Juxtaposition of speech acts and Basotho names in Lesotho

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This study addresses the juxtaposition of speech acts and Basotho names. Speech act theory (SAT) is interested in digging beneath discourse to establish the meaning and function of what is said. It therefore attempts to explain how speakers use language to accomplish intended actions, and how hearers infer the intended meaning from what is said. Succinctly put, SAT is an approach to a systematic classification of the reasons for our linguistic acts during communication. Austin and Searle, among others, believe that "speaking a language is engaging in a rule-governed form of behaviour" that consequently leads to accomplishing specific social acts, functions or intentions associated with different speech acts. This situation is equally true in personal names or the act of naming children as a ceremony in which parents engage in different linguistic acts. It is no longer odd to say that "names are embedded with meaning and coded with identity…" in many parts of the world and particularly in Africa. In this work, selected Basotho first names were subjected to speech act analysis since they manifest in sentence forms when their meanings or implications are delved into. The interpretive analysis of these names yielded connectivity between Basotho names and representatives, directives, expressives, commissives and declarative speech acts. The study concluded that Basotho first names enact the speech acts in addition to the meanings or narratives they bear.

Introduction

Naming a child is an aspect of human society that can be regarded as an integral part of the language in a given community. Names, therefore, are part and parcel of a people's culture as reflected in their language. Thus, Hudson (2001: 107) describes "speech" as short or long "strings of linguistic items uttered on particular occasions for particular purposes", and as it is, "it is only a small step to including in language similar information about whole classes of items, such as the class of…names". This shows that names cannot be exempted from speech or use of language generally within society.

In terms of relevance, irrespective of the kinds involved, names have their central relevance and uses as the case may be. This is further supported by the claim that "…the clearest linguistic markers of social relations are personal names such as **John** and **Mr Brown**" (Hudson 2001: 122). And as commonly observed, every individual has a number of different names, long or short, by which they may be identified or addressed by others. Such names usually include first and family names (with a possible title like **Mr**, **Mrs, Dr, Professor**). Meanwhile, calling a person by their first or family name (Mr or Mrs) is influenced by what Hudson refers to as "power and solidarity", and which can be illustrated as follows: When a person is called by their first name, for example, **Nixon**, a high solidarity is noticed between the speaker and the listener. This shows the speaker as having a bit more power over the one called, unlike when the listener is called by his surname and title, like **Mr Nixon Brownson**. The second instance depicts a low solidarity in which the addressee has more power than the speaker.

The act of naming is very crucial both in the life of a child and parents. Deluzain (1996) notes that "…names are a part of every culture and that they are of enormous importance both to the people who receive names and to the societies that give them". This is corroborated by Pfukwa (2014: 8), who foregrounds that personal names are "an anchor that places a person or an entity in some cultural or historical context". Evidence of this declaration is Guma's (2001) study. Thus, the specific interest of or concern for three groups – the child, the parent(s), or society – is a possible reflection on the first names accorded children. By naming, the parents are able to assert their experiences before and during childbirth, their religious ideologies, and the relationship or lifestyle hoped for between them and the children. All these constitute what Geertz describes as "longings and beliefs" (Geertz 1973: 91, cited in Hyland 2015: 33).

That is, the role of naming or a name is far more than just labelling and distinguishing between entities. Most importantly, as well as depicting the name-receiver's description, naming demonstrates the faith of the name-giver and/or their perspectives of the circumstances (Enns 2000; Walton 2001; Arnold 2003; Reiterer, Ringgren and Fabry 2006).

From a general perspective, though he based his examples on some ideological dimensions of names that are associated with religion and specifically from the charismatic movement in Nigeria, Chiluwa (2010) describes two concepts guiding naming and the kinds of names found in African societies as: (1) the traditional pan-African concept of naming which deals with cultural ideals and ancestral history; and (2) the modern concept of naming which involves religious thoughts, moral qualities, and ideological assumptions that exhibit experiential linguistic functions (parents' experience and perception of the real world).

