AN INVESTIGATION INTO ANTHROPONYMS OF THE SHONA SOCIETY

by

LIVINGSTONE MAKONDO

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PROMOTER: PROFESSOR D.E. MUTASA

JOINT PROMOTER: PROFESSOR D.M. KGOBE

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DECLARATION

Student number 4310-994-2

I, Livingstone Makondo, declare that **An investigation anthroponyms of the Shona society** is my work and that the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Signature   **Date**

ABSTRACT

Given names, amongst the Shona people, are an occurrence of language use for specific purposes. This multidisciplinary ethnographic 1890-2006 study explores how insights from pragmatics, semiotics, semantics, among others, can be used to glean the intended and implied meaning(s) of various first names. Six sources namely, twenty seven NADA sources (1931-1977), one hundred and twenty five Shona novels and plays (1957-1998), four newspapers (2005), thirty one graduation booklets (1987-2006), five hundred questionnaires and two hundred and fifty semi-structured interviews were used to gather ten thousand personal names predominantly from seven Shona speaking provinces of Zimbabwe. The study recognizes current dominant given name categories and established eleven broad factors behind the use of given names. It went on to identify twenty-four broad based theme-oriented categories, envisaged naming trends and name categories. Furthermore, popular Shona male and female first names, interesting personal names and those people have reservations with have been recognized. The variety and nature of names Shona people prefer and their favoured address forms were also noted. The study reckons that Shona first names came as a result of unparallel anthroponomastic and linguistic innovation exuded by the Shona people in their bid to tame their reality. The study uses an anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory, approximation model, contextualized implicature, maxims of brevity and tactfulness as the best approaches for explaining the varied meanings personal names embody. The study argues that it has made significant contributions to the body of knowledge in disciplines such as semantics, semiotics, pragmatics, anthropology, linguistics, sociology, history, geography, religion, education, philology, morphology and syntax, among others.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Otlina (my wife), Munyaradzi and Munashe (my sons) and Mutsawashe (my daughter) who generously accepted the deprivation of husband and fatherly love that came with the heat of this study.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

What's in a name?

(William Shakespeare in Romeo and Juliet, Maclennan 1977:55).

1.1 Preamble

Everyone has a name. Some have names. Who names whom? When are names given? Why do people have names? How do people feel about their names? Do names mean the same to their namers, the named and other users? How can one get at the meaning(s) of the names? These and other related questions define the scope of this exploration with special reference to the Shona people of Zimbabwe. Brief remarks about their use of *zita remunhu rechizvarirwo (*birth names) suffice here. The Shona people have used names since time immemorial. They predominantly prefer culture-bound, meaningful first names that act as badges of ". . . basic group identity" (Isaacs 1975:27) that produces ". . . a web of signification" (Wittenberg 2000:2). Shona personal names are ". . . social documents which fix a person's position in the social structure" (Evans-Pritchard 1939:237). They define who one is, where one comes from, make reference to events surrounding one's birth and identify that which the namer(s) and bearer(s) hates or cherishes in their lives, among other things (Lieberson 1984:7). Having made these observations let the study hasten to declare that it principally occupies itself with ways one can use to get at the meaning(s) these varied personal names can embody.

This Chapter gives background detail on the entire study. It starts by focusing on the origins of the name 'Shona', identifies who the Shona people are, gives their historical background followed by outlining the study's aim. The study makes it clear that its underlining focus is to demonstrate how the various meanings Shona personal names have can be decoded. It proceeds by delineating its objectives and significance. The Chapter reserves the review of related literature to chapter two, data

gathering considerations to chapter three and analytical framework to chapter four. It ends by briefly highlighting the concerns of the subsequent chapters' two to nine.

1.2 The name 'Shona'

The origins of the term Shona are opaque. According to the 1929 Chairman of the Language Committee report, the name Shona is an imposition from outside conveniently settled for so that the unification of the dialects spoken in Southern Rhodesia could be attained. The exercise was led by the Bantu philologist Clement Doke who was hired by the then Southern Rhodesia government. The report is worthy quoting almost in its entirety for it sheds vital information on the etymology of the term 'Shona' at the same time alluding to its varied denotative and connotative meanings. The report suggests that the term,

> . . . the name 'Shona' is inaccurate and unworthy, that it is not the true name of any of the peoples whom we propose to group under the term 'Shona-speaking people' and further that it lies under a strong suspicion of being a name given in contempt by the enemies of the tribes. It is pretty certainly a foreign name . . . its etymology is extremely uncertain and no one can dogmatize about it. It has been connected with *svina* or *tsvina*, dirty. It has been connected with the Portuguese *suino*, swine; it has been connected with *shona* or *chona*, to despise; Fr. Torrend derives it from *sena* (Comp. Gram. p.25) and makes the language a relation of Sena language; it has been suggested that the Zulu-speaking raiders from the East Coast used it to describe their victims as people of the west, from the Zulu word *-shona*, to set of the sun; and it has been stated that the *MaNdebele* on the west called a hill to the north-east of Gwelo in early days *Tshona* and the people beyond it the *amaTshona*. The idea that it is a contemptuous nickname is widespread . . . the name MaShona is not pleasing to the natives…because it is a group name imposed from without and ignoring all true tribal distinctions . . . no people in the country claim the name *MaShona* as their tribal name and each would prefer to be described by the proper name of his particular group. Therefore, with certain reluctance, we recommend the name Shona for the unified language . (Doke 1931:78-79).

This quotation, among other things show that the etymology of the name Shona is clear. It also highlights the perception that a lot happens behind the scenes before people settle for whatever name. Magwa (1999:1) concurs by suggesting that the term Shona started as a nickname 'Ntshonalanga'

given by the Ndebele. But, before 1890 the Shona-speaking people identified themselves largely by their clans (*madzinza*), totems (*mitupo*), chiefdoms (*ushe*) or by names such as Karanga, Zezuru, Mbire or Manyika (Doke 1931:78-80). Nevertheless, the unifying factor of the term Shona has been popularised and well appreciated since Doke's Report (Chimhundu 2005:30).

In Zimbabwe, Shona is the largest indigenous linguistic family with Ndebele, Tonga and Venda languages having come from outside in the nineteenth century (Ki-Zerbo and Niane 1997:212). The Shona language dominates in seven of the ten provinces of Zimbabwe namely Mashonaland East, Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland West, Harare, Masvingo, Manicaland and Midlands. The latter province is treated in this study as a Shona-speaking area because the language dominates in Zvishavane, Kwekwe, Shurugwi, Gokwe, Mberengwa and Gweru districts, among others. Conversely, Ndebele, the second most popular local language, dominates in Matebeleland South, Matebeleland North and Bulawayo. Shona language is divided into western Shona varieties, which are Lilima, Kalanga and Nambya found in western Zimbabwe and eastern Botswana. Central Shona varieties, namely Karanga, Korekore and Zezuru are found in the central mainland of Zimbabwe while eastern Shona varieties namely Hwesa, Barwe, Manyika and Ndau are found in Eastern Zimbabwe and Western Mozambique (Chebanne et al., 2006:7). Today, the name Shona is used to cover a great number of related dialects spoken by people in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique (Fortune 1969:55) and South Africa. Therefore, the findings of this study will be representative enough of the Zimbabwean scenario as Shona is the language of the majority.

1.3 Historical background

This section situates the problem under review by looking at various factors believed to have influenced the selection and use of Shona personal names. Before one delves deeper into this section, one needs to be alerted that most dates before 1890 are approximations and are subject to debate. This is so as during this time the writing system was not yet developed as it became after 1890. One needs to appreciate the view that the concept of a kingdom then is different from the contemporary one. Then, a kingdom was in a confederate form. Lastly, one needs to be reminded that Zimbabwe is a landlocked country with Mozambique in the East, South Africa in the South, Botswana in the West

and Zambia in the North, a situation suggestive of Zimbabwe's vulnerability to outside naming pressures.

Archaeological and historical researches suggest that the ancestors of the Shona speaking people arrived in Zimbabwe about the year A.D. 1000. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the Great Zimbabwe Shona people opened trade with India via Sofala and other Muslim ports on the East coast. Sofala was a Muslim trading port subordinate to the City-state of Kilwa, on the Indian Ocean to the East. From the eleventh and fourteenth centuries Arab records contain several references to Sofala as the port of gold. In the fourteenth century the Shona people traded with outsiders in gold and elephant ivory in return for cloth and beads (Curtin et al., 1995:251). Great Zimbabwe declined in the fifteenth century resulting in some people migrating to Mazoe where they founded the Munhu-/Mwene-/Monomutapa kingdom (Abraham 1962:75). This kingdom traded in gold and it controlled south of the Zambezi from Zumbo eastward to the sea including the Muslim trading posts on the Zambezi (Ellert 1993, Beach 1984). In the mid-seventh century, the Munhumutapa kingdom declined due to civil wars, interventions by Portuguese officials and adventurers.

As a result, the Portuguese established three capitals namely Goa on the west coast of India, Sofala (1505) and Mozambique Island (1507). In the meantime, the traveller Antonio Fernandez (1514) was sent to Munhumutapa kingdom by the Portuguese government to investigate the origins of the gold exported from Sofala. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Portuguese, aiming at exploiting the gold resources of the Shona people employed ". . . creeping imperialism" (Curtin et al., 1995:253-254) against Swahili stronghold upon the Shona people. In 1560, Goncalo da Silveira, the Jesuit priest reached Mozambique and that September visited the Munhumutapa court. During this time, Moslem traders already at the court feared that their position was threatened. They swayed Negomo, Munhumutapa chief that his guest was practicing witchcraft and Father Goncalo da Silveira with fifty of his Shona converts were killed in March 1561 (Mutswairo 1983).

After Goncalo da Silveira's death, the Portuguese intensified their activities towards the area now called Zimbabwe. In 1569 Sebastiao, the new Portuguese king, sent a thousand men under Francisco Barreto with orders to avenge the death of Goncalo da Silveira Silveira, gain control of the gold mines, expel the Swahili traders and secure safe access for Portuguese missionaries. The expedition

went as far as the Zambezi and Sena before succumbing to malaria (Tawse 1924:13). In 1628 Mavura became a Portuguese vassal after usurping power from Kapararidze, Munhumutapa chief. The Portuguese influence continued and by the mid-1860s they traded with the Chikundas, Tonga and Nambya (Ncube 2004:50) and Dambarare was one of their trading posts in Zimbabwe. During this time the Ovimbundu (Mambari) traders came from as far as Angola to Chilisa village in Hwange on the north bank of the Zambezi. In a nutshell, the Shona people interacted with the Muslims (Arabs), Swahili, Portuguese, Angolans (Ovimbundu), Nambya and Tonga peoples, a situation suggestive that their naming system could embody traces of these cultures.

Besides, archaeology indicates that the earliest Tonga/Proto-Tonga people can be traced from Zambia, Mozambique and Malawi (Kamangoza 1971:135, Phillipson 1977:171, Smith 1974:568-80). During 1500-1700 the Tonga groups occupied the mid and lower Zambezi and they co-existed with the Munhumutapa people (Isaacman 1972). The Tonga people lost their independence with the expansion of both the Tsonga in the far south, Maravi state in the north, the Karanga of the Zimbabwean plateau and the Mutapa state in the south and southwest towards the Zambezi area (Smith 1983). The Munhumutapa state used to dominate these people but the Tonga between 1550 and 1575 used to rebel until the Portuguese intervention (Beach 1980:66, 124). Some Tonga in Barwe, Ruenya and Nyanga came under Karanga rule (Pikirayi 1993:183). In Barwe they remained the basic population and Beach (1980:158) maintains that, ". . . their language and culture came to be adopted by the Makombe *nguruve* dynasty of Shona origin which had conquered them". In the 1690s the Changamire lineage, an offshoot from Mutapa, conquered the Northern Shona country, Torwa, thereby ousting the Portuguese from the entire area of the goldfields. The foregoing discussion suggests how Zambian, Mozambiquean and Malawian influences encroached into the Shona people's way of life before *mfecane*.

Mfecane (the crushing or scattering) occurred between 1815 and 1835 in Zululand, South Africa and it affected almost the whole of Southern Africa. The period was marked by widespread chaos and disturbances as some Nguni groups fled from Shaka for political and economic reasons, to name a few. Some of these fleeing groups under Zvangendaba, Soshangana, Nxaba and Mzilikazi came as far as Zimbabwe (see Section 5.1.5). The Ngoni people led by Zvangendaba (1785-1848) were the first group to get to now Zimbabwe. They had been driven from the eastern region of South Africa, near

Swaziland, by the Zulus. Zvangendaba led this group, then, called the "Jere", on a migration that took them to Mozambique and Zimbabwe before they were forced further northwards from the later by the Nguni groups led by Maseko and Nxaba (Pikirayi 1993: 182). This saw Zvangendaba's group going as far as Malawi before they finally settled in the Western part of Tanzania where they founded the Mapupo city, twenty years after the *Mfecane*. Of immediate importance is the realization that the Ngoni people's brief stay in Zimbabwe greatly destabilised the Rozvi (Shona) people's way of life. The latter were defeated in 1834 (Weinrich 1973:8, Mutasa 1990, 1991) and their *mambo* (King) was killed. This brief interaction exposed the Shona people to cultural influences from Zululand (South Africa) and Mozambique. After Zvangendaba, Nxaba, Soshangana and Mzilikazi settled in Zimbabwe.

After they had forced Zvangendaba far north, Nxaba (1827-36) with his Nguni invaders settled in the southeast of Zimbabwe among the Sanga in the upper Sabi river in the eastern highlands. Nxaba was later displaced by Soshangana who founded the Gaza state that stretched as far as the eastern highlands to the source of the Budzi river and far down to the estuary of the Limpopo river. Soshangana was followed by Mzila, then Ngungunyana who was later subdued by the Portuguese in 1898. Furthermore, the Ndebele group arrived under Mzilikazi and settled in the southern part of Zimbabwe. Within the shortest time, the Ndebele kingdom spread all over Zimbabwe. History claims that the Ndebele were mighty warriors who depended on raiding the entire Shona speaking areas as far as Manicaland for livestock, food provisions, able bodied boys and beautiful ladies. During this period one sees the Shona people being subjects in the stratified Ndebele society until its demise during Lobengula at the hands of the Pioneer Column. The resultant master-servant relationship accounts for the spread of Nguni/Ndebele bias amongst the Shona people.

On the other hand, as early as the sixteenth century, the Shona people had made their first contacts with Europeans. Weinrich says,

> . . . this time they arrived not from the east but from the south. They came not as conquerors but as isolated traders, hunters and missionaries . . . they were joined by prospectors and concession hunters (1973:9).

In the late 1800, European countries scrambled for African colonies for economic and political gains as deliberated at the 1884-85 Berlin colonial conference chaired by the German Chancellor, Otto Von Bismarck in German has partitioned the African countries into colonies (Ranger 1968:15). As if not to be out done, Cecil John Rhodes through the amalgamation of the Central Search Association and the Exploring Company Limited formed the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The company's directors included Rhodes, the Duke of Abercorn and the financier Alfred Beit. The BSAC was modelled on the British East India Company and was supposed to spearhead the colonization and economic exploitation of South-Central Africa. The BSAC received its Royal Charter in 1889 and proceeded to colonize Zimbabwe in 1890. The country was then renamed Southern Rhodesia after Rhodes while Zambia was named Northern Rhodesia. In 1890 and 1893 Boers came to Lobengula from Britain, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa (the Free State, Natal) (Tawse 1924:26). In 1893 the Ndebele uprising was crushed while the Europeans gained a major victory over the Shona in 1896/7 but uprisings occurred intermittently until 1903 (Ranger 1968:216). This suffices to show how foreigners of different cultures, races and backgrounds ended up in Zimbabwe, developments that this study believes heavily influenced the selection and use of Shona first names.

After the BSAC crew realized that the much anticipated vast gold reserves were non-existent, they embarked on several labour intensive agricultural, mining and hunting ventures. Conversely, the new government introduced the money economy and the iniquitous hut, human and animal taxes (Mutswairo 1983, 1988) so that its economic ventures would be sustained. Coupled with this, the Land Apportionment Act (1930) and the Land Husbandry Act (1951) created untold poverty amongst the Zimbabwean blacks who were forcefully resettled in agriculturally unproductive areas. As a result, rural to urban, rural to farm and rural to mine migration became ubiquitous. As industries, factories, farms and mines continued to proliferate; accommodation facilities had to be provided hence the emergence of compound residential areas. This resulted in people from different corners of Southern Africa working and residing at the same places, a move that seriously affects a people's naming patterns.

Ever since the arrival of the Pioneer Column, missionaries have executed ambivalent roles toward the Zimbabwean blacks and the colonizing system. Explorers and missionaries like David Livingstone have clamoured for the establishment of a British colony in the heart of Central Africa since 1856. In

Zimbabwe they worked hand in glove with the Native Affairs Department as they made farms out of the land grabbed by the BSAC (Tidy and Leeming 1980:111). From this relationship, it is apparent that the church was an extension of the colonialists hence it did not tolerate Shona religion and customs (Chiwome 1996:11). For instance, when one was converted and was being baptized, it was almost mandatory that one had to adopt the so-called Christian name. By a Christian name they meant bible-oriented names evocative of Jewish, Greek and Hebrew influences. Since the 1920s segregation between Europeans, Asians, Colored and black Africans became mundane (Weinrich 1973:12-22, *The Rhodesian Herald* 1968). Black Africans were placed on the lowest level of the ladder hence they saw themselves under pressure to adopt the lifestyles of those in power. This explains the proliferation of European; Asian and hybrid names amongst the black Africans and not the other way round.

Positively though, Christian missions to a large extent were responsible for the development of the black Zimbabwean education system, a move that has great bearing on Shona naming patterns. By 1967, 90 percent of all African children (this number is out of the few African children who were enrolled in schools) were in private, mainly mission schools while only 10 percent were in government schools (Annual Report on Education 1967:58, Weinrich 1971). However, the hidden curriculum of the missionaries dictated that they devoted themselves to changing the Shona value system, inclusive of its personal names. To this end, the observation by Weinrich (1973:30-31) is pertinent,

> . . . through prolonged contact between the races, African culture has been modified. A western type of education has acquainted a significant number of the [Shona] population with European culture. As a consequence, the small minority of Europeans in Rhodesia has been able to influence the life of the [Shona] people. It's political and economic power has changed the [Shona] way of life . . . very few educated [Shonas] reside permanently in rural areas, those who do are greatly respected by their own people and their influence is greater . . . .

As a result, those who acquired western education became models of what the colonizing system values. The school system championed this through various subjects like English Literature, Religious Studies and History that provided several names for the pupils to emulate. Also, this drive was buttressed by the realization that social mobility became possible only if one had attained western

education that made one employable in 'white-collar' jobs. Coupled with this, being educated meant, among other things, adopting a western name.

Additionally, from August 01, 1953 a Federation government made of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) was formed with its headquarters in Salisbury (Harare, Zimbabwe) (see Section 5.1.5). This lasted for ten years and its Prime Ministers were Godfrey Huggins (1953-56) and Sir Roy Welensky (1956-63). The Federation phase is important as English became the imposed official business language that the Malawians, Zambians and Zimbabweans had to learn and use for them to get 'formal' employment. This explains why local languages lost their celebrated status. Furthermore, whites were against the tongue twisting local names hence the prestige bestowed on English names was calculated to decoy the locals to discard names in their mother languages. For instance, name changing became rampant at workplaces as the Africans were being forced to take up names that identify them with the whites. The Federation period is also significant as it allowed people of the three member countries to reside and work in any member country; a scenario that accounts for why several Malawians and Zambians ended up being permanent residents in Zimbabwe and the other way round. These interactions resulted in the Shona nomenclature systems being influenced by the Malawians and Zambians. In addition, a sizeable number of Zimbabweans trekked to South Africa where they worked in gold mines at places like Kimberley and Johannesburg. When they returned home, they brought South African naming influences.

From the late 1950s, political activism gathered momentum in Zimbabwe, as Ghana attained her independence from Britain on March 6, 1957 after Egypt attained hers in 1922. This motivated Zimbabweans to seek assistance from fellow Africans, Eastern and Western European countries. Because of the heightening of oppression coupled by the sanctions that followed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, many Zimbabweans found themselves scattered all over the world. Some were pursuing education and employment while the majority were preparing for war against their political antagonist. The bulk of Zimbabweans were accommodated in Southern African countries, Ghana, Russia, China, Romania, Cuba and Yugoslavia. The fact that Zimbabweans operated in different countries is significant because this manifests itself in personal names that are

popularized in Zimbabwe since 1950s. This period marks the popularization of a new genre of personal names; *Chimurenga* names that executed various functional purposes like concealment, encouragement and scolding of the oppressors.

After Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, she adopted a constitution that enshrines freedom of association. As a result, Zimbabwe accommodates a multiplicity of religions like African Traditional Religion, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Zionism. The fact that Zimbabweans are exposed to various religions suggests that their naming patterns are also affected. In a related move, Zimbabweans have been exposed to the globalization trends due to the resultant shrinking of the world fast-trekked by electronic discoveries, among other drives. To some extent, this accounts for some Shona names whose etymology is opaque. Accompanied to this is Zimbabwe's involvement in several international peace-keeping ventures since 1980 as a member of the Commonwealth, the Non-Aligned movement, the Organization of African Union now African Union and the United Nations. These peace-keeping efforts saw Zimbabwean security forces in Mozambique, Angola, Somalia, Rwanda, Kosovo and the Democratic Republic of Congo to name a few. During these initiatives, the Zimbabwean forces came into contact with personnel from various countries around the globe; a move this study believes exposed them to various nomenclature trends.

Lastly, since the late 1990s when Zimbabwe's economy took a nose dive, among other reasons due to the standoff between Zimbabwe and Britain, Zimbabweans have resorted to massive cross border trading and relocation to other countries. Zimbabweans are now working and doing business with almost any country in the world. The majority of them are in Southern African countries, Democratic Republic of Congo, Dubai, Canada, China, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United Sates of America among others. Among other results, these contacts heavily influence nomenclature trends in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Aim of the study

This study seeks to understand how one can get at the intended and implied meaning(s) Shona personal names embody. This exercise enhances an understanding of the Shona people. To achieve this, among other approaches, the study would first identify factors behind the Shona people's naming practices before it ascertains the popular naming trends; a step toward coming up with a representative Zimbabwean anthroponomastic model. From the findings of this study several publications are envisaged, inclusive of a dictionary of Shona personal names, a feat that has not been achieved in Zimbabwe.

The research hopes to contribute at academic, theoretical and methodological levels. At the academic level, a synchronic and diachronic approach is preferred which provides the much-needed insights on how Shona personal names could be studied alongside the other twenty-one Shona noun classes. At the theoretical level, this study argues that a comprehensive understanding of Shona names is possible if the researcher's analysis (whether first or a well-informed second language user/speaker) is mainly aided by insights from semantics, pragmatics and semiotics. These views are captured in the study's proposed decompositional theory, the approximation model and maxims of brevity and tactfulness. On the methodological scale, this research intends to exemplify how a predominantly qualitative study of this nature is executed as outlined in Chapter three.

1.4.1 Objectives

This study is motivated by the following objectives:

(i) to record, analyze and categorize Shona anthroponyms.

(ii) to highlight the factors that influence their selection and uses.

(iii) to identify and describe the prevalent naming patterns.

(iv) to develop a theory underpinning this study.

1.5 Significance of research

This study is significant in several ways, some of which are briefly discussed here. The research is principal as it closes a gap that exists in Zimbabwean study on anthroponyms. Personal names are a subcategory of the study of anthroponomastics, a study that encompasses the study of surnames, clan names, patronyms, ethnonyms, autonyms, exonyms, teknonyms or pseudonyms and endonyms. This study regards personal names as the first fundamental and mandatory name given an individual at birth (Article 7, Convention on the Rights of the Child, September 2, 1990, in accordance with Article 49, UNESCO; Koopman 1989:33). In some circles this name is treated as the first, personal, given, forename, Christian or a person's name.

Before 1980 non-Shona first language speakers, did much research in related onomastic areas in Zimbabwe. This status quo presents the Shona people as objects and subjects of study by international researchers. Then, from 1980, many Shona first language speakers demonstrated great interest in onomastics and anthroponomastic studies (Makondo 2008:10). Most of these researches did not delve deeper into Shona personal names in the envisaged manner. The popularized areas of study were names of chiefs, commissioners, literary characters, nicknames, dogs and the influence of Christianity on Shona nomenclature. There exists a gap inn the study of Shona personal names by a Shona first language speaker whose background enables him/her to decompose their various implied configurations. This effort is welcome as first names are a minefield of meaning as they project the worldview of the namers, the bearers and their society.

At an academic level, the research seeks to ascertain the importance attached to these personal names as modes of communication. This entails establishing the various factors that gave rise to them. Simultaneously, this synchronic and diachronic study will also categorize the personal names having considered, among other variables, their etymology, morphology, pragmatic, semiotic and semantic features. This approach has received the least attention hence its worthiness. The contributions by Fortune (1969), Chakamba, Sisimayi and Masocha (1985) and Chigidi (1988) are worth mentioning in as far as they partially made reference to Shona personal names by claiming that they are only

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found in noun class 1a. This study builds on the synchronic study of war names by Pongweni (1983) hence it's a dignified step towards expanding the corpus of Shona personal names (see Section 2.3).

This ". . . transdisciplinary . . . ." (Jacobs 1995:12) research is significant as it uses theoretical insights drawn mainly from pragmatics, semantics, semiotics and linguistics (Syal and Jindal 1999, O' Grady and Dobrovosky 1997). This approach allows the research to propound the anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional and approximation model as the most appropriate ways to interpret the Shona personal names. It is envisaged that this theory aids anthroponomasticians, onomasticians, semanticians, semioticians and pragmaticians among others to decompose the diverse meanings of almost all given names. Methodologically, the study is comprehensive as its data is collected from six sources as expounded in Chapter three. This enables the study to gather diverse names and to establish the reasons and meanings attached to the gathered personal names. Within this framework, it is envisaged that this study's findings shall immensely contribute to the establishment and broadening of the anthroponomastics discipline.

1.6 Definition of terms

The term anthroponym comes from the Greek word anthropos 'man' or 'human' (Koopman 2002:10) and it refers to personal names. Anthroponomastics then refers to the study of personal/given/first names. On the other hand, onomastics refers to the study of names in general (*Collins Cobuild* 1987). Onomastics or onomatology is a branch of linguistics that studies the structure, semantics, pragmatics and etymology of proper names (Crystal 1992). This study uses the terms speaker/addresser/namer to refer to the name giver. At the same time, sign/expression/sentence is used to mean a personal/given/first name/forenames or anthroponyms.

1.7 Scope of research

Chapter two uses a tripartite approach in reviewing the World, African and Zimbabwean anthroponomastic researches that have a bearing on this study. It also discusses why the Shona

personal names have been settled for. Chapter three outlines how data was gathered from *Native Affairs Department Annual* (NADA) sources, Shona novels and plays, graduation booklets, newspapers, questionnaires and interviews. It also outlines how the sampling was done, the pilot study and, the appointment of co-researchers and the consideration of research ethics. Chapter four proceeds by predominantly examining data analytical theories of meaning, namely pragmatics, semantics and semiotics and showing the part they play in the development of the propounded anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory and approximation model. Chapter five establishes various factors behind the Shona people's selection and use of personal names. It also identifies prevailing naming categories. Chapter six argues that a theme-based approach helps one understand the nature and functionality of Shona personal names. Chapter seven continues by identifying popular male, female, interesting and Shona personal names people have reservations with. Chapter eight assesses the envisaged naming trends and preferred address forms before Chapter nine winds up the discussion by highlighting the study's contributions.

1.8 Conclusion

This Chapter laid the foundations for this study. It posed various questions that define the scope of the study. Some of the questions are: Why do people have names? Who does the naming? Do the names mean the same to the namers, the named and to the users? The discussion further argues that the Shona people have used personal names since time unknown. It then continued by re-examining the origins of the word 'Shona' and concluded that it is an imposition from outside that, however has been popularized and accepted in Zimbabwe with slight reservations in other quarters. Having established what surrounds the name 'Shona', the study focused on the origins of the people called by this name. The intention was to identify their origins and whom they got into contact with since the tenth century. The historical revisitation sought, among other things to get clues at what factors might have influenced the Shona people's naming preferences. When this was established, attention was given to the supposed significance of this endeavour. Among other envisaged landmark contributions, the study propounds a pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory, approximation model, anthroponym maxims, and a revisitation of the Shona noun classification system with special reference to personal names. The chapter states that this study seeks to understand why the Shona

people use personal names in the manner they do. The Chapter highlighted the aims of the study, four objectives that define its scope. The issues related to literature review, data gathering and data analytical considerations have been left for chapters two, three and four respectively. The next chapter deals with literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

My proper name outlives me. After my death it will still be possible to name me and speak of me (Derrida 1976:107-118; Derrida 1995; Bennington and Derrida 1993:148).

2.0 Introduction

Names have been studied since the dawn of scholarship. Much work has been done in the broad area of onomastics worldwide. The review section concerns itself with establishing pertinent contributions to its study of Shona given names. It starts by looking at the global situation, here discussed under world anthroponomastics. It proceeds to the African situation before it delves on the Zimbabwean scenario. This approach has been settled on for it allows this study to identify the gaps that exist in earlier World, African and Zimbabwean anthroponomastic researches thereby defining the outstanding areas that can be explored. Having done the foregoing, a chapter summary shall be given.

2.1 World anthroponomastic trends

This component situates the present study within the global anthroponomastic trends. The term 'World' is used to refer to regions other than the African continent although some examples from the latter shall be referred to where they buttress discussions on global trends. The review recognizes that the uniqueness and meaningfulness of Shona personal names become apparent when some insights are drawn from American and European scholars who made significant contributions in general world onomastic studies. For instance, Chinese nomenclature seems heavily influenced by the Anglo-Saxon

naming traditions (Matthews 1966:19-21, Stewart 1979:4, Norman 1999:9). Of the nine trends established by these scholars, this study benefits from two observations that names are part of the language as the majority of words chosen for names are ordinary nouns and adjectives. The other popular trend is that names underwent a tripartite metamorphosis as initially they were composed of one word, then two-worded names came into the picture before names composed of two words regarded as one name emerged (Louie 2006:213). It also comes out that the English people choose names on the basis of nine variables of which three of them; historical or religious links, family traditions (grandparents' names) and nationality (Dunkling 1981) shed valuable light to this study as Chapter five to nine shall show.

As early as 1864, Ferguson in Rosenthal (2005) was concerned about the etymology of family names in France, England and Germany as these were related to the Teutonic name system. Ferguson says this,

> . . . the etymology of proper names is the only branch then of the subject
> which can in any sense be called popular, for what men, even of those who
> care not to enquire the origin of the language they speak, feel some interest
> or curiosity in knowing the meaning of the names they bear . . . (Ferguson in
> Rosenthal 2005:3).

Then, from Rosenthal's (2005) review of Bouton and Thompson among others, one gets clues on the status of English onomastics during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, Bouton maintains that early modern London baptized children named after their grandparents, godparents, remote ancestors and deceased siblings who were their customary iconic figures. Rosenthal is also vital for three things; the conjecture that ". . . much information stands yet to be gathered under the rubrics of onomastics and anthroponym", observing that names have a ". . . causative power" (Rosenthal 2005:62) and concluding that tracking names across space can be matched with tracking them through time.

Study of Dutch (Flemish) personal names by Van Langendonck (1987,1983) sheds valuable light on the use of the semantic-pragmatic theory in the characterization of personal names. Van Langendonck observes that personal names constitute the most diversified category of proper names. Proper nouns and pronouns are referential means par excellence, more than common nouns (Van Langendonck

1990:27). This is so as cross linguistically and even within one language (dialect), a number of different patterns are encountered (Van Langendonck 2001:203). Functionally, primary names are those that fulfill the three main functions of personal names; address (talk to), identification (talk about) and a wide possibility of subcategorisation as to gender and expressivity (especially combinability with diminutive and augmentative morphemes) (Van Langendonck 2001). He points out that,

> . . . personal names tend to display a rich derivational functions of a classificatory and expressive (emotive) nature. The semantic and formal diversification ultimately derives from the fact that personal names constitute the unmarked subcategory of proper names since they refer to humans. The feature 'human' has been said to be the unmarked one vis-à- vis other features. From an experiential-cognitive viewpoint, indeed, it is obvious that human beings interact most with other human beings. This fact engenders the extensive use of personal names and the proliferation of subclasses (Van Langendonck 2001:204).

