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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PERSONAL NAMES IN BOTSWANA AND SCOTLAND

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Abstract

A personal name is an individual's badge of identity in all cultures of the world although the qualities and concepts of the name will vary. This cross-cultural study of names and naming practices in two very different societies aims to reveal the overall profiles of names in each society.

The study investigates personal naming in Botswana and Scotland at two levels, first the linguistic level which deals with the grammar and semantics of individual names to reveal the overall profile of a personal name in both countries in terms of meaning and grammar. Furthermore, the study compares names it terms 'Unusual' in both countries to highlight their meanings and grammar, and attitudes towards them. A name does not exist in isolation, it is a reflection of the society within which it exists; so second the study explores the social aspects of the names to determine how the cultures and traditions of the two societies influence their naming practices. Although the general conclusions from previous studies have been that African names have a meaning and European names do not, none of the studies have been specific to names in Botswana and Scotland, hence the need for this study. Furthermore, the study is interested in the variation between names in each country, particularly in terms of meaning and structure. It also explores the motivations behind name-giving, and aims to establish how these differ or correspond in the two societies. It also investigates Unusual names, to reveal their meaning, grammar and motivations. To achieve these comparisons, the study uses a socio-onomastic approach.

The data for this study was collected through an open-ended questionnaire and also from existing records. In Scotland the questionnaire was administered in Glasgow, and in Botswana it was administered in Mahalapye and Molepolole. Part of the data in Scotland was drawn from the National Records of Scotland. The study identifies the overall profiles of the names in terms of their semantics and grammar through a quantitative analysis of the data. A qualitative analysis reveals the respondents' knowledge of the meanings of the names, the motivating factors behind the names and other aspects that people consider critical in the choice of a name.

As anticipated, personal names in the two countries are shown to be at opposite ends of the spectrum. In Scotland they are largely lexically non-transparent, while in Botswana they are largely lexically transparent. However, this study has revealed a much more nuanced situation than was previously recognised. It has also produced a much needed corpus of semantically

and grammatically analysed Botswana names together with their motivations. In Scotland the study has highlighted the extent of awareness of name meanings and the motivations behind their bestowal. These findings are a significant contribution in the Botswana and Scottish onomastic landscape as they reveal new perspectives in relation to name studies in the two countries.

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1. Introduction

Anthropologists have not found a single society which does not use personal names in some form; they are a human universal. However, the forms that these names take and the ways in which they are bestowed and used vary between cultures. (Bramwell 2016)

The principle that personal names are not mere words or identification labels cannot be overemphasised. Although naming is a universal phenomenon, the process varies across societies and languages, because from a sociolinguistic point of view it is culturally and contextually influenced. Hanks, Hardcastle & Hodges (2006:xi) state that a person's given name is a badge of cultural identity which is closely linked to religious identity and language, both of which are often key factors in choosing a name for a child. As Aleksiejuk (2016) explains, naming is an institutionalised or conventionalised practice in every society. Furthermore, Guerini (2005:5) asserts that because traditional name systems reflect the values and beliefs of respective societies, their analysis reveals the fears and concerns of those societies, including hopes and expectations for the newborn. It is clear, therefore, that names do more than just identify their bearers. From the Structural Linguistics perspective, names are lexical elements which can be analysed for morphology and semantics. According to Neethling (1994:88), names are linguistic signs and like all other linguistic signs they have a sound sequence and a 'sense' or meaning. This is in spite of opposing views in relation to whether names, as proper nouns, carry any semantic content. Stalmaszczyk (2016:9) reiterates that some predecessors in the study of language like J.S. Mill have argued that proper names have denotation but no connotation, and as such they lack meaning.

The aim of this study is to compare names and naming practices of two disparate societies, with sharply contrasting cultures, to establish their similarities and differences. Previous studies have generally concluded that names in the African context have meaning while those in the European context have none. This study explores this further and it is particularly specific to Botswana and Scotland since none of the early studies have been specific to these. The study will also reveal the grammatical structures to which the names belong and also explore the motivations behind name giving in the two countries. Furthermore, the study will explore Unusual names in the two countries to establish their meaning, structure and motivations. This study will contribute to the general field of onomastics in two ways. First it will contribute to

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the view of Structural Linguistics that names are linguistic elements that can be analysed for structure and meaning and this will be achieved by categorising the names according to relevant semantic and grammatical categories. Second, the study will reveal the variations and similarities in the naming processes of the two countries through establishing the motivations for name giving. This comparison of names in Botswana and Scotland is a new dimension in the Onomastic landscape because it has not been achieved before. Basically, this study aims to probe personal names in the two countries from two perspectives: firstly, as linguistic elements that are primarily used to identify an individual; and secondly, as tools through which societies communicate.

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

This study hypothesises that names in Botswana and Scotland are different in structure and meaning, so the aim of the research is to explore this further. The study also explores a growing trend towards the use of unusual names, which are steadily rising in number in both countries, to reveal their semantic and grammatical categories. Furthermore, the study aims to establish the sociolinguistic factors that influence the naming processes in the two countries.

The study focuses on the following questions:

1. What is the overall profile of personal names in Botswana and Scotland in terms of meaning and grammar?
   (a) What is the overall profile of semantic categories of names in Botswana and Scotland?
   (b) What is the overall profile of grammatical categories of names in Botswana and Scotland?
2. What are the most common and least common semantic and grammatical categories of unusual names in Botswana?
3. Are people in Scotland familiar with the meanings of unusual names in the country and what are the general attitudes towards these names?
4. What are the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming practices in Botswana and Scotland?
5.

This study answers these questions through analysing the personal names data in the two countries both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative analysis reveals the proportions of the knowledge of the meanings of the names and also identifies their

grammatical categories, while the qualitative analysis addresses the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming in the two countries. This study pursues its central hypothesis that a personal name in Botswana has a lexically transparent meaning while the same in Scotland has a lexically non-transparent meaning.

The study is in three main parts. First, it analyses the names in Botswana and Scotland according to semantic and grammatical categories. Second, it explores the sociolinguistic factors that influence names and naming in the two countries. Third, the comparative structure of the thesis helps to demonstrate the similarities and differences that exist both between the names themselves and between the naming processes in the two countries, a research dimension that has never been achieved before. It is evident from the lack of secondary literature that much less research has been carried out into names in general in Botswana than in Scotland, and this study attempts to fill this gap.

1.2 Background of the Study

As mentioned above, names do not exist in a vacuum because they are a part of a people's culture, so they cannot be isolated from the language and traditions of a society. This is particularly true for African names because they are closely linked to the cultural practices of the people. Guma (2001:265), in his study of Sesotho names, notes that names and the naming process are a socio-cultural interpretation of historical events. Furthermore, Mojapelo (2009:185) has observed that naming strategies and patterns are bound to be peculiar to a particular language and society because they are culturally motivated. Guma (2001) carried out a linguistic and historical analysis of personal names to determine how they are culturally and historically influenced. The current study takes a similar approach by exploring the naming practices in Botswana and Scotland to establish how they are influenced or motivated. However, whereas Guma (2001) looked at Sesotho names, the current study looks at Setswana names in depth, to reveal their meaning categories, grammatical structures and motivations, something that has not been done before. Sesotho and Setswana both belong to the Bantu group of languages so there are similarities in their phonology and morphology and they are slightly mutually intelligible. Botswana and Lesotho are also in close proximity to each other so the two are most likely to have common cultural practices and traditions which may yield similarities in their names and naming practices. Therefore, there are likely to be some similarities between Guma's study and the current study in relation to the grammatical, semantic categories and motivations of Setswana names.

Botswana and Scotland have been chosen for the study because they do not have any legal restrictions on naming or on the choice of a name, so the parents have a free choice when it comes to the names they give to their children. Furthermore, English and Setswana have existed and still exist alongside each other in Botswana, and so this interaction is likely to influence naming strategies.

1.3 Personal Names

The focus of this study is on personal names, also called anthroponyms, and the interest is in first, or given, names. This thesis will use the terms *personal names*, *given names* or just *names* interchangeably to refer to these elements. The study explores personal names that are termed 'conventional', which are the traditional, common names, and those that are referred to hereafter as 'Unusual' names. Unusual names are the less common names which seem to be created specifically for purposes of being rare. Ainiala (2016) states that this process of creating uncommon names is a type of what is sometimes referred to as name fashion.

The next section gives a general linguistic overview of Botswana and Scotland. This overview is critical in familiarising the reader with the geographic and demographic information of the two countries used in the study. This information is important for the reader to appreciate the disparateness of the two countries in terms of their geographic location, population, languages and cultures and how their distinctiveness will influence their naming similarities or differences.

1.4 A Linguistic Overview of Botswana and Scotland

Botswana is a country in Southern Africa with a population of approximately 2.3 million people; the people of Botswana are called Batswana while the language is called Setswana. The population of Botswana is made up of numerous clans or groups who speak dialects of Setswana which are largely mutually intelligible. According to Andersson & Janson (1997:7) there are, however, other independent languages spoken in Botswana, which renders the country multi-lingual but still largely linguistically homogeneous because approximately 80% of the people in Botswana speak Setswana as their first language. This percentage is with reference to 20 years ago and the situation is most likely to have changed over the years. Setswana belongs to a language group called Bantu which is made up of languages spoken in Central and Southern Africa that have similar morphological and phonological qualities but are

not necessarily mutually intelligible. Setswana is still largely the main language spoken in the country both as a mother tongue and as a second language. The current linguistic situation in Botswana is that Setswana and English are both official languages, and the former also holds the status of a national language.

Scotland is a part of the United Kingdom, and according to the National Records of Scotland (NRS) (2018a) its population currently stands at 5.42 million. The linguistic landscape of Scotland indicates that the native languages spoken in the country are from the Germanic and Celtic language families. The languages that are mainly spoken in Scotland are English, Gaelic and Scots, the latter two being minority languages while English is the dominant language. According to the NRS (2018b) the number of non-British people living in Scotland continues to increase and currently 7% of the residents of Scotland are non-British. This means there are non-native languages spoken in Scotland alongside English, Gaelic and Scots.

The diverse linguistic landscape in both countries means that the names would derive from different languages and not just from Setswana and English. The data for this study encompasses all names that are used in the two countries regardless of language of origin. The interest therefore, is not in English and Setswana names, but all names that make up the entire names data in the two countries. The purpose of the study is to analyse the names that exist in the two countries for their meaning, grammatical category and motivation and highlight the similarities and differences notable in the two countries. Since a comparative study of this nature has not been undertaken previously, the results of this particular study will be useful as they can be extended to names of other languages closely related to English and Setswana as well as to those which co-exist with the main languages in Botswana and Scotland

1.5 The Layout of the Thesis

This thesis has nine chapters. Chapter 1 is the introduction that presents the topic, the research questions and the background of the study. Chapter 2 discusses previous relevant literature and sets out the theoretical background of the study. Chapter 3 sets out the methodology of the study; how the data was collected and analysed as well as the challenges encountered during the data collection process. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results concerning lexically non-transparent names in Botswana and Scotland by giving their etymological categories and their motivations. Chapter 5 presents and discusses the semantic categories and motivations for lexically transparent names in the two countries. The grammatical categories of the names are

handled in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 deals with the Unusual names in the two countries, and because the data for these in both countries was collected differently, the results are also presented differently. The first part of Chapter 7 presents and discusses the semantic and grammatical categories of Unusual names in Botswana. The second part of the chapter presents and discusses the knowledge of the meanings of Unusual names in Scotland and the respondents' attitudes towards the names. Chapter 8 deals with the attitudes of the people in Botswana and Scotland towards names and naming in general as well as other factors besides meaning that need to be considered when a name is given. Chapter 9 is the conclusion: it gives a summary of the main findings and the comparisons and contrasts between the two countries, and also raises potential further research questions that emerge from this study.

2. Research Context

This study examines personal names in Botswana and Scotland from a semantic and grammatical point of view and also explores their relationships with the societies within which they exist. The study analyses personal names from a Structural Linguistics perspective as lexical elements and also as communicative tools from the socio-onomastics point of view. As Rosenthal (2006:1), puts it, '… names contain and are a part of a code, or a series of codes, to decipher and interpret before we can talk with confidence about what they tell us and the directions in which they (seem) to point.' Names are therefore much more than what they seem to be. This chapter will examine literature that explores personal names from the various viewpoints of Structural Linguistics, onomastics and sociolinguistics in an attempt to situate the current study within the realm of socio-onomastics. The review of the literature reveals that little substantive work has been done on names and naming in Botswana as compared to Scotland. This study therefore breaks new ground through an in-depth analysis of names and naming processes in Botswana.

2.1 Onomastics in Africa

Onomastic research in Africa is generally still in its infancy as compared to Europe. The following discussion centres around studies in Southern Africa as they are geographically closer to the current study. According to Neethling (2005:xiii), onomastics really started to emerge in Southern Africa in the second half of the 20th century, a century later than in Europe. He states that it was only in the early 1980's that there was a significant rise in 'southern Bantu' onomastic studies. It was in the 21st century when published research material on African onomastics could be easily obtained. African onomastics focuses more on anthroponymy while in the UK toponymy is more widely researched. Early onomastic studies in Southern Africa include those of Pongweni (1983) on the study of Shona names in Zimbabwe. The study analysed the social meanings of Shona names and also looked at the linguistic structure of some of the names, but only if the structure explained the meanings of the names. The names analysed were selected from a telephone directory, a university graduation programme, an army base roll-call and an old war novel. Pongweni (1983:2), concluded that Shona names can be categorised into six classes depending on the circumstances of the family or clan at the time of the birth.

Saarelma-Maunumaa (1996) looked at the influence of westernisation on Ovambo personal names in Namibia. The study revealed that around 1883 the naming systems of the Ovambo people started to change drastically as Ovambo names were abandoned in favour of Christian and European ones. The former made a come-back around the 1950's-1960's but as second and third names (Saarelma-Maunumaa 1996:23). Neethling's (2005) book explored different types of names amongst the Xhosa of South Africa with emphasis on anthroponyms. He looked at the name given at birth, the English name which is usually the Christian one, the surname, the nickname and the names for married women and how these have changed from the late 20th to the early 21st centuries. He asserts that the Xhosa name given at birth was always largely influenced by the social circumstances of the family and the community at large. The Christian name was a result of the introduction of Christianity and education to the Xhosa by the missionaries from England and Scotland and such names were often randomly given by the missionaries at baptism or by teachers at school (Neethling 2005:77). This scenario reflects how English names were introduced to many African societies. Skhosana (2005) investigated the naming stages of the Southern Ndebele female in South Africa and found out that an average woman in this society acquires up to five names in her lifetime. Each stage of her life warrants the acquisition of a new name: these are birth, conversion to Christianity, initiation, marriage and motherhood.

Most closely related to the current study are Guma (2001) and Mojapelo (2009), which both looked at Sesotho names in Lesotho. Both Sesotho or Sotho and Setswana belong to a sub-section of Bantu languages called Sotho-Tswana and they are mutually intelligible. Guma examined how the culture and history of the Basotho influenced their naming practices and concluded that Sesotho names 'embody individual or group social experiences, social norms and values, status roles and authority as well as personality and individual attributes' (Guma 2001:265). Mojapelo (2009) analysed the morphology and semantics of Sesotho proper names (personal and place), comparing them to the common noun. Morphologically, the study highlighted how Northern Sotho personal names derive from common nouns and verbs and the common prefixes that they take. Semantically, the study explored the sources of the names and in the process found that not every Northern Sotho name has a clear meaning (2009:187).

The earliest studies on Botswana onomastics seem to have emerged in the late 1990's. The first is Mathangwane & Gardner (1998), which looked at the use of English and African names in Botswana to establish what motivated the giving of an English or a Setswana name at the time.

Mathangwane & Gardner (1998:86) identified 6 factors that influenced the giving of an English name, of which conversion to Christianity and the school system were the most popular. Others included colonisation: Botswana was a British colony and so the people tended to copy British culture. The influence of World Wars 1 and 2 was also significant: locals who had fought in these wars had acquired new English names and also named their children after people they met and befriended there. Many Batswana went to work in South Africa as miners and domestic servants and also acquired new English names there which were easy for their employers to pronounce. Western culture as a whole also influenced the giving of these names, heard through the media, as in the names of popular singers or types of cars. Setswana names were largely influenced by a family's social circumstances and community events of the time. This study was followed by Mathangwane & Gardner (1999), which concluded that there were both negative and positive attitudes to the use of English names in Botswana while there were only positive attitudes associated with African names but children continued to be given English names anyway. Gardner (1999) analysed the trends of English names in Botswana over a period of 100 years and showed how they rose and fell in popularity. The study indicates that the naming systems in Botswana changed drastically, neglecting English names for conventional Setswana names.

In the 21st century, Rapoo (2003) looked at naming practices and gender bias in Setswana and concluded that the Setswana language displayed gender bias through its naming practices, which tended to favour the male over the female. Otlogetswe (2008) gave a statistical analysis of English and Setswana names to reveal the most common and least common name tokens in Botswana. The only diversion from anthroponyms is a study by Ndana, Gumbo & Chebanne (2016) on canoe naming amongst the Basubiya people of Botswana. This study explored what influenced the naming of canoes in the area and concluded that the names were motivated by three main factors; namely, the source of the material used to make it, its distinctive features and the social circumstances of the owner.

Despite the studies highlighted above, the growth of the field has been significantly slow in the whole continent but more specifically in Botswana; hence the current study. Major cross-cultural studies like Lawson (2016), which compared and contrasted naming systems of fifteen world cultures, did not include the Botswana naming system. Another study by Caffarelli and Gerritzen (2002) was interested in name popularity and fashionable name giving in 40 nations and autonomous communities. Although this study mentions Botswana names the discussion

is not in depth and the current study intends to fill this gap. This study compares names in Botswana and Scotland using the theory of socio-onomastics which has not been used by any of the Botswana studies discussed above.

2.2 Socio-onomastics

…names are not only part of language; they are part of society and culture, as well. Names are always born in the interaction between people, the linguistic community, and the environment. People give names to referents they consider worth naming. By giving names, people take control of their environment, leaving their imprint on it, as it were; thus making it part of their own culture. (Ainiala 2016)

The quotation above by Ainiala (2016) sums up what socio-onomastics is about; naming cannot be independent of the societies within which it exists. Gardner (2000) has observed that the onomastic significance of names does not come from dictionaries or biographies but comes from asking the people about their names and the names of others. The need to study the relationship between society and names led to the emergence of socio-onomastics which is a meeting ground for sociolinguistics and onomastics. Nicolaisen (2011:150), however, disputes this term and argues that 'it is redundant to prefix the term *onomastics* with the qualifier *socio-*, as in some way every onomastic act is a social act and no name exists which is not a part of the communicative system of a group, however large or small.' He believes that socio-onomastics should be viewed as independent of sociolinguistics. Nevertheless, some linguists still emphasize the *socio* aspect and sometimes refer to it as the socio-linguistic study of names (Ainiala 2016). Bramwell (2011:59) states that socio-onomastic researchers engage sociolinguistic techniques to investigate names in their communities and elucidate the problems they encounter. The use of sociolinguistic research methods might justify why the *socio* aspect of the field needs to be attached to the title. Ainiala (2016) further states that socio-onomastic researchers are interested in 'the social, cultural and situational field in which names are used.'

Socio-onomastics is a fairly new field of onomastics and according to Ainiala (2016), the term was first coined in German (*Sozioonomastik*) by Hans Walther (1971a). Kehl (1971) was one of the first early researchers to link sociolinguistics to onomastics in a study where he explored Chinese nicknaming behaviour from a sociolinguistic perspective. Van Langendonck (1982) started using the term 'socio-onomastic' and continued to use the approach consistently in

name studies. According to Lieberson (1984:77), during the naming process parents tended to observe orderly naming patterns influenced by societies which was to be expected because naming processes are not independent of the societies and contexts in which they exist. He therefore came up with what he called a 'framework' for viewing onomastics from the point of view of sociolinguistics. All these early researchers made a worthwhile connection between onomastics and sociolinguistics which led to socio-onomastics making its mark in linguistics. Van Langendonck (2007:306-307) notes that 'proper names are socially anchored linguistic signs and as such part and parcel of the linguistic inventory of a society.' He also concurs with the pioneer of sociolinguistics, William Labov, who argues that language can function only in a social context, so language without society is meaningless and vice versa. Language, or more specifically names, and society have to co-exist in order to function effectively as Lieberson (1984) has observed above. It is therefore critical that the study of names be linked to the societies within which they exist.

Socio-onomastics only emerged in the early 1970's so compared to other branches of onomastics it is still relatively new and there is limited existing research on it more especially in Africa and most specifically in Botswana. However, Neethling (2005:3) clearly labelled his approach as socio-onomastic as he was 'describing and interpreting Xhosa names and naming systems within a socio-cultural context.' Although the Botswana studies discussed in section 2.1 also have a socio-onomastic perspective they do not explicitly state its engagement, hence the need for this study to fill the gap. There is, however, hope that the field of socio-onomastics will continue to flourish as observed by Kostanski & Puzey (2016:xxiii) who state that '…it can be predicted that socio-onomastic and critical approaches to the field of name studies will continue to mature over the coming years.'

Van Langendonck (2007:307) points out that socio-onomastics offers special possibilities for sociolinguistic research that have been largely neglected by mainstream sociolinguists. It is stated that early onomastic studies from the late 20th century onwards concentrated on constructing a typological overview of nomenclature, the structure of names and of naming systems as well as name giving grounds being classified according to semantic criteria (Ainiala 2016). This indicates that the major connections between names and the culture of societies emerged much later on. Ainiala (2016) attests that research in onomastics has developed from the analysis of individual names towards the investigation of large entities.

The approach taken in this study is both to investigate individual names on a micro-level by analysing their semantics and grammatical categorisation and to broaden out to a macro-level by exploring their relationships with the societies they are found in. Ainiala (2016) highlights that reasons for name giving and the existence of popular and common names are regarded as part of socio-onomastics, and this inter-connectedness needs to be made clear. It is therefore the intention of this study to explore the semantics and grammatical belonging of names in Botswana and Scotland and to link these to the culture and traditions of the people through the socio-onomastic model.

It is indisputable that names exist in all societies of the world and onomasts maintain that there is no society yet studied where names are not used. However, the ways and processes of how names are bestowed and their significances will vary across cultures. Furthermore, culture is not stagnant, it evolves with time and this can also have an effect on names and their motivations. The aim of this study is to highlight the differences and/or similarities in the naming systems of the two countries to reveal how their distinct cultural practices influence their naming. As Bramwell (2016) has observed, the society or community in which names are being studied is as much an object of study as the names themselves. The expectation is that the study will reveal different naming patterns and motivations behind names as influenced by the different cultures. In addition to the culture and traditions of a society there are other social factors that influence naming. Ainiala (2016) has noted that the name giver's nationality, mother tongue, religion and social status play a significant role in influencing the choice and giving of a name. As a result, it is critical that all social factors be taken into consideration when exploring the relationships between names and the societies. All the factors might not necessarily be applicable for all societies of the world but they should not be neglected. Ainiala (2016) has observed that in European countries educated people prefer traditional names in their language while the less educated prefer popular and trendy names (Vandebosch 1998; Gerhards 2003; Aldrin 2011 cited in Ainiala 2016). These observations will differ from one society to the next and they need to be explored further.

Several studies in Europe and elsewhere have used socio-onomastics to explore both toponyms and anthroponyms. Kostanski (2011:9) investigated whether people in Victoria, Australia formed attachments to toponyms in the same way in which such attachments can be formed with places and she discovered that they did. Ainiala (2012) also applied socio-onomastics to the study of place names as she explored the use of names that are used to refer to Helsinki.

Burns (2015) carried out a socio-onomastic study of field names in Scotland and found that they are part of oral tradition as they are passed down through generations. Puzey (2016) used the theory to explore the use of English and Gaelic in signs found in Scotland. In Norway he examined the use or lack of use of the language Sámi in road signs although it is a legal requirement to use both Sámi and Norwegian. These studies revealed that there is a pronounced societal attachment to toponyms and linguistic landscapes which cannot be isolated from socio-onomastics.

Bramwell's (2011) study is closest to the current one in terms of the name type studied, the geographical location and the theory used. Bramwell carried out a comparative study on five indigenous and immigrant Scottish communities with different linguistic and social contexts. The aim of the study was to investigate how personal names in the five communities were influenced by cultural contact, social change and linguistic systems. The results revealed a significant shift in the naming practices of each community over time. The indigenous communities particularly showed a decline of kinship naming practices influenced by factors like globalization and social fashions. It was also found that although naming structures were common to all the communities, each of them had unique name features specific to their culture and traditions. Bramwell concluded that the study could give evidence on how names are used and considered in practical contexts. The current study is also a comparative, cross-cultural analysis of two societies in different countries with the aim to reveal the similarities and differences in their naming systems.

2.2.1 Socio-onomastics and Unusual Names

Naming, like culture, is not immune to the influence of technological advances and changing social structures. As Van Langendonck (2007:309) has observed, personal names as compared to other elements of language are flexible and easily adaptable, therefore they can act as indications of sociological changes as well as carrying a lot of sociolinguistic information. This is further emphasized by Ainiala (2016), who asserts that socio-onomastics recognizes variety in onomastics and also that names and naming systems are not static, constant or stable but are variable and changing.

This study terms names that are consciously or unconsciously given to achieve some kind of uniqueness or unusualness 'Unusual names' and explores them in Chapter 7. Their unusualness may be because of their semantics, morphology or phonology. Therefore, new emerging names

may differ from the conventional ones in meaning, structure and pronunciation. Their orthography may also be different. These names may also be those that have existed in the past and then have become obsolete over the years and are now re-emerging, so they may not necessarily be all new creations. Ainiala (2016) has observed that 'although parents usually try to find names for their children that are special or rare, their choices often turn out to follow some fashionable trend typical of the period in question.'

Changes in naming trends have been observed across many societies of the world (Gardner 1994, Rosenhouse 2002, Crook 2011, Bramwell in Lawson 2016). Crook (2011) and Bramwell (in Lawson 2016) have observed that during the 20th century, naming in the United Kingdom has become freer with the abandoning of systems which encouraged naming after relatives. Before this period there was a small stock of names because the same names were recycled without the introduction of new ones as children were mainly named after relatives. However, gradually new names have been emerging and the name stock increasing as Bramwell (in Lawson 2016) notes that the number of separate names bestowed on children has multiplied and there is less likelihood of a child being given a name that is in the top ten that year. This view is also indicated by the NRS (2017) which shows a significant increase in the names that are regarded as uncommon as they are recorded only once in a particular year.

Rosenhouse (2002) looked at names in Hebrew and Arabic, particularly exploring the older and more recent names for their morphology, phonology, syntax and semantic aspects to reveal how they have evolved over the years. She discovered that although traditional names were still frequent in both languages, there was a significant proportion of modern innovations in terms of lexical elements and patterns or structures being newly used as personal names. Gardner (1994) undertook a similar study in Sudan to reveal how significant changes in society had influenced names and the naming process in general. She found that names in Sudan have changed from emphasizing the value of Islamic tradition to expressing the hopes of the name givers. These changes are within the realm of socio-onomastics although the studies may not clearly indicate them as such.

2.2.2 An Overview of 'Unusual' names in Scotland

The following is an overview of observations made on personal names recorded as unique by the NRS in 2015 for the year 2014. This was the latest year whose records were available when this study started in 2015. The NRS (2015b) refers to these names as 'unique' while the current

study calls them 'Unusual'. Figure 2-1 below shows their proportions by gender, for selected years from 1975 to 2015.

Figure 2-1: Babies who had Unique First Forenames; Selected Years, Scotland

Year	Number of babies with unique first forenames		Percentage of all births	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1975	705	1,183	2.0	3.6
1985	850	1,471	2.5	4.5
1995	1,073	1,798	3.5	6.1
2000	1,180	1,840	4.3	7.1
2005	1,570	2,345	5.6	8.9
2010	2,002	2,817	6.7	9.7
2011	2,029	2,782	6.7	9.8
2012	2,108	2,900	7.1	10.2
2013	2,195	2,872	7.6	10.6
2014	2,102	2,894	7.2	10.5
2015	2,126	2,891	7.5	10.8

(NRS 2015b)

A striking observation made across all years is that the majority of unique names belonged to female subjects as compared to male ones. It is hypothesized that this is an indication that unusual formations are more prevalent with female than with male names.

Some of the names that are considered unusual have their origins in languages other than English. These languages include; Chinese-*Xu* 'to continue*',* Greek-*Xanthe* 'blonde haired'*,* Hebrew-*Zara* 'princess' as well as names of African origin like Xhosa-*Thandiwe* 'loved one' and Setswana-*Naledi* 'star'. The uniqueness of these names could be because people from these backgrounds are in the minority in Scotland as compared to people whose background is English and/or Scottish.

Several observations have been made in relation to the structures and orthographical representations of the unique names in the National Records of Scotland (2014) list. The names display a high level of compounding as compared to the conventional names and this is more prevalent in female names as compared to male ones. The following are different forms of compounding as displayed by the names.

2.2.2.1 Compounding of Words from the Same Language

Different words from the same language are combined to form a name; these words, however, may differ according to grammatical categories. For example, two nouns may be compounded as in *Willow-Eve and Willow-Grace.* Other combinations include *Tiger-Lilly, Tiger-Lily* and combinations with the name *Summer* which include *Summer-Blossom* and *Summer-Jade*. Some of the name compounds (*Willow-Grace, Summer-Blossom*) have lexical meaning and so we can hypothesize that they may have been chosen for their meaning.

2.2.2.2 Compounding of Names from Different Languages

Names from different languages are also combined to form new names. The most common example is with the combinations of the name *Zara* which has its origins in Hebrew, coined with elements from languages like English as in *Zara-Rose,* French: *Zara-Louise* or Celtic: *Zara-Leigh*. Other combinations are *Zoe-Louise* (Greek & French) and *Yeva-Maria* (Ukrainian & Latin/Hebrew). It would be interesting to establish the motivations behind the name combinations above to establish if the etymological meanings of the names played any role in their choices.

2.2.2.3 Compounding of Two Common Names

The compounding of two common names appears to be the commonest type of compounded names amongst both males and females. Female names like *Sophia*, *Olivia* and *Ruby* are attached to other very common names such as *Anne*, *Grace* and *Jane* to give names like *Grace-Jane*, *Sophie-Jane and Mary-Jane*. The same applies to common male names such as *David* and *Jack* which give names like *David-Jack*, *John-James*, *Thomas-John* and *Reuben-John*. The assumption is that this type of compounding is meant to make the names different and distinct despite using common names.

2.2.2.4 Different Spellings of the Same Name

Some of the names are made unusual by spelling them differently. This has been observed for both male and female names. These include female names like *Ruby* (*Rubie, Rubbie*), *Savannah* (*Savanah*), *Sofia* (*Sophia, Sophie, Sofiya*). The male names formed in this way are *Anthony* (*Antony*, *Antone*), *Bobbi* (*Bobby*), *Christopher* (*Christoper*). The names in brackets are recorded as the unusual versions of the original name.

2.2.2.5 Single Letter Names

Names that comprise only a single letter of the alphabet have been noted for boys only. Three such names have been identified with four subjects and they are: *A*, *R* and *T*. These names appear rather odd both structurally and semantically. There are six names that comprise two letters, *An, Io, Lu, Ma, Xu*, and *Ya*, all with female subjects. Furthermore, two names where a single letter has been attached to a regular name have been noted and both are male; *A-Jay* and *C-Jay*.

Some of the names discussed here will be further explored in Chapter 7. The names used in the analysis of Unusual names are from the NRS (2015) and not from the data gathered by the current study. The purpose of this section was to highlight the characteristics of what the NRS considers a unique name. In spite of all these attempts to come up with Unusual names, Ainiala (2016) asserts that the choice of a name is still guided by common factors of community values, the name giver's nationality, their mother tongue, religious convictions and sometimes their social status which means that the names might still have a more or less similar meaning, structure and motivation.

2.2.3 Unusual Names in Botswana

Apart from a study by Ramaeba & Mathangwane (2015) on names that they termed uncommon, there has not been much done on these types of names in Botswana. The study analysed the semantics and morphology of the current Setswana names and observed that in the last two decades a new cohort of names has emerged which indicates a shift from traditional Setswana names. They concluded that the names are unusual in terms of their morpho-syntactic structure and meaning. Furthermore, they observed that there is a movement from names that depict negative events or circumstances to positive ones. The current study will also explore these names in the two countries to reveal how their grammar and semantics have been influenced by the effects of cultural changes. The 2015 study analysed 163 name tokens of this type and the current study will analyse 225 name tokens. The names that will be discussed in this section will be from the data and so their semantic and grammatical categorization cannot be discussed here as with the Scotland names.

2.3 Polemical Names

Polemical names are given as indirect responses to someone or a situation that one finds oneself in, so they are usually controversial and critical in nature. Polemical names have previously

been studied mainly in connection with the naming of animals like dogs or cattle. The naming of animals, just like the naming of children in the African region, is not just for the purposes of identification. The names serve a much higher purpose of communication. Batoma (2009a:15) states that the naming of domestic animals can be a powerful verbal tool to address conflicts within communities. There is no available research material identified on these names in the European context.

Koopman (1992) looked at the socio-cultural aspects of Zulu ox and dog names and observed that like personal names they were used as communication tools especially with reference to suspected witchcraft of the neighbours. However, the dog names tended to be more polemical than the ox names. Tatira (2004) explored dog naming as a communication tool amongst the Shona people of Zimbabwe. He discovered that dog names derived from common sources such as wild animal names, popular events or names of car or airplane models were outnumbered by those given as a way of communicating with relatives or neighbours. He concluded that dog naming amongst the Shona is a silent dialogue characterised by accusations and counter-accusations used to avoid open confrontations between those involved (2004:97). Batoma (2009a) broadly analysed the use of dog names as communication tools in Africa and termed the phenomenon 'zoonymic communication'. He found that from a morphological-syntactic and semantic viewpoint dog names and personal names are similar; they only differ in relation to their use and the motivations behind their use (2009a:18). He examined how dog names can be used as an effective form of indirect communication and also highlighted the importance of proxemic space in the practical usage of the name. Nkolola-Wakumelo (2014) explored names of cattle and the cattle naming system of the Tonga people in Zambia. The study reveals that although there is communicative value placed on cattle names, they do not seem to be polemical like those of dogs.

Polemical names also exist in anthroponyms as indicated by Batoma (2009b) who explored these amongst the Kabre people of Northern Togo. He also looked at polemical dog names in the same study. He called these allusive names and found that the Kabre used them to communicate their feelings and opinions particularly in conflict-laden situations although he concluded that they were prevalent with dog names rather than with anthroponyms (2009b:215). The current study will explore polemical names further in the data. The names will be discussed across the various semantic categories where they are observed and will always be highlighted as polemical. The assumption is that these names will exist in the

different semantic categories of the data. These names have not been identified in the Scotland data so the main focus will be on the Botswana data.

2.4 Names and Nouns: A Grammatical Perspective

Although from a grammatical point of view a thin line exists between proper names and common nouns, Nyström (1996:229), notes that names have always been regarded as 'very special linguistic units' in several respects. As Ainiala (1996:43) states, names are by nature identifiers, 'thus they have the special semantic content which distinguishes them from names of similarly classed objects.' The fuzzy distinction between names and nouns stems from the fact that proper nouns can derive from common nouns, and further that there are appellatives (common nouns) that can function as proper nouns and proper nouns (proprial lemmas) that can function as common nouns depending on the context. Many debates over the years have tried to justify their similarities and/or differences. Summerell (1995:368-371) traces the arguments of early philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, through the middle ages up to those of Bertrand Russell and Saul Kripke in the 20th century, and concludes that it was only in the medieval period that proper names began to be viewed as independent and distinct from other nouns. Moreno & Stalmaszczyk (2016:9) concur that the debates on the philosophy of proper names go back to the era of Plato but consider that the most significant debates are those of Mill, Frege and Russell even though they raised various conflicting interpretations.

Traditionally, names belong to a subcategory of nouns because of their morphological structures and syntactic behaviours. Anderson (2007:16) says that this has always been the case in the whole history of European grammatical studies with the exception of the later Stoics who may have treated the two independently. Anderson (2007:17) cites Jespersen (1924:69) and Pulgram (1954:42) who both assert that linguistically it is impossible to draw a clear demarcation line between proper names and common nouns. According to Van Langendonck (2007:19), there have been various reactions to the view that there is no essential difference between proper names and common nouns or that there is only a gradual difference between them (citing Jespersen 1924, Fleischer 1964 and Koss 1995). Although Van Langendonck (2007) agrees that proper names are nouns, he believes that the two can be independent of each other if they are clearly distinguished through their morpho-syntactic structures. He argues that whether a word is a common or a proper noun will depend entirely on its use in context and the syntactic functions it performs. The assumption is that this lack of boundary between proper names and common nouns that exists in English also cuts across many languages of the world.

Nyström (1996:232) illustrates this idea in Swedish, that the distinction between a proper or a common noun is often dependent on how the user accesses its semantic properties at the time of use. Coates (2006:356) further argues that the idea of properhood (proper noun) is best understood as pragmatic rather than grammatical or structural, and that lexical elements that are characterized as proper names are simply expressions that are never used with any of their apparent senses or entailments. Coates (2006) declares that names are expressions that exist in the onomasticon and not the lexicon, a view which is also held by Nyström (1996).

Anderson (2007:15) posits that many early studies that were concerned with the semantics and pragmatics of proper names, especially personal names, have maintained that they are independent of other nouns as they are distinct and semantically unique. They are considered so because they identify or denote individual people or objects such as *John* or *Botswana* whereas common nouns identify objects of which there is a class or a collection like *woman* or *cow*. Kripke (1972:269 in Van Langendonck 2007:33-34) states that a proper name is a rigid designator because it identifies the same object across different contexts. He asserts that a proper name does not use any descriptions, and maintains that for a proper name to function effectively it is assigned a specific referent and that information is circulated amongst users. Mill (1919) as cited by Anderson (2007:15) also maintains that names differ from nouns and adjectives because they are 'non-connotative'; they carry no connoting attributes. The same is held by Wittgenstein (1922:3.203 in Van Langendonck 2007:30), who states that 'the name means the object, that the object is its meaning' which according to Van Langendonck (2007:30) is a different way of saying that proper names do nothing else but merely denote. However, years later, Wittgenstein (1953 in Van Langendonck 2007:30) rejects this view when he argues that the meaning of a proper name is constituted not by the referent but by the descriptions one can provide of the thing named. This view is later refuted by Searle (1958 in Van Langendonck 2007:30) who argues that identifying descriptions are assigned to the name bearers and not the name itself so they cannot form part of the meaning of the name. Van Langendonck (2007:17) concludes that proper names are nouns because semantically they designate and denote 'things' which is characteristic of all nouns so they cannot be detached from this function. However, he states that 'it is not clear whether a proper name should be regarded as a noun, i.e. a word, or as a noun phrase, i.e. a syntagm' (2007:17). This study hypothesizes that names can exist in different forms: individual nouns, compounds, phrases and clauses, so it wishes to address this issue raised by Van Langendonck.

2.5 Approaches to the Study of Names

Early philosophers of language came up with several theories on the semantics of names and the most prominent were the reference, descriptive and the causal theories of names. One of the reference theories, traditionally referred to as Mill's 'meaningless thesis', came into prominence through John Stuart Mill (Van Langendonck 2007:25). Mill regards a name as any referring word but not specifically as a proper noun and for him names are mainly denotative labels used to identify people and do not carry any other meaning, hence the description 'meaningless thesis.' He argues that names do not carry any kind of description so they have an extension and not an intension (Van Langendonck 2007:25). However, he made a distinction between names and common nouns when he observed that all concrete common nouns (*man*, *shop*) are connotative because they denote an indefinite number of entities belonging to such a class, but proper nouns (*John*, *Botswana*) are singular and individualistic and they denote a specific thing under any context. However, Coates (2006:360) questions this individuality because he argues that the same name (*John*) may apply to more than one individual and queries how that is specific, and therefore dismisses the idea that to be proper is synonymous with denoting uniquely. Mill's thesis was lacking in terms of how it worked semantically as it posited that names are void of any kind of lexical meaning, an issue raised by De Pater and Swiggers (2000 in Van Langendonck 2007:25). Mill's thesis that names are semantically empty is questionable, especially with reference to African names which are largely meaningful, and it is often their meaning that determines if the name is gender neutral or specific. The meaning also plays a role in the derivation, selection and use of a name as will be discussed later in this chapter.

De Pater & Swiggers (2000 in Van Langendonck 2007:25) questioned Mill's thesis on its ability to refer without a conventional lexical meaning. They explored Mill's thesis further and came to the conclusion that it worked at two levels; direct knowledge by sensory experience (acquaintance) where we connect an idea to a person or object and use it effectively as such. The other level is that of knowledge by description or indirect knowledge which we use with names of people or objects we have never met or seen and only know through descriptions: for example, Nelson Mandela. Many have never met the late South African anti-apartheid leader and yet use his name effectively to link ideas and thoughts to him. This second observation concurs with one made by Bertrand Russell (1967 in Van Langendonck 2007:29) on the Descriptivist theory where he argues that a name is a label or summary of knowledge about its referent and so it is a way of referring to one or more definite descriptions. Furthermore,

Gottlob Frege (in Van Langendonck 2007:27) also maintains that in order to refer with a proper name more information is required in the form of a description. According to Van Langendonck (2007:27), Frege defines meaning at the levels of sense (*Sinn*) and reference (*Bedeutung*) and reveals that there is a distinction between the two. He explains reference as the entity or person identified and sense as the description that identifies it, although he admits that there may be variations because different descriptions which are semantically independent of each other may have the same referent. This input by Frege helped to address issues such as those of 'the morning star and the evening star' (same referent but different sense) which reference theories had failed to address. In this way then it is difficult to equate the sense (*Sinn*) of a description to the meaning of the name because each description has its own meaning. Furthermore, Coates (2006:360) raises another issue that 'Robert is as many names as there are Roberts' which means that each will have its own set of descriptions, and he concludes that the set used at a particular time is the result of relevance and context which further complicates the issue of sense.

Ludwig Wittgenstein was another philosopher who had initially held the same view as Mill, that proper names merely denote. He, however, later on shifted to the Descriptivist perspective that the meaning of a thing is made up of its descriptions. According to Van Langendonck (2007:30), John Searle (1958,1969:162-174,1971) is a recent Descriptivist theorist who refuted and refined the ideas of Mill, Frege, Russell and Wittgenstein. He asserts that proper names are not definite or identifying descriptions so they do not have definitions. His central argument, is that descriptions are assigned to name bearers and not the name itself, because if the latter were the case the meanings of names would change whenever anything changed in its bearer. This is a fair argument because in many societies individuals acquire their names very early in life before they acquire many descriptions that can be linked to the name. He therefore concludes that different people cannot have the same specific description about a particular name as these are likely to vary from individual to individual, hence likening proper names to pegs on which descriptions are hung. According to Van Langendonck (2007:30), Searle identifies and differentiates between two qualities of names; the referring function and the describing function. He asserts that these two cannot be separated because for a referent to qualify as Aristotle (for example), the referent must satisfy some of the descriptions ascribed to Aristotle. The problem with the Descriptivist theory is that the semantic value of a single name will differ from context to context depending on the cluster of descriptions used at the time. As a result, the Descriptivist theory still does not address the lexical meaning of a name.

Moreno & Stalmaszczyk (2016:13) posit that although Kripke did not aim to come up with an alternative theory to Descriptivist theory, his Causal theory, also known as Kripke's theory of reference, became prominent as a response to Descriptivism. In its basic form the Causal theory posits that names are labels that are either borrowed or socially inherited. Although Kripke's approach is similar to Mill's (that a name is mainly referential), his concern is in describing how reference works. According to Reimer & Michaelson (2017), the Causal theory works at the two levels of reference fixing and reference borrowing. They state that reference fixing happens at the initial name giving and reference borrowing is when the name is used effectively later on in chains of communication regardless of whether the users are familiar with the name bearer or not. This concurs with Mill's view that for a name to function effectively it has to be assigned a referent as well as being passed on to other users through a chain of communicative exchanges. Kripke's main contention with the Descriptivist theory is that to have access to the thing named one does not need any descriptive labels, so he basically dismisses the descriptive function of the name as playing no role in the use of a proper name. Donnellan (1972:364 in Van Langendonck 2007:33) shares the same views, questioning whether it is necessary for a name user to be able to identify by description or denotatively what a name refers to. It is against this background that Kripke came up with the concept that a proper name is 'a rigid designator' because it will always designate the same object across different contexts.

This study finds the Causal theory and all the other theories lacking in addressing the semantic content of a name as they focus on their denotative and descriptive behaviours only. Evans & Altham (1973:191-192) argue that the Causal theory ignores the contextual background of name giving and concentrates on the causal origin of the name which they say is insignificant in name use. One might also argue that the semantic content of a name is irrelevant for identification purposes, however, this study hypothesizes that in Botswana a name is mainly chosen for the meaning that it communicates so it should be appreciated for both purposes of communicating a message and identifying its bearer. As Kostanski & Puzey (2016:xiii) put it, '…names are not only symbols of their referents but also manifestations of cultural, linguistic and social heritage in their own right.' The Causal theory is appreciated for making the significant connection between the naming process and the society within which names exist. This study engages relevant parts of the theories discussed above to reveal the existence and importance of lexical meaning in personal names. The existence of meaning and/or the lack thereof in a name raises the idea of prototypicality in names which is discussed in the next section.

2.5.1 Prototype Theory

Human beings have the cognitive ability to classify all kinds of objects in their surroundings and to create new categories for new inventions; they have a categorization system which helps to organize the world around them. The same categorization process is applied to linguistic elements. As Bybee & Moder (1983:267) have observed, 'speakers of a natural language form categorizations of linguistic objects in the same way that they form categorizations of natural and cultural objects.' These classification processes gave birth to different categorization theories over the years, also known as concept theories. The theory that gained most prominence is the classical approach to categorization. According to Taylor (2003:20), this approach dominated the fields of psychology, philosophy and linguistics before and throughout the 20th century. The classical theory categorized the world using necessary and sufficient conditions or features; these are qualities that an entity needed to possess in order to belong to a certain category. The features are binary; either a concept possesses them or it does not, which therefore disqualifies it from category membership. Classical theories regarded all members of a category as equally representative and there were no members that were regarded as more central than others.

The classical theory of categorization had its shortcomings and Taylor (2003:42) notes that the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein was one of the first people to observe some of these through his famous example of 'games and 'family resemblances.' Wittgenstein was of the view that the presence or absence of common features could not be the determining factors for categorization. He argued that the category of games has various members which may or may not share common features and some members have nothing in common with others but they are still games regardless. Lakoff (1987:16) summarises Wittgenstein's argument that games are like family members, because they are united by family resemblances; family members may share the same facial features, hair colour or temperament but there is no need for a single collection of features to be shared by everyone in order to belong to the family. It is against this backdrop that Taylor (2003:42) surmises that 'contrary to the expectations of the classical theory, the category is not structured in terms of a set of a shared criterial features, but rather by a crisscrossing network of similarities.' Another limitation of classical categorization is that it is not clear how the necessary features that an object needed to possess to determine its category membership were chosen over others. Taylor (2003:43) further states that

categorization theories had not considered the possibility that some members may be better examples of a category while others may be marginal examples.

Categorization by prototype, commonly known as prototype theory, emerged as a reaction to classical categorization. Prototype theory emerged in the 1970's, instigated by the psychologist Eleanor Rosch, and was influenced by Wittgenstein's observations on the definition of the word 'game' (Taylor 2003:42-43). The central argument of prototype theory is that some members of a category are better examples of the category than others. Taylor (2003:48) summarizes Rosch's theory of prototypicality into what he calls the two axes of categorization; the horizontal axis represents superordinate categories that are independent of the other categories at that level while the vertical axis represents subordinate forms which represent individual objects. According to Taylor (2003:50), the basic level of categorization is regarded as cognitively and linguistically more salient than the others because it is at this level where people normally conceptualize and name things. In Taylor's example, the categorization level starts from the highest form (artefact) through the superordinate form (furniture) and the basic form (chair) to the lowest (kitchen chair) form as illustrated here: artefact → furniture → chair → kitchen chair. A chair will be a prototype of the furniture category, rather than a dresser or telephone. Members of the basic level share a maximum number of attributes with each other and share fewer characteristics with members of other categories.

The theory of cognitive semantics became popular following Rosch's (1973) experiment on the domain of colour which illustrated that within a category there are elements that are more central or better examples of the set than others. She states that 'it is apparent from natural language terminology that there are colours which are considered ''better'' members of particular colour categories than other colours' (1973:329). Salient colours are perceived as better examples of colours than non-salient colours and this is why some shades of red would be regarded as 'better' examples of red than others. Rosch (1973:330) further argues that when category names are learned they tend to become attached first to the salient stimuli and only later generalize to others. The assumption is that this learning of categories is applicable to all stimuli, both concrete and linguistic. Taylor (2003:56) argues that another reason why some members of a category acquire prototypical status more easily than others is because individuals encounter them more often than others. However, he emphasizes that the issue is not necessarily how often people encounter such members but how often they encounter them categorized as such. For example, people encounter tables and chairs categorized as furniture

more often than they encounter mirrors and clocks categorized as such, so the former has an advantage in being prototypically representative of the category furniture.

Prototypicality is a standard phenomenon across languages and cultures although prototypes themselves vary. Different cultures might have varying prototypical objects for the same categories because individuals are more likely to give examples of objects that exist in their culture than those which do not (Taylor 2003:57). For instance, a typical public mode of transport for the British might be the subway while for the Batswana it will be a bus because the subway does not exist in their environment. Prototypes may even differ for gender and age. For example, a dress would be a prototypical example of a piece of clothing for older women but that might not be the case for men and youth in general.

2.5.1.1 Lexical Meaning and Names
The presence or absence of meaning in personal names and whether they do much more than identify their bearers has been a contentious issue for many years across societies. As previously mentioned, the general conclusions about African names having meaning and European names having none have been imprecise. Also, none of the studies has been specific to Botswana and Scotland so this study is trying to fill this gap. The current study is premised on the hypothesis that personal names in Botswana and Scotland are different in relation to meaning. It is against this argument that the study engages prototype theory to address the idea of the overall semantic and grammatical profiles of names in the two countries.

Personal names, like other linguistic elements, can be categorized and analysed using prototype theory. Nyström (1996) has observed with Swedish names that some names are more prototypical than others. Nyström (1996:232) notes that in Swedish, prototypical names lack lexical meanings, cannot be translated and only exist in the onomasticon. He gives an example of the Swedish names *Lena* and *Staffa* whose main function is to identify and which have no associations to the lexicon, and thus are not descriptive. Nicolaisen (2011:156) also insists that 'name studies of all kinds must heed the realization that names are part of the onomasticon rather than of the lexicon.' He, however, does not say whether this is with reference to lexically transparent or lexically non-transparent names or both. Nyström (1996:232) further argues that names that are less prototypical have lexical meanings and/or equivalents in other languages and they exist in both the lexicon and the onomasticon. He gives an example of the Swedish name *Björn* whose lexical equivalent is *bear* in English although this does not imply that the

English equivalent also exists as a name. This theory posits that even if a name is common, that does not make it prototypical.

This study extends Nyström's observation on prototypicality to personal names in Botswana and Scotland, with an emphasis on prototypical types of names rather than on individual names. Previous researchers have argued that many English names do not have a readily available meaning (deKlerk & Lagonikos 1995, Hanks et al 2006, Zuercher 2007), and this means that they are part of the onomasticon and not the lexicon. According to Hanks et al (2006:xii), English names and those from most Western European languages are rarely chosen for their meanings as these are usually opaque even if their etymology can be traced. They assert that the meanings of these names do not exist in modern day English although they can be found in ancient languages that are no longer spoken but only studied by specialists. This means that the semantic meaning of most English names is not accessible to the ordinary name giver and user. In view of the above studies we can hypothesize that prototypical English names are like Swedish ones which lack lexical meanings and cannot be translated into other languages. For example, the English name *Elliot* does not have a readily available lexical meaning and cannot be translated into any other language. As a result, in English, such names would be considered 'better' examples of the category than names that are lexically transparent or meaningful. Prototypes may vary across languages and cultures, as Taylor (2003:45) says, 'prototypes contain a richness of sometimes culturally bound detail….' The choice of a prototype is closely linked to the traditions of a society and because these differ across cultures and languages it is understandable that prototypes for the corresponding linguistic categories will differ as well. For instance, most people in Africa will regard football as a good example of a sport whereas in India the same category may have cricket as the best example. Similarly, a prototypical African name would vary from a prototypical European name. According to Neethling (2005:9), 'names in a western context are often considered ''meaningless'', or do not appear to represent obvious lexical meaning.' He, however, emphasises that this is not true for all names in a western context, but most give that impression. He further states that, 'names in an African context are furthermore usually ''meaningful'' without fail' (2005:11). Other studies (Akinnaso 1980, Mathangwane and Gardner 1999, Guerini 2005) have also observed that the majority of African names (including Setswana) have lexically transparent meanings and can be easily translated into other languages as words.

Akinnaso (1980) examined the sociocultural basis and linguistic content of Yoruba (Nigeria) personal names and stated that they reveal one's experiences, thoughts, values and knowledge of the real world (1980:277). He advanced that Yoruba names have elaborate linguistic structures, rich semantic content and are heavily influenced by the culture of the people. This can be said for most African names as he further asserts that, 'if we want to know that personal names can mean and have complex linguistic forms, we have to turn to Africa' (1980:276). He, however, states that he does not imply that the encoding of sociocultural information in names is unique to Africa. Guerini (2005) looked at the semantic and functional perspectives of Akan names in Ghana and concluded that the names have meaning because they reflect the values and beliefs of the society and also that their morphological structures range from a single stem to complex ones whose structures reflect full sentences. Apart from African languages there are other languages as well which have very communicative names, such as the Asian Azerbaijan. According to Zuercher (2007:87), Azerbaijan names carry transparent lexical meanings because for many of the names there is a corresponding cognate word in the lexicon of the language. The names usually express the character traits of the child and the aspirations of the namer for the child. The name givers also express their joy at the child's birth or communicate their religious affiliations. The naming system is also seen to reinforce unbalanced cultural stereotypes that are unfavourable to women; men are viewed as agents and women as objects.

Mathangwane and Gardner (1999) explored attitudes to English and African names in Botswana (section 2.1) and maintained that African personal names reflect the cultural values and traditions of their society. They cite de Klerk and Bosch (1996) who assert that unlike their European counterparts the names are mainly chosen for the message they convey. Therefore, most Setswana names in the onomasticon will correspond to lexical items in the lexicon, unlike Scottish and Swedish names which only exist in the onomasticon. This study hypothesizes that typical overall profiles of Setswana names are those with lexically transparent meanings which are also translatable, whereas non-typical ones will be those with opaque meanings which are untranslatable. For example, in Setswana a name like *Mpho* 'gift' will be typical of the profile because of its accessible meaning, whereas in Scotland a name like *John* will be typical of the Scottish name profile due to its lack of an accessible meaning. However, when Setswana names are used in context they basically function as labels for identification like their Scottish counterparts and their semantic content does not perform any significant function.

Although some prototype categories may have clear-cut boundaries of what is prototypical or not, others have fuzzy, unclear borders. Taylor (2003:69) notes that colour categories like red and some categories of artefacts such as cup and vase illustrate this fuzziness. For example, a light red might not be a good example of red like a blood red but it is still a red, or a cup with a broken handle might not be a good example of the category but it still belongs there regardless. The same can be said for personal names, that some will be perfect fits for their categories while some will be marginal fits. The Setswana name *Tshedifatso* 'to bring light' has a less transparent meaning because of its unique structure. The name is derived from the verb *sedifatsa-* 'bring light' and suffixed with the formative (-o) instead of the normal (-a), which is not a common name formation strategy in Setswana. As a result, the meaning of the name might not be easily deduced although it is a Setswana name. Similarly, Scotland has names such as *Pearl* or *Rose* whose meanings are easily decipherable and as such are regarded as less prototypical, but this does not disqualify them as Scottish names. These names might not be perfect fits for their categories but they are accepted as marginal representations. This study is premised on Taylor's observation that not being a perfect fit does not disqualify an entity from belonging, so in revealing the basic overall profile of a personal name in Botswana and Scotland with regards to meaning and structure, the study will also acknowledge and highlight those names that are not perfect fits of the overall profiles of each country. This is because they are still part of the name-stock of these countries and may reflect how the names have evolved over time. This study hypothesizes that Scottish and Setswana personal names exist at contrasting ends of the spectrum in relation to their typical overall profiles in terms of meaning and structure, so the aim is to use this theory to further explore the names and possibly reveal further interesting name patterns between the two languages.

2.5.1.2 Semantic Categorization

This study aims to reveal the overall profile of semantic categories of names in the two countries. In order for this to be achieved, the names have to be categorised into relevant semantic categories drawing on semantic field theory. Semantic fields help to define the meanings of words through their associations with other words because the theory categorizes words into meaning related sets. According to Gao & Xu (2013:2030), the idea of semantic field theory can be traced to structural linguists such as Ispen, Jolls and Porzi; however, it was Jost Trier's (1934) model that became prominent and widely accepted. The central argument of semantic field theory is that words in each language are related and structured just as the grammar and phonology of the language are, so words are grouped according to their common

semantic concepts. Gao & Xu (2013:2030) describe a semantic field as 'a group of words that interact, dominate, distinguish and depend on each other.' Furthermore, Palmer (1976:69) states that although the words are semantically related, they are in most cases incompatible which means that they are not interchangeable in context. Although Palmer (1976:70) argues that items in a field are 'unordered', which means that some members cannot be regarded as better examples of a category than others, Rosch (1973) and Taylor (2003:56) disagree and assert that some can be better examples of a category than others. They, however, acknowledge that the demarcation lines between semantic categories are not always clear and this may result in overlaps because of the fuzzy meanings.