Beyond the general concepts that are exhibited in most African first names, and the fact that names are primarily associated with identifying the bearers, different speech acts are also expressed by the parents (or the bearers) through such names. This is, however, contrary to the description that "proper names are expressions to designate a person, place or thing and they imply no characteristics beyond use of the name to designate its referent" (McArthur, Lam-McArthur and Fontaine 1996: 727). In fact, Yost (2018: 2) accommodated other dimensions of names by extending the definition of naming as "the act of giving a name within particular specified circumstances by one with authority over the name-receiver, whose authority is respected by others such that the name spoken is hence used to identify and represent the receiver". Therefore, naming does more than just identify since it is subjective.

The issue of identity as a serious intention of a personal name, whether first, middle or last name, cannot be adjudged erroneous. But the question "What is in a name?" further shows that there could be more to names of individuals than mere identity, as noted by Eggins (1994), who states that names are functional. Thus, they may be classified according to the role that they have or translate to. This has been observed in people's names and naming processes across many African communities, and Basotho people are not exceptions in this. Meanwhile, there have been some scholarly discussions focusing attention on names with particular interest on both identity and their functions in and outside Africa. For instance, Guma (2001) and Mphela (2010) discuss personal naming processes based on cultural context. Mphela dwells extensively on the meanings attached to such names as influenced by society and parents' belief. Similarly, Orobator (2008) and Chiluwa (2010) discuss meanings of names from the Christian ideological dimension. These authors highlight a complex relationship between naming and spirituality in an African context. This is corroborated by Mheta, Mangoya and Makondo (2017: 3) that naming is "giving rite of passage and not an empty practice", and that "calling personal names therefore can be equated to spelling out incantations or invocations which will at the right

time manifest into reality" (ibid.: 7). The present study also embraces Yost's (2018) investigation on the speech act of naming. Adapting Yost's approach, the present study explores the relationship between speech acts and names (Basotho names). For purposes of this study, only the basic overview of speech act theory will be analysed since it will be of no significance for this study to address the theory in total. This approach is in line with Yost's (2018) analysis of the speech act of naming. Also, Deluzain (1996) and Perianova (2015) reiterate the synergy that exists in naming processes, names and personal identity in a given society. However, while Deluzain (1996) emphasises the social responsibilities on the part of the name givers and name bearers, Perianova (2015: 2) contends that individuals' "proper names and their different linguistic forms are not just tags, but have certain semantic, pragmatic and sociocultural functions".

Although all these studies made attempts to show the relevance of names and their implications generally, the present study advances the juxtaposition of speech acts and Basotho names in particular. Its objective draws from Perianova's (2015) view that a name should be regarded as a frame, part of a discourse system, and interpreted by drawing different implicatures at the level of pragmatics. To achieve this, the speech acts involved should be accounted for.

The discussion in this study is based on the hypothesis that Basotho personal names, particularly their first names, have more than identity in focus (see Appendix A for selected Basotho names). The intention is to ascertain the speech act types present in selected Basotho first names and the implications of the speech acts on the bearers and their society. With this, the nature of names as compressed sentences and parts of speeches will be more evident and analysable.

Theoretical assumption

The theoretical position of this study is based on the speech act theory (SAT). Several authors acknowledge the relevance of this theory to show functionality in naming (Searle 1969; Alston 2000; Cruse 2011; Korta and Perry 2011; Arcadi 2013; Yost 2018). SAT was introduced by Searle (1969) as a reaction to the incomprehensible nature of speech acts (locution, illocution, and perlocution) introduced by Austin (1962). Being a major topical issue in pragmatics, SAT is interested in describing situations in linguistic interactions in relation to the idea that there is a direct correspondence between sentence forms and the function or meaning of such utterances. In other words, the linguistic forms and speaker's intentions are inherently related (Kaburise 2012). Much as it is believed that meaning is only created when a speaker's intention is communicated and the listener is able to interpret the given speech act successfully by getting the expected message, the speaker – as the source of the message – and the message are crucial.