Henning (1995) is handy for identifying two prominent naming orders, the Western and Eastern orders and eighteen scenarios of personal names usage. The order given name, family name is commonly known as the Western order and is usually used in most European countries like Britain and America and in countries that have their cultures predominantly influenced by Europe (North and South America, Australia and Zimbabwe). The first name is often called the Christian name after the Norman Conquest in Britain. Theophoric names are popular among Arabic, Semitic and many other languages. France, Germany and Scandinavia have lists of approved first names to be given to children or else it will not be legally recognized, a practice unheard of amongst the Shona people. Incidentally, many languages do not have separate names for men and women, while other languages often use regular inflections for grammatical gender to indicate the gender of names, so that **John** and **Jane**, for instance, who are both from the same Hebrew name, are represented as **Johann** and **Johanna** in German. On the other hand, the order *family name, given name* is commonly known as the Eastern order and is mostly used in Africa, most of Asia, Europe, China, Japan, Korea and others.

Henning (1995) is important for observing that first names are usually formed from compounds, from saints' names, from places, from personal traits/characteristics, animals, occupations, patronymics, colors and virtues, among others. English names are unique as no other language has a construct

similar to the Sr. ("Senior") that gets appended to the names of fathers who have sons with their names, so that **Alex Ferguson's** eponymous father would be known as **Alex Ferguson**, Sr. Additionally, the Jr. appellation is used in English, Spanish and Portuguese names, among others. Some languages like Japanese routinely append honorific affixes to a person's name, such as *-san*; or *-sama*, a super honorific; or *-kun*, for someone familiar or subordinate; or *-chan*, a term of endearment reserved for children. The preceding observations are interesting for this study seeks to establish whether Shona personal names have similar origins and traits. Also, in the eighteenth century Jamaican slave owners were the originators of slave names (Burnard 2001:326). A similar trend prevailed during the Nazi reign in Germany (Joffe 1995:4) and the Voortrekkers in South Africa (Jenkins 1994:15) just to name a few. These rulers prescribed names and applied naming practices according to their home languages, worldviews, ideologies, cultural background and other reigning principles (Coetser 2004:46), a scenario perceived to have been widespread in colonial Zimbabwe. Resultantly, these names are more of a guide to what whites thought of blacks than an entrée into slave consciousness.

From America, German, Scottish, Russia and Italy several relatable studies have been observed. These studies are important as they discuss the impact of geographical proximity on nomenclature trends. Dadisman (2007) studied naming names among the Italians and Jews in the United States in 1910. It emerges that the names **Mary** and **Joseph** were popular among female and male Italians as was **Sara** and **Louis** among Jewish females and males respectively. The dominance of biblical personal names amongst the immigrants was underscored. Autin (1912:187-188) gives an account of how immigrants ruthlessly discarded their ". . . impossible Hebrew names" that had no pleasing American equivalents, although at times, they kept their initials. For instance, school children encountered an American colonial school system that ". . . breathed Americanism . . . ." (Brumberg 1986:133).

On a related note, a study on race and ethnicity, social class and schooling was done by Jacobs and Greene (1994) whilst Gordon (1964) focused on assimilation in American life. Conzen (1980) considered naming patterns with reference to urban history and American local history while Fischer (1982) examined personal networks among friends in town and city. Eichler (1987) explored onomastics in the German Democratic Republic, Doan (1972) studied English ancestral names while

Nicolaisen (1980) studied Scottish surnames and medieval popular culture. In 2003 Akach and Lubbe made a comparison of the giving of personal names in spoken and sign languages. Schweitzer and Golovko (1997) discussed local identities and travelling names with special reference to personal naming in the Bering Strait area. Woodward (1994) studied naming names in mid-eighteenth feminist theory. These studies, among others underscore that personal names are comparable because of travelling human 'carriers' and that ethnic identity was more easily preserved in rural than in urban areas. They further demonstrate the challenges encountered in various communities over a varied period of time and insights that have been gleaned from such experiences.

The colonization of many parts of the world including Zimbabwe significantly affected World anthroponomastic trends. Early settlers brought with them ". . . imported names . . . ." (Rennick 2005:296) of foreign/exotic origin (Neethling 2000:57-73) into the new areas they settled in thereby injecting ". . . alien culture . . . ." (Ramose 1999:130). These personal names were also used for subordinating and assimilating people. In this category, clerks played a pivotal role in name changing through "…orthographic flaws" (Dillard 1976:20) or "…scribal errors" (De Klerk 1998). The eighteenth century German immigrants' example comes to mind where surnames like **Schmid-Schmidt-Schmitz** usually were recorded as **Smith** while **Braun** became **Brown**. Pronunciation added to the problem. Additionally, personal names were used as ". . . an important part of the act of claiming and confirming possession over space" (Jarman 1993:126 in Hendry 2006:31). Dillard (1976:22) remarks that only those bolder in opposition to white dominance maintained their names. These names were learnt from the colonizers either by direct instruction or by watching their behaviour (Hudson 1980:78). Some names were chosen for sentimental, humorous, literary, religious or high cultural reasons. This explains why the etymology of some names cannot be traced locally (see Sections 1.3 and 5.1-5.1.11).

Personal names were used by the Euro-Asian-American people to define the world, develop cultural identities and pass on certain feelings. Arno (1994:30) did much research on the use of first names in Fiji, Malouf in Papastergiadis (1994) among the Aboriginals and Rymes (1996:242) among the Hopi people of America. For the Penan and Inuit people of Canada personal names were inherited from the dead (Feldman 1990:24). The Inuit people stands above others for regarding the chosen name as entering into and merging with the child's soul at birth. They further posit that the name strengthens

and protects the bearer thereby suggesting an incipient form of the Greek concept of the individual's *daemon* that remains with the dead person but is reborn in the new name bearer whom they believe it protects.

In addition, significant insights are drawn from the Islamic naming patterns. The Qur'an (49:11) dictates that Muslim names should not be distorted, mutilated or corrupted into something else as they are expressive of a whole history, a whole culture, a whole religion and a whole realm. Nadvi (1985) discusses the unique role of the prophet Muhammed and Allah in the coining of Islamic names. One picks that Islamic names ought to be distinctive as **Abd Allah** or **Abdullah** (Servant of Allah) so that people can easily realize one's religious affiliations. Fazlul Karim in Nadvi (1985:86) asserts that the prophet of Islam commanded the Muslims to give good names to their children and to look for such names that had good meanings as use of offensive nicknames was prohibited. Haron (1999) discussed the formation of South African Muslim identity while Antoun (1968) focuses on how Arab Muslim women express modesty through their personal names. Nadvi (1985) discusses the issue of endearments among Muslims and observes that it's improper to address respected members of the family and society by personal names.

On the side of Christianity, Motyer in Douglas (1962) states the biblical teaching on personal names in three propositions. The first view regards the name as the person as Genesis chapter seventeen verse five reports ". . . neither shall thy name anymore be called **Abram**, but thy name shall be **Abraham**, for a father of many nations has I made thee" (Genesis 17:5 in King James Version, Thompson 1988). The second proposition is that the name means the person as revealed. For instance, Moses wishing to express that degree of intimate knowledge which Yahweh has of him, said "Thou hast has said, I know thee by name?" (Exodus 3:13). Lastly, the name signifies the active presence of the person in the fullness of the revealed character (First Kings 18:24). Maas (1958) examined the integration and name changing among Jewish refugees from Central Europe in the United States. The analysis in chapter five to eight shall examine the extent to which these religions have influenced the Shona naming patterns.

This study draws some insightful views from the study of nicknames. Barrett (1987) studied village modernization and changing nicknaming practices in northern Spain. Prabakharan (1999) refers to

nicknames as the hardest stone the devil can throw. Moyo (2002) explores aspects of nicknames among the Tumbuka people of Malawi. In a related move, Khuboni (2005:122) discusses nicknaming among the Zulu people where they defined *Isithopo* as a praise name, term of endearment, pet word or pet name. The observations by Nsimbi (1950:205) that personal names underwent a three-phase metamorphosis from nicknames to proverbial names and later to clan names would be here scrutinized with the intention of establishing where Shona personal names fit. Having said this, attention shifts to the African continent.

2.2 African anthroponomastic trends

This section notes that naming is a ". . . big social event" (Mbiti 1970:213) in Africa as personal names execute multiple functions. For instance, to the Twi or Akan people in Ghana, a personal name is given as a way of finding out on evildoers while among the Nuer people of Sudan, personal names are used to define people's relations with other members of society. Every Nilotic Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has a personal or birth name referred to as *cotdu pany* (One's true name given shortly after birth and without ceremony by the parents). Both men and women commonly have two personal names that usually have similar meanings like **Lui** (Cry) and **Wia** (Cry of warning) that is, one in use among their paternal and maternal kinsmen (Evans-Pritchard 1948:166) respectively. Also, Nuer children inherit a *cot paak* (The honorific or praise name of his clan from parents).

It materializes that several African communities drew most of their names from proverbs. For instance, the Swahili people in Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia and the Comoros Islands have a proverb that says if you inherit a name you must also adopt its affairs (Finnegan 1970, Campbell 1972, Ibekwe 1998). The Ganda are said to have thousands of proverbial names among them **Nyonyintono** [from *Nyonyitono yekemba byoya]* 'a small bird, to appear big, must clothe itself in many feathers'. The female equivalent name is **Ganya** which comes from the saying 'when a wife begins to disrespect her husband it shows that she has found another place where she intends to go and live' (Nsimbi 1950:205). On the other hand, the Nyoro have **Ruboija** meaning, 'it pecks as a fowl does'-just as one does not know which exact grain will be picked up next by a fowl, only that some grain will be attacked, so one cannot tell who will be attacked next by death (Beattie 1957:101). Similarly, the use of Baganda personal names demonstrates that those traditional names ". . . have deeper meanings than

is generally apparent" (Nsimbi 1950:204) as they are summaries of the society's philosophy. The first born male twin was/is commonly named **Singoma** while the female was/is named **Nangoma**, both names derived from the Banyoro people (Musere and Byakutaga 1998:9). In addition, of interest is that Nsimbi (1950) identified eight name categories that inform the analysis of corpus in Chapter five to eight.

Neethling (1995:957) notes that name giving among the Bantu cultures reflects the socio-cultural circumstances of the group/clan. Moyo (1996:10) observes that the Ngoni-Tumbuka-speaking people of northern Malawi prefer names with historical importance like **Mapopa** (Wilderness-named after the death of several children) and **Tafwachi** (What is wrong with us, [Moyo 1996:15]) that respectively comment on the family and clan condition. As of the Luba in Zaire, Aushis and the Lalas, 'comeback' names like **Mbuuyi** and **Mwape** respectively, are dominant (Munday 1948:40). In these cultures, a name will be given one evening and will be changed if the child continues to cry. Put in other words, the personal name represents the soul of the individual. Then, within this context, to receive someone's name is to inherit or receive her/his qualities, faults and even her/his destiny.

From Angola, it emerges that Angolan Ovimbundu women's names convey thought patterns of a people. For instance, the given name **Vihemba** is meaningful as it denotes a child whose birth was difficult and required the use of charms (see Section 5.1.8). Similarly, the Huli and the Wiru people of New Guinea use penthonyms (sorrow names) (Glasse 1987:204). Also, the Nyoro people of Uganda who names boys and girls after four and three months respectively, use personal names to express the namer's ". . . state of mind" as they are allusive and their understanding demands some knowledge ". . . of the web of thought, imagery and metaphor" (Beattie 1957:100).

Similarly, the dominance of Christianity was observed by Saarelma-Maunumaa (1996) in Namibia who studied ten thousand nine hundred and twenty Ovambo personal names from, Elim, Okahao and Oshigambo congregations who abandoned their traditional names for biblical and Finnish ones. It emerges that the phonotactics of the Ovambo written languages namely, Oshindonga and Oshikwanyama, accounts for the etymological shift of European and biblical names like **Mary** (Luke 10:38-42; John 11:1-7) to **Martta**, **Marta, Martha, Maartha** (the popular female name) and **John** to **Johannes, Johannesa, Johanns** (the popular male name).

After looking at the English and Xhosa naming practices De Klerk and Bosch (1995:69) conclude that the African cultures are significantly different from the English in terms of the motivation for naming. In the former, there is a wide range of information available on naming practices (Herbert et al. 1990). What is noticeably absent in most cases is reference to the meaning or etymology of the name, since in Western society naming is primarily a system of reference not symbolization, and for English speakers, proper names typically differ notably from other words in their lack of sense or meaning, in relation to the total linguistic system to which they refer. This was apparently informed by Abernathy's in Olawale (2005:9) African philosophy about names when he says, "there is much meaning in a name. If you are given the right name, you start off with certain indefinable but very real advantages".

Koopman (1990:43) concludes that in Zulu society, givers and bearers are always aware of the meaning of the name, and the literal meaning of the name is always directly related to the reason for giving it. The ability to read between the lines, as it were depends upon a cultural continuity in which language is embedded, and which is not open to all. Only those who grow up within the community can, perhaps, participate fully in this expanded communicative interaction. Beattie (1957:37) reiterates by saying "It is well known that African names have meaning and that speakers readily identify that meaning". African names retain their meaning-bearing function and are much less arbitrary, their meaning generally being transparent and accessible and often recording complex details about their bearers (De Klerk and Bosch 1995:69). Molefe (1999) focused on onomastic aspects of Zulu nicknames with special reference to source and functionality.

The effect of Western acculturation, religion and economic pressures on the Zulu people of South Africa reflects in male names like **Umziwenhlanhla** (House of fortune), **Uzwelabantu** (Country of the blacks) and female names like **Untombikanina** (Girl of her mother) (Koopman 1986). Among others, he identified six reasons behind the Zulu personal names that shed valuable light to this research (Koopman 2002:35-49). Similarly, Suzman (1994) focused on factors behind Zulu personal names used in the rural, farm and urban settings and concluded that nomenclature changes with social changes. She observes that Zulu children have two personal names, their *amagama asekhaya (*home names) like **Umfaniseni** (Who did he look like) and their English or school names. Still on the Zulu people, Turner (1992) posits that names perform various psychological functions when they express

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tension, discontent and censure. Within these contexts, names work out stress situations by minimizing friction and providing, indirectly, a means of redress like **Nkomokazikho** that reminds the concerned that *lobola* has not been paid. Turner's (1992:10) realization that the message insinuated in names thrives only in its ". . . native" climate is vital for a study that seeks to understand the given names from the perceptions of their users.

In addition, five factors were identified to be behind the use of personal names by the Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana and Pondo people of South Africa (Neethling 1988, Herbert et al 1990:6, Hunter 1979:155). These are religious symbolic names (explicitly mentioning God, spirits or ancestors), commemorative names (marking an event, date or person), 'derogatory protective' names (used as distracters to make the ancestors think the child is unwanted, owing to previous deaths or misfortune in the family, names which encode social commentary (Thipa 1984) and names which record physical characteristics of the baby or emotions such as joy or gratitude. In addition, Herbert (1999) realized that the South African Tsonga people use personal names to keep their history, protest socio-political discriminatory practices like apartheid. Names in this category are **Khuduego** (A Tswana name given a boy after the 1985 political uprisings meaning riots - Herbert 1995:2); **Nqobile** (Conquered) in Zulu celebrates political freedom and **Lindokuhle** (Waiting for good things) in Zulu express as hope for the future. Herbert (1995) is also handy for noting the striking decrease in name uniqueness in African names and the personal name analytical typologies he propounded. These scholars observation are handy as this study seeks to establish reasons behind the prevalent nomenclature patterns among the Shona people in Zimbabwe.

Besides, a trend that Africans are known by several personal names emerges. Samaki (2001) discovers twenty names for an individual while Muthioni (1990:25-26) and Obeng (2001:1, 9) identify five names for Akan children in Ghana. Tönjes (1911:144) observes this among the Ovambo in Namibia where a child is first given a patronymic name, on the eighth day, is given a temporary name followed by the real permanent one after few weeks or two months (Mustakallio 1903:81, Martti Rautanen's Ambo collection at the Finnish National Museum. 23) during *eluko* ceremony (Hopeasalmi 1946:74). Among the Kaguru people of Eastern Tanzania, names are related to certain kin statuses and each person possess a series of names acquired not only to fit different social situations but also changing roles in the cycle of development from birth to death (Beidelman 1974:

281). In this community, the name one uses performS a dual role as it demonstrates the particular social tie which one wishes to exploit and one's degree of familiarity. Kaguru personal names are derived from the matriclan and every Kaguru has several names that he uses on different occasions. Of note in this society is the fact that there are a large number of names associated with negative qualities and experiences because they want to outwit misfortune like **Mengi** (Many- and it is given to a boy or girl born after the mother had often aborted). Moreover, Jews have a Jewish name for intra-community use and a 'Gentile name' for dealing with Gentiles.

The issue of namers drew significant attention as it falls in the scope of this study. Moyo (1996) comments that the fathers and grandfathers of the husbands confer names on children among the Ngoni-Tumbuka people of northern Malawi. As for Angola, the first boy and girl child are named after their paternal grandfather and paternal grandmother respectively, with uncles and aunts from the father's side giving the second and third names. They leave the mother to name the fourth child. In Kenya, paternal fathers give Giriama boys clan names before they are one year old (Parkin 1989:66) while the mother chooses at birth the *dzina raku-gerwa* (the given name) like **Kadii** (Long gestation period or length birth), among the non-Muslim Mijikanda people. Motyer in Douglas (1962:862) discusses the politics surrounding the biblical naming process and points out that name giving is the prerogative of a superior as when Adam exercised his dominion over the animals (Genesis 2:18-20) or when the victorious Pharaoh renamed the conquered Judean king (Second Kings 23:34). Likewise, the parent (the mother on twenty-eight occasions, the father on eighteen) names the child.

The tendency to use cryptonyms (secret names) known only by the 'real' owner was observed among the Apache and Todas people of India, Hausa people in northern Nigeria, parts of Ghana, Niger, Lesotho, Basutho and Togo (Dabbs 1990:32). Glasse (1987:203) cites the Huli people of Papua New Guinea who are unique for they avoid the use of personal names on public occasions or when strangers are present. In some instances, people opt to be anonymous or prefer pseudonym names either for fear of governmental prosecution or societal ridicule of their works or actions. In the same vein, Chinese children are called insulting names to make them appear worthless to evil spirits and later they receive a definitive name.

In colonial Africa, the whites considered everything African as primitive, barbarous, unholy, and declared everything European pure, proper and civilized. Genovese (1974:449) rightly argues that in the ninth century African names steadily receded but they never wholly disappeared. Kashif (1992:28) maintains that others preserved their African names and an African tradition of naming by translating them into the English language. African names became increasingly popular with the ascendance in the 1970s of the Black consciousness movement, an outgrowth of the disillusionment over violent responses to the non-violent struggle for integration and justice. A sizeable number of Africans globally resorted to name changing especially during the liberation struggles or after the attainment of their independence (Madubuike 1970).

The trend of naming children after the day of birth was rampant in Jamaica, Nigeria and Cameroon (Puckett 1937) among others. From these experiences one recognizes that African personal names are functional, a feat this research wants to establish the extent to which it applies to the Shona people.

Other landmark contributions in the study of names across Africa are explored here. Cloete (2000) deliberates on names and spaces in Kenya with special reference to **Wambui Waiyaki Otieno**. Personal names and the construction of social ideas among the Bondei and Giryama was done by Willis (1994), the Bantu, past and present naming trends by Molema (1920) whilst Monning (1967) examined the situation amongst the Pedi people. Women, names and power were studied by Alia (1990). Onomastics and the Igbo tradition of politics were done by Ebeogu (1993) whereas Ekpo (1978) studied the structure in Ibibio names. How the Sanuma acquire their names was done by Ramos (1974) and Lieberson and Bell (1992) did an empirical study on children's first names. Also, significant insights are drawn from literary onomastics. Brann (2000) looks at group identity or Nigerian onomastics by focusing on a didactic poem done for T.S. Eliot. Jacobs (1994) focused on exploring, mapping and naming in Postcolonial fiction with specific focus on Michael Ondaatje. The eleven studies made reference to here, among others, demonstrate the amount of attention this area of study has drawn since 1920 and the decisive contributions made to date from the diverse cultures.

To sum up the discourse on African anthroponomatic trends, it emerges that twelve factors greatly influence the selection of personal names in various parts of Africa. They are as follows: (i) a name given to commemorate a deceased relative or friend (ii) one that makes reference to the physical

features of the child at birth (iii) the birth, temperament or health milieu (iv) specific names for twins and the following children (v) names which refer to the 'state of mind' of the parents (vi) quarrelling and friction within the family or with in-laws or neighbours (vii) name capturing the market-day, weather conditions, day of week, or month of birth (viii) a name which refers to birth order and sex (ix) names after existing suburb/street/farm/location names (x) names influenced by personal consideration (xi) viticulture inspired names (xii) names inspired by literature/films. The applicability or otherwise of these categories to Shona personal names is the concern of chapters five and six.

2.3 Zimbabwean anthroponomastic trends

This section reviews the Zimbabwean anthroponomastic situation since 1890, Zimbabwean onomastic demarcations and categories of Shona names and why personal names were preferred.

A popular trend was that outsiders, especially Europeans, were the majority of authors of articles in the Southern Rhodesia *Native Affairs Department Annual* (NADA) (see Sections 3.5.1-3.5.1.2) before 1980. These researchers lacked the cultural and linguistic background necessary hence they ". . . acted as ethnographers and anthropologists in a Malinowskian fashion [who] operated in a cultural configuration very different from the subjects s/he was studying" (Pfukwa 2003:14). Also, it emerges that some of these researchers did not take seriously the study of Shona personal names yet they acknowledged the vastness of the domain ". . . the subject is a big one, and it is recommended in its various branches as a hobby for those interested in the native way of thought and language" (Roberts 1931:92).

Morris (1932:18-20) focused on the origin of thirteen Shona names of chiefs and places like **Gutu** (opaque), **Denga** (Heaven), **Zinjanja** (opaque) and **Mudawamoyo** (The love of the heart) among others. Several stories are told as to how these names come about. For instance, the name **Chilimanzi** (**Chirimuhanzu**) is alleged to have come from the cloth worn by the servant of Mkusha who had accompanied him to Zimbabwe. This maker of the coat was given Mkusha's district to head with the name **Chirimuhanzu** (That which is in the coat). Morris (1932:19) notes that the Ndebele people later

corrupted **Chirimuhanzu** to **Chilimanzi** because where the former uses 'r' the latter prefers 'l'. A similar trend was noticed when the Shona people corrupted the Portuguese *signor* to **Sinyoro**. Furthermore, Morris (1932:20) accounts for the origins of the name **Lalapanzi** ('*lala pansi vlei'* meaning *lala*, to lie, *pansi,* down-"the lie down vlei"). The name came about during the 1890 colonization when the colonial wagon drivers who came with the hunters had great difficulties in crossing this vlei. The name came because the span were always getting stuck in the mud and the wagon drivers, in their descriptions of what was happening the name came about. This discussion of the etymology is significant for one to comprehend how whatever name came into existence. In this instance, it is clear that these names started as mere descriptions, became place names yet nowadays some are personal names as well as names of chiefs.

Regulus (1969:81-88, 1970:87-99) focused on native names and whereabouts of native places. He quoted the company's reports on the administration of Rhodesia 1897-1898 which states that "great difficulty has been experienced in using the correct spelling of many native names". This was demonstrated by the multiplicity of spelling mistakes like **maven, mavain, mavene; zwai, gwai**, **gwaai**. Regulus (1970:94) is significant for admitting that he, like the rest of his white folk ". . . knew little or nothing of both history and geography of the *Vanjanja* people" whom he was asked to shed some light on.

In addition, this study draws from studies of names that were done among the Ndebele people of Zimbabwe. The Ndebele people are mentioned here because they are the second largest group of people in Zimbabwe as Section 1.3 suggested. Sindebele names and expressions used in farming were studied by Tshakalisa and Mbizwo (1956:63-66). The study of Ndebele bird names by Cooke (1970:67) is important for noting that names are not the same in every district. Campbel (1959:99-102) studied praise/*isibongo* names of Cecil John Rhodes and submits that the translations of *isibongo* are always difficult. The reason being that in their vernacular form they are grandiloquent and extol in exaggerated terms the attributes of the person concerned which an outsider can not fathom. Names and naming stages in Southern Ndebele society with special reference to females were studied by Skosana (2005:89-120). Skosana (2005) brings out interesting observations about the five naming typologies of the Ndebele women namely birth name (*ibizo lokubelethwa*), Christian name (*ibizo lokubusiswa*), initiation name (*ibizo lokuthomba/lokudluliswa*), bridal name *(ibizo*

lobulobokazi/lokwenda) and motherhood name (*ibizo libumama).* Therefore, this study seeks to establish to what extent the observations made from the Ndebele studies are applicable to Shona naming patterns. Among other significant points raised, the importance of astute translations has been underscored so that one can almost rightly approximate the original circumstances that gave rise to the names and their intended meaning(s).

From the Karanga people of Masvingo, Hunt (1952:67-73) studied fifty nine dog names. Four dog names Hunt discovered were found in other data gathering methods to be popular personal names. **Tongotarira** (We will remain watching) shows that the namers no longer can explain what is happening in their marriage. People posit that the problems confronting them are beyond their comprehension hence the surrendering tone in the name. The namers declare their non-confrontational approach hence their innocence. **Shayisano** (So that no one benefits) declare that their enemies do not wish them good all the times. They are bent on making sure that they suffer even when they are innocent. Some cited that these are the people who even if they are told information about a bereavement they deliberately do not timeously convey that news. This shows these people's resolve to have things to be bad for namer(s). **Taitivanhu** (We thought they are people) is a rhetorical question that questions the contact of the other family. The namers are declaring that they got married into the family thinking that the people are well cultured only to see that they do not measure up. Instances like failure of the family to support the young couple ensure that bride wealth is paid and nurture relations with the new family testify to their conclusion. **Zvinamazuva** (It has days) denote people who are moody like the weather. The unpredictableness of the spouse's attitude maybe the issue under scrutiny hence the telling contextualized implicature. For instance, some interviewees' report of a family fight that engulfed the village head and chief after someone named his dog after a neigbhour's child.

From Tatira (2004:85) a similar trend emerged that in Zimbabwe's rural areas the practice of dog naming plays an important social communicative role among the Shona people. Harald (1959:26-29) concentrated on the *hakata* names among the Karanga and made reference to Pedi, Tonga, Venda, Leya, Karanga and Totela. Harald is important for seeing similarities and otherwise from six ethnic groups within Zimbabwe. Jackson gathered data on kinship terms of paternal relatives, maternal relatives, siblings, descendants, husband's relations used by the Karanga ethnic group of the Ndanga

district and claims that ". . . the replies have been checked with various natives and are . . . absolutely correct" (sic) (Jackson 1950:66). Among other issues, it emerges that studies of various naming patterns have been an area of concern since long and the need to verify the kind of data is underscored.

Majubane (1975:253-255) has fifty Shona and twenty-six Ndebele African names of native and district commissioners like **Munyarari** (One who keeps his/her silence). Names given by Africans to native commissioners who served in the then Southern Rhodesia were gathered by Majubane (1976:349-359). From a total of two hundred and sixteen English names he gathered, one hundred and ninety were Shona while eighty were Ndebele names. He makes it clear that theirs was only an exercise of gathering these names so that they come to know what the Africans were saying about them hence he laments "it is regretted there are still about a hundred people of the period 1890-1940 whose African names have not been able to discover" (1976:349). This work was furthered by the publication of *Native nomenclature series* 1 (1934:55-59), 2 (1943:27-29), 3 (1948:76-77), 4 (1949:72-73), 5 (1950:76-77) and 6 (1951:118). These accounts recorded the first name as it is commonly spelt, the correct spelling, the dialect the word or phrase from which the name is derived from and the reason for the name.

Native nomenclature series number 5 (1950:77) is important for noting that the prevalence of the mutilated native names in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was,

> . . . [because] in some cases the natives actually adopt the mangled version. It must have been very confusing for the early surveyors when there was more than one dialect in operation in their area. You get Venda, Sotho and Chikaranga in Beitbridge-Tuli. The early hunters were I suppose, mostly Xhosa or Sotho linguists like Hartley and Posselts.

A similar observation is made in *Native nomenclature series* number 6 (1951:118) in reference to how name mutilation occurred as was witnessed on the name *Mukuvisi* river whose root comes from *Kuvisa* (To stop at the end). A dialogue is presented between a local representative and a NADA researcher,

Question: Why do the people call the stream the **Makabusi.**
Answer: Who calls it the **Makabusi**? We do not know it by that name. It has always been called the **Mkuvisi** by us. Perhaps the European changed the name.

This discussion demonstrates that the gathered names from this genre need to be cautiously examined as their authenticity needs to be validated by consulting the locals who know best their names.

Names of mines and claims in the Hartley district given by Europeans were studied by Roberts (1960:102-104). He notes that most of these names were unintelligible to the locals. The Africans coined their own names after their physical appearance, from rivers, trees, landmarks as from big blow-*makarati* tree, dolly and rover to Suri Suri River. These names were different from those the Europeans preferred, a trend similar to what happened in personal names where Roberts (1931:89-92) mentions that "the books, too, are also useful when a baby's name has to be selected'. In the past before it was the fancy of the dusky youth to be known by a white man's word after the style of '**Bob'**, **'Sixpence'** or in case of the other sex, **Emily.** Roberts gathered fifteen Shona personal names, place, rivers, hills and insect names while Marapara (1954:7-9) had seven girls and twenty one boys Shona names.

In addition, not much has been studied on Shona personal names as testified by the internet sites 'Behind the name: the etymology and history of first names' and 'African Baby Names' that looked at twenty-one and three Shona personal names respectively. This era's prominent researchers, as way of adding on Section 1.7.3 were Parker (1933, 1959), Hlazo (1934), Spice (1951), Dart (1955) among others (see Section 1.7.2). Within this context, this research being undertaken by a Shona first language speaker is handy as it squarely focuses on Shona given names. This vindicates this study's assertion that the bulk of NADA information on Shona anthroponyms need to be subjected to meticulous exegesis especially by informed first language speakers/users or qualified personnel for its major contributors had serious handicaps.

From Chitando (1998b and 2001) a trend of studying Christian names was noticed. Chitando (1998a) traced how Christianity became entrenched in Zimbabwe after the suppression of the 1896-97 uprisings. Henceforth, traditional Shona names became a source of shame and embarrassment for many who had tasted the 'sweetness' of western culture since their contact with explorers, hunters and

missionaries. The missionaries made it mandatory that their converts should adopt Christian names to show their commitment for change, an expression of cultural arrogance by the missionaries. Kivinienii (1993:119) notes that this trend of dictating biblical names has been mundane all over the world. The Europeans wanted names they could easily use as they had acknowledged their failure to use local names they found in use. Oduyoye (1986:33) charges that,

> . . . the missionaries gave people names that only the Europeans could pronounce 'correctly' because they found African names too difficult to say, or too heathen to enter into their Book of Life, which their God kept in their heaven.

Interesting enough, the settler government justified its grip on power on the pretext of protecting ". . . a Christian civilization" (Moyo 1996: vii) and this continued until the war of liberation.

Pongweni (1983) studied war-related names used during the protracted Zimbabwean war of liberation (1966-1980). It appears that liberation war combatants insisted on the use of *Chimurenga* names (*mazita echimurenga/nom de guerre*) that projected ". . . their ideology and aspirations" (Pfukwa 2003:13). Insights drawn from war-related names are beneficial as some war names have been fossilized into the canon of personal names. The study of war names has been undertaken elsewhere by Ranger (1985:208), Viriri (1999:167) and Alexander et al (2000:146) among others and they have identified a sizeable corpus that is useful for purposes of this study.

As for Zimbabwean literary anthroponomastics, the founding fathers are Pongweni (1983a) and Kahari (1990), among others, who studied Shona character names from Zvarevashe (1976) and one hundred and twelve Shona novels respectively. Pongweni aptly observes that a study of names is an engagement in a linguistic investigation, with social and political considerations predominating at various points (Pongweni 1983:4). The observation that any list of Shona names is a palimpsest and one cannot but be struck by the wealth of information, historical, descriptive, picturesque and human, which certain names provide about the people who bear them (Pongweni 1983:1) inspired this study to verify it by incorporating six data gathering methods. Kahari (1990) is pertinent for identifying character name categories which Pongweni slightly improved on. These categories have been the pillar of Shona name categorizations and this study, through its questionnaires and interviews seeks to

establish their contemporary relevance. However, the major limitation of Kahari's foundational work is its exclusive emphasis on giving translations, brief meanings and summaries of what the characters did in their respective texts. This study builds upon Kahari's corpus as outlined in Sections 3.5.2-3.5.2.2.

This study's morphological analysis of Shona personal names builds on Fortune's (1980, 1988) observation that many stems are substantives, substantive phrases, inflected substantives, inflected verb phrases or clauses. He gave an example of an inflected verb phrase **Takawira** (We fell into it) and substantive phrase **Nyikadzino** (These countries). Fortune is also crucial for the Shona noun class system that has been the foundational grammatical work in Zimbabwe. This work, in passing classifies Shona personal names in class 1a, an observation the present study posits is a gross understatement. The next topic under examination deals with anthroponomastic demarcations.

