interviews with chiefs and elderly people in these villages. In the interviews, community elders and chiefs were asked such questions as: what kind (Setswana, Ikalanga, English) of names do people in your community give to children?, Which ones do they seem to prefer?, has Christianity and education affected the way people in your community give names to children?, what are the names of your family members? and what do these names mean?

Thereafter, the researcher counted all the names collected from the class lists and interviews. In all, the total number of names collected is 3567. This number includes all individual counts of names or tokens which include first, middle, surnames and their repetitions. There is no reason to separate first names from surnames since in

Botswana surnames are actually someone's first name. The distribution of the data from the six villages is shown in Table 1.

2.1 Objectives and Methodology

This study uses names as a prism for investigating the effects of multilingualism, globalization, religion, history and education on the Bakalanga naming practices. The effects include bilingualism, acculturation, renaming, language attitude and shift. In the study, names serve as a map through which we can trace the Bakalanga community's historical, social, cultural and linguistic course. In order to investigate multilingualism the names are categorized into different languages: Ikalanga, Setswana, other African languages and English names. The English names fall into two categories: common English names which include school and Christian names (Florence, Rose, Patrick, James, Mary) and English names which are a translation of African names (Knowledge, Wisdom, Belief).

The study is largely descriptive merely using names to understand the linguistic, cultural, social, and religious transformations that Bakalanga have gone through in the course of their existence as reflected by the different names used in the community. The study supports Brinkman's (2004) contention that in "many African contexts, names are not singular and fixed but may change with every personal transformation." Brinkman rightly points out that many onomastic studies do not allow for name changes and they have a static and fixed conception of names. In this study it will be argued that an individual's name or names represent a long story of their life or community as well as the different perceptions or identities that people hold about them. Mphande (2006) too argues that personal names act as barometers for measuring changes in attitude and moral codes at specific historical epochs.

3. Multilingualism in Bakalanga names

The names collected in the Bakalanga area reflect multilingualism. The names are drawn from various languages such as Ikalanga, Setswana, English, Ndebele, Shona and other African languages. This multilingualism can be interpreted to reflect the group's different wills: to retain and promote Ikalanga linguistic and cultural identity (Ikalanga names), to assimilate into the dominant Setswana and English groups (Setswana and English) and to maintain linguistic and historical links with the groups that Bakalanga have had historical connections with (Shona, Ndebele and other African languages).

Though the study did not carry out a methodical frequency count of the names in the data it gives examples of common names from each language to demonstrate the changes in the naming practices of Bakalanga. Common names in the study refer to names that occur at least four times in the data. In his study of Setswana frequent names Otlogetswe (2008, p.105) argues that frequent names; a) typify the naming practices of a community, b) unearth whether communities still use large numbers of colonial names or whether they have heeled away from such practices, c) reveal whether names with a certain semantic bend are favoured by the community, d) in a diachronic study they reveal changing naming practices within a community.

3.1 Bakalanga and Ikalanga Names

Out of the 3570 names collected, 1488 of them are Ikalanga names. This number indicates that 41.7% of the names are Ikalanga. This is not surprising considering that most people (probably 80%) in this area speak Ikalanga as a mother tongue. Ikalanga names represent the Bakalanga's pride and will to retain and promote Ikalanga linguistic and cultural identity. The common themes amongst these names include love and happiness (*Ludu, Unuda, Wada, Chawada*), beauty (*Mbuya, Chedza*), giving and gratitude (*Ndapiwa, Chawapiwa, Taboka, Unupa*), pain and suffering (*Tafa, Tapela, Lilani, Nyaladzi*) as well as faith in God (*Ndiye, Phadza, Tinaye*). Table 2 presents 50 common Ikalanga names (those that occur at least four times in the data).

