
Factors Influencing Cattle Naming in Haya Speech Community

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Abstract: The study aimed at investigating the socio-cultural factors that cattle name givers consider during cattle naming. The researchers decided to conduct the study in Haya speech community because it is in this community where people tend to bestow different names to cattle compared to other animals kept by Haya. Besides, the researchers wanted to investigate denotative and/or connotative meanings of the names bestowed to cattle. The study was guided by three theories, namely onomastics theory, semantic field theory and descriptive theory. Qualitative research approach was employed and the study was conducted at Bukoba district in Kagera region - Tanzania at Bujugo and Karabagine wards. During data collection, interview and focus group discussions were employed where a total of 34 respondents were included in this study from four groups: cattle owners, Haya language experts, shepherds and people with knowledge in recitations. Snowball sampling was used to get the respondents. The total of seven socio-cultural factors that cattle name givers consider in cattle naming among the Haya were found. They include: colour of cattle, behaviour, structure and size of horn, origin/etymology of cattle, body size, sex of cattle, and structure of reproductive organs. The researchers conclude that, bestowing names to cattle, among other benefits, helps cattle owners to identify their cattle and it increases animal-human relationship.

Keywords: The Haya Speech Community, Cattle Naming, Naming, Name Giver, Haya, Socio-Cultural Factors, Cattle Naming Practice

1. Introduction

This paper deals with socio-cultural factors which Haya cattle name givers consider during cattle naming. Bestowing names to cattle among the Haya seems to be a normal practice, since cattle mostly are named like any other animals like pigs, goats, dogs and the like. In choosing names for cattle, the cattle name givers consider several factors. The findings of this study show that among other factors, animal can be named according to its colour, behaviour, structure of horns, physical appearance and sex of cattle.

2. Background and Literature Review

The act of naming is among the most basic actions of language. Indeed, it is naming that enables us to communicate about the object named in specific terms,

whether the object named is human or non-human, animate or inanimate. As other communities in Tanzania and Africa in general, Haya bestow names to people, animals and other creatures. Among other functions of naming creatures, Haya want to give the identity to the creatures including cattle.

Bestowing names to animals can be traced back since the creation of the universe, as it is read in the holy Bible when Adam was assigned by the Almighty God to give names to all creatures [8]. Boonpaisamsatit, N. ([2], p. 2) states, "Naming is the act of bestowing a name". Giving a name to anything means making that thing to be known, and identified among the people. Olson, H. A. [16] is of the view that, naming is a means of structuring reality. Therefore, naming is giving human or non-human, animate or inanimate its identity. Names play a big role in human life since names tell a lot about an individual that it signifies, the language from which it is drawn, and the society that ascribes it [13].

Three theories were employed in this study, namely

onomastics theory, semantic field theory and descriptive theory. Onomastics theory deals with the study of origin, history and the use of proper names. It is believed that, the origin of onomastic should be sought in ancient Egypt of 5-6 thousand years ago. It was them who had first made a distinction between proper names and common nouns by inserting their gods' and pharaohs' names in frames or "name rings" (cartouche) and, later, writing them in red paint on papyrus. Semantic field theory also was employed by the researchers. According to Crystal, D. [4], the theory was propounded by Trier, a Germanic scholar in 1931. It assumes that every word has meaning and the meaning of words is arranged according to their semantic fields. Nordquist, R. ([15], p. 1) states, "The words in a semantic field share a common semantic property. Most often, fields are defined by subject matter, such as body parts, landforms, diseases, colours, foods, or kinship relations". Descriptive theory also was employed. The theory was propounded by Frege and Russell and the main assumption of the theory is that, the meanings of names are closely related to the meanings of definite descriptions.