Although there are established semantic category models from previous studies like Trier's, the current study will use both an established model and also develop its own model which will be influenced by the data. This is to enable all the names in the data to be categorized accordingly without being restricted by the existing semantic category models. The study will use an existing semantic categorization model for lexically non-transparent names and develop its unique model for lexically transparent names. Lexically non-transparent names will therefore be categorized into three already established categories and two new ones that emerge from the data. The five categories are biblical, classical tradition, Germanic and Celtic tradition, names from other languages and names from other names.

2.5.1.3 Grammatical Categorization

The names will also be categorized into grammatical classes; nouns, verbs and higher level syntactic structures like phrases and clauses. The aim is to determine the overall profile of grammatical categories of names in the two countries using the prototype model. Taylor (2003:220) asserts that prototypicality is not just restricted to semantic categories but it embraces grammatical classes as well. He states that 'grammatical categories have a prototype structure, with central members sharing a range of both syntactic and semantic attributes.' Grammatical classes or parts of speech are categories that words are assigned to because of their syntactic behaviour. Taylor (2003:208) analyses the dictionary definition of a noun and concludes that it can be defined at two levels; semantically as well as syntactically. It is believed that all other word classes can be defined at these two levels. When used independently the definitions are lacking and insufficient as Taylor (2003:208) questions Robins's (1964:228f. in Taylor) view that 'extra-linguistic' criteria like meaning must play no role in the assignment of words to word classes.' This study hypothesizes that names can exist

in the form of syntactic structures like compounds, phrases and even clauses which are above the word class category. Hough (2016) draws on the prototype theory to explore the relationship between names and grammar using diachronic and synchronic evidence. She observes that there is a significant variation to grammatical categories that make up the onomasticon, both within and across language. She concluded that a name that fits its prototypical grammatical structure for its category is more likely to survive than one that has a fuzzy belonging. She states that 'a name with an atypical structure may be more likely to disappear over time than one that fits a familiar pattern, and this could help to explain the high level of attrition for certain types of names' (2016:6).

2.6 The Derivation, Choice and Use of a Personal Name

This study explores factors that influence the derivation, choice and use of personal names in Botswana and Scotland. These have been explored across different languages and cultures by previous studies (Nyström 1996, Coates 2006, Zuercher 2007, Ogunwale 2012 and Makondo 2013). The lexicon and the onomasticon exist mutually in the same space which means that some appellatives can function as names and vice versa. The speakers' ability to use a lexical element as an appellative or a name appropriately is informed by their semantic and contextual understandings which enable them to link the lexical element to the appropriate object. This idea is raised by Russell (1940) cited by Coates (2007:360), who states that for a name to uniquely apply to an individual, its interpretation has to be context based. According to Nyström (1996:231), a name is primarily an identifier but if it is lexically transparent then its lexical qualities might also be used. However, it is not clear whether a lexically transparent name is primarily an identifier or a descriptor.

It has been argued that names in the UK do not have a readily available meaning (section 2.5.1.1) and Hanks et al (2006:xii) also state that this is the case with names in most languages of Western Europe. As a result, they might be arbitrarily chosen as compared to their African counterparts whose choices are determined by several factors. Setswana names and names in the UK have different derivational influences. The common derivational factor between Setswana names and those in the UK is that of religion, particularly Christianity (Gardner 1999, Hanks et al 2006). Both cultures have names that derive from the bible which might indicate that religion plays a significant role in the lives of the people in the two countries. Hanks et al (2006) state that religious names in the UK particularly derive from those of saints and from

Celtic tradition. They also derive from Classical tradition and from other languages. These names are assumed to be very prototypical of names in most European languages as they only exist in the onomasticon.

The derivation of African names is different because it is more context based. African names, as previous studies have established (section 2.1), derive from the circumstances of the pregnancy or birth, social circumstances of the family or community as well as the hopes of the parents for the child. For example, if the parents hope for the child to be a doctor they can name him *Ngaka* 'doctor', or if they were going through any kind of personal difficulties during the pregnancy or birth the child can be named *Mathata* 'problems/difficulties.' It is hypothesized that these names are, therefore, typical of Setswana names and not of Scottish names because they have an accessible lexical meaning. When such a name is used to identify an individual in everyday scenarios, users are not really interested in accessing the semantic meaning of the name, just as users of a lexically non-transparent name like *John* have no interest in its meaning when they use it in context. The meaning of the name *John* can be traced to its Latin and Hebrew forms in the New Testament which meant 'God is gracious.' Although the meanings of some European names can be traced back through time, they are not easily accessible. Furthermore, it is hypothesised that whether a name has an accessible meaning or not this is of less significance to the users, but probably more significant to the name givers.

Another debatable issue on names is the factors that influence their choice: whether they are chosen for their meaning, sound or orthographic appearance. The underlying issue of the choice of a name cannot be divorced from its derivation because the two are culturally intertwined. The society that one lives in influences the type of name that one is likely choose. Hanks et al (2006:xii), have observed that people in Western Europe rarely choose names for their meanings as these are usually opaque, so their choices are mainly on ornamental grounds such as the sound of the name or personal reasons such as honouring someone in their life. The names can also be influenced by fashion; using names that are popular in books or films of the time. However, in instances where names have lexical meanings such as names that derive from precious stones like *Ruby* or flowers like *Daisy*, the possibility is that the name may be chosen more for its meaning than for its sound or for both. As the majority of African names are lexically transparent it can be deduced that they are most likely chosen for their communicative properties. Africans use names to communicate over a wide variety of issues so the assumption is that the names will mostly have a message to pass on. We can therefore

assume that the choice of an African name is determined by what the name giver wants to express with it; appreciation to God for a child received, *Kealeboga* 'I thank you (God)', personal circumstances, *Mathata* 'problems' or aspirations and desires for the child, *Morutegi* 'an educated person.' Although it is generally assumed that African names are chosen for their communicative value, it does not mean that other motivations for name choices like namesakes are non-existent in the African contexts. As will become clear from later chapters, many names have more than one motivation.

The main function of a name is to identify, and to perform this function it does not need to carry any semantic content, but this is not always as straightforward as it seems. This is because more often than not, names carry lexical meanings which mean that they can also function as descriptive lexemes. Generally, speakers of a language would know when a name is used as an identifier and when it is used as a lexical item, so there is rarely any confusion between the two uses. As Ainiala (1996:47) has pointed out, a proper name never occurs in isolation, it always occurs in a certain context so it is the context that will inform the users whether or not an expression is a proper name. The assumption is that the context refers to both the syntactic and the semantic environment. A term such as *pula* 'rain' will function as a descriptive lexical item as in *The rain (pula) is heavy today* and as an identifier as in *Pula is my brother*. When used as an ordinary lexeme, the word will take a qualifying article like *the, a* or *an* but as an identifier it does not need to. Nyström (1996:234) states that the descriptive element of a lexically transparent name becomes less important when users become familiar with the name and the name bearer as the name becomes more of an identifier than a descriptor.

In view of prototype theory, we can conclude that types of names that are more prototypical are the ones that are clearly denotative as compared to those which are less prototypical. We can further argue that types of names which are largely prototypical are solely mono-referential and they carry no lexical meanings and those that are less prototypical are both referential and descriptive as they carry both qualities. The types of names that are less prototypical will always bring an immediate linguistic connection to the minds of the users but as users gradually become used to the name as an identifier, its semantic properties become less apparent and as such will rarely interfere with its referential properties. The word *pula* 'rain' might not be a typical name but it can function successfully as a name when all associations are linked to the person and not to the rain itself.

This chapter has given an overview of previous onomastic research in the two countries in an attempt to situate the current study and highlight the gaps that it intends to address. It has also discussed the different theoretical frameworks that the study engages.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The relationship between names, cultures and languages of societies cannot be over emphasized as illustrated by the review of the literature. Furthermore, the relationship between names and identity cannot be overlooked because the basic function of a name is to identify a referent. As Aldrin (2016) has noted, the approach of name studies from the angle of identity has become very popular yet it has not been fully exploited. This study investigates personal names at two levels; it endeavours to analyse the grammar and semantics of individual names, and also to explore the relationships between names and the societies in which they exist. Bramwell (2016) notes that names cannot be discussed in anthropological terms without taking the people who use them into consideration, so the society within which names are used is as much a part of the study as the names themselves. Van Langendonck (1982:56) states that 'the sociolinguistic relevance of onomastics rests on the property that it reflects the social structures in a direct and true way.' This study is rooted in the discipline of socio-onomastics which according to Burns (2015:57) was used by previous scholars to situate names within the social context in which they are used.

This is a comparative study between two societies with different languages and cultures; therefore, it fits within the realm of socio-onomastics. Although the study deals with names within the cultures of Botswana and Scotland independently, it also addresses more complex theoretical issues by comparing the names in the two countries. This cross-cultural study is an appropriate development in socio-onomastic studies as Ainiala (2016) asserts that name variation is the core concern in socio-onomastics, and this relates to variation within languages and cultures as well as across different languages and cultures. As Bramwell (2011:60) has observed, socio-onomastics as a relatively new theory is flexible in terms of its methodologies because researchers are still trying to establish what works and what does not work with it. It is also against this background that this discipline was found most appropriate for this study as it combines several data gathering methodologies.

This study needs both quantitative and qualitative data to answer its research questions so the methods of data collection employed in the study are tailored such that they gather both types of data. The quantitative analysis will reveal the proportions of the names in terms of; the knowledge of their meanings, their lexical transparency and grammatical categories. The

qualitative analysis will answer the questions on the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming in the two countries. In order to get these different kinds of data the study engages different methods of data collection namely, existing records of names, an online questionnaire and a paper questionnaire which at one stage is responded to in the form of an oral interview. The questionnaire is responded to as an oral interview when it involves respondents who cannot write or prefer not to write for different reasons. Socio-onomastics allows for all these different data gathering techniques to be employed in one study.

The study is concerned with how the cultures and traditions of the Botswana and Scottish societies influence names and name giving as well as how they differ and/or correspond. Qualitative research methods are generally descriptive as they investigate processes and interpret their meanings using words (Cresswell 1994:145), and this study achieves this through the use of an open-ended questionnaire which allows respondents to use their own words. The study is also investigative as it requires information that will make sense of and explain naming in the two countries which was considered intimate and personal by some respondents, and as a result some were not very forthcoming with the information. It was therefore critical to establish a rapport with some of the respondents and assure them about the safety and confidential status of the data they gave. According to Bramwell (2011:68), ethnographic fieldwork is an important part of qualitative research and its main advantage is that it gives good quality data. In instances where the researcher had no physical contact with the respondent, as with the online survey, ethical considerations for the study were clearly highlighted to assure the respondents of confidentiality.

3.2 Data Instruments

The study used two primary data collection instruments, namely existing records and a questionnaire. It used data from the NRS, which provides all the names of children born in Scotland from 1974 to the present day, and a questionnaire whose aim was to collect names and also address their socio-linguistic aspects. The NRS provided the data for the Unusual names and such data is not readily available in Botswana so it had to be solicited through a questionnaire. Although school, birth and university records might have been used to get name tokens, these are documents that are not readily available in the public space and obtaining them is usually a difficult process with much red tape and hence the decision to use questionnaires. The Botswana data was collected through a similar questionnaire to the Scotland one. In Botswana the questionnaire was at times filled in as though it was an oral

interview which helped to incorporate another type of research method. Although this method resulted in the process taking longer than anticipated, it produced high quality data as compared to when the respondents did the writing themselves. The use of various data gathering techniques in a single study is essential because it helps to achieve a kind of triangulation which minimises bias and helps to extend the scope of the study (Green et al in Creswell 1994:175). Triangulation also enables studies to be multi-faceted and interdisciplinary.

3.2.1 The Questionnaire

Questionnaires, like all other data collection instruments have advantages and disadvantages so their success rate will differ from study to study. The main advantage of a questionnaire (online and hard copy) is that it is an efficient way of collecting data in terms of its preparation logistics, distribution and the time involved to administer it. It also enables one to access many respondents at the same time. Furthermore, a questionnaire is practical and easy to use for both the researcher and the respondent. The researcher has the freedom to construct the questions the best way they see fit (open or close ended) to successfully answer their research questions. Also, the questionnaire format facilitates comparative analysis of the data. The questionnaire also has several disadvantages, the most common being that there is often no interaction between the researcher and the respondent so the questionnaire attempt becomes an impersonal process which may not yield the desired outcomes. This may result in the respondents not being truthful in their responses or not answering all the questions and the researcher ends up with incomplete questionnaires. The respondents may not understand or may misinterpret the question and because there is no prompting from the researcher the question may be wrongly answered or left unanswered. Questionnaires cannot capture the respondents' emotions such as anger or pain which may be triggered by the questions and would be otherwise be vividly captured in an oral interview. Despite its disadvantages, the questionnaire was chosen as the most appropriate method of data collection for this current study.

The study used an open-ended questionnaire in both countries which was to be completed by the respondent. The Botswana questionnaire was also translated into Setswana for those not familiar with English or who preferred Setswana. As previously mentioned, the Botswana questionnaire was in some instances tackled as an oral interview, mostly with illiterate people. However, some literate people preferred to answer the questions orally. This is in cases where people were busy with their normal daily activities in the homes or the market places but were

willing to give interviews while they carried on with their duties. Generally, the questionnaire addresses meanings of personal names and their motivations. The first section of the questionnaire requires respondents to give names of their family members, their meanings and significances. This section of the questionnaire is aimed at addressing the research questions on the semantic and grammatical categories and the sociolinguistic factors of the names. The second part of the questionnaire tackles the Unusual names; their meanings and motivations. The last part asks general questions on names and naming, for example, what respondents consider when they give a name and if the meaning of a name is important to them (Appendix 1). The purpose of this section is to garner the respondents' general feelings particularly about meaning in a name and all other factors related to names and naming for comparative purposes between the two countries.

The Scotland questionnaire slightly differs from the Botswana questionnaire in terms of structure although they address the same research questions. This questionnaire was also put online because it was observed that it would reach more respondents that way than as a hard copy. The questionnaire appears longer than the Botswana one because it gives the lists of the most popular and Unusual names in Scotland, both adapted from the NRS (2015a). The first section gives 10 of the most popular names, 5 for each gender, adapted from the NRS and requires respondents to give their meanings and origins and their personal feelings about the names. The second section also gives a list of Unusual names as adapted from the NRS and asks the same questions on the meaning and origin of the names. The third section requires respondents to give their own names, those of their family members, their meanings and motivations. The aim of all these sections is to address the research questions on the semantics, grammar and sociolinguistic factors of the names. In the first two sections the names are presented in a table format and respondents are asked for their views and opinions on each of them. This was deliberately done to act as a prompt because there was no face to face interaction with the respondents. The lists of names were meant to interest and urge the respondents to give comments about each of the names, although it did not always work because some of the respondents did not complete the whole questionnaire (Appendix 2). The last section of the questionnaire requires respondents to give their general feelings about the meanings of names and other factors they consider important during the naming process.

3.3 The Research Sample

As this study deals with people and names which are a form of personal identity, it had to adhere to the highest level of confidentiality and acceptable ways of accessing the respondents, hence the use of respondents over the age of eighteen years and requesting permission from community gatekeepers. The study required subjects to complete a questionnaire online or through face to face contact with the researcher. The use of respondents over eighteen years is deliberate to avoid ethical issues concerning access to underage respondents. The respondents include tertiary students in the two countries, high school teachers in Botswana only and the general public who were accessed through the researcher's contacts. The use of tertiary students was deliberate because the study wanted to include all age groups, so tertiary students filled the gap of the youth (18-25 years) and a significant number of them could be accessed at colleges and universities. The high school teachers were also chosen to fill the category of the adults (26-59 years), so the work place proved to be the relevant place to access them. Furthermore, since teachers are exposed to different kinds of names on a regular basis, they were the best people to acquire information from, especially in relation to Unusual names. These samples were deliberately chosen, a technique that Babbie (1990) describes as less desirable and judgmental as it is not random. Creswell (1994:120) recommends a 'random' sample where each individual in the sample has an equal probability of being selected and deems the method more rigorous as it enables one to generalize the findings of the study to the entire population. Although this might be an ideal scenario it is not always easy to achieve a completely random sample as the sample choice is often guided by the intentions of the study. This is noted by Denzin & Lincoln (2005:378), who state that the sample may be less random because the object is 'to seek out groups, settings and individuals where (and for whom) the processes being studied are most likely to occur.' Although the sample for this study is not totally random because some of the respondents were deliberately chosen the study used other data sources in the form of existing documents which was also an attempt to rectify any bias that may be a result of the way the respondents were chosen.

The study needed information from the younger generation and from the older generation, so it was important to select respondents with varying ages.

3.4 Ethical Considerations and Informed Consent

The study used human subjects and also sought information on names and naming which may be considered private and personal. Ethical approval for the study was given by the College of Arts Ethics Committee of the University of Glasgow. Furthermore, the researcher obtained a research permit from the Research Office of Botswana under the Ministry of Education and Skills Development because the study involved the use of students and teachers. The Ministry as the primary gate keeper for the students and the teachers ensured that all procedure was abided by in accessing the respondents and that the data collected will be used responsibly and confidentially. The researcher had to apply for a research permit that was legally binding to ensure that its stipulations and requirements were not flouted. The general community was accessed through the village chiefs and headmen as the main gatekeepers, however respondents in homes were still accessed through known contacts to ensure the safety of the researcher. Furthermore, the questionnaire is structured such that the Consent form is on the first page so that respondents could read it first and decide whether to take part or not. It was also emphasized that the respondents append their signatures or initials as with the online questionnaire to indicate their consent. For respondents who could not read this was clearly explained, including how the data was going to be used and they made decisions with informed consent. All these procedures were carried out in line with research methodologies in sociolinguistics and socio-onomastics.

3.5 Botswana Data Collection

The Botswana questionnaire was administered in the villages of Molepolole and Mahalapye between May and August 2016. The researcher visited the tribal administrators (chiefs) of each village to seek permission to conduct the survey in their villages. This is a requirement of the Research Office of the government of Botswana as well as standard practice in Setswana culture, where visitors who need assistance from the community have to state their intentions to the village leaders as the village gate keepers and be granted permission. In both villages the researcher addressed the headmen to give them an overview of the study, and they in turn briefed the communities. This was necessary to encourage the people to take part in the study without fear that they would be doing something wrong. However, the researcher still accessed the respondents through known contacts.

The first village, Molepolole, is situated in the Kweneng district, 50 kilometres from the capital city of Gaborone. It is the main village of an ethnic group called Bakwena who speak a Setswana dialect called Sekwena. Although the village has a mixture of people from different ethnic groups because of its proximity to the city, the majority are Bakwena who are the original inhabitants of the village. The second village, Mahalapye, is in the central district of Botswana, 200 kilometres from Gaborone. Mahalapye also has a mixture of people from different ethnic groups because of its central location, but most of them are from the Bangwato ethnic group who speak a Setswana dialect called Sengwato. The reason for using two different ethnic groups is to try to achieve a representative sample of the Botswana society as a whole, notwithstanding that the two groups may have overlaps in their languages and traditions. The questionnaire was administered to the youth, adults and the older members of the society. This was to try to achieve a balanced representation of the Botswana society in terms of age, to include the youth (18-25 years), adults (26-59 years) and the elderly (60+ years).

The researcher was able to administer 222 questionnaires in Mahalapye and 111 questionnaires in Molepolole, giving a total of 333 questionnaires. A high proportion of completed questionnaires (85/100), was received from Madiba Brigade in Mahalapye because the researcher administered the questionnaires herself. This is unlike in Molepolole College of Education, where the lecturers were entrusted with administering the questionnaire and only 45/100 completed questionnaires were received. Although a smaller number of completed questionnaires was received, the Molepolole College of Education data seems to be more comprehensive than the Madiba Brigade one as generally all parts of the questionnaire were attempted. This may be because the students in the former college had ample time to engage with the questionnaire as compared to those in the latter college who attempted the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher and had time restrictions. This was also advantageous because it eliminated issues of observer's paradox because the students attempted the questionnaire in their own time and space outside the presence of the researcher. Furthermore, the students in Madiba Brigade might have been intimidated by the presence of the researcher and so did not complete the questionnaire in as much depth as those in Molepolole College, who had no time restrictions. The teachers were the most challenging group to deal with as they were not forthcoming in answering the questionnaire. All teachers, regardless of the subjects they taught were asked to complete the questionnaire and it was observed that those who were interested and eager to participate were those who taught languages (English, Setswana and French). This is probably because the field of naming and

name studies is more closely related to the Humanities and hence teachers of Science based subjects generally had no interest in it because it was not related to their field of study and further might have felt that they had nothing to gain from it. For future, similar studies it may be advisable to target teachers of language based subjects.

Figure 3-1: Map of Botswana Indicating the Villages of Mahalapye and Molepolole

Source:Wikimedia.com

3.5.1 Research Challenges

The general public in both villages was welcoming and interested in the study. The respondents were accessed in open spaces like markets, shopping malls and homes where the researcher had contacts. The main challenge experienced with the general public was that they were unwilling to fill in the questionnaire themselves as most were elderly and illiterate. However,

even the literate preferred to answer the questions while the researcher took notes. As a result, administering the questionnaire became more like an oral interview and lasted longer than anticipated. The other challenge was that respondents gave elaborate backgrounds to the names. While this resulted in rich data, it meant that a lot of time was spent on individual respondents.

The majority of the respondents are female because males were not as eager to take part in the study. Furthermore, the majority of the men did not seem to be as conversant about names and naming as the women, which raises the question of who the primary name givers in Botswana are. The issue of confidentiality and appropriate use of the data was raised by some of the participants who were sceptical about sharing their personal details with an outsider, fearing that the information might be misused. The researcher assured them about the proper use of the data and its confidentiality but some were still not convinced. Another issue raised was that naming is a very personal process that is often clouded by painful and emotional occurrences they would not want to share or re-live. This revelation is an indication that name giving is very personal and an elaborately thought-out process among the Batswana.

The part of the questionnaire on Unusual names was not very well addressed by most respondents, especially the youth and the elderly. They reported that they were unfamiliar with those types of names. However, the teachers seemed to understand and know these names, maybe because they give their children such names or they come across them in their students. The elderly respondents had challenges with providing the year of birth of the bearers of the names that they provided because most of them are illiterate. When asked about this they stated that the reason why they gave their children names associated with events and occurrences of the time was to help them keep track of their ages. These names are therefore not just identifying labels, they help the name givers to keep track of years and events within their lives. The names are a sort of a time-keeping strategy.

3.6 Scotland Data Collection

In Scotland the study uses two main sources of data, existing records (NRS) and a questionnaire similar to the Botswana one. There are no major differences between the two questionnaires in terms of either the questions addressed or their structure. The questionnaires were kept similar because they address the same questions on name meanings and motivations. This was intentional so that the data can be analysed in the same way for direct comparison.

The NRS provides the name data for the most popular and Unusual names listed in the questionnaire. The questionnaire addresses the meanings and etymologies of the names and their socio-linguistic motivations. It requires respondents to give the meanings, interpretations and their general feelings about the names.

3.6.1 The Scotland Questionnaire

The Scotland questionnaire was administered in Glasgow. The main reason is that Glasgow is considered a cosmopolitan city and the informants will provide a broad representative sample of Scotland. The other reason is that the researcher is based in Glasgow and that made field work logistics easier. The questionnaire also targeted three age groups, the youth (18-25 years), the adults (26-59 years) and the elderly (60+ years) members of society. It was administered from November 2016 to February 2017.

The Scotland questionnaire was in the form of hard copies which were physically distributed to respondents, and it was also online. The reason for having two forms of the questionnaire was that, unlike in Botswana where only hard copies were used, most people in Scotland have easy access to online services so it was both an affordable and a convenient way of collecting data. Furthermore, it was easier to reach a wide majority of respondents online because the researcher did not have many contacts who could be met in person, therefore putting up the questionnaire online was the best available option. As with the college students in Botswana, using the online version of the questionnaire also eliminated issues with observer's paradox as the questionnaire was attempted at the leisure of the respondents. The main targeted respondents for the online questionnaire were the University of Glasgow students who made up the young generation respondents while the hard copy questionnaire targeted the adults and the older generation (sections 3.6.2 & 3.6.3).

The hard copy questionnaire was administered to members of a church in Glasgow that the researcher is a member of. The church environment proved a good sample choice firstly because the church is made up of different nationalities who predictably have different views concerning names and naming. Secondly many respondents could be easily accessed at one location. The shortcoming of the church sample is that the respondents are Christians who are conversant with the bible and Christian names which in turn might not give a representative sample. However, this was considered an advantage as it might help to establish how

acquainted Christians are especially with etymologies of biblical names. The second group of the older generation was accessed through colleagues and friends of the researcher, who administered the questionnaire to their friends and families.

Figure 3-2: Map of Scotland indicating the city of Glasgow

Source: Microsoft Corp (2001)

3.6.2 Research Challenges

The church respondents were the most difficult group to deal with although it was anticipated that they would be the most forthcoming as acquaintances of the researcher. A total of 40 questionnaires was distributed to the church respondents and only 12 were returned. The reason for the low response rate was irregular church attendance, as most will take the questionnaire and promise to return it the following week but then they would miss church and by the time they return they would have either forgotten to bring it or have misplaced it. Others felt that the questionnaire was too long while some hinted that they did not know much about names and had nothing much to contribute. Some were suspicious of the information required; they suspected that the information might be used to their disadvantage as they had to give their names and those of their family members, and also append their signatures for consent. In total

27 paper questionnaires were returned from both the church and other respondents outside the church.

The Scotland questionnaire has a section on popular names which was derived from the NRS. These are the top 6 names for each gender as recorded by the NRS (2015a). The respondents were asked to give the meaning and origin of the names and to state if they would give their child that particular name, with reasons. The data from this section of the questionnaire was subsequently not used in the analysis and discussion because the majority of respondents left the meaning and origin section blank or it was indicated as unknown and therefore there was little useful information to work with. Although the second part of the questionnaire, on whether the respondents would give their child any of the names, was attempted, most did not give reasons why they would or would not do so. This section also left the researcher with very little to work with. Furthermore, the Botswana questionnaire did not have this section so there was no corresponding data to compare the Scotland data with. Hence it was decided to analyse only the family and the Unusual names. Similarly, the Botswana questionnaire has three questions relating to Unusual names whose answers were not used in the final analysis. The respondents were asked to indicate the Unusual names they would give to their children in the list that they gave and also provide reasons for the choice of those names. Most of the respondents did not attempt the Unusual names section and subsequently these questions were also not answered. In the end there was very little information to use and hence the decision to omit these answers in the analysis.

3.6.3 The Online Questionnaire

The online questionnaire link was created using the survey tool Survey Monkey. The link was posted on the University of Glasgow MyGlasgow site, which is an online information platform for students. The link was also shared on the Facebook timeline of a Scottish friend to attract Scottish respondents who could not be physically accessed and are not University of Glasgow students. The ethical considerations were emphasised, stating that each respondent had to be over the age of 18 years and should live in Scotland. The questionnaire was posted on both platforms on 8th December 2016 and by the end of January 2017 it had accumulated 101 responses.

Most of the respondents did not complete the whole questionnaire; they stopped mid-way through it. One possible explanation for this was that the respondents felt that the questionnaire

was too long, as this was also raised by some of the paper questionnaire respondents. As a result of this, the parts that dealt with family and Unusual names were not fully addressed. This was solved by re-arranging the questions, bringing those which were at the bottom to the top. This was done on a new link as the first one had reached its maximum capacity. The link was again posted on the University information platform where it attracted 62 respondents.

Generally, the online questionnaire performed much better than the hard copy one. This was unexpected, as the assumption was that the face to face interactions and the relationships the researcher had with the respondents would boost the response rate. The questionnaire was well attempted by respondents who are unknown to the researcher, possibly because they did not feel intimidated by the questionnaire as they were faceless and did not feel that their privacy was invaded. Both the online and the paper questionnaire were attempted by 190 respondents.

3.7 The Botswana and Scotland Questionnaire Observations

The administration of the questionnaire had challenges specific to each country as discussed above. As a result, the methods employed for data collection were chosen because of the environment and having taken into consideration what would or would not work in each country. The Botswana questionnaire was administered in the form of an oral interview to respondents who were illiterate and to those who could write but preferred not to. Although the process took longer than anticipated, the advantage of the data collected in this way is that it is rich and elaborate because the researcher prompted the respondents for details. The Scotland data on the other hand is sketchier and less detailed because it lacked the advantage of prompting. This is especially evident with the online questionnaire where the respondents gave short answers and even stopped mid-way through the questionnaire. In retrospect, maybe the questionnaire, especially the Scotland one, should have been split into two parts to make it shorter and administered at different stages of the study. However, the challenge might have been administering both questionnaires to the same respondents.

The paper questionnaire in Scotland was not well received, especially by the church respondents, while the online one performed much better than was expected. It was surprising that people who were unknown to the researcher showed a lot of interest in the study as compared to those who were acquaintances. This could be because the researcher approached respondents individually instead of addressing them as a group to explain the objectives of the

study so that those who were interested could willingly take the questionnaires. When approached individually the respondents might have felt that they were being coerced into taking part, resulting in the lack of response. In hindsight, it may have been better to first address the respondents as a group about the aims and objectives of the study.

The difficulty of accessibility to Scottish respondents was anticipated from the onset because the researcher is not a local and does not have many local contacts. Also most of the respondents in Scotland as compared to those in Botswana are literate and aware of issues of compromised identity and personal data being fraudulently used. As a result, they are vigilant and not very trusting where their personal details like names are required.

3.8 Data Recording and Analysis

The data analysis is guided by the research questions; the main task is to identify and explain the patterns in the data and build a name corpus. The process of data collection for this study may be viewed as eclectic because it draws from different sources. The study employs both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. As Ainiala (2016) has observed, statistical data is of major relevance to studies on the popularity of names, while questionnaires and interviews are used to study motivations for name giving.

The data from the Botswana questionnaire was recorded in a table format using Microsoft Excel (Appendix 4). Microsoft Excel was chosen for its flexibility in sorting and filtering the data during analysis. The data table has 16 columns. The first column gives a code to each respondent while the next 7 columns give the demographic information of the respondent and/or name bearer, their gender, relationship to the respondent, age or year of birth and the languages they speak. The age/year of birth is missing for some entries because the respondents either did not know the age (their own or that of the name bearer) or in some cases they preferred not to give it. The 9th column records the name token followed by the columns for the significance and meaning of the name as given by the respondent or as translated by the researcher. The last five columns were all completed by the researcher to provide the etymology or root word from which the name derives, any additional information associated with the name, the word class and language to which the name belongs and a meaning code which indicated the semantic category of the name. The last five columns are essential to provide further information relating to the names as well as to corroborate that given by respondents, particularly in relation to the meanings of the names. The data given by the tertiary

students and the teachers was recorded as it was because they completed the questionnaires themselves. Most of the data from the general public was collected in the form of oral interviews where the researcher translated and recorded the answers as given by the respondents.

The Scotland data was recorded using the same table format as that of the Botswana data to make the comparison analysis easier (Appendix 5). The majority of the Scotland data was collected online, so recording was easier and quicker as the data was exported from the Survey Monkey tool to Microsoft Excel. As with the Botswana data, the first column gives a code to the respondent while the next 7 columns give the demographic information of the respondent. In Scotland most of the respondents provided the ages or year of birth as required unlike with the Botswana data. The next three columns give the name token, the meaning and significance of the name as given by the respondent. The last column is filled in by the researcher to indicate the meaning code of the name.

The first part of the study is mainly quantitative as it aims to establish the overall profiles of the names in both countries for meaning and structure. The statistical proportions of the names are important as they help reveal the quantities of the lexically transparent or lexically non transparent names in each country as well as the proportions that belong to each grammatical category. The family names collected in both countries are categorised according to lexical and lexical non-transparency to determine their meaning profiles, using Nyström's (1998) observation on Swedish name prototypicality. The study also investigates the most and least common semantic fields using semantic field theory. The study uses an existing semantic field model for lexically non-transparent names. The semantic field used for lexically non-transparent names is based on the etymologies of the names and not their meanings which are opaque. The semantic fields used for the lexically transparent names are largely original to this study as they are influenced by the data.

The second part of the study is qualitative as it seeks to establish motivating factors that influence naming in the two countries. The information from the questionnaires that address this research question is compiled and patterns that emerge from the data are observed and conclusions drawn. This study is largely cross-cultural and it draws on previous studies like Lawson (2016) and Caffarelli and Gerritzen (2002). Both of these compared names in a number of languages and nations and so the conclusions drawn may be very broad, whereas the current

study compares names in only two countries with the hope of drawing quite specific conclusions regarding their meanings, structures and motivations. This, however, does not imply that there are no previous studies which dealt with two countries like the current one.

The third section of the study is also mainly qualitative as it investigates the Unusual names in the two countries. The aim is to establish the meanings and origins of the names and to explore people's perceptions and feelings about them. The priority is to investigate their motivations. As Ainiala (2016) has observed, the main motivation behind Unusual names are to try to give children names that are rare and special. The aim is to establish where these names derive from and to see if there is a noticeable pattern between the two countries under study. The Scotland questionnaire gave examples of such names and solicited information from respondents on their meanings and their attitudes towards them. The Botswana questionnaire asked respondents to give examples of such names and any other information related to them. The questionnaires were structured differently because the NRS already has the Unusual names recorded while such data does not exist for Botswana, therefore it had to be gathered from respondents. The information is used to determine the structures and meanings of Unusual names and to see how they compare to the conventional names. The questions in both questionnaires were formulated in such a way that each addressed a specific objective of the study and as a result the information was easier to collate and link to specific aims and eventually provide a narrative for the patterns observed.

4. Analysis and Discussion: Lexically Non-Transparent Names

4.1 Botswana and Scotland Name Stock Analysis

This chapter presents and discusses the semantic aspects of the name stock in Botswana and Scotland and addresses the name motivations as indicated by respondents. The purpose of this analysis is to reveal the overall profile of a personal name in Botswana and Scotland in terms of meaning through establishing its etymology, motivation and assigning it to a relevant semantic category. The analysis also explores the relationships between the different categories of the names and gender. To achieve this the name stock in both countries is first broadly categorised as being composed of lexically transparent and lexically non-transparent names. This broad categorisation is essential as it guides a further grouping of the names into relevant semantic categories with regard to derivation. A lexically transparent name is one whose meaning is easily decipherable as it is still recognisable as a form of a word in contemporary use, but at this stage it possesses the special status of a name and not an ordinary word. A lexically non-transparent name is one whose meaning is opaque and which is not easily recognisable as a form of a word in contemporary use. Lexical transparency in all cases is defined here as whether the word is recognisable to the researcher, a native speaker of Setswana and a fluent speaker of English. This chapter will discuss the lexically non-transparent names while the next chapter will discuss the lexically transparent names from both countries.

Previous studies including Neethling (2005), Akinnaso (1980) have found that most African names are lexically transparent. Similarly, deKlerk & Lagonikos (1995) and Hanks et al (2006) have also argued that many names in the European context do not have a readily available meaning. These observations are in line with the current data as illustrated by the figures below. Individual name tokens collected in both countries were analysed for lexical and non-lexical transparency and categorised as such. As mentioned above, a lexically transparent name is one whose meaning is easily recognisable and a lexically non-transparent name is one whose meaning is opaque. It is on the basis of this analysis that the proportions presented below were arrived at. Figures 4-1 and 4-2, therefore, illustrate the proportions of the lexically transparent and lexically non-transparent names in both countries.

Figure 4-1: Lexically Transparent and Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Scotland

Name category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Lexically transparent	23	6.5%	19	8.6%
Lexically non-transparent	330	93.5%	201	91.4%
	Total: 353	Total: 100%	Total: 220	Total: 100%

Figure 4-2: Lexically Transparent and Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Botswana

Name category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Lexically transparent	1,829	91.7%	908	87.2%
Lexically non-transparent	166	8.3%	133	12.8%
	Total: 1,995	Total: 100%	Total: 1,041	Total: 100%

Figure 4-1 indicates that in Scotland 353 name tokens were collected during data collection and these are used for analysis. The analysis indicates that 6.5% of the name tokens in Scotland are lexically transparent while 93.5% are lexically non-transparent. A total of 1,995 name tokens was collected in Botswana and are used in the study. The Botswana data, however, represents a different scenario to the Scotland one as the majority of the name tokens are lexically transparent at 91.7% while only 8.3% are lexically non-transparent. It is acknowledged that there is an imbalance in the data sets used, with more name tokens for Botswana than for Scotland. This is because the main, original contribution of the thesis focuses on Botswana names while names in Scotland were used mainly for purposes of comparison, although some original findings on names in Scotland were also made. This study has initially hypothesised that personal names in Botswana are lexically transparent while those in Scotland are lexically non-transparent, and this is one of the reasons for carrying out this comparative study. The data shows that while broadly correct and in line with the results of previous studies, the hypothesis was an over-simplification, as the actual situation is more nuanced. The names in both countries are further divided into semantic categories. Lexically non-transparent names are divided into 5 categories although the fifth one is not represented in the Scotland data. Section 4.2 discusses the lexically non-transparent names in the two countries.

4.2 Lexically Non-Transparent Names

The lexically non-transparent names in both countries were further divided into smaller categories based on their etymologies. These categories are; biblical, classical tradition, Germanic and Celtic tradition, names from other languages, and names derived from other names. These categories are established and have been used before in previous studies like Hanks et al (2006) and so it seemed logical to use the same categorisation. The proportions for each country will help to establish the most and least common categories and reasons for that as well as the relationships between gender and the categories. Previous studies on European names (Hanks et al 2006) and on European names in Botswana (Otlogetswe 2008), have observed that biblical names are the most common category of names as compared to the other categories, and that more males than females possess a biblical name. It is expected that these observations will still hold in the current data. Figures 4-3 and 4-4 below illustrate the semantic categories of non-transparent names in Botswana and Scotland.

Figure 4-3: Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Scotland

Name category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Biblical	119	36.1%	43	21.4%
Classical Tradition	102	30.9%	65	32.3%
Germanic and Celtic Tradition	63	19.1%	48	23.9%
Other Languages	46	13.9%	45	22.4%
Names derived from other Names	0	0	0	0%
	Total: 330	Total: 100%	Total: 201	Total: 100%

Figure 4-4: Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Botswana

Name category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Biblical	57	34.3%	32	24.1%
Classical Tradition	12	7.3%	11	8.3%
Germanic and Celtic Tradition	18	10.8%	16	12%
Other Languages	53	31.9%	49	36.8%
Names derived from other Names	26	15.7%	25	18.8%
	Total: 166	Total: 100%	Total: 133	Total: 100%

The term *names derived from other names* in this study is used to refer to names that come from other names like surnames and place names. Although this category of names does exist in Scotland it is unrepresented in the current data. According to Hanks et al (2006: xix-xx), many surnames are used as given names in the English-speaking world and a number of

Scottish surnames in particular have become conventional given names. It is apparent that there is some fuzziness between these categories, there are bound to be some overlaps with some names capable of belonging to more than one category, but the categorization used is considered the most relevant and is also guided by Hanks et al (2006) as the main reference for name meanings and etymologies. Figures 4-3 and 4-4 indicate that there are 36.1% of biblical name tokens in Scotland as compared to 34.3% of the same in Botswana. Name tokens from classical tradition are at 30.9% in Scotland and at 7.3% in Botswana. Names from Germanic and Celtic tradition, by token, are represented at 19.1% in Scotland and at 10.8% in Botswana. There are 13.9% of names that come from other languages in Scotland and 31.9% of the same in Botswana. Names from other languages in both Scotland and Botswana may be lexically transparent to the speakers of the languages from which they originate but in this instance they are regarded as lexically non-transparent as they appear so to the researcher. Their lexical transparency or lack thereof is dependent on the researcher's competence. The high proportion of names that come from other languages is a surprising result as it was not anticipated and this made it less feasible to establish whether the names might be transparent or not to the name givers and users. It was therefore, decided that the researcher's competence will be used to determine their transparency or lack thereof. Lastly, names that derive from other names are unrepresented in the Scottish data but they make up 15.7% of the Botswana data. Each of these categories will be further discussed in the following sections, starting with biblical names.

4.2.1 Biblical Names

Figure 4-5 illustrates the proportions of biblical names in Botswana and Scotland according to the number of types and tokens.

Figure 4-5: Biblical Names

Name Category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Biblical	Scotland	119	36.1%	43	21.4%
	Botswana	57	34.3%	32	24.1%

Biblical names are those whose sources can be traced to the bible and they derive from many early languages like Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The term *biblical name* in this study is used to encompass names of characters in both the Old and New testaments, including cognates and variant forms such as diminutives and feminine names derived from masculine ones. Hanks et al (2006:xiii) have observed that the most widespread of all given names come from the bible.

Biblical names in both countries appear in a range of cognate forms, all of which derive from a common source. When dealing with the types of names, this analysis treats a name and all its forms as one name type. The Scotland data contains some of the following examples of cognates; *John* is *Janos* in Hungarian, *Mary* is *Moira* in Scottish Gaelic and *Stephen* is *Stefan* in German. As mentioned before, there may be some overlaps in the categorization of names such as the ones above which may belong to both the biblical and the Other languages category but the former is used as the most salient.

The Botswana data presents the names in their Setswana cognates such as *Isake* 'Isaac', *Moshe* 'Moses', *Marea* 'Mary', and *Magatalena* 'Magdalene'. The other stock of biblical names that appears in the Botswana data is that of names from the books of the bible as opposed to individuals from the bible. Examples of these include *Dipesalema* 'Psalms' and *Baroma* 'Romans'. The Botswana data also presents names that derive from other names in the bible, for example; *Baiseraela* 'Israelites' which derives from the name of the people of Israel. The Botswana data also has another type of name that is motivated by the bible but different from those already discussed above. These names derive from translated forms of books of the bible and they will be discussed further under lexically transparent names (Chapter 5). Neither of these two latter types of biblical names appears in the Scotland data.

Figure 4-3 indicates that the majority of lexically non-transparent names in Scotland are from the bible at 36.1%. Lexically transparent names in Scotland are represented at only 6.5% of the whole name stock (Figure 4-1); therefore, this means that according to the data, biblical names are the most common type of names in Scotland. The National Records of Scotland (2017) also gives an indication that biblical names, particularly male ones, have dominated the top 10 list of baby names for many years since 1974 as compared to other types of names. Figure 4-5 illustrates that although the number of biblical name tokens is high at 36.1%, the percentage of the types of the names is significantly lower at 21.4%. The main reason for this is name circulation, which will be discussed further in section 4.2.1.3.

The introduction of names from the English-speaking world to Botswana, notably biblical names, came about with the arrival of missionaries and traders from the year 1820 (Andersson & Janson 1997). The missionaries from the London Missionary Society in particular made a significant impact in relation to the naming practices of the Batswana because they converted the local people to Christianity and during the process the locals acquired biblical names,

(Section 2.1 discusses this further). According to Figure 4-4, biblical names in Botswana are represented at 34.3%, which, as with the Scotland data, is the highest proportion of lexically non-transparent names. Although the percentage of name types in Botswana is higher at 24.1% as compared to that of Scotland at 21.4%, the difference is small and so the proportions of the name types may be regarded as similar in the two locations. Although cognates and name forms are treated as one type of a name just like in the Scotland data, the higher percentage could be because the Botswana data does not indicate name circulation within families. Biblical names in the Botswana data are not just confined to those of biblical characters; as discussed above they also derive from books of the bible and from names of nationalities in the bible. Another group of biblical names represented in the Botswana data is of translated forms of the books of the bible (section 5.1.4), like *Diane* (Proverbs) or *Tshenolo* (Revelation).

4.2.1.1 Biblical Names and Gender

Figure 4-6: Biblical Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	72	60.5%	24	55.8%
Female	47	39.5%	19	44.2%
	Total: 119	Total: 100%	Total: 43	Total: 100%

Figure 4-7: Biblical Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	37	64.9%	21	65.6%
Female	20	35.1%	11	34.4%
	Total: 57	Total: 100%	Total: 32	Total: 100%

According to Figures 4-6 and 4-7, the majority of biblical names represented in the data from both countries are male specific, with the minority being female specific. Previous name studies discussed in section 2.1 (Saarelma-Maunumaa 1996 and Gardner 1999) also indicate that males are given more religious names than girls. Figure 4-6 shows that in Scotland, 60.5% of the biblical name tokens are borne by males and 39.5% by females. Similarly, in Botswana (Figure 4-7), biblical female name tokens stand at 35.1% while male ones are at 64.9%. According to Hanks et al (2006:xiv), this significant gender imbalance could be because prominent characters in the bible like Jesus's 12 apostles and the evangelists were all male, so their names became popular and easily accessible as compared to those of the female characters. The same

gender imbalance also exists with name types. In Scotland there are 55.8% of male name types as compared to 44.2% of female types. Similarly, in Botswana there are 65.6% of male types as opposed to 34.4% of female types. The gender imbalance of the name types may be a result of the way some of the names were created. Some female names are derivative forms of the male names so it means the growth of the female name stock was somewhat restricted by the number of male forms which could provide female forms. Examples of male biblical names which produce no female forms include *Benjamin*, *Gideon* and *Ishmael*. Some names are significantly more popular than others and Figure 4-8 below illustrates the top 3 most common names for both genders in the two countries. This choice is determined by the names' high frequencies; the rest of the names have low frequencies, especially in Botswana where many are recorded just once.

Figure 4-8: Top 3 Biblical Names by Gender

Country	Gender	Name types	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Scotland	**Male**	John	16	22.2%
		James	9	12.5%
		Steven	7	9.7%
			Total male tokens: 72	
	Female	Mary	8	17%
		Elizabeth	7	14.8%
		Joan	6	12.7%
			Total female tokens: 47	
Botswana	**Male**	Samuel	5	13.5%
		Emmanuel	4	10.8%
		Elijah	3	8.1%
			Total female tokens: 37	
	Female	Mary	5	25%
		Elizabeth	3	15%
		Anna/ Magdalene/ Pauline	2	10%
			Total female tokens: 20	

The majority of biblical names in both countries are male specific and the minority female specific. In Scotland the commonest male biblical name is *John*, including its cognates *Ian*, *Ivan*, *Jack* and *Janos*, all of which together make up 22.2% of the male biblical names. The

second most popular name is *James* at 12.5%. According to the NRS (2017), the name *Jack*, a derivative of *John*, has been the top male name for 9 consecutive years, from 2008 to 2016. The name first appeared in the top 100 names in 1987 and since then it has risen over the years and has consistently been either in the first or second position (NRS 2017). Despite the name *Jack* being the most popular in the previous years, in the current data it represents only 2.7% of the male biblical names, with the most common form of the name, *John*, at 9.7%. The name *James* has appeared in the top 10 names in Scotland for many years since 1974 and the fact that it was borne by several Scottish kings could be the reason for its popularity. The name *Steven* and its variants, *Stefan, Stephan* and *Stephen*, is the third most frequent male biblical name in Scotland. The variant *Steven* is the most popular as it occurs four times while the rest of the cognates occur once. This is despite that the form *Stephen* is the usual spelling of the name in the English-speaking world and *Steven* is its variant (Hanks et al 2006:252). The names are, however, pronounced the same.

In Botswana the top male biblical name is *Samuel* at 13.5%, followed by *Emmanuel* at 10.8%. Both names have appeared in the top 100 most frequent English names in Botswana as analysed by Otlogetswe (2008); see section 2.1. The top 10 English names in Otlogetswe's analysis are 7 male biblical names and only 3 female names, none of which is biblical. This further illustrates the fact that male biblical names are more popular than female ones. In Otlogetswe (2008), the name *Emmanuel* was more frequent than *Samuel* as it appeared at position 3 while the latter appeared at position 6, but in the current data *Samuel* is more popular than *Emmanuel*. The name *Elijah* and its derivative *Elias* are the third most common male biblical names in Botswana with the former occurring twice and the latter once. It is not clear why these top 3 names in particular are the most common in the data. The most popular male biblical name in Scotland (*John*) accounts for a much higher percentage of the total at 22.2%, as compared to the most popular male biblical name in Botswana (*Samuel*) which is at 13.5%. This might suggest that tradition is a strong motivating factor for name choice in Scotland as the name is considered a traditional one.

Figure 4-8 indicates that the name *Mary*, including its cognates *Moira and Maryam*, is the most common female biblical name in Scotland at 17%. In Botswana the name *Mary* exists as *Marea, Maria* and *Miriam*, and together they are the most common female biblical name at 25%. A possible reason for this is that, apart from Mary, very few women had major roles in the gospels. The popularity of the name *Mary* has resulted in it having more cognates than other

female biblical names which has increased its occurrence in the data. In Scotland, the second most common female name is *Elizabeth* together with its pet form *Liz*, which makes up 14.8% of the female biblical names. The reason why *Elizabeth* is more popular than other names may be because it has been borne by two queens of England, Queen Elizabeth I and the incumbent Queen Elizabeth II who has held the title since 1952. The second most popular female biblical name in Botswana after *Mary* is also *Elizabeth* and its variants *Elisabeth* at 15%. Although this motivation is not attested in the data, it could also be attributed to the influence of both Queen Elizabeth I and II because, as stated in section 2.1, Botswana was a British protectorate for 81 years and so the naming influences could be a result of that. The third most frequent female biblical names in Scotland are female variants of *John*, namely, *Jan*, *Jane*, *Joan* and *Joanna,* and represented in Figure 4-8 by *Joan*. The names *Joan* and *Joanna* occur twice while the rest appear once each. The fact that *John* is the most popular male biblical name and is regarded as a traditional name could be the reason why its female forms are also common. In Botswana the third most frequent names are *Anna*, *Magdalene* and *Pauline*, which occur twice each in the data.

The previous discussion has focused on the name stock itself; the next section moves to the analysis of people's awareness of the sources and meanings of the names in the two countries.

4.2.1.2 Biblical Names and Meaning
Figure 4-9: Etymology and Meaning of Biblical Names

Country	Source known	% Source	Meaning known	% Meaning
Scotland	27/119	22.6%	23/119	19.3%
Botswana	20/57	35%	4/57	7%

Figure 4-9 illustrates the respondents' knowledge of the sources and meanings of the biblical names they provided. The source of the names is the bible and each of them has an etymological meaning, such as *John* 'God is gracious' or *Emmanuel* 'God is with us', so this study was interested in finding out if people knew these aspects of the names. In Scotland the respondents know the sources of 22.6% of the names compared to Botswana with 35%. In relation to meaning, in Scotland the meanings of 19.3% of the names are known as compared to 7% for Botswana. In Scotland the respondents know that 22.6% of the names are from the bible which means that they are unable to account for the source or etymologies of the remaining 77.4% of the biblical names. This observation is rather surprising when considering that biblical names

are the most common type of names in Scotland (Figure 4-3). The expectation was that respondents would know the sources of the names although they might not know their actual meanings. The figure also indicates that the respondents know only 19.3% of the actual meanings of the names, which was expected as the meanings of these names have become opaque over the years. In Botswana respondents could account for the source of 35% of the biblical names they gave, but know the meanings of only 7% of them. The fact that the respondents do not know the source of 65% of the biblical names is also surprising because the expectation was that the names were given because they are biblical although respondents were not expected to know their actual meanings. Name users and bearers are not always the name givers as the names were given to them and it is possible that they would not know their sources and meanings. From these figures it appears that neither the source nor the meaning of the biblical name has a direct influence on its popularity. It can also be surmised that the source and meaning of a name do not have direct correspondence; that the knowledge of the source of a name does not necessarily imply knowledge of the meaning of the name.

4.2.1.3 Motivations for Biblical Names

Figure 4-10: Motivation for Biblical Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Named for someone	35	29.4%
	Not known/given	34	28.6%
	Other	23	19.3%
	Biblical	22	18.5%
	Parents liked it	5	4.2%
		Total: 119	**Total: 100%**
Botswana	Biblical	23	40.4%
	Not known/given	15	26.3%
	Other	13	22.8%
	Named for someone	4	7%
	Parents liked it	2	3.5%
		Total: 57	**Total: 100%**

The giving of a biblical name in Scotland is not particularly connected to its source or the influence of religion, as the data indicates that only 18.5% of the names were given because they were from the bible. This is rather unexpected because biblical names are the most common type of name in Scotland according to the current data. The most common reason for

giving a biblical name in Scotland is that the child was named for someone, which stands at 29.4%. The motivation of naming the child for someone has resulted in name circulation, which in turn has led to a low percentage of name types because the same names are circulated over a long period of time without any new names being added to the name stock. Some respondents clearly stated that their families were not religious in any way despite giving their children biblical names, which could also mean that they were named for a relative. The category of Not know/given motivations is at 28.6%, this could be because these respondents are not necessarily the name givers and so they would not know. Other reasons behind the giving of a biblical name in Scotland are varied and include the following; biblical names were popular at the time, so the parents were influenced by the trend, the name sat well with that of siblings or went well with the surname. Some names were chosen because the parents wanted a name that was uncommon at the time, while some were chosen because the parents wanted a name that started with a particular sound. The least common reason given, at 4.2%, is that the parents liked the name or the way the name sounded. The reason why some of the reasons are grouped as 'Others' and separated from the group of 'parents liked it' is because the former comprises varied reasons which occur only once and are not similar in any way while in the latter category the same reason recurs. The reasons for the choice of these names are not any way linked to their meanings.

Unlike in Scotland, religious influence and the source of the name is the main reason why biblical names are given in Botswana. The data shows that 40.4% of the names are given because they are from the bible, the parents were religious, or it was hoped that the child would resemble the biblical character they were named for. The reason why the percentage of biblical motivation of the names is higher (40.4%) as compared to knowledge of the source of the names (35%) as indicated in Figure 4-9 is because some respondents gave the motivation as biblical and yet the source was not given. It is assumed that this was an oversight on the part of the respondents because they could not give the motivation as biblical if they did not know that the names are from the bible. In such cases, the source of the name is treated as unknown but the motivation is recorded as biblical as the respondents have indicated. Motivations for names like *Benjamin*, *Lydia* and *Magatalena* 'Magdalene' were given as the bible but their source was not given. Examples of motivations for the names are varied; a child was named *Moshe* 'Moses' because it was hoped that he would become a fearless leader like *Moses* who led the Israelites across the Red Sea. Another was named after the biblical character *Daniel* in the hope that he would have the power that *Daniel* had to survive in difficult situations.

Although respondents in both countries may have given a name because of their religious beliefs, it is only in the Botswana data that there is evidence of close engagement with biblical characters as evidenced by the motivations for the names *Moses* and *Daniel*. Even in instances where the child was named for someone, there is still reference to the characteristics of the biblical character. For example, two of the children were named *Samuel* after the parents' church pastor who was also a prophet, and the hope was that the children would become pastors or prophets like both the church pastor and the biblical character. These are, however, not unrelated incidents as the children were named after the same pastor. The fact that Scotland has a high proportion of biblical names at 35.8% as compared to Botswana's 33.9% (Figure 4-5) does not mean that people in Scotland are largely influenced by religion during the naming process. In Scotland only 18.5% of the names were influenced by religion as compared to those in Botswana at 40.4%.

The reason why the respondents could not account for the motivations behind 26.3% of the names could also be the same as in Scotland; that most of them are not the name givers and they have never had a reason to find out. The other motivations for the names categorized as Others (22.8%) are isolated and specific to particular respondents and do not seem to have any close interaction with the name in terms of its meaning or source. For example, a child was named *Stephen* just because the name is male specific and he was male. Another respondent was named *Pauline* (female version of Paul) by her mother's employers who were white people and she did not know anything else about the name except how she got it. Similarly, one was named *Thomas* by the white people he worked for as a young man and he abandoned his original name and adopted the new one as he liked it better. One respondent named her child *Isake* 'Isaac' because when she was expecting the child she had a dream in which her church pastor told her to give the child the name *Isake* and so she did. Another was named *Emmanuel* by his mother's friends at church. Although in the last two examples there is no direct reference to the motivation as being biblical, the reference to the pastor and the church gives indications of the bible as the motivating factor.

From Figure 4-10, it can be concluded that the choice of a biblical name in Botswana is largely influenced by its source because the motivation of being biblical is the highest at 40.4% as compared to all the other motivations which add up to 33.3%. The rest of the motivations (26.3%) are recorded as either not known/given. On the other hand, the choice of a biblical name in Scotland is not influenced by its source as only 18.5% are chosen for that reason as

compared to all the other motivations which add up to 52.9% while 28.6% are either Not known/given. As with the Scotland data, in Botswana the meaning of the name does not appear as the motivation for its choice.

The popularity of biblical names as compared to other types of names in both countries is in line with what previous studies (e.g. Hanks et al 2008 and Otlogetswe 2008) have observed. The current study, like previous studies (Saarelma-Maunumaa 1996 and Gardner 1999), has also observed that males are given more biblical names than girls as indicated by figures 4-6 and 4-7. The current results, however, indicate that in Scotland the giving of the biblical name is not directly influenced by the religious beliefs of the name givers, but in Botswana the two are closely linked. This broadly indicates that religion influences name givers differently in Botswana and Scotland.