3.2 Setswana names

Out of the 3570 names collected, 726 of them are Setswana names. This number indicates that 20.3% of the names are Setswana as compared to 41% Ikalanga. As already mentioned, Setswana is a second language for most people in this area. It is also the language of the rulers and dominant group and is therefore not warmly embraced. It is, however, the national lingua franca, medium of instruction in lower primary school, and the language of oral communication in both official and semi official contexts. There is, therefore, a certain degree of pressure on the Bakalanga to acculturate, learn and use Setswana.

It is interesting to note that the common themes in Ikalanga names such as love, happiness, beauty, giving and gratitude and faith in God are also common in Setswana names. The theme of love is expressed by names such as *Lorato, Gorata* and beauty is expressed by names such as *Bontle, Naledi*. The theme of giving and gratitude is expressed by such names as *Mpho, Dineo* and *Boitumelo* while a name such as *Selelo* reflects pain and suffering.

Tumelo, *Tsholofelo* and *Tshepiso* reflect hope and faith in God. Table 3 presents 50 common Setswana names (those that occur at least four times in the data).

3.3 Names from other African languages

The data has 48 names from African languages other than Ikalanga and Setswana and this number represents 1.3% of the total number of names. The existence of these names amongst the Bakalanga is evidence of their will to maintain linguistic, historical and cultural ties with some ethnic and linguistic groups with whom they share historic connections. Most of the names (*Bongani*, *Jabulani*, *Moyo*, *Shumba*, *Lungile*, *Mbongeni*, *Mhlanga*, *Ngoni*, *Njiva*, *Sibongile*, *Sibusiwé*, *Themba*, *Thandiwe*) originate from Ndebele and Shona languages. And just like the Ikalanga and Setswana names, they express love (*Thandeka*, *Thandiwe*), beauty (*Nomonde*), happiness and gratitude (*Bongani*, *Sibongile*, *Jabulani*) or hope and faith in God (*Themba*). The researcher has not been able to confirm the origin of some of the African names. Table 4 provides a list of all the names from languages other than Ikalanga, Setswana and English.

3.4 Bakalanga and English names

The data has 1307 English names and this number represents 36.6% of the names collected. English is an important language not just for the Bakalanga ethnic group but for Batswana as a whole. It is Botswana's official language; used in parliament, courts, all formal business and official communications, medium of instruction in schools etc. There is therefore a lot of value and dignity placed on those who are competent or who use English. The English names are classified into two: common English names which are also found in English speaking countries, they include school and Christian names and English names that are translations from Ikalanga and Setswana names.

3.5 Common English school and Christian names

These are English names that were motivated by school or church. School or education has had a lot of influence on the naming system of Bakalanga and Batswana in general. In the early 19th century most of the teachers were English who had difficulties pronouncing Setswana and Ikalanga names. It seems school names were initially given as a matter of phonological convenience but it soon became a convention for school goers to get an English name to signify education and enhance employment prospects afterwards. However, giving English names is not a thing of the past. Mathangwane and Gardner's (1998) study found out that giving English names is still popular in Botswana. The appeal for these names lies in their reflection of education, the prestige that comes with the ability to speak a High language and having a name that can easily be pronounced by those who offer jobs – whites.

Religion, particularly Christianity, has also played a major role in the spread of English names. But even before Christianity there is evidence provided by some names such as *Unami* (God is with me) *Tinaye* (God is with us), and *Uyapo* (God is there) which indicate that Bakalanga have always believed in God or have always been religious. Most Batswana are Christians belonging to the Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran and Zion churches. In these churches, services are held mostly in Setswana except in small rural areas where the service is in the local language and in main towns where the service is in both Setswana and English.

When Batswana converted to Christianity they could not be baptized in their African names even when their names were religious. The church, especially the Roman Catholic Church, required all converts to choose a name of a patron saint. In this manner Batswana got a set of foreign names from the Bible to serve as Christian names. The Christian name had a purpose, to brand the converted and to show that they have been spiritually transformed. This paper argues that a name symbolizes the essence of a person. If you change the essence or value of a person you can give them a new name. If a person changes spiritually or philosophically in such a way that they are no longer the same person, then they can be given a new name. For the Roman Catholic convert, a new name reflected acceptance of a new religion and Christian identity.