The researchers employed the three theories in order to find out the practice of naming and the reasons for naming animals specifically cattle among the Haya. Although the main purpose of this article is on the factors for cattle naming in Haya community, the practice is also done in other parts of Tanzanian and other African countries. Kuria community in Tanzania, bestow names to cattle and one of factors that Kuria consider is colour of cattle [9]. Cattle also can be named depending on their behaviour. This argument is supported by Turner, N. S. [24] who submits that the behaviour of cattle among the Zulu plays a big role as one of factors that cattle name givers consider during naming their cattle. Names like *thathakonke* 'take everything', *thathangozwane* 'take with the toe', *andumunwe Okhombayo* 'the pointing finger' and the like are some cattle names that are bestowed to cattle depending on their behaviour. Kimenyi, A. [7] states that, among the Rwandese, the structure of horns among other factors is used as one of the factors of cattle naming. In general, bestowing name to cattle among the Haya is not done accidentally, but it is done with a purpose.

3. Research Methodology

3.1. Research Approach and Design

This study was guided by qualitative research approach. The researchers chose this research approach since the methods of data collection that they used include interview as well as focus group discussions which go hand in hand with qualitative research which deals with narrations not numerals. This approach helped the researchers to involve respondents via interview and group discussions. Also, the researchers used phenomenology design in this study since the nature of the study based on daily lives of Haya people, particularly in cattle naming practices because naming is one

of the functions of language.

3.2. Area of the Study

This study was conducted in Tanzania particularly in Kagera region, Bukoba district at Bujugo and Karabagaine wards. The reason for conducting this study in these areas were: firstly, in the selected wards, one of the economic activities taking place is animal keeping particularly cattle. The researchers believed that they could gather the required data about cattle naming. Secondly, the geographical location of Kagera is found in equatorial region which supports cattle keeping. So, the researchers believed that in this area there would be many cattle name givers who would help them to gather enough and relevant data. Thirdly, the researchers conducted the study in this area because there are Haya language experts who would give the researchers different cattle names.

3.3. Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

This study was guided by snowball sampling technique. Through snowball sampling, the researchers managed to interview 10 respondents where after interviewing one respondent, the researchers were directed to the next respondent believed to possess knowledge about cattle naming. The researchers involved 24 respondents in the focus group discussions. The total of 34 respondents involved in this study came from four groups, where nine were cattle owners, five from language experts, eight shepherds and two people who know recitations in Haya.

3.4. Methods of Data Collection

Interview and focus group discussions were used in this study. The researchers used face to face interview to collect data, where interview guide questions were used. The researchers also applied focus group discussions during data collection. During focused group discussions, the researchers formed four groups where each group consisted of six respondents. The researchers used the notebook to jot down field notes and a voice recorder to record the information during interview and focus group discussions. Data were analysed thematically and narratively.

4. Findings and Discussion

The findings of this study revealed seven socio-cultural factors that are considered by the Haya during cattle naming. The factors are presented according to their semantic fields in order to enable the reader to understand the factors which are considered by Haya during cattle naming.

4.1. Cattle Names That Relate to the Colour of Cattle

The findings of this study revealed 26 cattle names which are used in Haya, relating to the colours of cattle as one of social factors considered by Haya in cattle naming.

Katuku is a red colour among the Haya. It is a type of colour which in Haya is considered red, but according to the

type of colour this falls under cinnamon brown colour (see Figure 1). So, they associate the colour of that cattle and the name of the cattle with cinnamon brown colour and it is named *katuku*. The findings show that, this cattle name does not depend on cattle's sex or age, rather it is bestowed only to any cattle with cinnamon brown colour.



Figure 1. *Katuku*.

Another cattle name used in Haya which relates to colour of cattle is *Kisa*. The name is bestowed to cattle with white colour. The cattle name gives associate the white colour with that of the cattle and name it *kisa* since its colour is white. Synonymously, cattle with white colour can be named with *kalikwela*, *kitale*, *kasa*, and *rusa* (see Figure 2).



Figure 2. *Kisa*.

Moreover, cattle with hickory brown colour are referred to as *njumba* (see Figure 3). This name is bestowed to any cattle with hickory brown colour. According to the findings, cattle getting this name have a combination of two colours, brown and black (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. Cattle Names that Relate to Hickory Brown Colour.