2.4 Zimbabwean anthroponomastic demarcations

An effort to delimit the study of Shona names has been made by Pfukwa (2003:15) who broadly divides Zimbabwean onomastics into colonial and post-colonial phases while Chitando (1998a:25) conveniently delineated it into four epochs. The first is the pre-colonial/missionary stage characterized by meaningful culture-bound names. The second phase stretches from the 1920s to the 1950s, a period when European names gained dominance because Shona culture was denigrated by the twin forces of Christianity and colonialism. The third phase, which Chitando labels the decisive phase in African history, was when nationalist aspirations influenced many people during 1960 to 1979. Hastings (1979:133) captures this era in these words,

> . . . an age of exciting promise, of exhilarating opportunity, of immediate achievement as the voice of Africa was actually being listened to, whether in the pages of its writers or in the Halls of the United Nations.

In addition, English and biblical names were now being rejected since they were now associated with the religion of the oppressor. The fourth phase begins from 1980, a period that ". . . marked rise in names that, while African, are a reflection of Christian concepts" (Chitando 1998a). This study reexamines these categorizations in Chapter eight.

2.5 Rationale for Shona personal names

Shona first names have meanings that their users can readily identify through the associations of the object, action or concept projected by the names. Shona people used to be,

> . . . called by names in the vernacular that conveyed some definite idea . . .
> These names incidentally were generally long and a stumbling block to those
> ignorant of the language, who were also careless in listening to the sounds
> emitted (Roberts 1931:89).

Hamutyinei quoted by Kabweza et al., (1979) says *chaifadza pamazita aya ndechekuti ainge achitaura nekureva idi* (What was interesting about these names is that they meant the truth). Hamutyinei's contribution partially answers the question, **why** the Shona people preferred certain names. In this respect, the significance of Shona first names emanate from their being ". . . situation-tied" (Kahari 1991:282) like symbols laden with meaning whose significance ". . . should never be underestimated" (Chitando 1998a:24).

Mbiti (1975:92-95) adds that most Shona parents gave their children names that reflected their own situation, ideals and frustrations. Hodza quoted by Frederiskse (1982:23) makes mention of surface meaning and underlying meaning. The surface meaning is only there to bluff while the underlying meaning deals with what is behind it. This is the embedded meaning that is not immediately clear to every one. This meaning seems the most important one because the Shona people convey their images in veiled ways, for instance, through the use of figurative expressions (Pongweni 1996). In analyzing them, therefore, one is essentially engaged in a linguistic investigation, with social and political considerations predominating at various points. Within this context, it is prudent to try and establish how the gathered Shona personal names convey their meanings as a ". . . act of communication typically consists of the encoding of meaning" (Atkinson et al., 1982:23).

2.6 Categories of Shona names

Related to the meaning levels, earlier efforts at categorizing Shona names have been done by Jackson (1957:116-122) and Kahari (1997), among others. Jackson, as early as 1957 deserves special mention

for having pioneered the classification of Shona names. Jackson broadly classified them into four groups, namely group A made of names derived from family quarrels; group B with death related names; group C dealing with descriptive names with 'new order' names making group D. Then, Kahari built on Jackson and identified two broad categories he sub-divided into four groups of Shona names. Kahari concluded that Jackson's groups A and C were made up of nicknames; group B names marking a social or family event while group D refers to Shona names that merely express new Christian concepts, a gross understatement.

2.7 Conclusion

This Chapter assessed literature related to World, African and Zimbabwean anthroponomastics. The review of world anthroponamastic trends raised pertinent issues worthy revisiting. The importance of the Anglo-Saxon naming traditions and the need to know the etymology of names has been underscored. Furthermore, the question whether or not it is important to use the semantic-pragmatic theory in the study of personal names has been observed. Also, some insight has been drawn from the identification of the two broad naming patterns; the western and eastern orders and the way the Euro-Asian-American people use personal names. Also, a comparison of uses of given names in Islamic and Christian religions has been made. From African anthroponomastics, it emerges that the use of personal names is taken seriously for their names convey meanings in unique ways when compared with the world anthroponomastic trends. It was noted that African names are rooted in socio-cultural issues hence they were labelled as primitive by European colonizers. The review established that much studies have been done in South Africa and the effect of colonization on naming trends is annotated. From the Zimbabwean situation, recognition has been made to the pioneering contributions made by the European researchers who dominated the period up to 1980. Among others, they focused on dog, place, kinship terms, chiefs, mines, *hakata* and birds naming systems among the Shona people. After 1980 added areas of interest became war and Christian-oriented personal names among others. This is at the expense of a full-fledged study of personal names hence the significance of the present endeavour. The review notes the meaningfulness of Shona personal names as well as efforts to demarcate Zimbabwean onomastics and categories of Shona personal names. Several relevant analytical paradigms emerged that inform the subsequent analysis in Chapters five to eight. The study now continues by discussing the methodological issues.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

> *. . . a commitment to fieldwork and a willingness to allow our understanding of [personal names] to arise from out of our interaction with those individuals and communities we 'study' these are the qualities which will carry us into the future (Holland 1990:267).*

3.0 Introduction

This Chapter predominantly discusses how research data were gathered. It starts by identifying its domain of operation before outlining how inputs were got from seven hundred and fifty respondents. The chapter points out that four co-researchers were engaged and the justification for that is given. It proceeds to examine the six data gathering methods the study uses at the same time noting their accompanying strengths and weaknesses of these sources. It ends by looking at research ethics before a chapter summary is given.

3.1 Qualitative research

This study is predominantly qualitative and interdisciplinary (Denzin and Lincoln 2003:11). This ethnographic study is committed to the naturalistic perspective as it focuses on understanding of research phenomena in-situ and interprets phenomena in terms of the meanings that people bring to them. This ". . . subjective, interpretive and constructive" (O'Leary 2004:99) approach is beneficial as it is concerned with discovering the meanings as perceived by those being researched. Put in other words, this entails understanding a people's mental categories, interpretations, perceptions, feelings and motives. Furthermore, this qualitative research seeks answers to processes, meanings, questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. The qualitative approach is also handy as the 'reading and rereading' (http://www.bmj.com/cgi/content/full/320/7227/114.../#B1) of data

during data collection heralds the onset of data analytical processes enabling the identification of themes and meaningful categorizations. In addition, qualitative research is forward looking as it develops theory from the gathered findings.

3.2 Sampling

This study focused on a sample size of seven hundred and fifty people. Five hundred respondents were given questionnaires while the other two hundred and fifty were interviewed. The 2002 national census gives the Zimbabwean population as 11 631 657. This is made up of Shona 71%, Ndebele 16%, other African 11%, Asian 1% and European 1% (Dube et al., 2007). The census findings show that the Shona people are the dominant group in Zimbabwe hence their preference in this study so that the results could be as representative as possible of the Zimbabwean naming situation. The preferred respondents were those above fifteen years and were chosen simply because of their maturity, participation or near participation in the naming process.

3.3 Pilot testing

An original questionnaire for pilot testing with thirty-three questions was finalized on February 28 2006 (see appendices questionnaire one). This follows the advice by Bell (1999:128) that, " .   .   . however pressed for time you are, do your best to give the questionnaire a trial run as without a trial run, you have no way of knowing your questionnaire will succeed". Therefore, fifty respondents in Harare colleges, schools, locations and the surrounding areas were self-administered the pilot questionnaires before August 2006 (see stamped documents in the appendices). This follows the granting of permission by the Ministries of Higher and Tertiary Education and Education, Sports and Culture (see approval letters in the appendices). Insights got from this exercise led the researcher to design a second questionnaire that had twelve questions (see appendices questionnaire two) that was administered to fifty respondents. However, after analysis of the pilot findings, consultation with fellow research experts, the twelve questions were unbundled into sixteen as efforts were being made to simplify them. The final questionnaire containing sixteen standardized questions (Robson 2002) was implemented (see appendices questionnaire three).

Literate respondents were given questionnaires to answer by filling while the non-literate was orally interviewed. The bulk of the questionnaires were answered while the researcher waited and this was beneficial as it ensured the minimization of response contamination. Furthermore, the researcher (s) offered anonymity and confidentiality, moves that ensured respondents cooperated freely.

3.4 Co-researchers

After the final questionnaire was ready, the researcher recruited four co-researchers. They were chosen on the basis of their gender, education levels, research and language expertise and familiarity with the respective cultures. The researchers were two males and two females who are holders of Masters degrees in African languages. They were working in Mutare (Manicaland province), Chinhoyi (Mashonaland West province), Masvingo (Masvingo province) and Bindura area (Mashonaland Central province). The researcher brought his experiences from Wedza (Mashonaland East) where he was born and bred, Harare and Gweru (Harare and Midlands provinces respectively) where he worked. Questionnaires were emailed to the co-researchers at the same time a handful with official stamps were posted to them so that they could be recognized and be granted permission to operate in the various communities. This scenario afforded this study first hand corpus from seven predominantly Shona speaking provinces under study at reduced costs. This ethnographic approach meant that the views of the respondents who own the names could be prioritized.

3.4.1 Strengths

The enlisting of co-researchers ensured that the research covered the seven provinces of Zimbabwe within a short time having used minimal qualified resources. This is against the background that Zimbabwe's economy had crumbled making it extremely difficult for one to traverse the country due to limited resources. Also, due to the unstable political background then, it was almost impossible for an unknown individual to gain access in the various communities. And, the best way to overcome such hindrances was by appointing qualified people readily accepted by their communities. Consequently, the appointment of co-researchers ensured the steady progress of the study regardless of the economic and political conditions prevailing in the country. Furthermore, the enlisted researchers afforded the main researcher a chance to cross check data with them. In addition, these co-

researchers submitted the answered questionnaires, recorded tapes as well as notes of interview responses. The researcher benefited from their expertise as they were allowed to comment on whatever was of interest to them thereby giving the main researcher more insights of the subject.

3.4.2 Weaknesses

Initially the co-researchers took time to exactly appreciate the thrust of the study but upon in-depth induction and exemplifications, the challenges were overcome. The financial limitations were overcome by resorting to use of emails, posting facilities and cell phones.

3.5 Sources of data

The researcher was not able to get permission to gather personal names from the records of births and deaths kept by the Ministry of Home Affairs. These documents could have afforded the researcher a chance to get access to a comprehensive source of anthroponyms since 1890. As a result, a decision was made to gather personal names from six sources to achieve the already outlined objectives (see Section 1.4.1).

3.5.1 NADA (1931-1977)

Personal names were gathered from twenty seven NADA volumes (see reference list) published from 1931 to 1977 and Alford (1987) used a similar source.

3.5.1.1 Strengths

This source contains names that were given as far back as 1897 up to 1977. The source covers the period the researcher failed to get an alternative voice and provide raw data which one has to treat cautiously for the researchers were not first language speakers and expert researchers. This source affords the study a chance to get almost at the naming scenarios prevalent before and just after the imposition of colonial rule in 1890. Secondly, this source comes from personalities living in various

colonial administrative stations across the country, a development that allows the study to almost get a representative source of data.

3.5.1.2 Weakness

This source was predominantly written by researchers who were not conversant with the uniqueness of the Shona language.

3.5.2 Shona novels, plays and short stories (1957-1998)

This source contains character names from one hundred and twenty five Shona novels, plays and short stories (see reference list) written mainly by Shona first language speakers from 1957 to 1998. Kahari (1990) did a similar exercise when he gathered character names from one hundred and twelve novels written from 1957 to 1984. The premise for their choice is that character names are a reflection of the concerned society's day-to-day naming practices. Interview sessions were conducted to solicit the meanings of the gathered names. This source gave an alternative voice to the one that dominated in the NADA journals. A similar source has been used elsewhere by Yuasa (1994:59-83) in his study of the art of naming with special reference to fictional names as an element of style in Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare. Also, Squire (1996:79-97) in returning to paradise through naming made reference to the incarnation of names in Breyten Breytenbach's *Return to paradise*. Like in European society name ". . . books, too, are also useful when a baby's name has to be selected" (Roberts 1931:89).

3.5.2.1 Strengths

This source have many first language contributors just like the namers are hence it provides a necessary broad base of raw data for a study of this magnitude. In addition, the writers, generally aged above twenty five, have undergone several life experiences just like namers in real life. The reason that most of these books have been used as school prescribed texts mean that their use allows the study to assess the extent to which the school system influenced Shona naming systems, among other issues. Furthermore, this source is readily available for consultation and provides an alternative voice to the NADA one.

3.5.2.2 Weaknesses

This source was meant for a different audience although its contents apply to various disciplines hence this study capitalizes on that. The major constraint this source has is that it is a literary one and some critics might belabor the point that character naming contexts are different from real life naming situations, a view this study recognizes but argues otherwise.

3.5.3 Graduation booklets (1987-2006)

Thirty one graduation booklets from tertiary institutions, namely, colleges, polytechnics and universities covering 1987-2006 make the third source of first names (see graduation booklets cover pages in appendices). Dube et al., (2007), among others, have used a similar source in their study of naming practices and language planning in Zimbabwe. Three out of eight primary teachers' colleges namely Morgan ZINTEC, Seke (Harare province) and Mkoba (Midlands province) and three secondary teachers' colleges out of four namely Belvedere (Harare province), Chinhoyi (Mashonaland West province), Mutare (Manicaland province) were consulted. Furthermore, the Zimbabwe Cuba teacher education programme (1987-1997) that produced secondary school teachers soon after independence was consulted. Names were also gathered from three national universities out of the nine namely, the University of Zimbabwe (Harare province), Midlands State University (Midlands province) and National University of Science and Technology (Bulawayo province). Lastly, some names were drawn from Harare Polytechnic. These tertiary institutions were settled for because of their location, period of existence and enrolment, amongst other reasons. This category caters for whoever would have chosen to pursue tertiary education.

3.5.3.1 Strengths

This source is representative in as far as it presents names of those who progressed to tertiary education. It affords the study room to examine names of people from various backgrounds from the four corners of Zimbabwe.

3.5.3.2 Weakness

Names from this source are predominantly of the advantaged Zimbabweans who progressed with their education as many do not get the chance for several reasons outside this study's parameters.

3.5.4 Newspapers (2005)

Four newspapers that cover the 2005 Zimbabwean national elections make up the fourth source of personal names. *The Daily Mirror* (March 23 2005) contained the announcement by Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) in terms of section 51 (3) and 52 (2) (a) of the Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) of the appointment of 8597 Presiding officers. Also, the state owned *The Herald* (March 8 2005), The *Financial Gazette* (March 13 2005) and the *The Standard* (March 13 2005) has the ZEC announcement of the election of 120 Constituency Election Officers appointed by Chief Elections Officer in accordance with Electoral Act (Chapter 2:13) (see newspaper cuttings in appendices). These newspapers contain names of election agents appointed by the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) (ZANU (PF)) and the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) who participated in the 2005 Parliamentary elections. For purposes of this study, this source is representative enough as it contains names of contemporary people found in the then one hundred and twenty Zimbabwean election constituencies. (Chapter four contains more on what transpired).

3.5.4.1 Strengths

Newspapers provided data on contemporary names of 2005 National election officers who run the elections throughout the country. In addition, a holistic naming picture is created as names from whoever participated from across the constituencies are presented.

3.5.4.2 Weaknesses

The names found from this source are predominantly of Civil Service personnel as they are the ones usually appointed to run Zimbabwean elections. Secondly, only a few of those linked to the contesting parties were recruited as its election agents hence the names are not quite representative.

3.5.5 Questionnaires

A study of this nature can ignore fieldwork at its own peril. The wishes of the various namers and the named must be sought so that their naming preferences can be established. A questionnaire is ". . . a set of questions on a topic or group of topics designed to be answered by a respondent" (Wray et al., 1998:167). Some valuable insights on the use of questionnaires and interviews as data gathering instruments have been shed by Watkins and London (1994) among others. Because, among others,

> . . . many linguists feel that questionnaires are best used in association with other types of data elicitation, because a fuller picture of the data can be accessed if it is approached from more than one angle (Wray et al., 1998:167).

The researcher incorporated the interview method. This move was meant to minimize or avoid ". . . courtesy bias . . . .", when respondents answer to please the fieldworker and ". . . sucker bias . . . ." (Wray et al., 1998:173), when respondents deliberately try to mislead the researcher that may be prevalent if either of the two is used in isolation.

On the preamble, the questionnaire contains clear, friendly, general instructions that provide specific instructions on the purpose, identity of intended respondents and how to fill it. Questionnaires make up the fifth source of data and its findings are analyzed with the aid of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. As for the questions, there were the first six questions that sought biodata of the respondents. Questions seven to ten require clues on who are the namers, the name categories, preferred categories of names and indications as to whom a child may be named after. Then, questions eleven to sixteen seek information on the number of personal names people have, whether they prefer always to be called by them, request for information on popular Shona male, female names, interesting names and personal names that people have reservations with (refer to the three questionnaires in the appendices). Furthermore, these few, short questions were preferred to motivate respondents who generally suffer from ". . . questionnaire fatigue" (Wray et al., 1998:171).

3.5.5.1 Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

This study uses the SPSS computer programme to record the findings from questionnaires. Data was entered manually into the spreadsheet and then the package was instructed to perform its computations depending on the fed variables. This package provides a quick, easy way of computing, analyzing the data and its users have less control over statistical output. Secondly, its first version was released in 1968 and is among the most widely used programmes for statistical analysis in fields like social science and education to name just a few. This study used its Windows point-and-click version (http://www.hmdc.harvard.edu/projects/spss-tutorial/spsstut.shtml). However, SPSS has problems with certain types of data manipulations, for instance, its weak lag functions and how it transforms data across cases. In recognition of this, the last four questionnaire questions were manually manipulated, as the programme has no provisions for it.

3.5.5.2 Strengths

Questionnaires have been preferred in this research because they are a ". . . flexible tool" (Walliman 2004:166) that knows no geographical boundaries. The same questionnaire was administered to all respondents in the seven provinces from which data was gathered with much easy. Through the standardized closed questions respondents were afforded the same chance to respond to similar questions. The straightforward nature of these questions ensured that they could be answered in a short space of time thereby minimizing bias. Questionnaires allow for anonymity, confidentiality and ". . . convenience" (Miller and Brewer 2003:253). The structured questions generate answers that allow greater scope for quantification thereby making it easier to conduct ". . . comparison and generalization" (David and Sutton 2004:37). Furthermore, the coding and transference of data to the SPSS proved easier as the questions were streamlined to capture single variable per time.

3.5.5.3 Weaknesses

The distribution of questionnaires proved slightly expensive for there was need to prepare five hundred copies on a good-quality photocopier. Also, the method seems formalistic especially on

questions with predetermined answers, an exercise that narrows the respondents' contributions. However, this limitation was overcome by the incorporation of the semi-structured interviews.

3.5.6 Semi-structured interview

Kahn and Cannell (1957) define an interview as a purposeful discussion between two or more people that can be used to gather valid and reliable data relevant to the research questions and objectives. Interviews help this study provide answers to five qualitative research purposes of understanding the meaning, context, unanticipated phenomena and processes leading to the development of causal explanations (Maxwell 1996:17-20, Nunan 1992). To add, an interview is beneficial because,

> . . . the purpose of qualitative interviewing is to understand how the subjects studied see the world, to learn *their* terminology and judgments, and to capture the complexities of *their* individual perceptions and experiences. (Patton 1990: 290, original italics in Corbetta 2003:264).

Furthermore, Pfukwa (2007:174) emphasizes the need for ". . . collaboration and engagement between researchers and subjects" because the subjects "own" the names and have their detailed descriptive backing. Therefore, an interview helps one gather valid, reliable data relevant to his/her research question(s), objective(s) (Kahn and Cannell 1957) and is more advantageous where there are a large number of complex, open-ended questions. Healey (1991) and Jankavicz (2000) used this approach with reference to business studies. The interviewer merely prompts and encourages the respondents to respond hence interviews are an open instrument, flexible, adaptable and appropriate, among others, for projects in many areas of linguistics like semantics and pragmatics (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994). Valuable insights were drawn from an in-depth study of interviews by Minichiello et al., (1990) and Merriam (1988) who made reference to a case study in education. Interviews were done during the same time questionnaires were distributed, among other reasons, to validate data got from the other five sources as well as to cut down on costs and time. Sixteen questions were asked which are identical to the questionnaires questions. They were used to ensure the respondents chance to shed more light on the names that have been got. This means that some names gathered from other sources were brought to the attention of the interviewees so that their opinion could be ascertained (see appendices for how the questions looked like).

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3.5.6.1 Strengths

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to pitch the questions in a manner palatable to respondents and the context of discussion. This allows interviewees sufficient freedom to delve into the issue at hand thereby exposing the researcher to in-depth information about attitudes and behaviour of the respondents. In like manner face-to-face interviews are characterized by high response rate while the probes enhance clarification of the data. The use of prompts helps to encourage the respondents to give much pertinent information. Semi-structured interviews help the researcher ". . . find out what is happening and to seek new insights" (Robson 2002:59). It uses open-ended questions that help minimize bias (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002) and have the advantage of openness to the specifics of individual lives and their general context (David and Sutton 2004:37). It also helps the researcher to ethnographically understand the attitudes of the respondents through repeating a question, summarizing the answers given, pausing, encouraging, expressing interest and asking for elucidation (Corbetta 2003:278). In addition, these questions allow the interviewees to reply as they wish as they generally start or include words like "what", "how", "why" (Saunders et al., 2003:262). This helps to explore responses that are of significance to the research topic, to seek an explanation where you do not understand the interviewee's meaning or where the response does not reveal the reasoning involved.

3.5.6.2 Weaknesses

The researcher learnt that face-to-face interviews are time consuming, costly especially in terms of transport, time and tend to compromise on anonymity. At at times, reliability is compromised as some informants may tell you what they think you want to hear and this has a significant bearing on the authenticity of the research findings. The technique lacks comparability (Miller and Brewer 2003:168) as it tends to be unique.

3.7 Research ethics

To get easy access to different communities, various tactics were used. The researcher was greatly helped by insights drawn from Fontana and Frey (1994). Firstly, before entry into an area the

researcher sought permission from various concerned authorities (see appendices), at times a very laborious exercise. During data gathering the research team took advantage of its awareness of the language and culture of the various communities. Respondents were told of the purpose of the study.

3.8 Conclusion

The study identifies seven of the ten provinces of Zimbabwe as its source of data. The Chapter underscores the importance of fieldwork for a study of this nature so that its corpus of study and findings can be validated by the users. The discussion points out that this is a qualitative ethnographic research as it seeks to understand the Shona personal names from the way the Shona people use them. This move provides answers to the questions raised in chapter one. The chapter outlines how the seven hundred and fifty respondents were chosen to whom the questionnaire and interview questions were administered. It discusses how permission was sought from relevant officials at the same time outlining how the pilot testing was done using fifty respondents. In addition, it outlined how and why four co-researchers were engaged. The study incorporated the statistical package for the Social Sciences as an analytical instrument. The Chapter makes it clear that a study of its nature needed to have a comprehensive data gathering mechanism so that its findings could be representative enough. To this end, it discusses how six data gathering methods were used. These are twenty seven NADA articles (1931-1977), one hundred and twenty five Shona novels and plays (1957-1998), thirty one graduation booklets (1987-2006), four newspapers (2005), five hundred questionnaires and two hundred and fifty semi structured interview questions. In addition, the accompanying strengths and weaknesses of the data gathering methods are discussed before ethical issues followed by a Chapter summary. Having taken care of the foregoing, the study proceeds to examine the data analytical tools discussed in chapter four.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORIES OF MEANING

. . . what criteria should be used to determine which meaning (s), reference (s), denotation (s) or connotations (s) are most appropriate? should meaning be prescribed or should be left to unfold as circumstances change (Pfukwa 2007:173).

4.0 Introduction

By way of extending Pfukwa's (2007:173) question, ". . . should we use semantic, the pragmatic or morphosyntactic criteria?" (Van Langendonck 2001:204). Partially, the latter gives clues by saying ". . . from a universal viewpoint, a semantic-pragmatic factor maybe the best basis for a characterization" (Van Langendonck 2001:204). This study is highly interdisciplinary and multi-faceted area of study that attracts practitioners and scholars from various disciplines as Pongweni notes, ". . . a study of such material has of necessity to have a multi-disciplinary approach to the extent that a single scholar espousing   one specialism cannot cope . . . ." (Pongweni 1983:87). Therefore, the chapter examines how this study draws analytical insights from the disciplines of pragmatics, semiotics, and semantics. It proceeds by outlining the propounded anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory at the same time giving an elucidation on the approximation model before a Chapter conclusion is given.

4.2 Pragmatics

Pragmatics (*pragmaticus* in Latin, *pragmaticos* in Greek) is a subfield of linguistics that was developed in the late 1970s by the philosopher, Charles Morris (1938). It is an analytical approach in linguistics, which involves itself with ". . . contextual considerations" (Brown and Yule 1983:26) as it studies how people comprehend and produce a communicative act (Peirce 1931), a speech act in a concrete speech situation or a conversation. From pragmatics, this study draws insights from the

concepts of presupposition, deixis, performative, implicature, conversational maxims and speech acts (see Figure 4:1 below). This study proceeds to examine various forms of pragmatic meanings as shown in Figure 4:2 below. Significant insights have been drawn from Austin (1962) and Loar (1991) among others.

Briefly, presupposition refers to what is taken by the speaker to be ". . . common ground" (Stalnaker 1978:321) of the hearers in the naming process or to be accepted without challenge. This happens when speakers rely on shared assumptions and expectations. Deixis, in its narrow sense refers to the contextual meaning of pronouns, and in its broad sense, what the speaker means by a particular utterance in a given speech context (Grundy 2000). Put in other words, it deals with meaning pointing to something. It refers to the logical meaning of a sentence or meanings logically associated with or entailed by a sentence. An indirect or implicit meaning of an utterance derived from context that is not present from its conventional use.

A performative implies that by each utterance a namer not only says something but also does certain things like giving information, stating a fact or hinting an attitude. Names are speech acts that execute actions like "requesting", "commanding", "questioning", and "informing" (Yule 1996:132, Searle 1976). Amongst the Shona people one must be aware of this study's proposed contextual implicature to differentiate "requesting" and "commanding" names as is shown by given names **Bvutai** (Please snatch), **Taurai** (Speak out), **Garapasi** (Sit down) and **Dzikama** (Be steady). These names are giving instructions of a directive nature especially the latter two. The former two fit in this category yet if it's a junior talking to the senior, the requisite tone becomes paramount. The names are orally used amongst the Shona people hence the need for the knowledge for one to realize that **Maitizvidii**? (How did you want it to be?) and **Muchazoitei?** (What then shall you do?) are questions. Yet, **Tarupedza** (We have finished child bearing) and **Tavapano** (We are here) are informative names which are extractions from real discourses. In these instances, personal names have been used in ". . . performative ways" (Tai 2006:224). The study of performatives led to the hypothesis of Speech Act Theory that holds that a speech event embodies three acts: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act (Austin 1962, Searle 1969).
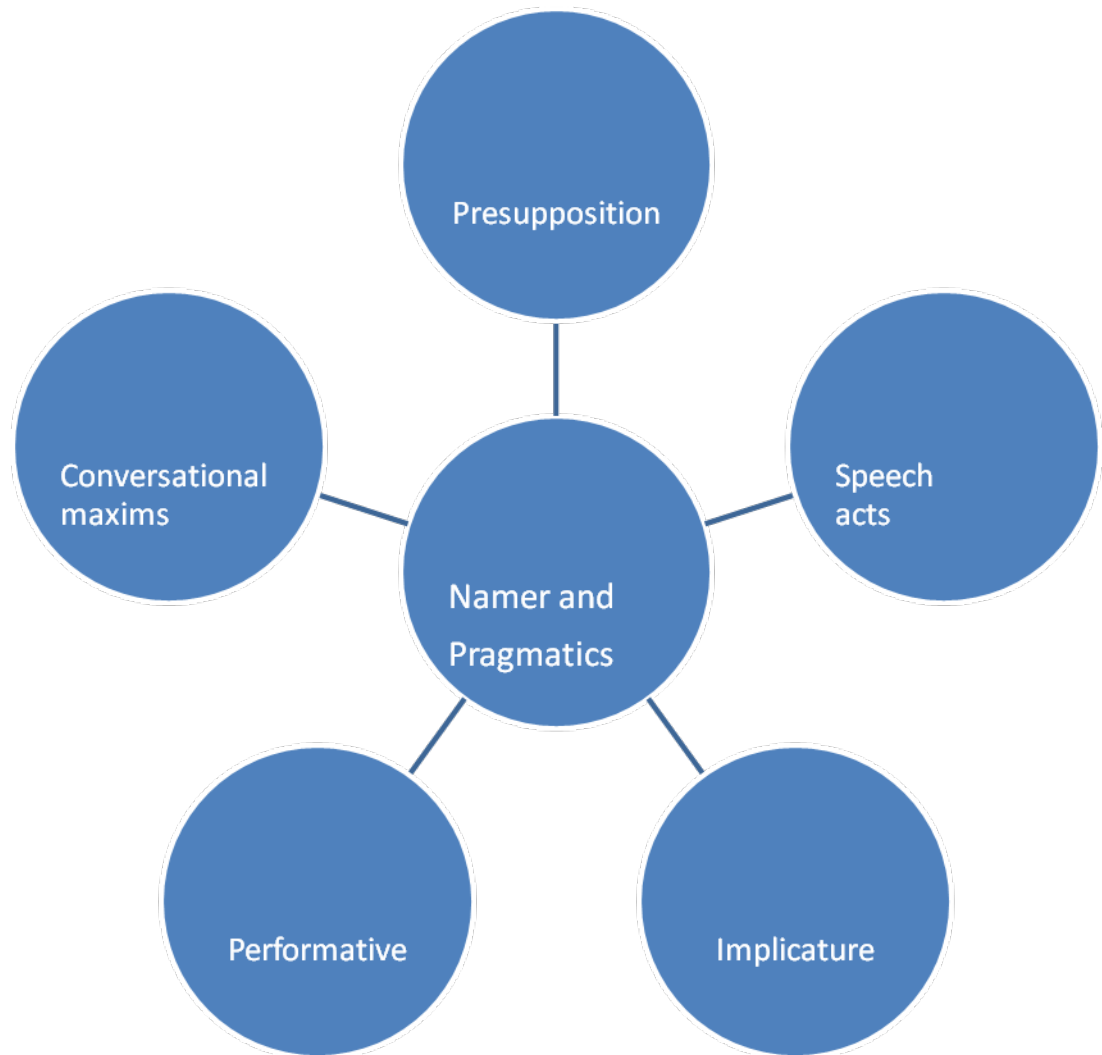
Figure 4.1: Relevant concepts from pragmatics

Naming generates various kinds of meanings and consequences, both personal and social, and can be also intentionally deployed as a classification system (Tai 2006:224). Like other kinds of names, personal names are used in performative (pragmatics) ways, serving different functions in different social contexts. In addition to their obviously referential function, names are often the vehicles for symbolic meaning which they acquire during our lifetime or which may be revealed to us through

their etymology. Our names are more than merely identification tags, encoded in them are, above all, our particular life stories, and the narratives in which we have our individual being (Jacobs 1995:13). Naming is an important socio-linguistic act and the word chosen to refer to a new baby has enormous symbolic power. It identifies the person sending messages to members of society about who an individual is, at the same time the name expresses hope, prayer, perpetuate a cultural, religious tradition, simply sound interesting (Alford 1987:51).
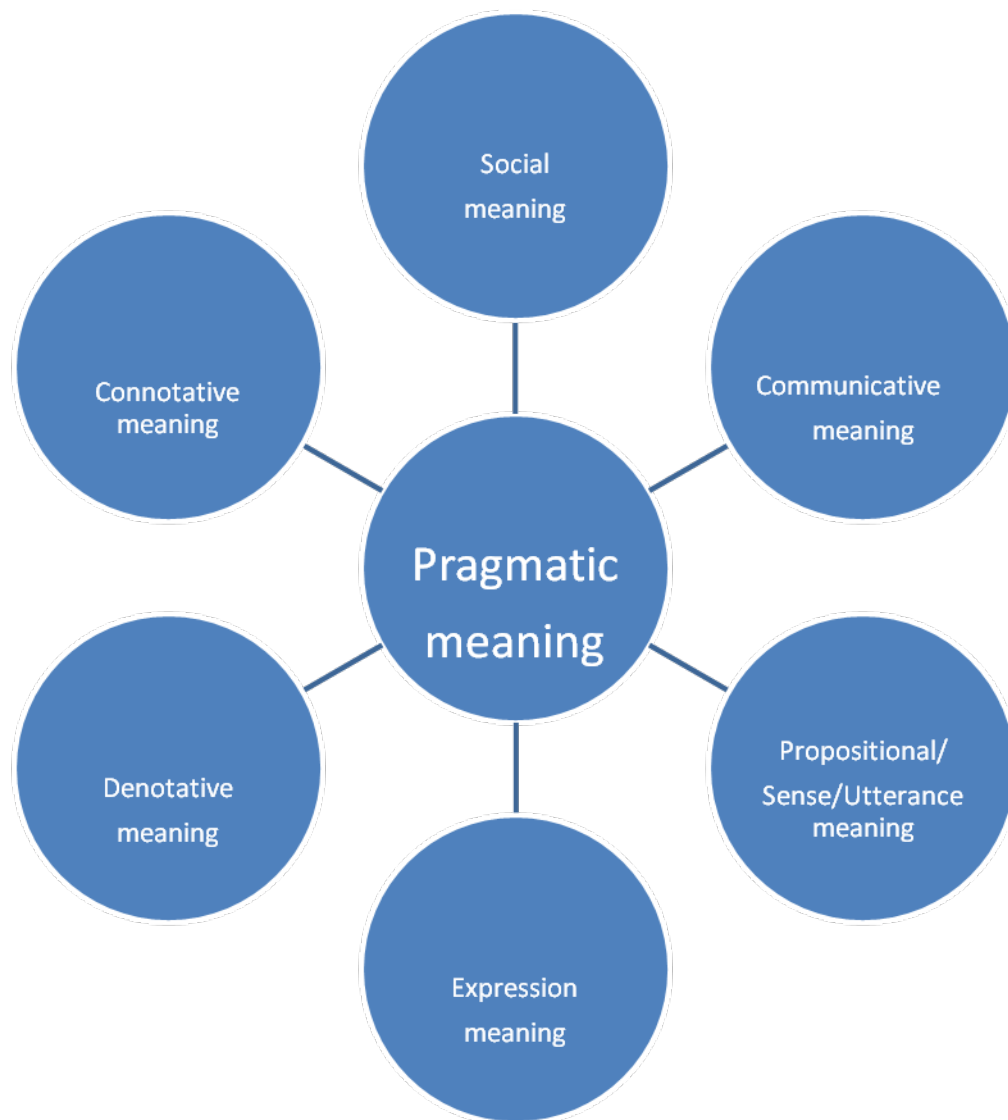
Figure 4.2: Various pragmatic meanings

Furthermore, pragmatic implicative role is when a namer uses names to ". . . imply, suggest or mean, as distinct from what the speaker literally says" (Grice 1975, Sperber and Wilson 1986/95:182). An implicature is a proposition not explicitly communicated by an utterance. It studies the "invisible", "intended speaker meaning" or how one recognizes what is meant even when it is not actually said or written. It is regarded as the connotative or inference meaning under the semiotic and semantic disciplines respectively. Levinson (2000) treats generalized implicatures as assigned by default to all utterances of this type, and contextually cancelled only in special circumstances. Particularized implicatures, by contrast, depend on ". . . special features of the context" (Grice 1967/1989:37), and cannot be assigned by default.