In the same way that an individual can acquire a new name to mark a new status such as marriage or parenthood, the church or baptism assigned a new name to mark a spiritual transformation in an individual's life. The name that one got at birth that reflected the socio-cultural circumstances in which one was born was not applicable in church. In church, one lost their individual cultural identity and adopted a more general one that they shared with others in the church, that linked them to the whole system of the church and other church members. Of the 1307 English names in the data 926 of them are school and Christian names. Table 6 provides examples of the most common ones.

In church and school, new identities were constructed so as to achieve solidarity amongst school and church members. Names form a network of references that relate an individual to the rest of the group. Hilterman and

Koopman (2003, p.4) quote Meiring (1994, p.72) as suggesting that “in the pursuit and maintenance of power, authority and legitimacy play an important role. People assert and defend the legitimacy of their points of view by manipulating an issue like a name to create perceptions of common destiny.” During colonization, names were politically manipulated to create and express common interest and solidarity.

Several scholars such as Comaroff and Comaroff (1991), Harries (1994), Pongweni (1983), Hilterman and Koopman (2003) and Sumbwa (1997) oppose the idea of renaming. They see it as a form of colonial imposition or imperialism that upset the local system by re-designating people. The main argument for these scholars is that school and Christian names are meaningless and fail to recognize the socio cultural meanings embodied in the bearers’ African name. Hilterman and Koopman (2003, p.32) are suspicious about renaming of some South African streets. They claim that “it is not innocent, it is profoundly political”. They see it as a transformation that is convenient to and suits the needs of the imperialist. Hilterman and Koopman (2003, p.33) argue that the act of re-naming is an exercise in power, a way of exercising imperial power.

3.6 English Translated Names

The more interesting English names found in the data are those which are a translation of common Ikalanga and Setswana names. The names reflect the bilingual and dynamic nature of the community. It is not uncommon for an individual in this community to have two or three names which mean the same thing but in different languages. For example there are individuals called: *Tapiwa-Given*, *Bontle-Beauty*, *Zibo-Kitso-Knowledge* and *Nlisi-Modisa*. Such names reflect the linguistic resources that are available to the individual and how the individual may utilize them to express himself or herself. Table 6 illustrates Ikalanga-Setswana-English translations.

The proximity of the Bakalanga to Zimbabwe where they (Bakalanga) schooled and worked as gardeners, cooks and clerks for whites in the 1940s to the early 1980s is a possible explanation for the presence of translated names. Pongweni (1983)’s study presents a plenitude of such English names amongst the Shona ethnic group in Zimbabwe. Pongweni argues that when Biblical names failed to express cultural meanings expressed by Shona names those who had some fluency in English simply translated Shona names. He concludes that “the intent remained the same; but the medium of expressing it changed,” (p8). Pongweni’s findings are confirmed by Makoni et al (2007) whose study demonstrated the effects of non-standard English on naming practices of Zimbabweans between the 1960s and 1990s. Their study argues that such naming practice subsequently brought about changes not only to the use of African languages but also to the use of names drawn from non-standard English. Makoni et.al (2007) found that in certain cases, name givers were not even aware that the names that they have assigned were in English. Such names would have been assigned for the aesthetic appeal of the word. Name givers in such cases would have heard the word used over and over again and then used it as a name because it sounded nice. They argue that this practice was prevalent amongst the minority language groups which are generally impoverished and have very low levels of literacy. Current data has 381 such names and Table 7 presents the common ones in the data.