Another cattle name which refers to a colour of cattle is *rujwi* (see Figure 4). It is a name that is bestowed to cattle with harbour grey colour. Such kind of cattle have two different colours, white and black. In Haya language, the word *ijwi* [ash] means a substance with white and black colours, which is produced from the burnt firewood or other materials and its colour resembles that one of cattle.



Figure 4. *Rujwi*.

Additionally, *runya* is a cattle name which refers to colour of cattle. The findings show that, this name is derived from name of animal in Haya known as *munya* [a lizard] (see Figure 5). Since the colour of that reptile resembles that of the cattle, the name gives associate the colour of lizard with one of that cattle and bestow that name. So, the resemblance of the colour of lizard and that that of cattle in Haya is used as one of social factors considered by cattle name givers to bestow name to cattle.



Figure 5. *Runya*.

Ishaasha also is another cattle name used by Haya to refer to cattle whose colour is brown (see Figure 6). The findings show that; the cattle which is bestowed such kind of name, its colour resembles to that one of wild fruits known as 'eishaasha' found in forests. The resemblance of the colour of cattle and that one of that wild fruit, influences Haya to use that name to the cattle.



Figure 6. *Njuumba*.

Siina ya njumba is a cattle name used among the Haya to refer to any cattle with a combination of two colours, black and hickory brown (see Figure 7). The word *siina* in Haya means black and *njumba* means hickory brown colour. The findings reveal that cattle name givers use the term *siina ya njumba* since the colour of cattle is neither black nor brown.



Figure 7. *Siina ya njumba*.

The name *kailaguju* is used by cattle name givers. This name is bestowed to any cattle with black colour (see Figure 8). It does not depend on the sex, age or behaviour of certain cattle, but any black cattle qualifies to get that name.



Figure 8. *Kailaguju*.

Cattle names like *bibamba*, *bigondo* and *bitondo* are bestowed to cattle with spots around their bodies (see Figure 9). These three cattle names have the same denotative meaning because they are used to refer to any cattle with spots around the body and the names do not depend on the age, sex or behaviour of the cattle.



Figure 9. *Bibamba, Bigondo or Bitondo*.

Kaasha is a cattle name which is bestowed to cattle which appear to have a white small spot around the forehead (see Figure 9). The word *kaasha* in Haya means small spot.



Figure 10. *Kaasha*.

The findings reveal that the cattle with small spot around the forehead is named *kaasha*. It is so called because, the spot around the forehead is not big compared to the one called *kyaasha* which has big and spread spot around forehead (see Figure 10). Normally, that big spot around the forehead of cattle is white although other colours like black or brown also may appear.



Figure 11. *Kaasha*.

Another cattle name which refers to colour is *kibamba*. This is the name bestowed to cattle which appear to have big and spread spot which appears at any part of the body (see Figure 12). The word *kibamba* in Haya means spot. Since the cattle is born with that spot, name givers use this spot to name the referent. According to the findings, that big spot may appear at one side of the body or may appear in both sides beginning from back to the abdomen. The synonym of the name "*kibamba*" is "*kitondo*".



Figure 12. *Kibamba*.

Another cattle name that refers to the colour is *Mayenje*. This is a name which is bestowed to any cattle which appear to have tiny spots around the body (see Figure 13). The findings show that, most colours which form these tiny spots are white and black or white and brown.



Figure 13. *Mayenje*.

Another cattle name which refers to the colour is *bizigiile*. This is a name used among the Haya to refer to cattle which appear to have different colours around the eyes (see Figure 14). It was found that, such name is bestowed to any cattle regardless of its age or sex. The cattle may be referred to as '*bizigiile*' because they look like a girl or woman who has put on makeup around her eyes. Such kind of cattle may have one dominant colour like white colour, but around its eyes it has grey or black colour.



Figure 14. *Bizigiile*.