Speech acts were originally realised at three levels: locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act (Austin 1962; Cruse 2011). An locutionary act (or locution) simply refers to the act of forming words into utterances that make sense in a language. It often appears in the form of words, phrases, or sentences, depending on the context. However, an illocutionary act (illocution) means the intended communicative action rendered by the speaker's locution. In other words, an illocutionary act refers to the exact action performed by saying or writing something with the intention of requesting, ordering, warning, or promising; while a perlocutionary act (perlocution) is concerned with the effect an utterance may have on the addressee, hearer or audience.

It is important to note that even though these speech acts are distinct in form and meaning, they go hand in hand in communication situations. Therefore, an utterance is necessarily a locution with a meaning (an intention) which in turn has an expected effect on the addressee in terms of a change in mood, attitude, or action. According to Korta and Perry (2011), the speaker's plan or intentions

are fundamental to an act. Wolterstorff (1995: 33) talks about the relation between the three acts by advancing the view that "illocutionary acts are related to locutionary acts by way of counting; perlocutionary acts are related to illocutionary acts by causality". Because of this complementary position of the acts, it is not unusual to have a particular utterance with a different intended function (illocutionary force) in different contexts, as in the utterance "the weather is very cold" which can be both a statement or a request.

In order to avoid a state of confusion in determining the illocutionary force (the intended function) of an utterance, the listener should pay attention to such factors as word order, intonation, stress, performative verbs, context, and felicity conditions. The speech acts released by a speaker have standardised structures which are automatically or deliberately assigned to some standardised language functions in the given context. In most cases, all forms of speech, and any speech at all, be it full or minor sentences, conform to the three sentence types (the imperative, the interrogative, and the declarative), functioning as orders, requests, and statements (Austin 1962; 2005) respectively. But to infer what is said is an essential ability for the creation and reception of coherent discourse which would lead to successful communication (Altikriti 2011). The listener in this regard "requires the knowledge of the physical and social world and assumptions about the knowledge of the people" (Altikriti 2011:1377) involved in the interaction. With this insight, the concern of the SAT is providing analysts with the means of digging beneath the surface of a given discourse by establishing the actual function of what is said in a communication period (Cook 1992; Altikriti 2011). In the same vein, Korta and Perry (2011) explain that names are related to roles. Thus, giving a name brings into existence and/or creation that which was non-existent (Teubal 1995). A name plays the role of creation.

The present study is cognisant of previous studies on Sesotho names. For instance, Guma (2001) approached Sesotho names from a historical and cultural point of view, and Mokhathi-Mbhele (2016a; 2016b) addressed Sesotho names from a sociolinguistic point of view adapting systemic functional grammar. The present study complements these studies by applying SAT to bring out greater depth of meaning embedded in Basotho first names. To account for all possible utterances in a communication situation, including naming or name calling as observable in the selected Basotho names for this study, we look at how Searle (1969), Mey (1993), Cruse (2011) and Arcadi (2013) classify illocutionary acts. Searle (1969: 27) gives what he describes as "a reasoned classification of illocutionary acts into certain basic categories or types" as follows: **Representatives** are utterances that talk of the state of affairs by representing "reality" (Mey 1993: 31) in a positive or negative way. Meanwhile, the "reality" so presented can be proved either as true or false as in **Life is easy**. **Commissives** refer to the acts that commit the speaker to a certain future course of action in the form of promises, offers, threats or vows, as in **I shall see you tomorrow**. **Directives** make the hearer do something or carry out some actions or activities. By their nature, directives manifest as commands, requests, invitations, or challenges as in **Refrain from libel**. **Expressives** indicate the speaker's state of mind or attitude to some actions or state of affairs around him or her. They often appear as apologies, greetings, congratulations, or appreciations. For example, **That is good; I thank you for the message**. **Declaratives** are expressions that name the state of affairs that they bring to pass based on the specialised social position of the speaker as exemplified in **The meeting is hereby adjourned till Friday**; **You are declared the winner of this election**.