4.2.2 Names from Classical Tradition

Figure 4-11 illustrates the proportions of names from classical tradition in Botswana and Scotland according to the number of tokens and types.

Figure 4-11: Classical Tradition Names

Name Category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Classical Tradition	Scotland	102	30.9%	65	32.3%
	Botswana	12	7.2%	11	8.3%

Names from classical tradition are mainly from Greek and Latin, and many of them have survived over the years because they were borne by Christian saints. According to Hough (2000:4), classical names derive from the names of actual people or from the names of characters in Roman or Greek mythology. In Scotland (Figure 4-11) these names make up 30.9% of the lexically non-transparent names, by token, while in Botswana they make up 7.2% of the same group. They are the second largest group of names after biblical ones in Scotland. In relation to the types, in Scotland there are 32.3% of these as compared to Botswana's 8.3%. When they are compared to biblical names in both countries they seem to have a broad variety of types as there is no major disparity between the percentage of tokens and that of types. This could be because names from classical tradition were transmitted and maintained through

various sources like saints, martyrs, and characters in Roman and Greek mythology unlike biblical ones whose only source was the bible.

Some of these names were transmitted to the current name stock as names of saints and as a result some of the respondents classified them as biblical although they are not. For example, in Scotland we have *Beata* 'blessed' which derives from Latin, and was borne by *Saint Beata* who was martyred in North Africa, *Christopher*, which is from Greek and is made up of *Khristos* 'Christ' + *phrein* 'to bear' and was the name of *Saint Christopher*, and *Katherine/Catherine* whose etymology is unknown but which is associated with the Greek word *katharos* which means 'pure' and was the name of *Saint Katherine* who was martyred in Alexandria in 307. Other names from classical tradition derive from Greek mythology and were not borne by saints, such as *Helen*, whose origin is unknown but which may mean 'ray or beam of the sun', and *Cassandra/Casi*, which was borne by a Trojan princess but whose meaning is unknown. In Botswana examples of names of saints include; *Catherine* (St Katherine), and *Lawrence* which is an Anglicized form of French *Laurence* which derives from the Latin form *Laurentius* and was borne by a saint who was martyred in 258. The Botswana data indicates only one example of a name from Greek mythology; *Ellen*, a Welsh variant of *Helen*. All the name definitions are from Hanks et al (2006).

4.2.2.1 Names from Classical Tradition and Gender

Figure 4-12: Classical Tradition Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	33	32.4%	20	30.8%
Female	69	67.6%	45	69.2%
	Total: 102	Total: 100%	Total: 65	Total: 100%

Figure 4-13: Classical Tradition Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	2	16.7%	2	18.2%
Female	10	83.3%	9	81.8%
	Total: 12	Total: 100%	Total: 11	Total: 100%

According to Figures 4-12 and 4-13, most of the names from classical tradition in both countries belong to females. In Scotland, 67.6% of these names are female specific as compared to 32.4% which are male specific. Similarly, in Botswana 83.3% of the names are borne by

females while 16.7% belong to males. In relation to the types of names, there are also more female types than male ones. Scotland has 69.2% of female types as compared to 30.8% of male types. In Botswana, there are 81.8% of female types as compared to 18.2% of male types. This is a different scenario from that of biblical names, where there are more male than female name tokens and types. It is not clear why there are more female names from classical tradition as compared to male ones but this may be because many of these were borne by female martyrs and they have survived in the same way as those which belonged to saints. Previous studies have also observed that in European languages, there are many conventional male names as compared to female names (Hanks et al 2006:xii and Leibring 2016). These studies, however, are not specifically referring to names from classical tradition but to conventional names in general.

4.2.2.2 Names from Classical Tradition and Meaning

Figure 4-14: Etymology and Meaning of Classical Tradition Names

Country	Source known	% source	Meaning known	% Meaning
Scotland	5/102	4.9%	29/102	28.4%
Botswana	0/12	0%	0/12	0%

Figure 4-14 illustrates the respondents' knowledge of the sources and meanings of the classical names that they gave. In Scotland, 4.9% of the respondents indicated the sources of the names that they gave. They did not give the sources specifically as 'classical tradition' *per se* but they had an idea of how the names came about, for example the name *Helen* was specified as being from Helen of Troy, *Martin* as the name of the Roman God of War, and *Anthony* as the name of a saint popularly known as Anthony the Great. Although the respondents did not specifically label the names as being from classical tradition, the examples show that they had an idea of how they came about. The source of the name does not really emerge clearly for most of the respondents, probably because the questionnaire asked them for the meaning and significance of the name and not specifically for its source. Some of the respondents instead gave the original names from which the given names derived, for example, *Julie* is a feminine form of *Julius* while *Casi* derives from *Cassandra.* None of the Botswana respondents gave any information regarding the sources of the names, which are all recorded as unknown.

In Scotland the respondents knew the meanings of only 28.4% of the names. This means that 71.6% of the names were given for other reasons besides meaning, so meaning was not highly

regarded by name givers. Classical names are the second most common type of names in Scotland. These results may be an indication that the meanings and sources of these names are no longer accessible to current users and name givers. In Botswana none of the respondents knew the sources nor the meanings of the names as both are recorded as 0% and neither did they have any kind of information relating to the names.

4.2.2.3 Motivations for Names from Classical Tradition

Figure 4-15: Motivation for Classical Tradition Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Not known/given	29	28.4%
	Other	28	27.5%
	Named for someone	24	23.5%
	Parents liked it	12	11.8%
	Family name	9	8.8%
		Total: 102	Total: 100%
Botswana	Not known/given	10	83.3%
	Other	1	8.3%
	Parents liked it	1	8.3%
	Named for someone	0	0%
	Family name	0	0%
		Total: 12	Total: 99.9%

The motivations behind names from classical tradition in both countries have no connections to their sources as the data has no indication of that. In both countries the motivations are largely Not known/given; Scotland records 28.4% of these while Botswana indicates 83.3% of the same. These high percentages of unknown motivations could be because the name givers do not consider classical tradition as a significant motivation for giving a name or that they do not even know that the names are from that source, especially the Botswana respondents. As with biblical names, the majority of respondents are not the name givers, and so they would not be privy to such information. In Scotland the highest percentage of motivations come from the Other category. These are at 27.5% and they include the following; 'the name is internationally recognised and easy to pronounce in every language' and 'the name could be shortened easily.' Further reasons given are that the name flows into the surname and that the parents wanted a name that was not common at the time. Some of the respondents gave very personal reasons for choosing their names; one stated that they underwent a sex change and so had to change their name to suit their new gender. For some, the name was chosen because

they did not like their original name and so they chose a new one. The reasons are varied and some are more intimate and specific to individuals. In Botswana the name *Margaret* was the only one whose motivation was stated under the Other category. It is said that the name was chosen because it is an English one and it was influenced by the desire to be white. The respondent who gave this name is its bearer so it is assumed that it is the name giver who had desired to be white and not the name bearer.

The third most common reason for classical tradition names in Scotland is because the child was named for someone: this stands at 23.5% but is unrepresented in Botswana. The person that the child is named for is mostly specified as a mother, father, paternal or maternal grandparent. However, in some cases it is not someone that the child is related to, someone was named *Martyn* after the mother's dentist. Some of the names were influenced by the media, for example; one was named after a popular opera singer while another was named after *Christopher* in *Winnie the Pooh*. There is also *Laura* who was named after a character in the television drama *The Little House on the Prairie*. Although there are indications that some children were named for people outside the family, the strongest influence was from naming the child after relatives. The fourth highest motivation for name giving in Scotland is that the parents liked the name, which is at 11.8%. In Botswana the same reason is given for one name which is 8.3% of the names. These varied motivations for the giving of a classical name indicate that the process may be the result of very intimate and emotional reasons or light-hearted ones.

The least common motivation in both countries is that the name is a family one which is at 8.8% in Scotland and is unrepresented in Botswana. There may be overlaps between the categories of 'family name' and 'named for someone'. The categories are treated independently because the data shows that children may be named for people who are not necessarily family, for example, the media as discussed above, so the name given would not be a family one. If a name is regarded as a family name it means that it has existed in the family before, so the child would be named for someone living or dead with that particular name. The data, however, does not indicate the length of time such names have existed in the families so it is difficult to conclude whether it has existed for a short or long period of time. The name is just indicated as a family name without any further explanation.

Although respondents in Scotland knew the sources of 4.9% of the names and 28.4% of their meanings, neither of these is given as a motivation for the giving of the names. This shows that

the motivation for the giving of a classical tradition name in Scotland has no link to its meaning or source. The motivations are varied and differ from person to person. In Botswana the sources and meanings of the names are unknown and are both represented at 0%, therefore it is to be expected that neither meaning nor source would be given as the motivation for the names.

4.2.3 Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition

Figure 4-16 gives the proportions of names from Germanic and Celtic tradition in Botswana and Scotland according to tokens and types.

Figure 4-16: Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition

Name Category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Germanic and Celtic Tradition	Scotland	63	19.1%	48	23.9%
	Botswana	18	10.8%	16	12%

This category, as the name implies, derives from Germanic and Celtic traditions, Hanks et al (2006:xvii) have observed that 'after Christianity and Germanic royalty, the greatest influence on the stock of names in the English-speaking world has been the Celtic tradition.' Names from Celtic traditions mainly originate from Scottish and Irish Gaelic as well as from Welsh and some have become anglicized over the years and their original forms have completely faded away. In Figure 4-16, name tokens that derive from Germanic and Celtic sources make up 19.1% of the lexically non-transparent names in Scotland while in Botswana they are represented at 10.8%. In Scotland this category of names is the third most common after biblical and classical names whereas it is the least common type in Botswana. In Scotland names from Germanic and Celtic tradition represent 23.9% of the types of lexically non-transparent names while in Botswana they represent 12% of the same. In both countries the type percentage is a little higher than the token percentage so they have a relatively high type-token ratio.

Names that derive from Irish and Scottish Gaelic in Scotland include; *Kenneth* which is an anglicized form of two Gaelic names, *Cinaed* and *Cainnech*, *Kevin* which is also anglicized from the Gaelic name *Caoimhìn*, and *Alistair/ Alasdair* which is a Gaelic form of *Alexander*. Examples of names that derive from Germanic tradition in Scotland include *Emma*, which is originally a short form of compound names like *Ermintrude* but has since become a name in its own right, and which was made popular in medieval England by the fact that it was borne

by the mother of Edward the Confessor. Another name represented in the Scotland data with Germanic origins is *Alice* which is originally a short version of the Germanic name *Adalheidis* but over the years it too has become regarded as a distinct name. The Botswana data contains some of the same examples of names of Gaelic origin as the Scottish data such as *Kenneth* and *Kevin*. From Germanic origins the Botswana data also has *Emma* and *Freddy* which is a pet form of *Frederick* from *fred, frid* 'peace' + *rīc* 'power, ruler'. As previously stated, all the name definitions in the lexically non-transparent category are from Hanks et al (2006).

4.2.3.1 Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition and Gender

This section discusses the proportions of names from Germanic and Celtic tradition in the two countries in relation to gender.

Figure 4-17: Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	40	63.5%	28	58.3%
Female	23	36.5%	20	41.7%
	Total: 63	100%	Total: 48	100%

Figure 4-18: Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	7	38.9%	7	43.8%
Female	11	61.1%	9	56.2%
	Total: 18	100%	Total: 16	100%

In Scotland there are more male name tokens (63.5%) from Germanic and Celtic sources than female name tokens which are at 36.5%. This scenario is the opposite of the one presented by names from classical tradition where there are more female names than male ones. In Botswana there are more female name tokens at 61.1% as compared to male ones at 38.9%. This picture is the same as the one presented by names from classical tradition where there are more female name tokens than male ones. The proportions for the name types indicate the same trend as that of name tokens, in Scotland there are 58.3% of male types and 41.7% of female types while in Botswana there are 43.8% of male types and 56.2% of female types.

4.2.3.2 Etymology and Meaning of Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition

Figure 4-19: Etymology and Meaning of Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition

Country	Source known	% source	Meaning known	% Meaning
Scotland	11/63	17.5%	22/63	34.9%
Botswana	0/18	0%	0/18	0%

Figure 4-19 illustrates the respondents' knowledge of the sources and meanings of names from the Germanic and Celtic tradition category in the two countries. Respondents in Scotland gave the sources of the names using specific labels such as Germanic, Celtic, Gaelic, Welsh and Irish origins which is an indication that the respondents are very familiar with the origins of the names that they gave. In Scotland the respondents know the sources of 17.5% of the names that they gave. Although 82.5% of the sources are unknown, the figure was still unexpected because the information on the sources of the names is not readily available. Examples of names whose sources are indicated are, *William*-Germanic, *Gavin*-Celtic, *Trevor*-Welsh and *Kenneth*-Gaelic. One of the respondents who gave the origins of the name *Kenneth* clearly stated that the name is an anglicized version of the Gaelic names *Cinaed* and *Cainnech* which shows that they are very much aware of its origins. Respondents in Scotland know the meanings of 34.9% of the names which is surprising as the meanings of most such names have become opaque to modern day name givers and users. Some of the popular names whose meanings are given include the following; *Alice* 'noble', *Henry* 'powerful ruler', *Gavin* 'hawk' and *Alasdair/ Alistair* 'warrior'. The fact that the respondents are not familiar with 82.5% of the sources of the given names and 65.1% of their meanings indicates that the names were given for other reasons apart from their sources and meanings. The Botswana data on the other hand indicates that the respondents did not know the sources and meanings of the names as both are recorded as 0%. This also shows that the choice of these names in Botswana was not dependent on their source or meaning.

4.2.3.3 Motivations for Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition

Figure 4-20: Motivation for Names from Germanic and Celtic Tradition

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Not known/given	24	38.1%
	Other	23	36.5%
	Named for someone	6	9.5%
	Family name	5	7.9%
	Parents liked it	5	7.9%
		Total: 63	**Total: 99.9%**
Botswana	Not known/given	12	66.7%
	Other	4	22.2%
	Named for someone	1	5.5%
	Parents liked it	1	5.5%
	Family Name	0	0%
		Total: 18	**Total: 99.9%**

According to Figure 4-20 the motivations behind names from Germanic and Celtic tradition are mainly Not known/given in both countries; in Scotland this category is the highest at 38.1% while in Botswana it is also the most common at 66.7%. The source or meaning of the names do not feature in the category for name motivation in either country which means that neither was considered as a motivating factor for giving the name. The second most common factors for giving the names in both countries are varied and are grouped under the category of Other. In Scotland these stand at 36.5% and they vary from respondent to respondent. For example; someone was named *Connor* because his parents 'wanted a strong Celtic name which has never been used in the family before as a first name'. Another was named *Jennifer* which was the name of a sibling's doll because the parents could not agree on any of the names that they had chosen. They settled for the name *Jennifer* as a compromise. Generally, the Scotland data does not show any examples where the traits or qualities associated with the meaning of a name are given as motivating factors for the choice of the name; however, there is an example of such in this category. In this instance the respondent has given the meaning of the name *Kevin* as 'kind and gentle' and goes on to state that his brother was given the name because 'he was a gentle baby who never cried'. Although the actual meaning of the name *Kevin* derives from the Gaelic word *caomh* 'comely, beloved' and does not mean kind or gentle, the point is that there is an attempted connection made between the meaning of the name and the traits of the name bearer. The name *Scott* is also said to be given because it makes reference to the bearer's

heritage and culture. Both respondents who bear the name *Scott* state that it was given to them because they are Scottish and their parents wanted a name that reflected their heritage. This is a naming strategy that is observed more in the Botswana data than in the Scotland data.

The categories of 'Named for someone' and 'Family name' are treated as distinct here, the same way as in section 4.2.2.3 because there are indications that respondents were named for both family and non-family members. The category of 'Named for someone' is the third highest in Scotland at 9.5% and most of the respondents were named for family members while only 2/6 were named for non-family members. One was named after her mother's friend while the other was given the name of a music band that his father liked. Although the name of a band is not the same as that of a person, the idea is that the person was named for something else other than a family member. The fourth highest category is that of names which were given because they are family names at 7.5%. Examples of names given in this way are *Alisdair, Jennifer* and *Rudolf*. Names that are regarded as family names go beyond the so-called 'traditional or conventional' names such as *John*, *Margaret or Peter*. Another 7.9% of the names were given because the parents liked them or liked the way they sounded. The names *Alice* and *Gavin* were given because the parents liked them while *Emma* was given because the parents liked the way it sounded. The reasons of liking a name and liking how it sounds are grouped together here as they express a similar idea although the idea might be debatable as it may be argued that liking a name is not the same as liking its sound as the liking may be connected to the orthographic features of the name and not its phonological features.

Figure 4-20 illustrates that the motivations behind the majority of the names in Botswana were Not known/given at 66.7%. The second highest category is that of Other which is at 22.2% and examples are *Ronald* 'to show happiness and being thankful' and *Marriet* 'named by relative'. The name *Sheila* has a rather unusual motivation as given by the respondent, who did not know the actual meaning of the name. Their interpretation is that the name made reference to the Setswana word *sila* which means 'to grind'. The family survived through grinding sorghum with a stone, so they anglicized the word *sila* into the name *Sheila*. The categories of Named for someone and Parents liked the name are at 5.5% each. As with previous name categories of biblical and classical tradition, this category does not have the motivation of a name given because it is a family name. This is a motivation that is specific to the Scotland data. Although respondents in Scotland were able to give sources of 17.5% of the names and meanings of 34.9%, neither the source nor the meaning appears as a motivating factor for the choice of the

name. In Botswana, this was expected as none of the respondents gave the source or the meaning of the names.

4.2.4 Names from Other Languages

Figure 4-21 presents the proportions of names from Other languages in Botswana and Scotland according to types and tokens.

Figure 4-21: Names from Other Languages

Name Category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Other Languages	Scotland	46	13.9%	45	22.4%
	Botswana	53	31.9%	49	36.8%

The Scotland data for this study was collected in Glasgow which is a cosmopolitan city that hosts people from many different countries and cultures, and with varied languages. These languages will include English as the dominant language, other Scotland native minority languages and the non-native ones. According to the NRS (2013), the 2011 population census revealed that 93% of the people over the age of three in Scotland spoke English which means that it is the most common language in Glasgow. The Other Languages category comprises names that derive from languages that are non-native to Scotland. These names are categorized under lexically non-transparent names because they appear so to the researcher but they may be lexically transparent to the speakers of those languages. The Scotland data indicates that there are respondents from different countries such as Nigeria, Hungary, Indonesia and China; therefore, the expectation is to have names in this category from languages of these countries. Figure 4-21 indicates that in Scotland there are 13.9% tokens of names from Other languages and 22.4% types of the same.

Although Setswana is spoken by the majority of people in Botswana as their mother tongue, there are many other independent languages that co-exist with it but without any mutual intelligibility between them. These languages include the Ikalanga, Otjiherero, Sekgalagadi and Khoisan languages. The names categorized under this section come from some of these languages and others which are not specified here but which exist in the Botswana language landscape. Languages like Ikalanga in Botswana and Gaelic in Scotland are treated differently, the former as an independent language and the latter as a cognate because of their different statuses. Although historically Gaelic was a vernacular first language for most people, that is

not the case in this current era and hence its treatment as a cognate and not as an independent language. Ikalanga, however, is still a first language for many people in Botswana in the current era. According to Figure 4-21, in Botswana there are 31.9% of name tokens from Other languages and 36.8% of the name types.

4.2.4.1 Names from Other Languages and Gender

This section discusses the names from Other languages in the two countries in relation to gender.

Figure 4-22: Names from Other Languages and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	18	39.1%	18	39.1%
Female	28	60.9%	28	60.9%
	Total: 46	100%	Total: 46	100%

Figure 4-23: Names from other Languages and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	22	41.5%	19	39.6%
Female	31	58.5%	29	60.4%
	Total: 53	100%	Total: 48	100%

According to the figures above there are more female name tokens than male ones in both countries. In Scotland there are 60.9% female name tokens from Other languages as compared to 39.1% of male tokens. The same scenario is evident in Botswana where there are 58.5% of female tokens as compared to 41.5% of male tokens. In Scotland the name types total is the same as that of the name tokens because each of the names recorded occurs only once. This might be because the names in this category belong to languages that are not native to Scotland and would only have a few speakers, making them uncommon. In Botswana there are 60.4% of female name types and 39.6% of male name types. There are two names that occur more than once, which are *Taboka* 'I am thankful' and *Unopa* 'He (God) gives', which both belong to the Ikalanga language which is spoken mainly in the northern part of Botswana.

4.2.4.2 Etymology and Meaning of Names from Other Languages

Figure 4-24: Etymology and Meaning of Names from Other Languages

Country	Source known	% source	Meaning known	% Meaning
Scotland	27/46	58.7%	40/46	87%
Botswana	11/53	20.8%	23/53	43.4%

Figure 4-24 presents the data for the etymology and meaning of names from Other languages in both countries. The figure indicates that in Scotland respondents know the sources of 58.7% of the names that they gave. The sources of the names are mostly given as the languages that they come from and as stated above these are languages that are not native to Scotland. Examples of the languages represented by the names are Greek, Hungarian, Yoruba, Irish and Armenian. The percentage of the names whose sources are known is very high for this category as compared to the former categories of Biblical, Classical tradition and Germanic and Celtic sources. This is despite the fact that the questionnaire did not ask the respondents to give the sources of the names *per se* but rather asked for the meanings and significances of the names. Respondents were, however, very forthcoming with the information on the language sources of the names. In Scotland respondents gave the meanings of 87% of the names that they provided which is the highest knowledge of name meaning thus far in comparison to those given in the former categories. It is assumed that the knowledge of the meanings of these names is high because the names are lexically transparent in their source languages and so meanings are readily available to the speakers of the languages. There are examples that indicate that some of the names are from ordinary, everyday words in the vocabulary of the languages that they come from. For example; *Kinga* 'battle' (Hungarian), *Arunas* 'eagle' (Lithuanian), *Nga* 'swan' (Vietnamese) and *Adibimpe* 'completeness' (Yoruba). The meanings of the names are not only confined to single words as some are in the form of clauses and complete sentences. Examples of these are; *Olubukunola* 'God adds to wealth' (Yoruba), *Vladimira* 'ruler of the world' (Slavic) and *Shammah* 'Jehovah is there' (Hebrew). It is important to note that the information on the sources and meanings of the names is taken as given by the respondents and it has not been verified by the researcher as they are in languages that the researcher is not competent in.

In Botswana respondents know the sources of 20.8% of the names that they gave which is a rather low percentage considering that these are presumably from the languages that the respondents speak and are also native to Botswana. It is assumed that most of the respondents

do know the source languages of the names although they did not state them. Also, the low percentage could be because the questionnaire did not specifically ask for the sources of the names but rather for their meanings and significances. It is acknowledged that a pilot study would have helped to iron out some of the data collection issues but it was not practical because of the expenses involved in travelling between the two countries. The other reason could be that the respondents assumed that the researcher knew the source languages from which the names come from because they are native to Botswana. The sources of these names are mostly native to Botswana but there are others like Shona, Ndebele and Afrikaans which are not. The knowledge of the sources of these names is the highest after biblical names as both Classical tradition and Germanic and Celtic tradition categories recorded 0% for knowledge of sources. In Botswana the respondents know the meanings of 43.4% of the names that they gave which is thus far the highest recorded percentage of knowledge of meaning for a category. It can also be surmised that the reason for this is that the names are in the form of ordinary words in the language and so they are lexically transparent. The meanings of the names also come as single words or complete sentences. Examples include the following; *Esulu* 'clouds' (Ndebele), *Tshauwe* 'hand' (Sesarwa), *Unopa* 'He (God) gives' (Ikalanga) and *Taboka* 'I am thankful' (Ikalanga). As with the Scotland data, the examples presented here on sources and meanings of the names are as given by respondents and have not been verified further.

4.2.4.3 Motivations for Names from Other Languages

Figure 4-25: Motivation for Names from Other Languages

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Other	25	54.3%
	Not known/given	9	19.6%
	Named for someone	6	13%
	Parents liked it	5	10.9%
	Family name	1	2.2%
		Total: 46	**Total: 100%**
Botswana	Other	28	52.8%
	Not known/given	20	37.7%
	Named for someone	4	7.5%
	Parents liked it	1	1.9%
	Family name	0	0%
		Total: 53	**Total: 99.9%**

Generally, the motivations for the names in this category are known as Figure 4-25 indicates. In Scotland the motivations categorised as Other are the highest at 54.3%. These motivations are unique and specific to a particular name because they sometimes make reference to events and/or situations of the family at the time of the birth. For example; a respondent was named *Adibimpe* 'completeness' (Yoruba), because her parents thought that she was going to be their last child, so the name was motivated by the idea that they thought that they were finished with child bearing. *Shahram* 'calm king' (Iranian), was named so because he had two other siblings whose names had the sounds /sh/ so the parents wanted to continue that trend. *Zagik* 'flower' (Armenian) was so named because her mother liked flowers so the father decided to name her after flowers. Another was named *Nga* 'swan' (Vietnamese) because she was the first born and the parents wanted to give her a name that symbolises beauty and femininity. The second highest category of the motivations is Not known/given and is represented at 19.6%, followed by the category of Named for someone at 13%. All the respondents in the latter category were named for family members except for two who were named after a character in a movie that the mother liked and after a family friend respectively. The next category of names was given because the parents liked them and these are represented at 10.9%. The last category is that of a Family name and there is only one (2.2%) example of such a name in this category. The idea of a 'family name' does exist in other languages although it is not as prevalent (according to the current data) as in the English language because the name comes from Albanian (*Spiro* 'basket used to carry seeds').

In Botswana the highest motivation category is that of Other at 52.8%. Examples of motivations in this category include the following; *Taboka* 'we are thankful' (Ikalanga) which shows appreciation of the child they received, and *Chedu* 'ours' (Ikalanga) which makes reference to the love of the parents for each other, that they had the child out of love. Many of the motivations in this category make reference to God and the following examples all come from the Ikalanga language; *Unopa* 'He (God) gives', *Unami* 'He (God) is with me' and *Mbigabyi* 'saviour (God)'. The second highest category of motivations is Not known/given at 37.7%. The category of Named for someone is at 7.5% and two of the respondents were named for family members while the other two were named for people outside the family. One was named *Londa* after a character in a book that her mother read and the other was named *Jabulani* 'be happy' (Zulu) after a neighbour. In the fourth category there is only one respondent (1.9%) who was given a name because the parents liked it and the last category of Family name is represented at 0%. The category of Family name is not common amongst the Botswana but is

mostly found in Scotland. As with previous categories the meaning or source of the names is not given as a motivating factor for choosing the names in either country.

4.2.5 Names derived from Other Names

This section presents and discusses names that are derived from other names. This category is not represented in the current Scotland data but exists in the Botswana data, so the discussion will only focus on Botswana.

Figure 4-26: Names derived from Other Names

Name Category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Names derived from other Names	Botswana	26	15.7%	25	18.8%

Names derived from other names in this context refer to names that come from other names such as surnames and place names and have been used as given or first names. Some of these names are compounded names made up of two elements, a prefix and a noun-like structure. The names discussed here are considered to be Setswana names because of their phonological structures or sound combinations which resemble those of Setswana words although their meanings are unknown. Examples of these include; *Morabi*, *Sebeya*, *Mmantho* and *Mmamota*. The names are considered lexically non-transparent because neither the respondents nor the researcher could give their meanings. However, it is noted that some speakers of Setswana language may be able to decipher their meanings.

4.2.5.1 Names derived from Other Names and Gender

This section discusses names derived from other names in relation to gender.

Figure 4-27: Names derived from Other Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	10	38.5%	10	40%
Female	16	61.5%	15	60%
	Total: 26	100%	Total: 25	100%

According to Figure 4-27 there are more female name tokens at 61.5% as compared to male tokens at 38.5%. In relation to the name types there are still more female name types at 60% as compared to male types at 40%. The majority of the female names in this category are compounds made up of the prefix *mma* which indicates femaleness (Mrs, Miss, Mother or wife of) and a noun-like structure. The second part of the name, the noun-like structure, is the part whose meaning is not decipherable and that is why the names are categorised as lexically non-transparent. The male names, on the other hand, are mostly names that are commonly used as surnames, but in this instance they are given as first names; for example, *Molefe*, *Moaletsane* and *Malete*.

4.2.5.2 Etymology and Meaning of Names derived from Other Names

Figure 4-28: Etymology and Meaning of Names derived from Other Names

Country	Source known	% source	Meaning known	% Meaning
Botswana	0/26	0%	0/26	0%

As stated in section 4.2.5, the names in this category are considered to be from Setswana because of their phonological and morphological structures, but they are still regarded as lexically non-transparent because their meanings cannot be deduced. None of the respondents gave the sources of the names that they provided and so this is recorded at 0%. The respondents were not expected to give the sources of the names as names derived from other names or anything related to that but potentially they could have indicated the source languages of the names. However, it is possible that they did not see the need for that as the names are considered to be Setswana names so they assumed the researcher would know that. The knowledge of the meanings of the names is also recorded at 0%. Most of the names in this category are compounds, for example; *Mmakibika-Mma* (Mrs, Miss, Mother or wife of) + *kibika* (unknown), *Ramasebetha-Ra* (Mr/father of) + *sebetha* (unknown). The meaning of the first part of the name is known but that of the second part remains unknown. Some of the names are commonly used as surnames such as *Mokone, Mathusu* and *Sebeya*, all of whose meanings are unknown.

4.2.5.3 Motivations for Names derived from Other Names
This section discusses the motivations behind names derived from other names as given by respondents.

Figure 4-29: Motivation for Names derived from Other Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Not known/given	21	80.8%
	Named for someone	5	19.2%
	Other	0	0%
	Parents liked it	0	0%
	Family Name	0	0%
		Total: 26	**Total: 100%**

Figure 4-29 indicates that the motivations behind the majority of these names are Not known/given at 80.8%. This high rate could be because the meanings of the names are also unknown. The second highest motivation is that the children were named for someone which is at 19.2%. The children were named for both people in and outside the family. For example; *Malete* was re-named after his grandfather, he was given a different name at birth but his grandfather died a few days later so he was re-named after him and the initial name was discarded. *Mathusu* was named after a traditional doctor who attended to him when he was sick as a baby. All the other motivation categories of Other, Parents liked it and Family name were recorded as 0%.

4.2.6 Name Categories and Gender

Figures 4-30 and 4-31 indicate statistical representations of lexically non-transparent name categories and gender in the two countries. In Scotland there are more female lexically non-transparent names as compared to male ones, although the difference is very minimal. Furthermore, there are no gender-neutral names in this category which indicates that the names are very gender specific. The Botswana data shows the same scenario, there are more female name tokens than male ones and there are no androgynous names represented.

Figure 4-30: Scotland Name Categories and Gender

Name Category	Male	Female	Neutral	Total
Biblical	72	47	0	119
Classic tradition	33	69	0	102
Germanic and Celtic tradition	40	23	0	63
Other languages	18	28	0	46
Names from other names	0	0	0	0
Total	**163**	**167**	**0**	**330**

Figure 4-31: Botswana Name Categories and Gender

Name Category	Male	Female	Neutral	Total
Biblical	37	20	0	57
Classic tradition	2	10	0	12
Germanic and Celtic tradition	7	11	0	18
Other languages	22	31	0	53
Names from other names	10	16	0	26
Total	**78**	**88**	**0**	**166**

4.2.7 Conclusion

This section has discussed lexically non-transparent names in the two countries which make up 93.5% of the total name tokens for Scotland and 8.3% of the name tokens in Botswana. It is clear that the majority of the name tokens in Scotland are lexically non-transparent, while the majority in Botswana are lexically transparent. It is critical to look beyond the surface of this categorisation as there are many factors at play which resulted in this broad categorisation. The names were further divided into 5 categories according to their etymologies, namely; biblical, classical tradition, Germanic and Celtic tradition, Other languages and names derived from other names. The decision to use these categories was a conscious one based on the fact that they are established and have been used before especially in European contexts so it was practical to use the same, especially for lexically non-transparent names. Each category was discussed in relation to gender, etymology and meaning and the motivations behind the names in each category as given by the respondents. Generally, this chapter has established that neither the source nor the meaning of the lexically non-transparent names has any direct bearing on their popularity and choice or lack thereof. As stated earlier, there is a high proportion of names from other languages especially in Scotland, a result which was not anticipated. This indicates that names which are not native to Scotland are slowly becoming common in the country. This is evident in the National Records of Scotland (2017), which has indicated that a name such as *Mohammed* which is originally Arabic is slowly becoming very popular in the country and is currently at the 36th position, having moved up 11 places in 2017.

This chapter has presented the proportions of the lexically transparent and lexically non-transparent names in the two countries and the results have confirmed the initial hypothesis that the majority of the names in Botswana are lexically transparent while those in Scotland are lexically non-transparent. The analysis has reiterated the observation made by previous

studies (Hanks et al 2006) on European names and (Otlogetswe 2008) on names of European origin in Botswana, that biblical names are the most popular as compared to those of other etymological categories. The analysis further indicates that male biblical names are more common than female ones. Furthermore, this chapter has also investigated the motivations behind the lexically non-transparent names in the two countries, a dimension of the names that has not been explored before. No previous studies have categorised names of European origin found in Botswana according to their etymological categories as this study has done. These names have previously been labelled as just 'English' names, so this chapter has contributed some new knowledge in this regard.

5. Analysis and Discussion: Lexically Transparent Names

5.1 Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana and Scotland

This chapter follows from the previous one and presents and discusses the semantic aspects of lexically transparent names in Botswana and Scotland and further discusses the motivations behind the giving of these names. The aim is to reveal the overall profiles of semantic categories of names in the two countries. As stated previously (section 4.1), a lexically transparent name is one whose meaning is readily accessible to the users and givers of the name. Linguistic competence varies from one individual to another, so minor variations concerning degrees of transparency are to be expected. Lexical transparency in this study is therefore determined by the researcher's competence in the languages involved as there is no verification or authentication from external sources, in relation to the transparency or lack thereof of the names involved. The researcher is a native speaker of Setswana and a fluent speaker of English. The proportions of the lexically transparent names in the two countries are presented and discussed first before the names are further divided into different semantic categories.

Figure 5-1: Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Lexically transparent	Botswana	1,829	91.7%	908	87.2%
	Scotland	23	6.5%	19	8.6%

Figure 5-1 gives proportions of lexically transparent names by token and type in the two countries. It indicates that Botswana has the highest proportion of lexically transparent name tokens at 91.7% as well as a higher name type at 87.2%. Scotland on the other hand has a very low proportion of lexically transparent name tokens at 6.5% and the name type proportion is 8.6%. The study had initially hypothesised that personal names in Botswana are lexically transparent while those in Scotland are not, so the results are broadly in line with the expectations but show that the picture is in fact more nuanced. The total number of name tokens collected and analysed in Botswana is 1,995 while in Scotland the total is 353. In relation to name types the Botswana data indicates that there are 1,041 name types in total while there are 220 name types in Scotland (See Figures 4-1 and 4-2).

There is no previous evidence of an extensive semantic categorisation of lexically transparent names in the two countries, therefore there are no established semantic categories to refer to as with the lexically non-transparent names. Although Hanks et al (2006: xx) mentions precious stones, flowers and desirable qualities as some of the sources that European personal names can derive from, the list is not as extensive as to cover all lexically transparent names found in Scotland. It is therefore predicted that the majority of lexically transparent names in Scotland (native to Scotland) would belong to the categories stated above because they are already established. In addition to the aforementioned categories, the current study's semantic categorisation is largely original to this study as its creation was influenced by the data.

5.2 Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana and Scotland

This section presents and discusses the semantic categories of lexically transparent names in the two countries as indicated by Figures 5-2 and 5-3.

Figure 5-2: Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Scotland

Semantic category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Activities	0	0%	0	0%
Animals and birds	4	17.4%	1	5.3%
Appreciation	0	0%	0	0%
Biblical	0	0%	0	0%
Birth order	0	0%	0	0%
Culture and cultural practices	0	0%	0	0%
Emotions	0	0%	0	0%
Gender indicative	0	0%	0	0%
God related	0	0%	0	0%
Months of the year	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Occupation and position in society	0	0%	0	0%
Physical characteristics	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Plants and flowers	5	21.7%	5	26%
Possessions	0	0%	0	0%
Precious stones and metals	2	8.7%	2	10.5%
Situations	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Symbolism and symbolic objects	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Virtues	7	30.4%	6	31.6%
Weather state	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
	Total: 23	100%	Total: 19	100%

Figure 5-3: Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana

Semantic category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Activities	219	12%	136	15%
Animals and birds	12	0.6%	11	1.2%
Appreciation	81	4.4%	15	1.7%
Biblical	9	0.5%	5	0.6%
Birth order	38	2.1%	17	1.9%
Culture and cultural practices	23	1.3%	16	1.8%
Emotions	100	5.5%	35	3.9%
Gender indicative	46	2.5%	25	2.8%
God related	270	14.8%	130	14.3%
Months of the year	2	0.1%	2	0.2%
Occupation and position in society	203	11.1%	95	10.5%
Physical characteristics	28	1.5%	26	2.9%
Plants and flowers	8	0.4%	6	0.7%
Possession	30	1.6%	13	1.4%
Precious stones and metals	3	0.2%	2	0.2%
Situation	161	8.8%	146	16%
Symbolism and symbolic objects	287	15.7%	138	15.2%
Virtues	272	14.9%	73	8%
Weather state	37	2%	17	1.3%
	Total: 1,829	**100%**	Total: 908	**100%**

Figures 5-2 and 5-3 divide lexically transparent names in Botswana and Scotland into 19 semantic categories. In Scotland only 9 of these categories are represented in the data while the rest are not. All the 19 categories are represented in the Botswana data. Whereas lexically non-transparent names were categorised according to already established categories such as biblical, classical tradition and Germanic and Celtic traditions, the current categorisation of lexically transparent names is original and has been determined by the data. There are currently no established semantic categories for lexically transparent names, especially in the Botswana context, therefore, the development of the categories used has been a bottom-up process. This means that the data had to be analysed first and grouped into main themes which then resulted in the 19 semantic categories that are used. Although every effort was made to create categories that were as distinct and independent as possible, there is inevitably some fuzziness between category boundaries, as well as individual names that could belong to more than one category.

This will be discussed further in the concluding section of this chapter and will also be highlighted in the limitations of the study.

5.2.1 Activity Names

Figure 5-4: Activity Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Activity	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	219	12%	136	15%

Figure 5-4 presents the proportions of Activity names in Botswana and Scotland. This study defines an Activity name as one that denotes any kind of activity taking place and derives from a verb. These names are unrepresented in the Scotland data but there are 12% of these name tokens and 15% of their types in Botswana. The names appear as different syntactic structures; base form of the verb; *Bitsa* 'call', infinitive form of the verb; *Gobona* 'to see', first person indicative form; *Keamogetse* 'I have received' and question forms; *Kedirileng* 'what have I done?' The names contain a verb in any form to indicate something happening or being done. Activity names are the fourth highest category of lexically transparent names in Botswana which indicates that they are amongst the most common types of names in the country.

5.2.1.1 Activity Names and Gender in Botswana
Figure 5-5: Activity Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	59	26.9%%	49	36%
Female	74	33.8%	62	45.6%
Male & Female	82	37.4%	21	15.4%
Not indicated	4	1.8%	4	3%
	Total: 219	100%	Total: 136	100%

Figure 5-5 indicates that there are 37.4% gender neutral name tokens in this category. Furthermore, there are more female specific name tokens at (33.8%), than male ones which are at 26.9%. There are 1.8% of name tokens whose gender is not indicated. There are 45.6% of the female name types and 36% of the male types, while those which belong to both males and females are at 15.4%. The last 3% are those whose gender is not indicated. The lack of gender indication is considered an oversight on the part of the respondents because in this section of

the questionnaire the respondents were giving the names of their family members, people they are familiar with so there was no way they would not know their gender. The transparent meaning of these names can determine their gender assignment because in a number of instances the gender of the name is embedded in its meaning and in the cultural connotations associated with the name. For example; a name like *Ogotseng* 'make it (fire)' is male specific because in Setswana culture the making of a fire in the morning is the responsibility of the boy child, so it would sound inappropriate when assigned to a female child. Similarly, a name like *Mpelegang* 'put me on your back' is female specific because traditionally a woman is the child caregiver in the family and part of that involves putting the child on their back. The name makes reference to the idea that the child will be the caregiver of the parent in their old age. Gender neutral names in this category generally make reference to the act of receiving the child, for example; *Refilwe* 'we have been given', and *Amogelang* 'receive', the interest is in receiving the child that is given regardless of its gender. Other names in this category make reference to activities that are linked to God, for example; *Rorisang* 'praise (God)', *Rapelang* 'pray (to God)' and Bakang 'praise (God)'. The parents are appreciating God through the children's names and this appreciation does not seem to be determined by the child's gender.

5.2.1.2 Activity Names and Meaning in Botswana

Figure 5-6: Meaning of Activity Names

Country	No. of Meanings known	% of Meanings known
Botswana	207/219	94.5%

This section deals with the respondents' knowledge of the meaning of the names that they gave. It does not address the etymology of the names as did the previous section on lexically non-transparent names. This was important with lexically non-transparent names because that determined the sematic category within which they were categorised. However, with the lexically transparent names this is not essential as the semantic categorisation is mainly influenced by their meaning and the categories are also determined by the data. Figure 5-6 indicates that the respondents know the meaning of 94.5% of the names that they gave, which is a high proportion and very likely because of their lexical transparency. The issue of whether the meaning of the names as given by respondents is correct can be debated, but it was not pursued for two reasons. The first is that some of the names are lexically ambiguous as they can have two or more interpretations. For example, a name like *Kemo* can mean 'stop, wedding, stance' (see section 5.2.1.3). The second reason is that the correctness of the meanings of the

names was not dealt with in lexically non-transparent names so the same analysis model is used with this category of names. The data indicates that the respondents failed to give meanings of 5.5% of the names that they provided. It could be argued that this number is insignificant, but when taking into account that these are names that are regarded as lexically transparent and given by the people who are fluent speakers of the language in question, it does not seem insignificant. The respondents who failed to give meanings of the names they provided, and in some cases even those of their own names, are the youth in the age bracket of 18-25 years.

The activities described by the names are varied as they express an actual physical activity such as *Atarelang* 'receive with cupped hands': in Setswana culture, receiving with cupped hands is a sign of appreciation and respect for the giver. Many of the names may be loosely synonymous with each other, but each name carries its own semantic and cultural connotations which distinguishes it from others. This is exemplified by the names *Amogelang* 'receive' and *Atarelang* 'receive with cupped hands', which basically express the same idea though differently. Other names that express practical activities are; *Rwesang* 'place on somebody's head/put on', *Didimalang* 'keep quiet' and *Iphe* 'give yourself'. The names can also indicate mental activities like *Kereeditse* 'I am listening', *Boifang* 'fear /revere' and *Lemogang* 'be aware'.

This semantic categorisation has been informed by the current data, and is entirely original. The most significant challenge is that there are fuzzy boundaries between the categories, with some overlaps. Fuzziness is a recognised characteristic of category analysis. This study is situated within the framework of prototype theory which recognises fuzziness in categorisation. This means that a name can belong to more than one category and the category chosen was at the discretion of the researcher, working on the principle of trying to opt for neutral categories. The main motivating factor has been to try to assign names to what seems to be their primary category and not their secondary one. For example, a name like *Rapelang* 'pray' can also belong to the category of God related names because the general belief is that people pray to God, but it is acknowledged that people belong to different religious denominations besides Christianity, and they would pray to a different higher being. In the African Traditional Religion, for instance, people submit to their ancestors, so this categorisation was trying to encompass all these aspects. A name like *Kealeboga* 'I am thankful' could belong to the categories of activity and appreciation, but was categorised under the latter. The reason is that the act of being thankful is more a mental state than a practical state.

5.2.1.3 Motivation for Activity Names

Figure 5-7: Motivation for Activity Names

Country	Name motivation	No. of motivation	% of motivation
Botswana	Other	110	50.2%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	47	21.5%
	Family and birth circumstances	28	12.8%
	Not known/given	25	11.4%
	Named for someone	9	4.1%
		Total: 219	100%

The categories for name motivation for lexically transparent names differ from those for lexically non-transparent names. The name motivation categories were inspired by the reasons as given by the respondents. The former motivations as given in lexically non-transparent names such as Family name and Parents liked it do not feature in the current data, but the additional categories of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child and Family and birth circumstances were strongly represented. The highest category of motivation is that of Other at 50.2%; this category groups together different motivations which differ across names. Examples of motivations in this category include those influenced by meanings of Setswana proverbs. The Setswana language is rich in proverbs which carry meanings intended to teach, guide and inform, therefore it is fitting that it would have names that derive from these proverbs. There are two examples of names that derive from proverbs in this category. One is *Eephutha* 'it organises itself'. This is from a Setswana proverb that says, 'Tau e iphutha metlhala fa ele nosi, fa e na le ditawana ke mafaratlhatlha' which literally means that one is able to take stock and organise one's life when alone and not when there are many people around one. This name was given to a respondent who was born as an only child and the parents were justifying that fact. The decision to have one child was a conscious one as the parents wanted to lead an organised life without distractions that may be brought about by having many children. The other name derived from a proverb is *Oaipetla* 'it moulds itself'. This derives from the proverb, 'Moremogolo go betlwa wa taola, wa motho wa ipetla' which means that no one can mould another person into a better individual, but it is the responsibility of an individual to make themselves a better person. The name is a kind of advice to the child that he should strive to make himself a better person and not expect anyone else to do it for him. Other names communicate the wishes and desires of the parents, for example *Baakanyang*

'mend/repair': the parents were referring to the fact that they now have many children who will take care of them and give them a decent home. The parents were literally saying that the children should repair their home and make it habitable. The name *Letlanang* 'unite' was given as a wish for the children to grow up united and live harmoniously with each other. Some of the names, as stated above, had different motivations because of their polysemous meanings. This means that two identical names can be derived from different meanings of the same word. For example, *Kemo* 'stop' was an indication that the child would be the last one as the mother had finished with child bearing. The second definition, *Kemo* 'wedding', was given because the child was the first one after the parents got married.

The second highest motivation category is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 21.5%. These are names that parents use to acknowledge the presence of God in their lives and to praise and thank him for the child. This category also includes names that view the child as a gift and appreciate it as such. Examples of names that are used to acknowledge God are; *Bakang* 'praise/ glorify (God)', which was given to the only boy in the family so the parents were praising God for that; *Reetsang* 'listen (to God)', the name was a plea to other people to listen to God and become Christians; and *Batlang* 'seek (God)', which was an encouragement to people to seek God because he listens and answers prayers. The names are, however, not always positive. Some do not glorify God but express dissatisfaction with him. For example, the name *Kedirileng* 'what have I done?' was given because the mother had girl children only, and she was asking God what wrong she had committed not to receive a boy child. This indicates that through the names, the parents communicate with God about anything including issues that they are not happy about. Names that are given to appreciate the child are; *Kemmonye* 'I have seen her' which was given to appreciate a daughter who was born after 6 boys; *Keatlaretse* 'I have received with cupped hands' which shows that the mother was happy about receiving a daughter because she wanted one after having a boy. The cupping of hands, as mentioned, is an indication of respect and appreciation. *Kefilwe* 'I have been given' symbolises the appreciation of the child received as a gift from God.

The third highest motivation category is that of Family and birth circumstances at 12.8%. This category comprises motivations that were a result of the events taking place at the time of the birth or pregnancy and any other circumstances and situations of the time. These may be positive or negative. A respondent was named *Ontobetse* 'you have kept a secret from me' because the pregnancy was concealed from the family and unfortunately the baby was born

premature. The grandmother, who named the child, was telling her daughter that the reason why the child was born early was because she had concealed the pregnancy from her. In a way this was a warning to the daughter that keeping secrets is never good as they always came out unexpectedly. This indicates that Setswana names are not just identifying labels but are also used to teach and guide. A newly married mother named her child *Mpuseng* 'take me back', as an indirect plea to her in-laws to take her back to her parents' home because she was experiencing marital problems. In traditional Setswana culture when a wife wanted to divorce she could not leave her marital home on her own to go back to her parents' home. She was supposed to be taken back by her in-laws because if she left on her own her parents would take her back to her marital home. Another child was named *Kebadiretse* 'I did (this) for them' because the parents-in-law were complaining that the new wife was not giving them grandchildren so the name was a response to that complaint. Some of the names were a response to a death in the family at the time such as; *Kedibonye* 'I have experienced them (hardships)' because the mother lost the husband during pregnancy so she was making reference to the hardships she went through without her husband. *Keduetswe* 'I have been paid' makes reference to the fact that the mother had lost a child previously so the new one was like a payment. It is clear that in addition to being Activity names, most of the names discussed here are polemical. Polemical names cut across all other semantic categories although they are specifically discussed under Social situation names in section 5.2.15 because that is where there is a substantial number of them.

Rain is very important to the people of Botswana because they are farmers. The data indicates names that appreciate rain and make reference to it. *Enele* 'it has rained' was named because the mother had struggled to conceive for a long time and having the child was like having rain after a long drought. This name differs from those in the Weather state category because it is more metaphorical than literal. Other names are structured in the form of questions about the circumstances of the name givers and they hope to find answers to their questions through the names of their children. A mother named her child *Kebotsa* 'I am asking': the question was intended for the father of the child who deserted her after discovering that she was pregnant, so she was asking where he had disappeared to. Another child was named *Kedireng* 'what should I do?' but the data does not indicate what the name was referring to. Some of the names make reference to the birth order in the families, for example, *Ompatile* 'He keeps me company' was given by a grandfather to his grandson because there were no males in the family so the grandson was the only other male after the grandfather. The grandfather was appreciating

that he now has a male companion. Similarly, *Kefitlhile* 'I have arrived' was given to the only male child in the family.

There are 11.4% of names whose motivations are Not known/given. This could be because the respondents are not the name givers and therefore it is highly likely that they would not know their motivations. The last category is that of Named for someone which is at 4.1%. This type of name motivation does exist in Botswana although it is not as prevalent as in Scotland. The general idea behind this is to keep the memory of the person alive when they die and this is done by giving their name to a younger member of the family. The data indicate that most of those named for someone were named for relatives and not people outside the family. Examples of these are; *Akanyang* 'think' who was named after a paternal grandfather, and *Abipeng* 'hide/conceal it' who was named after a cousin, both of who had died.

5.2.2 Animal and Bird Names

Figure 5-8: Animal and Bird Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Animals and birds	Scotland	4	17.4%	1	5.3%
	Botswana	12	0.6%	11	1.2%

This category is made up of names that derive from those of animals and birds. This is one of the few categories of lexically transparent names that exist in both countries, although at low proportions. In Scotland there are 17.4% of these name tokens while in Botswana there are 0.6%. There are 5.3% of these name types in Scotland and 1.2% of the same in Botswana.

5.2.2.1 Animal and Bird Names and Gender

Figure 5-9: Animal and Bird Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	2	50%	1	100%
Female	2	50%	1	
	Total: 4	100%	Total: 1	100%

Figure 5-10: Animal and Bird Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	6	50%	6	54.5%
Female	6	50%	5	45.5%
	Total: 12	100%	Total: 11	100%

In Scotland the proportion of Animal and bird name tokens is equal for both genders at 50% and there is only one type of this name. The name *Robin* which derives from the name of a bird is the only type and it exists in two spellings of *Robin* and *Robyn*. According to Hanks et al (2006:232), 'the name was originally a pet form of *Robert* from the short form *Rob* + the diminutive suffix *-in*.' However, over the years it has become an independent name influenced by the word denoting the bird. Furthermore, they indicate that the *Robin* form is gender neutral while *Robyn* is female specific. The data, however, indicates that two females carry the *Robin* and *Robyn* forms while the males carry only the *Robin* form.

The Botswana data indicates the same scenario as Scotland in relation to the proportions of the tokens: there are 50% for each gender. There are 54.5% of the male types while there are 45.5% of the female types. The name types in Botswana are varied as compared to Scotland, this could be because these types of names have existed for quite some time in Botswana and have therefore become varied. The names run across both genders and do not seem to be specific to either gender. Names that make reference to animals seem to belong to both males and females although those borne by females are those of small animals like *Potsane* 'kid/small goat' and *Sebutlana* 'small rabbit' while those borne by males are not. Those borne by males refer to cattle as in *Rakgomo* 'father of/ Mr cattle' and *Wadipholo* 'the one of oxen'. Similarly, names that make reference to birds belong to both genders: *Boragane* 'a type of bird' belongs to a female while *Dikgaka* 'guinea fowls' is borne by a male. *Mavis* is the only name in this category that comes from English which is a type of bird also called song thrush. However, it is most likely that English speakers today would only recognise the name as a girl's name than as a type of a bird.

5.2.2.2 Animal and Bird Names and Meaning in Botswana and Scotland

Figure 5-11: Meaning of Animal and Bird Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Scotland	4/4	100%
Botswana	11/12	91.7%

In Scotland all the respondents who gave the name *Robin*/*Robyn* were able to state that it derives from the name of a bird of the same name. The word *robin* is common in the vocabulary of English, and therefore it is expected that the respondents will be able to tell its meaning. In Botswana respondents were able to give meanings of 91.7% of the names that they gave, which is also expected as these are regular words in the language. The only name whose meaning is not known is *Mavis* and the reason could be that it is English and it is most likely that the respondent does not know that this is a vocabulary word in the English language. The assumption is that it is regarded as a name which is lexically non-transparent.

5.2.2.3 Motivation for Animal and Bird Names in Botswana and Scotland

Figure 5-12: Motivation for Animal and Bird Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Other	3	75%
	Not known/given	1	25%
	Named for someone	0	0%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0%
	Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
		Total: 4	Total: 100%
Botswana	Other	6	50%
	Family and birth circumstances	4	33.3%
	Not known/given	2	16.7%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0%
	Named for someone	0	0%
		Total: 12	Total: 100%

This section presents and discusses the motivation behind Animal and bird names in the two countries. The grouping of the motivations is as used in section 5.2.1.3; they are influenced by the reasons given by respondents. The empty categories in each are included for consistency. The category of Other is the most common in both countries. In Scotland there are 75% of these motivations and all are with reference to just one name type, *Robin*/*Robyn*. One

respondent states that she was given the name because when her mother was pregnant with her she found a rock that was shaped like a bird with a red splash on its chest, and it reminded her of the bird robin so she gave her child the name *Robyn*. The name was influenced by an actual experience that the parent went through, which is something that is not common with name giving in Scotland. This kind of motivating factor is common in Botswana. Another respondent stated that her sister was given the name because the parents wanted a gender neutral name, so they named her *Robin*, and the third was so named because the parents liked the name. The next category of Not known/given is at 25%. The other potential categories of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child and Family and birth circumstances are unrepresented.

In Botswana the Other category is the most common at 50%. Within this category, there are motivations that make reference to the hopes and wishes of the parents concerning the child. For example; one was named *Rakgomo* 'Mr/father of cattle' because the parents hoped that he would grow up to provide for them like cattle provide for families. Another was named *Wadipholo* 'the one of oxen' because the wish was that he would become a rich man with a lot of oxen. Cattle have always been an important commodity amongst the Batswana as a main source of income because in the past someone's wealth was determined by the number of cattle they owned so it is understandable to have names that make reference to this notion. The other names in this category make reference to the size of the child at birth, those named *Sebutlana* 'small rabbit' and *Sekate* 'mongoose' were so named because they were small in size at birth.

The second highest category of motivations is that of Family and birth circumstances at 33.3%. Examples of names in this category are; *Potsane* 'kid/baby goat', who was so named because she was born at the time when the family goats were also giving birth, and *Dikgaka* 'guinea fowls', who was named because at the time of his birth there were a lot of guinea fowls in the area. Similarly, *Mmaphuti* 'Miss/Mrs, mother of/wife of duiker' was born the day her father killed a duiker for the family, and *Boragane* 'small red-billed quelea' was so named because when she was born this bird was attacking sorghum in the farms and people ended up with poor harvests because of that. The only English name in this category, *Mavis*, was given because the parents liked it. The third category is that of Not known/given at 16.7% where respondents do not know the motivation behind the names *Phakalane* 'eagle' and *Nakedi* 'striped polecat'. The last categories of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child and Named for someone are unrepresented.

5.2.3 Appreciation Names

Figure 5-13: Appreciation Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Appreciation	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	81	4.4%	15	1.7%

Appreciation names are those whose meanings express appreciation and gratitude especially for the child. The meanings also carry the idea of acknowledging that something has been received. The names do not clearly indicate who is being thanked for the child, but the assumption is that the gratitude is meant for God because name givers believe that it is through him that they receive the child. There may be overlaps between some names which could belong to more than one category and in this instance it could be argued that names in this category also belong to the category of God related names and Activity names. However, a distinction has been attempted to categorise the names separately paying particular attention to their meaning alone and not outside influences of expectation or assumptions. This means that names that only indicate appreciation and do not mention God or another entity that is being appreciated are categorised in this section, while those which indicate who is being thanked are categorised elsewhere. For example; a name like *Kealeboga* 'I am thankful' is differentiated from *Keolebogile* 'I have thanked him (God)' by the fact that the former does not indicate who is being thanked while the latter does. The popular names in this category like *Kealeboga* 'I am thankful' and *Lebogang* 'be thankful' are based on verbs. According to Figure 5-13, Appreciation names are unrepresented in Scotland, but in Botswana there are 4.4% of these name tokens and 1.7% of the name types. The percentage of the name types is rather low as compared to the name tokens and this is because some of the names are very popular where one name is borne by up to 20 people.