Though some scholars see English names as a reflection of colonization, Brinkman (2004) argues that “rather than a sign of European imperialism and colonization, these names also reflected people’s ability to adapt to a new context and their pride in having an open attitude towards novelty and change.” Brinkman argues that this cannot be interpreted as a sign of their colonized consciousness but rather as an indication of a flexibility of linguistic categories. However, when we consider the elevating status of English we cannot rule out the pressures to be accommodated and associated with English. Ikalanga and English names signify different status in the community. For example, the Ikalanga name *Kakale* is not the same as the English one *Again* even though they mean the same thing. The Ikalanga version signifies tradition and local culture while the English version embodies education and civilization. In his study of names in South African mines, Harries (1994) remarks that the English name “marked the name bearers’ confidence in coping with the new context in the South African mines and the migrants’ extended knowledge and experience upon their return home, (p5).” The English names served as badges of self worth and achievement.

4. Naming and re-naming amongst Africans

Even before the advent of education, English and Christianity, Africans changed their names to mark important land marks in their personal lives or that of their community. Brinkman (2004) states that in many Angolan cultures people would change their name after every significant turn in their life. For example after initiation, boys and girls would change their names to mark their passage to adulthood. Coplan (1994, p.46) also states that “every level of personal development has a name giving ritual, in which the new name symbolizes the

achievement of a new state of social being.” This indicates an acquisition in one’s life span rather than a change of name.

The Bakalanga too have names that mark different stages in their lives. For example a child may be called *Changu* (mine), *Kushatha* (to be happy) *Uyapo* (God is there), *Masalila* (left over), or *Wabuya* (s/he has come back) according to the circumstances surrounding their birth or according to the parents’ perception of the child’s birth. As the child grows he or she may start displaying a certain behaviour that may earn him or her a nickname. In the absence of a nickname or an initiation school the child would be called by their birth name until they get married. When the child gets baptized or goes to school, he or she may also be given a new name. When a girl gets married she begins to be called by her husband’s name. For example, if *Changu* (mine) marries *Dumani* (agree) she would be called *MmaDumani*. If *Changu* and *Dumani*’s first child is called *Taboka* (we are grateful) the couple would be named *Mma-Taboka* and *Ta-Taboka* respectively to mark their parenthood.

Sumbwa (1997, p.49) notes a similar staggering of names among the Lozis. Each stage is recognized and marked by a name because it represents an important change or development in the person’s life. The original name is not lost, each name has a different functionality from the other names. The school name is not used when, for instance, performing a rite of passage. In the end, the individual has amassed four or six names each one representing a specific stage in one’s life: youth, marriage, parenthood and each one used in its appropriate context by a certain group of people to acknowledge the stages passed and to demonstrate their knowledge of the individual.

4.1 Post Colonial naming practice

Mphande (2006, p.104) has observed that at the end of slavery, African Americans started reverting to their African cultural norms of spirituality, burial rites and naming for inspiration. He argues that by renaming themselves, African Americans engage in the process of cultural identity formulations through which they reclaim their complex African roots and redefine themselves. In Africa, there has been a growing resistance against English and Christian names as a result of the emergence of African nationalists and black consciousness movements. Mphande (2006, p.108) states that the Pan African movement and cultural activism encouraged Africans to identify more closely with African culture. Post colonial renaming equates English names with colonial mentality. Research such as Neethling (1988, 2003), Pongweni (1983), Bangeni and Coetser (2000) show a new trend of names that is linked to the prevailing sociopolitical circumstances that suggest that black people in general have regained their confidence and identity and now take pride in their own cultural heritage that is expressed by their names.

This shifting in the naming patterns of Africans mark yet another philosophical transformation in their lives. This new thinking or philosophy requires Africans to either return to their African names or for those who do not have them to find one. Thus, in their quest to restore cultural heritage and identity, both African countries and people have changed names. At independence Rhodesia, South West Africa and Gold Coast changed their names to Zimbabwe, Namibia and Ghana respectively. Several prominent Africans such as James Ngugi and Sam Shilowa have changed their names to Ngugi wa Thiongo and Mbazima Shilowa respectively. Reverting to an African name signifies a social change, a change in people’s thinking and conceptualization of their identities.