Generally speaking, Cruse (2011: 374) elaborates that illocutionary acts have the "intention of eliciting some sort of action on the part of the hearer". It is important to mention that the effort in analysing the speech acts beyond the traditional three offered by Austin (1962) is appropriate and expedient, most especially at the illocutionary level where it can be proved that utterances are capable

of performing many possible acts within each reasoned classification. As noted earlier, the Basotho first names selected for this study are considered as compressed sentences even in their nature as minor sentences.

Methodology

This study was conducted using the qualitative approach. Qualitative research is a scientific method of observation to gather non-numerical data (Earl 2014). It refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of things and not their counts or measures. This study investigates the relationship between speech acts and Basotho names. It highlights the roles embedded in these names, and it considers descriptions associated with the names, not the number of name occurrences. By doing so, it looks at why and how a naming phenomenon may occur, rather than how often it occurs (Given 2008). Given concurs that qualitative research seeks an in-depth understanding of a social phenomena because it is socially and subjectively constructed and not objectively determined. It is within this paradigm that Basotho names like other African names (Pfukwa 2014; Mheta, Mangoya and Makondo 2017) are circumstantial and therefore subjective. In order to pin down a particular name meaning, there is a need to explore the circumstances available. Exploration is central to qualitative research (Wyse 2011).

Therefore, the present study patterns Basotho names according to roles embedded in them. However, the study is limited in that the name bearers and name givers of the names included here were not consulted since we did not get the names from their bearers or givers, instead we used a class register to select Basotho names of interest. However, this limitation does not make the present study less significant since close observation, careful documentation and thoughtful analysis (Omona 2013) are most valuable in this type of research. We studied the identified names extensively for emerging patterns without necessarily interrogating either the name bearers or name givers.

The data for the study comprised 82 Basotho first names of the first-year students in the Communication and Study Skills (CSS) course at the National University of Lesotho. The graphological composition and phonological perception of the students' names on the class attendance lists spurred our interest in investigating their embedded speech acts. This observation is also featured in the work of Cruse (2011) and Mokhathi-Mbhele (2016a; 2016b) that name meanings are given through close observation and association, hence names function as "abbreviated descriptions" (Cruse 2011: 394). The present study assumed that there seemed to be more to the names given to Basotho beyond the identity of the name bearer. We therefore found it imperative to interrogate the functionality of Basotho names, and what roles these names could be associated with. Cruse explains that names are related to a set of properties, though such properties may be modified at every instance due to the intention of the speaker or listener at the time.

The collection and collation of the names were done between the 2016/2017 and 2017/2018 academic sessions. While the collation lasted, the students in the concerned classes were asked of their opinions in relation to the functionality of the listed names. The present study made an interesting observation which may be further investigated in the future that students were not aware of the roles likely embedded in names. To arrive at the meanings and roles of the names from which the speech act content was extracted, the present study adopted and adapted Yost's (2018) extended definition of naming mentioned earlier in this study. This observation assisted the present study to be cognisant of the various meanings that names may have. For purposes of reliability and validity, the present study embraced the cultural knowledge of Basotho lecturers in the Department of African Languages and

Literature of the university, hence they were also consulted about the chosen names. The meanings elicited were further cross-checked with similar ones online at Parent24 (2017).