Additionally, the cattle name *rugondo* is used to refer to cattle which have the smallest spots around the body (see Figure 15). The word *rugondo* in Haya means the smallest spots. The name givers can name it *rugondo* since it has the smallest spots around the body. This name is bestowed to cattle regardless its sex or age. The name is synonymous to *mayenje*.



Figure 15. *Rugondo*.

The use of colour of cattle as one of the social factors of cattle naming among the Haya, relates to other previous studies conducted by other researchers in different countries and at different times. One of those studies investigated the factors considered by cattle name givers include that by Oosthuizen, M. P. [17]. The study dealt with Sanga-Nguni cattle with special reference to colour pattern terminology and naming-practice in Zulu. One of the findings shows that, among other factors, cattle in Zulu community are always named depending on their colours. One of cattle names which relates to colour includes: "*ilunga*" meaning black or brown beast with white stripes across the stomach and legs.

The study conducted in Tanzania by Malande, M. J. O. [9] on animal naming among Kuria in Mara region reveals that, Kuria bestow names to cattle and one of the factors they consider is colour. Some cattle names used among the Kuria which refer to the colour include, *nyaikondo* a white and black striped cow, and *nyang'era* 'black cow'.

In general, the findings revealed that one of the factors considered by Haya in cattle naming is colour of cattle. The colour of cattle in Haya and in other communities plays a big role in cattle naming and cattle name givers use it to choose their name for their beasts.

4.2. Cattle Names That Refer to the Behaviour of Cattle

The behaviour of cattle among the Haya, also was found to be used as one of the factors that cattle name givers consider when choosing the names. In analysis of the behaviour of cattle, the researchers were guided by descriptive theory which provides description about something. The findings revealed nine cattle names which are bestowed to cattle depending on the behaviour of cattle.

Kyerengya is a name in Haya which is mostly bestowed to a cow which looks clean and attractive all the time. This name is derived from Haya verb *rengya* which means beautify. So, the behaviour of that cattle of being clean and attractive all the time, is considered by Haya as one of the factors of cattle naming since not all cattle can be named *kyerengya*, except those which look very clean and attractive all the time and must be a cow not otherwise. Additionally, this is a common name in Haya which is shared by both, persons and animals. The same name has the same meaning when it is used on cattle or person. If it is used to refer to a person, it means a person who looks very smart and clean all the time compared to others.

Machunda is another cattle name which is bestowed to a cow which produces a lot of milk and with the high amount of cream. This cattle name is derived from a Haya verb *chunda* meaning shake.

Bertshaw, C. and Rowlinson, P. [1] conducted a study on human-animal relationship on dairy farms in relation to milk production. The researchers indicate that, animals can be named depending on the amount of milk they produce. So, the characteristics of that cow to produce a lot of milk, is used by Haya as a factor to name that cow as '*machunda*'.

Another cattle name used in Haya which relates to the behaviour is *rweukura*. This name is derived from Haya verb

hukuka which means be fearful. It was found that, cattle may behave like human beings who sometimes fear something even without reasons. Thus, cattle name givers associate the behaviour of being fearful to those cattle which demonstrate it. Unlike other cattle names, this name is used to refer to any cattle regardless of its colour, body size or age.

Through cattle names one can recognize the reality in a certain society. The behaviour of people can be expressed by cattle owners through naming as Thipa, H. ([23], p. 2) argues, "...the names so involved may be given to domestic animals as well as children and they offer insights into what is going on in society".

The findings show that *makukura* is a name bestowed to a bull whose characteristics is fighting and chasing people around. This cattle name does not base on the colour or horn structure of that bull. The behaviour of fighting among the Haya can also be expressed via cattle naming as the findings indicate.

Katafiza is the name used among the Haya to refer to a cow that is fat. Additionally, it has bad behaviour like being cruel to other cattle. The name givers associate the behaviour of being cruel and use it as a factor for naming.