5.2.3.1 Appreciation Names and Gender

Figure 5-14: Appreciation Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	27	33.3%	9	60%
Male & Female	53	65.4%	5	33.3%
Not indicated	1	1.2%	1	6.7%
	Total: 81	100%	Total: 15	100%

According to Figure 5-14 there are more gender-neutral name tokens at 65.4%. There are no male specific name tokens while there are 33.3% female specific name tokens. The gender of the last 1.2% is not indicated. There are no name types that are specific to males but 60% of them are female specific while the other 33.3% belong to both genders. The remaining 6.7% is not gender indicated. Although the names *Kealeboga* 'I am thankful' and *Kelebogile* 'I have thanked' carry the same meaning and idea they differ in gender proportions. The former is largely male specific, represented by 8 males and just 3 females and the latter is all female specific with only one whose gender is not indicated. The difference between the two names is in the tenses carried by their verbs. *Kealeboga* is in the simple present tense which can also indicate the continuity of the activity. *Kelebogile* is in the present perfect tense which describes something that happened in the past and has no continuity into the present. It would seem that with the male child the process of thanking and appreciating the child is continuous while with the female child it comes to an end. This idea is motivated by the fact that in many societies, the Botswana one included, male children have always been regarded as more important than female ones. Furthermore, most female names are dehumanised while male ones are given the human quality. This was also noted by Rapoo (2003:41) who states that 'there seems to be a convention of giving boys names with a human reference while girls' names generally have an inanimate reference.' The current data indicates that the name *Malebogo* 'thanks /acknowledgements' is 100% female specific as compared to *Kealeboga* 'I am thankful' which is mainly male specific. The former is more of an abstract entity or thing while the latter is linked to the person. The same applies to the names *Tebogo* 'gratitude' and *Boipelo* 'celebration' which are largely female specific. The argument is that names such as these do not carry any human element or reference as compared to those like *Kealeboga* which makes reference to the person. *Tebogo* is borne by 13 females and 7 males and *Boipelo* by 5 females and no males.

5.2.3.2 Appreciation Names and Meaning

Figure 5-15: Meaning of Appreciation Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Botswana	75/81	92.6%

The figure shows that respondents know the meaning of the majority of the names that they provided at 92.6%. This was expected because the names are common words and other syntactic structures formed from common words in the language. The general idea

communicated by names in this category is that of thankfulness and appreciating the child that the parents have received. The appreciation is expressed in different words and syntactic structures but this does not alter the common meaning carried by the names. Examples of the names are; *Tebogo* 'gratitude', *Lebogang* 'appreciate' and *Realeboga* 'we are thankful' which all have different syntactic structures but express the same idea of gratitude and being grateful. The other name is *Tanki* 'thank you' which is a Setswanalised form of the word 'thank' and in Setswana this form is used to mean 'thank you' and not just 'thank'. The respondents failed to provide the meanings of 7.4% of the names which could be attributed to an oversight on the part of the respondents or to a genuine lack of knowledge of what the names mean.

5.2.3.3 Motivations for Appreciation Names

Figure 5-16: Motivation for Appreciation Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	72	88.9%
	Not known/given	4	4.9%
	Family and birth circumstances	4	4.9%
	Named for someone	1	1.2%
	Other	0	0%
		Total: 81	Total: 99.9%

The motivation of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child is the most common at 88.9% which is not surprising because this category groups names that communicate that idea. The general idea expressed is the appreciation of the child although the reasons for the appreciation may differ from individual to individual. The reasons include the following; the parents are thankful for the child because she/he was the first, the child was a boy born after many girls or vice versa, and that the name is given to the youngest child but it indicates appreciation of all the children born in the family. The reasons also make reference to acknowledging God, that it is through him that the child was received. The joint second highest motivation category is that of Not known/given at 4.9%. The next category is that of Family and birth circumstances, which make reference to the events and circumstances surrounding the birth or the pregnancy, which is also at 4.9%. Examples of names in this category are; *Kealeboga* 'I am thankful' who was named so because the parents had marital problems during the pregnancy but they were thankful that the child was born healthy and normal, and *Tebogo* 'gratitude' who was named by his father because he was the first child after marriage but the father was most thankful for finally getting married as he got married when he was very old.

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The last represented category is that of Named for someone at 1.2%, where a respondent was named *Malebogo* 'thanks /acknowledgements' after an aunt. The last category of Other is not represented.

5.2.4 Biblical Names

Figure 5-17: Biblical Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Biblical	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	9	0.5%	5	0.6%

This section discusses the biblical names referred to in section 4.2.1. These are not the names of characters in the bible, which were discussed previously under lexically non-transparent names. The names in this section are those of names of books of the bible and nationalities in the bible as opposed to names of characters in the bible. These names are regarded as different from those discussed in section 4.2.1 because they are translated forms of the original names found in the bible and so they are lexically transparent. This category is unrepresented in Scotland. Although the names only make up 0.5% of the lexically transparent name tokens in Botswana and 0.6% of the name types, they are worth highlighting to show that biblical names in Botswana do not comprise only the standard biblical names. There is a further engagement with the books of the bible as shown by a name like *Dipesalema* 'Psalms'. The name *Baiseraela* 'Israelites' is an example of a nationality in the bible.

5.2.4.1 Biblical Names and Gender in Botswana

Figure 5-18: Biblical Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	3	33.3%	3	60%
Female	0	0%	0	0%
Male & Female	6	66.7%	2	40%
	Total: 9	Total: 100%	Total: 5	Total: 100%

Figure 5-18 indicates that the majority of the name tokens in this category are borne by both males and females at 66.7% while those borne by males only are at 33.3% and none are female specific. The type category also shows that 60% of the name types are male specific while 40% are gender neutral and there are none which are female specific. This gender imbalance in relation to biblical names is mentioned earlier in section 4.2.1.1, as previous studies indicate

that males are given more religious names than girls. Names that are male specific make reference to books of the bible like *Dipesalema* 'Psalms', *Baroma* 'Romans' and a single one that refers to a nationality found in the bible; *Baiseraela* 'Israelites'. The names that are gender neutral are *Tshenolo* 'revelation' and *Diane* 'proverbs'. The words 'tshenolo' and 'diane' are regular words in Setswana because they may mean 'revelation' and 'proverbs' without any reference to the books of the bible. This is despite the fact that these are the names used to refer to these books in the Setswana bible. The decision to categorise these as biblical was influenced by their meanings as given by respondents, who state that they are books in the bible. The biblical meaning is the one that was intended and not the literal one.

5.2.4.2 Biblical Names and Meaning

Figure 5-19: Meaning of Biblical Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Botswana	9/9	100%

Respondents in this category know the meaning of all the names (100%) that they provided. However, although some of the respondents give the English translations of the names, like *Diane* 'proverbs' or *Tshenolo* 'revelation', some of them state that the names are books in the bible. Furthermore, the meaning of *Baiseraela* 'Israelites' and *Baroma* 'Romans' are given as just 'from the bible'. This indicates that the respondents know the etymology of the names, so this is considered the motivating factor for giving the names.

5.2.4.3 Motivation for Biblical Names

Figure 5-20: Motivation for Biblical Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	6	66.7%
	Not known/given	3	33.3%
	Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
	Named for someone	0	0%
	Other	0	0%
		Total: 9	Total: 100%

The most common motivation for names in this category is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 66.7%. The motivating factors as given by the respondents are that the name is from the bible or that the name is a book in the bible. Two were named specifically

after the books of Proverbs and Romans in the bible. The figure also indicates that the motivations for 33.3% of the names are Not known/given although their meanings and/or etymologies are stated as biblical. This observation is rather conflicting as it is assumed that names that derive from the bible will be given because of their source, and therefore the motivation will be easy to identify. It is possible that the respondents genuinely do not know the motivations behind the names or it could just be a methodological omission on their part.

5.2.5 Birth Order Names

Figure 5-21: Birth Order Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Birth Order	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	38	2.1%	17	1.9%

The phrase Birth order is used to refer to names that indicate the birth order of children in families. This order may be in terms of frequency, that is, how many children there are, or in terms of the sequence, that is, the birth occurrence in relation to the gender of the children. Examples of these names are: *Bofelo* 'end', which is given to the last child in the family, or *Mosimanegape* 'a boy again', to indicate that another boy was born before him. The idea of giving a child a name like *Bofelo* with the assumption that he will be the last is presumed to have been motivated by hope more than anything else, especially in the era where there were no birth contraceptives. The latter name of *Mosimanegape* will also belong to the category of Gender indicative names because it indicates the gender of the bearer. It is, however, categorised here as well to exemplify names that show the gender birth order sequence. Other partly similar names are categorised under Gender indicative names. Figure 5.21 indicates that these names are not represented in Scotland but there are 2.1% of these name tokens in Botswana and 1.9% of their types.

5.2.5.1 Birth Order Names and Gender in Botswana

Figure 5-22: Birth Order Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	18	47.4%	8	47%
Female	8	21%	7	41.2%
Male & Female	12	31.6%	2	11.8%
	Total: 38	Total: 100%	Total: 17	Total: 100

There are 47.4% of male Birth order names, 21% of female ones and 31.6% are both male and female. There are 47% of the male types, 41.2% of the female types and 11.8% belong to both genders. Examples of names that are male specific are: *Mosimanegape* 'a boy again', *Mooketsi* 'one who adds' and *Gaonosi* 'you are not alone'. As mentioned earlier, Rapoo (2003) has argued that Setswana naming practices are gender biased in that boys are given names with a human reference while females are given those with an inanimate reference. According to this argument a name such as *Mooketsi* 'one who adds' will be male specific, which is the case in this data, while its equivalent *Koketso* 'addition' will be female specific. According to the current data, this is not entirely accurate as the name *Koketso* is borne by both males and females. Female specific names are; *Esi* 'alone', *Osi* 'alone/only' and *Only*, which is an adaptation of the English word *only*. Examples of gender neutral names are *Botlhe* 'all' and *Bofelo* 'end'.

5.2.5.2 Birth Order Names and Meaning

Figure 5-23: Meaning of Birth Order Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Botswana	36/38	94.7%

Figure 5-23 indicates that the respondents know the meaning of the majority of the names that they provided at 94.7%, while they failed to give the meanings of 5.3% of the names. The respondents could not give the meanings of the names *Gagoope* 'there is no one' and *Otsilegape* 'he/she came again', and it is not clear why this is the case as the names are made up of common words in the language. However, the majority of the meanings of the names were given, including *Onosi* 'he/she is alone' and *Bafedile* 'they are finished'. All these names express different aspects of the birth order, for example, the name *Onosi* indicates that the child is an only child while the name *Otsilegape* shows that the child is of the same gender as the previous sibling. The name *Bafedile* suggests that the child is the last one as it alludes to the fact that there are no more children where they came from, because it literally means that they are finished.

5.2.5.3 Motivation for Birth Order Names

Figure 5-24: Motivation for Birth Order Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Other	29	76.3%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	6	15.8%
	Family and birth circumstances	2	5.3%
	Not known/given	1	2.6%
	Named for someone	0	0%
		Total: 38	Total: 100%

The name motivation of Other is the highest at 76.3%. and this groups unrelated reasons for the giving of names. In this instance, however, this category groups mostly reasons whose central theme is the birth order. Most of the reasons in this category make some kind of reference to the birth order as stated in section 5.2.5.2 above. For example, the name *Mosimanegape* 'a boy again' was given because the previous child, born before the current one, was also a boy, while *Botlhe* 'all' was motivated by the fact that all the children born thus far are of the same gender; either all boys or all girls. This name would normally be a continuation of the previous child's name, which would be *Basimane* 'boys' or *Basetsana* 'girls' to give a phrase such as *Basimanebotlhe* 'all boys' or *Basetsanabotlhe* 'all girls'. As mentioned before, these names can fall into the category of gender indicative names but they are classified here to show that their primary meaning relates to birth order. The other motivation is that the name was given because the child was born an only child, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Names that fall under this motivation are; *Osi* 'alone/only', *Only* and *Esi* 'alone'. Another motivation is that the child was the last one and signified the end of childbirth. Examples are *Bofelo* 'end', *Gotlhe* 'everything' and *Bafedile* 'they are finished'.

The second highest category of motivations is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child given at 15.8%. The name *Mooketsi* 'one who adds' is the commonest one in this category whose motivation is given as appreciation of the child. The parents were happy that there has been an addition to the family, but they express different circumstances. For example, the name was given to the first grandson in the family because he was the only other male in the family apart from the grandfather. He is therefore, adding to the grandfather. The other *Mooketsi* was so named because he was adding to the other boys already born before him. *Kennake* 'she is my sister' was so named because the mother had no siblings as she was the

only child, so she appreciated the child more and regarded her as her sibling. The motivation category of Family and birth circumstances is at 5.3%. The name *Otsilegape* 'he came again' was given to a child who was born after the elder sibling died. The idea is that the child who died had come again in the form of the current child. The motivation behind the name *Onosi* 'he is alone' is that during pregnancy and the confinement period the mother did not get any support from her fiancé's family except from the fiancé alone. The idea is that the fiancé was alone in taking care of her without help from anyone in his family. The motivation of Not known/given is at 2.6%, while the last one of Named for someone is unrepresented.

5.2.6 Culture and Cultural Practice Names

Figure 5-25: Culture and Cultural Practice Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Culture and Cultural Practice	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	23	1.3%	16	1.8%

The category of Culture and cultural practice comprises names whose meanings make reference to culture and cultural practices. The category is not represented in Scotland but makes up 1.3% of the lexically transparent name tokens in Botswana and 1.8% of the types. The names vary in terms of the aspects of culture they represent. They include actual cultural activities like *Letsema* 'ploughing season', cultural spaces like *Kgotla* 'a village traditional meeting place' and tribal identities as in *Batlokwa* 'people from the Batlokwa tribe'. The names in this category can also belong to other name categories like that of Symbolism and symbolic objects because the dividing lines between the categories are fuzzy.

5.2.6.1 Culture and Cultural Practice Names and Gender

Figure 5-26: Culture and Cultural Practice Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	15	65.2%	10	62.5%
Female	4	17.4%	4	25%
Male & Female	4	17.4%	2	12.5%
	Total: 23	100%	Total: 16	Total: 100%

The data indicates that the majority of names, considered by token, in this category are borne by males at 65.2% while those borne by females are at 17.4% and those borne by both are also

at 17.4%. In relation to types, 62.5% of the types are male specific, 25% are female specific and 12.5% can be borne by either gender. The unbalanced gender scenario presented by these names is not surprising because the idea of upholding the culture and cultural practices of a Botswana society such as the chieftainship has always been regarded as the prerogative of males. Tlou & Campbell (1997:117) have observed that in the past '…women were not allowed to attend the *kgotla* 'traditional meeting place', had no rights of public speech; nor could they enter the cattle kraal, herd or milk cattle.' These cultural activities were reserved for men and this is reflected in the Botswana naming system. Names that make reference to the *kgotla*, like *Lekgotla* 'meeting/place for meeting' or leadership in the village like *Mongwakgotla* 'the leader of the meeting place' are male specific. On the other hand, names that show obedience and timidity such as *Kelaegile* 'I have been taught/instructed well' are given to women. The Setswana marriage ceremony involves a process where the newly married woman spends time with older married women who teach her how to behave and act as a married woman. This process is called 'go laya', which means to teach or instruct. When a child is given this name the symbolism is that she will be well raised to make a good wife in future. A name such as *Bogadi* 'pride price' is given to females because the expectation is that they will get married and bring cattle to the family in the form of bride price. Gender neutral names found in the data are *Letso* 'origin' and *Setso* 'tradition'.

5.2.6.2 Culture and Cultural Practice Names and Meaning
Figure 5-27: Meaning of Culture and Cultural Practice Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Botswana	20/23	87%

The respondents gave the meanings of most of the names at 87%. The themes of names in this category are varied and they include names that make reference to the *kgotla* such as *Kgotlaetsile*. The word *kgotla* is polysemous as it can mean the actual meeting place or a part of a village also called a ward which is mostly made up of people who are related. The name *Kgotaletsile* can, therefore, symbolise the birth of a child who is regarded as part of either the actual meeting place or the ward. This name would be given to males because traditionally they were the ones who attended *kgotla* meetings and it would sound odd to give the name to a female. The name *Lekgotla* also means the meeting place or the meeting itself and it is also male specific for the same reasons as given above. The other category of names make reference to the general traditions of the people such as *Ditso* 'history', *Setso* 'tradition' and *Letso*

'origin'. The name *Ditso* is male specific while the latter two are gender neutral. Furthermore, some names make reference to tribal groups such as *Batlokwa* 'people of the Batlokwa tribe' and *Mokgatla* 'a person from the Bakgatla tribe'. The name *Kubusereto* 'a hippopotamus is a totem' reflects the idea of totems amongst the Batswana. Each tribe in Botswana has a totem, and this is an animal that the tribe considers its tribal identity. The animal is important and sacred to them. It is held in the highest regard by the tribe and it would be considered a major abomination if someone killed or ate the meat of their totem. The name *Kubusereto*, therefore, is making reference to the name bearer's totem. Some respondents did not know the meanings of the names *Lekgotla*, *Setso* and *Kgotla* and it is not known why this is so because these are common words in the language.

5.2.6.3 Motivation for Culture and Cultural Practice Names

Figure 5-28: Motivation for Culture and Cultural Practice Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Other	16	69.6%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	5	21.7%
	Named for someone	1	4.3%
	Not known/given	1	4.3%
	Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
		Total: 23	Total: 99.9%

The highest category of name motivation is that of Other at 69.6%. The recurring theme in this category is that of upholding culture and highlighting the origins of the people. For example, the motivation behind the name *Setso* 'tradition' is given as to uphold the culture and tradition of the family by one respondent. Another one stated that the same name *Setso* was given because it is part of tradition to have a boy child who will carry forward the family name. The name *Letso* 'origin' shows that the parents are proud of their origins and hope that the child will be too. Similarly, the name *Batlokwa* 'people of the Batlokwa tribe' was given to affirm the family's origins. The motivation for giving the name *Kubusereto* 'a hippopotamus is a totem' was as a way of promoting their cultural identity. The second highest category of motivation is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 21.7%. In this category we find names like *Kgotla*, *Lekgotla* and *Kgotlaetsile* which have similar motivations and are all male specific. The general idea is to appreciate the child because as a boy child he will help his father with duties considered to be the responsibility of males in the family and in the community. The reason given for the name *Mojaboswa* 'heir' is that the family is thankful to

God for giving them a boy child who will be an heir to the father's estate. In Setswana culture an heir was traditionally a male child because the estate he would inherit would be cattle, so it was important that each family has a male child who will carry this forward. The category of Named for someone is at 4.3% and the child was named *Mokgatla* 'a person from the Bakgatla tribe' after the son of a family that the mother worked for whom she loved a lot. The motivation behind the name *Letsema* 'ploughing season' which is represented at 4.3% is Not known/given and the last category of Family and birth circumstances is unrepresented.

5.2.7 Emotion Names

Figure 5-29: Emotion Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Emotion	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	100	5.5%	35	3.9%

The category of Emotion names groups names that make reference to emotions of happiness, sadness and love. All these emotions are represented by names in this category and as with the other categories, some of the names may belong to more than one category because of the ideas they present. Figure 5-29 indicates that Emotion names are unrepresented in Scotland while they make up 5.5% of lexically transparent name tokens in Botswana and 3.9% of the types. Names that express emotions include *Khutsafalo* 'sadness', *Boitumelo* 'happiness' and *Lorato* 'love'. The majority of names in this category are abstract nouns as the examples indicate.

5.2.7.1 Emotion Names and Gender

Figure 5-30: Emotion Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	11	11%	9	25.7%
Female	34	34%	19	54.3%
Male & Female	55	55%	7	20%
	Total: 100	Total: 100%	Total: 35	Total: 100%

The data indicates that there are more female emotion name tokens than male ones. There are 34% of female name tokens as compared to male ones at 11%. There are 55% of name tokens that are borne by both genders. Furthermore, 54.3% of the name types are female specific, 25.7% are male specific while 20% are borne by both genders. Even with the gender neutral

names the majority of the subjects who bore them are females. This shows that despite the names being carried by both genders they are regarded as primarily female rather than male. The reason for this could be that psychologically women are viewed as emotionally more vulnerable than men and they display their emotions more as compared to men. Socialisation also plays a critical role in relation to how the two genders express and deal with their emotions. For example, in the Botswana society males are raised to believe that they are emotionally stronger than females and therefore not expected to show or express their vulnerabilities which means that emotions like sadness which leads to crying are rarely displayed amongst men. It is for this reason that we do not have names like *Dikeledi* 'tears' being borne by males. The name *Selelo* 'a cry' is male specific while *Dikeledi* 'tears' is female specific. In Setswana there is a saying that people are not supposed to see a man's tears, so this allocation of names could be influenced by that belief. The idea is that a man can cry but people are not supposed to see his tears and so the name that depicts tears is disassociated from men. Names that make reference to happiness like *Boitumelo* 'happiness' and *Keitumetse* 'I am happy' are borne by both genders in the data but they are predominantly female rather than male.

5.2.7.2 Emotion Names and Meaning

Figure 5-31: Meaning of Emotion Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Botswana	90/100	90%

Figure 5-31 shows that respondents know the meanings of the majority of the names that they provided at 90%. The meanings of 10% of the names are unknown, although these are common words in the language like *Lorato* 'love', *Thabang* 'be happy' and *Thabo* from *lethabo* 'happiness'. It is assumed that respondents failed to give the meanings of these names not because they do not know what they mean, but because they might have thought that as names the words have a different meaning. The respondents might also have mistakenly skipped them when answering the questionnaire. The central theme of the names here is that of emotions. They include love, as indicated by names like *Kelorato* 'it is love', *Moratiwa* 'lover', *Barati* 'lovers' and *Ratanang* 'love each other'. The idea of happiness is also expressed by these names, as in *Boitumelo* 'happiness', which is the most popular of all the names in this category as it is borne by 13 people. Other names are *Itumeleng* 'be happy', *Lethabo* 'happiness', *Reitumetse* 'we are happy' and *Happy*. The name *Happy* is similar to *Only* above in the Birth order category because they derive from English words. The emotion of sadness is expressed

by the names *Kehutsahetse* 'I am sad', *Khutsafalo* 'sadness' and *Dikeledi* 'tears'. The emotion of sadness is not expressed by as many different name types as those of love and happiness. This might be because people would rather prefer to be happy than sad and so they would have many names for the emotion they preferred.

5.2.7.3 Motivation for Emotion Names

Figure 5-32: Motivation for Emotion Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	55	55%
	Other	18	18%
	Family and birth circumstances	15	15%
	Not known/given	9	9%
	Named for someone	3	3%
		Total: 100	Total: 100%

The most common motivation category for these names is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 55%. People are acknowledging God and appreciating the child they received through referring to different emotions. Although the common themes here are love and happiness, the circumstances differ for each name. The name *Keitumetse* 'I am happy' was given in appreciation of the child that was received, while another was given the same name in appreciation of a girl child who was born after many boys in the family. The name *Boitumelo* 'happiness' was given in appreciation of the first girl child in the family, and the other was given the same name to express happiness and gratitude to God because she was born to a deaf and mute mother. The family was thankful that although the mother had a disability it did not prevent her from having a child. *Gorata* 'to love' was so named because the parents were saying that it was through God's love that they had the child.

The second highest motivation category is that of Other at 18%. A child was named *Lorato* 'love' by his father, who was making reference to the love that he had for his wife, and *Moratiwa* 'lover' was named to express the love that the mother had for the child. Both of *Moratiwa*'s siblings have names related to love; *Aratwa* 'he is loved' and *Oaratwa* 'he is being loved', which shows that the names were carefully thought through. *Thabo* 'happiness' was so named because it was hoped that he would bring happiness in the family, while *Dikeledi* 'tears' was named to express the tears of joy that the parents experienced when she was born. This indicates that the name *Dikeledi* is not always given to express sadness, so a single name can

reflect different stories depending on the experiences of the family. The category of Family and birth circumstances is the third highest at 15%. Examples of names in this category are; *Kehutsahetse* 'I am sad', because the mother was going through life difficulties at the time of birth; *Dikeledi* 'tears', who was born when there was a death in the family, and another *Dikeledi* who was so named because the mother had previously lost six of her siblings at birth and was expressing how sad she was because of that. *Maipelo* 'celebration/joy' was named so because the mother did not experience severe labour pains at birth as she did with the previous children, so the birth was like a celebration. There are 9% of the names whose motivations are Not known/given, and the last 3% were Named for someone. *Mmadikeledi* 'Mrs, Miss, mother of tears' was named after a grandmother who was so named because she cried a lot as a baby, and *Thabang* 'be happy' was named after his father.

5.2.8 Gender Indicative Names
Figure 5-33: Gender Indicative Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Gender Indicative	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	46	2.5%	25	2.8%

Gender indicative names are those whose gender is encompassed in their lexical meaning, so anyone who is competent in the language will be able to tell the gender of the name bearer from the meaning of the name. Generally, Setswana names are not gender specific as often there is nothing in the meaning of the name that reflects the gender. However, the current data has a subset of these names: there are 2.5% of these name tokens and 2.8% of the name types in Botswana. This category is not represented in Scotland. The gender of a name can be incorporated in its lexical meaning, for example the names *Basadi* 'women' or *Basimane* 'boys' would be given to female and male children respectively. The gender can also be indicated in the morphological structure of the name, where a gender indicative prefix is attached to a noun to form a compound name. For example, the name *Mmabogosi* is made up of two elements; *mma* 'prefix for woman'+ *bogosi* 'chieftainship' gives a name that literally means 'Mrs/Miss/ mother of/wife of chieftainship'. There is nothing in the semantic content of the word *bogosi* that indicates gender but once it is attached to a gender indicative prefix it becomes gendered. This category comprises names like the ones above.

5.2.8.1 Gender Indicative Names and Gender

Figure 5-34: Gender Indicative Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	9	19.6%	7	28%
Female	37	80.4%	18	72%
	Total: 46	100%	Total: 25	Total: 100%

According to Figure 5-34 there are 19.6% of male indicative name tokens and 80.4% of female indicative name tokens. There are 28% of the male types and 72% of female types. There is a huge discrepancy in numbers between male and female names; there are four times as many female name tokens as male tokens. It is not known why this large contrast exists between the two genders. Most of the names indicate the gender in their lexical meaning, as with *Banyana* 'girls', *Mosetsanakhumo* 'a girl is wealth' and *Banyanabotlhe* 'all girls'. Similarly, with male names we have *Mosimanegape* 'a boy again', and *Bashi* and *Shimane* which both derive from the word *mosimane* 'boy'. The other category of names indicates the gender through carrying a gender indicative prefix as in the name *Mmametsi = Mma* 'Mrs/Miss/mother of /wife of' + *metsi* 'water'. Male names that carry a male indicative prefix like *Rapula = ra* 'Mr/father of' + *pula* 'rain' are categorised elsewhere but they belong here as well because they are gender indicative. As mentioned previously, many individual names relate to more than one category.

5.2.8.2 Gender Indicative Names and Meaning

Figure 5-35: Meaning of Gender Indicative Names

Country	Meaning known	% of Meaning
Botswana	41/46	89.1%

Respondents gave the meanings of 89.1% of the names in this category and did not give the meanings of 10.9% of the names. Two of the names whose meanings are not given are derivatives of the word *mosimane* 'boy' and these are *Shime* and *Bashi*. The names do not exist as common words in the language but mainly exist as names, so it is understandable why their meanings would not be easy to decipher. The meaning of the word *moroba* 'teenager/heifer' is also unknown. The second meaning 'heifer' is the most common interpretation of the word in Setswana, while the meaning 'teenager' is not very common. The other name whose meaning is not given also has two different interpretations, *Segametsi* 'bride/that which fetches water' and both are fairly common usages in the language. The reason for not giving the meaning

could be that the respondent was unsure which meaning applied to the name. Some of the respondents were, however, able to give the meanings of these same names. Examples of the names whose meanings are given include *Basetsana* 'girls', *Mokgarebe* from *kgarebe* 'young woman' and *Simanyana = sima* from *mosimane* meaning boy + *nyana* which is a suffix meaning 'small' and *Big boy* which is a combination of the English words *big* and *boy*.

5.2.8.3 Motivation for Gender Indicative Names

Figure 5-36: Motivation for Gender Indicative Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Other	38	82.6%
	Not known/given	4	8.7%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	3	6.5%
	Named for someone	1	2.2%
	Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
		Total: 46	Total: 100%

The largest name motivation category is that of Other at 82.6%. The most common theme in this category is that the name was given to indicate the gender of the child. Names such as *Mmaonyana = Mma* 'Mrs/Miss/mother of' + *onyana* from *monyana* 'girl', *Mosetsana* 'girl' and *Simanyana* 'small boy' have been given to indicate the gender of the recipients. The other motivation is that the names were given to make reference to children of the same gender born in succession in the family. Names like *Mosimanegape* 'another boy', *Basimane* 'boys' and *Shimane* from *mosimane* 'boy' were all given to a child whose immediate older sibling is a boy or when there are more male siblings than female ones. Similarly, female children born under the same circumstances are given names like *Banyanabotlhe* 'all girls', *Basetsana* 'girls' and *Basadi* 'women'. The other motivations grouped here express the hope and wish of the parents for the child. For example, *Segametsi* 'bride' was given with the hope that she will grow up to marry and become a good daughter-in-law. Another *Segametsi* 'that which fetches water' was given because the parents hoped that she would take care of them in their old age and fetch water for them. *Banyana* 'girls' on the other hand was so named because the parents hoped to have more female children as they mostly had boys. *Mosetsanakhumo* 'a girl is wealth' was so named with the hope that she will get married and bring wealth to the family in the form of the bride price. The second category of motivations are Not known/given at 8.7%, and the third highest is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 6.5%. One was named *Segametsi* 'that which fetches water' to appreciate the child as she was the only female and the

parents were also thanking God for giving them someone who would look after them in their old age. *Mosetsana* 'girl' was also named to show appreciation as the family had prayed for a girl for a long time. The category of Named for someone is recorded at 2.2%. *Mmabogosi* 'Mrs/Miss/ mother of/wife of chieftainship' was named after her grandmother. The category of Family and birth circumstances is unrepresented.

5.2.9 God Related Names

Figure 5-37: God Related Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
God Related	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	270	14.8%	130	14.3%

Names in this section have much in common with biblical names in that they relate to the semantic field of religion, but they are not from the bible. They are seen as tools through which name givers communicate their appreciation of, and praise for, God by creating their own names rather than relying on those from the bible or linked to the bible. Figure 5-37 indicates that God related names are unrepresented in Scotland while they account for 14.8% of name tokens in Botswana and 14.3% of name types. God related names are the third highest name category in Botswana after names relating to Symbolism and symbolic objects and to Virtues. According to the 2011 national population census at http://statsbots.org.bw/demography, Christianity is the most popular religion in Botswana at 57.9%, so it is to be expected that names that make reference to God and Christianity will be in the majority. These names exist in different syntactic structures and the most common are in the form of abstract nouns, *Thapelo* 'prayer' or *Thero* 'sermon', phrases; *Wamorena* 'of God' and clauses, *Goitsemodimo* 'God knows'. The syntactic categories of the names will be further discussed under the grammatical analysis section in Chapter 6.

5.2.9.1 God Related Names and Gender

Figure 5-38: God Related Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	52	19.1%	37	28.5%
Female	68	25.2%	46	35.4%
Male & Female	146	54.1%	43	33.1%
Not indicated	4	1.5%	4	3.1%
	Total:270	99.9%	Total: 130	100%

Figure 5-38 indicates that name tokens that are gender neutral are the commonest at 54.1%, followed by the female specific ones at 25.2% and the male specific ones at 19.1%. The gender of 1.5% of the names is not indicated. The 54.1% of gender neutral name tokens indicate that most names in the God related category are applicable to both genders; praising and appreciating God is not restricted by the gender of the child. Examples of names found in this category are *Aobakwe* 'let him (God) be praised', *Gaolatlhe* 'He (God) never forsakes' and *Gofaone* 'He (God) gives'. Names that are male specific include; *Alebakwe* 'let it (God's name) be praised', *Oduetse* 'He (God) has paid' and *Modimoopelo* 'God is generous'. Examples of female specific names are *Ogone* 'He (God) is there', *Oreeditse* 'He (God) is listening' and *Angela* which is a derivative of the English word *angel*. Although *Angela* is a popular girl's name in the UK and it does appear in the Scotland data, the name *Angela* as represented in the Botswana data does not seem to have been borrowed from it. According to the motivation of the Botswana name *Angela* it seems to have been created independently from the word *angel* and influenced by its lexical transparent meaning. The name has a different origin from the UK *Angela* because the latter derives from Latin. There are 28.5% of the male name types, 35.4% of the female types, 33.1% of the gender-neutral types and the remaining 3.1% of the types is not gender indicated. The female specific name types are in the majority, followed by the gender-neutral ones and the male specific types are in third place.

5.2.9.2 God Related Names and Meaning

Figure 5-39: God Related Names and meaning

Country	No. of Meanings known	% of Meanings known
Botswana	239/270	88.5%

Figure 5-39 indicates that the respondents were able to give the meanings of 88.5% of the names while they failed to give the meanings of 11.5% of them. Examples of names whose

meanings are unknown are; *Onkarabile* 'He (God) has answered me', *Gaolatlheope* 'He (God) does not forsake anyone' and *Atlasaone* 'His (God's) hand'. All the names in this category make some kind of reference to God and there are five central themes that emerge from the names in relation to this reference. The first theme is that of praising and thanking God for the child received and this is shown by names like *Kesaobaka* 'I still praise him (God)', *Keaoleboga* 'I am thankful to him (God)', *Onthusitse* 'He (God) has helped me' and *Dithapelo* 'prayers' or *Thapelo* 'prayer'. Names that make reference to prayer are categorised here because their motivations indicate that the parents were acknowledging God for his protection through their difficult pregnancies. The second sub-theme is that of names that acknowledge God as the giver or provider of the children received, and examples of names in this category are; *Gofaone* 'He (God) gives', *Orefile* 'He (God) has given us', *Onneile* 'He (God) has given me' and *Oabile* '(He (God) has given'. The third sub-theme makes reference to God's might and strength and this comes through in the names; *Thatayaone* 'His (God)'s strength/power', *Gaofenngwe* 'He (God) is undefeatable', *Gaopalelwe* 'He (God) does not fail' and *Omaatla* 'He (God) has strength'. The fourth sub-theme is that of names that make reference to God's protection and presence in the lives of the people. Examples of names in this category are; *Onalenna* 'He (God) is with me', *Omphemetse* 'He (God) has protected me' and *Onkemetse* 'He (God) stood by me'. The last sub-theme is of names that show that God is a comforter and a restorer. Examples of names in this category are; *Oduetse* 'He (God) has paid', *Obusitse* 'He (God) has returned/replaced', these names indicate that a child has previously been lost and now they have been returned or replaced. A name like *Ogomoditse* 'He (God) has comforted' communicates the fact that God is a comforter.

5.2.9.3 Motivation for God Related Names

Figure 5-40: Motivation for God Related Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	150	55.6%
	Not known/given	25	9.3%
	Family and birth circumstances	47	17.4%
	Named for someone	5	1.8%
	Other	43	15.9%
		Total: 270	Total: 100%

The highest motivation category for God related names is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 55.6%. This high percentage is expected because this category deals

with names that are connected to God in many ways. Name givers acknowledge the presence of God in their lives as well as his power and might through names like *Goabamang* 'who gives', which emphasises that it is only God who has the power to give children to people. *Gorenaone* 'He (God) reigns' acknowledges the presence of God in the lives of the people. *Omphile* 'He (God) has given me' was given to a child who was appreciated more as she was the only girl child born after eight boys in the family. The motivation behind the name *Kesaobaka* 'I still praise him (God)' is that God should be praised at all times, even when one is in difficult situations, and the name *Gaoswabise* 'He (God) does not disappoint' emphasises that God never lets anyone down.

The second highest category of motivations is that of Family and birth circumstances at 17.4%. This category groups names which were motivated by the circumstances and events at the time of the pregnancy or of the birth. Examples of names in this category are; *Omphemetse* 'He (God) has protected me', *Goemeone* 'It is him (God) who stood for me' and *Thapelo* 'prayer', all of which were given because the expectant mothers experienced difficult pregnancies and so were acknowledging that God protected them during that time. The names *Oduetse* 'He (God) has paid' and *Ogomoditse* 'He (God) has comforted' were given because there was a death in the family before the birth of the child so the idea is that God has replaced what he had initially taken and has also comforted the family. A mother named her child *Ontibile* 'He (God) is looking at me' because she struggled to conceive for a long time and when she did she was thankful that God had been watching her struggle and had answered her prayers. Similarly, *Keorapetse* 'I have prayed to him (God)' was so named because the mother struggled to conceive for two years and she was thankful that God had finally heard her prayers. The name *Gaomodimo* 'You are not God' is a rather unusual one as it does not make reference to God but seems to be addressing a specific person or situation so its motivation is more polemical. The name was given because a number of people in the family had near death experiences before this child was born so the parents were addressing the Devil who was trying to kill the family members. The idea behind the name is that the Devil was not God so he would not succeed in whatever he was trying to do.

The Named for someone category is represented at 1.8% and examples of names in this category are *Omphile* 'He (God) has given me' who was named after an aunt, *Oabona* 'He (God) sees' who was named after an uncle and *Goitseone* 'He (God) knows' who was named after his father. The last category is that of Other which is at 15.9%. The name *Oabitsa* 'He

(God) is calling' was motivated by a church hymn that the mother liked which is titled *Jesu o a bitsa* 'Jesus is calling'. This is an example of a hymn as inspiration for God related names. A respondent was named *Koolaole* 'I do not command/control him (God)', because the mother had girl children only and was voicing the fact that she does not command nor control God so she accepts whatever God gives her. The name *Gaongalelwe* 'You do not get angry with him (God)' was given after a mother had a boy child while she wanted a girl child because she already had boys. The name emphasises that one is not supposed to be angry with God but is supposed to appreciate whatever he gives. The name *Angela* which derives from the English word *angel* was given to someone born on a Sunday and to another because it was believed that she was God's angel. The names with Not known/given motivations are at 9.3%.

5.2.10 Months of the Year Names

Figure 5-41: Months of the Year Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Months of the Year	Scotland	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
	Botswana	2	0.1%	2	0.2%

These names derive from names of months of the year and they are represented in both countries. There are 4.3% of these name tokens and 5.3% of the types in Scotland. In Botswana they are represented at 0.1% and there are 0.2% of their types. According to Hanks et al (2006:19), months of the year names in Scotland include April, May and June, and they are names taken from months associated with the season of spring, a time of birth and growth. There is only one name in the Scotland data that derives from months of the year and it is *June*. The names represented in both countries derive from the months of June and May.

5.2.10.1 Months of the Year Names and Gender

Figure 5-42: Months of the Year Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	1	100%	1	100%
	Total: 1	100%	Total: 1	100%

Figure 5-43: Months of the Year Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	2	100%	2	100%
	Total: 2	100%	Total: 2	100%

According to Figure 5-42 there is only one name in this category in Scotland and it is female so there is only one type as well. Figure 5-43 indicates that there are 2 female name tokens from this category as well as 2 name types in Botswana. The names in this category are *Mmei* and *Mmeinyana* both of which are said to derive from the name of the month of May. As mentioned above Hanks et al (2006) state that the months of April, May and June from which the names derive are regarded as the time of birth and growth so maybe that is why these names are female specific. Females are naturally nurturers who are associated with giving birth and bringing life to the world so the names may be a reflection of that.

5.2.10.2 Meaning of Months of the Year Names

Figure 5-44: Meaning of Months of the Year Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	1/1	100%
Botswana	2/2	100%

The Scotland respondent who gave the name *June* states that the name means 'young' in Latin and the meaning is accepted as thus although the main source of reference (Hanks et al 2006) used in this study does not mention this meaning. They do not give the meaning of the name *per se* but state that it was coined in the early 20th century from the names of months of the year. In Botswana the meanings of the two names are given as deriving from the name of the month of May.

5.2.10.3 Motivation for Months of the Year Names

Figure 5-45: Motivation for Months of the Year Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Birth month	1/1	100%
Botswana	Birth month	2/2	100%

In Scotland the name *June* was given because the child was born during the month of June. Similarly, in Botswana the names *Mmei* and *Mmeinyana* were given to children both born in May. The names belong to sisters and the elder one is *Mmei* 'May' and the younger one is *Mmeinyanana* 'small May'. The word 'mmeinyana' is however not a regular word in Setswana. The motivation behind the names in both Botswana and Scotland is the birth month. The Scotland data generally indicates that name givers do not consider the lexical meaning of the name during name giving. It is possible that a child may be given a name like June not because they were born during the month of June but because they were named for someone.

5.2.11 Occupation and Position in Society Names

Figure 5-46: Occupation and Position in Society Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Occupation and Position in Society	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	203	11.1%	95	10.5%

This category presents and discusses names that derive from words that denote occupations and positions in society. These occupations or jobs may be of informal employment, in the home setting, for example, *Modisa* 'herd boy/shepherd', or they may be formal like *Lesole* 'soldier'. Examples of the names that derive from words denoting positions in society are *Kgosi* 'chief' and Tautona 'president'. Figure 5-46 shows that these names are not represented in Scotland, however there are 11.1% of them in Botswana and 10.5% of their types.

5.2.11.1 Occupation and Position in Society Names and Gender

Figure 5-47: Occupation and Position in Society Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	141	69.5%	71	74.7%
Female	39	19.2%	19	20%
Male & Female	23	11.3%	5	5.3%
	Total: 203	100%	Total: 95	100%

Figure 5-47 shows that the majority of the names here are male specific at 69.5%, the second highest category is female specific at 19.2% while the least common category is gender neutral at 11.3%. The male specific name types are the highest at 74.7%, the female ones are the second highest at 20% while the gender-neutral category is represented at 5.3%. The general overview

of the data indicates that this category is highly dominated by male specific names, in terms of tokens and types. This apparent imbalance could be attributed to the patriarchal nature of the society within which these names exist because traditionally women were homemakers and children nurturers while men were the providers. This means that women were not associated with names that denote a variety of vocations, jobs or positions in society. This is not to say that there are no female specific names that indicate occupations or jobs; the names do exist but are not as highly represented as those that are male specific, as the data indicates. The other point that comes out clearly from the data is that there are very few gender-neutral names in this category, which indicates that when it comes to occupations and positions in society, gender roles are clearly marked and there are hardly any overlaps. The gender specific names tend to refer to a specific job, for example, a female specific name like *Motshidisi* 'comforter' or a male specific one like *Motsumi* 'hunter' makes reference to a specific job. However, gender neutral names in this category do not necessarily refer to any specific occupation, for example, names like *Mothusi* 'helper', *Bathusi* 'helpers', and *Morongwa* 'messenger'. The general idea behind their motivations is that the child, regardless of their gender, will grow up to become a helper to the parents. However, the names still have more male bearers than female ones. Although these gender imbalances were prevalent in the past, their traces are still evident in this modern day and age as the current data indicates.

The names in the data overtly indicate the vocations and positions that are culturally associated with each gender and which society expects to be performed by a particular gender. Names in this category which denote qualities of leadership, physical strength and intelligence are male specific. For example, the names *Kgosi* 'chief', *Moeteledi* 'leader' and *Tautona* 'president' which signify leadership and position in society are 100% male specific. Furthermore, names that symbolise bravery and physical strength like *Lesole* 'soldier', *Motsumi* 'hunter' and *Mosireletsi* 'protector' are also 100% male specific. In fact, there were no female soldiers in Botswana until 2008 when the first batch of females were recruited into the army, therefore, it is expected that such names will be male specific. Names that signify intelligence and wisdom are also male specific as shown by the names *Batlhalefi* 'intellectuals' and *Mogakolodi* 'adviser'. The idea of giving a child a name which is in the plural form although referring to one person is a common practice in Setswana. The first reason might be in reference to the other children born before this one, especially those of the same gender. For example, if two male children are born in succession, the younger one may be called *Badisa* 'herd boys/shepherds' making reference to both boys, although the name is borne by just one child.

The other reason has to do with respect, in Setswana culture; plurality is used when addressing one person to show respect. A child may, therefore, be given a name that is in the plural as a sign of the respect that the parents are bestowing on him/her.

Similarly, names that make reference to the rearing and keeping of livestock like *Modisa/ Badisa* 'herd boy(s)/shepherd(s)' and *Mothibedi* 'herd boy/ shepherd' are also male specific. Traditionally, the livestock belonged to the male; even if he was married the wife had no say in matters concerning the livestock. As noted previously by Tlou & Campbell (1997:117), in the past, a hundred or so years ago, women were not allowed to enter the kraal, herd or milk the cattle and although they could inherit cattle or own them, they could not sell them or dispose of them without the consent of their guardians, who were either their husbands or their fathers. These are the restrictions that perpetuated the gender specifications of names like these.

On the other hand, names that symbolise nurturing, home-making and household chores are female specific. For example, *Motshidisi* 'comforter' and *Monkgomotsi* 'my comforter', both of which indicate the quality of nurturing and sympathy, are female specific. The name *Mmakgosi*, which can be interpreted as 'the mother or wife of the chief', is also female specific. This name indicates that women are assigned roles of being the mother or wife of the chief only and not actually taking the role of chief. Furthermore, names that make reference to household activities and light work in the farms are female specific, as illustrated by names like *Mositi* 'pounder/grinder', *Searongwa* 'it is sent (messenger)' and *Barobi* 'harvesters'. The name *Searongwa* is morphologically interesting because its meaning suggests that the bearer is a 'thing' as the prefix 'se- (it)' indicates inanimate. The equivalent of this name is *Morongwa* 'messenger' which is gender neutral in this data. The name bearer who is female is regarded as a 'thing/object' that is sent on errands and not as a person, which further demonstrates the inequalities that exist between genders; that women are regarded as inferior to men to the extent that they are viewed as objects. Harvesters (*Barobi*) are people who harvest farm produce and this is considered light work as compared to the actual ploughing which is represented by the name *Watemo* 'the one who ploughs/was born during ploughing season', which is male specific.

5.2.11.2 Meaning of Occupation and Position in Society Names

Figure 5-48: Meaning of Occupation and Position in Society Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Botswana	190/203	93.6%

Figure 5-48 illustrates that the meanings of most of the names are known, represented at 93.6%. Meanings of names like *Mogomotsi* 'comforter', *Mogogi* 'leader', *Motshegetsi* 'supporter' and *Shepherd* are Not known/given. As the title of the category indicates, names in this category can be largely categorised into two main themes of occupation and position in society because the names mainly denote these activities. The occupation may mean a formal job or an informal activity that exists within the cultural and family setting and which arises from the daily lives of the people. This also applies to the position in society, it might be either formal or informal. Names that denote a type of formal occupation include; *Lesole* 'soldier', *Moanamisi* 'broadcaster', *Kgosi* 'chief' and *Tautona* 'president'. The latter names *Kgosi* and *Tautona* also denote positions in society. The names *Moagi* 'builder', *Morongwa* 'messenger', *Moithaopi* 'volunteer', *Motsumi* 'hunter' and *Modisa* 'shepherd/herd boy' highlight informal vocations or activities that take place in the daily life of a member of a society. Some of the names highlight positions within societies such as that of being a chief or a president. Other names that illustrate such positions are; *Molaudi* 'district commissioner', *Moreri* 'preacher' and *Mokolobetsi* 'baptiser'. The names are generally in the form of nouns as they mainly refer to the person who does the activity and not to the activity itself.

5.2.11.3 Motivation for Occupation and Position in Society Names

Figure 5-49: Motivation for Occupation and Position in Society Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Other	112	55.2%
	Family and birth circumstances	57	28.1%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	22	10.8%
	Not known/given	9	4.4%
	Named for someone	3	1.5%
		Total: 203	**Total: 100%**

According to Figure 5-49, the highest motivation for this category is that of Other which is represented at 55.2%. The most common motivation theme represented in this category is the hopes and wishes of the parents for themselves and for the child. An example of a name that carries the theme of hopes and wishes is *Moagi* 'builder' who was named so with the hope that like a builder, he will build and keep the family together. Interestingly, another *Moagi* in the data was so named because the parents hoped that he will become a responsible son who will take care of them and build them a house. Although the names have a common motivation of hopes and wishes, the parents hoped for different things specific to their situations. *Moanamisi* 'broadcaster', *Lesole* 'soldier' and *Moreri* 'preacher' were all given these names with the hope that these are the jobs that they will do when they grow up. Another child was named *Moithaopi* 'volunteer' hoping that he will become a caring individual who assists others with no expectation of payment. Similarly, *Monamodi* 'rescuer' was so named with the belief that he will rescue his family from the poverty that they were experiencing, while with *Modise* 'herd boy/shepherd' it was hoped that as a boy he will help his father to look after the family livestock. The respondent who gave the name *Shepherd* states that she thinks the name was influenced by the fact that her parents desired to be white as she and her siblings had English names. A respondent named her first child *Moleti* 'one who waits' because she had waited for the right time to have a baby. The name *Motlotlegi* 'dignitary' was given to the youngest child in the family who happened to be the only son as a caution to the older siblings that they should give him the respect he deserved as the only male in the family despite being younger than them. *Moatlhodi* 'judge' was given the name because he was the eldest and so he was expected to resolve conflicts between his siblings.

The second highest motivation category is that of Family and birth circumstances at 28.1%. The names are generally motivated by sad and happy events that took place at the time of birth as well as the birth order of the children in the families. For example, names like *Mogomotsi* 'comforter', *Motshidisi* 'comforter', and *Mompati* 'my companion' were given to children who were born during or after a death in the family. *Mogomotsi* was born after the death of his elder sister while *Motshidisi* 'comforter' was born after two of her elder siblings died at a young age. The name *Mompati* was given to a son whose father died while the mother was pregnant, so he was going to be the mother's companion. Similarly, *Mosireletsi* 'protector' was also born on the day his father died so he was to assume the role of the father and be the family protector. The majority of the names which denote the idea of comforting were motivated by a death in the family. However, there are some exceptions. One *Mogomotsi* was so named because at the

time of his birth the family was experiencing problems and there was no peace or happiness so it was hoped that he will comfort the family in their despair. The name *Motlhabakgomo* 'the one who slaughters the cow' was given to a son who was born after his two older brothers died. The interpretation is that since he was now the eldest son he was responsible for slaughtering cows in the family, which is a responsibility of the eldest son. This symbolically means that he will be responsible for providing basic needs for the family and performing all manly duties.

The name *Watemo* 'the one who ploughs/ born during ploughing season' was given to a child who was born at the time when farm produce was abundant. A mother who moulded and sold clay pots for a living named her daughter *Babopi* 'moulders' in reference to her way of life. A family that was experiencing marital problems when their son was born named him *Motshereganyi* 'mediator' with the hope that his birth will bring peace between them. Furthermore, a child who was born when her family was also going through difficulties was named *Moemisi* 'one who stops' with the hope that her birth would end the family problems. The names in this category were also given to indicate that a child of a certain gender who has been longed for was born. This motivation is mainly represented by the name *Kgosi* 'chief' which is given to long-awaited boy children who were the only ones amongst girls. The idea is that the boy will become the head of the family even though he was younger than his female siblings. The name is also popular amongst female headed families as the idea is that since the mother is unmarried the first son will automatically assume the position of the head of the household.

The third highest category of motivations is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child at 10.8%. In this category the parents generally thank God for the child that they have received and also appreciate the gift of a child. The name *Motlotlegi* 'dignitary' was given to show happiness and respect to God for giving them a son who will continue the legacy of the family. Unlike with the same name (*Motlotlegi* as discussed above), this particular one was making reference to God as the dignitary and not the child. This further shows that semantically synonymous names do not necessarily have the same meaning as each is unique to the circumstances under which it is given. The name *Mmoloki* 'saviour' was also mainly given to acknowledge God in the lives of the people as well as to appreciate the child with the belief that he will save the family from difficult situations experienced. The name *Moatswi* 'the one who rewards' was acknowledging God for he is the one who rewards people with children. The name *Barobi* 'harvesters' has an interesting, unusual motivation which deviates from the

normal. Its usual motivation would be that the parents hope the child will help them harvest produce in the fields. However, this particular one was making reference to the fact that the children were the parents' yield which they harvested from being faithful to God. The parents were the harvesters who have harvested the children from God and so they were acknowledging and appreciating God.

The category of Not known/given is at 4.4%. The last category of Named for someone is at 1.5% and it is represented by the names *Kgosietsile* 'the chief has arrived' who was named after an uncle who was going through difficulties at the time of the birth and two others named *Kgosi* 'chief', both named after their fathers.

5.2.12 Physical Characteristics Names

Figure 5-50: Physical Characteristics Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Physical characteristics	Scotland	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
	Botswana	28	1.5%	26	2.9%

Physical characteristics names make reference to an individual's physical appearance and qualities like physique and complexion. According to Figure 5-50 there is one name token and type of these names in Scotland *(Bonnie)*, represented at 4.3% (tokens) and 5.3% (types) respectively. There are 1.5% of the same name tokens and 2.9% of the types in Botswana. Examples of these names as represented in Botswana are; *Bonnye* 'smallness' which makes reference to the body size of the person, *Bontle* 'beauty' which refers to their physical appearance, and *Mmamosweu* 'Miss/Mrs white' which refers to the person's skin complexion.

5.2.12.1 Physical Characteristics Names and Gender

Figure 5-51: Physical Characteristics Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	1	100%	1	100%
	Total: 1	100%	Total: 1	100%

Figure 5-52: Physical Characteristics Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	9	32.1%	8	30.8%
Female	19	67.9%	18	69.2%
	Total: 28	100%	Total: 26	100%

There is only one name in this category in Scotland which is *Bonnie* 'beautiful or attractive' and it is borne by a female. According to Hanks et al (2016:36) the name *Bonnie* is originally a female name from the Scottish word *bonnie* which means 'fine', 'attractive' or 'pretty'. In Botswana, there are more female name tokens (67.9%) and types (69.2%) as compared to male name tokens (32.1%) and types at 30.8%. Previous studies such as Onukawa (2000) and Rapoo (2003) have indicated that names that make reference to physical characteristics and appearance like beauty are usually female specific. Onukawa (2000) has observed that in the Igbo society, male names are usually associated with concepts of importance while female ones are associated with virtuous and dainty qualities which make reference to beauty and other physical qualities. The current data however, diverges from this argument because some of the names in this category are borne by males. Examples of names that are female specific in this category are *Bontle* 'beauty', *Pretty* and *Bonnye* 'smallness'. Examples of male specific names are *Shoti* 'short', *Tshweu* 'white' and *Lentlafetse* 'it has been beautified'. In these examples, the qualities of body size and physical beauty are represented in both male and female names although the representation is more prominent in the female category than in the male category.

5.2.12.2 Physical Characteristics Names and Meaning
Figure 5-53: Meaning of Physical Characteristics Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	1/1	100%
Botswana	26/28	92.9%

The Scotland respondent who gave the name *Bonnie* knows its meaning as it was given as 'beautiful or handsome'. The Botswana respondents know the meanings of 92.9% of the names that they gave, with only 7.1% of the meanings being unknown. The meanings of the names in this category make reference to the name bearer's height as indicated by the names *Shoti* 'short', *Mmashoti* 'Miss short' and *Lele* which is a short form of the word *leele* 'tall'. The names also make reference to the name bearer's physical beauty, as in *Bontle* 'beauty', *Montlenyane* 'small beauty' and *Gogontle* 'it is beautiful'. The physique of the individual is

also represented by names like *Ntshese* which is from the word *mosesane* meaning 'thin' and *Setsumpa* which is a derogatory term meaning a short and fat person. Names that make reference to the complexion of the name bearer are *Tshweu* 'white', *Mmamosweu* 'Miss white' and *Mmasetlhe* 'Miss paleness'. These are the main themes of meaning represented by the names.

5.2.12.3 Motivation for Physical Characteristics Names

Figure 5-54: Motivation for Physical Characteristics Names in Scotland

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Parents liked it	1/1	100%

The respondent who gave this name is also its bearer and she states that she is not sure why she was given the name because she was an ugly child so she is certain that the name was not making reference to her physical appearance. She, however, thinks that the name was given because her parents have always liked the name because it is a traditional Scottish name. The motivation of parents liking the name for its Scottish roots is therefore considered the motivation behind it because there is no evidence to support the idea of the name being given because of the physical qualities of the bearer.

Figure 5-55: Motivation for Physical Characteristics Names in Botswana

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Physical qualities	26	92.8%
	Family and birth circumstances	1	3.6%
	Named for someone	1	3.6%
		Total: 28	Total: 100%

The highest motivation for this category of names is physical qualities which are represented at 92.8%. It is evident from the data that the names were influenced by the physical qualities of their bearers at birth. These physical qualities, as stated above, include physical beauty, which is reflected by names such as *Bontle* 'beauty' as both respondents who have this name are said to have been beautiful babies. Names that reflect the physique of the name bearers include *Shoti*, a Setswanalised version of the word 'short', which was given because the child was very short in height, and *Ntshese* 'thin' given to a child who was thin and tiny at birth. The colour of the skin of the name bearer is also indicated by the names they are given, such as *Tshweu* 'white' who was so named because he was light in complexion at birth. The name

Khala, which is a Setswanalised version of the English word *colour*, was given to a child who was darker in complexion as compared to her siblings who were lighter in complexion. All the motivations in this category centre around these main qualities, namely, skin colour, height and physical beauty. The second category of motivation is that of Family and birth circumstances at 3.6%. The name under this motivation is *Kentlafetse* 'I have been beautified', and the reason for the name is that the mother had seven miscarriages before she gave birth to this child. The argument is that the mother has been beautified and cleansed by the birth of the child. Most of the names in this category describe the child, but the latter describes the mother. The last category is that of Named for someone which is also at 3.6% and the child was named *Junior* with reference to his father. The name makes reference to the body size of the name bearer, as a smaller version of the father.