In addition, the cooperative principle argues that formulated namers adhere to four maxims of quantity (informativeness), quality (truthfulness), relation (relevance) and manner (clarity) (Parker and Riley 2000:12-13). In paradigmatic cases, ". . . their observance [maxims] promotes and their violation dispromotes conversational rationality" (Grice 1989:370). To one acquainted with Shona language, the four maxims are self encompassed in their names. For instance, the masculine name **Tonderai** (Remember) reminds an individual or group of whatever has happened in their family or at a national level. The name is a semiotic sign in the way elaborated by de Saussure and Pierce. The name is also indexical because its mere mention is quickly associated with certain events in the lives of the concerned people. The feminine name **Sekai** (Laugh at) denotes joyous moment usually marked by laughter.

Yet, connotatively it lampoons the implicated individuals who are against positive developments in their marriage. These people might be laughing because the family is in problems or had given birth to a challenged child. Instead of supporting them they are acting in the most unwelcome way hence this precise yet all encompassing loaded name captures that. As for **Farisai** (Enjoy to the uttermost)**,** a feminine name declares the namers' interest in having the family join in celebrations because of the positive developments that they have experienced. Some informants posit that the name calls those against the child to accept the reality and have the family move forward. The masculine name **Mapfumo** (Spears) is suggestive of a family in turmoil as a spear, amongst the Shona people was used in times of war as Zvarevashe (1976) reckons. Armed with these observations, it emerges that these four names are precise yet multifaceted in meaning. Therefore, to be meaningful is to participate

in the nature of signs, namely to point to something else. The delineation of its subject matter is highly debatable as meanings are not stable. Meanings depend upon namers, hearers, place, given facts and time of production or reception (Palmer 1981:2). Context includes any environmental, imaginable extra linguistic factor, discourse, social, psychological factors and it's very vital as it influences linguistic choices (Edwards 1985:5).

Pragmatics compliments semantics by looking at the use of context to make inferences about meaning. The theory of operationalism argues that the meaning of words/names is found within their contexts of use and Akwanya (1996:23) refers to it as a theory of interpretation. Epstein and Kole (1998:266) and Löbner (2002:9) refer to this prerequisite condition as "context of situation" or "context of utterance" respectively. Epstein and Kole (1998:266) by context of situation points out that every utterance occurs in a culturally determined context of situation. Therefore, the meaning of a name can only be teased out by understanding the context in which the naming occurs. This is imperative as the meanings of names are the result of complex social negotiations, learned, interpreted and reified through socialization (Leslie and Skipper 1990:273).

Pragmatics broadly distinguishes two intents in each communicative act. The first one is the informative intent or the literal meaning of the name. The second one is the communicative intent or the piece of information that the namer is trying to convey (Leech 1983, Sperber and Wilson 1986). Communicative meaning is the meaning of an utterance as a communicative act in a given social setting. Its meaning is outside the semantics range and is in the area of pragmatics (Löbner 2002:10). Giving names and using them are distinct illocutionary acts (pragmatics) and therefore imply sets of conventionally accepted intentions or motivations on the part of the name giver or user (Arno 1994:24). The descriptive meaning of a content word is a concept for its potential referents (Löbner 2002:23). The ability to comprehend and produce a communicative act is referred to as pragmatic competence (Kasper 1997) which often includes one's knowledge about the social distance, social status between the speakers involved, the cultural knowledge such as politeness, and the linguistic knowledge explicit and implicit.

This section underscores the pragmatic use of personal names. Obeng (1998) makes a similar observation that,

Names in Akana, as in other cultures, are pointers to their users' hopes, dreams and aspirations; they reflect geographical environment as well as fears, religious beliefs and philosophy of life and death. Children's names may even provide insights into important cultural or socio-political events at the time of their birth (Obeng 1998:163).

The preceding perceptions dispute Mill (1956[1843]) who conjured that proper names, in contrast, only refer, they do not have meaning and pick out their referents in virtue of sound (or printed characters) alone.

The ongoing debates perpetuate awareness that the names and meanings associated with them are constructed rather than natural. One suggests that this awareness circumscribes the power of names to symbolize taken-for-granted conceptions of the social world and its component parts at the present time. For instance, pragmatic meaning refers to the associations and connotations that become attached to the name via ". . . the attitudes and reactions engendered by the names" (Raper 1983:267) and its referent. It depends also on the background knowledge of the individual using the name. This theory notes that names can be used to pass on ". . . affective, expressive or emotive meaning" (Raper 1983:267) which is the result of personal emotions due to pleasant or unpleasant experience one may be putting across. It deals with the meaning of a name taken in isolation to express personal emotion, opinion or attitude. Löbner (2002:4) adds that expression meaning encapsulates the use of content words like bicycle. It covers in particular word and sentence meaning, that is, the meanings of words, phrases taken as such out of any particular context, in their general sense, constitute this level of meaning. In other words, it is the meaning of a simple or complex expression taken in isolation. This entails anything one says as through these names one expresses personal emotion, opinion or attitude. Meaning of expression content has conventionally been reduced into three: denotative, connotative and mythical level of interpretation (see Barthes 1967, 1972:115ff).

Secondly, it recognizes that names come from concrete instances hence their "utterance meaning" comes about when a sentence with its meaning is actually used in a concrete context (Löbner 2002:5). Kennedy (2003:69) calls this the propositional or sense meaning that deals with the sense of the whole utterance and their illocutionary meaning or force. Important categories under this category are classes of entities (species, groups); states (existence, presence or absence); attributes (shape,

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dimensions, value, taste, desirability); spatial positions (location, motion, direction, exclusion, replacement, distance); events (occurrence, schedules); time and temporal relations (sequence) and many others (Kennedy 2003:71). This is the meaning that results from using an expression in a given context of utterance. This capitalizes on the observation that meaning is tied to the language of use and its context.

Conversely, social meanings refer to the use of names to indicate social relations and performances of social acts in recognition of social rules of conduct (Löbner 2002:34). Social meaning deals with different settings or contexts and the names used in such instances can contribute to degrees of formality, politeness or intimacy and can help establish or mark social distance or solidarity (Kennedy 2003:72).

Nicolaisen (1980) points out that names reflect three levels of meaning namely the lexical level or the dictionary meaning of the word or words comprising the name. The second, associative meaning deals with the reasons why the particular lexical (or onomastic) items were used in the naming process (this is also the level of connotative names). The third is the onomastic level which focuses on the meaning of a denotative name as a name that is, its application based on lexical and associative semantic elements but usually no longer dependent on them. Conceptual meaning is inherent in the name itself, that is, the designator or linguistic sign. Conceptual meaning includes the lexical meaning and the grammatical meaning. Grammatical meaning refers to or includes functions such as gender, number and others. Conceptual meaning covers those basic, essential components of meaning which are conveyed by the literal use of a word, for example, the word needle in English might include "thin, sharp, steel, instrument" while "associations" or "connotations" attached to the word needle are painful. Yule (1996:117) talks of semantic roles.

4.3 Semiotics

The term semiotics comes from the Greek word *semeion* that refers to 'signs'. Pierce (1839-1914) preferred the term 'semeiotic' he defined as, ". . . action or influence, which is or involves a cooperation of three subjects, such as a sign, its object, and its interpretant . . . ." Its founders are the Swiss linguist de Saussure (1857-1913) (1966), the American logician, philosopher, pragmaticist

Pierce (1931) and Morris (1938). Roland Barthes (1915-1980), the French author and critic is an important modern exponent of semiology who extended de Saussure's concept of language to include all social practices in society. McDowell's (1981) study of toward a semiotics of nicknaming with reference to Kamsa and Guiraud (1975) shed valuable information on semiotics. Morris (1938) posits that semiotics includes the triad; syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Semiotics developed from the philosophy of structuralism that proposes that human behaviour, thus all communicative behaviour, is governed by an underlying system of ever-changing cultural and social structure. Jansen (1991) adds that semiotics is based on the premise that any object or action, that is, any sign that generates meaning does so by virtue of a system of conventions or rules that govern its use. The study of semiotics thus provides a method for the analysis of the nature of signs, the relationship between signs and the production of meaning.

Semiotics regards names as signs that convey meaning. It argues that all human communication is a display of signs, something of a text to be "read". Morris (1938:6) identifies semiotics as the study of ". . . the relations of names to the objects to which the names are applicable" (their designata). A sign is a linguistic element that unites a ". . . sound image" (Akwanya 1996:25) or its graphic equivalent and a concept. In the first instance, a sign is composed of an expression, such as a word, sound or symbol and content or something that is seen as completing the meaning of the expression (Hjemslev 1961). Pierce divides the sign into an icon, index and symbol. As for de Saussure a verbal sign has a signifier, (the personal name/sign have a physical existence/form that a person can see or hear), while as the signified, (it represents a completely arbitrary meaning, an idea or mental construct of a thing rather than the thing itself). That which links the expression and the content is brought to the signifying event when the interpretant changes (Manning and Cullum-Swan in Denzin and Lincoln 2003:466). The interpretant of a sign is another sign and that sign is validated as it were by yet another sign and so on without end (Eco 1979:7).

Connections between the expression and content are socially created, maintained (Culler 1975), shared, collective and provide an important source of the ideas, rules, practices, codes and recipe knowledge called ". . . culture" (Barley 1983). This led Searle (1958) to suggest that the essence of names resides in their intrinsic vagueness to further develop Frege's contention that the descriptive backing of proper names is not necessarily fixed across individuals. A name is applied to an entity

usually on the basis of some kind of motivation or association (semiotics). Most or many of these names originally probably had lexical meaning, but usually the lexical meaning becomes irrelevant as time goes by and may even disappear.

The main concepts drawn from semiotics are denotation and connotation. These two orders of signification deal with the meaning the namer, the bearer and audience/receiver choose to give to the name. Most theorists argue that no sign is purely denotative lacking connotation. To this effect, Jamieson (1985) insisted that no strict division could be made between denotation and connotation because evaluation and referential meaning is always permeated with value judgments. In addition, the warning by Fiske in O'Sullivan et al. (1998) that it is often easy to read connotative values as denotative facts is not misplaced.

Denotation is the primary or upfront meaning of a text (Jamieson 1985), the factual, dictionary (Nicolaisen 1978), objective meaning of the sign (Bennett and Royle 1995:207). Gall et al., (1996:269) regard a denotative sign as having a relatively obvious, fixed association between signifier and signified for people in general. Denotation of an expression is invariant and utterance independent. Denotation is part of the meaning which the expression has in the language system independently of its use on particular occasions of utterance (Lyons 1995:79). Put in other words, denotation refers to the definitional, literal, obvious or common sense meaning (Makondo 2005:35) of whatever personal name under examination.

Conversely, connotation is a range of frequently unarticulated values and emotions, which can properly be attached to the denoted meaning (Fiske 1979:52). It deals with suggestive qualities of words (Borcherds et al., 1996) as it incorporates possible deeper meanings at levels of symbolism and metaphor (Burton 2002). It is dependent on culture, education and knowledge of the world (see Sections 5.1-5.1.11) as a result different people may interpret the same message differently. Connotative meaning of a name is the personal associations it has for particular users, varies from person to person, but sometimes they can be common or generalized (Kennedy 2003:64). Therefore, ". . . no inventory of the connotative meanings generated" (O' Sullivan et al., 1998:37) by any name could ever be complete as connotation is based on the history of a particular group (Gall et al., 1996). Connotative meanings are social context-dependent or 'semiosphere'. That is to say, the addressee

must learn how to match the meaning intended by the namer to one of the various possible meanings held in memory by the group.

On a related note, Jesperson (1965:67) concludes that proper names are ". . . rich in connotation" or what Ziff (1960:97) calls "information content" against the view by Aziz (1987:51) that they are non-connotative. Frege (1949) submits that the meanings of proper names are associated propositions or families thereof. Within this context four forms of connotation were identified. Ziff (1960:93) identified etymology as one source of connotation and demonstrated it by giving the Greek name **Theophilus** (Lover of God). The second source is "personal experience" (Carroll 1983); the third derives from ". . . considering the distribution of the name in the corpus" (Ziff 1960:96). The fourth view regards meaningfulness as residing directly in the ". . . very form of the name" (Church 1956:3). The subsequent analysis in chapters five to eight seeks to show the applicability or otherwise of these observations.

Within this context, Meiring (1993:274) regards descriptive backing as amounting to the collective content of all conventional beliefs and connotations attached to a name. It stands to reason that this descriptive backing also has a subjective content based on individual experience and knowledge about a place, person or object bearing a name. This type of connotative meaning is open ended since it varies according to each individual's real life experiences (Leech 1983:12-13) and Raper (1987:79, 81) refers to this as "pragmatic" or "associative" meaning. Nicolaisen (1978:41) suggests that connotation is an inclusive, comprehending, embracing process and concludes that names can indeed function connotatively as they need not have lexical meaning to do so. For instance, the name **Farai** (Be happy), connotatively, is asking, urging, reminding or critiquing those who always negatively view their marriage. The namer is subtly saying s/he is surprised by their unwelcoming behaviour.

Culture is a reference point, a means by which one comes to believe in the reality of the expression (Eco 1979:71-72). To some degree, the potentially volatile contextual nature of meaning is reduced by shared knowledge, rules and codes employed within a culture. More often, the understandings are a function of ". . . knowledgeability" (Giddens 1984:76) or tacit, nonverbal meanings, taken for granted and unrecognized even by participants. As meanings collect under an ideological canopy, unpacking them becomes more complex, problematic and knowing the culture becomes essential. Culture is

sedimented in institutions that 'pin down' and stabilize the links between expressions, content and contain the codes that anchor the potentially migratory expression (Bourdieu 1977). Thus, within a given cultural system, power and authority stabilize floating and arbitrary expressions to establish and generate structurally dictated sign concreteness (Manning and Cullum-Swan in Denzin and Lincoln 2003:477). Furthermore, Barthes and Pierce use symbolism to stress the role of arbitrariness, convention or agreement among the users in establishing the meaning of personal names. In other words, symbolism refers to when personal names acquire or are given additional meanings that are culture specific (Fiske 1979:52).

Semiotics notes that personal names are mostly given for communication purposes. Two broad categories of names, the referential names have meanings associated with objects (real or imagined) found in the lives (fauna, flora and body parts, Kimenyi 1989:132). In Africa the prevalent trend is that the name and entity become one, and the referential function, that is, ". . . the function of individualizing and distinguishing the entity becomes primary" (Neethling 1995:57). The second category is made up of descriptive names which describe the state of mind or physical aspects (abstract, color and adjectival names, Kimenyi 1989:133). Therefore, the theory helps one appreciate ". . . the importance of naming as a means of ordering, structuring, imposing a pattern and a meaning, which allows the namers to manipulate the world" (Spender 1980:139). This study drew significant insights from the theory of semantics.

4.4 Semantics

The term semantics is derived from *sema* and in Latin *semantikós* refers to "significant meaning". The philosopher Morris (1938:6) identifies semantics as the study of ". . . the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable" (their designata). Semantics is concerned with accounting for the degree of uniformity in the "use" (Louwrens 1993) of language which makes communication possible. This study is interested in linguistic semantics that studies 'significant meaning'. It deals with what a namer might want personal name(s) to conventionally mean on a particular occasion. Names are only matters of convention, convenience as there is no necessary relationship between the sound/shape of the word and what the word stands for (Condon 1975:33). This entails focusing on the

study of the meaning of compounds, relations between different linguistic expressions, sense and reference.

Reference deals with the relationship between the linguistic elements, words, sentences and the non-linguistic world of experience (Palmer 1981:29). It is variable, utterance and context dependent aspect of utterance meaning as it's the relation that holds between speakers and what they are talking about on particular occasions (Lyons 1995:294). Raper (1983:268) notes that reference is the most important function of a name. Yet, successful reference depends on hearers identifying the speaker's intended referent, on the basis of the referring expression used (Brown and Yule 1983:205).

In contrast, inference is any additional information used by the listener to connect what is said to what must be meant (Schwartz 1977). Similarly, anaphora is defined as the subsequent reference to an already introduced entity (Yule 1996:131). Inference takes precedence since the analyst or hearer has no direct access to a speaker's intended meaning in producing a name. The hearer often has to rely on inference to arrive at an interpretation of names or for the connection between names/utterances via deductive inference. Socio-cultural knowledge helps inference. Context can be viewed as limiting the range of possible interpretations or as supporting the intended.

Koopman (1986) discusses "extra meaning" in the names and the "social comment" they make about their communities of origin. Koopman (1989:19-32) makes reference to four semantic groups. By compound he means a single word with two lexical elements (Koopman 1989:28). He devotes time to "semantic bleaching" in which a lexeme loses lexical meaning to take on grammatical meaning which differs from other types of semantic change such as "generalization", "specialization" and "radical shifts" (Ibid). These are the terminologies used by Louwrens (1993:13-14) in his study of semantic change in loan words, or "semantic broadening" in which a lexeme retains its original meaning, and adds extra meaning. By "semantic narrowing" he refers to when a lexeme loses part of its original range of meaning while "semantic shift" is when the original meaning changes to a different meaning, the terms used by Fromkin and Rodman (1983:297) for the same phenomenon. In all three cases the 'new' lexeme retains lexical meaning. Having discussed the various theories of meaning, attention shifts to expounding the intended study's underpinning theory.

4.5 Anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory

This theory submits that the selection and use of Shona personal names can best be comprehended if their environment of use is analyzed and understood. The decompositional theory aims to ". . . redefine, restructure and reshape concepts" (Pfukwa 2007:118). The theory feeds heavily from the views by Levinson (1983) and Rutkowski (2001). It argues that the disciplines of pragmatics, semiotics and semantics provide prerequisite pillars for one to comprehend the use of personal names. This happens as the three disciplines are interrelated and they most emphasize on the contextual use of language. This study submits that Shona personal names are statements, sentences and forms of discourse which require astute decomposition by one who can approximate their original contexts of use.

The theory enables the study to attain three objectives:
i)   to provide models of how one gets at the precise meaning of anthroponyms,
ii)   to help decompose and explain the compositional properties of anthroponyms,
iii)   to enable meaning comparison across languages.
In quintessence, the theory reduces the name into its more basic and ultimately minimal components in its quest to get at its intended meaning. Its premise is the realization that personal names ". . . have no meaning in them" (Akwanya 1996:13) as meaning is tied to the language of use and its context. The theory gives rise to an analytical tool here called approximation model. The model concludes that because Shona personal names are a unique comprehensive discourse, one has to be aware of how it puts across its idea. It identifies the maxims of brevity and tactfulness alongside contextualized implicature theory. The analysis of corpus is to demonstrate in detail that Shona names are precise, in whatever form they appear and one must assume their larger context for one to succeed in decoding them. The tactfulness maxim suggests that they conform within the dictates of their societal relational expectations hence they become contextualized implicatures.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter notes that the issue of the appropriateness of analytical tools is a contested terrain especially in an area of study like this one. This seems to be the case for the discipline feeds into

many related areas of study which also have their varied ways of handling meaning. The study discusses at length the interrelatedness of the disciplines of pragmatics, semiotics and semantics. It emerges that pragmatics predominantly concerns itself with the contextual use of language. From pragmatics, it emerges that personal names are used to perform various acts as they evaluate the status quo and project preferred scenarios. Personal names are designed by people who manipulate the assumed knowledge. By so doing they adhere to cooperative maxims in their use of names to achieve various implicated outcomes in ways that are not out rightly confrontational. The various types of informative and communicative meanings have been examined. From semiotics, the study got significant insights from denotation, connotation and culture thereby emphasizing the conventionality of the names. Additionally, semantic tenets of reference, inference, anaphora, semantic bleaching, semantic shift and semantic broadening among others have been explored. Having done this, the discussion exposes how the anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic theory comes about alongside its approximation model, the maxims of brevity, and tactfulness alongside the contextualized implicature. The study now proceeds to examine factors behind the selection and use of Shona personal names.

CHAPTER FIVE

NATURE AND FUNCTIONALITY OF SHONA ANTHROPONYMS

. . . names have meaning in a rather strong sense (Church 1956:37).

5.0 Introduction

This chapter analyzes data on Shona given names gathered through the six data gathering methods discussed in Chapter three. A corpus of ten thousand Shona personal names was gathered. At this stage, the examination concerns itself with establishing various factors that gave rise to the gathered names. It suffices to point out that eleven broad factors influenced the Shona people's selection and use of personal names. The chapter contains some tables which are predominantly used to graphically summarize the research findings thereby augment the flesh from the in-depth analysis.

5.1 Factors influencing choice of Shona personal names

This Section builds on Sections 1.3 and 2.2. It discusses factors that influence the Shona people's choice and use of personal names. The study makes reference to informants and interviewees as way of acknowledging their contributions submitted during the interrogations that the study undertook. Also, it is necessary to point out that data from these two sources amount to 46.15% against 53.85% from four sources.

5.1.1 Gender

Question one of the questionnaire notes that personal name usage and taste varies depending on the gender concerned. This realization came as a result of the responses given by the two hundred and fifty interviewees and five hundred questionnaire respondents. Females out-number males as shown

by the questionnaire results of two hundred and seventy two (54.4%) against 228 (45.6%) and one hundred and forty (56%) interviewees against one hundred and ten (44%) respectively. This scenario is representative enough of the Zimbabwean population distribution as shown by the results of the 2002 national census. As a result, almost all given names this study found have subtle or otherwise traces of this gender's influence in its bid to capture its deep feelings and thoughts against the perceived Shona patriarchal dominance. This male dominance dictates that women remain aliens in the families they are married into. After having considered gender as a name determining variable, the study proceeds to scrutinize whether age influences name choices.

5.1.2 Age

Questionnaire and interview respondents were sought from respondents aged fifteen years and above.

Age ranges	Total	Percentage
a) 15-20	35	7
b) 21-30	98	19.6
c) 31-40	162	32.4
d) 41-50	68	13.6
e) 51-60	49	9.8
f) 61-70	37	7.4
g) 71+	51	10.2
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 5.1: Age

It emerges that name tastes vary due to age. The most popular names out of the thirty five (7%) of the five hundred consulted respondents in the 15-20 age groups are **Tatenda** (We are happy) (among males) and **Tendai** (Be thankful) (among females). **Tendai** is a call to have one's child bearing contributions recognized for failing to have a child among the Shona people is the greatest curse one can imagine of. This is so because once a Shona person is married, s/he is expected to be called after

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the name of his/her child and if one fails to have a child then one would be called by his/her first name. Besides, the moment a woman knows that she has failed to conceive, then she knows definitely that one day her husband was to go out and be married to another woman so that he can have a son who can prolong his name and the clan after his death. This was fuelled by the Shona belief that after death they wanted people who could continue to use their names as well as people who could appease them as the 'living-dead' ancestors.

The 15-20 age range is important for the youngest parents are found in it as well as would be namers. This age range has adolescents bent on experimenting on almost everything inclusive of their perspectives on anthroponyms. Their worldview is shaped mostly by electronic developments in the global village like the internet and television, just to name a few. In short, the developed countries' perspectives on everything have become their standard of life. This means that almost everything local inclusive of their homegrown anthroponyms is looked at with distrust. Many respondents in this age range have finished their Ordinary or Advanced level studies and are gunning for tertiary education. Furthermore, some members of this age range have just left their areas of origin flocking to urban centres in search of greener pastures. Since the late 1990s due to the political and economic meltdown in Zimbabwe the majority have flocked to neighbouring countries as discussed in Section 1.3. As a result, these migrants came into contact with diverse nomenclature trends which eventually impact heavily on their given name choices. In essence, the factors here discussed have a bearing on all subsequent groups.

Conversely, the majority of the ninety eight (19.6%) respondents making the 21-30 age groups were doing tertiary education. This group typically gets involved in planned marriages resulting in them taking part in the naming processes if they have children. A popular male and female name found was **Tendai**. In addition, the 31-40 age groups have one hundred and sixty two (32.4%) respondents who gave **Tawanda** (We are now many) and **Tafadzwa** (We have been made happy) as the most popular male and female names respectively. **Tawanda** recognizes one's contribution in increasing the clan's population while **Tafadzwa** is indicative of a people pouring their gratitude for they have achieved the 'real thing' in their life time; that of having a child. The name implies that there are forces behind their procreation power and thanks are being extended to that originator. On average, in Zimbabwe, research informants note that if people carefully plan their marriage and pregnancies they get at forty

years having three to five children. This qualifies them to be regarded as naming veterans as they would have been directly involved in naming their children for three or more times.

Furthermore, sixty eight (13.6%) respondents make up the 41-50 age groups and their most popular names are **Tatenda** and **Chipo** (Gift, see Section 5.4.2) for males and females respectively. The ages 51-60 have forty nine (9.8%) respondents who preferred **Kurai** (Grow) for males and **Rumbidzai** (-**she**) (Give praise) for females. 61-70 age groups have thirty seven (7.4%) respondents who have **Tatenda** for males and **Netsai** (Trouble) for females while the seventy one age group has fifty one (10.2%) respondents who preferred **Tonderai** (Remember) and **Mazviita** (Thank you) for males and females respectively. The name **Kurai** shows that focus has been placed on seeing the continuity of the clan. This masculine name connotes that boys are targeted as they are the ones who immediately contribute to population growth in their clan as their children are named after the family name. The Shona people say *mwanasikana anonotanga rudzi negotsi* (A girl child would go and contribute towards population expansion of the family she has been married into).

The above fifty one years category highlight that they drew much satisfaction in being surrounded by their grandchildren as this testifies to their role in the growth of humanity. The feminine name **Rumbidzai** (-**she**) connotes one praising the Almighty for his/her 'achievement' as demonstrated by the number of offspring that have come from his/her labour. Through the popularly masculine name **Tonderai** the informant's desire to have their families grounded on the cherished family values as their departure through death seems imminent are put across. The name suggests that a lot has been experienced and now the young people are being reminded to remain firm on the cherished family principles. The reduction in life expectancy to around forty years adds to this desperate feeling. The name becomes a summative reminder of the family ideals just as the Decalogue which begins by "Remember . . . ." (Exodus 20:8-11) was to the old and new Israel.

Relatedly, through feminine **Mazviita** the namers are expressing their gratitude to whatever has happened. The name thanks the visible and invisible forces for having seen them thus far. Moreover, the older generation is saying, having seen their offspring's grandchildren, they now can sleep in death peacefully as Simeon claimed in Luke 2:29-30. In essence, the significance of understanding the 'frame of mind' (*Random House Webster's College Dictionary* 1992:294) of the namer and the

prevalent cultural expectations is highlighted. Therefore, name readers need to structurally decompose them to get at their core intended or implied meanings.

It also emerges that the above fifty one years age groups highlight the two-pronged dilemma parents have in naming their offspring. On the other hand, they have to allow their grown-up children to name their own children while on the other they want to entice them to name their children after their interests so that they could be immortalized through such names. An individual who is fifty-one years old in 2008 was born in 1957 while the one with seventy one years was born in 1931. The above seventy-one years old age groups had had contact with Zimbabweans who lived in a country 'undiluted' by western influences hence they used indigenous names that encapsulated their cultural values. To this end, these groups provided the study with the semblance of how things were yesteryear before the encroachment and entrenchment of westernization. Politically, these groups are representative of a people who had lived more than six political and economic phases in Southern Rhodesia, during the BSAC, the Federation, Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, the new Zimbabwe from 1980 late 1990 and after that heavily have bearing on their naming choices. As a result, their naming paradigms are complex as they encapsulate various worldviews. For instance, those above seventy years yearn for the 'uncorrupted' traditional Zimbabwean naming patterns close to before and immediately after the 1890s era where names were only in their mother tongue while the 51-70 groups prefer names that froze the colonial era related experiences. The provided status quo is what most respondents above seventy-one years envisage to see done to safeguard the Shona people's naming worldview. The next variable to be considered is the impact of education on the naming patterns.

5.1.3 Education

The formal school came with the European colonizing system. It was designed to shape the locals in ways that benefited the European. Put in other words, it intended to uproot and remove the African culture by instituting a pro-white mentality. Therefore, an acceptable outside proof that one was educated included, amongst others, adopting and using English or Christian names. It is within this breath that questionnaire question three solicited information on the educational background of the respondents in an endeavour to check the extent to which this has a bearing on the resultant names.

From Table 5.2 below it emerges that ninety seven (19.4%) respondents did not attend school up to the Ordinary level (for reasons outside the scope of this study), the minimum level the Zimbabwean government recognizes. Ordinary level qualification is attained by someone who would have completed a four year secondary course. This grade prepares one to progress to the Advanced level, a two year course that prepares one for University or any other tertiary studies

Level of education	Total	Percentage
Ordinary level	148	29.6
Diploma	125	25
Below Ordinary level	97	19.4
Advanced level	73	14.6
Degree	57	11.4
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 5.2: Education

To this end, this group provides the study with views of people who were/are semi-literate hence less exposed to the side-effects of the formal school. They represent, as it were the 'uncorrupted' people who named their children using homegrown paradigms. In contrast, one hundred and forty eight (29.6%) respondents are Ordinary level school graduates while seventy three (14.6%) respondents are Advanced level school graduates. From informants it materializes that the worldview and tastes of these groups are at variance with each other. The degree of variation continues to widen as one goes to the diploma and degreed categories.

In addition, most of the one hundred and twenty five (25%) respondents in the diploma category and the fifty seven (11.4%) degreed respondents are married professionals who already are naming practitioners. Their naming preferences are iconic to their respective societies as their anthroponym preferences are perceived as representative of the elites and societal ideals. This view was prevalent countrywide especially during the colonial era when the draconian bottleneck educational system

allowed very few blacks to go through the only University of Zimbabwe in Southern Rhodesia then or to universities outside Southern Rhodesia. Nowadays it is dominant in some rural, mine and farming communities. The people in the diploma and degreed categories interact with people from diverse walks of life through their educational or employment pursuits; experiences that have much bearing on their naming preferences. Some have intermarried resulting in their naming patterns being a blend of the joined cultures. Interesting enough, the study notes that most members in these two categories prefer indigenous names. Yet, interviewees like a seventy two year old Mkoba Teachers College male lecturer notes that semi-literate people still predominantly prefer English names so they could project an affluent and learned outlook meant to enhance their social status. It also emerges that each social class has its own naming patterns. Religion is the next variable to be discussed.