Additionally, *kyeryaana* is a name which relates to the cattle's behaviour used among the Haya to refer to a cow whose behaviour is friendly to people. This name is derived from Haya noun *eryaana*. Thus, *kyeryaana* means a cow that needs special care all the time. It was found that, such kind of cow is gentle when it is milked and it produces a lot of milk because it has good animal-human relationship.

Shamaito is another cattle name which relates to the behaviour of cattle used among the Haya to refer to a cow whose behaviour is gentle and calm all the time. It was found that, such kind of cow is milked more and has big and long teats. So, cattle name givers use the behaviour of being gentle and calm as the reason of bestowing the name.

Bad behaviour in the society also can be expressed through cattle naming. *Bihogo* is a cattle name which is bestowed to any cattle regardless of its age, colour or sex. It is only bestowed to cattle whose behaviour is to go to people's farms like cassava farms and the like and eat them. It was found that, when one grazes such kind of cattle they must be very keen all the time to make sure that such cattle are around.

The behaviour of cattle among the Haya is also used as one of factors considered by cattle name givers to bestow names to their cattle. This finding relates to other studies conducted by different researchers. One of the studies done about cattle naming and came up with the findings that the behaviour of cattle is also one factor that is considered during cattle naming is the study by Turner N. S. [24]. The study dealt with Zulu names and indirect expression. The findings indicated that, the behaviour of cattle among the Zulu plays a big role as one of factors that cattle name givers consider during naming their cattle. Examples of cattle names that relate to the behaviour of cattle are *thathakonke* 'take everything', *thathangozwane* 'take with the toe', and *umunweOkhombayo* 'the pointing finger' meaning thief.

The findings indicate that cattle are often named in this

manner to bring attention to the fact that someone is suspected of being a thief and warns people to be on the lookout. Additionally, the studies by Resetar, D. and Radic, B. [18] and Molefe, L. [11] show that cattle names can be used by cattle owners to express people's behaviour.

Also, in support of the findings about the behaviour of cattle to be used as one of the factors considered by cattle name givers, Bertshaw, C. and Rowlinson, P. [1] and Stevana, M. [19] assert that, cattle can be named depending on the amount of milk they produce and how they are calm when being milked.

4.3. Cattle Names That Relate to Structure and Size of Horns

The structure of the horns of the cattle among the Haya was also found to be considered as one of the factors for cattle naming. In relation to the theories which guided this study, the semantic field theory and descriptive theory are used to discuss this section. Semantic field theory guided the researchers to arrange these names according to their semantic fields and descriptive theory guided the researchers to describe how the horns of cattle look like. The findings revealed six cattle names that are used among the Haya which relate to the structure and size of horns.

Ntarale is one of the names in Haya which relates to the structure and size of horns (see Figure 16). This name, according to the findings, means 'spread' or 'cover a large area'.



Figure 16. *Ntarale*.

Another cattle name which relates to the structure and size of cattle's horns is *buembe*. The word *iyembe* in Haya means horn. Thus, the name givers refer to that cattle as *buembe* since it has small, short and sharp horns (see Figure 17). This name is bestowed to any cattle regardless its sex, colour or age.



Figure 17. *Buembe*.

Another cattle name used in Haya is *Bikome/nkondo* and the name relates to the structure and size of horns. This name is derived from Haya verb *koma* meaning bind or tie and *kondeka* meaning 'bend something'. Since the structure of horns of certain cattle look like they are closed and bent to each other, this is used by name givers as a source of bestowing name (see Figure 18).



Figure 18. *Bikome*.

It is normal that many cattle have horns and most horns are strong, but sometimes some cattle may have horns which are weak. A name like *ndegeya/bulegeya* is used to refer to cattle which have weak horns (see Figure 19). It was found that, there are cattle with weak horns, which are just there like ornaments to decorate or beautify the cow or bull since they cannot be used by a cow or a bull during fighting or when it digs anthills.



Figure 19. *Ndegeya*.