5.2.13 Plant and Flower Names

Figure 5-56: Plant and Flower Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Plant and Flower Names	Scotland	5	21.7%	5	26%
	Botswana	8	0.4%	6	0.7%

This category deals with names that derive from names of plants and flowers. This category exists in both countries. Figure 5-56 indicates that there are 21.7% of these name tokens in Scotland and 26% of the name types. In Botswana there are 0.4% of the name tokens and 0.7% of the name types. Hanks et al (2006:xx) have observed that in Europe different types of vocabulary words have been used as names from the 19th century and that some of these were words denoting flowers like *Daisy* and *Primrose*. The Botswana data indicates that in addition to English names such as *Daisy* and *Pertunia*, which is a possible adaptation of the word *petunia* for a type of flower, there are Setswana names that derive from names of trees. Examples of these are *Setlhare* 'tree' and *Mokgalo* 'buffalo thorn', which is a type of tree found in Botswana. These names may be compared with the name *Willow* which derives from the name of a tree 'noted for its grace and the pliancy of its wood' (Hanks et al 2006:267).

5.2.13.1 Plant and Flower Names and Gender

Figure 5-57: Plant and Flower Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	5	100%	5	100%
	Total: 5	100%	Total: 5	100%

Figure 5-58: Plant and Flower Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	1	12.5%	1	16.7%
Female	7	87.5%	5	83.3%
	Total: 8	100%	Total: 6	100%

According to Figure 5-57, all the plant and flower name tokens in Scotland are female specific. The name *Rosie* derives from the word 'rose' and the name *Violet* derives from the name of the flower violet. The rest of the names are Holly, Heather and Rosemary, which derive from names of different plants; holly is a tree, heather is a type of a shrub and rosemary is a herb. What they all have in common with the flowers is that they also bloom and produce brightly coloured flowers except for holly which produces berries. Flowers are considered beautiful and fragile as they are easily destroyed and this is a quality that is often associated with women. It is believed that this is why all the names in this category are female specific. Men are not generally regarded as beautiful and fragile and so it would seem inappropriate to give them names that symbolise these qualities.

Figure 5-58 indicates that in Botswana there is one name which is borne by a male represented at 12.5% while the rest are borne by females and are at 87.5%. The scenario of having names in this category being largely female specific is common in both countries. The only male specific name is *Setlhare* 'tree' which is a general word used to refer to all kinds of trees. This name might be male specific because of the quality of strength and endurance associated with trees in general. The other names that refer to kinds of trees are *Mokgalo* 'buffalo thorn' and *Lesetlha* which derives from the word *mosetlha*, which means a kind of tree found predominantly in Africa, known in English as the weeping wattle. Both these names are borne by females and what is significant about them is that the weeping wattle blossoms and the buffalo thorn produces fruits. As mentioned, flowers are mainly associated with females because of their beauty and fragile nature. Also, the idea of producing fruits, which is symbolic

of giving birth, is a quality associated more with females than males. This might be the reason why the latter names are female specific.

5.2.13.2 Meaning of Plant and Flower Names
Figure 5-59: Meaning of Plant and Flower Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	4/5	80%
Botswana	6/8	75%

Figure 5-59 indicates that respondents in Scotland gave the meanings of 80% of the names. These names derive from names of flowers and plants which do not grow to be big trees with the exception of the holly tree from which the name *Holly* derives. Meanings of these names are given by respondents as; *Heather* 'plant', *Rosie* 'from rose as in a flower' and *Violet* 'from viola/violet the flower'. The name whose meaning is unknown is *Rosemary* which is a type of herb. In Botswana the respondents know the meanings of 75% of the names. The names in Botswana derive from names of trees and flowers. Names that derive from those of trees are *Lesetlha* 'weeping wattle' and *Mokgalo* 'buffalo thorn'. The other name is *Setlhare* 'tree' which makes reference to trees in general. The name that derives from names of flowers is *Sethunya* which is a general name for a flower. Names that derive from names of specific flowers are *Daisy* and *Pertunia* which is, a possible derivative of the English word '*petunia*', both of whose meanings are unknown. The meanings may be unknown because they derive from English words whereas the known ones are from Setswana words.

5.2.13.3 Motivation for Plant and Flower Names
In Scotland the first motivation for the names is that the parents liked the name. It is at 40%, and names that are represented here are *Violet* and *Heather*. The name *Heather* is also said to be linked to the Erica plant which has links to the grandfather's name, Eric. The name was given for two reasons, the fact that the parents liked it and also that it had links to the name of the child's grandfather. The second category is that of Other which is also represented at 40%. The names in this category are *Rosie* which was given because the mother liked flowers a lot, and *Holly* which made reference to the leaves of the holly tree used in Jesus' crown. The last category of Named for someone is represented at 20% and the person was named *Rosemary* after her father's aunt who was named Rose and also after her mother's sister who was named *Rosalie*.

Figure 5-60: Motivation for Plant and Flower Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Parents liked it	2	40%
	Other	2	40%
	Named for someone	1	20%
		Total: 5	**Total: 100%**
Botswana	Other	3	37.5%
	Family and birth circumstances	2	25%
	Named for someone	1	12.5%
	Parents liked the name	1	12.5%
	Not known/given	1	12.5%
		Total: 8	**Total: 100%**

In Botswana the Other category is the highest at 37.5%. A child was named *Sethunya* 'flower' because she was very beautiful when she was born, so the name was influenced by her appearance. Two of the children were named *Mokgalo* 'buffalo thorn', for different reasons. The first was so named because her mother had struggled to conceive for a long time and she was assisted by a traditional doctor using the seeds of the buffalo thorn tree and after that she conceived. The other one was so named because the parents suspected that they were being bewitched so the name of a tree with bitter fruits was given as a warning to those who were trying to bewitch them that their lives will become bitter like the fruits of the tree. The second highest category of motivations is that of Family and birth circumstances at 25%. In this category a child was named *Sethunya* 'flower' because she was born during spring time when flowers were blooming. The other one was named *Lesetlha* 'weeping wattle' because she was born in the bush amongst many weeping wattle trees when her mother had gone to cut some thatching grass. The category of Named for someone is at 12.5% and the child was named *Setlhare* 'tree' after his grandfather who died just before he was born. The category of Parents liked it is also at 12.5% and the child was named *Pertunia* because the parents liked the name although they did not know its meaning. The last category is that of Not known /given where the motivation for the name *Daisy* is unknown and it is represented at 12.5%.

5.2.14 Possession Names

Figure 5-61: Possession Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name Category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Possession names	Scotland	0	0%	0	0%
	Botswana	30	1.6%	13	1.4%

The term Possession name is used to describe names that make reference to the child as a possession of the parents or the name giver. The names are mainly in the form of possessive pronouns like *Wame* 'he/she is mine', although there are examples of other structures like compounds of a noun and a possessive pronoun as in *Mphoyame* 'my gift'. Figure 5-61 indicates that these names are unrepresented in Scotland. There are 1.6% of their tokens in Botswana and 1.4% of their types.

5.2.14.1 Possession Names and Gender

Figure 5-62: Possession Names and Gender

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	3	10%	3	23%
Female	11	36.7%	6	46%
Male & Female	16	53.3%	4	31%
	Total: 30	100%	Total: 13	Total: 100%

The majority of possession names are gender neutral as the highest percentage of them (53.3%) are borne by both genders and there are 31% of these name types. Examples are; *Lame* 'it is mine', *Larona* 'it is ours' and *Wame* 'he/she is mine'. Despite these names being gender neutral, the data indicates that they are borne by more females than males; 10 females as compared to 6 males. Names that are female specific are represented by 36.7% of the name tokens and 46% of the name types. Examples of names in this category are; *Bame* 'they are mine', *Game* 'it is mine' and *Sarona* 'it is ours'. Names like *Bame* which denote plurality are common in Botswana although the name makes reference to one child. Lastly, names that are male specific in this category are represented by name tokens at 10% and name types at 23%. Examples of names that are male specific are *Jame* 'it is mine', *Khumoyame* 'my wealth' and *Mphoyame* 'my gift'. The general data indicates that possession names belong to more females at 70% than to males at 30%. The Botswana society has always been patriarchal where women

were considered lesser than men and even viewed as a man's possession so this might have influenced names that refer to women as possessions. Names that are male specific like *Khumoyame* and *Mphoyame* above state the exact entity (wealth and gift) that the name bearer is making reference to, whereas the female specific names do not mention the thing that is owned but indicate it by a pronoun (*Game* 'it is mine' and *Sarona* 'it is ours').

5.2.14.2 Meaning of Possession Names

Figure 5-63: Meaning of Possession Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Botswana	25/30	83.3%

Figure 5-63 shows that respondents know the meanings of 83.3% of the names. Names whose meanings are not given or unknown include *Jame* 'it is mine', *Larona* 'it is ours' and *Bame* 'they are mine', and it is unclear why meanings of these names would be unknown although they are commonly used expressions. It is suspected that the respondents did not know the referents of the pronouns 'it and they' in the names and so concluded that they did not know the meanings of the names although the general idea in all the names is that of possession. The first category of name meaning indicates the child as the possession of the parents or the name giver as in the names *Wame* 'she/he is mine', *Bame* 'they (children) are mine' and *Game* 'it (the child) is mine'. The second category of name meaning indicates the possession of children but through the possession of symbolic objects like wealth or gifts. In names like *Khumoyame* 'my wealth' and *Mphoyame* 'my gift' the children are seen as symbols of wealth and gifts which belong to the parents.

5.2.14.3 Motivation for Possession Names

Figure 5-64: Motivation for Possession Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Botswana	Children as possession	10	33.3%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	8	26.7%
	Not known/given	5	16.7%
	Family and birth circumstances	4	13.3%
	Other	3	10%
		Total: 30	Total: 100%

This category introduces the motivation of Children as possessions because it is given as such by the respondents and it cannot be merged in any of the categories so it had to stand independently. This motivation is only used with this semantic category. The highest motivation is that which emphasises that the child belongs to the parents or the name giver which is at 33.3%. The majority of the name givers and parents emphasised that the children were theirs through names like *Game* 'it is mine', which is said to have been named to show that the child belonged to the mother, *Bame* 'they are mine', which is also an indication that the child belongs to the parents, and *Wame* 'she is mine', where the motivation is given as 'to show that she is my belonging'. The emphasis on the child as a possession of the parent could be because there is a significant number of single parent households in Botswana. Single parenthood may be by choice or could be the result of a broken relationship. Either way the mother wants to state emphatically the ownership of the child to show that she is the sole parent in relation to their upbringing.

The second highest group of motivation is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child which is at 26.7%. Although the motivation of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child does not come out very clearly through the meaning of the names in this section, the respondents gave the motivations as such. For example, the name *Mphoyame* 'my gift' is said to have been given to thank God for the child. Similarly, the names *Larona* 'it (child) is ours' and *Lame* 'it (child) is mine' were given for the same reasons. Names whose motivations are Not known/given are at 16.7%. The motivation of Family and birth circumstances is at 13.3%. A mother named her child *Sesame* 'it (child) is mine' because she had struggled to conceive for a long time and the name emphasises her longing for a child of her own. Three children were named *Bame* 'they are mine' for different reasons. The first was so named because she was the second daughter after another daughter while the second *Bame* was named because her mother had three girls in succession. The third child was named *Bame* because her mother had children when she was unmarried and there were rumours in the village on why she was having children when she was unmarried. She was responding to the rumours by claiming ownership of the children. The last category of motivations is that of Other at 10%. A child was named *Larona* 'it (love) is ours' and the reference was not to the child but to the love that the parents had for each other and the result of that was the child they had. Another one was named *Sarona* 'it (culture) is ours', making reference to the parents' culture which they were proud of. It does not come out clearly from the motivation how the child becomes a symbol of the parents' culture because it is not explained further. The definite pronoun that is attached to the

possessive pronoun in some of the names does not always refer to the child, for example; *sa* 'it' in *Sarona* refers to the culture and not the child.

5.2.15 Precious Stone and Metal Names

Figure 5-65: Precious Stone and Metal Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Precious Stone and Metal	Scotland	2	8.7%	2	10.5%
	Botswana	3	0.2%	2	0.2%

This category discusses names that derive from names of precious stones and metals. According to Hanks et al (2006:xx), words that denote precious stones have been used as personal names in European countries since the 19th century. In Scotland there are 8.7% of these name tokens and 10.5% of the name types which are *Jade* and *Ruby*. In Botswana there are 0.2% of the name tokens and 0.2% of the name types. These are *Pearl* which is represented twice and *Magauta* 'mother of gold'. The small percentages might seem insignificant in terms of the quantities of the names but the names are significant in terms of the semantic categories of names that exist in the two countries.

5.2.15.1 Precious Stone and Metal Names and Gender

Figure 5-66: Precious Stone and Metal Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	2	100%	2	100%
	Total: 2	100%	Total: 2	100%

Figure 5-67: Precious Stone and Metal Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	3	100%	2	100%
	Total: 3	100%	Total: 2	100%

Figures 5-66 and 5-67 indicate that precious stone names in both countries are all female specific. In addition to their value, precious stones are beautiful to look at, a quality that is also associated with women. It is for this reason that names that refer to precious stones will be

borne by women, because they both share the quality of beauty. Figure 5-66 indicates that in Scotland both names, *Jade* which derives from the name of the precious stone jade and *Ruby* which derives from the name of the gemstone ruby, are female specific. In Botswana there are three names, all female specific. These are *Pearl*, which derives from the name of the precious stone pearl and is borne by two individuals, and *Magauta* 'ma =Miss/Mrs + gauta 'gold', which derives from the name of the precious metal, gold.

5.2.15.2 Meaning of Precious Stone and Metal Names

Figure 5-68: Meaning of Precious Stone and Metal Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	2/2	100%
Botswana	2/3	66%

The Scotland respondents who gave the names in this category know both their meanings. These meanings are given thus; *Jade* 'a Chinese stone, green in colour, thought to be extremely precious in Mexican culture' and *Ruby* 'gemstone'. According to Hanks et al (2006:135) the name *Jade* derives from the name of a precious stone whose etymology is from the Spanish word (*piedra de*) *ijada* whose literal meaning is 'stone of the bowels' and it was so named because it was believed to be able to offer protection against ailments of the intestines. The name *Ruby* is said to derive from the Latin word for the gemstone (*rubinus*, from *rubeus* 'red') and the name was very common around the 19th-20th centuries. The Botswana respondents know the meanings of 66% of the names. They gave the meanings of the name *Pearl* as 'pearl-precious stone' and that of *Mmagauta* as 'mother of gold'. The other respondent who gave the name *Pearl* did not know what it means.

5.2.15.3 Motivation for Precious Stone and Metal Names

Figure 5-69: Motivation for Precious Stone and Metal Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Other	2	100%
		Total: 2	Total: 100%
Botswana	Family and birth circumstances	1	33.3%
	Physical qualities	1	33.3%
	Not known/given	1	33.3%
		Total: 3	99.9%

The motivations behind these names in Scotland fall under the category of Other and they are represented at 100%. The child who was named *Jade* was so named because her mother had a doll named *Jade* when she was young and so she was named after the doll. The second respondent was named *Ruby* because her mother liked the name because it went well with that of the elder sibling. In Botswana the motivations fall under three different categories, each represented at 33.3%. The first category is that of Family and birth circumstances and under this section the name *Pearl* was given because the child was born a very small baby, but the aunt who gave her the name believed that she was precious like a pearl nevertheless. The second category makes reference to the physical qualities of the child: the child was named *Magauta* 'mother of gold' because she was beautiful like gold. The last category is Not known/given, also at 33.3%, and the name here is *Pearl*.

5.2.16 Social Situation Names

Figure 5-70: Social Situation Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Social Situation	Scotland	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
	Botswana	161	8.8%	146	16%

This category deals with names which are rather difficult to categorise semantically without considering their motivations. Although the meanings are lexically transparent they need the context of the motivation to be fully understood and interpreted. The names are categorised as social situation because they all seem to describe an event or situation that is related to the birth of the child or the life circumstances of the family at the time of the pregnancy or birth. The Botswana category also comprises polemical names; these tend to address a specific incident or situation that the name giver wishes to highlight. Figure 5-70 indicates that the Scotland data has 4.3% of these name tokens and 5.3% of the name types. In Botswana there are 8.8% of these name tokens and 16% of their types.

5.2.16.1 Social Situation Names and Gender

Figure 5-71: Social Situation Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	1	100%	1	100%
Female	0	0%	0	0%
	Total: 1	100%	Total: 1	100%

Figure 5-72: Social Situation Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	62	38.5%	60	41.1%
Female	95	59%	84	57.5%
Male & Female	4	2.5%	2	1.4%
	Total: 161	100%	Total: 146	100%

In Scotland there is only one name under this category and it is originally a Setswana name that is borne by a male. The name is *Bashwa* which means 'young people' and refers to the fact that the name bearer was the first child in the family after a struggle to conceive and so his arrival was introducing new things into the family. Figure 5-72 shows that in Botswana the names are mainly female specific represented at 59% while male specific ones are at 38.5% and those borne by both genders are at 2.5%. Similarly, the female types are higher at 57.5%, male types at 41.1% and the gender neutral types are at 1.4%. Names in this category are mainly gender specific and they also have very minimal frequencies. This is because they are very event and situation specific and so they are each unique. Examples of female specific names include the following: *Boipuso* 'independence', *Bobaatlhogo* 'where you lay your head' and *Gaebolae* 'it does not kill'. Examples of male specific names are *Bakae* 'where are they', *Gasenna* 'it is not me' and *Kereng* 'what should I do?'. There are only two names that are gender neutral in this category and they are *Gabalape* 'they do not tire' and *Tshotego* 'suffering'. The category of Social situation names has the largest number of polemical names as compared to all the others at 18.6% (30/161), and within this category 50% of the names are male specific, 46.7% are female specific and 3.3% are gender neutral.

5.2.16.2 Meaning of Social Situation Names

Figure 5-73: Meaning of Social Situation Names

Country	No. of meanings known	% of meanings known
Scotland	1/1	100%
Botswana	148/161	91.9%

Figure 5-73 shows that in Scotland there is only one name, *Bashwa,* whose meaning is known and given as 'the new ones' which refers to children or the youth. The Botswana data indicates that the large majority of the meanings of the names given are known at 91.9%. As mentioned in section 5.2.15, the meaning of these names is difficult to interpret without considering their motivations because on their own the meanings sound incomplete. This is because the majority of the names are not in the form of nouns or verbs whose meanings can be deduced without their motivations. The names are generally longer structures like clauses which seem to be addressing something specific. Examples of these names are: *Gaebolae* 'it does not kill', *Gothata* 'it is difficult' and *Segadimeng* 'do not look back'. Although the literal meanings of these names are known, their actual meanings cannot be deduced without some context. If the context is not considered it is unclear what does not kill, for example, or what is difficult, so it is essential that the motivations are taken into account when interpreting the meanings. There are 8.1% of names whose meanings are Not known/given, it is possible that the respondents were interpreting the question on the meaning of the name as the interpretation of the meaning of the name and so they failed to give those. This is because these are expressions made from ordinary words in the language whose meanings are known. Examples of these names are *Kenalemang* 'who is with me', *Gaseletsapa* 'it is not exhaustion' and *Gaobonale* 'you are not visible'.

5.2.16.3 Motivation for Social Situation Names

Figure 5-74 indicates that the motivation behind the only name in this section in Scotland is that of Family and birth circumstances. The motivation behind the name *Bashwa* 'young people' is that the child was the first in the family after the parents struggled to conceive so his arrival represented new beginnings for the family. In Botswana, the highest motivation category is that of Family and birth circumstances at 61.5%. This category encompasses names motivated by specific events that were taking place in the country and not just specific to the families involved. Examples of names that fall under this category are; *Boipuso* 'independence', *Raboipuso* 'father of independence' and *Mmabotswana* 'mother of Botswana'.

The names were given to children born in September 1966, the same year and or month that Botswana became independent. The attainment of independence in Botswana was a much celebrated event, hence the names that make reference to it. The other name that makes reference to a specific event is *Botsalo* 'birth' which was given to a child born on Christmas day and was referring to the birth of Christ. Furthermore, the name *Kgaogano* 'split', borne by an elderly man who was born in 1947, was given because when he was born there were internal conflicts amongst his tribe of the Bangwato which resulted in the tribe splitting into two smaller groups. In addition to their primary roles of identifying individuals, Setswana names are sources through which the history and culture of the people are preserved as indicated by these names.

Figure 5-74: Motivation for Social Situation Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Family and birth circumstances	1	100%
		Total: 1	**Total: 100%**
Botswana	Family and birth circumstances	99	61.5%
	Polemical	30	18.6%
	Other	13	8.1%
	Not known/given	13	8.1%
	Named for someone	6	3.7%
		Total: 161	**Total: 100%**

In addition to general events, this category makes reference to events and circumstances that are specific to the families. Death is one of the circumstances reflected by these names. Names like *Posthumous*, *Matshediso* 'condolences' and *Obusitswe* 'he has been returned' were all given to children born during or after a death in their families. A child was named *Tebatso* 'that which makes me forget' because when her mother was pregnant with her, she lost another child, and the name simply meant that the current child will help her forget the pain of losing the other child. The other group of names makes reference to other social circumstances the families experience such as poverty, illnesses, disputes and squabbles. Examples of names that make reference to circumstances of poverty include: *Tshotego* 'suffering' which was given because the child was born during difficult times when the family had no proper shelter and food, and *Gothata* 'it is difficult' which also makes reference to the difficult times of poverty that the family was going through. Examples of names that were motivated by family disputes and spats that the families were experiencing are *Tlhoriso* 'torment', *Lekgobo* 'shame' and

Dipuo 'quarrels'. The motivation behind the name *Tlhoriso* is that there was no peace in the family at the time as family members were fighting. The name *Lekgobo* was given because the mother experienced a lot of stigmatization during her pregnancy but the respondent was not willing to give the reasons for the stigmatization. *Dipuo* was given because there were a lot of quarrels and disputes in the family. A mother who was having disputes with her neighbours named her child *Galeage* 'it does not build', and the pronoun 'it' here refers to jealousy so the name meant that 'jealousy does not build'. The name was a plea to her neighbours to live together in harmony.

The second highest category of motivations is that of polemical names which is at 18.6%. As stated, names that are polemically motivated are not specific to the category of Situation names as they are represented in other semantic categories as well. However, a substantial amount of them exist in this category and hence the discussion of this motivation here. Unlike names that are motivated by general circumstances and events that the name giver or the family may be going through, polemical names address very specific situations or individuals and they often sound confrontational and provocative. The names may also exist in the form of a back and forth exchange between those involved, using the names of the same child or different children in the family. The current data illustrates that polemical names are used to address and react to different situations. For example, the names have been used to question the paternity of the children. For example, a father named his child *Gasenna* 'it is not me' because he suspected that his partner had cheated on him and so he was not the father of the child. He was raising his suspicions through the child's name. Similarly, a mother named her child *Lesenotse* 'it has been revealed' because her partner was doubtful that he was the father of the child and did not want to take responsibility. When the child was born he had physical features that resembled those of the father and so the mother was happy that she has been vindicated as the truth has been revealed.

Polemical names are also used to address disputes between parents and their children in relation to the children's choice of spouses. The parents then voice their displeasure through the names of their grandchildren. For example, a grandmother named her grandchild (son's daughter) *Gaseyo* which literally means 'she is not the one'. The grandmother did not like the woman her son married as there was someone she would have preferred as a daughter-in-law. The son responded by naming the same child *Gabotswegope* 'it (witchcraft) does not come from anywhere (but from evil thoughts)'. The naming of the child became a conversational exchange

between the mother and the son and although it was indirect the message was relayed to the parties involved. A grandfather named his grandchild (daughter's son), *Kerumotswe* 'I have been provoked' which was directed to the father of the child because he had impregnated the woman out of wedlock. Another name was motivated by a dispute that a woman was having with her brother. The brother did not approve of her marriage and stopped her from taking her children born out of wedlock to her matrimonial home. The woman responded to this dispute by giving her child the name *Kesentseng* 'what wrong have I committed?'.

The data also indicates polemical names that are used by name givers to address fathers who evade responsibilities of taking care of their children. A mother gave her three children names that addressed the father of her children in this way because he was neglecting his responsibilities. The first child was named *Gabaetelwe* 'they are not being visited' because her partner and his family neglected her during the pregnancy and the confinement period as they never came to visit her. In Setswana culture when a man has impregnated a woman out of wedlock the man's family is supposed to visit the woman's home to take responsibility for the pregnancy. She had a second child with the same man whom she named *Kelebetse* 'I have forgotten' and the name was also a complaint that the man was not owning up to his responsibilities. She was complaining that her partner had conveniently forgotten that he had a child. The name of the third child also addressed the same issue. This one was named *Kentse* 'I am seated/relaxed' through which the mother was lamenting that the man was just relaxed and not doing what was expected of him. These names are in the form of an ongoing, one-sided communication between a woman and her partner. Furthermore, a grandmother named her grandchild *Gabatlhokomele* 'they do not take care' as a complaint about the father's family that they were not taking care of her daughter and the baby. Other names that were addressing the same issue of avoiding responsibilities are *Kemoreng* 'what should I do to him' and *Bakae* 'where are they?' which were given to siblings because their father deserted the mother each time she fell pregnant.

Polemical names in the data are also used to express the name givers' feelings about failed relationships or marriages. A woman whose husband deserted the matrimonial home when she was pregnant named her child *Gaebolae* 'it (broken heart) does not kill' and the message was targeting the husband to let him know that she would not die of a broken heart. Another mother named her child *Batsietsi* 'cheaters/cheats' after her boyfriend convinced her that he would marry her after she bore him a child but deserted her after the child was born. Another name

addressing a failed relationship is *Ditsapelo* '(matters) of the heart' which a mother gave to her son after the father deserted her when she was pregnant after he promised to marry her. The background behind the name is that her family and friends were advising her to sue him for breach of promise but she refused because she loved him a lot. The message of the name is that matters of the heart can only be understood by those involved so she was asking her family and friends not to get involved.

Disputes between neighbours are also tackled through polemical names directed at those involved as evidenced by the names *Lemphitlhetse* 'you found me here', *Gabalape* 'they do not tire', *Gabatladiwe* 'they (children) never become enough' and *Gobuamang* 'who is talking?'. The first name, *Lemphitlhetse*, was a response to a dispute about land. The name giver had settled in a place and later on some neighbours arrived in the area and tried to move her to a new place and this led to a dispute. The name *Lemphitlhetse* was stating that her neighbours found her in that place so they had no right to move her. The second name, *Gabalape*, was a response to the neighbours of the name giver who were spreading lies about her. She was basically saying that people do not get tired of getting involved in other people's personal affairs. The name *Gabatladiwe* was a response to neighbours who were making fun of a woman who fell pregnant at the same time as her daughter, saying she was too old to have children. Her response to this accusation through the name was that children are never enough. *Gobuamang* was given as a response to rumours by neighbours that a man was too poor to raise a family successfully. He responded to the rumours through his first child's name which literally means 'who is talking?'

The category of Other is the third highest motivations at 8.1%. There are names in this category which derive from Setswana idioms and proverbs which are used to teach and give advice. For instance, the name *Leabaneng* 'it (family) goes to children' derives from a Setswana expression that says 'tshika fa e ya baneng ya kgaogana' which means that as the family grows it becomes divided. There were disputes in the family and the name giver was acknowledging that when new generations emerge and families grow it was expected that relationships will become strained and there will be divisions. The other name that derives from an idiom is *Gaboratenelwe* 'it (life) is not wished for others' which derives from the saying 'botshelo ga bo ratanelwe' which means that people do not wish a good life for others. The exact motivation for this name is not given except the explanation that people are not happy when others succeed.

The other name *Pulamoeng* 'rain is a visitor' was given because the child was unexpected and so she was likened to the rain which never alerts you when it comes. The motivation behind the name *Kenaope* 'I have no one' was that the name giver was a single parent and an orphan so she struggled to raise her children alone. The name was a reflection of her response to her situation. The name *Gotlhaloganyamang* 'who understands' was given because the mother had three boys and no girls and she felt that it was only God who understood the reason for that. A child was named *Setswakae* 'where does it come from?' because the mother had struggled to conceive for a long time and had almost given up when she got the child. It is emphasised that the name was given out of love and it has nothing to do with the mother not wanting the child as the name may sound negative. The motivations for the other 8.1% of the names were Not known/given while the remaining 3.7% were Named for someone. *Boikotlhao* 'regret' was named after an aunt, while *Kebaitse* 'I do not know them' was named after her grandmother who died just before she was born. The idea was to keep the memory of the grandmother alive by naming her grandchild after her.

5.2.17 Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Figure 5-75: Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Symbolism and Symbolic Objects	Scotland	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
	Botswana	287	15.7%	138	15.2%

Names that fall under this category are mainly common nouns that exist in Setswana but the meanings they convey go far beyond their literal semantic aspects as they are used symbolically. The meanings are metaphorical and so it was important to consider the meanings and motivations of the names as given by respondents when they were categorised. The objects the names derive from may be everyday words in the vocabulary but their meanings and interpretations go deeper than the surface. For example, the Botswana data indicates names like *Sepatela* 'hospital' which is a common word in the vocabulary. The symbolic meaning of the name is that the child was the first in the family to be born in a hospital as the elder siblings were born at home. This category comprises names such as these, which refer to common nouns in the language. According to Figure 5-75 there are 4.3% Symbolism and symbolic objects names in Scotland and 5.3% of their types. There are 15.7% of these name tokens in Botswana and 15.2% of the types.

5.2.17.1 Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names and Gender

Figure 5-76: Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	1	1%	1	100%
	Total: 1	100%	Total: 1	100%

Figure 5-77: Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	85	29.6%	60	43.5%
Female	97	33.8%	58	42%
Male & Female	105	36.6%	20	14.5%
	Total: 287	100%	Total: 138	100%

In Scotland the only name in this category, *Viola*, is borne by a female and its meaning is given as a type of musical instrument of the violin family. In Botswana, 29.6% of these name tokens are borne by males, 33.8% by females and 36.6% belong to both genders. In relation to types, 43.5% of the types are male specific, 42% are female specific while the remaining 14.5% are gender neutral. Although the majority of the names are gender neutral as indicated by the 36.6% marker, the ones that are gender specific indicate some gender imbalances and stereotypes. Names such as *Naledi* 'star' and *Sebaga* 'bracelet/necklace' which symbolise beauty and qualities of delicateness are female specific. These are stereotypical qualities that are usually associated with females. On the other hand, names that symbolise and denote desirable qualities such as bravery, responsibility and leadership qualities tend to be male specific. Examples of names that illustrate these are *Thebe* 'shield', *Letshego* 'pillar/three legged stand'. A shield is used to protect the user as it was traditionally used in wars and it denotes qualities of strength and bravery associated with males. Similarly, the name *Letshego* symbolises responsibility and leadership qualities as the name bearer is expected to shoulder the responsibilities of the family, a feature that is often associated with males. In a traditional Botswana homestead the word *letshego* refers to a three-legged stand that is put on a fire to hold the pot when cooking. It is an important aspect of the day-to-day life of the family, because without it, cooking cannot take place. The same attributes of necessity and responsibility are bestowed on the name bearer through this name. Despite these specific gender demarcations there is nothing in the semantics

of these names that indicates gender roles; rather it is the patriarchal societies that attach gender stereotyping to the names.

The names *Mpho* 'gift/present' and *Dimpho* 'gifts/presents' have the same semantic meaning as the latter is the plural form of the former. However, the data indicates that *Mpho* is androgynous but largely borne by females at 68.4% (13/19) and a few males at 31.6% (6/19) while *Dimpho* is 100% male specific. It is not clear why this is the case when the names are basically semantically synonymous. It can only be assumed that when the child is male he is appreciated more as symbolised by the plurality and when she is female the appreciation is not exaggerated and that is why the name is in the singular form. Furthermore, the names *Kabelo* 'gift/present' and *Neo/Dineo* 'present(s)/gift(s)' present the same pattern although they are also semantically synonymous. The name *Kabelo* is 100% male specific while *Neo/Dineo* are 100% female specific. The name *Kabo* 'gift/present', which is morphologically related to *Kabelo* because they derive from the same verb *aba* which means 'give', appears gender neutral in the data but is mainly borne by males at 84.6% (11/13) and females at 15.4% (2/13). All the four names; *Kabelo*, *Kabo*, *Neo* and *Dineo* carry the same meaning and interpretation as they symbolise children as gifts which are given to the parents but the former two are largely male specific while the latter two are female specific. As with the previous names discussed above there is nothing in the meaning of the name that gives a hint of gender and so the expectation is that they will be gender neutral. As mentioned above, the names *Kabo* /*Kabelo* derive from the verb *aba* which means 'give' while the names *Neo*/*Dineo* derive from the verb *nay*a which also means 'give'. The connotative distinctions between the two verbs is made by Otlogetswe (2012), who argues that the verb 'aba' suggests giving something of value from a large collection while the verb *naya* suggests giving something to someone regardless of whether they need it or not and it does not denote any value of what is given. This interpretation suggests that the names *Kabo/Kabelo* denote giving something valuable and precious while the names *Neo/Dineo* do not carry the meaning of giving something of value or worth. Although the names are semantically synonymous, the connotations attached to them are that the male one has more value than the female one, interpretations that will extend to the bearers of the names and simultaneously present the male as superior to the female.

This gender stereotyping extends to names that make reference to child bearing and procreation as indicated by names like *Leungo/Maungo* 'fruit(s)' and *Peo* 'seed' which are 100% female specific. These names are symbolic of the processes of pregnancy, child bearing and nurturing

which are the prerogative of the woman. Names such as *Maemo* 'status' and *Mmuso* 'government' that symbolise status, governance and leadership skills are male specific. These types of names silently advocate for the woman to be a home maker while a man becomes the bread winner.

5.2.17.2 Meaning of Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names
Figure 5-78: Meaning of Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	1/1	100%
Botswana	259/287	90.2%

In Scotland the respondent who gave the only name in this category - *Viola* - gave its meaning as a musical instrument which is from the violin family but larger than the violin. However, Hanks et al (2006:271), state that the name is Latin for 'violet'. Its modern use may therefore be influenced by the name of the flower with no allusion to the musical instrument meaning. The symbolic meaning of the name is not clearly explained by the respondent who only states that the name was given because the parents liked it. In Botswana respondents know the meanings of 90.2% of the names that they gave. It is not clear why the meaning of names that derive from regular words like *Motswedi 'spring'*, *Lerothodi* 'drop' and *Lebopo* 'universe' are unknown. There is a possibility that some of the meanings were known but were left out through oversight because some of the meanings are indicated in the motivations.

Names in this category can be further divided into different semantic categories because they are largely common nouns in the language. There are names that denote physical features and natural environment like *Loapi* 'sky', *Sekaka* 'desert', *Naledi* 'star' and *Letsibogo* 'ford'. The other category of names is that of traditional artefacts and activities which include the following: *Lebeana* 'a broken clay pot', *Lere* 'walking stick/crutch', *Tuduetso* 'ululation' and *Legofi* 'applause'. Another group of names derives from regular utensils and objects used in the home like *Baesekele* 'bicycle', *Lebone* 'lamp', *Letswai* 'salt' and *Marumo* 'bullets'. Names that have high frequencies in the data are those that depict children as presents and gifts through words such as *Mpho* 'gift/present', *Neo* 'gift/present' and *Kabelo* 'gift/present'. These names make up 24.7% of this category.

5.2.17.3 Motivation for Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Figure 5-79: Motivation for Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Parents liked the name	1	100%
		Total: 1	**Total: 100%**
Botswana	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	115	40.1%
	Other	85	29.6%
	Family and birth circumstances	41	14.3%
	Not known/given	39	13.6%
	Named for someone	7	2.4%
		Total: 287	**Total: 100%**

Figure 5-79 indicates that the name *Viola* was given because the parents liked it. In Botswana the most prevalent motivation for these names is that parents were acknowledging God and appreciating the child which is at 40.1%. The names with the highest frequencies are those which symbolise the child as a gift and the parents are expressing their appreciation for the child. The names *Mpho*, *Dimpho*, *Neo*, *Dineo*, *Kabo* and *Kabelo*, which all have a synonymous semantic meaning of 'gift' or 'present', are the most common under the motivation of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child. However, the name *Kabo* had a different unusual motivation for one parent. This mother named her child *Kabo* to question God why he gave her a gift of poverty as she states that she was suffering and could not afford another child. Hers was not appreciation but a plea to God to help her because she states that when God gave others things to appreciate she got nothing to be appreciative of. This shows that every name has its own story and this is what makes each unique despite the fact that they may have the same semantic meaning.

The name *Karabo* 'answer' was given because the parents had struggled to conceive and when they got the child it was like an answer to their prayers and they were thanking God for that. Another child was named *Maduo* 'results' after the mother had her immediately after she got married so she appreciated the child more because she had her after marriage and not out of wedlock. The name *Loago* 'building' symbolises the love of God; the idea is that the love of God is like a building that shielded the family from harm. The name *Moedi* 'liquid/fluid' is symbolic of God's continuous love for his people, that, it is constant and it never stops just like a liquid.

The Other motivation is the second highest at 29.6%. The name *Mmuso* 'government' was given with the hope that the child was going to one day become a leader or someone important in the society. The name expressed the hopes and wishes that the parents had for the child. Some names derive from names of objects in the home and they all have specific motivations. A mother named her child *Lebeana* 'a part of a broken clay pot' to symbolise one of the household chores that the child will be expected to do when she grows up. Traditionally, homes shared fire in the form of hot coal, because families could not afford to buy matchsticks to start fire in their homes. When the fire in one homestead died, they would go to the next home to get coal to start it and this was carried in a broken clay pot because it did not conduct heat. This was a chore for young children so the name symbolised that the child will be expected to do this activity. Another child was named *Baesekele* 'bicycle' because the parents hoped that when he grows up he will make a living through cutting and selling grass for thatching houses and eventually he will be able to afford to buy a bicycle.

Other names made reference to the place where the child was born, namely, *Letswai* 'salt' who was born in a village with a lot of salt, *Sepatela* 'hospital' who was the first child in the family to be born at a hospital and *Sekaka* 'desert' who was born at the cattle post which had no water and was like a desert. There is a Setswana belief that when someone has children and they all die at a young age, giving the next child a 'bad' or 'negative' name will break the bad luck and the child will survive. The reasoning is that the negative or ugly name will give the impression that the child is not loved or wanted and as a result they will survive. This motivation is given for names in the data such as *Sebati* 'a little insect' and *Semama* 'meat found around the ribs of an animal'. It is said that the meat around the ribs of an animal can be easily peeled off so the symbolism was that like that type of meat the child could be easily lost through death. The irony is that the parents wanted the child to survive but giving him a negative name was supposed to make this happen.

The third highest category of motivations indicates the circumstances of the family at the time of birth and is represented at 14.3%. Some of the names indicate the events that were taking place at the time of the birth or the pregnancy and not necessarily the birth circumstances. These types of names are important as they help preserve the history of the people by acting as reminders of past events. For example, a child was named *Talane* 'unripe sorghum that is edible' because the year she was born there were a lot of strong winds that forced people to harvest sorghum in the fields before it was ripe. The child was named after this type of

sorghum. Similarly, the name *Diforo* 'furrow/trench' was given to a child because when he was born his father, who was a village chief, was involved in a chieftaincy battle and he fled with his family to a place called Diforo. Lastly, a child was born on the same day that a new regiment was named in the village and the child was named *Lejanko* 'that which eats the nose', after the regiment. Traditionally, when an animal such as a goat or a cow is killed in the homestead, its head was only eaten by men as heads of the households and the head included all parts like the nose and the eyes. The name *Lejanko* implies the eating of the nose of an animal. Names like these are important time keepers because they remind people of when certain events took place as they would use the name bearers as reference.

A child was named *Mmasetena* 'mother of bricks' because when her mother was pregnant with her she was very ill and could not walk and she was healed by a traditional doctor who burnt clay bricks and exposed her legs to the smoke that emanated from the fire. It is said that the smoke alleviated the pain and that is why the child was named after the bricks. Another child was named *Mateke* 'cents' because when the mother was pregnant she worked at a school where she pounded sorghum and was paid very little money which she equated to cents. She was, however, appreciative that the little money helped her take care of her family and hence the name. In the past, cars and lorries were not common in Botswana as the main transport mode was cattle-drawn wagons. A father who was working in the mines arrived in the village by lorry the night his son was born and he was named *Dilori* 'lorries'. A young mother who had to leave school due to pregnancy named her child *Maikano* 'vows' as a promise to herself that she was going to go back to school and complete her studies after the child was born. Some of the names make reference to the number of children in the families, sometimes indicating the same gender. The name *Letshego* 'pillar/three legged stand' was given to a boy child who was born after two girls to indicate that he will be the parents' pillar and supporter. The word 'phôlo' in Setswana means a huge harvest and a child was so named because the mother was appreciative of the many girl children she had. She regarded her daughters as a good harvest and was appreciative of that although she did not have a son. A wife who had been married for many years and was still staying with her parents-in-law and was not happy with the arrangement named her child *Bonno* 'residence' to highlight that she needed a home of her own.

The motivations for 13.6% of the names are Not known/given. The last category of motivations is that of Named for someone at 2.4%. *Lebone* 'lamp' was named after the chief of his village,

Dikepu 'pickaxe' was named after his father and *Letsibogo* 'ford' was also named after his father who was very ill when he was born.

5.2.18 Virtue Names

Figure 5-80: Virtue Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Virtue Names	Scotland	7	30.4%	6	31.6%
	Botswana	272	14.9%	73	8%

Virtue names derive from words that denote human virtues or qualities. They are desirable qualities that parents wish and hope for themselves or their children and these are expressed through the names of the children. Figure 5-80 indicates that in Scotland these make up 30.4% of the lexically transparent name tokens and 31.6% of the name types. Examples of these names in Scotland are *Hope*, *Lucky* and *Smart*. In Botswana there are 14.9% of these name tokens and 8% of the name types. Examples of the names are *Boammaruri* 'truth', *Boikanyo* 'trust' and *Phenyo* 'victory'. As with the previous category of Symbolism and symbolic objects, the names from this category derive more from nouns than from any other syntactic category. The breakdown of syntactic categories of the names will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

5.2.18.1 Virtue Names and Gender

Figure 5-81: Virtue Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	1	14.3%	1	16.7%
Female	6	85.7%	5	83.3%
	Total: 7	100%	Total: 6	100%

Figure 5-82: Virtue Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	33	12.1%	16	21.9%
Female	48	17.7%	26	35.6%
Male & Female	191	70.2%	31	42.5%
	Total: 272	100%	Total: 73	100%

Figure 5-81 indicates that in Scotland, the majority of the names in this category are female specific (85.7%), with just one being male specific at 14.3%. All the names in this category

make reference to attributes which can be described as desirable, without any negative connotations associated with them. The names *Hope*, *Lucky*, *Precious*, *Shalom* 'peace' and *Angela* a derivative of 'angel' are all borne by females while the only male specific name is *Smart*. In Botswana, 12.1% of these name tokens are male specific, 17.7% are female specific while 70.2% are gender neutral. In relation to the types, 21.9% are male specific, 35.6% are female specific and 42.5% are gender neutral. The majority of the names in Botswana are gender neutral as opposed to those in Scotland which are all gender specific. The names in both countries derive from words that denote positive attributes like *Hope* and *Precious*. In Botswana names that make reference to qualities that denote strength, power and success such as *Phenyo* 'victory/win' and *Nonofo* 'strength' are largely male specific while those that denote humility, gentleness and kindness are mainly female specific like *Bonolo* 'gentleness/kindness', *Maitseo* 'good behaviour' and *Boineelo* 'dedication/resignation'. This observation is made by Rapoo (2003:43), who notes that 'a female's worth is measured by her looks and polite behaviour. In comparison a male should be strong, fierce, and must display leadership potential and signs of power.' These kind of naming stereotypes influence and emphasise the inequalities between genders that already exist in societies.

5.2.18.2 Meaning of Virtue Names

Figure 5-83: Meaning of Virtue Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	7/7	100%
Botswana	237/272	87.1%

Figure 5-83 shows that the majority of the respondents in both countries know the meaning of the names. In Scotland, the meanings for all the given names are known and are represented at 100%. The names, as the title of the category indicates, derive from desirable virtues and examples of some of the meanings as given by respondents are: *Hope* from the word 'hope', *Shalom* the Hebrew word for 'peace', *Angela* 'angelic' and *Smart* 'clever, intelligent'.

In Botswana the respondents know the meanings of 87.1% of the names that they gave. The majority of the names whose meanings are Not known/given are at 12.9%. There are only two names which are from English whose meanings are Not known/given and these are *Precious* and *Hope*. Examples of other names which derive from English words whose meanings are known include *Innocent*, *Charity* and *Patience*. The data illustrates that the names denote a

variety of desirable virtues like good behaviour, as indicated by the names *Maitseo* and *Botho* which both mean 'good behaviour'. Trustworthiness comes through the name *Boikanyo* which means 'trustworthiness' or 'confidence'. The virtue of intelligence is represented by the name *Botlhale* 'intelligence/cleverness'. Other virtues represented in the data are: respect as shown by the names *Boikobo* and *Kutlo* which both mean 'obedience', *Kutlo* 'obedience' and Tlotlo 'respect'. The quality of strength is indicated by names like *Maatla* and *Nonofo* which both mean 'physical characteristics. The virtues of hope and trust are evident through names like *Tsholofelo* 'hope', *Tshepo* 'trust' and the English name *Hope*. These are some of the virtues that are represented in the Botswana data.

5.2.18.3 Motivation for Virtue Names
Figure 5-84: Motivation for Virtue Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Other	3	42.8%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	1	14.3%
	Parents liked the name	1	14.3%
	Named for someone	1	14.3%
	Not known/given	1	14.3%
		Total: 7	**Total: 100%**
Botswana	Other	127	46.7%
	Not known/given	54	19.8%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	44	16.2%
	Family and birth circumstances	41	15.1%
	Named for someone	6	2.2%
		Total: 272	**Total: 100%**

In Scotland the highest motivation category is that of Other at 42.8%. The name *Smart* was given because the child displayed intelligent behaviour at a young age, the name *Hope* was influenced by the hope that is displayed in the bible and the name *Shalom* was chosen by both parents after they prayed for a suitable biblical name for their child. The next category of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child is represented by the name *Lucky* which was given because the parents felt lucky to have a girl child and so they thanked God and appreciated the child. The name *Angela* was given because the mother liked it and this category is also at 14.3%. The name *Precious* was given to honour the child's godmother and so the

category of Named for someone is also at 14.3%. The last category where the motivation is Not known/given is also at 14.3%.

In Botswana the highest motivation category is that of Other at 46.7%. Although this category is meant to group several unrelated motivations, in this section the motivations are related. The majority of the motivations here indicate the hopes and wishes of the parents for themselves or for the children. For example, *Kutlo* 'obedience' was given with the hope and wish that the child would grow up to be an obedient child who was respectful, and the same motivation is given for names such as *Botho* 'good behaviour' and *Tlotlo* 'respect'. The name *Botlhale* 'intelligence/cleverness' was given because the parents hoped the child would become intelligent, while the name *Hope* was given with the hope that the arrival of the child will bring good things to the family. Names like *Kagiso* 'peace', *Tshegofatso* 'blessing' and *Tsholofelo* 'hope' were also motivated by the hopes and wishes that the parents had for themselves and their children. However, other names had motivations that were unique for them. For example, a mother named her son *Phenyo* 'victory/win' because she had the child at the height of the HIV/AIDS scourge in the country and she felt victorious that she and the baby were free of the virus. A grandmother named her grandchild *Maatla* 'strength' because the mother of the child died at birth and the name was a plea to God to give her strength to care for the child as she was now the child's main caregiver. An unmarried mother named her child *Tshepiso* 'promise' as a promise to herself that she would not have another child out of wedlock. A father named his child *Setho* 'human nature', because he married first and did not have the child out of wedlock. He emphasised that it is human nature to do things in that order and not have children out of wedlock.

The second highest category is that of Not known/given at 19.8%. The motivation of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child is the third highest at 16.2%. Names like *Tshepo* 'trust', *Tsholofelo* 'hope', *Tshegofatso* 'blessing' and *Tumelo* 'faith' were given in acknowledgement of God; that the parents put their faith, hope and trust in him and they were rewarded with the children. Similarly, names like *Keletso* 'wish', *Thato* 'will', and *Kgalalelo* 'glow' were all given in appreciation of the child received. The name *Keletso* was specifically given by several parents to express their appreciation for a child they have longed for because of conception problems. The name *Keletso* is also given to appreciate a child of a certain gender whom the parents had longed for. A mother whose three children died at a young age also named her child *Keletso*. She wished this particular child would not die like the others. The

name *Katlego* 'success' was given to a child whose parents had struggled to have a child for a long time because the mother experienced several miscarriages and he was so named to appreciate him; his birth was considered a major success for the parents.

The category of Family and birth circumstances is the fourth highest at 15.1%. Names like *Kgomotso* 'comfort', *Kutlwano* 'harmony', *Boikobo* 'obedience' and *Boineelo* 'dedication/ resignation' were all motivated by the events and circumstances that the family and parents were going through at the time of pregnancy and birth. The name *Kgomotso* is common among children who were born when there was a death in the family or when the older sibling(s) had died. The child was regarded as a comfort to the family. Children named *Kutlwano* were born at a time when there were conflicts in the families and it was hoped that the child would bring harmony among those involved. The name *Kagiso* 'peace' is also motivated by the lack of peace and stability in the families and so the name givers hoped that the birth of the child would bring peace. A child was also named *Tlotlo* 'respect' because when she was born there was chaos in the family with no respect for each other and through the name the mother was asking her family to respect each other. The name *Nonofo* 'strength' was given to a child who was born when her parents were going through marital problems and they hoped that the child would give them the strength they needed to persevere in solving their problems. Similarly, the name *Boitshoko* 'patience/ perseverance' was given because the mother had a difficult life and she was acknowledging that she has survived the difficulties because she was patient and had persevered. A newly married wife was very ill after marriage and she suspected that she was being bewitched and when she finally had a child she named her *Nametso* 'consolation' because she believed she was being consoled with the child for all the struggles she had gone through. Some of the names were influenced by the behaviour and character of the child at the time, for example, *Bonolo* 'gentleness/kindness' was so named because she was born a weak and sickly child and as a result she was gentle and did not cry a lot. The name *Kagiso* 'peace' was also given to a child whose mother experienced an easy pregnancy and the child was also a peaceful one who rarely cried.

The last category of motivations is that of Named for someone which is at 2.2%. Children in this category were not only named after family members as some were named for friends. However, the majority of the children were named for family members, for example, *Tshiamo* 'goodness' was named after his father who was very ill when he was born, *Boammaruri* 'truth' was named after his grandfather, while *Tshepang* 'trust' was named for a cousin who died when

her mother was pregnant with him. Others were named for people outside the family; *Crystal* 'innocence/purity' was named after her mother's American friend while *Kitso* 'knowledge' was also named after someone her mother liked a lot.

5.2.19 Weather State Names

Figure 5-85: Weather State Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Weather State Names	Scotland	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
	Botswana	37	2.1%	17	1.3%

Weather state names make reference to the weather conditions or derive from words that make reference to that. The data shows that there is one name in Scotland which is represented at 4.3% while the type is represented at 5.3%. The Botswana data has 2.1% name tokens from this category and 1.3% of the name types. The Botswana data entails names that make reference to weather states like rain, cold and hot conditions.

5.2.19.1 Weather State Names and Gender

Figure 5-86: Weather State Names and Gender in Scotland

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	0	0%	0	0%
Female	1	100%	1	100%
	Total: 1	100%	Total: 1	100%

Figure 5-87: Weather State Names and Gender in Botswana

Gender	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Male	12	32.4%	6	35.3%
Female	25	67.6%	11	64.7%
	Total: 37	100%	Total: 17	100%

In Scotland there is only one name which is originally a Setswana, female specific name. The name is *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain'; the prefix 'mma/ma' is a female gender marker while its equivalent 'rra/ra' marks male. In Botswana 32.4% of the names here are male specific while 67.6% are female specific, which makes the category highly female dominated. The type category also indicates that there are more female types at 64.7% than male types at 35.3%.

The name tokens and types that make reference to rain are more female specific than male specific. There is a Setswana saying that refers to abundant and plenty rains as being 'dipula tse di namagadi' which literally means that the rains are female. The idea of femaleness comes from the notion that females have the ability to reproduce and make plenty so the rains are said to be female when they are plenty. This might be an explanation of why names that make reference to rain are more female than male.

5.2.19.2 Meaning of Weather State Names

Figure 5-88: Meaning of Weather State Names

Country	No. of meaning known	% of meaning known
Scotland	1/1	100%
Botswana	35/37	94.6%

Figure 5-88 illustrates that the meaning of the name given in Scotland is known (100%) while in Botswana the respondents know the meanings of 94.6% of the names that they gave. In Scotland the only name given in this category is *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain' and the respondent gave the meaning as 'mother of rain'. In Botswana, the meanings of the majority of the names are known while there are only two names whose meanings are unknown, *Mmaserame* 'Miss/mother of the cold' and *Bosa* 'weather state/condition'. The majority of the name tokens for both genders derive from the word 'pula' which means rain; there are 28/37 (75.7%) of these name tokens and 9/17 (52.9%) of the name types deriving from this word. As mentioned in section 5.2.1.3, rain is very important to Batswana. The country has a semi-arid climate which means that rain is scarce and that is why it is also highly valued when it does come. It is for this reason that the Botswana data has many types of names whose motivation is rain, some of which have been categorised under other semantic categories like Activity names. Examples of these names are *Rapula* 'Mr/father of rain', *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain', *Motlalepula*' one who comes with/brings the rain' and *Pula* 'rain'.

5.2.19.3 Motivation for Weather State Names

In Scotland the name in this category falls under the Family and birth circumstances motivation. The name *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain' was given because the child was born on a rainy day. In Botswana the highest motivating factor for these names is that of Family and birth circumstances at 91.9% followed by those whose motivations are Not known/given at 5.4% and that of Named for someone at 2.7%. The last two categories of Acknowledging God

and appreciating the child and that of Other are unrepresented. The motivation of Family and birth circumstances is the most common because the names were motivated by the weather circumstances of the time. The majority of the names which derive from the word 'pula' meaning 'rain' were given because the child was born on a rainy day or during the rainy season. These names include; *Pula* 'rain', *Rapula* 'Mr /father of rain', *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain', *Wapula* 'of the rain', *Motlalepula* 'one who comes with/brings the rain' and *Mpule* which is an abbreviation of *Mmapula*. Other names that fall under this category are *Mmaserame* 'Miss/mother of the cold', given to a child who was born on a very cold day, *Mmaletsatsi* 'Miss/mother of the sun' given to a child who was born during summer and *Bosa* 'weather state/condition' given to a child born on the day when the weather was bad, with a lot of rain and wind. The second highest category of motivations is that of names whose motivations are Not known/given at 5.4%, and these are *Kepula* 'it is rain' and *Waserame* 'of the cold'. The category of Named for someone is represented at 2.7%. The name *Waletsatsi* 'of the sun' falls here, and the child was named after an uncle who was born during a dry year of drought. The last two motivations are unrepresented.

Figure 5-89: Motivation for Weather State Names

Country	Name motivation	Total number	% Name motivation
Scotland	Family and birth circumstances	1	100%
		Total: 1	Total: 100%
Botswana	Family and birth circumstances	34	91.9%
	Not known/given	2	5.4%
	Named for someone	1	2.7%
	Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0%
	Other	0	0%
		Total: 37	Total: 100%

5.2.20 Lexically Transparent Names and Gender

The names in the two countries have been analysed according to gender and the figures below give a summary of the name categories and their gender statistics. Figure 5-90 presents the Scotland statistics and it indicates that all the lexically transparent names in the data are gender specific and the majority of these are female specific with only a few being male specific. In view of the results, it can be concluded that in Scotland the majority of names that derive from vocabulary words and are lexically transparent are female specific**.**

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Figure 5-90: Scotland Semantic Categories and Gender

Semantic category	Male	Female	Neutral	Total
Animal and bird names	2	2	0	4
Months of the year names	0	1	0	1
Physical characteristics names	0	1	0	1
Plant and flower names	0	5	0	5
Precious stone and metal names	0	2	0	2
Social situation names	1	0	0	1
Symbolism and symbolic objects names	0	1	0	1
Virtue names	1	6	0	7
Weather state names	0	1	0	1
Total	**4**	**19**	**0**	**23**

Figure 5-91: Botswana Semantic Categories and Gender

Semantic category	Male	Female	Neutral	Not given	Total
Activity names	59	74	82	4	219
Animals and bird names	6	6	0	0	12
Appreciation names	0	27	53	1	81
Biblical names	3	0	6	0	9
Birth order names	18	8	12	0	38
Culture and cultural practices names	15	4	4	0	23
Emotion names	11	34	55	0	100
Gender indicative names	9	37	0	0	46
God related names	52	68	146	4	270
Months of the year names	0	2	0	0	2
Occupation and position in society names	141	39	23	0	203
Physical characteristics names	9	19	0	0	28
Plant and flower names	1	7	0	0	8
Possession names	3	11	16	0	30
Precious stone and metal names	0	3	0	0	3
Social situation names	62	95	4	0	161
Symbolism and symbolic objects names	85	97	105	0	287
Virtue names	33	48	191	0	272
Weather state names	12	25	0	0	37
Total	**519**	**604**	**697**	**9**	**1829**

Figure 5-91 summarises the lexically transparent names in Botswana according to gender and indicates that they are largely gender neutral. From this observation we can conclude that the majority of lexically transparent names in Botswana are gender neutral.