5.1.4 Religion

Almost every human being is religious in one way or the other. When one cannot account for certain things, one seeks answers from forces outside him/herself and religion is one such avenue. Religion deals with the acknowledgment of a greater force outside the self that shapes a people's destiny. To promote as well as to keep one reminded of such a reality, naming after its cherished tenets becomes one negotiating tactic. Within this context, questionnaire question four verified the extent to which one's home religious background has a bearing on one's personal name preferences as ". . . religion shapes one's culture" (Dudley-Evans and St-John 1998:66). As table 5.3 below shows, it emerges that Christianity, which boasts many denominations is a dominant religion. It is followed by African Traditional Religion (ATR), Islam and others.

Most Christians and non-Christians alike derive their names from Jewish, Hebrew, Greek, Canaanite cultures among others as most biblical stories revolved around these communities. The Bible reveals that much reference is made to names of God, Jesus and some prominent personalities. David (Psalms 76:1) makes reference to God's name as the greatest one in Israel and in Psalms 83:18 gives his name as **Jehovah** while an instruction to have the name praised is given Psalms 113:3. Solomon makes it clear that a good name ought to be chosen and preferred in Proverbs 22:1 and Ecclesiastes 7:1 while in Songs of Solomon 1:3 the name is likened to ointment. The Bible declares that God's name is an everlasting one (Isaiah 56:5) and in his name shall Gentiles trust (Matthew 24:5). Luke and Paul point

out that salvation is through the name of **Jesus** as his name is the greatest given under the sun (Acts 3:16, 4:12, Ephesians 1:21, Philippians 2:9-10 and Hebrews 1:4). In the last book of the Bible, Revelation it is reported that the saved ones shall be given a new name no man knows (Revelation 2:17) as the Father's name shall be put on their foreheads (Revelation 14:1). From the Bible it emerges that names were drawn from one's attributes as what happens to most of God's names.

Home religion	Total	Percentage
Christianity	367	73.4
ATR	64	12.8
Muslim	35	7
Other religions	34	6.8
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 5.3: Home religion

The next four Christianity oriented names are best understood against this background. The book of Matthew is the first gospel said to have been written by **Matthew** (**Mateo~Matewu**), a Jew. Among other reasons, some scholars suggest that he wrote to his countrymen so that he proves that Jesus was a real Jew who had a mission to his race. With this in mind, some informants chose the name to show that the named has a mission to his own people. Informants suggest that the name **Lazarus** (**Razaro**) was chosen because people had doubted that the child would survive, but to their surprise, it survived just like the biblical **Lazarus** who was brought back from the dead as recorded in John 11. In addition, some informants report of people who were mistaken for dead only for one of them to knock the coffin hours before burial while the other rose during the body viewing ceremony. The point is that the Shona people had no culture of taking an alleged dead person to doctors for verification as is done when one dies in a hospital. Due to financial limitations, it is believed that some people are buried before they die as these instances demonstrated. Therefore, the name **Lazarus** became

popularized and submerged the earlier personal name. Also, one notes the influence of the Bible on Shona naming patterns.

Jeremiya (Jeremiah) was an individual called at a tender age to be an Israelite prophet. He operated amidst much resistance from his countrymen but he persevered. As informants found on date at a Christian gathering in Mashonaland Central disclosed, the name was chosen because what the original Israelite prophet went through is what they think the named would meet in his life. To this end, they want the named to draw motivation in the fact that success awaits hard workers. Also, they declare that the name was proposed by their church prophet before the child was born or during the baptismal ceremony. On the same note, some namers reckon that they chose the name as they were not accepted by their respective families yet the two were in deep love. To this end, they were declaring their innocence just like Jeremiah who was hated for declaring to his people what God expected from them. **Sitivhini** (Stephen) suffered the same fate for he was elected to serve widows of his countrymen who latter administered his death (Acts 6-7). As a result, understanding of the etymology of these names, what the alleged original name owners went through helps one understand their contemporary uses among the Shona people. In essence, this congregation declares that almost all their names are bible oriented as a way of making sure that they have 'holy names' so that traditional spirits, that is, ancestral spirits, which they now regard as evil spirits should not follow them. This religious community adopted new address forms so as to 'confuse' those who are non-believers and whoever and whatever evil spirit. Therefore, the trend of using religious oriented names is a life phenomenon as followers of whatever religion have a proclivity to use such names to propagate their faith as Section 2.1 made reference to Islamic given names.

The other category caters for the various minority religions in Zimbabwe like Hinduism, Buddhism and it was impossible to get names from these communities. The others also refer to neutrals. These are the people who claim they do not subscribe to particular religious beliefs hence they claim that their name preferences are not biased. They support their position by pointing out that they have not been converted into any religion and most of them seem unaware that almost every Shona person is born in African traditional religion until s/he moves out. Having said this, the study notes that religion is a way of life hence these names express a people's way of life in ways outsiders need to be taught

so that they can appreciate their significance (see Sections 5.2). Related to this, attention shifts to the part played by nationality in the choice of names.

5.1.5 Nationality

Identity defines life. It is interesting to note that when asked who you are, a Shona person gives his/her personal name, surname and totem, in whatever order. In like manner, when one is outside his/her country, one gives his/her names plus that of his/her country. It is within this context that questionnaire question five traced parental origins because names draw from various past meanings for them to be meaningful. Table 5.4 below notes that three hundred and seventy (74%) respondents have parents who are Zimbabweans by birth, seventy two (14.4%) by descent while fifty eight (11.6%) by registration. This status quo highlights that a sizeable number of people in Zimbabwe originated outside her borders hence the assortment in given name preference (see Section 1.3, Runyowa 1982).

Parental origin	Total	Percentage
Birth	370	74
Descent	72	14.4
Registration	58	11.6
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 5.4: Parental origin

One has to bear in mind this reality when examining the corpus of Shona anthroponyms. Upon interrogating the informants it came out that those who came from outside Zimbabwean borders found themselves under pressure to name as the Shonas do hence they mostly translated their names into Shona language. Resultantly, this highlights the relevance of the decompositional approach so that the various derivational approaches they used could be comprehended. To this end, when one talks of Shona names, s/he is making reference to some names that are a result of cultural hybridization

processes. Closely related to nationality is the part played by one's residential area in anthroponym preference.

5.1.6 Residential area

Where one abodes shapes his/her view of life. For example, those in rural areas, farms, mines or towns define time differently hence they have varied life priorities among others. It is within this rational that questionnaire question six established where the five hundred respondents reside. Table 5.5 below shows that one hundred and thirty two (26.4%) respondents dwell in urban high densities (the most populated urban areas which were colonial residential areas for the blacks). Here reside urbanites of all walks of life; the literate, non-literate, semi-literate, non-professionals, semi-professionals and professionals. These groups of people are intertwined, a trend captured in the observed naming trends. The study regards the three hundred and thirty eight respondents who live in mines, urban centres as urbanites because of the quality of life experienced there whilst rural dwellers are those one hundred and sixty two respondents who live in rural areas and the majority of the farming areas.

Location	Total	Percentage
Urban high density	132	26.4
Rural	116	23.2
Urban medium density	110	22
Urban low density	58	11.6
Farm	46	9.2
Mine	38	7.6
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 5.5: Residential area

This population distribution is representative as the majority of Zimbabweans have drifted to urban centres and this is confirmed by interviewees aged 68, 74, 78, 83 and 86. The latter emphasized the

detrimental effect urbanization has on Shona nomenclature trends in favour of western oriented ones. Even the resettlement programmes have heavily influenced the nomenclature trends as people from different communities and cultures have been brought together. The present day Zimbabwean rural community is greatly affected by developments in mines, farms and urban centres as the labour force in these centres come from the former.

In contrast, low-density (less populated residential areas which where a preserve of Europeans during the colonial era) residents and respondents are the most exclusive and affluent individuals. As a result, research notes that their contact points with 'ordinary citizens' are rather restricted. Their children learn mostly at the exclusive elite schools hence their naming patterns seem at variance with the other groups. The study establishes that name dualisation is popular amongst this class. In name dualisation an individual is given an English name and a Shona/Ndebele name like **Rugare/Jabulani** (Good living/Be happy) so that one fits neatly into the English and Shona/Ndebele worlds. **Rugare** denotes stability in a family. It might be a thankful statement or a call for peace that might be missing in the family. But of immediate importance is the realization that, in rural areas the child would be called by the name the folks are familiar with whilst amongst their urban associates, either locals or foreigners, s/he would be called by name(s) in the dominant language that speech community uses. In these instances, personal names are being used as status/class enhancers thereby testifying to their pragmatic and semiotic use of denoting and connoting various intended and preferred meanings. Then, it is paramount to examine who actually does the naming so that it can be established whose intended or preferred ideas are put forward by whatever personal names.

5.1.7 Namers

In addition to Section 2.2, questionnaire question seven established who the prominent namers among the Shona people are. Table 5.6 show that two hundred and eighty two (56.4%) respondents submit that both parents are the frequent namers of their children. Among the Karanga people in Masvingo province, a child would be named after about eight days. Names were chosen with care and usually served to summarize the feelings of the parents, child's habit, economic status of the parents, circumstances surrounding birth and various other considerations (Chitando 1998b:110). Among the Zezuru people in Wedza, Mashonaland East province, parents jointly named their children unless

some special circumstances prevail that would allow one to name. Instances like when the father had denied responsibility of the pregnancy was identified along side the observation that even if the father was away on work commitments he could be waited for if they had not finalized the name during the gestation period.

Namer's	Total	Percentage
Parents	282	56.4
Father	68	13.6
Mother	56	11.2
Grandparents	54	10.8
Aunt	32	6.4
Other	8	1.6
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 5.6: Namers

This group realizes that the couple mutually agrees on preferred name(s) before they announce to outsiders their name without identifying the original name coiner. On the other hand, sixty eight (13.6%) respondents suggest that fathers were the exclusive namers. According to an eighty four year old male informant of Shurugwi, Midlands province and a ninety two year old Shamva chief, Mashonaland Central province interviewed on August 20, 2006 and November 18, 2006 respectively, fathers are the solitary namers as a means of demonstrating their ownership of the children as they pay bride wealth. This speaks volumes about patriarchal dominance amongst the Shona people. Additionally, fifty six (11.2%) respondents argue that mothers were the only namers either by agreement, because they were the dominant force in the marriage or were single parents. Mothers were/are namers because they strongly feel they have to put across their pregnancy or marriage experiences through those consequential names. With the much publicized human rights, among other variables, Shona mothers are almost claiming equal naming rights with their husbands.

From Table 5.6 it emerges that grandparents were significant namers as shown by a total of fifty four (10.8%) respondents. Amongst the Shona people, this category is broad as it encompasses several significant family members of the couple. These significant family members brought ready-made names which the couple had to grapple with and voluntarily accept or otherwise. On this topic, Kabweza says,

> *Zita romwana rokutanga tanga raitumidzwa nambuya vake vakamugamuchira. Kazhinji pazita apa vanenge vachirondedzera nhunha dzavo. Asi kazhinji zita iri handiro rinozodanwa mwana uyu nokuti vabereki vake vangangodawo kumupa rimwe zita romwoyo wavo (*Kabweza et al., 1979:14).

> (The midwife gave a child's first name. Through it the midwife echoed her labor experiences. At most, this name was not the one to be popularized as parents were at liberty to give other names).

This was aided by their religious perspective that treats the departed as the living-dead whose custodians were the remaining elderly family members. The fact that family members contributed names; this explains why one ends up with more than one personal name (see Section 8.2). Father-in-law and mother-in-law fall under the grandparents' category. Their contributions were seriously considered until recently when they have been relegated almost to oblivion by urbanization, education and new religions among other hindering factors. Furthermore, among others, a female respondent aged seventy six of Zimuto, Masvingo province interviewed on January 14, 2006 notes that the first boy was named by their husband's biological father while a daughter by her husband's biological mother and after that the two parents were free to name their children. On this note, female informants aged seventy-eight and eight-three interviewed on May 25, 2005 and August 20, 2006 in Wedza, Mashonaland East and Mbare, Harare province respectively insist that the bridegroom's parents were the popular namers. They went on to blame Shona men, the supposed custodians of the patriarchal culture, for having let down pro-traditional naming trends in favour of the contemporary pro-western ones. On this platform, one perceives that these names would be quite meaningful to the named if the latter is properly initiated on their worldview or otherwise the name(s) would remain a mere label.

Coupled with this, thirty two (6.4%) respondents show that aunts occupy a pivotal position amongst the Shona people. They are the custodians of the feminine values cherished by their respective

families. This office together with grandparents amongst others prepared adolescent girls and boys on marriage issues on behalf of the entire family. In other quarters aunts are called *babakadz*i (female father) for they wield similar powers with the biological fathers. In fact, on issues about marriage among the Shona people aunts are very powerful to the extent that biological parents and grandparents only complimented them. Furthermore,

> *kazhinji hama dzemurume dzakaita sehanzvadzi nanamukoma ndivo vaikurumidza kuuya kuzopa mwana zita. Zvaiti kana anenge atanga kupa rupfumbidzo (chipo chaanokanda achireva zita raanoda) ndiye anonzi apa mwana zita rinosara richidaidzwa (*Kabweza et al., 1979:23*).*

> (In many times the husband's sisters and brothers came early to name the child. The first to give the token meant to popularize a particular name was regarded as the one who named the child).

Pongweni (1983:8) concurs by adding that the bridegroom's relatives also gave the resultant children names that reflect their own attitude; favourable or otherwise towards their daughter-in-law (see Section 5.1.7).

In addition, the others category has eight (1.6%) respondents. This group is inclusive of significant namers like the father and mother's brothers, sisters, midwives, the neighbours amongst others. This group highlights the collective ownership of Shona children as almost everyone within the family circles could contribute towards the naming of a child. The Shona culture allowed the others to suggest whatever name and give whatever token they had to prove their genuineness in requesting the popularization of a particular name. The study notes that fifteen gathered names came through this practice, especially in united families and communities. This partially accounts to why one ends up with more than one personal name.

Put in other words, it emerges that to name is to ". . . own and control" (Carter 1987) and the initial speech act of naming has a motive that can only be confirmed by the name giver. By extension, through naming, one's inclinations are cemented and the named becomes an embodiment of the namer as the latter has been given a lifetime defining tag. Within this realm one notes the predetermining role that some names execute. For example, some informants divulged that some people named **Muchaneta** end up being troublesome individuals in life as if to highlight the prophetic

dimension of personal names. The name implies a reference to those who would be reprimanding the named that they shall tire on doing that yet she would not change. The name is feminine. It reminds one of Chakaipa (1963) and Mungoshi (1975) were the behaviour of female prostitutes is against several counsels they did not hid to. It emerges that some writers in indigenous languages tend to condemn the African women as a dangerous temptress, without taking due cognizance of her condition (Gambahaya and Muhwati 2007:66). Informants disclosed, for instance when someone is now bedridden for whatever reason that came as a result of disobedience that they did their part yet, as if according to fate the person continued in that course.

5.1.8 Birth circumstances

Dominant prevailing natural circumstances play a significant role in determining name choices. This is what Marapara (1954:7-9) meant by saying ". . . a child's name is greatly influenced by the circumstances of that child's birth". For instance, one NADA source has three famine-oriented names that underscore this idea. **Goredema** (A black year) was given because there was famine. The country could not receive sufficient rainfall to support agricultural activities and the result was severe suffering. Within this period, some of the children born were named after the prevalent natural disaster. This was one way the people tried to come to terms with such a dire challenge. During this era it so happened that the sitting Shona chief's field produced several pumpkins and melons which he rationed to his subjects, just like the Red Cross among others does today to many suffering communities. This gave rise to the name **Rupandamanhanga** (To eat raw pumpkins and melons). For reasons beyond the people's comprehension, when the next Rozvi king came to power, that period received abundant rainfall and that king got the name **Gumboremvura** (Leg of rain). The subjects, on the other hand, resorted to naming their children after this name as their way of recording and freezing the era. The Shona people could say,

> *Ndiyeka akazvarwa gore renzara uyu (**Goredema**) rataidya manhanga nemanwiwa akadaro (**Rupandamanhanga**) tevere uyu wegore ranaya mvura zhinji (**Gumboremvura**).*
>
> (This is the one who was born during the year of famine (**Goredema**) in which we ate pumpkins and melons (**Rupandamanhanga**) followed by this one born when we received plenty rainfall (**Gumboremvura**)).

Through these three names, people commented on the status quo. Similarly, ten names were given by a male respondent aged eighty-three interviewed in Samuriwo village, Wedza; Mashonaland East on December 25, 2005 that underlies the prevalence of this practice. The named's names were later used as counting beacons for instance during the births' registration. In like manner, a child who had wept uncontrollably for the boiling soup of meat had a name derived from such an occurrence ". . . *iye zimuto, ndiwe zimuto'* (Here is soup, you are soup) meaning ". . . here is soup for you, and now your name is **Zimuto**" (Morris 1932:18). This name started as a context bound remark before being elevated to a personal name as well as a prominent place in Masvingo province.

Social circumstances played a significant part in the resultant naming processes. Shona people considered how their marriage was received, a situation that gave rise to various names that are a minefield as they shed more light on their contemporary situations. Confrontational acts were discouraged hence telling and loaded Shona anthroponyms were one popular polite redress mechanism that was at the couple's disposal as shown by the subsequent first names from questionnaires. In **Muchatenda** (You shall be thankful) the namer(s) denotes their innocence. They are submitting that they are being unfairly treated and hope that as events continue to unfold s/he shall be vindicated. The name categorically implies that the aggressors are respectable people. They either could be husbands for wives were expected to respect their husbands as the 'head' of the family or other family members whom it is taboo for the spouse/couple to confront. In **Zvichapera** (It shall come to pass), one's optimism is underscored. This perception is cemented by the Shona adage *chinobhururuka chinomhara* (That which flies shall land), an indication that though the circumstances appear tense, one hopes for the better. **Tinonetsana** (We are having problems) clearly states that the marriage is rocked with challenges which are spouses, family or community oriented. The bearer becomes a declaration of the status quo as well as a call for help so that the marriage could be sustained. According to Stein and Potenza (2000:11), a Sotho child who brings joy to his parents might be named **Thabo.** A new born baby who is born a few days later than s/he is expected might be given the praise name **Ongafuni ukumenyezelwa** (The one who does not want to be announced). As for the Zulu people, a girl born during a rain period might be named **Nomvula** meaning in the rain.

The name **Muchato** (Wedding) declares that the couple is in a holy matrimony and as the Bible directs this institution has to be upheld as it is God given. The name reminds the hearers that this

institution is lifetime and does not allow infidelity of whatever nature. In actual fact, the Bible declares that marriage can only be ended if a spouse have been adulterous and if the two has agreed that they are irreconcilable. Matthew 5:32 says,

> But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication causeth her to commit adultery, and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

This highlights the permanence of marriage, a view the Shona people cherished. The name also denotes that the couple wedded or is a reminder of that or the pregnancy materialized on or around their preparations for their wedding day.

Through synonymous names **Zvondiwa** (One who is hated), **Musarurwa** (The neglected one) and **Shorai** (Despise) the namers declare that they have not been welcomed by the families they married into. They have waited through the gestation period hoping that the situation would improve to no avail. As a result, they have decidedly taken this subtle confrontational move with the hope that things can be sorted out. This is important because being despised in a marriage setup is the last thing one can tolerate as the Shona people regard marriage as a life long relationship. This makes it imperative to have relations improved so that everyone involved could have meaningful marriage lives.

Takaidza (We tried) declares that attempts to ensure that the relationship remains sound have been made to no avail. The name underscores the innocence of the namer(s) as well as calling for assistance from interested stakeholders. The name implies that efforts were made to have healing to no avail hence the resultant deformity or death was not because of negligence. The name also suggests that if a spouse walked out of the marriage, it was not because the remaining one did not do enough to salvage the situation. **Runyararo** (Peace) is a call for normalcy in the family so that the marriage can be enjoyed. This seems the case as some family members have a tendency of trying to direct affairs of a couple to an extent that the feelings of the two would be violated. It is within these circumstances that one calls for peace. In addition, there might have been developments like deaths and people ended up accusing each other to the extent that relations have been affected.

Matambudziko (Troubles) denotes and connotes a marriage rocked with serious challenges to the level that they cannot be contained hence this public declaration. One should reckon that this was the last thing the Shona system allowed for it has inbuilt redress mechanisms which had to be exhausted. For instance, the aunts of the couple had to be engaged thoroughly so that the problems could be redressed. These office bearers were allowed to confront whoever would be the perpetrator within their families. It is within this framework that one realizes that this name declares that the issues concerned are so big that they require outside intervention like the senior patriarchal and matriarchal members. Also, the moment such a name is heard, people would ask the namers what exactly would be going on so that they could come to their rescue.

Mudzingwa (The chased one) connotes that a spouse was not welcome to the extent that s/he was sent away. Informants declare that this happens especially to those who get pregnant before the solemnization of the marriage as some men have a tendency of abdicating responsibilities. **Chadamoyo** (That which the heart chose) declares one's love to the particular spouse and family regardless of the seen and unforeseen shortcomings. This implies that relatives might be challenging someone's moves hence this vehemence. Through **Forgiveness** a call to give the namer(s) a new lease of life is made. The namers hereby accept their shortcomings. On the same note, the namer is declaring that s/he has forgiven everyone for how they had handled him/her. **Chamunorwa** (That which you fight for) is a concealed rhetorical question directed to the respected family members or spouse. It suggests that to the best knowledge of the namer s/he is innocent yet events suggest that s/he is not welcome. Closely related is **Muchemeranwa** (The one who is cried for), a name suggestive of one who has concluded that these problems seem to have heightened the moment s/he joined the family. The name might be indicative of his/her being unwelcome hence s/he is asking on the way forward. These names make reference to various incidences characterizing the marriage. It is therefore a truism that if one understands the language of use one can easily realize the different phases a particular family would have gone through. Related to these are first names that comment on family relations.

The study realized that Shona people derived names from how the surrounding significant family members treat them. **Hatinawedu** (We do not have supporters) suggest a couple's realization that their family members do not support them as they are expected to do. This painful realization comes

when there is an illness, bereavement, accusations among others where everyone expects family members to rally behind them the opposite was the order of the day. Similarly, **Vakanai** (Build each other) implies that the family should be united as there is unity in numbers. The name makes it clear that family members are working for their downfall instead of their upliftment. **Dzimbanhete** (Young families) implies that as a young couple they cherish their families support so that they could be established. The call is also referent of family members who might be requesting much financial support to the levels the couple could not meet. Resultantly, the couple is making a statement that they are still financially young as they have many basic things to do for themselves alongside their duty to look after their parents and extended family members. This underscores the Shona philosophy that family members are supposed to help each other. This is against the prevalent weird philosophy that when one marries s/he must only take care of his/her immediate family members; a development that explains the unending mushrooming of old people's homes. Related to this, many old people's deaths are due to stress as their family members would have discarded them yet they contributed so much for them.

The lack of reciprocity in the family is underscored through synonymous names **Shayanowako** (Failing to get a supporter), **Hamaruoko** (Relatives are those who support you) and **Hatinahama** (We do not have relatives). These names are a scathing attack at such a shameful development as the family is supposed to be the core institution where members should get satisfaction through meaningful relationships. But, if the situation is as bad as these names suggests, then one sees the extent to which western individualistic tendencies have destabilized the Shona way of life. The Shona people used to live nearer each other especially according to their blood relations and whenever there was a problem, they could support each other hence their saying *chako wega mukadzi* (Your wife is the only thing that belongs to you for we share everything else). This cohesive philosophy is the antithesis of the egoistic tendencies prevalent in the highly stratified societies. These names are a call to have things addressed and cordial relations restored.

Closely related to the above are names that denotatively and connotatively call for peace. **Musavengana** (Do not hate each other) directly rebukes confrontational, divisive moves or the promotion of hatred as this is detrimental to the growth of family relations. Relatedly, the name is calling for peace in the family and it becomes an everyday reminder that this is not the way to go.

Ivaikwadikwadi (Be straight) calls people to be true to their word and to the family and societal principles. The Shona society valued tranquility and every member had to play his/her part to ensure that this is achieved failure of which the perpetrators would receive the society's censure. One could be hauled to a village court and if found guilty would be strongly reprimanded. These were moves to ensure that the foundations on which a people's values are built are safeguarded. In like manner, **Kurebwa** (The gossiped one) emphasize the need to have people desist from acts that promote disharmony. Gossip is abhorred amongst the Shona people as it destroys the families as shown in Kuimba (1976) and Ribeiro (1967) among others who addressed this germane theme.

Mwaambakare (You started long ago provoking me) denotes that when these things were happening one was taking stock of them but could not challenge then with the hope that they could be stopped. The Shona people say *motsi haarwirwi* (A first time mistakes is not a cause for a fight), an indication that they give people enough room to behave themselves. It is only when they recognize that a bad habit is almost being cemented that they would take urgent moves to redress that. This family was characterized by gossip, a scenario that gives rise to the name **Mashoko** (Words). The name connotes that a lot has been said as well as has occurred yet the couple is still holding on to their marriage vows. The name is reminiscent to one named **Story.** Interviewees suggest that the name makes reference to how one was received when s/he joined the new family as well as how the child was received. Some made it clear that they would be denied food or were told point blank that they are wasting their time as they do not match the calibre of their spouse hence the permanence of the marriage could not be guaranteed. Female respondents noted that such challenges were rife to those who had children out of wedlock as they were labelled people of loose morality. The name **Story** becomes a condensed version of how the namer(s) views their journey of life. This conforms with the Shona use of language, when one says *ndine nyaya* (I have a story), one is drawing your attention to an alleged newsworthy item which need to be specially treated.

The study further observes that Shona people made reference to legislative issues through names like **Mutemo~Murawu** (Law). It emerges that the former name came when a punitive law like curfew was imposed by the Rhodesians during the war of liberation and the locals froze this era through this name. Furthermore, the name connotes a complaint by the namers against the imposition of practices like *kuzvarira* (giving a child a marriage partner without his/her consent), *kugara nhaka* (taking over a

deceased's spouse) and *chimutsamapfiwa* (a daughter given so that she could have children on behalf of a barren aunt/sister). The name became an identification tag for such occurrences. Similarly, **Mavhiza** (Visas) might have been given because the parent was always talking about how difficult it was for one to get travelling visas, a parent worked in the issuing offices or the child was born when the mother was struggling to get these documents or one of the spouses got addicted to the name upon hearing others frequently mentioning it.

The size of a child at birth was paid attention to when personal names were given. The name **Mhukahuru** (Big animal) was given by some informants. Although the midwives did not have modern day weighing scales, they managed to recognize the differences in terms of birth sizes hence they would say *pazvarwa munhu chaiye* (There has been given birth a fully grown person). The name is also linked to leadership roles as if to suggest that the father was a leader, a man of significant body stature and the birth has brought a replica. On the other hand, **Gold** and **Diamond** were two mineral oriented names this study found. These minerals were picked on because of their preciousness as well as because some spouses were mining these minerals. An informant submits that she gave the name **Gold** because she was fascinated by the value attached to this mineral yet she reckons that her child is beyond such value. These minerals were internationally sought hence their mention since the 1100 B.C. as demonstrated by Section 1.3. During the colonial era the minerals were much sought after and where they were discovered the communities were displaced and security measures were intensified. It is against this background that some children ended up being named after these minerals as a means of freezing incidents that emanated from them.

Political and immediate birth circumstances also played a significant role in name choices. An informant disclosed that he was named **Musavhaya** (Surveyors) because he was born when the white land surveyors pegged farming and residential lands resulting in many Zimbabweans being forcefully moved to the sandy, tsetse-infested areas. The war of liberation left a legacy that Zimbabwean people cannot easily forget. As a result, personal names after the likes of **Leopold Takawira** and **Josiah Magama Tongogara** amongst others got popularized. These personalities were among the renowed war strategists of the liberation struggle who fell by the barrel of the enemy. Research interviewees acknowledge that naming after these individuals is their acknowledgment of the part they played in liberating Zimbabweans. Put in other words, the namers contemporized and immortalized these

personalities. Conversely, the name **Mujubheki** (One from Johannesburg) was given a child who was born when the father was away for a long time working in the gold mines in South Africa.

Botsakufa~Potsakufa (Almost died) denotes that the birth process was complicated and life threatening to the extent that the witnesses almost concluded that either the child or the mother would die. Examples abound among the Shona people that people died during the labour process from complications that needed surgical operations. Within such circumstances, the name is almost a surprise declaration of the miraculous survival of the mother and or the child. The name **Zvarwadza** (It has been so painful) connotes that what happened during the labour process was extremely difficult and painful. The mother might have died during the process and the surviving child would be named **Zvarwadza** as an explanation by the namers of how they feel due to the death. **Durai~Dudzai** (Say it out) declares a call to have the mother disclose any wrong doings to serve herself and the child. The Shona belief, which was found to be rife in Buhera, Manicaland province, that unexpected delays, excessive blood loss, pain suggests that the mother has some immoral deeds to disclose was fossilized in this name. **Zvindibve** (So that it can get away from me) is related to **Durai** for one ends up disclosing whatever might be outstanding so that s/he can have a successful delivery. The name also implicates the significant family members like the father. Informants suggested that if he has done something wrong it might also delay the delivery process.

A similar belief was found in Wedza where they say if either of the spouses had acted in an immoral way during the absence of the other; the child might cry uncontrollably, refuse to suck or to sleep among other things. The belief went on to say if a mother tries to bring a child who does not belong to a particular family, upon arrival, the elders of the family would ask to be given the child. Upon holding the baby, if s/he is really their blood s/he would not cry or show unexplainable surprise yet the opposite happens to an illegitimate child. These checks and balances were rife and beneficial as they kept people morally upright against today where people can do whatever they want and if a child behaves as stated s/he would be admitted in a hospital. **Mationesa** (You have made us to see), as interviewees note, is the declaration by midwives that they had witnessed a gruesome birth delivery process. Furthermore, the name is a scathing comment to whoever is believed to be against their marriage. The namers are acknowledging that things have been tough. In fact, understanding this discourse is a significant unlocking key to understanding the meaning(s) of names as propounded by

the decompositional theory. The point being that each name can be broken into factors that gave rise to it, a reality many name bearers are not conversant with. It emerges then that through these names some people are walking political, social, religious and economic statements.

To highlight how a particular family ends up with particular personal names, the study picked an English poem 'Tryagain' done by Musengezi (1998). Musengezi put herself in the shoes of the unfortunate woman who gave birth consecutively to four girls but the husband's family rejoiced only over the first girl child whom they named **Sekai** (Laugh) after their departed mother. The second girl they named **Hazvineyi** (It does not matter), one that implies that they had forgiven her for these ". . . two birth mistakes". The third was a girl they named **Tryagain** denoting a directive to have her provide them a baby boy. Their determination is shown when,

> . . . Tryagain began to smile . . . .
> Auntie brought [her] herbal medicine
> To turn [her] womb into a boy's room
> . . . had [the] herbal porridge . . . .
> Every morning, noon and evening
> Drank every drop [yet they accuse her]
> She will only take medicine sweet on the
> tongue (Musengezi 1998:16).

The result was a baby girl she named **Hamunyari** (Are you not ashamed), after they had refused to name her. The aforementioned experience helps us to picture the extent to which women suffer in their bid to sustain their marriages.

In addition, the poet draws our attention to the dangers associated with using herbal concoctions when,

> . . . it stopped [her] lunar cycle, [her] womb grew big as a mountain, [she]felt
> like [she] was carrying a calf [then] the baby canal was not big enough, they
> had to cut [her] open (Musengezi 1998:16).

The advice given is for people to wait for nature's providence. The futility of this practice is highlighted when the born boy child, named **Chamboko** after his father, had incurable deformities that added misery to the mother. "Six months passed, **Chamboko** could not sit up or smile [followed

by] six years of mute drooling" (Musengezi 1998:17). This forced her to travel the entire country in search for ". . . medical doctors, healers and shawman, [but] nothing changed [and the family begun to accuse her of being] a witch [who] did not want the clan to grow" (Musengezi 1998:17). To this end, one notes that women are associated with witchcraft; another way women are oppressed and abused among the Shona people. This became the basis for her divorce. Also, the fact that the husband's family rejoiced when the baby boy was born, demonstrates the Shona people's positive bias towards children of that sex. This led the Shona to treasure mostly a boy child, as he is the one who was and is tasked with the responsibilities of ensuring the continuation of the clan. Batidzirayi in Chiwome and Gambahaya (1998:133) adds that strength in numbers was useful in the event of conflict with other families or clans. The ". . . boy could use his sister's dowry to marry" (Musengezi 1998:15) an indication that marriage was treasured by the Shona people as it ensures the continuation of life. The stance that dowry from a daughter is used as a form of lobola payment by brothers has been taken by some to accord women high societal status.

On another note, the names **Hazvineyi** and **Tryagain** allow one to conclude that the woman was being seen as the source of the problem as if in conformity with the Genesis chapter three women sinners reading of how Eve sinned in the Garden of Eden; position feminists have reservations with. It also emerges that Shona names are functional, especially to those aware of their history. One further notes that the couple and the extended families actively participate in the choice of personal names. It also connotes that mothers were allowed to name children in times of crisis as what happened here when the father and his family had refused to name the girl whom she eventually named **Hamunyari,** as her protest to the ill-treatment she has suffered at the hands of her husband and his relatives. Children are also named after their father, as was the case with **Chamboko** and grandparents, as the case with **Sekai.** The next section considers the effect of birth order in the resultant personal names.