The names collected were analysed using the interpretive analytical method in conjunction with SAT as applied in Cruse (2011), Korta and Perry (2011), Mheta, Mangoya and Makondo (2017) and Yost (2018). This method fits the present study because of its subjective nature in terms of how life should be viewed, which reflects in the types of names people give to their children and the expectations attached to such names. Basically, interpretivism (the interpretivist approach) requires that the researchers interpret elements of the study in line with the assumption that access to the reality of life, whether given or socially constructed, can only be ascertained through social constructions such as language consciousness, shared meanings, and instruments (Myers 2008) equivalent to Basotho names, in this case. This approach was developed as a reaction against the principle of positivism in social sciences, but in favour of the philosophical position of idealism. For adequate analysis of data, Collins (2010) notes that this method chooses from diverse approaches like social constructivism, phenomenology and hermeneutics to reiterate the position that meaning is a product of human consciousness.

The speech acts in Basotho names

In every society, people use language with communicative intentions. Speech acts are efforts of communication that express those intentions. Therefore, a speech act is an action performed by means of language which is also observable in naming in an ethnic group. Alongside the meanings attached to the Basotho names in this study, there are both direct and indirect speech acts performed, especially by the namers (the parents). For instance, Basotho attempt to distinguish the male gender from the female gender through their names by giving completely different forms to the two sexes.

The names in (a) and (b) below are distinguished by gender. The first group is associated with males, while the second one is feminine. However, as stipulated by Cruse (2011), there are no laid-down rules in naming since properties associated with a certain name may be modified. Meaning that some of these names may also be unisex.

Basotho names and gender
(a) Kabelo – inheritance, given
    Lefa – inheritance, given
    Mohapi – victor
    Mohato – step
    Molapo – stream/river
    Pheko – remedy
(b) 'Malefu – mother of death
    Nthabiseng – make me happy
    Nthati – one to love me
    Nthatisi – one to help me love

At another level, the names for the two sexes are distinguished through a process of affixation, as highlighted in the names below.
(c) Pule (male)   Puleng (female) – translated as in the rain
    Sello (male)   Selloane (female) – translated as cry
    Tsela (male)   Tselane (female) – translated as path
    Tšeliso (male)   Matšeliso (female) – translated as consolation

In spite of the differences between male and female names as discussed above, some unisex names among the Basotho people include: **Teboho** (thank you)**, Lerato** (love)**, Refiloe** (we are given)**, Letlotlo** (treasure)**.**

Like other African cultures, Basotho personal names show that names do far more than just reference a person (Guma 2001; Mokhathi-Mbhele 2016a; 2016b). Mheta, Mangoya and Makondo (2017: 1) point out that personal names are "...carriers of family values, hopes, fears and aspirations". Therefore, Basotho names have an influence on the named person. We are aware that these names may be interpreted differently by different listeners since naming is circumstantial and therefore subjective. It is on this basis that our analysis of the chosen names and speech acts cannot be considered exhaustive. There are probably other meanings out there that would still be relevant to the names, depending on the circumstances given (Guma 2001; Mokhathi-Mbhele 2016a; 2016b). As observed by Korta and Perry (2011), name givers name under differing circumstances. This means that a similar name may be associated with a different set of properties at its every instance, depending on the name giver's intention at the time.

What follows is the analysis of Basotho names in relation to speech acts. In each instance, the Basotho names and their English equivalent or gloss are given, followed by speech acts analysis.

Basotho names and representatives

The name *Mosa* is equivalent to "kindness". It has a locutionary act translating to "a baby is God's kindness" and/or "having a child is God's kindness". The illocutionary act is the statement of reality which results in happiness and more faith in God for giving the parent a child (perlocutionary act).

The representatives as speech acts give emphasis to facts or realities from the perspective of the speakers. The statements of this nature present the listeners with a choice to either refute or accept the fact or reality as stated by the speakers. However, with names or naming, the speakers (namers or parents) seem to have an imposing position or authority based on certain experiences they might have had that will make the listeners (the public) accept the reality-content of the names. Thus, even if the listeners have a better understanding of what having a child translates to, as different from "kindness", the name cannot change. The effect (perlocutionary act) of the statement of reality (locutionary act) can therefore be that both the speakers and listeners become happy, reassured, or hopeful. Other examples of names as representatives include *Bohlokoa* (a child is precious; having a child is precious); *Keneuoe* (I have been given (this child)); *Khotso* (a child is peace; we have peace).