5.2.21 Conclusion

This chapter has presented and discussed lexically transparent names in Botswana and Scotland. The lexically transparent names make up 6.5% of the name tokens in the Scotland data and 91.7% of the name tokens in the Botswana data. The lexically transparent names in Scotland have been categorised under 9 semantic categories and in Botswana they fall under 19 semantic categories. As predicted earlier the majority (60.9%) of the lexically transparent names in Scotland belong to the categories of precious stones, flowers and desirable virtues which are old established categories for lexically transparent names in the European context. This shows that although these are old derivational sources of names in the European context they have stood the test of time and are still popular sources of lexically transparent names. The emergence of new semantic categories for lexically transparent names in the Scotland data could be an indication that more lexically transparent names are slowly penetrating the European namespace. The Scotland data indicates names like *Bonnie* and *Viola* which are regular Scottish and English words. As explained earlier, the categories used are not clear cut as there are overlaps which means that the names may belong to more than one category. For example in the Botswana data, names like *Bakang* 'praise/glorify (God)' and *Rapelang* 'pray (to God)' could be categorised under the God related category and yet they are classified under the Activity names category. The category to which each name has been allocated is regarded as the most applicable under the circumstances. The boundaries may appear fuzzy, but the categorization has been made as relevant as possible.

One of the main findings of this study is that a name would relate to more than one category, with multiple motivations which illustrates that name meaning analysis is a complex issue and not clear cut. The high proportion of the Other motivations in the various name categories is evidence that motivations are highly individual and varied. It is clear that the majority of names in Scotland are lexically non-transparent while the majority of names in Botswana are lexically transparent. The analysis has indicated that the motivation behind each name is crucial in interpreting its meaning; these two cannot be divorced from each other. This chapter has revealed that names may be semantically synonymous but their motivations make them different because each would have a unique motivation which adds to its entire meaning. It is

therefore important that the meaning of a name is not isolated from its motivation. It is also fundamental not to assume that the lexical meaning of a name is its entire meaning as this is not always the case, as the data in both countries has indicated.

6. Grammatical Analysis of Lexically Transparent Names

6.1 Grammatical Analysis of Names

This chapter discusses the grammatical categories of lexically transparent names in Botswana and Scotland. The reason for focussing only on lexically transparent names rather than including the lexically non-transparent names is because it is difficult to determine the grammatical category of the latter without a readily available semantic meaning. It will be difficult to determine if a name is lexically a noun or a verb when it is in its word form if its semantic meaning is not available. This analysis therefore categorises the lexically transparent names into grammatical categories or word classes like nouns, verbs and adjectives as well as other syntactic categories above the word class level such as phrases and clauses. The purpose of this analysis is to determine the overall profile of grammatical categories of lexically transparent names in the two countries and to determine if these have any significant correlation to the semantic categories already discussed in Chapter 5. It is acknowledged that some semantic categories like those of animal and bird names, plant and flower names and precious stone and metal names are only likely to be represented by nouns as they are predisposed to be nouns.

In Chapter 1, this study has hypothesised that names are capable of occurring in the form of syntactic categories above the word class and so this chapter also intends to address and test this hypothesis. The grammatical aspects of personal names is generally an under-researched area in anthroponymy so there is not much evidence of these aspects of names in Botswana and Scotland. However, Mojapelo (2009), did a similar analysis of Northern-Sotho proper names and noted that they generally derive from common nouns which can exist as individual nouns, compounds or diminutives. The names can also derive from verbs which can exist in higher level structures like phrases and clauses, for example the name *Kefilwe* 'I have been given' (clause) derives from the verb *fa-*'give' (Mojapelo 2009:187). The purpose of this chapter therefore, is to carry out a similar analysis in order to reveal the grammatical structures of the names. This analysis will consequently determine the grammatical overall profile of the names in the two countries. The syntactic analysis of the names is based on the name tokens and not the name types. The reason for this is that as with the semantic categories of the names, there can be overlaps where a single name can belong to more than one category on different occasions of use, and the most suitable is chosen. Similarly, with syntactic categories there are names like *Pako* 'praise' or *Phetogo* 'change', each of which can be a noun or a verb depending

on the way the respondent explained its meaning and motivation. In such cases the motivation is considered to determine the most relevant syntactic category of the individual name.

The next section gives a grammatical overview of Setswana in order to familiarize the reader with the language, by giving a bit of its history, morphology and most importantly an overview of its grammatical structures. The section outlines the grammatical and syntactic categories of the language as they will be used in the grammatical analysis of the names. This will help the reader to appreciate how a name comes to be categorised as a noun or a verb, because they would have background knowledge of how a noun or a verb in Setswana is formed and what its structure looks like.

6.2 Grammatical Overview of Setswana

As stated in section 1.4, Setswana belongs to the Bantu language family and like most Bantu languages it predominately uses affixes in its word formation processes. Phonologically, Setswana nouns and most other types of words are generally made up of open syllables of the CV (Consonant, Vowel) type. They do not have closed syllables of the CVC type, for example, so the names in Botswana are most likely to carry the open syllable structure. Furthermore, Setswana is a tonal language so it uses pitch to distinguish between meanings of words which may subsequently be used as names. According to Cole (1955:54), Setswana has only two significant tonal values, which are high and low, and in many cases a change in the tone-pattern produces a new word with a different meaning. The grammatical analysis of names in this study involves categorising names according to different syntactic categories when they are in their lexical (or word) form. These categories range from basic grammatical classes like nouns, adjectives and verbs, to higher level syntactic categories like phrases and clauses. This section briefly discusses these different syntactic categories in Setswana with a focus only on the categories that are represented in the data.

6.2.1 The Adjective

The adjective in Setswana performs the same function that it does in English; it modifies the noun by giving more information about it. According to Cole (1955:138), Setswana has a large number of adjectives as compared to other Bantu languages primarily because it has a large collection of adjectives that describe the colour and gender of cattle and all other domestic animals. The language has different words to describe a male and female cow of the same colour. For example, a black male cow is *ntsho* 'black' while a female one is *tshwana* 'black'.

A white male cow is *tshweu* 'white' while a female one is *tshwaana* 'white'. A dark brown male cow is *thokwa* 'dark brown' while a female one is *thokwana* 'dark brown'. Similarly a male brown and white cow is *nala* 'brown and white' while a female one is *naana* 'brown and white'. This type of distinction according to gender applies to the colours of domestic animals only and not to other types of adjectives. The rearing of animals like cattle, goats and sheep is the main way of life of the people of Botswana, so it is understandable that they will have more words that describe these animals than other groups of people. In addition, Setswana has regular adjectives for concepts that exist in other languages like those that describe physical qualities like *gonnye* 'small' and *montle* 'beautiful'. Numerals like *bobedi* 'two' or *boraro* 'three' can also function as adjectives in Setswana. Cattle colour names like *nala*, *thokwana* and numerals like *bobedi* are often used as personal names in Setswana so the expectation is that the data will have examples of names like these, hence the need for this explanation.

6.2.2 The Determiner

A determiner is a word that introduces a noun to indicate whether it is definite or indefinite. Unlike English Setswana does not have words for definite or indefinite articles that would correspond to the articles 'the' or 'an' respectively. Setswana, like English, does not have many words that are specifically categorised as determiners except for a few like *tsotlhe/gotlhe* 'all' which can also function as pronouns. For example, the word *tsotlhe* used as a determiner would be; *Tsotlhe dipodi di sule* or *Dipodi tsotlhe di sule* 'all the goats are dead.' The determiner can come in sentence initial position or after the subject. The same word used as a pronoun would be; *Tsotlhe di sule* 'all are dead' where the word replaces the noun 'goats'. In addition, pronouns like *mongwe* 'someone', *mongwe le mongwe* 'everyone/everybody', or *sengwe* 'something' can often function as determiners in Setswana. Setswana has names that derive from words like *tsotlhe/gotlhe* 'all' so the purpose of this discussion is to highlight the grammatical categories of such words to the reader.

6.2.3 The Noun

As in English, the noun in Setswana is a part of speech that denotes a person, place or thing; and it can be common or proper. Common nouns can further be divided into abstract and concrete nouns. The formation of nouns in Setswana is slightly different from that in English, as discussed below.

Nouns in Setswana are generally formed from two basic elements: namely, the prefix and the stem. According to Cole (1955:68), the stem is a more or less constant element save for certain phonetic influences and suffixal inflections, especially in the formation of diminutives. The prefixes can, however, be interchanged. Each noun in Setswana belongs to a class which is identified by a certain noun prefix; hence these classes are referred to as noun class prefixes. Singular prefixes have corresponding plural prefixes which all nouns adopt. The noun class prefix, therefore, determines corresponding pronouns for nouns, indicates singular and plural forms of nouns, and also distinguishes between different classes of nouns.

There are nine Setswana noun class prefixes, one sub-class, and corresponding plural classes into which all nouns in the language fall. However, there are also noun class prefixes which do not have corresponding plural forms. According to Andersson and Janson (1997:34), nouns in Setswana are grouped into classes to some degree according to their meaning; for example, classes 1 and 2 contain personal nouns only, while classes 6 and 14 comprise mainly abstract nouns which often derive from verbs. Classes 1(a) and 2(a) contain all personal names and their plural forms respectively. The rest of the classes are not clearly demarcated although some trends can be noted. The purpose of outlining this Noun class structure is to highlight the fact that all nouns in Setswana belonging to different classes because of their different prefixes can potentially be used as names. Furthermore, when these nouns are now in the form of personal names they all belong to Classes 1(a) and 2(a) respectively, to distinguish them from the common nouns. Figure 6-1 below gives a simplified illustration of these classes.

Figure 6-1: Setswana Noun Class Prefixes

Class	Prefix	Example	Meaning (Gloss)
1, 2	*mo-, ba-*	*motho, batho*	person, people
1(a), 2(a)	*-, bô*	*Naledi, bô Naledi*	*Naledi* (personal name), *Naledi* and other people
3, 4	*mo-, me-*	*morafe, merafe*	nation, nations
5, 6	*le-, ma-*	*lefoko, mafoko*	word, words
7, 8	*se-, di-*	*selo, dilo*	thing, things
9, 10	*-, di-*	*pelo, dipelo*	heart, hearts
11, 10	*lo-, di-*	*lonao, dinao*	foot, feet
14, 6	*bo-, ma-*	*botshelo, matshelo*	life, lives
15	*Go*	*go reka*	to buy

Adapted from Andersson and Janson (1997:34)

Figure 6-1 indicates how nouns are assigned to classes in Setswana. Classes 1(a) and 9 are indicated as prefix-less because there is no single prefix that represents their members as they take names and words with different prefixes. Class 1(a) takes personal names only and does not take any common nouns. Class 2(a) take the plural forms of all personal names, for example, when making reference to *Naledi*, *Lesego* and *Mpho*, you would say, *bô Naledi*. The prefix, *bô* signifies that *Naledi* is with other people. Similarly when you are referring to more than one person called *Naledi* you would say *bô Naledi* which basically means that you are referring to two or more people called *Naledi*. All names in the Botswana data which are in the form of nouns will, therefore, fall into one of the classes above. Nouns in the form of infinitive verbs like *go bona* 'to see' may fall into class 15 but as names they will fall in classes 1(a) and 2(a) respectively which includes only infinitive forms of verbs, and the reason they are included in the noun class category is because they will in this instance function more as nouns than as verbs. This is to say that the infinitive in Setswana will sometimes function like a noun as the subject of a clause. For example; *go rata* 'to love' can function both as a verb and as a noun depending on whether it is the subject or the predicate in the clause. The categorisation of *go-* 'to' as a noun class prefix is arguable because independently it can also be a preposition. The categorisation of names which take the form of an infinitive as either a verb or noun will, therefore, be dependent on their meanings and motivations as given by the respondents.

6.2.4 The Pronoun

A pronoun is a word that can substitute for a noun or a noun phrase in a grammatical construction. Pronouns in Setswana differ from those in English because English has several types such as demonstrative, possessive, personal, indefinite and reflexive, while Setswana has just three basic types. Cole (1955:127), states that Setswana has three main types of pronouns, namely; absolute, demonstrative and qualificative. Absolute pronouns, also known as absolute possessives, are emphatic in nature so they can be used with a noun or another pronoun. For example; *mosadi ênê* 'the woman herself' or *setlhare sone* 'the tree itself'. This category of absolutes also includes the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns (I, you, he/she and the neuter pronoun it) and their plural forms. As in English, some demonstrative pronouns point to particular objects, like *se* 'this', *sele* 'that', and their plural forms *tse* 'these' and *tsele* 'those', while others are locational, such as *fa* 'here' and *fale* 'there'. Cole (1955:135) asserts that 'qualificatives function as pronouns when they follow the substantives with which they show concordial agreement.' Cole goes on to state that when a qualificative word is placed before the substantive then it assumes the role of a pronoun and becomes a qualificative pronoun. This

usage does exist in Setswana but it is rare in normal language usage. For example; *monna yo mokhutshwane o sule* 'the short man is dead', thus *yo mokhutshwane* 'the short one' becomes the qualificative pronoun and the sentence becomes *yo mokhutshwane o sule* 'the short one is dead'. The qualificative pronoun, *yo mokhutshwane* 'the short one' replaces the noun *monna* 'man'. Pronouns, like words from other word classes can be used as personal names in Setswana. Common pronouns used as names include, *Bone* 'them', *Wame* 'mine' and *Ênê* 'her/him'. It is therefore, expected that such names will be represented in the data. The different types of pronouns that will be discussed in Chapter 6 will be determined by their representation in the data.

6.2.5 The Verb

A verb is a word used to describe an action, a state or an event and it is the main part of a predicate which is an important part of a sentence. Names in Setswana carry a lot of content so it is expected that those which fall into the verb category will be in the form of lexical verbs. A lexical verb or a main verb (as opposed to an auxiliary verb) is the type that carries semantic meaning so it expresses the action denoted. The verb in Setswana is similar to that in English because it can carry all the qualities of tense, number and mood. According to Cole (1955:188), the Setswana verb has the terminal vowel *–a* as its basic form but this can be replaced by other suffixes during conjugation. For example, the verb *aba* 'give' is in its basic form, while *abile* 'gave' indicates the past tense and *abang* 'give' indicates plurality through the morpheme *–ng*. The *–ng* morpheme can also have an honorific function to show respect especially when addressing an elderly person. Setswana has names that derive from verbs like *Abang* 'give', *Rutang* 'teach' and *Rapela* 'pray'.

6.2.6 The Phrase

A phrase is a syntactic category above the word class but below the clause. Phrases do not present a complete proposition and are made up of a head word and one or more modifiers. A phrase in Setswana is not different from that in English in terms of structure and function. There are different types of phrases and these are determined by the word class of the head word. For example, if the head word of a phrase is a noun, the phrase is a noun phrase; if the head word is a verb, the phrase is a verb phrase. Names in Setswana can take the form of a noun, verb, or genitive phrase and these are the three basic phrases that the names will be categorised under. Popular Setswana names that are in the form of phrases are those prefixed

by gender markers, *Mma* 'Mother, Miss/Mrs' and *Rra* 'father of, Mr' such as *Mmapula* 'Miss/Mrs/Mother of rain' or *Raserame* 'Mr/Father of the cold'.

6.2.7 The Clause

A clause is a syntactic category above the basic grammatical units like nouns or verbs and also above the phrase. It is a structure that can express a complete proposition and it would basically be made up of a subject and a verb with or without an object. A clause has different types; it can be independent or dependent and a clause in Setswana is not structurally different from that in English. Clauses can also exist as interrogatives. The current analysis of the data will categorise clauses as either independent or dependent as the expectation is to have names that take these structures. Generally, Setswana names are grammatically able to express a complete proposition as indicated by names like *Goabilwe* 'it (child) has been given' or *Kereeditse* 'I am listening.' These are the types of names that are expected to be categorised under the clause category.

6.2.8 Conclusion

The main objective of this section, as stated previously is to familiarise the reader with the basic grammatical classes and syntactic categories in Setswana, their formation and basic structures as well as how they are similar or different to those in English. These are set out in the way they are going to be used in the grammatical analysis of the names in the next section. The discussion has illustrated that the formation of nouns and the categorisation of pronouns in Setswana is significantly different from that of English.

Section 6.3 will present and discuss the grammatical categories of lexically transparent names in Scotland while section 6.4 will discuss the Botswana name stock.

6.3 Grammatical Categories of Names in Scotland

Figure 6-2 presents the grammatical categories of lexically transparent names in Scotland and it shows that the noun category is the commonest category at 73.9%, followed by adjectives at 17.4% and the least common categories are those of exclamations and phrases which are both at 4.3%. Examples of these names are *Precious*, *Bonnie*, *Shalom*, *Ruby*, *Hope* amongst others. The fact that the noun category is the most common category at 73.9% is not surprising because the semantic categories (precious stones, flowers, desirable qualities) from which these names derive have always existed in the European context and words from which they derive are

predisposed to be nouns. Grammatical categories that are unrepresented in the data such as verbs, pronouns and clauses are left out of the analysis but will be included in the Botswana data if they are represented there. The numerical proportions of the names will be presented in their raw form and not as percentages as the figures are so small. These grammatical categories are individually discussed further in the next section.

Figure 6-2: Scotland Grammatical Analysis of Names

Semantic Category	Adjectives	Exclamations	Nouns	Phrases
Animal and bird names	0	0	4	0
Months of the year names	0	0	1	0
Physical characteristics names	1	0	0	0
Plant and flower names	0	0	5	0
Precious stone and metal names	0	0	2	0
Social situation names	0	0	1	0
Symbolism and symbolic objects names	0	0	1	0
Virtue names	3	1	3	0
Weather state names	0	0	0	1
Total: 23	**4**	**1**	**17**	**1**
Total percentage: 100%	**17.4%**	**4.3%**	**73.9%**	**4.3%**

6.3.1 Adjectives

There are 17.4% of names that are grammatically adjectives in Scotland and this is the most common grammatical category of names after nouns. The names in this grammatical category come from the semantic categories of Physical characteristics and Virtues, with the latter being the highest at 13.1% and the former at 4.3%. Examples of Virtue names under this category are *Precious*, *Lucky* and *Smart* while the only name under Physical characteristics is *Bonnie* which is originally a Scottish word meaning 'beautiful', 'attractive' or 'pretty'. All the names in this category make reference to desirable and admirable qualities and do not seem to carry any negative connotations.

6.3.2 Exclamations

There is only one name in this category, which is originally from Hebrew, *Shalom* 'peace', that is represented at 4.3%. Although the meaning of the name may classify it as a noun, its usage is that of an exclamation rather than that of a noun. The *Oxford English Dictionary* categorises the word *shalom* as an exclamation which is used as a salutation when meeting or parting.

6.3.3 Nouns

A noun is generally defined as a word that refers to a person, or a thing and it is the largest category of grammatical classes with different types. Nouns can be divided into common, proper, concrete, abstract, collective, count and mass nouns. The current data will only be classified according to common, proper and abstract noun categories; the idea is to work with the most general categories to minimise the overlaps that may come into existence when the most specific categories are used. In Scotland nouns are the most common grammatical category of names at 73.9%. The names belong to the majority of the semantic categories with the exceptions of Physical characteristics and Weather state names. The semantic category with the highest number of names that derive from nouns is that of Plant and flower names (5/17) followed by Animal and bird names (4/17) and Virtue names (3/17). The different types of nouns are represented in the data by these examples; Abstract nouns are indicated by the name *Hope*, Proper nouns by the name *June*. Common nouns are in the majority as shown by names like *Robin*, *Jade*, *Ruby*, *Heather* and *Viola*.

6.3.4 Phrases

A phrase is a syntactic category above the word class which comprises a group of words that form part of a clause. There are many different types of phrases whose type is determined by its head word. The different types of phrases are noun phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase, and prepositional phrase amongst others. There is only one name in the data that is categorised as a phrase, *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain', which is a noun phrase made up of a pre-modifier *Mma* 'Miss/mother of' + *pula* 'rain' which is a noun and the head word of the phrase. This name is originally a Setswana name and apart from it there is no other that belongs here. It might be assumed that names that are originally from Scotland do not exist in grammatical categories above that of the word class. This is because even the clause category is unrepresented in the data. Names in Scotland tend to be short in length, with one or two syllables at the most while those in Botswana go beyond this, so it is highly unlikely that the former will have structures above the grammatical class level.

6.4 Grammatical Categories of Names and Gender

Figure 6-3: Grammatical Categories and Gender in Scotland

Grammatical Category	No. of male tokens	% of tokens	No. of female tokens	% of tokens
Adjectives	1	4.3%	3	13%
Exclamations	0	0%	1	4.3%
Nouns	3	13%	14	61%
Phrases	0	0%	1	4.3%
Total:	**4**	**17.3%**	**19**	**82.6%**

This section presents and discusses the relationship between the grammatical categories of the names and gender to establish if there is any significant correlation between them. There are 4.3% male name tokens in the Adjective category and 13% in the female category. There are 13% of male name tokens under the Noun category as compared to 61% of the female name tokens. The majority of the lexically transparent names in the overall data are female specific at 82.6% while the male specific ones are at 17.3%. This observation can be extrapolated to the wider namescape in Scotland to conclude that the majority of lexically transparent names in Scotland are female specific. It can also be further concluded that it is easier to derive a female name from a regular vocabulary word than it is to derive a male name.

6.5 Grammatical Categories of Names in Botswana

Figure 6-4 presents the grammatical analysis of lexically transparent name tokens in Botswana. It is clear that this figure is different from Figure 6-2, which presents the same for the Scotland data. The reason is that each figure only presents the semantic and grammatical categories that are represented in the data. Apart from this the general structure is basically the same. Section 6.2 gives a general overview of grammatical categories, their meanings and their syntactic composition. As with the semantic categories, the categorisation of the names discussed is a bottom-up process as it was determined by their representation in the data. The decision of whether a name is categorised as a noun, an adjective or a pronoun, for example, is guided by the definition of these as discussed in section 6.2. The Noun category is the most commonly represented in Botswana with 52.1% name tokens, followed by Clauses at 31.3% and Phrases at 8.4%. The Verb category is fourth at 4.9%, Pronouns at 2.2%, Adjectives at 1% and finally Determiners at 0.1%. The data further indicates that the majority of the names fall into word class categories (60.3%) and only 39.7% fall into high level structures of the phrase and the clause. Apart from Northern-Sotho names (Mojapelo 2009), which indicates that most Sesotho

names take the Noun category, there is not much evidence in relation to the structures of African names in other languages. There is evidence of Xhosa names (Neethling 2005) and Shona names (Pongweni 1983) falling in the noun category but their popularity is not established. The clause structure, which is the second highest category after Nouns in Botswana, is evident in Shona names (Pongweni 1983:36) and in Xhosa names (Neethling 2005) but as with the Noun category, the prevalence of the Clause structure in these languages is not established. The grammatical categories are further discussed below as they appear in Figure 6-4 and not according to their popularity.

Figure 6-4: Botswana Grammatical Analysis of Names

Semantic Category	Adjectives	Clauses	Deter-miners	Nouns	Phrases	Pronouns	Verbs
1. Activity names	0	119	0	18	6	0	76
2. Animal and bird names	0	0	0	8	4	0	0
3. Appreciation names	0	34	0	36	10	0	1
4. Biblical names	0	0	0	9	0	0	0
5. Birth order names	3	11	1	11	12	0	0
6. Culture and cultural practices names	0	6	0	16	1	0	0
7. Emotion names	3	25	0	45	23	3	1
8. Gender indicative names	0	6	0	32	8	0	0
9. God related names	0	227	0	19	13	9	2
10. Month of the year names	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
11. Occupation and position in society names	0	9	0	177	17	0	0
12. Physical characteristics names	7	4	0	11	6	0	0
13. Plants and flower names	0	0	0	8	0	0	0
14. Possession names	0	0	0	0	2	28	0
15. Precious stone and metal names	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
16. Social situation names	1	110	1	45	3	1	0
17. Symbolism and Symbolic objects names	1	9	0	265	12	0	0
18. Virtue names	4	5	0	246	8	0	9
19. Weather state names	0	7	0	4	26	0	0
Total: 1,829	**19**	**572**	**2**	**953**	**153**	**41**	**89**
Total%: 100%	**1%**	**31.3%**	**0.1%**	**52.1%**	**8.4%**	**2.2%**	**4.9%**

6.5.1 Adjectives

The Adjective category is next to the lowest category of names at 1%, while in Scotland it is the second highest category at 17.4%. The majority of the names that are grammatically adjectives fall under the semantic category of Physical characteristics which is to be expected because these are words that describe or denote physical qualities of nouns. Examples of names in this category are *Pretty*, *Shoti* 'short', *Gonnye* 'small' and *Tshweu* 'white/light skinned'. These names are used to describe physical characteristics like beauty, physique and complexion of the name bearer at the time of birth. Some of the names that are adjectives are from the Birth Order category; *Esi* 'alone' which can also be an enumerative, *Osi* 'alone/only' which can also be an adverb if we use the 'only' meaning but nonetheless, the meanings are interchangeable in Setswana. The Virtues semantic category gives the names *Precious*, *Quiet*, and *Innocent* without any Setswana name being represented here, while the Social situation semantic category is represented by the name *Posthumous*.

6.5.2 Clauses

The Clause is the second most common category after Nouns at 31.3%. This shows that Botswana names exist in grammatical categories beyond the noun, verb and adjective as compared to names in Scotland which mainly belong to closed-class categories. Figure 6-1 shows that there is only one name in Scotland which is in the form of a phrase and is originally a Setswana name. It can be concluded that the majority of names in Scotland exist in syntactic categories below the phrase structure level. The Clause category is highly populated with God related names (227/572), which is the highest semantic category with these types of names. The Clausal forms of names exist mainly as independent, declarative and also as interrogative clauses.

Clausal names from the semantic category of God related names appear in different forms. There are those that have the word *modimo* which means God and those where the word is replaced by a pronoun. An example of a name with the former structure is *Goitsemodimo* 'God knows'. The name *Goitsemodimo* can be interpreted in two different ways depending on where the stress is placed on the initial part of the name (see section 1.5). For example, if the 'itse' part of the word is stressed the meaning becomes; *Goitsemodimo* '*to know God*' = *go* 'to' + *itse* 'know' + *modimo* 'God'. This interpretation is, however, not used with names. On the other hand, if the '*go*' part of the word is stressed the interpretation is *Goitsemodimo* 'God knows' = *go* 'it is' + *itse* 'know'+ *modimo* 'God' which literally means 'it is God who knows'.

This is the interpretation that is used for names. Another name with the word *modimo* is *Kewamodimo* 'he/she is of God' which literally means 'he/she belongs to God'. The name is broken down as; *Kewamodimo = Ke* 'he/she'+ *wa* 'of'+ *modimo* 'God'. The name *Gaomodimo* 'you are not God' becomes; *Gaomodimo = ga* 'not'+ *o* 'you' + *modimo* 'God'.

The other type of structure is that where the word *God* is replaced by a pronoun. An example is; *Goitseone* 'He (God) knows'= *go* 'it is'+ *itse* 'know'+ *one* 'He'. The other name, *Onalenna* 'He (God) is with me'= *o* 'He' + *na* 'is' + le 'with' + *nna* 'me'. *Olorato* 'He (God) is loving' = o 'he' + lorato 'is loving'. Although the names may comprise the noun or pronoun for God they are still independent clauses which convey a complete meaning. Further examples are; *Osenotse* 'He (God) has revealed', *Ofentse* 'He (God) has defeated' and *Oabona* 'He (God) sees'.

Names from the Activity category are the second highest with clause-like structures as there are 119/572 of them. Examples of names as independent clauses in this category are; *Batsile* 'they have arrived' = *ba* 'they' + *tsile* 'have arrived', *Kebaemetse* 'I have waited for them', *Keduetswe* 'I have been paid' and *Reategile* 'we are successful'. Other examples of names with the same structure are; *Ketshephile* 'I have trusted', *Keneetswe* 'I have been given' and Kereeditse 'I am listening'. Some of the names are in the form of questions, which seem like an unusual structure for a name but in Botswana names take many types of syntactic structures. An example is; *Kedirileng* 'what have I done?' which is broken down as; *Ke* 'I' + *dirile* 'done' + *-ng* (*eng*) 'what'. Other examples are; *Kekgatlhamang* 'whom am I amusing?' and *Kebotse* 'should I ask?'.

The Social situation category is the third highest with Clausal names (110/572) and an example is; *Bareetseng* 'listen to them'= *ba* 'them' + *reetse* 'listen' + *-ng* 'plural morpheme'. Other examples are; *Gabagaisane* 'they are not in competition' and *Gakenatlhong* 'I have no bashfulness' all of which are independent clauses. As stated before, the meanings of names in the Social situation are closely tied to their contexts. Further examples in this category are, *Gothata* 'it is difficult'= *go* 'it is'+ *thata* 'difficult' and *Kebelaetse* 'I have suspected'= *ke* 'I' + *belaetse* 'have suspected'. Those that are in the form of interrogatives are; *Kesentseng* 'what wrong have I committed?'= *ke* 'I' + *sentse* 'wrongdoing'+ *eng* 'what'. Others are; *Gotlhaloganyamang* 'who understands?' and *Gobuamang* 'who is talking?'. Clausal names are spread across many semantic categories as indicated by figure 6.3 but they are highly

concentrated in the three categories discussed above. The ability of the names to exist as meaningful clauses highlights their chances of being lexically transparent.

6.5.3 Determiners

Determiners are the least common grammatical category of names in Botswana as there are only 2/572 of them. Determiners by nature do not carry any content as they are function words and this is the opposite of names in Botswana which are content loaded, so it is to be expected that these will be few in the data. The first name is from the Birth order semantic category, *Gotlhe* 'all/everything', and the second name is from the Social situations category, *Tsotlhe* 'all/everything' both of which have the same lexical meaning. The names can be pronouns if the 'everything' meaning is used rather than the 'all' meaning, but the central idea of the name is the same despite the interpretation. The first name *Gotlhe* was given because the child was the last one and the mother was basically saying that she has all or everything she wanted and so she was not having any more children. The reasoning behind the name *Tsotlhe* is that the mother of the child was prepared to receive all and everything that God gave her whether it was good or bad.

6.5.4 Nouns

The noun category is the most common in Botswana, represented at 52.1% of the lexically transparent names. This is the most widespread syntactic category across all semantic categories, being represented in all of them except Possession names, which is understandably dominated by possessive pronouns. This can be used to assert that the majority of names in Botswana exist in the form of nouns rather than in any other form, because the current data is considered representative enough to make the assertion. This is a scenario similar to that in Scotland as nouns are also the most common grammatical category to which names belong at 73.9%. As stated before, the current categorisation will work with the general classes of nouns such as common, proper and abstract nouns to minimise overlaps and so the examples used will conform to these categories and not go beyond to any specifics. Some semantic categories are made up of names that are by definition nouns so they will naturally belong to this grammatical category.

The semantic category with the highest number of names in the form of nouns is Symbolism and symbolic objects (265/953), because it mostly deals with objects which would grammatically be categorised as nouns. The majority of names in this category are common

nouns without any proper nouns being represented. Examples of names in the form of common nouns refer to tangible objects like *Baesekele* 'bicycle', *Dikago* 'buildings', *Leungo* 'fruit' and *Marumo* 'bullets'. Others are in the form of intangibles like *Botshelo* 'life', *Lesedi* 'light', *Loapi* 'sky' and *Tidimalo* 'silence'. There are names that are in the form of abstract nouns as indicated by names such as *Kakanyo* 'thought' and *Dikakanyo* 'thoughts'. The Virtues semantic category is the second highest with names from the noun class represented at 246/953. Many of these are abstract nouns as virtues are behavioural qualities that are not concrete and exist only in the mind. Examples of names that exist as abstract nouns in this category are; *Boammaruri* 'truth', *Botlhale* 'intelligence', *Tlotlo* 'respect', *Tshepo* 'trust' and *Boitshwarelo* 'forgiveness'. This category also has names that are originally from English like *Patience*, *Hope* and *Charity*.

The third semantic category with many names in the form of nouns is that of Occupation and position in society (177/953). As mentioned in section 1.5.3, nouns in Setswana belong to different noun classes as determined by their prefixes. Class 1 comprises personal nouns whose prefix is *mo-*, which make up words like *motho* 'person', *mosadi* 'woman', and *mosimane* 'boy'. The nouns in this class also indicate an agent or the performer of an action as denoted by the verb, and so names of people who perform certain actions like *moagi* 'builder' or *molemi* 'farmer' will belong to this noun class. The semantic category of Occupation and position in society is made up of personal nouns that denote people who perform certain actions. Names in this category therefore have the personal prefix *mo-*; however, there are other names or nouns that are personal in nature but do not carry the *mo-* prefix. Examples of names that are in the form of common nouns here are; *Modisa* 'herdboy/shepherd', *Motsumi* 'hunter', *Motshereganyi* 'mediator' and *Moatlhodi* 'judge'. When words in this class are pluralised they take the prefix *ba-* which basically represents 'many', and so there are names in this category such as *Baoki* 'nurses', *Bathusi* 'helpers' and *Batlhalefi* 'intellectuals'. As mentioned in section 5.2.11.1 it is natural for names in Setswana to take the plural form although denoting one person. Names that do not take the prefix *mo-* but belong to this group include; *Kgosi* 'chief' and its plural form *Dikgosi* 'chiefs', *Lesole* 'soldier' and *Seapei* 'cook'. There are no examples of abstract and proper nouns within the category of Occupation and position in society.

The categories of Emotions and Social situations respectively are joint fourth highest for names that are in the form of nouns, both represented at 45/953. The Emotions category has names which are common nouns like *Selelo* 'cry', *Dikeledi* 'tears' and *Moratiwa* 'lover'. Abstract

nouns are represented by the names; *Khutsafalo* 'sadness', *Boitumelo* 'happiness' and *Lorato* 'love'. The Social situation category has common nouns in the names; *Boipuso* 'independence', *Dipogiso* 'sufferings' and *Batsietsi* 'cheats'. An abstract noun is the name *Boikotlhao* 'regret'. There are no proper nouns represented in the data. Proper nouns are however, evident in the Biblical category through the names *Baiseraela* 'Israelites' and *Baroma* 'Romans' as well as in the Months of the year category through the name *Mmei* 'May'. Names that are originally from English are found in the Plant and flower category, *Daisy* and *Pertunia* (adaptation of *petunia*), and in the Precious stone and metal names category as indicated by the name *Pearl*.

6.5.5 Phrases

Phrases are the third highest syntactic category into which names in Botswana fall after nouns and clauses, and they are represented at 8.4%. Phrase-like names are represented in all semantic categories except two, Biblical and Plants and flowers. Phrases, like nouns and clauses, have different types; those discussed here are the ones represented in the data. The Weather state category has the highest number of phrasal names at 26/153, and the majority are noun phrases. An example is *Mmapula* 'Miss/mother of rain', which is made up of the pre-modifier (mma-) 'Miss/mother'+ of (connector) + *pula* 'rain', which is the headword. The majority of the names here follow the same structure. Other examples are *Mmaserame* 'miss/mother of the cold', *Mmaletsatsi* 'Miss/mother of the sun' and the male specific ones such as *Rapula* 'Mr/father of the rain'. The prefix (mma-), which acts as a modifier, is a female gender marker, while (ra/rra), which also functions as a modifier, is a male gender marker.

Another type of phrase represented in the data is the genitive phrase, as indicated by the names; *Wapula* 'of the rain', which is made up of the preposition *wa* meaning 'of' and the noun *pula* which means 'rain'. The other names also follow the same structure; for example, *Waletsatsi* 'of the sun', *Waserame* 'of the cold', which respectively mean one born on a sunny/hot and cold day. The second highest semantic category with names of this structure is that of Emotions (23/153), represented by verb phrases; *Itumeleng* 'be happy', *Thabang* 'be happy' and the infinitive phrase as in the name *Gorata* 'to love'. Noun phrases are also evident through the names, *Mmadikeledi* 'Miss/mother of tears' and *Mmaoratwa* 'Miss/mother of love'. The category of Vocation and Position in society is the third highest with phrase-like names (17/153) and the majority of the names are in the form of noun phrases as the category mainly comprises personal nouns. Examples are; *Mmakgosi* 'Miss/mother of/wife of the chief', *Modisakgosi* 'the chief's caretaker', made up of the noun *modisa* 'caretaker' as a pre-modifier

and *kgosi* 'chief' as the headword, and *Mothibedinyana* 'young/small herd-boy', made up of the noun *mothibedi* 'herd-boy' and (-nyana) which is a suffix that indicates small in size and is a pre-modifier. There is a genitive phrase, *Watemo* 'of the farming season', which literally means one born during the farming season.

God related names are the third most common category with phrase structure names at 13/153. This category has noun phrases as exemplified by the names; *Atlasaone* 'His (God's) hand', *Thatayaone* 'His (God's) strength/might' and *Thatayotlhe* 'All strength'. The genitive phrase is represented by names like *Kaone* 'through Him (God)' and *Wamorena* 'of God', which means belonging to God. The Symbolism and symbolic objects semantic category also has names that take a phrasal structure (12/153), and the examples are mainly noun phrases like; *Mmadikerese* 'Miss/mother of candles', *Mmasetena* 'Miss/mother of a brick' and *Thupadintsi* 'many whips'. In the Birth order category (12/153) there is only one example of a noun phrase represented by the name *Mosimanegape* 'another boy', which is borne by 12 individuals. This name might be popular because having a boy child has always been regarded as a big achievement and something to celebrate. The Possession category (2/153) also has noun phrases; *Khumoyame* 'my wealth' and *Mphoyame* 'my gift'. In the Months of the year category there is only one name which takes the noun phrase structure, and it is *Mmeinyana* 'young/small May'; while in the Precious stone and metal name category there is also one name and it is *Mmagauta* 'miss/mother of gold'. This discussion indicates that the most common type of phrase that names seem to take is the noun phrase while other types like the adjective phrase and the adverb phrase are not represented in the data. The Noun category is the most common category to which names belong and so the phrases from such nouns are also common.

6.5.6 Pronouns

The Pronoun category is the fifth most common and is represented at 2.2%. The names are, however, largely concentrated in the Possession semantic category at 28/41, and are also represented in just 5 semantic categories out of a total of 19. The Possession semantic category mainly consists of names that take the possessive pronoun structure as they indicate all kinds of possessions. Some of the names are in the plural form like *Larona* 'ours', *Sarona* 'ours' and *Rona* 'us'. Others are in the singular form like; *Bame* 'mine (they are my children)', *Game* 'mine (it is my child)', *Wame* 'mine (he/she is my child)' and *Laone* 'His (God's)'. The God related names category also has examples of names that are in the form of pronouns as shown by names like *Tsaone* 'His (God's)', *Gaone* 'His (God's)' and *Ope* 'nobody', which is also

making reference to God as the meaning is that there is nobody like him. The majority of the pronouns in the God related category are also possessive ones like those in the Possession category. The Emotion category has only one name that takes the pronoun structure and it is *Lone* 'it (love)', whose motivation states that it refers to the parents' love for each other while the Social situation has the name *Ditsotlhe* 'everything'.

6.5.7 Verbs

Verbs are the fourth most common semantic category that names in Botswana belong to at 4.9% and it is unrepresented in Scotland. The names are mainly in the form of lexical verbs rather than auxiliary verbs as they carry semantic content. The semantic category of Activity names has the highest number of names (76/89) that take the verb structure, and this is because this category comprises names that denote or make reference to activities. An example of a name in this category that takes the verb structure is *Abang* 'give'. The main verb is *aba* which means 'give', and the morpheme *-ng* is an indicator for plurality which can also have an honorific function of showing respect. Many names in the Activity category take the same structure of attaching the morpheme *-ng* to the main verb. Further examples are; *Batlang* 'seek', *Lekang* 'try' and *Rapelang* 'pray'. The English word 'change' is also adapted as a Setswanalised form to give the name *Chencha* 'change'. The Appreciation category has one name that takes the structure of a lexical verb and is also an adaptation of an English word, *Tanki* 'thank' whose interpretation is 'thank you' although the 'you' part is non-existent in its structure. The only name in the Emotion category is *Rejoice* which is originally an English word. The semantic category of Virtues is represented by the name *Tshepang* 'trust', which occurs several times.

6.6 Grammatical Categories of Names and Gender in Botswana

Figure 6-5 presents the allocation of the grammatical categories of names to gender. The grammatical category of Nouns, which is the most common amongst all the categories, is prevalent amongst female name tokens at 28.48% as compared to the male ones at 23.3%, while those whose gender is unidentified are at 0.27%. The second highest category of Clauses also shows a similar scenario; there are 16% of female name tokens in clause form as compared to 15% of male ones and 0.22% of them are not gender marked. There are 4.86% of female name tokens in the form of phrases and 3.38% male name tokens, and with Verbal names there are 2.51% of the female ones and 2.35% of the male ones. In relation to Pronouns there are 1.58% female name tokens and 0.65% of male tokens. It is only with names in the form of

Adjectives that there are more male name tokens at 0.55% as compared to female name tokens at 0.49%. Lastly, the Determiner category is unrepresented with male names and has 0.11% female name tokens. The overall data shows that there are more female name tokens at 54.07% as compared to the male ones at 45.32% while those whose gender is unidentified are at 0.60%.

Figure 6-5: Grammatical Categories and Gender in Botswana

Grammatical Category	No. of male tokens	% of male tokens	No. of female tokens	% of female tokens	No. of Not given	% of Not given
Adjectives	10	0.55%	9	0.49%	0	0%
Clauses	275	15%	293	16%	4	0.22%
Determiners	0	0%	2	0.11%	0	0%
Nouns	427	23.3%	521	28.48%	5	0.27%
Phrases	62	3.38%	89	4.86%	2	0.11%
Pronouns	12	0.65%	29	1.58%	0	0%
Verbs	43	2.35%	46	2.51%	**0**	0%
Total	**829**	**45.32%**	**989**	**54.07%**	**11**	**0.60%**

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that names can belong to different grammatical categories and that a typical grammatical profile for lexically transparent names in both Botswana and Scotland is the Noun class. For the Botswana context, this observation is in line with what Mojapelo (2009) observed with Northern-Sotho names, that they generally derive from nouns and this observation may be generalised to all languages of the Tswana and Sotho family because they are mutually intelligible. As already mentioned, the popularity of names that belong to the Noun class in Scotland is attributed to the established semantic categories of precious stones, flowers and virtues which would naturally be made up of nouns. Generally, the most common word classes to which names belong are the open classes, like nouns, verbs and adjectives, which was expected as these are the types that carry semantic content. The Determiner category is represented in the Botswana data, albeit to a minimum degree because determiners are function words and do not carry semantic content. Since the meanings of the names in this category could not be deduced solely from the lexical meanings of the words from which they derive, it was important to consider the motivations of the names in order to reveal the full meaning. It has also been established that more lexically transparent names in both countries are female than male. This chapter has initially hypothesised that the lexical structure of names

can go beyond the grammatical class category to higher syntactic categories, and this chapter has indeed shown that names do exist in the form of phrases and clauses. However, these latter syntactic categories are more prevalent in Botswana than in Scotland. It can also be concluded that names in Scotland tend to be shorter in length as they contain fewer syllables as compared to those in Botswana which are longer with many syllables because they tend to carry the meaning of a whole sentence. The next chapter will discuss the grammatical analysis and semantics of Unusual names in the two countries.

7. Unusual Names in Botswana and Scotland

7.1 Introduction

The term 'Unusual names' in this thesis is used to refer to names that are not the common, traditional names as already discussed in section 2.3.1. The aim of this chapter is to contribute to the current onomastic research landscape which is concerned with new, emerging naming strategies and names the world over. Previous related studies (Rosenhouse 2002, Crook 2011, Ramaeba & Mathangwane 2015, and Bramwell 2016) indicate that over the years names and naming patterns in many societies have been going through a significant evolution, linguistically and socially. This chapter therefore explores the semantic and grammatical categories of these names and the motivations behind them in the two countries. Names that are referred to as Unusual in the Botswana data were given by respondents to a question that required them to give names that they regarded as unusual or uncommon. They were also asked to give the meaning, origin and significance or motivation of the names if they knew them. On the other hand, the Unusual names used in the Scotland data were derived from the NRS (2014) names data which were recorded from 1974. The names were selected from those recorded as being given only once in an individual year. The list has twenty names, ten for each gender, all deliberately chosen to represent different aspects of the names, meaning and structure wise. The list comprises both lexically transparent and lexically non-transparent names with varying structures from single words to compounds. The Scotland respondents were asked two questions regarding the names; firstly, they were asked for the meaning and origin of the name, secondly, they were asked if they would give their child any of the names and state the reasons for their decision. The data for the names in the two countries was collected differently so the presentation and discussion of the results will also differ. Section 7.2 presents and discusses the semantic categories of Unusual names in Botswana.

7.2 Unusual Names in Botswana

A total of 547 name tokens were collected under the Unusual names section of the questionnaire (Appendix 1). However, during the analysis stage it became apparent that some of the names were not unusual because they were represented in the data discussed in Chapters 4-6. As a result, all the names that appeared in the earlier data were omitted from the current data of Unusual names and so 271 name tokens were discarded and 276 name tokens remained. From the 276 name tokens, 43 belonged to other languages that exist in Botswana but are not familiar to the researcher and therefore were also discarded because their meanings could not

be decoded. Furthermore, within the 43 names there were 3 names that have an English origin but a non-transparent meaning. There were also 8 names which are originally Setswana but whose meanings were unknown to the researcher and so these too were discarded. After these subtractions, a total of 225 name tokens remained and these were categorised into relevant semantic categories. The names belong to 15 semantic categories and these are the same categories used in Chapters 4-6. The semantic categories unrepresented in the data are omitted, hence the 15 categories and not 19 as in Chapters 4-6. There is, however, one category of names derived from proverbs which is not in the earlier list but is included here. There were a few examples of such names in the common names data but because of the overlaps in the categorisation process where an individual name could belong to two different categories they did not emerge as an independent category. This chapter does not discuss the relationship between names and gender as respondents could not provide the gender for most of the names.

7.2.1 Semantic Categories of Unusual Names in Botswana

Figure 7-1: Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Unusual Names in Botswana

Semantic Categories	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Activity names	35	15.6%	35	17.5%
Animal and bird names	10	4.4%	10	5%
Emotion names	7	3.1%	4	2%
Gender indicative names	14	6.2%	14	7%
God related names	8	3.6%	8	4%
Occupation and position in society names	15	6.7%	14	7%
Physical characteristics names	7	3.1%	6	3%
Plant and flower names	1	0.4%	1	0.5%
Possession names	7	3.1%	7	3.5%
Precious stone names	2	0.9%	2	1%
Proverb derived names	6	2.7%	6	3%
Social situation names	38	16.9%	37	18.5%
Symbolism and symbolic objects names	64	28.4%	47	23.5%
Virtue names	10	4.4%	8	4%
Weather state names	1	0.44%	1	0.5%
	Total: 225	**Total: 99.9%**	**Total: 200**	**100%**

Figure 7-1 presents the 15 semantic categories to which Unusual name tokens in Botswana belong and the proportions of their types. There are 225 name tokens and 200 name types. This minimal difference between the tokens and the types reiterates the fact that these names are not

common so an individual name can belong to a maximum of just two people in the overall data. These names are further discussed in the next section according to their semantic categories. The respondents here gave names they thought to be unusual and not necessarily those of their family members or people they knew, hence the lack of knowledge of their gender. As a result, it is most likely that the meanings of the names, their motivations and the gender of the name bearer as given by the respondents will be more guesswork than factual. Furthermore, there were generally fewer responses to the gender than to the motivation. This also reflects on the unusualness of the names.

7.2.2 Unusual Activity Names

Figure 7-2: Unusual Activity Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Activity	35	15.6%	35	17.5%

There are 15.6% of Activity name tokens and 17.5% of the types of the same. As already stated, these are names that make reference to a kind of activity taking place and they would often derive from a verb.

7.2.2.1 Meaning of Unusual Activity Names

Figure 7-3: Meaning of Unusual Activity Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Activity	21/35	60%

Figure 7-3 shows that the respondents know the meanings of 60% of the names they provided which means that 40% of the meanings of the names are unknown although they are all Setswana names which are lexically transparent. The meanings of the names cut across a variety of themes which are both positive and negative. Some of the names with a positive meaning are *Rabina* 'we have danced' and *Fifi* which derives from the usual name *Kefilwe* 'I have been given'. Both names appreciate and celebrate the child received. The names *Romang* 'send (on errands)' and *Ithute* 'teach yourself' make reference to the hopes and wishes that the parents have for the child. Some of the names have meanings that may be termed negative, like *Lentshotlile* 'you/it abused me' and *Gabanthate* 'they do not love me'.

7.2.2.2 Motivation for Unusual Activity Names

Figure 7-4: Motivation for Unusual Activity Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Not known/given	24	68.6%
Family and birth circumstances	6	17.1%
Other	3	8.6%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	2	5.7%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 35	Total: 100%

Figure 7-4 indicates that the motivations behind the majority of the names are Not known/given at 68.6%. The respondents gave names that they deemed unusual regardless of whether they knew their meanings and/or motivations. The second highest motivation category is that of Family and birth circumstances at 17.1%. Although most of the names in this category sound polemical, they could not be firmly categorised as such because the motivations were not fully explained as in most cases they were given by respondents who were not close to the name bearer and so did not know the full details of the name. The name *Hagolowe* 'we are not fighting' was given because there were a lot of conflicts in the family when the child was born and the hope was that the arrival of the child would help to bring peace. The name *Olatlheletswe* 'she is not cared for' was given because when the mother was pregnant her parents were not supportive and did not care for her as much as they should have. A mother who named her child *Gakeabalatlha* 'I have not thrown them away', states that although she was poor she was still able to have children and cared for them and did not dispose of them. A mother whose child was fathered by a relative named the child *Keitirileng* 'what have I done to myself?' because it is considered taboo to have a child with a relative. *Seitlhoboge* 'do not despair' was given to a child whose mother struggled to conceive so the name was a reminder to her to keep trying with the hope of having more children.

The motivation of Other is represented at 8.6%. Examples of names represented here are *Come again* which was given because the child ate a lot and *Bakgobokanye* 'they have crowded' which referred to the fact that there were a lot of girls in the family and no boys. The motivation of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child is represented at 5.7%. The name *Fifi* which derives from the common name *Kefilwe* 'I have been given' was given as an appreciation of the child. The other name is *Sisimogang* 'you should respect/ revere', which makes reference

to God, that people should respect and revere him. The category of Named for someone is unrepresented, which is understandable because the name would then not be unusual.

7.2.3 Unusual Animal and Bird Names

Figure 7-5: Unusual Animal and Bird Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Animal and bird names	10	4.4%	10	5%

According to Figure 7-5, there are 4.4% of the Animal and bird name tokens and 5% of the name types in Botswana.

7.2.3.1 Meaning of Unusual Animal and Bird Names

Figure 7-6: Meaning of Unusual Animal and Bird Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Animal and bird names	10/10	100%

The respondents were able to give the meanings of all the names they provided in this section. The names derive from names of birds like *Morubisi* 'owl', *Ritimokgweba* 'a type of small bird' and *Ramaeba* 'Mr/father of doves'. Names that derive from names of animals are *Tiger*, *Tshwene* 'baboon' and *Gopane* 'lizard'. These names are often used more as surnames than as first names, but in this case they are given as unusual first names.

7.2.3.2 Motivation for Unusual Animal and Bird Names

Figure: 7-7: Motivation for Unusual Animal and Bird Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	6	60%
Not known/given	2	20%
Family and birth circumstances	2	20%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 10	Total: 100%

The majority of the motivations for these names fall under the category of Other at 60%. A child was named *Morubisi* 'owl' because he had big eyes like that of an owl while another was

named *Gopane* 'lizard' because when he was born he had a scaly skin like that of a lizard. The same reason is given for a child who was named *Kgwathe* 'lizard' which is another type of a lizard. Another child was named *Tau* 'lion' with the hope that he will grow up to be as brave as a lion, while one was named *Ramaeba* 'Mr/father of doves' hoping that he will own doves when he grows up. Doves are a symbol of love and peace and hence the reason why the parents were specific about their choice. The names whose motivations are Not known/given are at 20%. The Family and birth circumstances motivation is also represented at 20%, and the names represented are *Tiger* and *Tshwene* 'baboon', which were given to children whose older siblings had died at a young age. As mentioned previously, there is a Setswana belief that when your children die soon after birth then the next child you have should be given an undesirable name that gives the impression that the child is not wanted or loved. The belief is that when that is done the child will survive because the Devil will think that they were not appreciated or wanted. These types of explanations highlight the relationships between names, beliefs and the cultures of the people and how they influence each other. The last two categories of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child and that of Named for someone are unrepresented.

7.2.4 Unusual Emotion Names

Figure 7-8: Unusual Emotion Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Emotion names	7	3.1%	4	2%

There are 3.1% of the Unusual Emotion name tokens and 2% of the name types.

7.2.4.1 Meaning of Unusual Emotion Names

Figure 7-9: Meaning of Unusual Emotion Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Emotion names	6/7	85.7%

The figure shows that the respondents know the meanings of 85.7% of the names that they gave. There is only one name, *Bohutsana* 'sadness', whose meaning is not given or is unknown. The name *Bohutsana* 'sadness' is a variant of the common name *Khutsafalo* which also means 'sadness'. *Bohutsana* is the most prevalent name in this category, occurring four times. The other version of this name is *Mahutsana* 'sadness' which is also represented here. The name

Ao 'oh' is unusual for its meaning as it is an expression of surprise and the fact that it has a single syllable structure also makes it phonologically uncommon.

7.2.4.2 Motivation for Unusual Emotion Names

Figure 7-10: Motivation for Unusual Emotion Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Family and birth circumstances	6	85.7%
Not known/given	1	14.3%
Other	0	0%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 7	Total: 100%

The highest motivation for names in this category is that of Family and birth circumstances at 85.7%. The names under this motivation express sadness and so the general motivation is that there was a death in the family at the time of the pregnancy or birth. These names are *Bohutsana*/*Mahutsana* 'sadness'; the former is the singular form while the latter is the plural form. The other name *Thokojapelo* 'sadness of the heart' was also motivated by a death in the family. The name *Ao* 'oh', which is a form of an exclamation, was given to show surprise because the child came as a surprise as the parents were not expecting to have a child. The other category of Not known/given is represented at 14.3% and the rest of the categories are unrepresented.

7.2.5 Unusual Gender Indicative Names

Figure 7-11: Unusual Gender Indicative Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Gender indicative names	14	6.2%	14	7%

There are 6.2% of Unusual Gender Indicative name tokens and 7% of the name types.

7.2.5.1 Meaning of Unusual Gender Indicative Names

Figure 7-12: Meaning of Unusual Gender Indicative Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Gender indicative names	6/14	42.9%

According to Figure 7-12 the majority of the respondents did not know the meanings of the names that they gave as indicated by the 42.9%. The names in this category carry a gender marking morpheme, either *rra* 'Mr/father of' or its opposite *mma* 'Miss/mother of' and so the gender is clearly marked. The themes of the meaning of the names vary; some indicate the physical qualities of the name bearer such as *Ratlhogo* 'Mr head' or *Mmatlhogo* 'Miss head'. The other theme is that of birth circumstances such as *Mosadiwaleuba* 'woman of the drought' and *Mmadikgang* 'Miss/mother of news'.

7.2.5.2 Motivation for Unusual Gender Indicative Names

Figure: 7-13: Motivation for Unusual Gender Indicative Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	6	42.9%
Not known/given	4	28.6%
Family and birth circumstances	3	21.4%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	1	7.1%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 14	Total: 100%

The Other motivation category is the highest at 42.9%. The name *Ramasogo* 'Mr/father of francolins' expressed the hopes and wishes of the parents for the child. The hope was that the child would be a good hunter who can hunt francolins, a bird of a pheasant family. The symbolic meaning of the name is that the child will become independent and be able to fend for himself in life. The other names made reference to the physical characteristics of the name bearer, for example, *Ratlhogo* 'Mr head' was given to a child with a big head while *Mmabobe* 'Miss ugly' was given to a child who was considered ugly. The second category of motivations is that of Not known/given which is at 28.6%. The motivation of Family and birth circumstances is represented at 21.4%. The names *Mosadiwaleuba* 'woman of the drought' and *Mmaleuba* 'Miss/mother of drought' are represented here and both of them were given to children born during a severe drought in the country. *Mmadikgang* 'Miss/mother of news' was

so named because her mother had to endure a lot of gossip and nasty talk from the villagers when she was pregnant because she was not married when she fell pregnant. The Acknowledging God and appreciation of the child category is at 7.1% and the name is *Mmagoratwa* 'Miss/mother of love' which was given because the parents loved the child a lot. The last category of Named for someone is unrepresented.

7.2.6 Unusual God Related Names

Figure 7-14: Unusual God Related Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
God related names	8	3.6%	8	4%

There are 3.6% of Unusual God related names and the types are represented at 4%. God related names make reference to God but are not from the bible.