5.1.9 Birth order

The order of birth, that is, is one the first, middle or last child, received attention during the naming process. **Mazarura** (The one who opened) or **Muvaruri** (The beginner) were the names that were popularly given first born male children. The name comes against a society that promoted abstinence from sexual activities until one was married. It was therefore an honour for one to be married and to

contribute towards life by giving birth. Other births that occurred in between were given various names. On the other hand, synonymous personal names **Taguma** (We are finished), **Zariro** (The closer) or **Magumise** (The end) were given to the last births. These names were declarations that the couple has finished the procreation henceforth they were focusing on child rearing. This indicates that procreation was planned among the Shona people. They were at liberty to decide on the number of children they wanted depending on the surrounding circumstances like the ability to support them as well as the need to have a strong, big family that would provide security and the much needed labour force. Therefore, these names are comprehensive statements or sentences of their own genre which elicit the approximation model to get at their intended meanings. To comprehend this new way of decoding personal names, knowledge of the language's phonological, morphological and syntaxtic rules is pertinent. The blend of these insights with historical, pragmatic insights among others gives one room to do a structural decomposition of their meanings. Having said this, discourse shifts to the significance of profession in name choices.

5.1.10 Profession

Profession is paramount because it defines human existence. In fact, people spend their entire lives pursuing professions, a point that highlights its importance. Discussions with research informants indicated that one's employment experiences and workmates shape one's naming worldview. For instance, the immediate impact of colonization was that the Shona derived some of their names from those of BSAC managers, shift bosses and store men (often in a distorted form). These secondary socialization agencies have much bearing in the resultant preferred nomenclature. Research informants note that those who had had the chance to stay or work in whatever environment end up drawing names from their experiences. An informant who was a nurse aid gave the name **Dhokotera** (Doctor) because she aspired to have a child who one day could occupy the post of her boss while a farm labourer who admired driving named his child **Dhiraivha** (Driver). The named become declarations of wishes someone have and hopes to see them achieved in the life of the named. Some informants posit that the names identify the owners of the pregnancy who denied responsibility and namers have frozen such an occurrence into the lives of the children for easy trace of their patriarchal genealogy. The Shona would say, "*Nhumbu ndeyaaniko? Ndeya dhiraivha uya . . . kana kuti ndeyachiremba uya.*" (Whose pregnancy is this? It belongs to that driver . . . or to that doctor.)

Drivers became popular by the coming of modernized transport systems in the form of buses as they were the ones who could ferry people from one area to the other. Related to this, they could be asked by people working in far away places to carry their parcels to their families and because they dealt with money on daily basis, they were esteemed. These people were prone to have extra-marital affairs as some women accepted their love proposals so that they could financially manipulate them. Some loved them so that they could have groceries as well as free bus rides. Because buses rank anywhere, these drivers ended up raising many families say one in this town and one in another area where their bus route end. As for doctors, it required one who knew exactly how medical staff operate for almost every male health staff was erroneously elevated to the post of doctor. Because of this, interviewees note that these individuals were better placed in their love proposals hence some of them abused this office as testified by pregnancies they denied responsibility of. Then, the above posed question assumes that the individual is well known. These developments echo the view that every name has a context that must be understood for one to get at the intended meaning(s). The original sentence, its syntax must be approximated for one to get its semantic, pragmatic and semiotic import.

Similarly, the involvement of many Zimbabweans in the war of liberation meant that they were exposed to various factors that eventually shaped their naming patterns. Cases in point include the emergence of names like **Samora** (The late Mozambique President) and **Nujoma** (The former Namibian President). One realizes that Samora, a leader of the FRELIMO party, was an astute war strategist who phenomenally rose from bush to office. On a similar note, Nujoma, former leader of the South West African People's Organisation) SWAPO party actively supported Zimbabwe's war of liberation. Many Zimbabweans were accommodated, trained and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) forces executed several operations from Mozambique. In addition, during whatever political rally, the addressers had the habit of first popularizing those people, countries and organizations they share similar visions with like in,

>*Pamberi na*Comrade Samora Machel.
>(Forward with Comrade Samora Machel).
>*Pamberi na*Comrade Sam Nujoma.
>(Forward with Comrade Sam Nujoma).

Political slogans like this one abound in Shona war novels done by Makari (1985), Nyawaranda (1985), Moyo (1985a, 1985b), Choto (1990) and Chimhundu (1991). Among other things, the slogans were meant to channel the masses as well as the combatants around the preferred philosophy that drove the liberation struggle. Whatever they regarded as admirable it was popularized through this vehicle whilst that they abhore was attacked through the slogans. The slogans became identification mechanisms as knowledge of them was assumed to mean one was a full-fledged supporter while the opposite meant a betrayer. The latter was usually beaten or paid by his/her life. It is within these situations that the names of the popularized individuals found their ways into the Shona people's naming system. As a result, name bearers disclosed that they respected such individuals to the extent that they preferred to be named or to name themselves after him as their token of appreciation and recognition.

Related to this, names like **Mao** (from Chinese leader) and **Lenin** (from Russian revolutionary leader) arose during the war period. This was the case because those who studied about how revolutions and wars are done read a lot of what these personalities suggested and did. The former was Mao Tse Tung, the gentleman who orchestrated the Long Much in China aimed at the emancipation of the majority. In like manner, Lenin propounded alongside Karl Marx, Frederick Engels the socialist ideologies which became part of ZANU's philosophy meant to dislodge the colonial regime. These names came about as the namers battled to coagulate milestone lifetime experiences and they became reminding beacons in their lives. According to Leslie and Skipper (1990:273), these names signify, ". . . status, achievement, privilege and meaningful social organization as they communicate social status and social prestige" meaningful to those who understand their particular contexts. The part played by colonial administrators in name selection is also a point of interest.

5.1.11 Colonial administrators

This section recognizes the part played by colonial personnel (school teachers, religious teachers/leaders, clerical staff and employers) who were determined by all means possible to entrench their system. These administrators could not easily converse in the local languages hence they wanted the locals to discard and espouse names the former could easily call. Furthermore, a Harare Municipality Public Relations officer on May 23, 2005 reports of how he was instructed by personnel

at a birth registration office that his name **Madenyika** (The one who loves the country) could not be registered. Among other reasons, the name denotes one who actively takes part in his/her country political affairs. An implied reading suggests that the namers were involved in such acts which the colonial system regarded as subversive acts. To this end, he was named **Phillip** (a Bible oriented name). This shows that the names they preferred were aligned to their European society name-giving practices that uses names either in ". . . an attempt to preserve continuity in family relations…are given some fancy label to show perhaps . . . originality and taste in fabricating names" (Jackson 1957:116).

An informant aged eighty two named **Matambudza** (The one who causes trouble) at registration time was renamed **Lilian** whilst her eldest son was renamed **Lovemore** instead of **Matsvimbo** (Knobkerries). **Matambudza**, the named alleged, was a blunt protesting name whose attack against the imperialist system was concealed. The versatility of the name is testified by its ability to refer to family events as well as national issues. Additionally, **Matsvimbo** refers to weapons of war, thereby underscoring the militancy of the names. The name is also suggestive of a hunter or one who dislikes confrontational acts.

The change of **Matipangamisa** (You have made us awake) to **Malipangamisa** by changing the 't' for 'l' reiterates the extent to which the Shona people resorted to names that project their subtle confrontation. These administrators had serious phonological and orthographic handicaps as they could not accurately understand the Shona sounds and spell the language. They ended up distorting the Shona names. It comes out clearly that orthographic blunders drastically stifled the wishes of the Shona people and violated their space and linguistic rights. This accounts for the loss of Zimbabwean historical heritage embodied in these names. The result is a people whose heart and soul was bleeding as its contents could not be poured to the outside world and the multiple soothing effects denied of. This partially explains why Shona people ended up with more than one personal name; English oriented names for the public domains while Shona names were reserved for home use.

To sum up, this section discussed eleven broad factors believed to be behind the selection and use of Shona given names. It emerges that one must decipher the milieu in which the name was coined and used for him/her to be able to interpret their intended and implied meanings. These factors are the

prerequisite ladders necessary for one to come closer at the core meaning(s) of whatever name. Armed with these insights, one can appreciate that the decompositional approach almost put the name reader in the shoes of their coiners. One begins to empathize as s/he would have worn the spectacles of the original mind and when this has been almost achieved, Shona names become of paramount importance to their users and to whoever comes across them. The dynamism and the multifaceted nature of these names have been demonstrated as they fit all epochs. The discussion now shifts to examining the traditional naming patterns.

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter identifies eleven broad factors that influence the Shona naming system. It argues that a closer reading of whatever name is prerequisite alongside the views of the name users. The variables include age. Age demonstrated that due to the exposure one has of life experiences, one is likely to prefer certain names. On a similar note, the Shona socialization process detects that men and women view the world differently and the study found incidences that confirm this. The origins of the namers as well as their level of education, where they learnt amongst other variables emerge as crucial factors that influence their naming patterns. It emerges that certain names are popularized because of religious considerations. In addition, the area where namers live alongside their profession accounts for their socialization and worldview. The study established that the Shona people pay closer attention to social, economic, political and whatever circumstances surrounding the birth and have their unique way of fossilizing these developments into the resultant personal names. The order of birth also got closer attention and names abound that came as a result of that. The study also noted the role played by the European colonization of Zimbabwe. This historical development gave rise to several names and at the same time its personnel stifled the Shona naming system. The chapter argues that the significance of the decompositional theory alongside the approximation model was manifested as these insights enabled the study to delineate these factors. The next chapter shall concern itself with the examination of the gathered names with the hope of categorizing the first names.

CHAPTER SIX

THEME-ORIENTED ANTHROPONYM CATEGORIES

. . . the ways of [our] ancestors are good, their customs are solid and not
hollow, they are not thin, not easily breakable, they can not be blown away
by the winds because their roots reach deep into the soil (p'Bitek 1966:32).

6.0 Introduction

This section seeks to categorize Shona personal names. The predominant variable to be considered is theme. The study identifies twenty four broad categories. Beneath, Table 6.1 shows the findings of the data gathering exercise. The data sources are arranged according to their totals.

Source of data	Total	Percentage
Questionnaire	3064	30.64
Newspapers	2190	21.90
Graduation booklets	2187	21.87
Interviews	1515	15.15
Shona novels and plays	706	7.06
NADA	338	3.38
Total	**10 000**	**100**

Table 6.1: Personal names distribution per source

In sequential order, the findings are questionnaire (30.64%), newspapers (21.90%), graduation booklets (21.87%), interviews (15.15%), Shona novels and plays (7.06) and NADA (3.38%). This

analysis uses the insights drawn from pragmatics, semiotics and semantics, amongst others to demonstrate the meanings of the various personal names the Shona people preferred.

6.1 Marriage commentary names

Before 1890 most if not all Shona marriages were among people of the same communities/*vanhu vematongo* who knew each other's family backgrounds. The Shona society commissioned the aunts, grandmothers and grandfathers amongst others, the significant role of ensuring that grandsons and granddaughters are well groomed for marriage (see Section 5.1.7). This institution made it clear to marriage candidates that in marriages they would be representing their families and misdemeanours bring reproach to their respective families. Confrontational acts were discouraged hence loaded Shona forenames were popularized. Monogamous marriages were almost the order of the day with polygamous marriages prevalent amongst rulers/chiefs and wealthy families. Factors like famine, inheritance issues, the need to buttress one's political, social, economic and religious power among others, gave rise to polygamous marriages. On the contrary, marriages among unknown people became rampant after 1890, due to colonization and its related forces**.** Henceforth, the marriage institution was under attack, a scenario that gave rise to various given names under examination.

It emerges that some marriage commentary names show rejection of a spouse either by a fellow partner or by the entire family. **Chandavengerwa** (What I have been hated for) makes clear that one is asking why s/he is hated in the family. Reasons abound like the spouse might not be the one they have wanted to marry their child or the family s/he comes from is at loggerheads with those of the fellow spouse. The researcher was informed, one can be hated because of his/her social, economic, political or religious affiliations to the extent that people would wish the collapse of a marriage. **Garandichauya** (Stay till I come) implies that a spouse has been left say in the rural areas with children and the other partner never returns (from newspapers). This used to be the case with those who worked outside the country; a similar trend has become popular again as many Zimbabweans are now outside their borders. Some informants divulged that some chose to leave their country not for economic or political reasons but because they were fleeing from their spouses. In scenarios like these, the name is given to capture the unfortunate trend. The name implies the innocence of the remaining partner. Synonymous personal names are **Guuriro** (The despised one), **Handidiwe** (I am

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not loved) and **Mandisema** (You look down at me) that show the extent to which one is looked down in the marriage. In Zvarevashe (1976) some women were also downtrodden as their husband favoured **VaNyachide** (The loved one). These names connote that the wife is visited as the last resort and by way of complaining; the mother prefers such names so that the husband might reform.

Mandivenga (You hate me) declares that one is hated in the family s/he is married. The namer(s) makes it clear that the status quo is against his/her expectation hence is calling for a redress of the situation. **Hamundide** (You do not love me) connotes a namer who realized their reservations towards him/her since the marriage's inception**.** The two names denote two varied yet related concepts. The names make it clear that they are extractions from ongoing dialogues. For instance, the interviewees gave this scenario,

> *Vanhu vemusha uno mandishamisa nekundivenga kwamunoita. Hamundide*
> *nekuti ndakakutadzirai chii chaizvo chisingaripwi?*
>
> (Members of this family have surprised me by the hatred you have towards
> me. You do not love me because I wronged you in which way which cannot
> be redressed?).

Anticipating this dialogue helps one contextualize the personal names hence their meaning(s) can be decoded. Similarly, **Mandinetsa** (You have bothered me) connotes a namer who is always bombarded by 'enemies of their marriage' (from novels and plays). Informants note that the three names are suggestive of mothers being the namers as they are the people who usually suffer such ill-treatments in Shona marriages. The namer's decided position to know their fate is underscored through these names.

A gloomy picture of the marriage relationship is painted by the name **Kugariranhamu** (Staying for problems). It makes clear that things are bad to the extent that the affected is now fearing for his/her life hence the name **Muchandiuraya** (You shall kill me) from questionnaires. Because of the tense environment, **Sarainaye** (Remain with him/her) suggests one's capitulation and preparedness to walk out of the marriage (from interviews). As a result, these names comment on the past, present and the envisaged future status quo in ways only a reader conversant with their background would easily pick. In this instance, the first names are used to bluntly pass on one's thoughts and feelings to other

people. The way the namers used their names is what Fasold (1987) meant by use of language to define relationships. The namers,

> . . . exploit the subtle and not so subtle aspects of language to reveal and define their social relationships with the people they are talking to, with people who can overhear them, and even with people who are nowhere around (Fasold 1987:1).

Therefore, the stated names make categorical statements which denote and connote the extent to which marriage expectations are not being fulfilled. Closer readings of the names disclose their implied meaning(s).

Names in this category are illustrative of awkward marriages. Through synonymous given names **Bope** (Strife), **Musindo** (Strife) and **Gakava** (Quarrel) a picture where people are always fighting for space in a marriage is painted. These names are a declaration that strife is the norm and **Chatambudza** (That which has troubled) poses a question (from newspapers). **Hatidane** (We do not love each other) makes it clear that these people do not love each other. A reading of a chaotic marriage was favoured by the colonizers in Zimbabwe through the missionaries in their bid to break the Shona polygamous marriages hence Zvarevashe's (1976) weird portrayal of **Gararirimo**'s marriage. **Mandichenjedza** (You have made me alert) declares that one has learnt from what has transpired and is no longer prepared to have it repeated. **Mandigona** (You have fixed me) connotes namers who have been stretched beyond their limits. Among the Shona people, "*Kugona munhu kumupfidzisa kana kumuitira zvinhu zvikuru zvaanga asingafungire*". (To have fixed someone is to have done things beyond his/her expectations). Informants suggest that one might have been surprised by the news that her spouse has been married to another wife through the family members' assistance yet she was never informed of such developments. One might have been accused of being responsible say of a death, divorce, illness or crime yet s/he is innocent. **Mandipfuvisa** (You have disturbed my peace) denotes that the foes of the marriage have spoiled his/her marriage plans hence the lament (from novels and plays). Therefore, the names here examined are evaluative statements put across by an individual who had suffered in a marriage relationship for reasons s/he is unaware of. The names make clear that the affected has suffered much and his/her idea of marriage has been obliterated.

Mafirazvevamwe (One who dies for others) implies that the alleged victim is suffering for no real cause. Informants gave a case where a particular couple is not looking after their parents and the parents mistakenly accuse their daughter-in-law whilst the real problem is with their child who does not bring his monthly remuneration home to the wife. In such a situation, the name is opted for as a subtle hit back. **Tangwarirana** (We are now alert for each other) suggests that one is now alert of the causes of the misunderstandings and is ready to make sure that the manipulations become a thing of the past. **Matiparadza** (You have separated/destroyed us) is a joint statement indicating that the enemies' moves have affected their relationship. Some informants observed instances where mother-in-laws or aunts are against a daughter-in-law and they always misrepresent her to the husband, who unfortunately took long to realize such developments. The name retrospectively declares that the spouse is in such a mess because of the family members manipulations. The name becomes their official position statement to the public about their marriage.

Gwinyai~Tsungirirai (Persevere), on the other hand, are names given by sympathizing family members who have realized that the couple is being victimized due to family feuds just like **Romeo** and **Juliet** who suffered because of the **Montague** and **Capulet** feud by Shakespeare in Maclennan (1977:55). The names are the encouragements from the neutrals like some immediate family members who might have realized that one spouse is not welcome in the other's family and they encourage them to support each other so that their marriage relationship is safeguarded. The outsider might say **Miidzo** (Temptations) suggesting that those challenges are ephemeral and must not distract the couples' marriage. The name was fossilized into a personal name. **Zvakaonzamoyo** (That which led the heart to grow thin) becomes a disclosure that is why one is loosing weight it is because of the outstanding family problems (from questionnaires). These names are discursive in nature as they are a response to the directly/indirectly uttered utterances. They imply lack of stability in the marriage/family as the namers are bitterly complaining. In other words, these personal names are furthering clashes within the family. To decipher this one has to recognize that namers may use a name so as to cause his/her hearer(s) to decode certain propositions about the person or situation the speaker has in mind. In this sense, the name is a triggering device, ". . . its utterance [in the right circumstances] causes the speaker to apprehend a proposition of the appropriate kind" (Wettstein 1991:32). Therefore, these names are social statements reflecting the bearer, the namer and their social environment within which the name is found.

Besides, marriage commentary names are ingeniously confrontational as they express one's suffering at the hands of those against a couple's marriage. Names like **Mandidzamira** (You have gone too far) declare that those who are against the marriage have gone too far beyond comprehension. The name connotes that something outrageously detrimental has been done to their marriage unity. Similar perceptions are communicated through synonymous given names such as **Mandirunga** (You have salted me), **Mandikangaidza** (You really disturbed me) and **Mandinyanya** (You have done too much to me) taken from questionnaires. Those against the marriage relationship are identified through the plural subject prefix /*Ma-*/ which makes it clear that references are being made to a respected member(s). The names identify the namer in the singular object prefix */-ndi-/* who is putting across his/her deep feelings and regrets at having to undergo such torture in a marriage. According to Quine (1960:90), this highlights the ". . . tendency of proper names to appear in the singular . . . ." form thereby identifying the aggrieved.

The result of the seemingly unending marriage problems is the name **Sakadzo** (You have made me a spent force). It implies someone who has been emotionally devastated by revelations of the magnitude of hatred. **Taremedzwa** (We have been overloaded) reiterates the same perceptions when one divulges that his/her heart is loaded with what has happened which s/he could not fathom. Among other reasons, one might be burdened by the negative portrayals that could have been projected about him/her and to indemnify one's personality becomes a difficult task. The namers are then complaining that their personal ego has been battered almost beyond mend. **Tamanikwa** (We are put on a tight rope) connotes a couple found in a precarious position that required astute decision. They submit they could not measure up to due to reasons beyond their control. The name projects their remorseful disposition at the same time acknowledging that such a situation has given them lifetime lessons.

Mandizvidza (You have despised me) reckons that the individual has been underestimated beyond comprehension as demonstrated by how they interacted with him/her (from interviews). It is within this context that one argues that these names are loaded confrontational names given by people who found themselves in positions that almost obliterate the meaning of marriage. These given names execute pragmatic ". . . social function, both as a means of communication and also as a way of identifying . . . groups" (Hudson 1980:3) that are against their marriage. The Shona adage *kurova imbwa wakaviga mupinyi* (Doing things in a hidden way) seems to be the guiding peace keeping

principle. The mature members of the Shona discourse community realise that such names are making reference to particular important family members whom it is almost taboo amongst their culture to directly confront, especially if one is younger than them. But, the bottom line is that the namers would have opened their hearts through their preferred names, an indication that one need be aware of their environment of use for one to be able to decipher their meaning(s).

Moreover, some names retrospectively comment on how the couple used to be treated. **Chakanetsa** (That which troubled/bothered) retrospectively asks why they were bothering him/her since their marriage. The subject prefix /*cha-*/ and the tense sign /*-ka-*/ connote that the reason which is in the past is almost known. In the Shona noun classification system {cha-} is class 7 and {ka-}class 12. A similar observation is made through **Mainetsa** (You were a problem). The name implies that things are now stable yet before the alleged normalizations relations were bad. The problem might have been with the spouse or the family members. Through **Makanyara** (You got ashamed) one denotes that they had an egg on their face after her/his innocence was vindicated. The namer might have been vindicated at a family or village court. In some instances interviewees note that one might have been to a diviner to prove that she was not the perpetrator of the alleged wrong. Some note that the authenticity of a particular child might have been the borne of contention and now the namer declares jubilation for having been exonerated of any wrong doing. The names emerge as talkback strategies by the namers. They are clear that they knew all along that they were suffering at their hands and now they are asking them to reconsider their behaviour.

Yeukai (Remember) makes clear that they should learn from their past conduct so that they avoid such disgraceful moves in the future. These names are like the *bembera* practice where the accused wrong doer was verbally rebuked in a concealed manner. In like manner, **Matifinha** (We are fed up with you) and **Takwana** (We are enough) declare that the namers were fed up with such ill-treatments hence their declaration through the resultant names (from questionnaires). Within this context, Mbiti (1975:92-95) rightfully points out that most Shona parents gave their children names which reflected their own situation, ideals and frustrations. These names, as some informers hinted, show their preparedness to engage directly their foes as they feel they no longer have anything to protect. These names, as informants put forward, belatedly make remarks on the unfair treatment they used to endure at the hands of whoever orchestrated their misery. Therefore, personal names perform ". . . evaluative

roles as they are deeply embedded in the identity and culture" (Rosenthal 2005:59) of their coiners. This is indicative of a submissive people that esteem harmony at all cost.

Additionally, as a peace cherishing culture, the Shona have names calling for sanity in their marriages. **Dzokeranai** (Be reconciled) calls for the mending of walls for sustenance of the marriage. The name might be given by outsiders or by a spouse who wants the relationship to be resuscitated. **Garainesu** (Stay with us) calls the significant family members to have time and counsel them on what they think they are misfiring as experience is the best teacher. The name assumes that they might be censured for things people expect them to know yet they have not been enlightened on their significance. In addition, the call is a joint statement which demonstrates their preparedness to learn from their elders. **Ringisai** (Check closely) calls the important family members to check closely on movements of whoever partakes in the marriage with the intention to help where they might be blundering. The name is cautionary for it calls for close monitoring of events before people utter uninformed statements which might unnecessarily bring reproach to the concerned people. This, according to interviewees occurs when people saw someone doing something wrong, say during the evening or from a distance and they wrongfully claim it is Mr. **Chimuti** (A tree). Yet, upon closer examination of the matter it emerges that the conclusions have been wrong.

Vadzimutinavo (We have ancestors) declares that the continuance of their marriage to date has been anchored on their trust and protection of their ancestral beings (from graduation booklets). **Tichawanda** (We shall be many) underscores the envisaged ideal that because the relations have normalized, then family growth is assured. The couple might have sensed or witnessed remarks to the fact that they are letting the family down or they cannot raise children. As way of answering such people, the name declares that with the passage of time they shall catch up with everyone else so they must spare them their wrath. **Zvinoitavamwe** (What others do) is a call to learn from other people how they administer their families and marriages as a way of avoiding the detrimental path theirs was heading towards. It is a statement aimed at those treating them unfairly to learn from their counterparts who have peaceful and united families. The Shona people would say *vanotakudzana bandauko renda* (The help each other carry a louse's leg) which means they inform each other on everything, an indication of the extent to which they are united. Therefore, the name suggests that if they can do that then their problems might be a thing of the past.

The ultimate idea is to get **Zororo** (Rest) failure of which the name **Tongogara** (We remain seated and waiting) becomes applicable (from interviews). The latter suggest that things might be bad yet one has no option beside remaining put in the marriage hence some dejected Shona women say *ndakagarira vana* (I am staying in this marriage for the sake of my children). Within this framework, the Shona society authorized the use of given names as highlighted by the use of matriarchal protest names (Makondo 2008:13) to sustain peace. The married, as people who ". . . enters an existing social system . . . ." (Harris 1996:179) had to use the given names as protesting weapons meant to keep their face. They avoided dire consequences by venting their frustrations through names like **Hamunyari** (You are not ashamed) and **Mandivavarira** (You are always after me) that connote confrontation. **Hamunyari** connotes that they have stooped so low to be involved in such trivial issues, an indication that they are not ashamed. Not to be ashamed shows the extent to which one has lost his/her dignity against the societal expectations. The namers are suggesting that they have gone thus far because of their obsession to do him/her harm as **Mandivavarira** demonstrates. The concerns raised through this name are reminiscent of those raised in the song *Mandivavarira* were the artist complains of the unfair treatment he is always getting from an identified source yet their faces are concealed for the song is more of a *bembera,*

> *Chokwadi mandivavarira ini,*
> *Muneni, muneni chete muneni*
> *Ini ndaneta*
> *Chokwadi mandivavarira ini*
> *Muneni, muneni chete muneni*
> *Ini ndaneta.*
>
> (Truly you are after me,
> Yyou are after me, you are after me always
> I am tired
> Truly you are after me,
> You are after me, you are after me always
> I am tired).
> (Simon Chimbetu and *The Orchestra Dendera Kings*, 1992. *Mandivavarira*)

In fact, these names have been interrogating the perceived foes and advising them to be mindful of the things that fall within their immediate spheres of influence.

Tofatabaiwa (We die after we have been stabbed) connotes that their enemies made efforts at their lives yet the Almighty is gracious enough that he has seen them through such evil machinations. **Shatirwai** (Be angry) declares that the namers no longer care for it is them who initiated the entire misunderstanding hence they must test their own medicine. The ". . . anaphoric . . . ." (Grundy 2000:47) understanding of a given marriage helps one avoid repeating things that are already known to be a given fact. In other words, these names are best understood as a continuum where particular namers will be making their significant contributions to a protracted indirect dialogue with their enemies. The *barika* (polygamy) set up, for instance, provided one the need to pretend to be sweeping the yard so that one could sing out her grievances. This was therapeutic as are the prevalent names against most of the English names whose etymology is not known by many. Through these names, the namers requested their enemies to behave responsibly so that they could enjoy their marriage. These talking names become their mediating weapon for justice to be allowed to see its day.

From the speech act theory, it is clear that namers use names to threaten, promise, though often without giving any overt indication that they are doing so. A name is used as an illocutionary act (when it is used to do something) while as a locutionary act (if it is used to say something) (Parker and Riley 2000:14). According to the pragmatic speech act theory, namers use names to warn those against the stability of their marriages. Some of these names forewarn the perpetrators that they shall realize late that s/he was blameless even though they were always at his/her throat. **Muchachechuka** (You shall remember late) hereby warns the alleged enemies of the marriage that they shall recognize late their wrong doing for their claims are based on unfounded grounds. The name connotes a public response to public accusations levelled against the namer(s).

In similar fashion, **Muchazoona** (You shall see) promises them that they shall get confirmation that s/he was innocent hence the declaration is vehement. The namer might have failed to prove his/her innocence beyond doubt within the prevailing circumstances but one is sure that time shall prove his/her innocence. **Muchazviona** (You shall see them) connotes reference to an ongoing discourse as the affix {-cha-} and {-zvi-} (a class 8 object marker) imply. This understanding is embedded as the name **Muchazviona** is in the plural. It might have been alleged that a spouse has extramarital affairs or has some serious weaknesses that some family members deem makes him/her unfit to be within such a marriage relationship. Within these confinements, the name declares that if such things exist let

people wait for their own manifestation rather than have people with sinister motives manipulate the status quo. Resultantly, synonymous first names **Muchareva** (You shall disclose) and **Muchadura** (You shall disclose), warn those who are against their marriage that they shall realize late that they were accusing an innocent person upon which they shall be expected to confess (from graduation booklets).

Zvichapera (It shall be finished) underscores optimism for a happy ending that the namers have. They have adopted the wait and see method as the best redress mechanism. They are telling the outside world that they need space to let the wheels of time vindicate them. In the meantime, **Muchapawana** (You shall get the preferred place/marriage) sarcastically reprimands a spouse that opted to go out of the marriage as the way of getting happiness. S/he is being warned that if s/he finds a greener area s/he must notify colleagues for grass is always greener the other side yet upon getting there it remains a mirage. The advice is to have the couple stick together so that they could meaningfully enjoy marriage life. **Muchazvisiya** (You shall abandon that) echoes similar warnings that the chased things are futile, imaginary and they need to have foresight so that they desist from taking such life-threatening routes. **Zvizoregwa** (It has to be abandoned) are warnings that such behaviours are a recipe for disaster especially in these days of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The name acknowledges the unhealthy status quo. At the same time is optimistic that reformation is attainable. The spouse is prepared to give the other a second chance. Interviewees note that women usually do this to men who do not occasionally reciprocate. A case in point that was given is that the patriarchal Shona society can forgive a promiscuous man and not a woman.

Severe warning bells are sounded through **Muchapera** (You shall be finished) that the end of life is imminent unless one changes conduct (from newspapers). This is crystal clear if one looks at how HIV/AIDS epidemic has almost wiped out humanity. The name **Tichaziva** (We shall know) denotes that they shall recognize almost lately the futility of their moves. It also suggests that a spouse or family members might have refused to disclose important information on some occurrences hence they are being warned that truth shall obviously come out. The name, as interviewees suggest, connotes a couple that had blundered but are hereby declaring their willingness to learn from the past so that relations would be restored. These personal names have been used to,

> . . . communicate to other people not only their thoughts but also their self-concepts and their perception of the relationship between them, their audience and the situation . . . . (Fasold 1980: vii).

These names define the existing marriage relationship in ways that highlights one's cherished optimism about the marriage despite the challenges.

Pondai (Murder) indicates that one is being ill-treated yet s/he is not prepared to walk out of the marriage. The name makes it clear that s/he values his/her marriage to the extent that nothing can move him/her out. The spouse might be experiencing rejection, harassment and yet is staying put maybe because of lacking options like where to go. Informants note that women mostly find it difficult to return to their families as there are other women who would have been married by their brother who would look down at them as they end up disturbing their peace. To this end, when one return from a marriage, she is stigmatized and despised hence some would make it a vow to better die in their new families despite the circumstances. **Ndapanzwa** (I have heard it) suggests a contribution to a dialogue. The initiator might have verbally directly or indirectly through a name communicated something the namer is now declaring awareness of. **Tashingirira** (We have persevered) connotes that things have been bad in the marriage for long yet they have remained together. This might imply that they are almost getting at the breaking point hence they are now calling for support from related and interested people. Interviewees disclosed that during induction into marriage life, candidates are taught amongst others, that marriage life is difficult hence they must be prepared. In fact, they disclose that they are taught that *chakafukida dzimba matenga* (That which covers houses is the roofs) which means that good and bad things happen in marriages and people persevere.

Tavatya (We are afraid of them) denote some unexpected developments like the father-in-law proposing their daughter-in-law or the mother-in-law insisting that the daughter-in law should wash her father-in-law's clothes, something taboo amongst the Shona people. Some instances that were cited involve outright preparedness by the family to attack the spouse instead of them offering protecting. One might be surprised by the disorderliness characteristic of the family s/he married into hence the name is a declaration of that surprise. **Taremedzwa** (We have been burdened) declares that the way things are unfolding makes it difficult for the couple to enjoy marriage. Interviewees reckon that it would be very difficult for, say a daughter-in-law to be free if the father-in-law always publicly

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beats the mother-in-law or do not treat the young couple as people who need their space to start planning their lives. Some informants echoed that such treatments explain why some couples took long to develop their sense of responsibility as they would be treated as young and unthinking people.