The opinions of the elderly people interviewed in the current study also reflect this philosophy. They indicated that they promote their African identity by using their birth (African) names and giving their children African names. This is an indication that this phenomenon is wide spread and not limited to politicians. They no longer ordinarily use such names as *Grass*, *Sonnyboy*, *Wilson* or *Else* that they had called themselves when they worked as gardeners or miners in Rhodesia and South Africa. However, some of the peers who understand and know about their experiences in the mines and kitchens in these countries could call them by these names. In addition, in this study we find more Ikalanga names than English ones, perhaps this is an indication that the Bakalanga are reclaiming their ethnic identity. Mphande (2006, p.108) claims that changing a personal name to suit the prevailing socio-cultural or political environment is nothing new in African and African American history. Because they are social commentary, names can be changed to indicate contemporary socio-political situations. Johnston Kamau, for example, changed his name to Jomo Kenyatta to match the prevailing atmosphere of his political activism in Kenya.

This paper maintains that no matter how we perceive renaming, as either a reflection of new faith, philosophy, social status or as a symbol of colonization, the name change usually signifies a change in the life of an African; a linguistic, social, historical or spiritual change that is marked by a name. The acquisition of English names represent transformations in the life of Africans that were brought about by religion, politics, history, education and globalization.

5. Conclusion

The categorization of names above reveals patterns of multiple or composite identities of the Bakalanga. The names serve as evidence or as a map of the community's historical, social, cultural and linguistic course; where they originate from, whom they interact with, and their social, cultural and religious practices. The names tell a story not only about the community but the individual as well. The story is about the fusion of identity based on local, personal and external factors. The various names represent the different stages that the individual and community have passed through. Naming and renaming reflects individual and community development; people changing their names as they develop, grow and gain new statuses biologically and socially.

The collection of names used by the Bakalanga community confirms that naming is a dynamic practice that changes over time and adapts to the demands and needs of the society. It confirms Masilo's (2003,p,165) argument that shifts in names indicate that giving names adapts to the environment to express current needs and socio-cultural concerns. The findings of the study provide evidence for the study of names as barometers of change in people's lives.

The question is how each name is kept alive or promoted? A name is driven and promoted by one's parents, peers, school mates, workmates, church mates, or friends. Sometimes, there is only one person who promotes a certain name. For example, one of the informants for this study reported that there is only one person who calls him Bath, short for Bathlomew. With the available choices of names, people around the name bearer often choose one name that they find most convenient, best fitting or appropriate to use. In the Bakalanga community where many children have Ikalanga, Setswana and English names the elderly prefer to call them or promote their African names. Promotion of a name is a strong and important factor in the whole naming process because it determines which name or names an individual is known by and which name or names will stick.

Neethling (2003, p.48) suggests that "a name equals self: A man's name is not like a cloak that merely hangs around him...it grows over him like his own skin. One cannot scrape it and scratch at it without injuring the man himself." This paper contradicts Neethling's argument, it sees the different names that a man has as different cloaks in his wardrobe each one worn at an appropriate occasion. The history of Africans is complex, multifaceted and dynamic. Most of this complexity and dynamism is captured in the name or names. A replacement of a personal name, be it African or English can create confusions and gaps in the history and life of that person. Each name is important because it contains vital socio-cultural and historical information about its bearer and therefore should co-exist with others. The information and values associated with each would be lost if it were completely replaced.