7.2.6.1 Meaning of Unusual God Related Names

Figure 7-15: Meaning of Unusual God Related Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
God related names	5/8	62.5%

The respondents know the meanings of 62.5% of the names that they provided. The central theme of the names is God; they appreciate and thank him for the child received. Examples of these are; *Osiame* 'He (God) is good', *Arefa* 'He (God) gives to us' and *Seonyatseng* 'do not undermine Him (God)'.

7.2.6.2 Motivation for Unusual God Related Names

Figure 7-16: Motivation for Unusual God Related Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	6	75%
Not known/given	2	25%
Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
Other	0	0%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 8	Total: 100%

The highest motivation for names in this category is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating child which is represented at 75%. The name *Osiame* 'He (God) is good' was given to acknowledge God because he had been good to the family by giving them the child. Similarly, the names *Arefa* 'He (God) gives to us' and *Anaya* 'He (God) gives' are also acknowledging and appreciating God for the child. The name *Tlotso* 'anointing' was given because the parents felt that God had anointed them by giving them the child. The name *Seonyatseng* 'do not underestimate Him (God)' was also acknowledging God and cautioning people not to underestimate God because he is capable of doing great things. The name *Aleyo* 'it is not there' makes reference to the love of God; that there is no greater love than that of God. The mother was acknowledging that God's love had sustained her because she had a difficult pregnancy. The category of Not known/given is the second highest at 25% while the rest of the categories are not represented.

7.2.7 Unusual Occupation and Position in Society Names
Figure 7-17: Unusual Occupation and Position in Society Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Occupation and position in society names	15	6.7%	14	7%

Figure 7-17 above shows that there are 6.7% of Occupation and position in society name tokens and 7% of their types.

7.2.7.1 Meaning of Unusual Occupation and Position in Society Names
Figure 7-18: Meaning of Unusual Occupation and Position in Society Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Occupation and position in society names	13/15	86.7%

The respondents know the meanings of most of the names that they provided at 86.7%. The names represented in this category make reference to positions in society such as *Kgosana* 'deputy chief', *Mopapa* 'pope' and the only English derived name *Marshal*. The other names make reference to leadership positions within the home setting such as *Mojaboswa* 'inheritor/heir' and *Moeteledi* 'leader'.

7.2.7.2 Motivation for Unusual Occupation and Position in Society Names

Figure: 7-19: Motivation for Unusual Occupation and Position in Society Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	8	53.3%
Not known/given	5	33.3%
Family and birth circumstances	1	6.7%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	1	6.7%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 15	Total: 100%

The highest motivation category is that of Other at 53.3%. Examples of names in this category are those that indicate that the child was the only male child in the family and so he will be the head of the household, and these are *Moeteledi* 'leader' and *Mojaboswa* 'inheritor/heir'. In Setswana culture a male child is the one who is entitled to the family inheritance which is usually in the form of the family livestock. The belief is that the female child will or should get married and leave the family home and therefore cannot be entrusted with the family wealth. Consequently, names like *Mojaboswa* are exclusively male specific because the understanding is that a female child cannot be an heir. The names *Kgosana* 'deputy chief' and *Moeteledi* 'leader' are given to an only male child in the family highlighting that he will be the leader of his female siblings although he might be younger than them. As earlier indicated by Onukawa (2000) and Rapoo (2003) male children unlike their female counterparts are often bestowed with leadership qualities. *Marshall* was so named with the hope that he would join the army and occupy the position of a marshal. The category of Not known/given is at 33.3%. The category of Family and birth circumstances is represented at 6.7% and the name is *Motswamasimo* 'one from the farms' because he was born at the farm. The last category that is represented is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child which is also at 6.7%. The name is *Mopapa* 'pope' which was given to appreciate the boy child and with the hope that he would be a good man like the Pope. The last category of Named for someone is unrepresented.

7.2.8 Unusual Physical Characteristics Names

Figure 7-20: Unusual Physical Characteristics Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Physical characteristics names	7	3.1%	6	3%

There are 3.1% name tokens of Physical characteristics names and 3% of their types.

7.2.8.1 Meaning of Unusual Physical Characteristics Names

Figure 7-21: Meaning of Unusual Physical Characteristics Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Physical characteristics names	5/7	71.4%

The respondents know the meanings of 71.4% of the names. The physical characteristics represented by the names range from skin complexion to the physical strength and size of the name bearer. Examples of these names are; *Bogolo* 'big size', *Entle* 'it is beautiful' and *Mompe* 'ugly'.

7.2.8.2 Motivation for Unusual Physical Characteristics Names

Figure: 7-22: Motivation for Unusual Physical Characteristics Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	4	57.1%
Not known/given	1	14.3%
Family and birth circumstances	1	14.3%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	1	14.3%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 7	Total: 100%

The category of Other is the highest at 57.1% and the motivations behind the names are generally the physical qualities of the child. The name *Tshetlha* 'brown' refers to the complexion of the child at birth, while *Entle* 'it is beautiful' was given because the child was very beautiful. Similarly, *Bonnye* 'small' was given to a child who was smaller than an average child at birth. There is one name whose motivation is not given and is represented at 14.3%. The Family and birth circumstances motivation is represented by the name *Mompe* 'ugly' and the reason is that the child was born when the mother was under unpleasant emotional

circumstances which are not explained. The last represented motivation is that of Acknowledging God, represented by the name *Bogolo* 'big size', which makes reference to the presence of God, that he is big in size and exists everywhere. Although the majority of the names make reference to the child, the last two names *Mompe* and *Bogolo* do not. *Mompe* refers to the situation that the mother was in, that it was an ugly one, while *Bogolo* refers to the presence of God. This shows that names in Botswana do not always relate directly to the name bearer which is a striking contrast to names in Scotland, including bynames and surnames.

7.2.9 Unusual Plant and Flower Names

Figure 7-23: Unusual Plant and Flower Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Plant and flower names	1	0.4%	1	0.5%

There is only one name in this category and the token is represented at 0.4% while the type is at 0.5%.

7.2.9.1 Meaning of Unusual Plant and Flower Names

Figure 7-24: Meaning of Unusual Plant and Flower Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Plant and flower names	1/1	100%

The respondent who gave the name *Mosetlha* 'weeping wattle tree' was able to give its meaning: that it is a tree whose wood when burned has a strong smelling smoke and as a result is not used as firewood.

7.2.9.2 Motivation for Unusual Plant and Flower Names

Figure: 7-25: Motivation for Unusual Plant and Flower Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	1	100%
	Total: 1	Total: 100%

The motivation for this name falls under the Other category and it is said that the name signifies that the child will not succeed in life. The type of tree, *Mosetlha*, that he is named after is considered useless as it cannot be used as firewood and so it is believed that one who bears

such a name would be as useless as the tree itself. It is not clear why one would be given a name with such negative connotations as the respondent did not explain further. There is a Setswana saying 'leina lebe seromo', which literally means that if you give a child a bad, undesirable name they will live up to it and display the qualities suggested by the name. It is assumed that this name was given by someone who was not close to the name bearer and would not know the real motivation behind it, and so the motivation they gave might not be the correct one that the original name giver had intended. It is also possible that the name might have been purposely given to keep the Devil at bay as discussed under section 7.2.3.2.

7.2.10 Unusual Possession Names

Figure 7-26: Unusual Possession Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Possession names	7	3.1%	7	3.5%

There are 3.1% of Possession name tokens and 3.5% of the name types. Possession names indicate different types of possessions, but commonly make reference to the idea that the child belongs to the parent/s.

7.2.10.1 Meaning of Unusual Possession Names

Figure 7-27: Meaning of Unusual Possession Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Possession names	2/7	28.6%

The majority of the respondents did not know the meanings of the names that they gave, as only 28.6% of the meanings are known. Names whose meanings are unknown are all lexically transparent like; *Tsarona* 'ours', *Sanaga* 'that (something) of the bush' and *Kenalemodisa* 'I have a shepherd/herd boy'. It is not clear why the meanings of these names are not known. The two names whose meanings are given are *Sapelo* 'that (something) of the heart' and *Bone* 'them (my relatives)'. The meanings of the names make reference to the child and to people other than the child as the last name, *Bone*, indicates that it is referring to the name giver's relatives although it is not explained why they are being referred to.

7.2.10.2 Motivation for Unusual Possession Names

Figure 7-28: Motivation for Unusual Possession Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Not known/given	5	71.4%
Other	2	28.6%
Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 7	Total: 100%

According to Figure 7-28 the motivations behind the majority of the names are Not known/given at 71.4%. There are only two names whose motivations are given and they are represented under the Other category at 28.6%. The two names whose motivations are given express the hopes and wishes that the parents had for the child. One was named *Kenalemodisa* 'I have a shepherd/herd boy' because the parents hoped that he will help them look after the family livestock when he grows up. The other child was named *Mogatsamotho* 'somebody's spouse' as her parents hoped that she will get married when she grows up and become somebody's wife. Girl children were traditionally expected to get married when they grow up and it was the hope and wish of many parents that their daughters would get married, hence these types of names. The rest of the motivations are unrepresented.

7.2.11 Unusual Precious Stone and Metal Names

Figure 7-29: Unusual Precious Stone and Metal Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Precious stone and metal names	2	0.9%	2	1%

The category of Precious stone and metal is represented by two name tokens at 0.9% and two types at 1%.

7.2.11.1 Meaning of Unusual Precious Stone and Metal Names

Figure 7-30: Meaning of Unusual Precious Stone and Metal Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Precious stone and metal names	2/2	100%

Figure 7-30 shows that the respondents gave the meanings of both names in this category and they are represented at 100%. The names are *Teemane* 'diamond' and *Gouta* 'gold'.

7.2.11.2 Motivation for Unusual Precious Stone and Metal Names

Figure 7-31: Motivation for Unusual Precious Stone and Metal Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	2	100%
Other	0	0%
Family and birth circumstances	0	0%
Named for someone	0	0%
Not known/given	0	0%
	Total: 2	Total: 100%

Figure 7-31 indicates the motivations behind the two names, which both fall under the category of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child. The names *Teemane* 'diamond' and *Gouta* 'gold' were given to appreciate the children who were considered as precious and as beautiful as the stones they were named after. A name that makes reference to gold does exist in the common names data discussed in Chapters 5-6, but it appeared as *MmaGauta* 'Miss/ mother of gold' and it also has the same motivation as the current name. This name is drawing on an alternative spelling of the same word.

7.2.12 Unusual Proverb Derived Names

Figure 7-32: Unusual Proverb Derived Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Proverb derived names	6	2.7%	6	3%

According to Figure 7-32, there are 2.7% of names that derive from proverbs and other Setswana sayings and these represent 3% of the name types.

7.2.12.1 Meaning of Unusual Proverb Derived Names

Figure 7-33: Meaning of Unusual Proverb Derived Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Proverb derived names	3/6	50%

The respondents gave meanings of 50% of the names while the rest were not known/given. The names generally derive from proverbs and other sayings in the language. The two names whose meanings are given are; *Asalepele* 'they are still to come' which derives from the proverb; *se tshege yo o oleng mareledi a sa le pele* which literally means that you should not rejoice or celebrate when someone is experiencing hardships because you might be in the same position in future. The other name with a given meaning is *Setlogelwa* 'that which has been left behind' which derives from the proverb *se a re go tlogelwa tsatsing se ikise moriting*, which literally means that when something or someone is left in the sun they should be able to move themselves to the shade if the heat is too much for them. The metaphorical meaning is that when someone is put in a compromised situation that does not favour them they should do their best to get out of it. Names whose meanings are unknown include; *Phalana* 'small impala', *Moselewapula* 'a ditch for rain water' and *Gaboratanelwe* 'it (good life) is not desired for others'.

7.2.12.2 Motivation for Unusual Proverb Derived Names

Figure 7-34: Motivation for Unusual Proverb Derived Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Not known/given	3	50%
Other	2	33.3%
Family and birth circumstances	1	16.7%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	0	0
Named for someone	0	0
	Total: 6	Total: 100%

The category of names whose motivations are Not known/given is represented at 50%. The motivations for 33.3% of the names fall under the Other category; the name *Phalana* 'small impala' derives from the proverb which says; *botlhale ja phala bo tswa phalaneng* which literally means that a big impala gets its wisdom from a small one, symbolically meaning that an older person can learn something from a younger person. The reason the mother gave for the name is that she hoped the child will be intelligent like a small impala, this is despite that the meaning of the name is recorded as Not known/given. The other name in this category is *Asalepele* 'they are still to come' which derives from a proverb that warns people against celebrating other people's misfortunes. The reason for the name is not specifically stated but just that the parents wanted to share a message. The second motivation of Family and birth circumstances is also at 16.7%. The name *Setlogelwa* 'that which has been left behind' was

given because the child's father died immediately after she was born so it was hoped that she will work hard to make a good life for herself though she did not have a father. The rest of the motivation categories are not represented.

7.2.13 Unusual Social Situation Names
Figure 7-35: Unusual Social Situation Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Social situation names	38	16.9%	37	18.5%

The Social situation category has 16.9% of name tokens and 18.5% of the name types.

7.2.13.1 Meaning of Unusual Social Situation Names
Figure 7-36: Meaning of Unusual Social Situation Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Social situation names	28/37	75.7%

The respondents know the meanings of 75.7% of the names in this category. As with Social situation names in Chapters 5-6, the meanings of names in this category can only be deduced when their motivations are taken into consideration as the names on their own do not give the meaning in its entirety. Since the meanings of the names derive from unique situations, they do not generally have common themes and so they cannot be easily grouped according to themes. The names that share a common theme are those that make reference to poverty, like *Ditshotlego* 'sufferings', *Lehuma* 'poverty' and *Tshokolo* 'suffering'. Other names whose meanings are known are; *Letswalamotse* 'that (something) which closes the homestead', *Maikotlhao* 'regrets' and *Ngongorego* 'complaint'. Examples of names whose meanings are not known are; *Kilego* 'hatred', *Gasewame* 'he/she is not mine' and *Kennafela* 'I am the only one'.

7.2.13.2 Motivation for Unusual Social Situation Names
The highest motivations are from the Family and birth circumstances at 43.2% (Figure 7-37). The name *Manokonoko* 'anguish' was given because the mother experienced severe labour pains during the birth. The name *Galethuse* 'you do not help' was given to a child whose father deserted the mother during pregnancy and the mother was referring to the fact that the man was

not helping her to care for the child. There are several names that make reference to the idea that the families were living in poverty at the time of the pregnancy or birth, and these are *Ditshotlego* 'sufferings', *Lehuma* 'poverty', *Tshokolo* 'suffering', *Moitlhoki* 'a poor person', and *Khumanego* 'poverty'. There are two names that indicate that the children were not planned for and these are; *Maikotlhao* 'regrets' and *Morwalo* 'load'. The connotations behind the meanings of these names is that the children were not appreciated because the parents had not expected them. The name *Wagamang* 'whose is she?' was given because the mother was not sure who the father of the child was. The category of Not known/given is the second highest at 40.5%.

Figure 7-37: Motivation for Unusual Social Situation Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Family and birth circumstances	16	43.2%
Not known/given	15	40.5%
Other	5	13.5%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	1	2.7%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 37	Total: 99.9%

The motivation category of Other is at 13.5% and it groups names such as *Letswalamotse* 'that (something) which closes the homestead' which was given to the youngest child in the family and symbolised that the parents were not planning to have any more children. Another name with a similar motivation is *Gofeletse* 'it has finished' which was also given to the youngest child in the family with the hope that he will be the last one. The name *Gaseletsapa* 'it is not in vain' was given hoping that the child will become responsible and care for the parents and so his birth will not be in vain. The last represented category is that of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child which is represented by the name *Kesego* 'I am lucky' which is an appreciation of the child given. The category of Named for someone is not represented.

7.2.14 Unusual Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Figure 7-38: Unusual Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Symbolism and symbolic objects names	64	28.4%	47	23.5%

Figure 7-38 indicates that there are 28.4% name tokens and 23.5% name types from this category.

7.2.14.1 Meaning of Unusual Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names
Figure 7-39: Meaning of Unusual Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Symbolism and symbolic objects names	49/64	76.6%

The respondents gave the meanings of 76.6% of the names that they provided. The names in this category are drawn from a variety of objects. There are names that derive from words that denote body parts like *Seatla* 'hand', *Melomo* 'mouths' and *Nko* 'nose'. Some names make reference to utensils in the house like *Kikana* 'small mortar', *Sethibo* 'lid' and *Leloba* 'thin rope'. Other names derive from words that denote physical features in the environment like *Lewatle* 'sea' and *Lefika* 'hill-rock'. The name *Api* derives from the common name *Loapi* which means 'sky', so some usual or common names have been shortened to come up with new names. Other names formed in this way are *Ruo* which is a shortened form of *Leruo* 'livestock', and *Theo* from *Motheo* 'foundation'.

7.2.14.2 Motivation for Unusual Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names
Figure 7-40: Motivation for Unusual Symbolism and Symbolic Objects Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	33	51.6%
Not known/given	18	28.1%
Family and birth circumstances	10	15.6%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	3	4.7%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 64	Total: 100%

The highest motivation category is that of Other at 51.6%. The name *Thito* 'stem' was given to symbolise that the child, like a tree stem which holds the tree, will hold the family together. The same name, *Thito*, was also given to a middle child to indicate that he is in the middle like the trunk of a tree which is between the roots and the branches. Other names make reference to the birth order of the children like *Seherwana* 'small gate' which is usually placed at the back of the yard and symbolises the last or youngest child in the family. The other name is *Sethibo* 'lid' which is also given to the last child in the family and makes reference to the fact

that there will be no more children as the baby-making utensil is now covered with a lid. The name *Berebere* 'padlock' is also given to the youngest child in the family to show that the family was not planning to have any more children as the place where they came from is locked with a padlock. In the past, without any form of birth control methods, the names of the children were used as a form of communication between the parents to indicate that the other party did not want to have more children. The names could also be used by both parents as a reminder to themselves that they were not planning to have more children. A child was named *Lorako* 'wall' to symbolise that as the only male child in the family he would protect the family like a wall protects the house. Another child was named *Leloba* 'thin rope' because she was born immediately after the parents got married and the hope was that, like a rope, she will tie the family together and strengthen the marriage. The name *Seatla* 'hand' is symbolic of the help that the child will render to her parents when they are old by becoming their helping hand. The names whose motivations are Not known/given are at 28.1%.

The motivation of Family and birth circumstances is represented at 15.6%. Examples of names in this category include; *Dibeterutsi* 'beetroots', which was given to a child whose mother had cravings for beetroots during pregnancy, and *Sejeso* 'poison', which was given to a child whose mother was very ill during pregnancy and suspected that she was bewitched and had been given some kind of poison. There are two children who are named *Botswana* after the country and this is because they were born in 1966 and on September 30th respectively, which is the year and day that the country attained independence. Common names that made reference to this idea are *MmaBotswana* 'Miss/ mother of Botswana' and *Boipuso* 'independence'. *Lerole* 'dust' was born on a windy and dusty day while *Metsiapula* 'rain water' was born on a rainy day. *Tseo* 'marriage' was the first child born immediately after the parents got married and so the name was making reference to the marriage. Names that acknowledge God and appreciate the child are represented at 4.7% and they are *Lewatle* 'sea' and *Api* from *Loapi* 'sky' which were given to appreciate the beauty of the children; that they are as beautiful as the sea and the sky. The name *Manana* 'mercies' is given to acknowledge that God is merciful for giving them a child. The category of Named for someone is not represented.

7.2.15 Unusual Virtue Names

Figure 7-41: Unusual Virtue Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Virtue names	10	4.4%	8	4%

The figure above shows that there are 4.4% Virtue name tokens and 4% of the name types.

7.2.15.1 Meaning of Unusual Virtue Names

Figure 7-42: Meaning of Unusual Virtue Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Virtue names	8/10	80%

Figure 7-42 indicates that the respondents know the meanings of 80% of the names. Some names in this category are shortened versions of common names, as with *Ruri* which is a shortened form of *Boammaruri* 'truth', and *Kao* which is a shortened form of *Bokao* 'significance'. Other names in this category are *Seriti* 'dignity', *Nnete* 'truth' and *Thata* 'might/strength'.

7.2.15.2 Motivation for Unusual Virtue Names

Figure 7-43: Motivation for Unusual Virtue Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Other	4	40%
Not known/given	4	40%
Family and birth circumstances	1	10%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	1	10%
Named for someone	0	0%
	Total: 10	Total: 100%

The motivation category of Other is represented at 40% and an example is *Seriti* 'dignity', which was given to the only son in the family, the explanation is that his birth brought dignity to the family as he will carry the family name. *Ruri* 'truth' (from *Boammaruri*) was given because the parents received the girl child that they had hoped for, so they were saying that it was true that they got what they wanted. The category of Not known/given is also at 40%. The Family and birth circumstances category is represented by the name *Kao* 'significance' (from *Bokao*) which was given because the mother had struggled to conceive for a long time and

people in the village were saying she was barren. She was, therefore, responding to the gossip, and was saying that the child signified that she was not barren. The name *Thata* 'strength/might' represents the Acknowledging God category and the parents were acknowledging that they got the child through God's strength and might. The last category of Named for someone is unrepresented.

7.2.16 Unusual Weather State Names

Figure 7-44: Unusual Weather State Names

Semantic Category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Weather state names	1	0.44%	1	0.5%

There is only one name in the Weather state names category represented at 0.44% and the type represented at 0.5%.

7.2.16.1 Meaning of Unusual Weather State Names

Figure 7-45: Meaning of Unusual Weather State Names

Semantic Category	Meaning known	% of meaning known
Weather state names	1/1	100%

The respondent who gave the only name in this category was able to give its meaning. The name is *Motlakapula* 'one who brings the rain'; the common equivalent of this name is *Motlalepula* 'the one who comes with the rain'.

Figure 7-46: Motivation for Unusual Weather State Names

Name motivation	Total number	% name motivation
Family and birth circumstances	1	100%
	Total: 1	100%

The motivation for the name falls under the category of Family and birth circumstances as it is stated that it was raining on the day the child was born.

7.2.17 Conclusion

This section has presented and discussed the semantic categories of lexically transparent Unusual names in Botswana. As stated in section 7.2, Unusual names in Botswana have been

categorised under 15 semantic categories while the common names (Chapters 5-6) fall into 19 semantic categories. Although the names have the same motivations as names that are considered common or conventional, they derive from unusual sources which are not commonly linked to naming. Ramaeba & Mathangwane (2015:140) carried out a similar study of 'uncommon names' and after considering the age groups of the name bearers concluded that these types of names were given by young Batswana of child-bearing age in an effort to express their creativity and appreciation of Setswana. They also noted that the names were morphologically short and their meanings depicted a positive outlook. The study revealed that the motivation for these types of names is to move away from names that are considered common and conventional to come up with those that are uncommon and unique. The current study could not analyse the names according to the age groups because the ages of the name bearers were mainly unknown to the respondents. The current data, however, is consistent with the 2015 study because it shows evidence of names that are morphologically shorter as compared to common or conventional names. The issue of length will be discussed further in the grammatical analysis section (section 7.4.4). In relation to the observation of the names depicting a positive outlook, the current data indicates that the names present both a negative and a positive outlook so it cannot be argued that one is more dominant than the other.

Previous studies as mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter have indicated that names and naming patterns in different societies of the world are going through significant changes and the Botswana society is no exception as this section has indicated. Names in this section have been observed to derive from unusual sources which have not produced personal names before and the names have also turned out to be morphologically shorter than the common names. These are observations made with Unusual names found in Botswana and cannot be extended to names of other societies for lack of evidence. The distinctive qualities of the names may therefore be specific to each society and cannot be extrapolated to others. The central argument however, is that names in many societies are evolving and the aim of the name givers in such instances is to create names that are unusual or uncommon in their societies.

7.2.18 Grammatical Analysis of Lexically Transparent Unusual Names in Botswana
This section presents and discusses the grammatical categories of Unusual names in Botswana. As with the semantic categorisation of these names, the analysis concentrates only on names that are lexically transparent as stated in section 7.2. The names will be categorised according

to the same grammatical groupings used in Chapter 6; from the basic word classes to the high level structures like the phrase and the clause. The reason for this analysis is to establish the most common grammatical categories to which Unusual names belong and also to find out if these are linked to the semantic categories to which they belong.

7.2.18.1 Grammatical Categories of Lexically Transparent Unusual Names in Botswana
Figure 7-47 presents the categorisation of Unusual names according to their grammatical categories. This shows that, as with the common names, the Noun category is most highly represented at 56%, followed by the Clause at 28.4% and the Phrase at 11.1%. The fourth highest category is the Verb at 2.2%, then the Adjective at 1.3% and the last two are the Exclamation and the Pronoun which are both at 0.4%. It is evident that names that are in the form of high level structures like phrases and clauses are far lesser than those which are in the form of word classes, the former are at 39.5% while the latter are at 60.3%. This is the same for the common names discussed earlier. The non-existence of previous studies with this kind of information means there cannot be any comparisons in that regard. These categories are discussed further in the next section. The grammatical classes will be discussed in alphabetical order and then followed by the phrase and the clause respectively, as high-level categories.

Figure 7-47: Botswana Grammatical Analysis of Unusual Names

Semantic Category	Adjectives	Exclamations	Nouns	Pronouns	Verbs	Phrases	Clauses	Total	%
1. Activity names	0	0	0	0	5	0	30	35	15.6%
2. Animal and bird names	0	0	9	0	0	1	0	10	4.4%
3. Emotion names	0	1	5	0	0	1	0	7	3.1%
4. Gender indicative names	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	14	6.2%
5. God related names	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	8	3.6%
6. Occupation and position in society names	0	0	9	0	0	2	4	15	6.7%
7. Physical characteristics names	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	7	3.1%
8. Plant and flower names	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.4%
9. Possession names	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	7	3.1%
10. Precious stone and metal names	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.9%
11. Proverb derived names	0	0	1	0	0	2	3	6	2.7%
12. Social situation names	0	0	24	0	0	0	14	38	16.9%
13. Symbolism and symbolic objects names	0	0	61	0	0	3	0	64	28.4%
14. Virtue names	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	10	4.4%
15. Weather state names	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.4%
Total: 225	**3**	**1**	**126**	**1**	**5**	**25**	**64**	**225**	**100%**
Total: 99.8%	**1.3%**	**0.4%**	**56%**	**0.4%**	**2.2%**	**11.1%**	**28.4%**	**100%**	**100%**

7.2.18.2 Adjectives

The Adjective category is the fifth highest grammatical category in Botswana at 1.3% and comprises names from the Physical characteristics semantic category. The names describe the physical qualities of the name bearers such as their physical stature, like *Bonnye* 'small', which refers to the fact that the child was very small at birth. The name *Bogolo* 'big' makes reference to God, that he is big in size and exists everywhere. *Mompe* 'ugly' is also referring to the physical features of the child at or around the time of birth.

7.2.18.3 Exclamations

The Exclamation category is one of the two least common grammatical categories at 0.4% and is represented by only one name. The name is *Ao* 'Oh!' and as a word it is used to express surprise or shock. The name was given because the child came as a surprise to the parents as she was not expected; it is not indicated why that is so. The name is unusual both semantically and structurally, because it is not common to have a name that is in the form of an exclamation, nor one that is made up of only two letters.

7.2.18.4 Nouns

As with common names, the Noun category is the most common, represented at 56%, with the names appearing across most of the semantic categories. The Symbolism and symbolic objects category has the highest proportion of names in the form of nouns at 61/64. The category has one type of proper name, *Botswana* 'Botswana, the country' which appears twice. The first child was named *Botswana* because she was born in 1966, the year the country attained its independence and the second child was so named because he/she was born on September 30th, the day Botswana got its independence. The name, therefore, can be used to refer to both the year and the day of independence. As mentioned previously, names like these are used as time-keeping strategies to remind people of when certain symbolic events occurred. The majority of the names are common nouns and some of the names have usual or common forms which have been morphologically modified to make them unique. A name like *Api* is a shortened form of the common name *Loapi* 'sky'. Other names formed in this way are *Theo* from *Motheo* 'foundation' and *Ruo* from *Leruo* 'livestock'. Truncated forms like these are usually used as nicknames formed from the full names, but in these instances they are given as the original names which shows that there is an attempt to make unique names structurally shorter as established by Ramaeba & Mathangwane (2015).

The Social situation category has the second highest number of names belonging to the Noun class at 24/126. There are no proper nouns represented in this category, as the names are all common nouns like *Boitlhobogo* 'resignation', *Maikotlhao* 'regrets', *Tshokolo* 'suffering' and *Khumanego* 'suffering'. The nouns are largely abstract as they express a situation that the name giver or family was in at the time of the pregnancy or birth. The Virtue category is made up of all nouns (10/126), and it has examples of names formed from shortened forms of common names like *Ruri* from *Boammaruri* 'truth' and *Kao* from *Bokao* 'significance'. Animal and bird names (9/126) are naturally common nouns, and examples are *Tau* 'lion', *Morubisi* 'owl' and *Gopane* 'lizard'. The category of Occupation and position in society also has ten names (10/126) that are nouns, and examples are *Moeteledi* 'leader', *Mopapa* 'pope' and *Mojaboswa* 'inheritor/heir'. The Emotion category has 5/126 nouns represented by two abstract nouns in the form of the names *Bohutsana* 'sadness/misery' and *Mahutsana* 'sadness/misery'; the latter is the plural form which is not commonly used in speech except for exaggeration purposes. The plural form *Mahutsana* cannot be translated into English because it does not exist in English and this shows the differences that exist between the two languages. God related names (2/126) are represented by the names *Tlotso* 'anointing', which is a common noun, and the proper noun *Paseka* 'Easter'. There are also two Physical characteristics names in the Noun category, *Tshetlha* 'brown' and *Seroto* 'hump'. The two names in the Precious stone and metal names category are also from common nouns, *Teemane* 'diamond' and *Gouta* 'gold'. There is one name in the Noun category from Proverb derived names; *Phalana* 'small impala'. The last semantic category represented is Plant and flower with the name *Mosetlha* 'weeping wattle tree'.

7.2.18.5 Pronouns

The Pronoun category is one of the smallest categories in terms of popularity at 0.4% and with only one name. The name is from the category of Possession names and it is *Bone* 'them', whose motivation states that it was referring to the name giver's relatives.

7.2.18.6 Verbs

The Verb class is represented at 2.2% and the names are all from the Activity names semantic category. There is one name that is in the form of an infinitive verb which is *Gogola = go* 'to' + *gola* 'grow'. The other names are *Aparang = apara* 'dress' + *-ng* 'plural morpheme' which means 'you should get dressed', *Romang* 'send' and *Benya* 'flick'.

7.2.18.7 Phrases

The Phrase category is the third highest category after the Noun and Clause at 11.1%. The majority of the names which take the phrasal form are from the Gender Indicative semantic category (14/25). Names in the Gender Indicative category are made up of two basic elements; a gender indicative prefix such as *Ra/Rra* 'Mr/ father of' or *Ma/Mma* 'Miss/ mother of' and a noun. There is, however, only one name that does not take the above structure but is made up of a noun and a post modifier. All the names in this category are in the form of noun phrases. An example of a noun phrase that is formed by a gender indicative prefix and a noun is; *Radijo* 'Mr food' which is made up of the pre-modifier (*Ra-*) 'Mr/father of', which is also a male gender marker, and the noun *dijo* 'food'. Another example is *Mmatlhogo* 'Miss head', made up of the pre-modifier (*Mma-*) 'Miss/mother of' which is also a female gender marker and the noun *tlhogo* 'head'. The majority of the names take the same structure, *Mmaleuba* 'Miss drought', *Ramolodi* 'Mr whistle' and *Mmadikgang* 'Miss news'. The only name that is made up of two nouns is *Mosadi wa leuba* 'woman of drought' made up of *Mosadi* 'woman' as the head word and *wa leuba* 'of the drought' as a prepositional phrase functioning as a post-modifier.

The Symbolism and symbolic objects semantic category has three names (3/25) that take the noun phrase structure. These are *Metsiapula* 'rain water' made up of two nouns, *pula* 'rain' as the pre-modifier and *metsi* 'water' as the headword, *Tlhogokima* 'big head' and *Peloyamogotlho* 'heart of a *mogotlho* tree'. The Occupation and position in society category has two phrasal names (2/25) and they are *Kgosana* 'deputy chief' and *Seremaditlhare* 'tree cutter'. The other category represented by two names is the Possession name category, *Mogatsamotho* 'somebody's spouse' and the genitive phrase name *Sapelo* 'of the heart' which basically means something that belongs to the heart, probably the child, meaning they are loved. The Proverb derived names category has the example *Moselewapula* 'ditch for rain', which is a noun phrase made up of the headword *mosele* 'ditch' and the post-modifier *wa pula* 'for rain' which is also a genitive phrase. The Animal and bird category and the Emotion category have one name each that takes the phrase structure. The names are *Ramaeba* 'Mr doves' and *Thokojapelo* 'pain of the heart', both of which are noun phrases.

7.2.18.8 Clauses

The Clause category is the second highest grammatical category to which Unusual names belong at 28.4%. The Activity names category has the highest number of Clausal names (30/64)

and these are names that express complete ideas or thoughts. Examples of names in this category are; *Gabanthate* 'they do not love me' which is analysed as; *ga* 'not' [negative participle] + *ba* 'they' [pronoun] + *n-* *'me'* [reflexive pronoun particle] + *thate* 'love' [verb form from: *rata* 'love], *Kelatlhegile* 'I am lost' = *Ke* 'I'+ *latlhega* *'lost'*+ *ile* [past tense participle] and *Seitlhoboge* 'do not give up' = *se* 'connector (do)' + i*tlhoboge* 'not give up'. Other names are *Gakeaabalatlha* 'I did not throw them away', *Hagolowe* 'we are not fighting' and *Keitsetse* 'I gave birth to myself'. The latter name would be given to a child who resembles the parent in physical features, behaviour or mannerisms. The parent would basically be saying that the child is exactly like her/him. Other names are in the form of interrogatives like *Otswakae* 'where do you come from/ where does she/he come from?' and *Keitirileng* 'what have I done to myself?'. The Social situation category has the second highest number of clausal names (14/64). Examples are; *Gasewame* 'she/he is not mine', *Senthumole* 'do not provoke me' and *Kennafela* 'I am the only one'. There is only one name that is in the form of a question, *Wagamang* 'whose is she/he?', which questions the paternity of the child.

The semantic category of God related names is the third highest with names that take the form of clauses (6/64). Examples of the names are; *Osiame* 'he (God) is good' which is analysed as *O* 'He (God)' + *siame* 'is good', *Arefa* 'He (God) gives us'= *A* 'he (God)' + *refa* 'gives us' and *Seonyatseng* 'do not belittle him (God)'= *Se* 'do not' + *o* 'He (God)' + *nyatse* 'belittle' + (-*ng*) [plural marker]. Occupation and position in society names are represented at 4/64, and examples are *Mothibadira* 'one who shields me from the enemies' and *Majakathata* 'one who survives through working hard'. There are also 4/64 Possession names that take the form of a clause and examples are; *Kenalemodisa* 'I have a herd boy/shepherd' and *Tsarona* 'they are ours'. Examples of Proverb derived names that are in the form of clauses are *Gaboratanelwe* 'a good life is not desired for others' and *Asalepele* 'they (problems/misfortunes) are still ahead'. The last name in the form of a clause is in the Weather state category, and it is *Motlakapula* 'one who brings the rain', given to a child who was born on a rainy day.

7.2.19 Conclusion

This section has presented and discussed the grammatical categories of lexically transparent Unusual names in Botswana. The data indicates that as with the common names, the Noun is the most common grammatical category to which Unusual names belong at 56%. The names largely belong to grammatical categories in the open class as compared to those in the closed class. In relation to higher level structural categories, the Clause is more dominant as compared

to the Phrase at 28.4%, coming immediately after the Noun. Although the Noun category includes a significant number of names that have been morphologically modified to differentiate them from the conventional ones, such as *Api from Loapi* 'sky' or *Ruo* from *Leruo* 'livestock', these contractions are not evident with phrasal or clausal names. The results do not display any notable patterns with regard to the relationship between the semantic categories and the grammatical categories of the names. The names in each semantic category tend to spread across two or more grammatical categories, save for those in the Activity semantic category, all of which are clauses. The next section discusses the Unusual names in Scotland.

7.3 Unusual Names in Scotland

As stated in section 7.1, the respondents in Scotland were provided with a list of Unusual names and were asked to give their meaning and/or origin. They were also asked if they would give their child any of the names and to provide reasons for their answer. The list has 20 names, 10 from each gender which were deliberately chosen to represent different aspects of the names such as, different compounds, lexically transparent and lexically non-transparent, two letter and single letter names. The Scotland questionnaire (online and paper) was responded to by 190 respondents and this is the total number that will be used for names in this section. Unlike with the previous sections the respondents were only addressing the names that they were provided with, so they were not giving any extra names; hence the use of the respondents' number and not the number of the names. Figure 7-48 presents the results of the analysis for the meaning of the names and the respondents' reaction to the names. The meaning category has three sections; Meaning not given, Meaning not known and Meaning known. The respondents' attitude to the name category also has three sections; Reaction to the name not given, Would not give the name to own child and Would give the name to own child. The data is presented in raw numbers because the numbers involved are small and would be potentially misleading in percentage forms. This is because most of the respondents did not address all the sections of the questionnaire.

7.3.1 Meaning of Unusual Names and Attitudes of Respondents to the Names

This section discusses the respondents' knowledge of the meanings of the Unusual names and their general attitudes to them, whether they like them enough to give them to their children or not. An overview of the data indicates that respondents generally gave the language origin of the names and not necessarily the meaning of the name. This type of response is welcomed as

the questionnaire did ask for the meaning and/or origin of the name. Each of the names is discussed separately as they appear on figure 7-48 above, starting with the male names.

7.3.1.1 Aidan-Joseph

Figure 7-48 indicates that 137 respondents do not give any response to the meaning of this name, while 9 do not know its meaning. A total of 44 respondents know the meaning of the name. The respondents explain that the name is a combination of the names *Aidan* which is of Irish origin and *Joseph* which is biblical. The respondents also indicate that *Joseph* originates from the Hebrew language. Similarly, some respondents say that *Aidan* is a Gaelic name which means 'fire or little fire' in English.

A total of 124 respondents do not give any feedback on how they feel about the name *Aidan-Joseph* while 61 would not give the name to their child. There are several reasons given for rejecting this name; the most popular reason given by 26/61 respondents is that they do not like hyphenated names because they are unnecessarily long. Other respondents state that the two names do not go well together so the combination looks strange and is also meaningless. Some of the respondents prefer each of the names on its own and not as a combination. There are 5 respondents who like the name *Aidan-Joseph* and say they would give the name to their child. One respondent indicates that there is someone named *Aidan-Joseph* in her family so she likes the name. Another states that the name reflects her religion and Gaelic tradition and that is why she would give it to her child while another says that the name sounds alright so they would choose it.

Figure 7-48: Meaning of/and Attitudes to Unusual Names in Scotland (190 Respondents)

Name	Meaning not given	Meaning not known	Meaning known	Reaction not given	Would not give name to own child	Would give name to own child
Boys						
Aidan-Joseph	137	9	44	124	61	5
C'jay	138	23	29	119	71	0
Israel	124	2	64	120	61	9
J	134	12	44	121	68	1
James-William	131	10	49	123	62	5
Journey	133	6	51	120	66	4
Khristopher	133	7	50	122	59	9
Nnanna	142	23	25	126	61	3
Princedeep	142	22	26	120	68	2
Thabang	140	27	23	123	65	2
Girls						
D-lor	149	26	15	134	55	1
Jex	151	25	14	135	52	3
Ke	153	29	8	132	57	1
Littlest	144	8	38	130	59	1
Rethabile	151	28	11	135	53	2
Savannah-James	148	12	30	132	55	3
Summer-Rose	142	4	44	131	50	9
Susana	144	11	35	132	42	16
Treasure	144	5	41	132	53	5
Yunxi	146	17	27	130	59	1

7.3.1.2 C'jay

A total of 138 respondents do not respond to the meaning of the name *C'jay*, 23 do not know what it means while 29 do. The respondents who know the meaning of this name state that it derives from the names beginning with C and J and it is a unique spelling of the nickname CJ. Some of the respondents think that the name has been influenced by popular culture as these are the types of names borne by hip hop artists like rappers.

In relation to personal reactions towards the name, 119 respondents do not give any, 71 would not give it to their child while none gives a positive response. The majority of the respondents

do not like the name because it is meaningless and they also do not like the way it is spelt. They also feel that it is inappropriate to have a punctuation mark in a name. They think that a punctuation mark in a name would cause a lot of inconvenience especially when filling out official forms which do not make provision for such marks. Some of the respondents say that the name sounds and looks more like a nickname than an official name and may not be taken seriously. Another respondent says the name is too unconventional and would require regular explanation and spelling out which will be tedious for its bearer. One further respondent thinks the name reflects the fact that the bearer belongs to a low social class and it lacks longevity as the child will outgrow it. The idea is that the name would be appropriate for a child and not an adult.

7.3.1.3 Israel

The meaning of the name *Israel* is not given by 124 respondents, 2 of them do not know its meaning while 64 do. According to Hanks et al (2006:132), *Israel* is a biblical name which means 'one who strives with God' in Hebrew. Most of the respondents are aware that the name is from the bible and it is originally Hebrew. However, 25 associate it more with the country Israel than with the bible or the Hebrew language as they state that it is the name of a country in the Middle East.

There are 120 respondents who do not give their feelings about the name *Israel*: 61 would not give it to their child while 9 say they would. Some of the respondents who react negatively to the name feel that it has a lot of political and religious connotations which might cause problems for the bearer. Some respondents are very specific about the reasons why they would not choose the name, for example; they mention the conflict between Israel and Palestine and the general unstable political climate in the country. Others, however, feel that the name is too unusual for their liking while others say it is outdated. All the respondents who react positively to the name cite its biblical origins as the reason and some specify that it is meaningful and uncommon. The fact that some respondents do not like the name because it is too unusual and others like it for being unusual shows that the choice of a name is a personal process which differs from person to person.

7.3.1.4 J

A total of 134 respondents do not give any response to the meaning of the name *J*, 12 indicate that they do not know its meaning while 44 know what it means. The majority of the

respondents say that it is a possible abbreviation of names that start with the letter *J* like *Jacob*, *Joseph* or *James*. However, two of the respondents think that the name *J* is an abbreviation of the word 'jay' which is a type of a bird and so they say the name *J* derives from the name of this bird. Others think the name makes reference to the 10th letter of the alphabet and has nothing more to it.

There are 121 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name *J*, 68 say they would not give it to their child while only one person says they would. Most of those who reject it think it will be appropriate as a nickname and not as an official name, because it is too short to be a full name and it also looks lazy and silly. Some say they do not like the name because it has no meaning and it would be embarrassing for the child and might even attract bullying. One respondent says that she associates the name with the low social class and she would not choose it. Two of the respondents reject it on the basis that its gender is difficult to decipher which indicates that the gender of a name is important to some people. The only respondent who would give it to their child says that 'it is an alright name'.

7.3.1.5 James-William

The meaning of the name *James-William* is not given by 131 respondents, 10 acknowledge that they do not know what it means while 49 know its meaning. Respondents give the meaning of the name as a combination of the biblical name *James* and the Germanic name *William*. Some of the respondents describe the names as traditional English names and some say that the names have royal origins as they were borne by Scottish kings.

A total of 123 respondents do not give any reaction to the name *James-William*, 62 would not give it to their child while only 5 would. The most common reason for rejecting the name is that it is hyphenated and it is also too long. Some say they prefer the names separately and not combined. Other respondents do not like it because it is too traditional and old fashioned because of its name combination. The idea that it is associated with royalty and as such is too posh is also given for its rejection. Respondents believe that people should not cross class barriers when naming their children and that they should give children names that exist within their social classes. The respondents who are for the name say that it is a likeable, sophisticated name which is also very traditional.

7.3.1.6 Journey

Most respondents, 133, do not give the meaning of the name *Journey*, 6 do not know its meaning while 51 do. There is a parallel here with the Botswana data where some of the respondents claim not to know the meaning of some common Setswana words. It can only be assumed that they think when the word is used as a name it would have a different meaning. The respondents state that the name derives from the English word, 'journey', so it basically means a trip or moving from one place to another. One respondent, however, thinks the name does not refer to a literal trip of moving from one place to another but it signifies an individual's personal growth. Others say the name is adapted from that of a popular music band from the 1980's which was also called *Journey*.

In relation to personal reactions to the name, 120 respondents do not give any, 66 would not give it to their child and 4 say they would. The name is mostly rejected because it is a random word in the vocabulary which is regarded as inappropriate for a name. Some respondents think the bearer will be bullied for having an unconventional name which is not recognisable as a name. Two of the respondents who say they would give it to their child state that they like it because it is uncommon and beautiful. Another says that the name expresses a wish for the child, although they do not state what the wish is. This type of engagement with the meaning of the name by respondents is not common in Scotland but it is dominant in Botswana. Name givers in Scotland do not extend the meaning of the name to the name bearer as the Botswana name givers do.

7.3.1.7 Khristopher

Khristopher does not get any response on meaning from 133 respondents, 7 do not know what it means while 50 do. All the respondents who know its meaning say that it is a variant of the name *Christopher* which they think is religious because of the part *Christ*. According to Hanks et al (2006:56), the name was popular amongst early Christians but it is not biblical, but rather from the Classical tradition.

A total of 122 respondents do not react to the name *Khristopher*, 59 would not choose it for their child while only 9 like it enough to give it to their child. Most of the respondents who reject it say that they do not like the spelling but rather prefer the traditional spelling of *Christopher*. Two of the respondents say they reject it because it alludes to Christianity and they are averse to Christian names. Those who like it say they like its unusual spelling and that it is a proper name. Another says that they like it because it sounds religious.

7.3.1.8 Nnanna

The majority of respondents, 142, do not give any response to the meaning of the name *Nnanna*, 23 do not know its meaning while 25 do. Those who know the meaning of the name say that it has African origins and think that it derives from the word *nana* which means 'grandmother'. Some say that the name is Nigerian because of the double /nn/ sound which is common in African languages.

There are 126 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name, 61 say they would not give it to their child while only 3 say they would. Respondents who reject it state that it does not sound British or English, and also that in their culture the word would mean 'grandmother' which is not appropriate as a name for a child. Others say they do not know what it means so they would not give it to their child and others reject it because of its spelling and sound. Amongst those who like it, one says that they like the way it looks on paper and its sound, another thinks it is an interesting name while the last one does not give any reason.

7.3.1.9 Princedeep

A total of 142 do not give the meaning of the name Princedeep, 22 do not know what it means while 26 do. The majority of the people who know its meaning say that it is Indian and most probably from Sikhism. Some say that the name is associated with royalty in Middle Eastern cultures. Others say that it is just a combination of the English words 'prince' and 'deep'.

There are 120 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name, 68 say they would not choose it for their child but 2 say they would. The reasons given for rejecting the name are varied and they include the fact that it sounds silly, does not sound or look like a name and the child is likely to be bullied for having such an unusual name. Other respondents cite the fact that it does not have a logical meaning as the reason they would not choose it and also that it sounds pretentious. The two respondents who react positively to it do not give any further explanation.

7.3.1.10 Thabang

The majority of the respondents, 140, do not give a response to the meaning of the name *Thabang*, 27 do not know its meaning while 23 do. Respondents who know the meaning of the name give its origin rather than its actual meaning. Most respondents say that it is of African

origin although some think it has Indian or Thai origins. The name is actually a Setswana name meaning 'be happy'.

Most respondents, 123, do not give any response regarding their feelings about the name, 65 react negatively to it while only 2 are positive towards it. The name is rejected mainly because it originates from an unknown culture and the respondents do not know how it is pronounced or what it means. Others fear that the child who is given the name will be bullied at school for having an uncommon name so they reject it. The two respondents who like the name say it has a positive message as it wishes happiness to the child and the other one says she would choose it because she likes the way it looks on paper. The idea of the orthographical appearance of a name is mentioned several times in Scotland as a reason to reject or embrace a name, an idea that does not exist in Botswana. This is one of the striking differences between the reasons for the choice of a name in the two countries. People in Botswana do not seem to have any interest in the orthographical appearance of the name, while the people in Scotland do.

7.3.1.11 D-lor

There are 149 respondents who do not address the meaning of the name *D-lor*, 26 who do not know what it means and 15 who do. Those who indicate that they know its meaning suspect that it is an alternative form of the name *Dolores* while others think it is from *Dior*.

A total of 134 respondents do not give any reaction to the name while 55 say they do not like it and would not give it to their child and only one person says they would. Apart from the fact that it is a hyphenation, most people reject it because they think it is superficial and pretentious. Others think that it is meaningless and strange and would attract bullying for the child. One respondent says that it sounds like the name of a cleaning product and it would not be fair on the child. The one person who says they would give it to their child says that it sounds quite nice.

7.3.1.12 Jex

A total of 151 respondents do not give any feedback on the meaning of the name *Jex*, 25 do not know its meaning while 14 do. Those who know its meaning say it is a shortened version of names like *Jessica* or *Jena*.

There are 135 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name *Jex*, 52 would not give it to their child but 3 would. Some of the respondents who reject it say it is too short and sounds more like a nickname than an official name while some think that it sounds foreign and it is too unusual. Others say it is more appropriate for a boy than a girl. Two of the respondents say that they prefer traditional names to the unusual ones. Amongst the three who like it, one states that she likes it because it is weird in a quirky way.

7.3.1.13 Ke

The meaning of the name *Ke* is not responded to by 153 respondents, 28 do not know what it means while 8 know its meaning. Most of the respondents think it is an abbreviation of the name *Kelly* while others think it has an African origin because of the sound combination.

A total of 132 respondents do not give their feelings about the name while 57 do not like it enough to give it to their child and only one says they would give it to their child. Those who reject the name say that it looks foreign, they wouldn't know how to pronounce it and that it would look silly on a passport. One says that a name should not be made up of only two letters as it will look like a typing error. The only respondent who likes it says she likes it because it is minimal and soft.

7.3.1.14 Littlest

There are 144 respondents who do not give any response to the meaning of the name *Littlest*, 8 do not know what it means while 38 do. The majority of the people who know its meaning say that it is the superlative form of the English adjective 'little'. Some say that it derives from the English word 'little'.

In relation to their feelings for the name, 130 do not give any response, 59 would not give it to their child while only one person says they would. The name is rejected for being too unusual, sounding silly and having negative connotations that may result in the child being bullied. Other respondents argue that the name is condescending as the child will grow older and it will be inappropriate. Another thinks that a name should not describe any physical features of its bearer as it can result in bullying. The only person who responds positively to it says they like it because it sounds cute.

7.3.1.15 Rethabile

A total of 151 respondents do not give any reaction to the meaning of the name *Rethabile*, 28 do not know what it means while 11 do. The majority of the respondents who know its meaning say that it has African origins but they are not sure of its exact meaning save for one respondent. The name is originally from Setswana and it means 'we are happy'.

There are 135 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name *Rethabile* while 53 would not choose it for their child but two say they would. Most of the respondents reject the name because they do not know how it is pronounced or its meaning. They say that it will cause too much trouble for its bearer who will have to explain it and spell it all the time because it is too unusual. One of the respondents says that he prefers traditional names to unusual ones and that is why he would not choose it. One of the two respondents who react positively to the name say that it carries a positive message and that is why they like it while the other one just likes the way it sounds.

7.3.1.16 Savannah-James

The meaning of the name *Savannah-James* is not given by 148 respondents, while 12 do not know what it means and 30 say they know its meaning. The majority of the respondents who responded positively to the meaning of the name are only able to account for the second part of the name; *James*, as being biblical but could not account for the *Savannah* part. However, some think the name *Savannah* derives from the name of the type of landscape. All acknowledge that the name is a combination of the two names, *Savannah* and *James* but they do not know what the name means when the two are combined.

A total of 132 respondents do not give any reaction to the name *Savannah-James*, 55 would not give it to their child while 3 say they would. Most of the respondents do not like the name because it is hyphenated and also because *James* is a male name and so it is inappropriate for a female. Some state that the attachment of a male name to a female name makes the gender of the name unclear which they do not think is a good idea as they believe that the gender of a name should be clear and not confusing. Others reject the name because it sounds foreign and also because the two names are not compatible. Three of the respondents react positively to the name and two of them say that the two names sound good together. The other one who likes the name says that the combination seems strong and would reflect an independent and unusual girl.

7.3.1.17 Summer-Rose

A total of 142 respondents do not give a response to the question on the meaning of the name *Summer-Rose*, 4 do not know what it means while 44 do. All the respondents who know its meaning say that it is a combination of the names *Summer* and *Rose* which derive from the English words; the season, summer and a type of flower, rose. The meaning of this name is easy to decipher because both the components that make it up are lexically transparent.

There are 131 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name, 50 would not give it to their child while 9 would. Some of those who respond negatively to the name state that they do not like hyphenated names and also that the name is too descriptive which may be a disadvantage to the child because of the connotations that the name might evoke. They say that the name connotes beauty, associated with both summer and rose which might result in the child being teased by her peers. Others reject the name because it is not traditional and it also sounds weak. One of the respondents says that the name may attract bullying for the child because it alludes to beauty, while another says that the child might grow up to be a tom-boy and so the name will not be suitable. Those who react positively to the name state that it is beautiful and exudes positivity. One respondent says that the name sounds nice and both names that make it up have good meanings while another says that they like the fact that the name creates a positive image upon hearing it. The idea of bullying comes up frequently in Scotland and it is a significant difference between the two countries because it does not appear in Botswana.

7.3.1.18 Susana

According to figure 7-48, there are 144 respondents who do not respond to the meaning of the name *Susana*, 11 do not know what it means while 35 do. The respondents who know the meaning of this name give varied interpretations and sources for the name. Some say that it is from the bible, while others say it is a variant of the names *Susan*, *Suzanne* and *Susanna*. Others say that the name derives from the Hebrew word *shoshana* or *shoshan* which means 'rose' or 'flower'.

A total of 132 respondents do not give any reaction to the name, while 42 would not choose it for their child and 16 say they would. Most of the respondents reject it because they do not like the spelling but would prefer the common form *Susan* or *Susannah*. One says that he does not like the name because it is too religious while another rejects it for being old fashioned and

outdated. Others say they do not like the sound of the name. Of the respondents who reacts positively to the name, one says that it is a nice name, another says it is a recognisable and classic name while others like it because they have family members with the same name. Two of the respondents say that they prefer the name just because it is the only name that is relatively normal and familiar to them in the list.

7.3.1.19 Treasure

Figure 7-48 shows that 144 of the respondents do not give any response to the meaning of the name *Treasure*, 5 do not know what it means and a further 41 do. All the respondents who say that they know the meaning of the name say that it derives from the English word 'treasure' which means something valuable and precious. As with the names *Journey* and *Littlest* above, it is not clear why some respondents say they do not know what the name means despite it being lexically transparent.

There are 132 respondents who do not give any reaction to the name *Treasure*, 53 react negatively to it give while 5 react positively. Some of those who reject the name say that they do not like random words which are lexically transparent used as names. They say they prefer traditional, normal names. Some say that the name may lead to bullying for the child because of the connotations of being valuable and precious that the name has. Others think that the name would be more suitable as a nickname than as an official name because it sounds too informal. Three of the respondents who like the name say they like what it means while the other two say they like that it denotes beautiful wishes for the child.

7.3.1.20 Yunxi

There are 146 respondents who do not give any feedback on the meaning of the name *Yunxi* while 17 say they do not know its meaning and the remaining 27 do. Those who know its meaning are only able to give what they think was its origin; they say that it is of Chinese or Japanese origin. None of the respondents knows the exact meaning of the name.

A total of 130 respondents do not give any reaction to the name *Yunxi*, while 59 would not give it to their child but only one person says they would. Some of the respondents who reject the name say it is foreign to them as it is from an unknown culture. Others state that they would

not know how to pronounce it while others say they do not like the way it sounds. One respondent says that the letter 'x' looks awkward on the page when the name is written down. Another respondent argues that it is inappropriate to give children names that do not belong to their culture. The only person who reacts positively to the name says that the name reflects his Chinese heritage so he would definitely give it to his child.

7.4 Conclusion

This section has presented and discussed the respondents' knowledge of the meanings of Unusual names in Scotland and their general feelings about the name, whether they would give it to their child or not and the reasons for their choice. The data indicates that the respondents did not know the actual meanings of most of the names save for lexically transparent ones like *Journey*, and *Treasure* which they described from their knowledge of the meaning of the words in English. It is possible that the intended meaning of these lexically transparent names may not necessarily have anything to do with their lexical meaning. The respondents were, however, able to give the origins of some of the names, especially biblical ones like *Israel*, and those that make up hyphenated ones like *Joseph* and *James*. They were also able to give language origins of some of the names like *Rethabile* and *Thabang* as being African.

In relation to their feelings about the names; whether they liked them or not, the data indicates that most of the respondents did not react positively to the names as they stated either that they are too unusual, or that they did not know how they are pronounced or spelt, or that they did not know their meanings. The names that received the highest positive responses are *Susana* at 16 followed by *Israel*, *Khristopher* and *Summer-Rose*, all of which received 9 responses. The rest received 5 positive responses or fewer. These low positive response rates indicate that Unusual names are not very popular with the respondents who in most cases indicated that they preferred 'normal', traditional names.