Tinovadavamwe (We want more) connotes that the couple was being attacked for having a particular number of children. This reminds one how people received the birth control devices as some argued that they were not necessary as their older generation gave birth until they naturally stopped despite the fact that they had no sufficient resources as compared to today's generations. Within this context, when you are found to be having one child then a lot would be said like in Kuimba (1976). The Shona people devised the *kupindira* (A fertile relative would secretly raise a family for the relative) or *chimutsamapfihwa* (a daughter given to raise children on behalf of a sister or aunt). In the latter another girl would be given if the families are in good relations. She would come to raise children for the barren sister or aunt and the resultant children would be rightfully of the original marriage partners. The Bible has the story of **Sarah** who asked her Egyptian maid **Hagar** to have a child for her with Abraham (Genesis 16). The Shona people say *gomba harina mwana* (An intruder can not have a child) to denote that s/he can not claim ownership of the resultant child.

To sum up, marriage commentary related first names perform several restrained evaluative roles as they project the viewpoints of the affected on whatever would be transpiring in the families. It is only to an outsider that they appear to be void of meaning(s) because s/he lacks an appreciation of their context of use. To this end, the study's decompositional theory becomes paramount in understanding whatever names. Lastly, the examination of marriage commentary names copiously reveals that they are telling names directed to significant family members hence they are predominantly in the honorific, plural address form as shown by the popular objectprefixes /*Hamu/-, /Mai/-, /Mu-/, /Ta-/* and */To-/*. Discussion now shifts to behaviour oriented names.

6.2 Behavioural names

A well-behaved Shona person is said to have *Unhu~hunhu* (Gambahaya and Muhwati 2007:64). *Unhu~hunhu* is a lived and liveable philosophy that is,

informed by, and in fact built around the central ideas people have developed, ideas about what life is all about, that is, their social philosophy, their world view (p'Bitek 1986:13).

This quality is highly recognized by the Shona people as it defines who one is. Those who were regarded to be well behaved had the society clamouring to be associated with them. They could easily get married or get whatever assistance they wanted. These people were the society's models and were the ones who were appointed to positions of responsibility as they epitomized their society's ideals. To ensure that the society continues to produce well-mannered and cultured people, this responsibility was placed upon every elderly person. This explains the role the **Sorojena** (grey-haired people) play through telling folktales to young ones during the night. On the other side, mature boys were required to attend the *dare* (men's sitting place) while girls were attended to by their grandmothers and aunts.

During the colonial era, it was popular that Zimbabweans gave their white masters names based on their personal idiosyncrasies. Roberts (1931:89) says,

. . . they bestowed on their white masters titles touching personal idiosyncrasies . . . unconsciously revealed personal characteristics out of the common, and these were seized by the servant folk and the most notable trait ruthlessly embodied in a nickname.

For instance, the locals gave four names the white official Ling H.A. who joined government service in 1926; **Zvakare** (Again), **Katena** (origin unknown), **Chinehasha** (Has a sour temper) and **Katswimbo** (little stick) (Jackson 1976:349-359). Popular among them was **Chinyerere** (A very quiet person) and **Chinehasha** (Bad-tempered). Amongst other things, these two names connote language problems that hindered effective communication between indigenous and foreigners. As a result, one either opted for silence or to sporadically burst due to anger as a result of instructions that would have been ignored because they would have been misunderstood. This section explores the etymology of some nicknames that, with the passage of time they got recognized as personal names. Therefore, the next nine subsections discuss various behaviour oriented names.

6.2.1 Dressing

The Shona people used to dress in animal skins before they got into conduct with *vashambadzi* (Traders), since this time they were exposed to western kinds of dressing. Dressing, among other things gives someone an identity. Within this scope, if someone was seen always putting on sandals that individual was given a Shona equivalent name **Manyatela** (Sandals). The Shona people used to walk bare-footed and putting on sandals became an issue against this background. This name was also given those who were now employed by the colonial system and were among the first to put on sandals within their communities. **Makhaki** refers to one who always put on khakis; a type of clothing while **Mabhande** to one who preferred the big belts that cut across the shoulders to the waist. This new dress was appealing and it elevated their bearer's position. In like manner, these are secondary as the named already have their first names. In other words, these names are like 'nicknames' (Neethling 1990:67, 1994:93). In this instance, names are serving a quick identificatory role as it is assumed that almost everyone knows that individual who is always associated with the named. Attention shifts to attitude inspired personal names.

6.2.2 Attitude

One's disposition is an important feature that gives rise to various names. **Mukandabhutsu** (One who quickly kicks) connotes the colonialist behaviour of beating the blacks. They justified this by claiming that the blacks were lazy, hence they could not do anything without being forced. Chiwome (1996:18) submits that this was a way of justifying their bizarre colonial myths about Africa. The kicking was either portrayed as an act of self-defence as the blacks were presented as bloodthirsty and aggressive people who only could live with animals. Instances of excessive use of force like these once went unchallenged. It is only in Chakaipa (1967:49) that the eponymous character hit back his European employer, **Vhuka** (Awake), a rare incident where Shona were portrayed fighting for their political space. In this instance, Chakaipa used his eponymous character to ". . . instill strength, clarity and hope . . . ." (wa Thiongo 1993:81) to his people. **Bopoto** (Strife) was named so because he used to shout or scream at black workers. Sixty-nine and seventy-one old year informants confirmed the brutality of Europeans and the derivation of names from their conduct as Masukusa (1994) and Chakamba (1991) expound. Similarly a hostile European was named **Manyuchi** (Bees). His/her

hostility was accompanied by the propensity to beat the locals in the way bees attack their victim. The way bees sting and takes long to disperse is implied as well as one who speaks fast to the extent that the words come out like the sound produced by a passing swarm of bees. For various reasons, smoking was popularized by colonization hence names were drawn from such a behaviour.

6.2.3 Smoking

Smoking was practiced before the coming of the European colonizers in Zimbabwe but it was predominantly for medicinal purposes. One could, for instance smoke *mutsubvu* (scientifically named *vitex mombassae* and *payos*') leaves for a healing. This is against the people who long recognized the healing power of flora. Yet, when the colonialists came, smoking was heightened. Tradition, according to Sir Walter Raleigh has it that when the Shona people saw a European smoking thought he was burning and they almost poured water on him as a way of quenching the fire. In essence, those who smoke dagga were named **Kambanje.** The name also referred to one who was very harsh to blacks. One sees that some of these colonialists who were homesick over-used dagga in their attempt to drown their worries. This links with the theory that some smoke because they want to reduce their stress levels. In addition, one who smokes through the pipe was named **Chikwepa**. After smoking, attention shifts to preferred sitting style.

6.2.4 Sitting

The Shona culture does not allow one to talk to the elders whilst standing; this is disrespectful. They say *haufaniri kuona mhanza yavakuru* (You are not supposed to see the elder's baldhead). Yet, when the colonialists were addressing the Shona people on their various farms and mines among others, some preferred to talk sitting or standing. Those who did the former was not because they respected the Shona cultures but was because of poor healthy conditions hence were named **Matakopasi** (One who favours sitting or urging people to be seated). This reminds one that the Pioneer Column was comprised of some vagrants who could not fit in their society. The name also connotes one who cherished giving the instruction to the effect that people should be seated whilst they were being addressed. This was a security measure so that one easily picks pockets of resistance as compared to

when people would be standing. They easily can manhandle someone. The myth that Africans are gluttonous got attention amongst the Shona people.

6.2.5 Gluttonous

Another colonial myth was that Africans are gluttonous when compared to the Europeans. This seems the case if one is not aware that usually Shona people have three meals, morning, lunch and supper that is if everything is equal. Informants who had worked for Europeans dispute this projection. **Kusemamuriwo** (One who shies away from vegetables) suggests that they ate meat only which in Shona is referred to as *kukara* (One who is gluttonous). **Manhindi** (Pieces of meat) and **Chigova** (Distributor) are names popularized amongst excessive meat-lovers. Informants note that the way a child sucks could result in this name over and above it being summative of the conduct of parents. The teachings of temperance were engraved in the Shona philosophy. Beer-oriented behaviours gave rise to names.

6.2.6 Beer-oriented behaviour

Beer has been brewed among the Shona people since time immoral. It was usually used in their traditional religion to appease their ancestral and territorial spirits (Gelfand 1985). Beer was also used for communal labour purposes during *nhimbe* (work parties) as in Bvindi (1981), Chakaipa (1958) and Gombe (1985). The *nhimbe* activity shows that socialism was an ideology which the Shona people had before the Russian version was imposed on theirs. In essence, during the liberation war period the proponents of the Russian version of socialism drew some tenets from the Shona versions thereby adapting and making it appeal to the locals. The responsible use of beer is not what one gets from its use by Chakaipa (1967) and Zvarevashe (1976) among others. This excessive use of beer seems foreign to the Shona people and is explainable within the missionary efforts of preaching it down so that they could have a people committed to work for the system. Chiwome (1996) and Tsodzo (1972) note that beer was mostly abused in urban centres resulting in people not going to work after they would have got paid. One is reminded of the deliberate colonial policy that ensured that beer halls were built nearer to whatever residential area as the situation in Harare's Mbare area, Zimbabwe among other areas. In fact, beer was used as a way of keeping the black labour force

occupied and intoxicated so that they could not realize the extent to which they were being oppressed and exploited. They ended up remaining in town (Chakaipa 1963), indulging in extra marital affairs (Mungoshi 1975) as their wives were fixed in rural areas. The colonial system that readily made beer available to the blacks so that it could rob them of their hard earned money was quick to blame the latter of not being responsible.

Bandamukombe (One who excessively drinks) connotes one who excessively drinks beer. This person can do whatever it takes to have beer and only leaves the place when no trace of its presence can be found. **Chikarihachiomi** denotes one who always brews beer. Upon interviewing the alleged excessive beer brewers it emerged that it was so because they lacked formal ways for funding their families. The families need all the basics yet because they were not educated they could not get meaningful employment, hence beer brewing and selling became the vibrant means of survival. **Hunidzehwahwa** (Beer fire logs) suggests that one is always found where beer is in the same manner as fire logs are an indispensable resource in the beer brewing process. The name is suggestive of one who always asks **Tondomwepi**? (Where shall we drink?); an indication that one is an alcoholic. These names make clear that their bearers, in the first generation, were always drunk and as time passed by the names were canonized into forenames. According to Chiwome (1996:35), it is imperative to engage in a ". . . demythologization of the oppressed people's past" so that the Shona people's way of life can be meaningfully reconstructed as it has suffered the onslaught of the colonial forces. Discipline plays a crucial role in every society hence it played a crucial role in the Shona naming system.

6.2.7 Discipline

Diverse mechanisms to ensure that people are disciplined are available in the Shona society. The family and the immediate community provided checks and balances as the community communally owned children. The elderly women and men attended to children during the evenings where they told them folktales. These folk stories were rich in the ideals that the Shona people wanted to see passed on to the next generations. Whatever were topical issues were condensed in these folk stories and were presented like animal stories yet they were embodiments of today's news reportage where the world is told by media houses what they regard as newsworthy. The Shona version was

predominantly didactic, a demonstration that the people take life seriously. To this end, whoever senior to someone was responsible for their upkeep. What seems the norm today that you see teenagers misbehaving and you cannot do anything to them for fear of being castigated for abuse of human rights was unheard of among the Shona people. This explains why there were less teenage pregnancies, abortions, drug abuses and the prevalent delinquencies of today. Issues beyond the family could be taken to the village head that had a sizeable amount of authority over his immediate subjects. The hierarchy could go on until one got to the Chief. These office bearers were not as weak as the alleged one in Kuimba (1965).

Matare (Courts) denotes an expert in court issues. It also connotes one who always is before courts because of his/her supposed deviant deeds. **Mutongi** (Judge) denotes one who administers justice. The child who was born when the family was almost divided over such a child was also given this name. In the latter case, the name suggests that the child brought normalcy just like the judge does. The name **Chirambadare** (One who hates the court) denotes the disdain with which the Europeans perceived the Shona disciplinary system. The former refused to surrender to the Shona whom they regarded as uneducated hence unfit to oversee them. The Shona people ran their societies almost smoothly as they drew from their various experiences. This highlights the superiority complex the whites cherished; perceptions that are dominant today in disguised manners. This almost explains why African countries are not among the first world countries, among other reasons. Walking manners were also engraved into personal names.

6.2.8 Walking manners

As people who colonized Zimbabwe for their enrichment, the Europeans could not help but traverse the country in search of minerals among others resources. This gave rise to names like **Guramatunhu/Chinjekure** (One who does not stay long at one place/one who walks long distances). Informants remember that within the shortest time possible the Europeans dug several pits across the country in their bid to get soil samples for mining, agricultural and residential purposes amongst others. The names **Kamuchacha** and **Chijaka** (Fast walker) denote an energetic walker in the manner of security forces. Interviewees submit that some mothers might have been very mobile during their

gestation period and the resultant child might be given either of these names. Dirtiness or cleanliness was also a source of personal names.

6.2.9 Dirtiness

The Shona people cherish smartness against the European stereotype portrayed in Chakaipa (1961). Chakaipa alleges that the European lady made it categorically clear that she abhore dirtiness thereby implying that blacks liked it. The name **Murambatsvina** (One who hates dirt and one who is very harsh) was used to refer to whites while **Chifendekete** (One who is always dirty) was preserved for blacks. In Chidzero (1957) **Matigimu** (One who causes the ground to reverberate when he walks) is portrayed as a filth loving, lazy and gluttonous boy, images meant to discredit the black people. The writer has suffered from his ". . . colonial middle-class education and brainwashing" (wa Thiong'o 1972:41) that told him of a distorted African past resulting in him abdicating his ". . . citizen responsibility" (Chinweizu et al., 1980:248) of being his people's torch-bearer.

Smartness becomes a white people's virtue at the same time echoing the adage cleanliness is next to Godliness. Some have read this to mean that Europeans are next to godliness as shown by Mutswairo (1983) who has a Catholic Father Richartz preaching as follows,

> Renounce the world with its riches, lust, pleasure and build an everlasting inheritance in heaven above. Renounce all sinful ambitions and humble yourselves before the almighty. Rebellion against authority is sin against God. Waging war is sin against God. Disobedience to your masters is sin against God. All who partake in such things have no place in heaven but in fire and brimstone (Mutswairo 1983:67).

His sermon was similar to the one given by Salvation Army and Roman Catholic preachers namely Major Stowell Father Richartz and Father Biehler of German origin respectively. Within this context, Wild (1988:3) justifiably argues that Mutswairo (1983, 1988) uses his historical novels to rediscover the Shona people's past. Boehmer (1995:195) calls that ". . . a restorative connection with that which colonialist discourse had denied; the internal life of the colonized, their experience as historical actors"**.**

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Put in other words, these names are the picturization of what someone would have been known of doing. They are like the dramatization, a summation of someone's lifestyle and one easily gets at this if s/he is aware of his/her surrounding circumstances. Also, one realizes that in their first generations the names might have been used merely as nicknames until with the passage of time they became engraved into first names. Therefore, the preceding discussion shows that behavioural names are ". . . psychologically laden . . . ." (Neethling 2000a:49) and their proper reading calls one to go beyond the stated to the implied.

6.2.10 Behaviours within marriages

In addition, some names comment about behaviours of spouses or family relatives. These names make it clear that one is hated through **Ravasingadi** (That which they do not love). */Ra-/* is a derogatory prefix suggestive of something awkward in shape that is despised. In reality, the person would be addressed through that prefix as in,

> *Ndiyani wamanga muchitaura naye? Nderiya zimwana rekwa . . . .*
> *Ndouya mwana wekwa*
>
> (Who were you talking to? It is that child of . . . instead of
> answering saying. . . . It is the child of . . . .)

These remarks show that the child is known for certain unwelcome behaviour hence people disdain him/her for that. To have a married individual being treated that way is the last contempt one can imagine of. **Chandivinga** (That which came to me) connotes the innocence of the namer at the same time incriminating the accusers. The name **Muchandibaya** (You shall stab me) denotes that with the way people hate or ill-treat him/her, s/he cannot help but conclude that they are aiming at murdering him/her. This appears logical because one has realized that there is nothing that s/he does that they appreciate and it seems evident that they hate him/her to their last breath. **Masarakufa** (You are the only one surviving death) echoes similar sentiments by alluding that death is the last thing for such hateful people.

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Tofiramufaro (We are dying because of joy) denotes the innocence of the namers as they declare that they married because of the joy they get in their relationship yet they are being accused of having some sinister motives. Some disclosed that they were accused of having been married into that particular family because they were after the riches and fame that it had. As hit back, one declares that s/he had loved each other without considering ephemeral possessions. Some informants note the prevalence of marriage relationships anchored on the availability of cash, car, and cell phone provisions that were not prioritized among the Shona people. Macheso notes that most of these marriages are a recipe for disaster as they are a modernized form of enslavement. Alick Macheso and *The Ochestra Mberikwazvo* in 'Wemakonzo' sung *handina rusununguko ndakazviwana zviripo* (I am not yet free for I found the riches there). The Shona people allowed even the poor people to work for their spouse through *kutema ugariri* (working for a spouse) for their view of marriage was the cementing of relations not the contemporary commercialized version.

In addition, the namer warns that they are watchful and are taking record of the proceedings. **Toverenga** (We count/We take stock) suggests that one day they shall require the things to be addressed as they shall take them to task over their conduct. **Dhimandi** (Demand) desires to know why things are as they are. It is like an ultimatum given to a supposed warring part declaring that if no reformation materializes within the stated period, drastic actions would be taken. The name becomes a public performative action which anyone conversant with the language would seek to identify the warring individuals. The alternative given is through the name **Tichaoneka** (We shall bid you farewell). This suggests that the couple may relocate to an area they feel they can live with less interferences. This is meant to raise alarm that the two are taking seriously their conduct and appear fed up. Informants declare that there might be a relative who is bewitching them, ill-treating them in whatever way, or the existence of seemingly unending family feuds which the couple does not see reason in partaking. The name is their last warning, a position that underscores the anaphoric use of Shona names.

One must be aware of the culture so that s/he can make cross-references of issues under discussion without being formally introduced to the proceedings. Therefore, the first name **Tendeukai** (Repent) is an imperative appeal for change of conduct for the unity of the family to be safeguarded. This passionate plea demonstrates one's concern for the wellbeing of his/her family yet s/he is caught in

between by their defective behaviours. **Marambakudya** (One who refused to eat) captures a protest as a result of some happenings in the family. Food is meant to be eaten and when one denies this life enhancing exercise then it shows that things are bad enough that emergence redress mechanisms should be implemented. The denial of food also implies denial of the marriage privilege, the last thing to be done as the Shona society encouraged people not to take their differences to the bedroom.

Chomusawona (You have not seen enough) threatens the causers of the problems that they stand to see more if they continue with their unwelcome behaviour. **Liquor,** as some informants noted, came because the father was known to be the first person in the area to drink beer from bottles against the traditionally brewed beer. This was because the individual was now working in town and later he went home with the bottled beer. The individual is said to have refused to drink traditionally brewed beer alleging that it causes him some illnesses yet he grew up partaking it. The name started as a description, that is, people would say, *"Munoreva upi wacho . . . uyuzve wehwahwa hwechirungu."* (Whom do you refer to . . . this one who drinks white men's beer.) before it was given to his offspring. **Mujeri~Mujere** (Jail) denotes something to do with the imprisonment of a spouse or that the birth occurred while one was detained (from questionnaires). This was popular especially during the colonial government's crackdown on nationalist activities which saw the arrest of many activists. This is the period the child **Nhamodzenyika** (Problems of the country) was born to Robert Mugabe who was later to become Zimbabwe's president and was so named as his father was always involved and arrested for political issues. Fauna names were important in the life of the Shona people hence they were incorporated in the naming system.

6.3 Fauna oriented names

The Shona people, like any other people, had a symbiotic relationship with animals of diverse nature (Lan 1985); carnivores, herbivores, rodents, birds, domestic animals, snakes and insects. They used to hunt and feed on most of these animals in line with the Genesis 1-3 creation stories that reckon that humanity was given dominion over every creation. Abundant examples exist in Shona folktales that show that animal qualities like strength, agility, meekness, cunning and bravery among others were derived from the animal kingdom in the form of *mitupo, zvidawo* and forenames. These folktales are

crucial for one can trace ". . . a people's identity" (Dundes 1983) from their contents. Scattered all over the five data sources are names after various animals.

6.3.1 Mammals

To get at the deeper meaning of names one needs to be conversant with the cultural semiotic conventional meanings associated with whatever animal as revealed in folk-tales (n*gano)*. For instance, among the Shona people hare is a renowned cheat, cunning, intelligent animal that always outdo its playmates. When such a name was given to an individual, for one to comprehend its meaning and relevance, one has to have knowledge of their conventional uses. One has to decode the context in which the name was given. For instance, two respondents in Guruve, Mashonaland Central on January 01, 2006 note that the name **Tsuro** (Hare) was given to a child who was born either with a clever looking face or fast moving eyes or was relatively small in stature. The name becomes summative of the present as well as a wish for what they hope should happen to the little one. Related names are **Mukonoweshuro** (He hare) and **Magen'a** (Hare). The latter is a known cruel and cunning chief in Zvarevashe (1978) who outwitted others in their quest for the Mhazi chieftaincy. In addition, **Ruvhunambwa** (Dog breaker) is renowned for running very fast resulting in many dogs dying after they would have hit on trees or whatever obstacles in their bid to adjust to the sudden turns the hare makes. The father might have been a renowned runner hence the namers, as a way of wishing the child to emulate that, preferred the name.

Shumba is associated with majestic power and is regarded as the king of the beasts (Pongweni 1983, 1996). The study also found the names **Shumbayamuka** (The Lion has arisen) and **Mashumba** (Lions). The qualities of this animal are well personified by the Shona people. For instance, a courageous person is labelled a lion. Boys are socialized to aspire and cherish the qualities of a lion so that they could be conquerors in life. **Mbada** is known for doing its things in calculated manners, of being of a small stature, colourfulness and when it fights it's known that it succeeds. **Mutiro~Gudo** (Baboon) is popular as a totemic name alongside **Mukanya** (Tsoko, Monkey). Most members of this totem are popularly known as Svosve people who are in Mashonaland East and recently are known of having started the third *chimurenga* when they invaded white occupied farms in the area between Wedza and Marondera. **Mukanya** (from the verb '-kanyaira' which means 'the boastful and leisurely

step that the male baboon takes') is polite than **Gudo** and the names come because namers are popularizing their clan founders. To outsiders, they seem derisive statements because the animals are reckoned of being lazy and surviving on stealing agricultural produce. Shona myth has it that baboons are people who were lazy who preferred to live by stealing. This myth is supported by the intelligence the animal exudes and its behaviour which is akin to that of human beings. **Roparembwa** (Blood of dogs) connotes namers who are not welcomed and appreciated by the family members. In Shona when people reprimand a dog they say **Pfutseki** (A scolding remark). The name is borrowed from Afrikaans. The name implies that people regard them more or less like dogs which, are chased away the moment the hunter is sure that the animal they have caught has been killed. At home they protect the homestead yet their welfare is not properly taken care of. Their food is usually the leftovers and they do not have a properly built shelter. In Chiguvare (1976) there is a traditional healer by this name who was abhorred by others because of his role. With this in mind, one sees that the namers are protesting against their treatment.

Shona wealth was preserved in goats and cattle; a relationship that gave rise to names like **Gondogwe/Gondobwe** (Uncastrated sheep) and **Mhuru** (Calf). The former, according to some interviewees came because the namers had a flock of goats which coincided with the couples giving birth only to boys. The latter, in three incidences came because the birth was during the time many cows gave births. Cattle gave status to Shona people. A large herd bestowed power on the owner as he could marry as many wives as he wanted which could result in him having a large labour force and security. This was the way the Shona people kept their wealth especially before colonization and the introduction of banks. Furthermore, upon the colonization of Zimbabwe, the Shona people lost their cattle to whites by force and through their legislature that restricted the amount of cattle one could have as discussed by Nyawaranda (1985) and Musengezi (1984). The appropriation of the Shona people's herd explains why the Shona people ended up in dire poverty. Discourse shifts to the part birds play in Shona naming.

6.3.2 Birds

The Shona people drew some personal names from birds. The name **Gondo** (Eagle) has been found to be popular among boy children. Some informants declare that the name comes after the firmness of

the child's grip which would be likened to that of the eagle especially when it snatches its prey. Names within this family are **Gondokadzi** (She eagle) and **Ruvangu** (A small type of an eagle). The former is given to girl children while the latter is masculine. Their semantic import amongst the Shona people is the same except that the latter is known for being faster than an eagle. Eagles are known of their hunting skills, their precision when attacking their preys like fowls, snakes or hares. Such skills, interviewees disclosed, are some the admired qualities that the namers hope their children would manifest.

On the contrary, the name **Jongwe** (Cock) implies leadership and masculinity. Among the Shona people, a cock is popular as the morning time keeper as by its crows it heralds arrival of a new day. It does so thrice and in a society whose time was not chronometer based, this animal was very important. Furthermore, ZANU (PF) took the symbol of a cock for their party, a move that further popularized the cock and added diverse connotations to the name. Now it stands for power and leadership among others. Within this context, the name **Kanhiyo** (Small chick) was found. This denotes that the child was born with health problems and being of small stature. The name connotes that the namer might appear small in stature yet they are old and mature people who deserve time and space to run their family affairs. **Shirichena** (Stock) denotes innocence. The colour white connotes purity, an indication that the namer(s) is declaring his/her innocence of whatever people suspect s/he has done. One is drawing from birds which, when they see people they fly away and they do their things during daytime thereby emphasizing on transparency. After birds oriented names, reptiles driven names were found.

6.3.3 Reptiles

Popular names were also drawn from crocodiles. They are **Ngwena~Garwe** (Crocodile). **Garwedema~Nyarutema** (Black crocodile) denotes that the crocodile is black in colour from the Shona adjectival stem */-tema/* (black). In addition, **Zingwena** highlights the voluminous size as denoted by the /zi-/ Shona noun class 21 prefix. The former name denotes the complexion of the child upon birth while the latter denotes the size at birth. On the same note, **Samadziwa** (Of the waters), because of the prefix /sa-/, a Manyika allomorph for /wa-/ connotes ownership of the waters. This implies that crocodiles are the most powerful animal in the waters as they almost can kill whatever

animal for their prey. Interviewees declare that these names are popular among children born within the *garwe* totem. **Samadziva** further connotes that the namer can only give birth to children of the same sex. In addition, **Samadziva** is popular both as a surname and personal name especially among the Manyika people of Zimbabwe. The {*Sa-*} in this name is an equivalent of the Zezuru *{Va-}* which is the Shona class 2a prefix (Fortune 1980). Therefore, the discussion of fauna oriented names speaks volume about the fundamental role of the anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory. Then, discourse shifts to request names.

6.4 Request names

This section focuses on personal names that highlight the extent to which Shona people esteem tranquility. Request names come about after the realization that some core human values are missing either in the marriage or from the significant family members hence these names are calling for such values to be exuded. **Vimbai** (Trust) denotes lack of this value in the family hence a call is being made to have it nurtured. This, according to interviewees happens either because one was caught having an extramarital affair or had children out of wedlock. The performance of a spouse might have been compromised leading to rife speculations that one has an affair outside. **Kudzanai** (Respect each other) has it root in **Kudzai** (Respect) and the names call the family members or the couple to respect each other. They are called upon to accord each other dignified space so that self-worthy can be enhanced and family relations would be meaningful. The name connotes that, as things stand, family members are belittling each other hence the seeming challenges they are in. Similar sentiments are echoed through **Rumbidzai** (Praise).

Within this breath, some names call for chastity. **Tendekai** (Be trustworthy) echoed sentiments reminiscent to the name **Vimbai** (**Trust**). The name makes it clear that spouses must be contented with their relationships so that they can avoid falling into dire problems that come as a result of sexually transmitted diseases among others. Informants note that the Shona society expected men to take the leading role in sexual matters to the extent that most women are docile recipients. The culture almost allows men to have as many wives as they want thereby leaving women to accept whatever outcome. As a result, the name **Tendekai** would be the women's statement and comment on the behaviour of their husband. The name hereby calls them to act responsibly as men were allowed to

divorce (*kugura badza*) and give *gupuro* (a divorce token) which was suppose to be handed to her parents as proof that she had been divorced. Failure to have her hand over such a token, she would be instructed to go back for the society taught that once one was married her membership rights were fully transferred to the man's family. There was call for transparency as **Revai** (Say it out) denotes. The name makes clear that something has been wrong yet people have not yet come out clean. The alleged accused people are being called upon to disclose their activities so that a healing process can begin. This is the root of the Truth and Reconciliation processes that have dominated the political landscape in South Africa after attaining her majority rule in 1994, just to name a few. The antagonists might be the family members or a spouse. The name is similar to **Durai** or **Dudzai.** The suffix */–i/* makes it clear that the namers are addressing a respected individual or people.

Conversely, **Tutsirai~Wedzerai** (Increase) is a call to have those who were doing well to continue in that track. This might be after a couple has declared that they have finished their child-bearing say with whatever number of children whom the family regards as few. As a result, they are being called to reconsider their position. These talks became rife with the introduction of western oriented contraceptive methods and government calls to control population explosion so that amenities could be enough to citizens. Those calling for the increase do not subscribe to artificial birth control tactics as they are for the natural systems to decide fate. Furthermore, the name is a call to family members to continue positive treatment they are giving them and the namers are hereby declaring their appreciation. On the other hand, **Tsungai** (Persevere) connotes that relations are bad as the marriage or family is surrounded with problems yet they are being called upon to continue in it. The name **Rambidzai** (Please deny that) implies moves towards the breakage of the relationship or towards marrying another wife hence the namer, in this case the wife already in the marriage, is calling for the significant family members to censure such moves. **Dondisesedzai** (Please take me bit by bit) is a call for tolerance and suggest that one might have made mistakes but they must bear with him/her. The namer's mind frame of being ready to change is echoed as they are calling for patience. This highlights the perspective that the significance of Shona personal names should never be underestimated (Chitando 1998a:24).

On this note, the name **Tongai** (Adjudicate) is a call for an astute adjudication so that the namer might be vindicated. The namer connotes that the issue at hand must be closely looked at as s/he has been

wrongfully implicated. Because s/he has been vindicated, a call is being made to make good the ill-treatment s/he has suffered at their hands through the name **Ripai** (Pay back). The name usually, according to informants, is given by the mother as she is the one who suffers most of those attacks as it is not easy for her to walk out of the marriage. As she has been proved innocent of any wrongdoing in the resultant sickness or death in the family by a diviner, she is now asking to be repaid for character defamation. This was during the colonial system that denied the existence of witchcraft and informants note that she could be paid with a calf for they fear that if she dies with that grudge she could come to haunt their family as an avenging spirit.

On the other hand, **Chengetai** (Look after) calls to have them responsible for taking care of the family execute their role without blemish. As Shona men were the breadwinners, the spouse is being reminded that the family is languishing in poverty yet he is working like what happened when **Rex** abandoned his wife **Rindai** (Wait) and children who were in the rural areas in favour of **Magi** (Mungoshi 1975). The name also calls upon family members to ensure that all required provisions for the sustenance of life within their confinements are met. Spiritual beings are also being called into the equation so that their guidance would be felt and seen by the extinction of challenges.

Two female informants aged eighty-two and sixty-seven interviewed in Seke, Mashonaland East and Buhera, Manicaland province on April 04, 2005 and January 02, 2005 respectively agree that names like **Muchadura** (You shall confess) and **Dudzai** (Confess) were given to girls after their mothers had had prolonged labour periods due to their alleged mischievousness. Their context is the Shona people's belief that if the mother or father was promiscuous, a witch or does anything immoral the delivery would be complicated unless s/he discloses the deeds. So, while confessing the baby would be moving slight inches until she finishes and it then completely comes out. In short, this category of names summarizes crucial happenings in life which might be difficult to divulge all times (see Section 5.1.8). Time was popular amongst the Shona people and a sizable amount of given names were drawn from time related experiences.

6.5 Chronemics

Respondents note that time plays a crucial role in the Shona naming system. The time of a child's birth was accorded a special place. In the traditional Shona context, names were not only convenient

tags to differentiate one individual from the next as most of them are laden with meaning. Some personal names make reference to the time of the day, week or year on which the birth took place or when the mother experienced much pregnancy discomfort, among others. There abound names that make reference to days of the week like **Sondo~Sunday~Sande, Friday~Chishanu** and **Chipiri~Tuesday**. This trend is similar to what Stein and Potenza (2000) note about the Twi people of Ghana who name their children after the days of their birth as Table 6.2 below records.

Related to the day of the week are names that make specific references to time within the day. **Mauro** (Night) suggests that it was in the evening that the implied event occurred and it's true to the name **Masikati** (Daytime). These names suggest one's preferred time of arriving home from errands like beer drinking, one's practice of not being indoors. Some informants note that **Mauro** connotes the time the family went through their darkest hour, like when bereavement or whatever catastrophe struck while **Masikati** implies the dawning of festive moments.