Ndangaazi is also a name used in Haya which relates to the structure and size of horns (see Figure 20). This name is bestowed to cattle with long horns, but the horns have some meanders, because they are not straight. This cattle name does not depend on the colour, sex or age of cattle.



Figure 20. *Ndangaazi*.

Although cattle can be named according to the structure and the size of horns, the findings show that, in Haya also there are cattle which completely have no horns and are named "*enkungu*" (see Figure 21).



Figure 21. *Enkungu* (Hornless cow).

This semantic field on the structure and size of horns relates to other previous studies like the one by Oosthuizen M. P. [17] who asserts that, Zulu community in South Africa name cattle depending on their colours, the structure of horns as well as their purpose. This contention shows that, naming of cattle depending on the structure of horns is not only used in Haya community but also by other communities in South Africa.

The study conducted by Kimenyi A. [7] about cattle naming among the Rwandese, shows that the structure of horns is used as one of the factors of cattle naming among the Rwandese.

4.4. Cattle Names Referring to the Origin/Etymology of Cattle

The origin of name is studied under Onomastic. Onomastic refers to the study of origin, history and the use of proper names.

The most cattle kept by Haya many years ago were referred to as *engaju*. This type of cattle has big body and medium horns (see Figure 22). It was found that, such kind of cattle originated from Tolo in Uganda. This finding indicates that the origin of cattle also is used as one of the factors considered by cattle name givers.



Figure 22. *Engaju*.

It was found that, from 1970's up to 1980's another types of cattle known as *engweebe* was introduced among the Haya (see Figure 23). The findings reveal that, such kind of cattle were brought in Haya community from Mara region, Tanzania. According to the findings, such kind of cattle were called *engweebe* because they are short and have short horns compared to *engaju* with big body and medium horns.



Figure 23. *Engweebe*.

This cattle name in Haya is used synonymously with ‘*enkolomoijo*’. The findings show that, these two cattle names ‘*engweebe* and *enkolomoijo*’ in Haya have the same denotative meaning, since they are used to refer to the type of cattle which appear to be short and have short and sharp horns.

Another cattle name which relates to the origin of cattle used by cattle name givers is *enyankole* (see Figure 24). This is the name referring to the cattle which are believed to originate from Nkole in Uganda. The findings show that, such kind of cattle were brought from Uganda via Karagwe, and Misenyi districts and to Haya land in Bukoba.



Figure 24. *Enyankore*.

Embenje is another cattle name used in Haya to refer to short cattle believed to originate from Mwanza and Shinyanga among the Sukuma. The word *kabenje* in Haya refers to a person or animal which is short but fat. The study conducted by Hoad, T. F. [5] about cattle naming shows that animals can be named according to their origin as one of ‘hippopotamus’ which was derived from the Greek words *hippos* meaning horse and *potamós* meaning river.

4.5. Cattle Names Referring to the Body Size

The findings show that, another factor that cattle name givers consider among the Haya is the size of the body of calf, cow or bull.

Description of the body size of cattle relates to the descriptive theory as one of the theories which guided this study. The theory assumes that, an internal description of an object’s structure is constructed from observed visual features, essentially by transforming the viewer based retinal input to an object-based representation [12]. Five cattle names are presented below indicating the structure of body of cattle.

Cattle name like *kasenene* in Haya is bestowed to cattle with thin body (see Figure 25). The word *nsenene* in Haya means grasshopper. Since this insect has thin body, the cattle name givers associate the body size of grasshopper to cattle

with thin body. It was found that any cow or bull can be named *kasenene* only if it has a thin body.

In language use, tactically this name is used as euphemism which is used among the Haya to avoid the use of unpleasant words which may make thin people feel bad. This is a common name among the Haya which can be shared by both persons and animals and has the same denotative meaning.



Figure 25. *Kasenene*.

The cattle name *mujuju* is used among the Haya to refer to any calf, cow or bull which is big and tall (see Figure 26). This is an exaggeration use of language in Haya through cattle naming since the word *mujuju* refers to the type of the biggest and longest natural tree which tend to grow in banana farms.