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Table 1. Data from the six villages

Village	Primary school class lists	Secondary school class lists	Interviews	Total number of names
Makaleng	210	340	19	569
Mapoka	-	470	12	482
Marapong	85	506	10	601
Masunga	150	649	15	814
Nswazwi	25	368	9	402
Zwenshambe	175	515	12	702
				3570

Table 2. Common Ikalanga Names

Andina	Chilume	Mbuya	Shathiso	Tose
Bangu	Dumisani	Mishingo	Simisane	Tshambani
Batshani	Gaabadzo	Namibo	Taboka	Unami
Bedu	Gadzanani	Ndapiwa	Tafa	Unuda
Chalegwa	Idwani	Ndiye	Tapela	Unupa
Chandapiwa	Koziba	Ndizo	Tapiwa	Wada
Chawada	Lebesani	Nyaladzani	Thamani	Wanani
Chawapiwa	Lilani	Nyaladzi	Tinaye	Wapiwa
Chedza	Lindani	Phadza	Tizhani	Zibane
Chendu	Ludu	Salani	Tobokani	Zibisane

Table 3. Common Setswana names

Boitumelo	Karabo	Malebogo	Ofentse	Tebogo
Bonolo	Kefilwe	Masego	Olerato	Thabo
Bontle	Kgomotso	Mmoloki	Omphile	Thapelo
Dikeledi	Khumo	Modisa	Onalenna	Thuso
Dineo	Kitso	Mothusi	Onalethata	Tshegofatso
Goitseone	Lebogang	Mpho	Oratile	Tshephang
Gorata	Lesedi	Naledi	Oteng	Tshepho
Itumeleng	Lesego	Neo	Othusitse	Tshepiso
Kagiso	Lorato	Obakeng	Otsile	Tsholofelo
Kago	Maipelo	Odirile	Selelo	Tumelo

Table 4. Names from other African languages

Banda	Kamongambo	Moyo	Nomonde	Phumusa
Bongani	Kheliya	Mpofu	Nsengathekwe	Sikhokhela
Bungile	Lungile	Muguni	Nyati	Sikhungu
Changungwa	Macheya	Musa	Nyoka	Simangaliso
Dabutha	Machola	Mzanywa	Sibongile	Tapiwa
Dubula	Majuru	Namakandu	Shoko	Thandiwe
Gunda	Mbenge	Nganda	Shumba	Themba
Jabulani	Mbongeni	Ngoni	Sibongile	Zhola
Jikijela	Mhlanga	Njiva	Sibusisiwe	
Jenamiso	Mhlauli	Noma	Sibusiso	

Table 5. Common English School and Christian names

Aaron	Emmanuel	Julia	Patricia	Rose
Abigail	Esther	Mable	Paul	Rosemary
Agnes	Florence	Macdonald	Peter	Ruth
Amos	Gladys	Margaret	Philip	Samuel
Andrew	Grace	Mathews	Precious	Sarah
Annah	Isaac	Meshack	Raymond	Simon
Benjamin	James	Michael	Reginald	Solomon
Daniel	Jane	Miriam	Richard	Stephen
David	Janet	Moses	Rich	Thomas
Elizabeth	Joseph	Noah	Robert	Vincent

Table 6. Ikalanga-Setswana-English translations

Ikalanga	Setswana	English
Unangoni	Pelonomi	Mercy
Ndulamo	Tshiamo	Innocent
Tapiwa	Refilwe	Given
Chedza	Lesedi	Light
Kakale	Gape	Again
Nlisi	Modisa	Shepherd
Meshodzi	Dikeledi	Tears
Zibo	Kitso	Knowledge
Taboka	Kealeboga	Thankyou
Mbuya	Bontle	Beauty
Shatho/Taboka	Boitumelo	Happy/ Gladness
Tapiwa	Mpho/Dineo	Gift

Table 7. English Translated Names

Again	Faith	Gracious	Lovie	Sentence
Before	Familiar	Happiness	Lucky	Shepherd
Belief	Flag	Happy	Mercy	Sign
Blessing	Forgiveness	Heavy	Messenger	Soldier
Boy	Freedom	Innocent	Never	Star
Bright	Gift	Joy	Patience	Tears
Charity	Girlie	Judge	Polite	Tiny
Clever	Given	Killer	Power	Unity
Comfort	Gladness	Knowledge	Pretty	Victory
Doctor	Glorious	Light	Rich	Wisdom