Basotho names and directives

The name *Itumeleng* may be translated as "being joyous" (grateful). It reflects a locutionary act of "you should be grateful or joyous". This may be advice or a command, depending on the circumstances, as SAT advances circumstantial stance in interpreting. The effect of this name on both the name bearer and the namer may be confidence, relief and/or faith in the one who made it possible for a parent to bring that which did not exist into existence.

The directives have expressions of "command", "request", and "warning", which imply that certain verbal or physical actions should necessarily follow such an utterance. Names that have "directives" (illocutionary act) are expected to result in the listeners experiencing relief, or confidence in themselves (or religion), while the speakers (namers) or the listeners beam with happiness at the accompanying perlocutionary act. Other examples of Basotho names as "directives" include:

	Name	English gloss	Speech act
(d)	Bokang	Praise	Advice/command

Buang	Speak	Command
Moramang	Whose son is this?	Question
Ketlalemang	Who brought me?	Question
Elelloang	Be careful	Warning
Lemohang	Watch out!	Warning
Nkhetheleng	Choose for me	Request/command
Lereng	What are you saying?	Question
Letlafuoa	You will be given	Advice

Basotho names and expressives

Under expressives, we discussed the name *Kamohelo*. Its English equivalent may be "acceptance". The locutionary act associated with this name may be "you are accepted (as a member in this family)", while the illocutionary act may be appreciation. The effect on the bearer may be happiness, a sense of belonging and self-importance.

Enhancing the interpersonal relationship between the speakers and the listeners is the target of "expressives". Hence, expressions reflecting on "greeting", "appreciation", "wishes" are emphasised here. It is of importance to note that the addressees in this context are not fixed. Thus, *Kamohelo*, meaning "you are accepted" is addressed to the name bearer whether the addresser is the parent or the public. As shown in the examples above, the appreciation (illocutionary act) is followed by happiness or a sense of belonging on the part of the name bearer. In the case of names with an appreciative speech act such as *Khotso* –"peace (to you)!", the namer is showing appreciation to God (or the gods, where a traditional religion is being practised) as the giver/s of children. On the other hand, the name bearer is being appreciated for coming into the family. The accompanying perlocutionary effect is not at variance to those stated above. However, *Khotso*, which is another mode of greeting, bestows some level of honour on the public in addition to the happiness and satisfaction or fulfilment on the part of the namers.

Basotho names and commissives

Basically, expressions that refer to such acts as "offers", "vows" or "oaths", and "promises" are described as "commissives" in which a speaker is committed to some future action. Expressions of these forms did not manifest as direct speech acts in the selected Basotho names. However, when first names are given an indirect speech act role, the "commissives" can be realised, particularly from the name bearer's perspective, in the name *Karabo*, translated as "I am the answer to your problems". Another name, *Lebohang*, also commits the namer and name bearer to offer something, hence the name that translates as "I am thankful".

With the syntactic reconstruction involving an addition of subject (I) and the verbal particle (will) or the main verb (clause element "shall be"), the expressions above have taken the forms of "commissives" as indirect speech acts, rather than having a piece of advice or command (directives).

Basotho names and declaratives

The collected names demonstrate that all Basotho names are declaratives. The declaratives refer to the expressions that are performative or authoritative in nature. Although they have the semblance of "command", the addressees or listeners (name recipients or the public) do not have the chance or option of choosing to ignore, disregard, or dodge the essence of the utterance. As far as this study is concerned, all Basotho names (and those of other ethnic groups) fall into this category because

names come into existence just by a pronouncement (a declaration). Meanwhile, for such a declaration to be accepted, the appropriate felicity conditions, the context and the situation that allow us to recognise a speech act as intended by the speaker who may be a male parent in the African context or a reverend father must be fulfilled.