Figure 26. *Mujuju*.

Ngundu is another cattle name used among the Haya to refer to any cattle with fat body size (see Figure 27). According to the findings, when the Haya use the term *ngundu* they mean a person or animal which is fat. As discussed in this section, this cattle name among the Haya does not depend on the colour, behaviour or age of cattle, but it is only bestowed to any cattle with fat body size.



Figure 27. *Ngundu*.

4.6. Cattle Names According to the Structure of Reproductive Organs

The structure of reproductive organs of cattle among the

Haya was also found to be used as one of the factors that cattle name givers consider during cattle naming. In this section the researchers presents two cattle names that refer to the structure of reproductive organs.

Enshumule is a cattle name used by Haya to refer to any bull castrated purposely by cattle owner due to different reasons (see Figure 28). It is a cattle name which is derived from a Haya verb *shumula* meaning 'castrate' to make a bull lack sexual desire and be fat. Some reasons to castrate it may include to reduce the number of bulls in the herd and to make the bull fat for business purposes.



Figure 28. *Enshumule*.

The size of reproductive organs of a bull also is one of the factors considered by name givers to bestow names to cattle. The findings show that, *rugosi* is a cattle name bestowed to a bull whose testicles are too big and long (see Figure 29). In Haya the word *igosi* refers to testicle. So, the bull which has big and long testicles is named *rugosi*.



Figure 29. *Rugosi*.

The studies done about cattle naming by different scholars like Tatiana, J. [20], and Nilsen, A. P. [14] did not show any finding obtained which shows that cattle may be named according to the structure of reproductive organs.

4.7. Cattle Names That Express the Sex of Cattle

The findings show that, biological differences between male and female animals can be considered as another factor that Haya consider during cattle naming. Eight cattle names relating to the sex of cattle are presented below.

The first five names (*kasa*, *mwanamwana*, *machunda*, *shamaito* and *mabele*) refer to female cattle names while the last three names (*rusa*, *makukura*, and *mbikira*) refer male cattle names.

Kasa is a cattle name used by Haya to refer to any female cattle whose colour is white (see Figure 30). It was found that, such kind of cattle name is used only to refer to female

cattle. The implication of this name is that, sex identification can be shown through naming in Haya community. This cattle name is sex based since it cannot be bestowed to a bull.



Figure 30. *Kasa*.

Beauty is used by cattle name givers to name their cattle. The cattle name *mwanamwana* is a female cattle name used among the Haya to refer to the cows which seem to be beautiful and attractive. This cattle name is a reduplication of Haya noun *mwana* [a child]. In this context, when Haya speakers refer to something which looks beautiful and attractive, they reduplicate the word *mwana* into *mwanamwana* to mean beautiful and attractive. So, the findings revealed that, this cattle name is only bestowed to attractive cows.

This finding concurs with the view of The Citizen [21] which states that, in Burundi cows are traditionally given names that describe their beauty.

Machunda is a female cattle name that is bestowed to any cow which produces a lot of milk with much cream (see Figure 31). This cattle name is derived from Haya verb *chunda* meaning shake. Since cows produce milk, this cattle name is only bestowed to cows not bulls. Additionally, this cattle name is not bestowed to all cows but to cows which produce a lot of milk. It was found that, such kind of cow has big suspensory ligament as well as long teats.



Figure 31. *Machunda*.

Bestowing a name to cattle plays a big role in milk production. The argument is supported by Bertshaw, C. and Rowlinson, P. [1] who show the importance of cattle naming. They are of the view that, the cows called by names and given individual treatment and attention milk more than cows getting less attention and which are nameless.

Mabele is a female cattle name used among the Haya to refer to a cow which have big and long teats (see Figure 32).

The word *mabele* in Haya means a part of female mammal's body through which milk passes. Thus, this cattle name is bestowed to cows since they have long teats and they produce a lot of milk. Furthermore, this cattle name is not bestowed to all cows, but to cows with big and long teats.