This section shows evidence of names whose spellings deviate from the normal, common spellings such as *Khristopher* for *Christopher* and *Susana* for *Susanna/ Susannah*, presumably to make them different and unique. In Botswana the same purpose is achieved, not through altering the spelling but by phonologically modifying the name so that it becomes a shortened version of the original name. For example, the common name *Motheo* 'foundation' becomes *Theo* while *Leruo* 'livestock' becomes *Ruo*. The shortening of original names to create new

forms also exists in Scotland and the shortened forms have become common in their own right. The shortened forms which were used as nicknames in the past are now becoming common as official names. The Scotland data has also raised the issue of names being associated with certain social classes, an observation that is not indicated in Botswana. Scottish respondents believe that children should be given names that belong to their social class, citing names like *James-William* as being associated with royalty so they were appropriate for the upper social class and not classes below that. Another issue that came up several times in the Scotland data is that of bullying as a result of having a certain name, an issue which does not appear in the Botswana data. Some respondents stated that certain names may attract bullying because of their uniqueness or because they are lexically transparent and so will attract some connotations which may be used against the name bearer.

Generally, the data indicates that respondents in Scotland prefer traditional, usual names to the unusual ones. According to the NRS (2017:8) there is a steady trend towards an increasing number of unique names. The NRS indicate that these names have been rising over the past 40 or so years but with an occasional year not following the trend. In 1977, out of a total of all registered births, 2.4% boys and 4.1% of the girls had unique names and these numbers rose steadily over the years except in 2014 when they dropped slightly. They, however, picked up in 2015 and the 2017 provisional results (accessed 16 Nov.18) which show that 8.1% of the boys' names and 11.6% of the girls' names recorded in that year are unique names. The statistics also indicate that higher percentages of unique names are recorded for girls as compared to boys, which means that the names are more common for females than for males. However, even with the growing numbers of unique names they still present a small fraction of the total number of the names registered in each year since 1977.

This chapter has broadly indicated the existence of Unusual names in both countries but the features or processes that are engaged to create these unusual names are specific to each country. For example, in Scotland some Unusual names are created by deviating from the usual spelling of the name while in Botswana that strategy does not exist, the names are rather shortened and the short version used as the main name. As previously mentioned, name and naming strategies seem to be going through transformation processes in many societies of the world but it is the nature of the changes that are specific to each society.

8. Attitudes Towards Names and Naming in Botswana and Scotland

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the respondents' general attitudes towards names and naming in the two countries. The investigation of people's attitudes towards names and naming patterns is important because it helps us to understand the meanings of the names at a deeper level and not just at the lexical level. The analysis of the people's attitudes towards the names reveals the sociolinguistic aspects that need to be appreciated because they contribute to the entire meaning of the names. This section will help reveal if the meaning of a name plays a significant role in the choice of a name. In some instances the lexical meaning of the name is not available so there must be other reasons that determine the choice of such names, and this section will help to reveal those. Even when the name is lexically transparent it might not be chosen for that but for other motivations not linked to its lexical transparency, therefore this chapter is trying to address all these possibilities. This is achieved through answering two specific questions which were asked of the respondents during the survey. They were first asked if they thought the meaning of a name was important and to give reasons for their answer. The second question requested that the respondents give any other factor apart from meaning that they thought should be considered when a name is given. The answers to these questions will give a general idea of how people in Botswana and Scotland feel about names in general and what they think are important factors to consider when giving a name.

8.2 Attitudes Towards Names in Botswana and Scotland

Figure 8-1 presents a statistical analysis of the answers to the questions stated above. The first question is on whether the meaning of a name is important or not, and the reasons for the answers given.

Figure 8-1: Responses to the Question: Is the Meaning of a Name Important to You?

Question	Country	Yes	No	Not given	Total
Is the meaning of a name important to you?	Scotland	45 (23.7%)	33 (17.4%)	112 (58.9%)	190
	Botswana	199 (59.8%)	20 (6%)	114 (34.2%)	333

In Scotland, 190 people responded to the questionnaire and out of this 112 did not answer this particular question. A total of 45 respondents stated that the meaning of a name is important

while 33 said that it is not. In Botswana, 333 responded to the questionnaire and out of this 114 did not answer this question, while 199 said that the meaning of a name is important to them and only 20 said that it is not. The figure shows a significant difference concerning the importance of the meaning of a name in the two countries. The Scotland data shows that 23.7% think the meaning of a name is important while 17.4% do not think so. In Botswana the number of those who think meaning is important is higher at 59.8% and only 6% do not think so. The next section presents and discusses the reasons the respondents in the two countries gave for their answers to this question. The first part presents and discusses the Scotland data.

Figure 8-2: Responses to the Question: Why is the Meaning of a Name Important or not Important to You? (Scotland)

Question	Reason	Total
Why is meaning important?	Other	26
	Creates character for child	9
	Expresses hopes and wishes of parents for child	5
	Family heritage	5
Total:		**45**
Why is meaning not important?	Just a label	17
	Meaning of names opaque	9
	Reason for choice more important than meaning	7
Total:		**33**

The reasons why meaning is important to respondents are discussed first as indicated in Figure 8-2. The highest category of reasons is that termed Other at 27/45; this groups unrelated reasons given by the respondents. The reasons mentioned in this category are varied, 3 respondents said that it would be nicer to have a name that has a meaning than one without, while 4 believe that a meaningful name makes its bearer feel important. Three more respondents said that a name with a meaning shows that the parents gave the name a lot of thought and that it was not random. Two of the respondents said that the meaning is important because it gives information about events that happened during the pregnancy or birth. The respondents who gave this reason are originally of African origin. A further 4 respondents stated that a name should give some kind of information about the family and its culture to reflect its traditions. One gave an example of the name *Scott*, that it reflects his Scottish traditions. Others said that the meaning is important because it gives people something to talk about, especially when they are strangers and engage in a conversation for the first time.

The second category of reasons makes reference to the fact that the meaning of a name helps to shape or influence the character of the child which was given by 9 respondents. The respondents stated that the meaning can help to shape the identity and character of a child because it will encourage the child to live up to the meaning of the name. One respondent explained that a name is the basis of the way one views oneself as well as how others identify him/her so its meaning is significant as it will help with the self-analysis. Two of the respondents stated that as Christians they believe that one becomes what he/she is called so it is advisable to have a meaningful name, preferably one from the bible. The third category of reasons expresses the hopes and wishes of the parents for the child which were given by 5 respondents. In addition, the names expressing the hopes and wishes of the parents for the child also express the qualities and characteristics that they wish for their children such as courage, strength and kindness. The respondents who gave these reasons are both of African and of Scottish origin. The last category of reasons makes reference to family heritage, and 5 people gave this reason. They stated that a name should give some kind of information about the family to reflect its heritage; they give examples of naming children after family members as a way of achieving this. For example, naming the eldest son after the father or the eldest daughter after the mother. They believe this naming strategy helps to uphold and preserve the family heritage by keeping family names alive.

The second group of reasons explain why the meaning of a name is not important and these are grouped into 3 categories. The most common reason given by 17 respondents is that a name is just a label that is used to differentiate between people, so its meaning does not serve any purpose. The respondents argue that a name does not have any influence on the character or personality of the bearer, hence its meaning is insignificant. They believe that the way the child is brought up is more important than the meaning of his/her name. Others state that a person develops their own identity which is independent of their name and its meaning. Another respondent believes that name bearers create the meanings of their own names through their characters so it cannot be ascribed by the name giver. The second most common reason given by 9 respondents is that the meanings of most of the names are opaque and not common knowledge to name givers and users so they cannot be important if they are unknown. The respondents also argue that even if the meaning is known, it is usually archaic and has no relevance in the present day. They argue that the original etymologies and meanings of names are losing significance as societies and languages evolve. Other respondents said that the

meaning of a name is not something that people will ponder over in normal everyday life because most people would not know it anyway so it was not important.

The third reason given by 7 respondents is that any other reason for choosing a name besides its meaning should be more important than the meaning itself. The respondents argue that reasons such as the parents liking the name or naming the child after a family member are more valid reasons for choosing a name than its meaning. Four of them believe that the sound of a name is more important than its meaning. They state that the sound of a name is the first thing that most people are exposed to and not its meaning, which would in most cases be unknown. They emphasise that they would choose a name for its sound rather than its meaning.

Figure 8-3: Responses to the Question: Why is the Meaning of a Name Important or not Important to You? (Botswana)

Question	Reason	Total
Why is meaning important?	Other	59
	Not given	44
	Reveals the birth circumstances	33
	Reflects love for God and child	31
	Expresses hopes and wishes for child	18
	Conserves culture and teaches	14
Total:		**199**
Why is meaning not important?	Not given	10
	Other	6
	Just a label	4
Total:		**20**

Figure 8-3 presents the reasons given concerning why the meaning of a name is or is not important as given by Botswana respondents. The reasons given regarding the importance of meaning are discussed first in the order in which they appear on the figure. The first category groups unrelated reasons termed Other which were given by 59 respondents. Five of the respondents said that children have the right to know what their names mean, while 13 of them believe that the positivity depicted by the meaning of a name is more important than the meaning itself, so they argue that the interest should be in giving a name with a positive meaning rather than one with just any meaning. A further 10 of the respondents argue that people appreciate and become proud of their names more if they have a significant meaning or

when they know why the names were given. Furthermore, 3 respondents said that names should have meaning so that the name bearers can share the meanings with other people; this reason corresponds with the one given in Scotland that the meanings of names give people something to talk about. Five more respondents state that a name should motivate its bearer to be a good person. Another respondent says that meaningful names bring comfort and joy to the name givers and bearers, while one says that meaningful names help to ensure that names are not given in a vacuum. He states that a name should be motivated by something and should not be random. The next 44 respondents stated that the meaning of a name is important but they did not give reasons.

The third category of reasons, given by 33 respondents, is that the meaning of a name is important because it reveals the circumstances of the family at the time of the pregnancy or birth. This reason corresponds to one of the motivations discussed in Chapter 6. The argument is that names should have meanings because they signify and reveal the birth circumstances. The respondents state that they use the names to tell their life stories and experiences and as a result the names become reminders of what they have been through. The names are also meaningful because the name givers use them to communicate issues that they are not happy with.

The next category of reasons given by 31 respondents reflects on the love that the name givers have for God and for the child. The majority of these respondents stated that the names have meaning because they express their love for God. They emphasise that names should be directed towards God as he is the one who gives people children. They also mentioned that the names reflect the love that the parents have for the child.

The other group of reasons expresses the hopes and desirable qualities that the parents wish for the child. The last category, which is represented by 14 people, states that names should have meaning so they help to preserve the culture and traditions of a society and that they also carry messages that teach and guide. The respondents believe that the names help them to preserve their cultural practices and pass them down through the generations. These reasons indicate that the meanings of the names are influenced by their motivations, so it can be argued that it is the motivation that is more important to the name givers and not necessarily the meaning of the name *per se*.

The second group of reasons explain why the meaning of a name is not important. There are 20 respondents who agreed that the meaning of a name is not important and 10 of them did not give any reasons why they said so. Six of the respondents gave reasons grouped as Other. Two of the respondents said that some names depict some negativity and frustrate their bearers so it is best that they do not carry any meaning. Even though these respondents said that the meaning of a name is not important, this comment in itself indicates that the meaning is considered important because otherwise the negativity would not matter. Some argue that some names do not communicate anything but they are still able to identify a person, so they believe that it does not matter whether they have a meaning or not. The last 4 people stated that a name is nothing but a mere label that is used to differentiate people so its meaning is insignificant.

8.3 Other Factors for Consideration other than Meaning

Respondents were asked to give any factors other than meaning that needed to be considered when a name was given. The factors given by respondents in Scotland are presented and discussed below. Out of 190 respondents who attempted the questionnaire in Scotland, 91 responded to this particular question as summarised in Figure 8-4.

Figure 8-4: Factors to Consider when Giving a Name (Scotland)

Country	Factors to Consider	Total number
Scotland	Other	28
	Spelling and pronunciation	15
	Compatibility with surname, initials and creation of nickname	15
	Name should not attract bullying	14
	Family significance	11
	Longevity	8
		Total: 91

A total of 28 respondents gave varied suggestions of what to consider when choosing a name, grouped under the Other category. They state that a name should be neither too common nor too unusual, and it should not have a banal meaning. Two respondents said that a name should be gender neutral, while two others said it had to be gender specific. Another respondent argued that it is important to consider the reputations of the known people with the same name, giving an example of the name *Adolf*, that it would be a bad idea to give the name to a child because of its associations with the infamous German leader Adolf Hitler. Two of the respondents mentioned that parents should consider the political environment where the child will reside to

avoid politically inappropriate names. The issue of social class also recurs, that parents should give children names that are suitable for their social class, although it is not clear how these are determined.

The second most common factor given by 15 respondents is that parents should consider the spelling and pronunciation of a name that they choose. They argue that a name should have an easy pronunciation and spelling so that the child is spared the trouble of always having to spell it out and correct its pronunciation in future life. Others state that it is important for a name to sound good, because that is the first thing that people hear when someone introduces himself; people one meets for the first time would not be concerned with the meaning or the motivation of the name but with the way it sounds. Another respondent stated that a name should not have too many syllables as it would be difficult for the child to learn to write it. Other factors, also given by 15 respondents, are that a name should be compatible with the surname, it should be able to produce potential nicknames, and practical initials. They argue that a name should go well with the surname and also lend itself to nicknames that the child will appreciate and not dislike. They also state that the issue of initials should be considered; one gives an example of a friend of hers whose initials spelt out the word 'cow' and she was unhappy with that. They emphasise that these may be considered as superficial and unimportant but may eventually affect the child's self-esteem.

The third reason given by 14 respondents is that parents should not give their children names that might attract bullying later on in life. They argue that names that can be easily connoted may attract bullying for the child, and one gives an example of the name *Princess* which gives connotations of beauty and privilege. They say that the child who bears such a name will be bullied if her peers do not think that she has the qualities of a princess. The idea is that names that are lexically transparent can attract bullying for the child because it is easy to attach connotations to them. Another factor is that the name should have some kind of family significance and not be given in a vacuum, given by 11 respondents. They say that a name should be given following a family tradition; for example, naming the eldest son after the father or the eldest daughter after the mother. Another respondent argues that names given in this way help to pass down the family heritage that would otherwise be lost to new generations. One respondent said that if family naming traditions are followed it would be easy to preserve family names for many generations. The last factor that 8 respondents advocated is that of name longevity. They maintain that a name should be appropriate for all the ages of one's life span,

and not be suitable only in childhood. They say some names are silly and childish and only appropriate for children but the child is often stuck with the name in their old age which becomes awkward. They caution that parents should give children names that they will appreciate even in adulthood.

Figure 8-5 below presents factors to consider besides meaning as given by respondents in Botswana. A total of 333 respondents attempted the questionnaire in Botswana and out of these 138 responded to this question as presented in Figure 8-5.

Figure 8-5: Factors to Consider when Giving a Name (Botswana)

Country	Factors to Consider	Total number
Botswana	No negativity	53
	Gender appropriate	27
	Other	22
	Birth circumstances	21
	Longevity	10
	God related	5
		Total: 138

The most common factor given by 53 respondents is that a name should not depict any negativity and it should not influence the bearer to act negatively. They emphasise that parents should always give names that are positive and which their bearers would appreciate and be proud of. Respondents argue that names that make reference to sadness and sorrow, like *Dikeledi* 'tears' or *Khutsahalo* 'sadness', may disadvantage their bearers and cause them to lead lives that are depicted by the meaning of their names. They believe that it is important that a name gives hope to its owner and wishes them well. They assert that children with names that depict negativity usually abandon their original names and give themselves new ones.

The second most common factor that respondents say should be considered is that of gender. A total of 27 respondents stated that names should be gender appropriate so that one is able to tell the gender of the child from the name. Although some names in Botswana are gender specific, in some cases there is nothing in the meaning of the name that renders it specific to either gender. Respondents think that it is important for names to be gender appropriate because otherwise the bearer may reject them and eventually change them for ones they like.

The third category is that named Other, represented by 22 respondents. They state that a name should have some kind of cultural significance and should also help to preserve the culture and language of the people. Another factor is that both parents should agree on the name that they choose so that if the child does not like it, each parent can take responsibility and not blame the other. Although naming in Botswana is largely influenced by the birth circumstances, two of the respondents in this category state that this should not be the case. They argue that parents should not burden their children with their problems through the names as this is unfair on the children who have nothing to do with those situations. They argue that such circumstances usually result in children getting negative names. Another respondent stated that it is important to keep the memory of the deceased family members alive by naming children after them, so this naming strategy should also be taken into account.

The category of Birth circumstances was given by 21 respondents who state that in addition to identifying an individual, a name should tell the life story of the parents as this helps to avoid meaningless names. They believe that the family circumstances at the time of the birth or pregnancy should influence the name because that helps to preserve memories and times of events. The factor of Longevity was given by 10 respondents and it is one that is common to both countries. Like respondents in Scotland, those in Botswana reiterate that a name should be suitable throughout the bearer's life span. The last 5 respondents believe that it is important for a name to make reference to God because he is the one who gives people children. This small number is surprising, given the emphasis on God-related names in the overall data; the expectation is that it would be higher than the current 5. They argue that when naming children people should show their appreciation to God and in so doing they will not end up with names that are considered negative.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the general attitudes of people in Botswana and Scotland towards names and naming, paying particular attention to their feelings about the importance of meaning in a name and all other factors that they consider critical in the naming process. The data indicates that the meaning of a name is considered important by respondents in both countries. In Scotland, 23.7% of the respondents stated that the meaning of a name is important while 17.4% did not think so and the remaining 58.9% did not give a response to this question. In Botswana 59.8% of the respondents agree that meaning is important while only 6% do not agree and 34.2% did not address the question. The number of positive responses in Scotland

was unexpected. The study has primarily hypothesised that most names in Scotland have an opaque meaning and so the assumption was that because of this meaning would not be considered an important factor in the naming process. It can be argued that although the meaning of most names in Scotland is opaque, some people still believe that it is an important issue to consider. In Botswana 59.8% of the respondents consider meaning important while only 6% do not; these are in line with the initial hypothesis because the majority of names in Botswana have a transparent meaning and so it was expected that it would be considered important. The respondents in both countries gave reasons why they consider meaning to be important or not, some of which are common to both countries.

The chapter also discussed other factors apart from meaning that were considered important when choosing a name. The factors that are raised are significantly different in the two countries, with the main areas of overlap being the longevity of the name and its gender appropriateness, although the latter is mentioned to a lesser extent in Scotland. The Scotland data raises the importance of the orthographic appearance and the spoken sound of the names, which are not indicated in the Botswana data. Scotland respondents believe that it is important for a name to sound good and also to be compatible with the surname and be able to create usable nicknames. These reasons are non-existent in Botswana. It is evident that respondents in the two countries have different views on the peripheral qualities of names; their orthographic appearance and spoken sound. The value and appreciation of different qualities of a name by the two societies further highlights their distinctiveness.

 The issue of names that may attract bullying for the bearer is another reason that is not mentioned in Botswana. However, the Botswana data indicates the importance of not giving children names that are rendered negative because the names may negatively affect the child's self-esteem or generally disadvantage them. The issues of bullying and low self-esteem as raised in the two countries illustrate that although these societies differ geographically and culturally they are affected by similar social ills which may be a result of the types of names given. This therefore, calls for parents to diligently choose names for their children to avoid any negative consequences. The Botswana data further emphasises that names have to be gender appropriate which is mentioned in the Scotland data but not to a great extent. The majority of the names in Botswana tend to be gender specific although there might not be anything in the meaning of the name that might render it specific to a certain gender. The gender specification is usually a result of gender stereotyping that associates certain names

with a particular gender. This chapter has given insight into the main factors that people consider during the naming process.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This study has carried out a comparative analysis of personal names in Botswana and Scotland in terms of their meaning and structure in order to investigate the similarities and differences both within the name stock and within the naming process. The study has contributed a significant new body of work to the field of onomastics through the collection and analysis of Botswana names and through the comparison of names in the two countries, and it has also contributed to existing research through the examination of Unusual names. When collecting the data, the study focused on names that exist in the two countries regardless of their languages of origin. This process was fruitful because it has indicated that in Scotland there is a significant proportion of names from languages outside the country and also that in Botswana there are those which are not from Setswana. The data also indicates that some names that are originally from other countries are becoming popular and common in Scotland.

9.2 Research Questions

This study set out to answer four main questions in relation to names and naming in Botswana and Scotland, and these are:

1. What is the overall profile of personal names in Botswana and Scotland in terms of meaning and structure?
   (a) What is the overall profile of semantic categories of names in Botswana and Scotland?
   (b) What is the overall profile of grammatical categories of names in Botswana and Scotland?
2. What are the most common and least common semantic and grammatical categories of Unusual names in Botswana?
3. Are people in Scotland familiar with the meanings of Unusual names in the country and what are the general attitudes towards these names?
4. What are the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming practices in Botswana and Scotland?

To answer these questions, the study used two primary data instruments; a questionnaire and existing records. In some instances, in Botswana, the questionnaire was filled in through oral interviews because some respondents could not read or write. This proved to be very useful as

the researcher was able to get first-hand information on the meaning and motivation of the names. The data collected was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively to obtain the required information.

In Scotland, the questionnaire was administered to 190 respondents who gave a total of 353 name tokens (minus the Unusual names for which the data gathering technique was different) which were used in the analysis. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the questionnaire in Scotland was administered both online and in the form of hard copies. The one administered online garnered more responses than the hard copy one. There were 163 online respondents and 27 hard copy respondents. Generally, very little comparable data collection took place in the two countries. The Botswana questionnaire was administered to 333 respondents and this resulted in 1,995 name tokens (minus the Unusual names) used in the study. The data from existing records was retrieved from the NRS and it was in the form of Unusual names found in Scotland. The data from the questionnaire was analysed quantitatively to give the proportions of the knowledge of meanings of the names and the grammatical categories of the names in both countries. The qualitative analysis of the data gave the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming in the two countries.

9.2.1 What is the overall profile of semantic categories of names in Botswana and Scotland?

Figure 9-1: Lexical Transparency of Names in Botswana and Scotland

Name category	Country	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Lexically transparent	Botswana	1,829	91.7%	908	87.2%
	Scotland	23	6.5%	19	8.6%
Lexically non-transparent	Botswana	166	8.3%	133	12.8%
	Scotland	330	93.5%	201	91.4%

In order to determine the overall profile of semantic categories of names in the two countries, their lexical transparency had to be determined first and Figure 9-1 illustrates this. This study has initially hypothesised that personal names in Botswana are lexically transparent while those in Scotland are lexically non-transparent. Although the results indicate the hypothesis as broadly correct, they also indicate that it was an over-simplification because the analysis shows a more nuanced situation. The results indicate that although the majority of names in Botswana are lexically transparent at 91.7% there is a significant minority of 8.3% which are lexically

non-transparent. The figure further indicates that personal names in Scotland are largely lexically non-transparent as initially hypothesised, but similarly reflect a more nuanced situation. There are 93.5% lexically non-transparent names and 6.5% lexically transparent ones: again, a significant minority. These numbers are generally significant as they reveal the proportions of the names in the two countries in relation to their lexical transparency or lack thereof. As mentioned previously, earlier studies (Neethling 2005 and Akinnaso 1980) have revealed that most African names are lexically transparent while others (de Klerk & Lagonikos 1995 and Hanks et al 2006) observed that most names in the European contexts are lexically non-transparent. The results of this study are therefore in accordance with these early studies, names in Botswana representing the African context and those in Scotland representing the European context. The lexically transparent names were then categorised according to semantic categories determined by their meanings while the lexically non-transparent ones were categorised according to their original sources because their meanings could not be deciphered. Figures 9-2 and 9-3 show the analysis of the overall semantic profiles of lexically non-transparent names in the two countries in rank order.

Figure 9-2: Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Name category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Biblical	57	34.3%	32	24.1%
Other Languages	53	31.9%	49	36.8%
Names derived from other Names	26	15.7%	25	18.8%
Germanic and Celtic Tradition	18	10.8%	16	12%
Classical Tradition	12	7.3%	11	8.3%
	Total: 166	Total: 100%	Total: 133	Total: 100%

Figure 9-3: Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Scotland (Rank order)

Name category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Biblical	119	36.1%	43	21.4%
Classical Tradition	102	30.9%	65	32.3%
Germanic and Celtic Tradition	63	19.1%	48	23.9%
Other Languages	46	13.9%	45	22.4%
Names derived from other Names	0	0	0	0%
	Total: 330	Total: 100%	Total: 201	Total: 100%

A significant observation in relation to the lexically non-transparent names is that names that derive from the bible are the most common in both countries, an observation that reiterates what was noted previously (Hanks et al 2006 & Otlogetswe 2008) in respect of European and Botswana names. Furthermore, this study reveals that more males are given biblical names than females in both countries, a similar observation was made by Saareelma-Maunumaa (1996) with Ovambo names of Namibia and Otlogetswe (2008) with Botswana names. It is noted that 10 years later the situation has not changed with Botswana names, there are still more males with biblical names than females, which could be attributed to the same reasons discussed in section 4.2.1.1. Another main observation made is that the popularity of biblical names in Scotland is not directly linked to the Christian religion or the bible but it is historically linked. This observation is further discussed in section 9.2.5.

In Botswana the lexically non-transparent names of European origin as categorised above are generally labelled as 'English names'. The current analysis is noteworthy because it has indicated that these names that are generally termed 'English names' in Botswana have different original sources which people in Botswana are not familiar with, save for biblical names. There are other names termed 'Names from other names' which are Setswana names whose meanings could not be decoded. This analysis is also significant because it has highlighted that there are Setswana names that are lexically non-transparent as indicated by the category of Names derived from other Names. The general assumption has always been that Setswana names are lexically transparent but this analysis has revealed a new dimension. Mojapelo (2009) also discovered that although Northern-Sotho names are generally considered lexically transparent, not all of them are. This is an observation that can be extrapolated to names of most African countries which are broadly labelled as lexically transparent, to highlight that there are exceptions which need to be acknowledged regardless of how minor they may appear.

The lexically transparent names in both countries were categorised into relevant categories to reveal their semantic profiles as presented by Figures 9-4 and 9-5 below. The semantic categories are presented in the order of their popularity, from the most popular to the least popular. The categories are original to this study as their creation was determined by the data through a bottom-up process. In Botswana, the most common semantic category is that of Symbolism and symbolic objects (15.7%) while the least common is that of Months of the year which is represented at 0.1%. The Symbolism and symbolic objects category is the most

common semantic category for both conventional names and the category of Unusual names in Botswana. These types of names derive from regular words in the vocabulary which denote everyday objects, but as names they are used to convey a more metaphorical and deeper meaning. There are two reasons why the category of Symbolism and symbolic objects is the most common category for names in Botswana. Firstly, most names in Botswana derive from the Noun category and names that belong to the Symbolism and symbolic objects category are predisposed to be nouns. Secondly, the lexical meaning of a Setswana name is rarely its entire meaning so objects are very often used to communicate a deeper meaning in a name. It is therefore expected to have this category as the most popular in the Botswana context. The most common semantic category of lexically transparent names in Scotland is that of Virtues which is at 30.4%. As previously mentioned, the Virtue category (desirable qualities) is one of the long established categories of lexically transparent names in the European context so it is not surprising that it is the most common category in Scotland There are 5 categories which are less common; Months of the year, Physical characteristics, Social situation, Symbolism and symbolic objects and Weather state which are all represented at 4.3%. Other semantic categories like Activity names, Appreciation names and Emotion names are not represented.

Figures 9-4 and 9-5 below present the semantic categories of the names in the two countries in the order of their popularity.

Figure 9-4 Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Semantic category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Symbolism and symbolic objects	287	15.7%	138	15.2%
Virtues	272	14.9%	73	8%
God related	270	14.8%	130	14.3%
Activities	219	12%	136	15%
Occupation and position in society	203	11.1%	95	10.5%
Social situation	161	8.8%	146	16%
Emotions	100	5.5%	35	3.9%
Appreciation	81	4.4%	15	1.7%
Gender indicative	46	2.5%	25	2.8%
Birth order	38	2.1%	17	1.9%
Weather state	37	2%	17	1.3%
Possession	30	1.6%	13	1.4%
Physical characteristics	28	1.5%	26	2.9%
Culture and cultural practices	23	1.3%	16	1.8%
Animals and birds	12	0.6%	11	1.2%
Biblical	9	0.5%	5	0.6%
Plants and flowers	8	0.4%	6	0.7%
Precious stones and metals	3	0.2%	2	0.2%
Months of the year	2	0.1%	2	0.2%
	Total: 1,829	100%	Total: 908	100%

Figure 9-5: Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Scotland (Rank order)

Semantic category	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Virtues	7	30.4%	6	31.6%
Plants and flowers	5	21.7%	5	26%
Animals and birds	4	17.4%	1	5.3%
Precious stones and metals	2	8.7%	2	10.5%
Months of the year	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Physical characteristics	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Social situation	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Symbolism and symbolic objects	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Weather state	1	4.3%	1	5.3%
Activities	0	0%	0	0%
Appreciation	0	0%	0	0%
Biblical	0	0%	0	0%
Birth order	0	0%	0	0%
Culture and cultural practices	0	0%	0	0%
Emotions	0	0%	0	0%
Gender indicative	0	0%	0	0%
God related	0	0%	0	0%
Occupation and position in society	0	0%	0	0%
Possessions	0	0%	0	0%
	Total: 23	100%	Total: 19	100%

9.2.2 What is the overall profile of grammatical categories of lexically transparent names in Botswana and Scotland?

The study analysed the lexically transparent names in both countries to reveal their overall grammatical categories. The figures below illustrate the distribution of the names across grammatical categories.

Figure 9-6: Grammatical Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Grammatical category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Nouns	953	52.1%
Clauses	572	31.3%
Phrases	153	8.4%
Verbs	89	4.9%
Pronouns	41	2.2%
Adjectives	19	1%
Determiners	2	0.1%
Exclamation	0	0%
Total	**1829**	**100%**

Figure 9-7: Grammatical Categories of Lexically Transparent Names in Scotland (Rank order)

Grammatical category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Nouns	17	73.9%
Adjectives	4	17.4%
Exclamations	1	4.3%
Phrases	1	4.3%
Clauses	0	0%
Determiners	0	0%
Pronouns	0	0%
Verbs	0	0%
Total	23	100%

Figures 9-6 and 9-7 indicate a wide range of 7 grammatical categories represented in Botswana and only 4 represented in Scotland. The most common grammatical category in both countries is the Noun, represented at 52.1% in Botswana and at 73.9% in Scotland. The fact that the Noun category is the most common category of names in Botswana is not surprising because

the two most popular categories from which the names derive are the Symbolism and Symbolic objects and the Virtues category which would generally be nouns. As previously mentioned, Mojalelo (2009) has observed that the Noun category is the most popular category with Northern-Sotho names, which is linguistically and geographically closer to Setswana hence the similarities in the name structures are to be expected. The popularity of the Noun category in Scotland is attributed to the semantic categories of the Flowers, Virtues and the Precious stones which are the common and oldest categories for lexically transparent names in Europe. Words belonging to these semantic categories would naturally be nouns so that is why the category is the most popular in the Scotland data. The least common category in Botswana is the Determiner at 0.1% while in Scotland these are the Phrase and the Exclamation, both represented at 4.3%. The Scotland data indicates new categories of the Phrase and the Exclamation which may previously have been overlooked as structures of names in Scotland. This question has brought to the fore the fact that lexically transparent names in Botswana take a wide range of grammatical categories from basic word classes to higher structures like the Clause. In Scotland lexically transparent names largely derive from the Noun category but other categories have been revealed which names can belong to and although these may not be originally from Scotland, they are taken into account because they make up part of the Scotland name stock. These results may be an indication that societies in general are slowly moving towards having names that derive from the least common grammatical categories such as Determiners and Exclamations as a result of the dynamic, global naming space.

9.2.3 What are the most common and least common semantic and grammatical categories of Unusual names in Botswana?

This study has also contributed to current research through the examination of Unusual names in both countries. Figure 9-8 below presents the semantic categories of the Unusual names in the order of their popularity. The analysis uses the same semantic categories as for conventional names, but those that are unrepresented are omitted, hence the 15 categories and not 19.

The most common semantic category to which Unusual names in Botswana belong is that of Symbolism and symbolic objects (28.4%), the same as with the conventional names. These are ordinary objects used symbolically to communicate a much deeper meaning. The same reasons given for the popularity of this category with the conventional names are also applicable to Unusual names. The least common semantic categories of Unusual names are the Plants and flowers and the Weather state names, both of which are represented at 0.4%.

Figure 9-8: Semantic Categories of Lexically Transparent Unusual Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Semantic Categories	No. of tokens	% of tokens	No. of types	% of types
Symbolism and symbolic objects	64	28.4%	47	23.5%
Social situations	38	16.9%	37	18.5%
Activities	35	15.6%	35	17.5%
Occupation and position in society	15	6.7%	14	7%
Gender indicative	14	6.2%	14	7%
Animals and birds	10	4.4%	10	5%
Virtue	10	4.4%	8	4%
God related	8	3.6%	8	4%
Emotions	7	3.1%	4	2%
Physical characteristics	7	3.1%	6	3%
Possession	7	3.1%	7	3.5%
Proverb derived	6	2.7%	6	3%
Precious stones and metals	2	0.9%	2	1%
Plants and flowers	1	0.4%	1	0.5%
Weather state	1	0.4%	1	0.5%
	Total: 225	Total: 99.9%	Total: 200	100%

The Unusual names were also categorised according to grammatical categories to establish the most and least common ones. Figure 9-9 below illustrates this.

Figure 9-9: Grammatical Categories of Unusual Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Grammatical category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Nouns	126	56%
Clauses	64	28.4%
Phrases	25	11.1%
Verbs	5	2.2%
Adjectives	3	1.3%
Exclamations	1	0.4%
Pronouns	1	0.4%
Total	**225**	**99.8%**

As with conventional names, the most common grammatical category to which Unusual names belong is the Noun at 56% followed by the Clause at 28.4% and the Phrase at 11.1%. The least common categories are the Exclamation and the Pronoun, both at 0.4%. Although the Pronoun is a common grammatical category as its representation in Figure 9-6 indicates, the Exclamation is a rare name category, so the name represented here is unusual in both meaning and structure. The representation of the Exclamation category as a derivational word class for names indicates there is a transition from the normal word categories to the unusual in terms of name formation which shows that names are changing semantically and structurally.

The current data has revealed that there is a significant effort to shift to Unusual names from the conventional ones. This is done through using ordinary words in Setswana which have never been used as names before and through phonologically modifying conventional names into shortened versions and using them as official names. This results in names that are short and have very few syllables which are different from the normal Setswana names. These observations are similar to those made by Ramaeba and Mathangwane (2015:139-140) who state that Unusual names have a rather subtle meaning and are morpho-syntactically different from the conventional names.

9.2.4 Are people in Scotland familiar with the meanings of Unusual names in the country and what are the general attitudes towards these names?

The respondents in Scotland were asked for the meanings of given Unusual names and their attitudes to them and the figures below give a summary of the responses. Figure 9-10 below summarises the responses on the meaning of the names and it indicates that generally respondents in Scotland are not familiar with the actual meanings of these names save for the lexically transparent ones. They were, however, able to give the derivation of the names as the question required them to give the meaning or the origin of the name. Although only twenty names were selected for analysis the results are used to extrapolate broader conclusions, assuming that the same trends will be maintained in a larger name corpus. Further research would be needed to confirm this.

Figure 9-10: Meaning of Unusual Names in Scotland (190 respondents, Rank order)

Name	Meaning known
Israel	64
Journey	51
Khristopher	50
James-William	49
Aidan-Joseph	44
J	44
Summer-Rose	44
Treasure	41
Littlest	38
Susana	35
Savannah-James	30
C'jay	29
Yunxi	27
Princedeep	26
Nnanna	25
Thabang	23
D-lor	15
Jex	14
Rethabile	11
Ke	8

The respondents were also asked for their attitudes towards the Unusual names and were specifically asked if they would give any of the names to their children. Figure 9-11 below summarises the responses to this question. The results indicate that most of the respondents do not like the names enough to give them to their children. The name that attracted the highest number of positive responses is *Susana* because according to the respondents it is the only 'normal' name in the list. Generally, the study indicates that people in Scotland still prefer conventional names as opposed to the Unusual ones, despite an indication that the latter are steadily on the increase. According to the NRS (2017:7), the Unusual names represent only 19.7% of the total names recorded in 2017 but the names have been gradually increasing over the past 40 years. This relatively small proportion of Unusual names within the general name stock despite their steady growth could be because people only prefer Unusual names when they have created them themselves and would not copy an already existing name.

The purpose of the Unusual names section in the study was to contribute to the current name studies research landscape in both countries. In Scotland, the study has helped to reveal people's knowledge of the meanings of the Unusual names and their attitudes towards them. This type of information is not provided by the NRS which only lists the names and provides no further information about them. This study has been successful in providing this new perspective to the study of the names in Scotland. In Botswana, the study has divulged the most and least common semantic and grammatical categories of Unusual names. This analysis has indicated that names in the two countries are going through a semantic and grammatical transition and since names in many other societies are also not static, these changes are expected to be happening in other parts of the world. The nature of the changes would obviously differ across societies but the fact that the names and naming strategies are undergoing changes cannot be disputed.

Figure 9-11: Attitudes Towards Unusual Names in Scotland (190 respondents, Rank order)

Name	Would give name to own child
Susana	16
Israel	9
Khristopher	9
Summer-Rose	9
Aidan-Joseph	5
James-William	5
Treasure	5
Journey	4
Nnanna	3
Jex	3
Savannah-James	3
Princedeep	2
Thabang	2
Rethabile	2
J	1
D-lor	1
Ke	1
Littlest	1
Yunxi	1
C'jay	0

9.2.5 What are the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming practices in Botswana and Scotland?

When addressing the sociolinguistic factors that influence naming practices, this study has built an original corpus of Setswana personal names and their possible motivations. This corpus is important as it particularly highlights the crucial differences between the semantic meaning of a name and the contextual meaning which is indicated by its motivation. This demonstrates that the lexical meaning of a name is not its entire meaning as names that have the same lexical meaning often have different interpretations. The motivation of the name helps to interpret and complete its meaning. This has helped to establish that names, especially in Botswana, cannot be analysed only from their etymology as there are sociolinguistic theoretical implications involved. The importance of the interconnectedness of the contextual and linguistic meanings of a names illustrates the importance of studying them from a socio-onomastic perspective in order to establish their full meaning.

This study has analysed the names from the perspective of socio-onomastics and has highlighted that the naming process in the two countries is differently motivated. In Botswana, names are closely tied to their immediate context because they are influenced by the environment and the events surrounding the pregnancy and the birth while in Scotland names are independent of such circumstances. In view of the current evolving general onomastic space towards a more specific socio-onomastic perspective, it would be interesting to conduct a similar study in Scotland in future to see if the names have not moved towards being more context based. The Botswana data also indicates that present-day names continue to reflect cultural and social practices or attitudes that are now outdated, especially in relation to gender imbalance stereotypes. Names like *Kgosi* 'chief' or *Lesole* 'soldier' are still predominantly male specific although these roles are no longer gender restricted. This scenario is similar to that of Biblical names in Scotland which continue to reflect religious attitudes that are no longer as prevalent as in the past. The Scotland data has indicated that the choice of a name largely centres around the name itself and the external motivations that influence it have no link to the family or birth circumstances. The motivations that influence naming in Scotland include the fact that the name is a family one meaning that it has circulated in the family for generations. The name can also be chosen for the way it sounds, its orthographic appearance or just because the parents liked it.

There are common factors in relation to names and naming identified between the two countries. Both communities try to uphold and appreciate their individual cultures and histories through their naming practices. The practice of parent-child name-sharing and maintaining a family name is a Scotland tradition that name givers are trying to preserve even to this day. The Botswana society on the other hand is trying to preserve its culture and traditions through giving names that reflect these activities; thus names like *Molemi* 'farmer' and *Modisa* 'shepherd' reflect the tradition of farming and animal rearing by Batswana. The Scottish name *Scott* and the Botswana name *Botswana* are also given to appreciate and uphold the people's history and traditions. This is an indication that although the global naming process is undergoing tremendous changes and societies are influenced by similar things such as technology, fashion and pop culture, individual societies are still trying to maintain their naming identity by holding on to their cultures and traditions in the naming process.

Figures 9-12 and 9-13 below summarise the motivations behind lexically non-transparent names in the two countries.

Figure 9-12: Motivations for Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Motivation category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Not known/given	78	47%
Other	46	27.7%
Biblical	23	13.9%
Named for someone	14	8.4%
Parents liked the name	5	3%
Family name	0	0%
Total	**166**	**100%**

Figure 9-13: Motivations for Lexically Non-Transparent Names in Scotland (Rank order)

Motivation category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Other	99	30%
Not known/given	96	29.1%
Named for someone	71	21.5%
Parents liked the name	27	8.2%
Biblical	22	6.7%
Family name	15	4.5%
Total	**330**	**100%**

The motivations behind the majority of the lexically non-transparent names in Botswana are unknown (47%), which may be because their unknown meanings made it difficult for them to be linked to any motivation. The Other category groups unrelated motivations and it has high proportions in both countries; Botswana has 27.7% and Scotland has 30%. The high proportions of the Other motivation category highlight that name giving is a personal process and each name is uniquely motivated.

As mentioned in section 9.2.1, although biblical names are the most common category of lexically non-transparent names in Scotland (36.1%), they were not necessarily chosen for their source as Figure 9-13 indicates that only 6.7% of them were chosen for that reason. They were mostly chosen for other reasons besides their origin. In Botswana biblical names are also the most common category of lexically non-transparent names (34.3%) but unlike in Scotland a significant number of them (13.9%) were chosen for their source.

The category of Named for someone is more common in Scotland (21.5%) as compared to Botswana (8.4%) as well as that of the Family name which is at 4.5% in Scotland and not represented in Botswana. These categories reflect the circulation of the same name in families across generations and where these categories are large it means few new names enter the name stock over time. As these are not prevalent naming motivations in Botswana it is believed that the creation of new names is not restricted. An even higher percentage was established by Crook (2016:289) whose study of the early modern period in Scotland revealed that there was a significant proportion of parent-child name-sharing and also naming for other relatives which might affect the creation of new names. Interestingly, the current data for Scotland does not seem to reflect this scenario because for the 23 lexically transparent name tokens there are 19 types and for the 330 lexically non-transparent names there are 201 types. There are 220 name types for 353 name tokens which does not represent a large disparity. This generally indicates that name sharing in Scotland is slowly becoming uncommon and the variety of the names in the name stock is steadily increasing.

Figures 9-14 and 9-15 below present the summaries for the motivations behind lexically transparent names in both countries. The Other motivation category is also the most common here and again it shows how differently motivated the names are. The category of Acknowledging God and appreciating the child is the second highest in Botswana at 29.1%

indicating that a high proportion of names are religiously motivated although they do not derive from the bible. This is in comparison to Scotland names, most of which are biblical but are not religiously motivated. Furthermore, the category of Family and birth circumstances is the third highest at 20.8%, revealing that a significant number of names in Botswana are motivated by their contexts unlike those in Scotland.

Figure 9-14: Motivations for Lexically Transparent Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Motivation category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Other	603	33%
Acknowledging God and appreciating the child	533	29.1%
Family and birth circumstances	380	20.8%
Not known/given	198	10.8%
Named for someone	45	2.5%
Polemical	30	1.6%
Physical qualities	27	1.5%
Children as possession	10	0.5%
Birth month	2	0.1%
Parents liked the name	1	0.05%
Total	**1,829**	**100%**

Figure 9-15: Motivations for Lexically Transparent Names in Scotland (Rank order)

Motivation category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Other	10	43.5%
Parents liked the name	5	21.7%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	2	8.7%
Named for someone	2	8.7%
Not known/given	2	8.7%
Family and birth circumstances	1	4.3%
Birth month	1	4.3%
Total	**23**	**99.9%**

Figure 9-16 summarises the motivations behind Unusual names in Botswana which are from the same categories as for the conventional names. The majority of them are Not known/given at 37.8% and the second highest is that of Other at 32.9%. Again the latter category reflects that each name has a unique motivation. The motivation of Named for someone is unrepresented which is understandable because the names are Unusual.

Figure 9-16: Motivations for Unusual Names in Botswana (Rank order)

Motivation category	No. of tokens	% of tokens
Not known/given	85	37.8%
Other	74	32.9%
Family and birth circumstances	48	21.3%
Acknowledging God and appreciating child	18	8%
Named for someone	0	0%
Total	**225**	**100%**

Through this question the study has been able to compile a systematic data set on the motivations behind names in Botswana. The study has revealed a wide range of naming motivations and attitudes in relation to both the conventional and the Unusual names in Botswana. In Scotland, the main significance of the study is in the compilation of the motivations behind conventional names. It has also revealed people's knowledge of the meanings of the Unusual names and this addresses the gap identified in the study of names in Scotland.

The respondents in both countries have highlighted that the meaning of a name is important although this was unexpected in Scotland because of the lack of knowledge of the meanings of the majority of the names. It is surprising that the meaning of a name is regarded as important although the same meaning is unknown. The Botswana results were, however, expected because of the lexical transparency of the majority of the names. The figure below gives a summary of responses to the question about the meaning of a name in both countries.

Figure 9-17: Responses to the question: Is the Meaning of a Name Important to You?

Question	Country	Yes	No	Not given	Total
Is the meaning of a name important to you?	Scotland	45 (23.7%)	33 (17.4%)	112 (58.9%)	190
	Botswana	199 (59.8%)	20 (6%)	114 (34.2%)	333

In addition to the importance of the meaning of a name, the study also collated the general attitudes of the people towards names and naming in general, particularly about factors that need to be considered during the naming process. These factors differed significantly between the two countries save for that of name longevity which was common to both. The other reasons

mentioned in Scotland are those of pronunciation and spelling, compatibility with the surname and others, while those for Botswana are that the name should be gender appropriate and should not have negative connotations. The comparison model used by the study is also significant as it has been able to highlight the major differences in names and the naming processes of two culturally disparate societies. Figures 9-18 and 9-19 give a summary of other factors apart from meaning that respondents in the two countries believe should be considered during naming.

Figure 9-18: Factors to Consider when Giving a Name (Botswana, Rank order)

Factors to Consider	Total number
No negativity	53
Gender appropriate	27
Other	22
Birth circumstances	21
Longevity	10
God related	5
	Total: 138

Figure 9-19: Factors to Consider when Giving a Name (Scotland, Rank order)

Factors to Consider	Total number
Other	28
Spelling and pronunciation	15
Compatibility with surname, initials and creation of nickname	15
Name should not attract bullying	14
Family significance	11
Longevity	8
	Total: 91

9.3 Limitations

The main limitation of this study is in the unbalanced proportions of the respondents in the two countries. In Botswana, 333 respondents took part in the study while in Scotland 190 took part which is a sizeable disparity between the two countries. The main reason for this is that the researcher had fewer contacts in Scotland than in Botswana; moreover, since there is less existing research into names in Botswana than in the UK, it was appropriate to focus the primary data collection on that country. The unbalanced numbers of respondents in the two countries also yielded unbalanced name tokens, for each country, 353 for Scotland and 1,995 for Botswana which may be regarded as not adequately representative of each country. These

numbers are however, validated by the amount of descriptive meta-data surrounding each name.

The fuzziness of the categories used for both the lexically transparent and lexically non-transparent names is another limitation that has been observed. Some of the names could possibly fall into more than one category but the category used has been deemed the most appropriate and relevant for each name.

Another limitation is that the Scotland questionnaire is longer than the Botswana one because it contains list of names and this resulted in some respondents not completing the questionnaire to the end. Although attempts were made to rectify this by re-arranging the questions in the second stage of the data collection process, these were largely unsuccessful and it was decided to exclude this part of the data from the analysis.

9.4 Future Research Areas

There are several further research questions that have emerged from this study. The study has mainly focused on the synchronic analysis of the names and not on their diachronic aspects. The current data would enable the analysis of the names in both countries from a diachronic perspective to establish how the naming patterns have evolved over a period of time. The analysis would show how the names have evolved over the years in terms of their semantics, morphology and grammatical belonging. Similarly, the data can also give a diachronic perspective on the motivations of the names. This can be achieved because the data for conventional names gives the dates of birth of the name bearers that were provided by the respondents, so the names can be grouped and analysed according to the age of the respondents.

Gardner (1999:25-27) discussed the rise and fall of English names in Botswana and concluded that the Botswana naming system had drastically changed to accommodate conventional Setswana names. The English names that she refers to include all names regarded as 'English' regardless of their source, which include biblical names. She raised a follow-up question of whether there will be an increase or decrease over the years of what she called 'Christian' English names or in choosing any name on religious grounds. The current study, which comes 19 years later, indicates that 'English' biblical names make up 34.3% of the lexically non-transparent names which is only 2.9% of the entire Botswana name stock. However, Setswana

names that make reference to God and Christianity but are not bible derived make up 14.8% of the lexically transparent names and 13.5% of the entire name stock. Furthermore, the data indicates that there are 0.5% of Setswana biblical names. This therefore means that there is a significant neglect of 'Christian' English names and a shift towards Setswana names that acknowledge God and make reference to Christianity but do not derive from the bible. The same investigation could be carried out another 20 or so years from now to establish if the same trend has been maintained or has changed.

The current study has compared names and naming processes of two distinct societies with different cultures and languages. This cross-cultural analysis has significantly brought to the fore the similarities and differences in the names and naming patterns of the two countries. However, a similar study within Botswana itself would also be beneficial. The purpose of this study would be to establish the differences between the naming processes of different cultural groups existing in the same country, as carried out for Scotland by Bramwell (2011). For example, the current study used data from two different ethnic groups who speak different dialects of the Setswana language although they are mutually intelligible and also have slightly different cultural practices. The names and the naming patterns of the two societies could be compared to investigate regional differences and similarities.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Botswana Questionnaire

PERSONAL NAMES IN BOTSWANA QUESTIONNAIRE

Gender: Male / Female

Year of birth: --

Nationality (e.g. Motswana): -----------------------------

Language(s) spoken: --

SECTION A: PERSONAL NAMES IN BOTSWANA

Complete the table below by giving names of your family members including yourself and tell me anything you know about the names; meanings and why they were given.

Relation	Year of birth	Name	Significance/ reason for name	Meaning
e.g. self/parent/brother	1970	Neo	Shows appreciation of the child given.	gift

(a) Which of these names do you like and why? ---

Section B: UNUSUAL PERSONAL NAMES IN BOTSWANA

There is a growing trend in Botswana to give babies unusual names. Do you know any such names? Complete the table below with examples of those names.

Name	Male/ female/both	Age(apprx)	Meaning	significance	Root word
e.g. Mhiko	male	10	A tree branch used to close the entrance to a kraal	Youngest male child; no more children / he will look after the cattle	mhiko

(a) Would you give your child any of the names from the table above? ----------------------

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(b) Which ones? ---

(c) Why? --

(d) Most names in Setswana have a meaning. Is the meaning of a name important to you? Explain. --

(e) Is there anything else that you think should be considered when a name is given? ------

----

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Appendix 2: Scotland Questionnaire

PERSONAL NAMES IN SCOTLAND QUESTIONNAIRE

Gender: Male / Female

Age: --

Country of origin: ---------------------------------------

Length of time lived in Scotland: ---------------------

Language(s) spoken: ------------------------------------

SECTION A: PERSONAL NAMES IN SCOTLAND

These are some of the most popular names in Scotland as recorded by the National Records of Scotland in 2015.

What do you know about their meanings, languages of origin etc., and would you choose any of the names yourself?

Name	Meaning and Origin	Would you give your child any of the names below? Why or why not?
e.g. Rose	From the flower (rose); signifies beauty (English)	Yes, because I like what it signifies.
John	Biblical	No, because it is too common.
Boys		
Charlie		
Daniel		
Jack		
Leo		
Logan		
Robin		
Girls		
Ella-Rose		
Emily		
Grace		
Hannah		
Lily		
Mia		

SECTION B: UNUSUAL PERSONAL NAMES IN SCOTLAND

There is a growing trend in Scotland to give babies unusual names. The following are some of them, recorded as unique by the National Records of Scotland in 2015. What do you know about their meanings, languages of origin etc., and would you choose any of the names yourself?

Name	Meaning and Origin	Would you give your child any of the names below? Why or why not?
e.g. Rubie	Adapted from the English word *ruby* for a gemstone.	No, because I do not like how it is spelt. I would prefer *ruby* instead.
Boys		
Aidan-Joseph		
C'jay		
Israel		
J		
James-William		
Journey		
Khristopher		
Nnanna		
Princedeep		
Thabang		
Girls		
D-lor		
Jex		
Ke		
Littlest		
Rethabile		
Savannah-James		
Summer-Rose		
Susana		
Treasure		
Yunxi		

SECTION C: FAMILY PERSONAL NAMES

Please complete the table below by giving the names of your family members including yourself and tell us anything you know about the names including why they were given.

Relation	Year of birth	Name	Reasons for name given	Meaning/ significance
e.g. self/ sister/brother	1990	Rose	Named for maternal grandmother	Flower;signifies beauty

(a) Some names have an obvious meaning, e.g. Rose, while others don't, e.g. John. Do you think the meaning of a name is important? YES /NO.
Why or why not? ---

(b) Is there anything else that you think should be considered when a name is given? ------
----

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Appendix 3: Questionnaire Consent Form

University of Glasgow, College of Arts Research Ethics Committee

I understand that **Goabilwe Nnanishie Ramaeba** is collecting data in the form of completed questionnaires for use in a dissertation to be submitted for a PhD degree at the University of Glasgow. The information may be used for other research work such as presentations and published work, but will not be used for any other purpose. The data will be entered into a filing system and will only be accessed by authorised persons of the University of Glasgow. The data will be processed by the university in accordance with the provisions of the Data Act1998.

This is a study on naming in Botswana and Scotland so information on personal names is solicited through this questionnaire. The study aims to find out the factors that influence the giving of names to children in Botswana and Scotland. It also wishes to establish whether the names in the two countries have any meaning or significance, and anything else that motivates their choice. The study would further like to explore the most common and the least common names and reasons for choosing either. The aim is to gather unrestricted information on all types of names that exist in the two countries regardless of the language of origin.

I give my consent to the use of data for this purpose on the understanding that:

- All names given will not be used to identify any individual or compromise their confidentiality.
- The material will be treated as confidential and kept in secure storage at all times.
- The material may be used in future publications, both print and online.

Signed by the contributor: _____   Date: _____

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Appendix 4: Data Sample-Botswana

Code	Sex	age	Birth year	Age bracket	Nationality	languages	Relation to respondent	Family Names Name	Meaning/Significance As translated by researcher	Etymology/root word	Additional information Given by researcher	Word class	Language	Meaning code
001	**M**		**1974**	**Adult**	**Motswana**	**English & Setswana**	**Self**	**Watemo**	**Farm produce was abundant at the time of birth.**	Wa 'connector; the one of' + temo 'farming'	confirmed	phrase	Setswana	activity
001	F		1962	Adult			Sister	Mothoosele	parents marvelled at being joined by someone new.	Motho'person' +o 'connector (is)' + sele 'different'	parents happy for first child	Sentence	Setswana	appreciation
001	F		1965	Adult			Sister	Papanka	Walked like a duck	(panka) ' walk bow-legged'	confirmed	verb	Setswana	Physical quality
001	M		1968	Adult			Brother	Ramasebetlha	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	Setswana	unknown
001	M		1970	Adult			Brother	Ramonnedi	Born near village called Ramonnedi	RamonnediNamed after village	Name of a village in Botswana	noun	Setswana	Social situation
001	F		1978	Adult			Sister	Shalekonyana	unknown	unknown	confirmed	not known	Setswana	unknown
001	M		1976				Brother	Ramadilana	Named after grandfather	Ra' Mr, father of' + madilana 'little sour milk'	confirmed	phrase	Setswana	Symbolism and symbolic objects
001	F		1980	Adult			Sister	Ontobetse	Pregnancy concealed and the baby was born prematurely	O'he/she' +ntobetse 'kept a secret from me'	confirmed	clause	Setswana	activity

Appendix 5: Data Sample-Scotland

Code	Sex	Age	Birth year	Age bracket	Nationality	Languages	relation to respondent	Family Names Name	Meaning/Significance As given by respondent	meaning codes	Reason for name As given by respondent
										classical tradition	
001	**M**	**23**		**youth**	**British**	**English**	**self**	**Graham**	**Place name**	classical tradition	Family name
001	F		1992	adult			girlfriend	Rebecca	To bind, biblical	biblical	Family member liked it
001	F		1957	adult			mother	Mary	Jesus' mother; biblical	biblical	Family name (Catholic)
001	M		1955	adult			father	John	biblical	biblical	Family name (catholic)
001	M		1986	adult			brother	Francis	Unknown	classical tradition	Named after father's grandfather
001	M		1989	adult			brother	Vincent	Meaning unknown	classical tradition	Named after father's cousin
002	**F**	**24**		**youth**	**British**	**English**	**self**	**Rebecca**	**To bind, biblical**	biblical	Liked the name
002	F		1989	adult			brother	Kenn	Irish	biblical	Common name at home
002	M		1954	elderly			mother	Helen	Greek-Helen of Troy	classical tradition	Liked the name
002	F		1948	elderly			father	William	German-leader?	classical tradition	Common name at home
002	M		1963	adult			aunt	Karen	Dutch	classical tradition	Liked the name
002	F		1993	youth			boyfriend	Graham	place name, England	classical tradition	family member

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