This shows that despite the nature of the Basotho first names exhibiting direct speech acts as illustrated in all the examples above, convenient interpretation from the namers, the name bearer or the public can bring about a reconstruction leading to an indirect speech act situation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study has shown that Basotho first names are not just conventional items that depend on the people's culture, generation, and status. The names actually constitute parts of the elements of the existing linguistic forms among the people. The claim that people desire to communicate using the language in every situation has become evident in the Basotho names examined in this study and those studies of Guma (2001) and Mokhathi-Mbhele (2016a; 2016b). Thus, while these names can still be regarded as an instrument of control, submission and *otherisation*, this study shows that namers (or parents) employ names for their children to express their minds, responsibilities, experiences and expectations to God (or gods/ancestors), the name bearers, or the public. In doing these things, different forms of speech acts, ranging from Austin's locutionary act, illocutionary act and perlocutionary act, and the five illocutionary act subtypes of representatives, directives, expressives, commissives and declaratives are engaged.

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Appendix A: Selected Basotho first names

1. Arabang – reply, respond
2. Ata – multiply, increase
3. Bohlokoa – precious
4. Bokang – praise, rejoice
5. Buang – speak, chat
6. Liboko – praises
7. Likeleli – tears
8. Limpho – presents, gifts
9. Ellelloang – Be careful or aware of something
10. Felleng – beyond the end, the last child
11. Fumane – found, discovered
12. Hlompho/Thlompho – respect
13. Kabelo / Lefa– inheritance, given
14. Kananelo – approval, appreciation
15. Karabo – answer
16. Katleho – success
17. Ketlalemang – who brought me? Who did I come with?
18. Kamohelo – acceptance
19. Keketso – addition
20. Keneuoe / Keneiloe – I have been given
21. Khotso – peace/tranquility
22. Lebohang- be thankful
23. Lebona – the one who sees
24. Lefu – death, misfortune
25. Lenka – taker
26. Lesole – warrior
27. Litšepiso – promises
28. Lemohang – watch out
29. Lepoqo – Moshoeshoe's birth name
30. Lereko – abundance, mercy
31. Leseko – gift
32. Limpho/Lineo – gifts
33. Makhetha – the selector
34. 'Malefu – mother of death
35. Malefane – one who pays
36. 'Mantsopa – a female leader in Basotho history
37. Mamello – patience, perseverance
38. Matšeliso – consolation
39. Masoabi – shame
40. Moeketsi – the multiplier
41. Mohapi – victor
42. Mohato – step
43. Molapo – a Basotho chief but can also mean (stream/river)

44. Mookho – tear
45. Mosa – kindness
46. Moramang – whose son?
47. Mohanuoa – the refused
48. Mohau – mercy
49. Mosele – tail (the last one)
50. Mponeng – behold me/admire me
51. Mpho/Neo – gift
52. Mokete – feast
53. Mohlouoa – the hated
54. Matlakala – rubbish/dry grass
55. Moeti – the visitor
56. Motsamai –the walker
57. Ntšebo – the one who is being gossiped
58. Nkunyane – small sheep
59. Naleli – star
60. Nkhetheleng – choose for me
61. Nkoenyane – little tiger
62. Nthabiseng – make me happy
63. Nthati – one to love me
64. Ntsoaki – only girl/daughter
65. Palesa – flower / Lipalesa – flowers
66. Pule/Puleng – rainy/in the rain (Pule for a male child and Puleng for a female child)
67. Pheko – remedy
68. Remaketse – we are surprised
69. Rethabile – we are happy
70. Refiloe-hape – we are given again
71. Sesenyi – the destroyer
72. Senate – King Moshoeshoe II's mother
73. Seeng – gone, astray
74. Tšepo – hope
75. Tebatso – distraction, makes one forget
76. Thabang – be happy
77. Tumisang – give praise
78. Thabo/ Nyakallo – Happiness
79. Teboho – Thank (you) /Liteboho – Thanks