Figure 32. *Mabele*.

The sex of male cattle also can be indicated through cattle naming among the Haya. The cattle name *rusa* is used among the Haya to refer to male cattle whose colour is white (see Figure 33). This cattle name differs from '*kasa*' which is used to refer to female cattle which also have white colour. Through cattle names in Haya one may differentiate between cattle names bestowed to male cattle and female cattle.



Figure 33. *Rusa*.

Makukura is a male cattle name used among the Haya to refer to the bull whose behaviour is to fight, dig anthills and chase people around. It was found that, most of such bulls have short horns and big girth. This does not mean that cows do not fight, dig anthills and chase people but in most cases, many bulls have this behaviour.

The role played by cattle in a group is considered by cattle name givers depending on the sex of cattle. This is revealed through cattle name *embikira* which is bestowed to a powerful and leading bull in the group. This cattle name is sex based since even if in the group there is a cow which is more powerful than the bull, such kind of cow cannot be named *embikira*.

As the findings indicate, the sex of cattle is used as one of the factors considered by cattle name givers during cattle naming. This finding concurs with other findings obtained when other researchers conducted their studies in different societies, areas and at different times about cattle naming. Studies [6, 10, 24] reveal that the sex of cattle is used as one of the factors used by name givers to name their cattle.

In Finland, Kaarlenkask, T. and Saannen, K. [6] conducted the study on the practices of giving names to dairy cows. The study indicates that cows have unique names from the ones bestowed to bulls. To support this contention that cattle are

named according to their sex, Turner's, N. S. [24] study reveals that in Zulu society cattle are named according to their sex. Some cattle names like *maliyavuza* meaning the money is leaking and *maliyami* meaning my money, are bestowed to cows. The findings reveal that a name *maliyavuza* was bestowed to a cow by a woman whose husband had won a jackpot at the races. Instead of investing the money wisely, however, the man had spent it on feasting, and buying horses and cattle. Three of the cattle had died, and she named the fourth one in this way to warn her husband against wasting all the money irresponsibly.

Kimenyi, A. [7] is of the view that in Rwanda cows may be named as *imbyeeyi* meaning nursing cow and *Ishyo* meaning a group of cows. Furthermore, a guide to names and naming practices which was prepared by United Kingdom [22] also supports that through names, an individual can recognize the sex or gender of animal "...Names are a valuable source of information, they can indicate gender..." (p. 1). The mentioned studies show the relationship in terms of findings about one of the factors of cattle naming which is sex of cattle as it was revealed by the current study conducted in Haya. The findings also show that cattle naming in Haya can be influenced by the sex of cattle.

Minelli, A., Ortall, G., and Sanga, G. [10], Borkfelt, S. [3] and Turner, N. S. [24] agree with the current findings that animals are given different names according to their sex. However, in their findings there are some factors which Haya cattle name givers do not consider as the factors for cattle naming. Some factors were reported by Minelli, A., Ortall, G., and Sanga, G. [10] including reproductive cycle, developmental stages, fat content, seasonality as well as habitats. Borkfelt, S. [3] presents factors like events that occur in the society also can be used as the factors for cattle naming and Turner N. S. [24] states that dissatisfaction and disapproval also are used as factors that cattle name givers consider during naming.

5. Conclusion

Bestowing a name to cattle has several functions in human life. Cattle naming, helps the cattle owners to identify their cattle by names and increases animal-human relationships. Bestowing names to cattle needs care and it is not done haphazardly by cattle name givers, instead it is done purposely since names contain cryptic social messages which may reflect censure, disapproval, and discontent, serve an important social function in that they tend to minimize friction in the communal environment by enabling a person to express an opinion, expose a situation, accuse, ridicule or challenge one or more people in the immediate community. This helps a certain society to raise their culture, language included and make other people know the language of certain society and how they use cattle names to express their culture. Naming is thus not only the first and most basic of linguistic processes. It is also an excellent example of the power or control that is in many ways inherent to language use.

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