Day	Male	Female
Monday	Kwajo	Adwoah
Tuesday	Kwabena	Abena
Wednesday	Kwaku	Akuah
Thursday	Yaw	Yaa
Friday	Kofi	Afuah
Saturday	Kwame	Amma
Sunday	Kwasi	Akosua

Table 6.2: Twi names (Ghana)

Kwayedza (It is now morning/bright) denotes the early hours of the day as well as being suggestive of the new lease of life that the birth has given the family. This seems the case especially when one was being attacked for failing to give birth to a preferred child of a particular sex yet the Lord's providence has been made manifest through this birth. An appreciation of the context in which the name arose, the societal culture is therefore paramount for one to get at the meaning(s) of the name. In

other words, this calls for a reconstruction of events with the hope of getting at the pillars that gave rise to the names.

The study also found names that emerged from months of the year. Popular amongst these are **July, Chikumi** (June), **Gunyana** (September), **January, November** and **December**. These names, according to informants are popularized in English language where they appear more appealing than in their Shona equivalence. This is an issue of taste as the languages convey similar meanings. Some informants disclosed that some families have their birthdays on one or closely related months, an indication of deliberate planning in how the family births occur. The names imply some joyous or otherwise family events associated with particular months.

Related to month-oriented names, the study notes that some children are named after seasons of the year. Popular namers are **Winter~Chando** and **Chirimo** (Spring). Respondents declared that the conception or birth might have occurred during this time. They are also suggestive of some joyous or sad events having occurred during that period which result in these names being used as time-keeping records. Within this context, the names become a filing system for the namer(s). In like manner, one is reminded of Matavire's song that talks of how severe cold weather is life threatening. Reference is made to the area of Gweru in the Midlands province of Zimbabwe. The area receives the lowest temperatures in the country hence it is well-known of being cold. This song captures similar issues that other interviewees cited as having given rise to the name **Winter.** The song says,

> *Maiva muGweru*
> *Kunze kwaitonhora*
> *Gumbeze raiva rimwe chete*
> *Chando chinouraya*
> *Chando chinouraya*
>
> (It was in Gweru
> The weather was cold
> The blanket was one
> Cold kills
> Cold kills).
> (Paul Matavire and the Jairos Jiri Band, 1989, *Chando Chinouraya*).

The fourth time-oriented category deals with names that generally denote and connote time issues. These names are examples of particularized implicature par excellence. The names are **Time, Last** and **Christmas.** The former two make general reference to time issues. It was observed that **Time** denotes that the couple needed space to prove what they could do to the family that already was censuring them of having failed. **Last** suggests that a certain unwelcome behaviour must come to an end as the last warning has been given. The name is also suggestive of the view that the concerned birth was their last one. Through **Christmas,** reference is made to December 25, a day conventionally treated as when Christ Jesus was born yet research suggests that it stands for the birth of Tamuz in the Canaanite and Baal religion. A reading of reference to shepherds who were outside with their sheep (Luke 2:8-18), denotes an activity which was possible in the Palestine region during a summer season around September to October.

Furthermore, **Nguvadzaishe** (The Lord's time) is a comment suggestive of some related discourse that is being made reference to. The namers are declaring that the Almighty not them, is the controller of events. This shows their distancing themselves from events that are surrounding them. This shows that, if people were denying a particular birth or were rejecting and ill-treating them, the name suggests that God's time heals things and relationships. Some informants elucidated on this by giving an example of a mother-in-law who used to ill-treat her daughter-in–law yet when fate struck the family, the latter looked after that mother-in-law to the appreciation of the community. **Zvemusi** (Another day) makes reference to another time or day. The name is synonymous with **Mbaimbai** (By and by) which imply one's procrastinating tendencies and preference of the name as shown by always mentioning it. Therefore, these names demonstrate that one can get at their pragmatic meaning if s/he is aware of their background. Occupation driven names are the next group to be examined.

6.6 Occupation driven names

The colonial labour force was male dominated as this gender is regarded to be the strongest and most hard working. This explains why this was the only gender that was employed and allowed to stay in urban centres like Harare, during the initial stages of the establishment of the colonial system (Tsodzo 1972). The subsequent sections explore the popular occupations black Africans took and how it influenced their nomenclature.

6.6.1 Child minders

Shona people found themselves chasing whatever job was available on the market so that they could fit into the new economic dispensation set by the Europeans. Some, because of historically imposed challenges like failure to have attained meaningful education, saw themselves being forced to take up menial jobs. This trend has not drastically changed for the good in Zimbabwe. In fact, due to the political polarization that has defined Zimbabwean politics since the mid-1990s era, many people have lost their jobs, companies have closed and the majority just left their jobs because they could not provide for their basic needs. It is within this context that names like **Muchengeti** (Keeper) and **Dambanevana** (One who plays with children) proliferated.

Chiwome (1998) and Magwa (1991) handled a similar topic where their male characters are portrayed as housemaids. This was unheard of among the Shona as the father was the breadwinner and the society had clearly defined masculine and feminine roles, a view some schools of thought have reservations with. This discussion submits that such experiences among other things were designed to dehumanize the Shona men so that he unequivocally accepts his second class citizenship. Because these people were employed to look after someone's family and property, names like **Muchengeti** and **Dambanevana** were given to them. The result is that their titles of occupation are transferred to their children by family members or at their volition. The parents might have preferred such names so that they keep themselves reminded of their work experiences through the journey of life. These names continue to proliferate as are day-care centres nowadays as many mothers are now formally employed. The other category deals with cattle herders.

6.6.2 Cattle herders

As Europeans appropriated the Shona people's cattle (Masukusa 1994, Makari 1985), they ended up employing the latter to herd their cattle and erect fences so that they did not stray back to their known environments. The name **Chirisamhuru** (Calf-minder/ A leader of the people) which popularly referred to a Shona ruler (Mutasa 1990,1991) had its semantic references broadened to encompass cattle-Herding. Synonymous names are **Mufudzi** (herder) and **Mutinha** (The driver). This was a masculine occupation as it entails several hazards. As already demonstrated, the names later filtered

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into personal. **Mufudzi**, some claim might have been derived from the biblical image where Jesus is depicted as the shepherd who cares for his flock. Whatever the case, the Shona people improved their linguistic repertoire by devising names from whatever experience they had encountered. Professional oriented names form the next category worthy exploring.

6.6.3 Professional names

The building profession was popularized with the massive residential demands hence the name **Bhiridha** (Builder) identified the profession of the father. The name was also used to identify the owner of the pregnancy in circumstances when the father denied responsibility. **Mutsare** (The demarcator) refers to one who was employed in professions like surveying that entailed demarcating the land for various land use. The Shona people would be explaining to each other one's occupation, they devised the name from *mutsara* (a line) into **Mutsare,** thereby highlighting the need for one to understand the Shona word formation processes for one to understand the operatives of the various personal names. On the other hand, **Mugadza** (The installer) makes reference to someone who installed chiefs or whoever would have been appointed in positions of responsibility.

6.6.4 Expertise-oriented names

Some names were derived from the acumen possessed by individuals. Such names are **Mbirimi~Mhizha~Mazvikokota** (An expert) in whatever profession. Some professions required people to have attained certain prerequisite training while some were by informal acquisition through association or through the spiritual enhancement (*shave*). In most cases, their children got these names or were given as secondary names to the grown ups only to be popularized in subsequent generations. The name **Mutonhodzazvinopisa** (One who cools hot things) is alleged to have been popularized amongst astute people who presided over diverse disputes at the traditional court in ways that left people marveling at the justice system. These names were given to people who were perceived to be intelligent and to children who were born when there was hot debate about the need of a child of such a gender. The marriage was precarious yet when the birth occurred, relations were mended. **Matambanepfumo** (One who plays with the spear/ Expert Hunter, Warrior), in this instance refers to children named after their parents who were security forces or well-known hunters. Similarly,

Mutikitivha (Criminal investigative officer) was settled for because one of the parents was a member of the secret security agents. The situations here discussed highlight the diversity of Shona names as they are derived from various life scenarios that come with whatever political dispensation.

6.6.5 Opportunistic occupations

Due to the scarcity of employment and need of diverse entertainment forms, boxing became popularized. Children born by a father in this profession were identified by the name. It was also a wish name given to boys whose stature was suggestive of a boxer. Yet some note that either of the spouses was involved or entertained fighting hence the name **Bhokiseni** (Boxer) was cemented. The name **Mutsigavamwe** (One who helps others carry their material) was found in urban centres. These people are popularly called *vanahwindi* (people who helps others navigate their routes). This occupation became popularized in Zimbabwe in the late 1990s due to the economic meltdown that saw people opting out of formal employment, their remunerations having become meaningless. As a result, many people are found in urban area and around the border posts purporting to be helping people to carry their materials. The result is linguistic innovation as personal names have been derived from their conduct. Some of their children are now identified by the occupations of their fathers**.** After occupation names attention shifts to flora oriented first names.

6.7 Flora oriented names

Just like the fauna case, the Shona people relish flora for it sustains humankind in assorted ways. Human race gets food, rain, firewood, medicinal benefits, shelter and clean air to breathe amongst others from flora. Trees and plants beautify the surroundings and wherever they flourish so is human life. The derivation of names from flora testifies to the excellent relationship that exists between the two. The names they preferred either indicate that one was healed through their use, popularly ate, and talked of the particular type of flora. Because of the favourable agricultural conditions that saw Zimbabwe before the mid 1990s being the bread basket of Southern Africa, the name **Zinyemba** (Big beans) dominated this category. It is popular among the Shona people as a personal as well as a surname. Some allege it emerged from the size of cowpeas a particular farmer produced. The other name is **Kachinda** (A thread) derived from cotton and it signifies a cotton grower. Some interviewees

observe that it signifies one born having a slim body. **Rukweza** (Rapoko) refers to a drought resistant crop that is popularly used to brew beer. On the other hand, **Manzungu** (Big ground nuts) echoes similar sentiments raised in **Zinyemba.** They imply that the child was of a sizeable stature. Rhetorical names make our next group of personal names.

6.8 Rhetorical names

These names, like the *bembera* practice, are in line with the measures and protocols the Shona society instituted to guard against injurious behaviours to its tranquility. Beside the obvious legal and law enforcement structures, there are nuance rhetorical or communication strategies by which these social ideals are nurtured, monitored and encouraged. As such, in pragmatic terms the power of the spoken and its potential to enhance or threaten social cohesion and harmony cannot be overemphasized. An appreciation of the language of the namers is imperative as their rhetoric significance is inherent in their nature. Two such rhetorical names the study got from novels and plays addressed to the fellow spouse are discussed here. **Mahunwepi**? (Where did you drink it (beer)?) was given either because the spouse always comes drunk, misbehaves or always asks such a question when somebody misfires. Moreover, **Maidei**? (What did you want?) questions a spouse that might have been caught having an extra-marital affair yet the original marriage has been blessed with children of both sexes. From the book *Maidei* (Hamutyinei 1972), the name is asking **Sainos Maruta**, **Maidei**'s father what he wanted from another woman when he was already married to **Maidei'** mother. If it is a question to **Rhudiya**, it is asking why she killed **Jacha** her fisrt husband and **Maidei**'s mother, as well as her husband **Sainos**. This is against the backdrop of Shona culture that allows men to solicit extramarital affairs in search of a male child. Here, the namers might be addressing those censuring their marriage so they would come clean on what they exactly wanted or had hoped for. The name might be asking those with reservations with a particular birth that had occurred to come clean so that the couple would know the way forward.

In addition, some names question the other spouse or immediate family members after certain unwelcoming behaviour would have been manifested. **Maonei**? (What have you seen?) and **Makazoonei**? (What else did you see?) ask the husband on what else is special that has lured him outside the marriage. The subject is the men for the Shona culture tasks men with the responsibility of

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openly initiating love moves. **Maitei**? (What have you done?) asks one on what s/he has done that has brought such reproach to the family. **Maivepi**? (Where were you?) is a question to one whose whereabouts were not known. Disappearances used to happen during month ends when people have been paid money and a cheating spouse would spent a day or so away from his family on clandestine missions. Upon the return, one is asked where s/he was.

Related to this, interviewees gave the first name **Madezvipi**? (What now do you prefer?), a direct question on what they had exactly expected. One appears worried because almost everything s/he does hoping to get favourable comments only gets negative comments. One is asking a spouse or family members to come out clean so that a way forward can be envisaged. **Ndaizivei**? (What did I know?) declares the couple or other spouse's innocence. One might be making it clear that the crime was committed unknowingly or did not know that the husband has an extramarital affair popularized as 'small houses' in Zimbabwe. The name suggests that most of the commercial sex workers rent small rooms due to financial limitations among other reasons. The spouse might not have been aware that she was not loved yet she had fully committed herself only to be dumped at the last moment. In other words, s/he wants to establish whether or not s/he is being loved. **Chinondidyachii**? (What is it that eats me?) suggests that the other spouse might be suffering say from a sexually transmitted disease and until then s/he was not aware of its roots. The name suggests that one has got a clue to why s/he has a poor healthy. This discussion vindicates the view that the custom of giving proper names to human beings operates under a system determined by social conditions and the environment.

Ndakaitei? (What did I do?) is regretful because the spouse has noted the proclivity of the other to be promiscuous (from interviews). The name clearly shows that the namer is deeply affected by the unbecoming developments in the marriage hence s/he is directly taking the concerned people to task. **Munondidii**? (What can you do to me?) was preferred by a woman who was sure that her spouse loved her. She was now asking those against her what they can achieve if she is firmly supported by her spouse and some important family members. The name also echoes views that she had been wished evil yet she escaped as a demonstration that she is almost impervious to their evil machinations. **Makandionei**? (What did you see in me?) asks them why exactly they treat her/him that way. The name suggests that they are taking the namer for a ride hence the name requires them to inform him/her on why s/he is always the target. **Mandivengerei**? (Why do you hate me) summarizes

the prevailing situation marked by hatred hence the namer is asking why it is so. This is against someone who has been conducting him/herself circumspectly yet the response of the family members or the spouse is suggestive of unappreciative intentions.

Marwei? (You fight for what?) asks them what they are fighting for in as far as their family is concerned. The namers declare their vulnerability hence the desire to establish why such practice has been done to them. This is suggestive of people wishing someone to have been in that relationship or of people suspected of casting evil spells. **Makarasheni**? (You dumped me?) declares that one has been downtrodden as demonstrated by the treatment s/he is getting at their hands. This connotes someone who almost is never consulted on the proceedings in the family yet s/he is mature to deserve such respect. The preceding sentiments apply to **Masemeni**? (You despise me?); a name suggestive of people doing everything to avoid interacting with someone. **Mandiisepi**? (Where have you put me?) suggests that the namer is treated as if s/he is nonexistent. As a result, one is fighting for his/her rightful space within the family structures. Therefore, these names pose serious thought-provoking rhetorical questions meant to bring the concerned perpetrators to book. One has emptied her/himself through the names and is pleading for answer(s) so s/he can understand why they treat him/her in such belittling manners.

Against the realization that the Shona people cherished the permanency of marriage, one sees the pragmatic performative use of names by namers to project diverse sentiments. Respondents' note the effectiveness of this approach as some would name back their children, dogs (Hunt 1952, Tatira 2004), cows or would use *bembera* to effect change of their behaviour. Yet, respondents note that **Ndanatsei**? (What good have I done?) and **Ndarapei**? (What have I healed?) are names questioning a spouse or the larger family on their sudden positive attitude towards him/her whilst of late they had been very critical of him/her and their marriage? These two names contain overtones of suspicion on such surprising moves. **Munhuwepi**? (What manner of a person are you?) reprimands a spouse's inconsiderate behaviour. The spouse is being asked what manner of an individual s/he is who does not appreciate the other's contribution(s).

In addition, names directed to outsiders interfering with a couple's marriage were observed. These names are concealed yet they are raising serious issues one cannot level against someone directly for

people would end up fighting or going to court. **Takurasei**? (How have we grown up?) asks a question to those accusing them of being 'young and unfit for marriage'. The namers are saying that they have done almost everything in life and people should not underestimate their preparedness in marriage on the basis of age. Several informers posit that such accusations were levelled especially at those of small bodies whose looks betray people to think that they are children.

A trend of having people even below eighteen years for boys and sixteen years for girls marrying in Zimbabwe has been observed. This practice is rife amongst some apostolic sects and the underprivileged societies who perceive marriage as the only way they could extend their lives. **Tofirei**? (Why are we dying?) asks what wrong they have done to deserve such ill-treatment. The namers make it clear that they do not see justification for the status quo. **Torevasei**? (How can we say it?) submits that they are caught in between as their culture does not authorize them to directly challenge their parents or any of their seniors. They hereby declare that they have some observations to make but the channels appear closed. This implicates the collapse of the Shona system where personnel like aunts from the two spouses families were actively involved in overseeing marriages of their family members. Within these confinements, such desperate remarks echoed by these names were almost impossible. The appeal is reminiscent of people living in far away areas from their relatives and has no adequate means to ensure that the family bonds are maintained. Also, the detrimental effect of education, foreign individual oriented religions, urbanization amongst other factors, have drastically exposed the Shona people.

Toringepi? (Where should we look?) implies the Shona adage *mai vatsva musana mwana dumbu* (The mother's back is burnt as well as the child's stomach so how can s/he be carried?). This suggests that all the avenues the namer(s) had hoped to get assistance from seem unyielding. This implies that if they were seeking advice all their trusted people have turned them down hence they are caught in a quandary. They are almost submitting, that they have done everything within their powers to ensure that stability, health could be attained to no avail hence the name is a declaration of surrender. The synonymous name is **Tozivepi**? (What else should we know?). Yet, **Munorwei**? (What are you fighting for?) directly seek answers to their behavior. They are being asked why they are antagonizing their relationship with such passion. The names are examples of particularized implicature as the perpetrators are known yet subtle reference is made to them. **Togarasei**? (How can we reside?) asks if

survival can be meaningful in such conditions of volatility. The implicative role of the name is to declare the given expectation that marriage must be characterized by mutual respect. The pragmatic import of these names emerges if one understands their context of origins. Furthermore, one has to be aware of the semiotic culture of how a particular people use language for him/her to be able to decode it.

Similarly, a male informant aged seventy seven interviewed in Mutare, Manicaland province on October 23, 2005, gave the study the ChiNdau, a Shona dialect, Manicaland province four questioning names. **Mwazodaani**? (Who do you now love?) asks if the family members have finalized their selection of whom they want to marry their child. This, according to interviewees emerges if two or more than one woman has gone to a certain man's homestead purporting to have come to be married by him. Some of the ladies might be pregnant. Caught in such a web, the child delivery occurs amidst uncertainties hence the name is used to probe on the way forward. **Mwabhuyei**? (What have you discussed?) connotes the prevalence of gossip or instances when the man deliberates issues with his kinsmen which are never disclosed to her. Her worry comes when she notes changes in the behavior of the spouse. The uncertainty was alleged to be rife if one had no male child so almost whenever she sees the husband in seemingly serious discussions with his aunts, one wrongfully concludes that they are planning to have him marry another wife. The name asks the spouse as well as involved family members to disclose. This was so as the Shona society accords aunts and senior women the platform to be consulted on family matters. All other women are regarded as foreigners unworthy to share in the highest family deliberating council, so to speak. This set up has been readjusted by the realization that some women have become financially powerful more than their spouses to the extent that excluding them is recipe for failure of implementation of decisions that require financial backing.

He (-**zve-**) -**mwaimboti**? (You used to say this and that?) asks a spouse or family members that are reneging on their vows. The namer declares that s/he is still aware of the covenant made and is still looking forward to its fruition. The Shona people saw long ago people's proclivity to violate promises when they said, "*rinonyenga rinohwarara rozosimudza musoro rawana"*. A suitor has a tendency to appear good only to turn around when the intended has been achieved). Because of this truism, the namer is taking the alleged promisers to task. Some argue that they reminded their husbands on their vow not to be polygamous when they got hints that the guy was now cherishing such ideas yet their

marriage was built on the monogamous principle. **Barakusekwa** (Birth that draws laughter) is a name suggestive of disgrace that the couple has endured because of the child they have birthed. Some suggest that the child might have been physically challenged or was not the expected gender.

In some communities it emerges that the first child ought to be a boy as that confirms that the couple has not indulged in sexual activities before the solemnization of their marriage. The Shona people, with their parochial scientific knowledge of how procreation goes, labelled a spouse whose wife started with a girl child as a weaker partner. Conversely, the name is a flagrant attack at those censuring their marriage. They are asked what portion they have in their marriage that warrants their conduct. **Ngezvenyuhere?** (Is it yours?) is a confrontational name that urges them to mind their own business. The study recognizes that these anthroponyms are used for scolding (*kukomora-kutuka bembera* version)**.** In essence, rhetorical names highlight that every name occurs in a culturally determined context of situation, and the meaning of the name is the totality or its contribution to the maintenance of what Firth refers to as "…the patterns of life in society in which the speaker lives and to the affirmation of the speaker's role and personality within the society" (Epstein and Kole 1998:266). The rehabilitative role of these names is secondary yet paramount.

Related to the above, when one is socially and emotionally disturbed, among others, one releases such frustrations through personal names that pose as rhetorical questions in conformity with a society against direct confrontational acts. The subtle use of names to reprimand as well as lobbying for peaceful marriage environments is done. The use of arbitrary names that subtly ask the alleged perpetrators to behave responsibly becomes one of the best options. **Daimurimi** (If it were you) requests those censuring their marriage to empathize with them before they rule them out. The namers seem to be saying that their actions were the best they could do amidst the circumstances. Interviewees point out that some people might be for divorce yet the family has children. Within such situations, the name is asking them to be considerate enough because that does not appear the best option as it causes much suffering to the offspring and whoever would be involved.

Mandidaingenyi? (Why did you do this to me?) interrogates the perpetrators of the problems bedevelling the marriage as to why they have chosen that painful avenue towards her/him. One is asking a spouse who has or is almost to walk out of the marriage why s/he has done that seeing that

she is pregnant. Some suggest that the name addresses the family that teamed up with their child against the wife in moves that have seen their marriage in dire problems. **Ndoudzaani?** (Whom should I tell?) denotes failure to get interested an independent constructive ear so that the challenges being met in the marriage could be addressed. The issue is complicated because those expected to be neutrals have taken sides against the accused. It emerges that these names have ". . . phenomenal meanings and unique histories . . . ." (Kovacs 2000:29). In such a compromising context, the presupposition (pragmatics) paradigm detects that this became the most relevant name. The name is an example of particularized implicature.

In the same vein, the synonymous names **Seiko?** (Why?) and **Chiiko?** (What is it?) ask exactly why things have taken a nose dive. One is desperate to get clues on the developments so that if possible redress mechanisms could be implemented. This shows that marriage bonds ought to be strong as people are prepared not to leave a stone unturned in their quest to amicably redress challenges. In fact, divorce cases brought reproach to the entire family as the society would say *Vapi vacho?, Ava vekuramba vakadzi ava* (Which ones?, those who are good at divorcing women). This shows that it was men's prerogative to divorce. At the same time everything was supposed to be done to avoid divorce. If a particular family was regarded to have preponderance to divorce, it meant that whoever would be seen having love affairs with children from that family would be strongly reprimanded and one would continue at her own peril. **Mafadzwanei?** (What is it that made you happy?) asks those alleged to have had a hand in the supposed demise of the marriage to declare what they had gained from that. The question was also directed to any spouse deemed to have acted in ways detrimental to the goodness of the marriage.

Munovapeyi? (What do you give them?) asks people supposed to be fuelling the problems rocking the family what exactly they contribute. Instances like in polygamous marriages where the husband ends up concentrating on one wife were cited. The question then would be asking that wife what she gives the husband so that he forgets others. This shows that most names within polygamous marriages were talking militant names though not to the magnitude outlined in Zvarevashe (1976). Therefore, **Tobarirapai?** (Where should we give birth?) connotes the prevalence of the belief that witchcraft activities are rife hence some recorded deaths. As a result, the namers are asking a rhetorical *bembera*

style question so that the perpetrators might desist from such a practice as it unnecessarily hurts and depopulates the society.

Relatedly, the name could be given in monogamous marriages and it points to the existence of life threatening activities which the namer heartily feels must come to an end. **Tavengerwei?** (Why are we hated?) echoes related sentiments for the namers reckon that they are innocent victims until they are made aware of where, why, how and when they acted in ways befitting such treatment. Within this context, Pfukwa (2007:112) rightly notes, these names are vast repositories of history, culture and are a part of the total chronicle of a people's experiences. Still, the names imply that the perpetrators are known yet their identity has been concealed; a move aimed to safeguard their face as what is paramount now is their change of behaviour. This performative use of names is intended to achieve the pragmatic social meaning that builds social cohesion. These names are a call for review of the prevailing situation so that normalcy can be sustained. Death oriented personal names make the next group of names to be examined.

6.9 Death suggestive names

Death is a universal experience that humanity has no remedy of and its experience leaves lifetime irrevocable memories. Humanity has done almost everything within its powers to evade death to no avail. Commenting on the same topic, Makondo (2007:101) has this to say,

> . . . Shona people use death-related anthroponyms to disseminate the conviction that death is the order of life. A spur-of-the-moment review of death-related Shona personal names testifies to their varied connotative and denotative roles. Among other things, these names signify the people's attempt to tame death. As a result, the Shona people appropriately concluded that *rufu muparadzi* (death is a destroyer) and *rufu haruvhikwi* (death is inevitable).

The Shona people avoid directly mentioning the name 'death' *(rufu)* preferring phrases like s/he has embarked on a journey, has slept, is no more and has gone before others (Makondo 2007), among others. In rare cases do they directly make mention of death like **Rufu** (Death), **Marufu** (Deaths) and **Rwauya** (It [death] has come).

The study found names that highlight the permanency and certainty of death. **Kufahakupere** (Death has no end) categorically declares that death is the order of life for humanity. A perusal at diverse forms of media on daily basis testifies to several deaths due to earthquakes, plane crushes, hurricanes, wars, swine flu, HIV/AIDS and famine among others. Surrounded with such astounding life threatening realities, the Shona people aptly concluded that **Kufakunesu** (Death is with us). This explains the experience that some die as fetus, at birth and at whatever age leaving puzzled people about the meaning of life. Other synonymous names are **Pasihapagute** (Earth is never satisfied) and **Pasipamire** (Earth has denied [us] survival). The names connote that the earth, where people are buried, remains hungry. Such personification is meant to make one understand the operatives of death here likened to the earth. These names enable one to dialogue with the monstrous phenomenon; death.

Closely related to this is the transitory nature of life captured in **Ndichafa** (I shall die) and **Pasipanodya** (The earth eats). The names are a declaration by namers aware of their fate. The latter was a result of the Shona people's failure to comprehend what would have befallen revered individuals; people of astute achievements who seemed invincible. Mapfumo aptly captures this thinking in his song *Pidigori* where he talks of an individual who was revered by the community as connoted by the word 'member'. The song declares that even such a man could not be spared death's wrath,

> *Pidigori waenda*3*
> *Wanga achinyanya kuvhaira!*
> *Vakomana kufa hakuna member*
> *Kufa hakuna member*2*
> *Wanga achinyanya kuvhaira!*
> *Pidigori waenda*2*
> *Pidigori warova*
> *Wanga achinyanya kuvhaira!*
>
> (Pidigori has gone*3
> He used to be boastful!
> Guys death has no member
> Death has no member*2
> He used to be boastful
> Pidigori has gone*2
> Pidigori is no more
> He used to be boastful).
> (Thomas Mapfumo and The Blacks Unlimited, 2001, *Pidigori*).

In fact, the Shona people came to the realization that once one conceives, then death waits as in **Taruvinga** (We have come for death). The name suggests that being pregnant and giving birth equals giving birth to death. **Tarurera** (We have reared death) connotes that child rearing is equivalent to rearing death as it's the fate. **Tarusenga** (We are carrying [death] it) implies that having pregnancy or a child amounts to carrying death while **Taruchera** (We dug death) suggests that they have invited death into their midst.

The transient nature of life is also underscored in **Nyepudzai/Nyemudzai** (Given us for a little while) which suggests that the child comes and disappears like morning mist. In **Kurauone** (Grow up and see) a call is made to a doubting individual to wait and see the predetermined way of events (from questionnaires and interviews). These names connote the presence of death. Names in this category make definitive and categorical statements about the transient nature of life as death's grinding wheel is unstoppable. These names help one see the preparedness and acceptive tone among the Shona people. Also, the corporate feelings are projected through the */Ta-/* and */Hati-/* subject prefixes while the latter parts of the names denote the various exploits of death. {ha-} and {ti-} are two separate morphemes in the Shona.

A feeling of utter dejection is presented through **Mumbamarwo** (Death's house), a realization that nothing can be done to change the course of events except to wait. This is confirmed by several landmark discoveries in the scientific circles yet no cure for death has been found. This paints a picture that people should not trust on anything on earth as everything is ephemeral like morning dew. **Tinarwo** (We have death) echoes similar dejection. The name is a joint acknowledgment that death is the order of life to humankind. The name suggests that the couple/family has lost some children to death hence this one denotes that they expect it to come anytime and do as expected. Other synonymous names are **Tongofa** (We always die), **Harubvi** (Death does not leave), **Zvinesu** (Death is with us) and **Runesu** (Death is with us). The names underscore that some efforts were made to avoid death to no avail. The dynamism of Shona language comes to the fore when one analyses the diverse nature of names and prefixes, affixes and suffixes that make reference to death. One sees */zvi-/* which denotes plentiness, */ru-/* a class 11 noun prefix used to castigate death and whatever it stands for. */Haru-/* needs one to be conversant with Shona concordial markers that come clear in sentences like,

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*"**Ru**fu **rw**ationesa nhamo nekuti ha**ru**peri, ha**ru**tisiyi, ha**ru**potse"*. (**Death** has caused us several problems, because **it does not** end, **it does not** leave us, **it does not** miss its target).

The bold font highlights how concordial agreement is achieved and to one aware of the Shona language it is clear that one is reprimanding death. Death has been personified and it is being talked off as it has severely disrupted people's plans and wishes. The names suggest preponderance by the namers to weaken death at the same time exposing whoever is behind it.

Furthermore, some death-related names declare the non-discriminatory nature of death as it strikes all at whatever time. The Shona people reckon that death is fair because **Haruvhunzi** (Death does not consult). Informants declare that if death had a habit of asking people's opinions on whom it should strike, surely no one would volunteer. Instead, people would point at their supposed enemies. Because of that, death purposes whom to attack leaving humanity with the only option of coming to terms with the new era. **Haruzivishe** (Death does not know royals) and **Kufahakurambwe** (Death can not be denied) declare similar observations. In fact, **Manyowa** (Manure) is graphic enough for one to realize that death is anywhere. On this topic, Jeremiah 25:33 says,

> . . . the slain . . . shall be at that day from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth, they shall not be lamented, neither gathered, nor buried, they shall be **dung** upon the ground.

The manure that is popularly used by the Shona people is from cow dung. This can be found scattered everywhere cattle pass by. If one is looking for evidence of the existence of cattle, one only needs to see their dung and a logical necessary conclusion would be made. In like manner, the namer suggests that as long as procreation continues so does death. **Taruberekera** (We have given birth for death) declares that when birth occurs, so is death in ambush (from interviews). One informant declares that life is unfair for the number of births and accompanying jubilation shall one day translate to mourning. This highlights the multi-functionality of Shona names as they are coined after careful considerations of the prevailing life experiences in the lives of namers, the family and the named. This realization is a consoling device as the immediately affected can draw solace from knowing that next time it will be others mourning.

Tamirirakufa (We are ready to die) suggests the namer's preparedness to face death and its consequences. This seems so because they have realized that they have no definite escape mechanism. The destructive nature of death is echoed in **Gwatipedza** (Death has finished us), a name suggestive of death's intentions to annihilate a people. The synonymous **Tapera** (We are finished) reiterates the same view. These names are preferred because of their ". . . relevance to a given situation" (Kunene 1971:52 they ". . . arouse strong emotions" (Epstein and Kole 1998:3) about death. These names portray a people that have suffered much at the hands of death. Furthermore, their denotative and connotative import makes it clear that humanity's fate is sealed as death's reality only needs to be accepted.

However, some names imply victory over death. **Tarubva** (We are no longer bothered by it) indicates namers who regard themselves as having escaped death. The name implies hope. The name is complex as it makes reference of their earlier experiences at the same time is connoting serenity. The name, according to some informants, does not declare escape but it's a wishful statement. Informants note that the mention of the name death or the evil spirits or *varoyi* (witches) thought to be behind the several deaths might give them space to survive. This becomes a diplomatic plea for life. **Rwaenda** (Death has gone) alludes to death having given them a new lease of life. The name implies an ongoing speculation that death might strike at any time as they almost were used to. Informants observed that, for instance, children in a particular family could not survive past certain days and in this situation, they have gone past those dreaded days before having named the child. Eventually, they have named and are telling death that it is no more. This is a strong wishful statement. Relatedly, **Tapodzwa** (We are consoled) suggests that death has consoled them by having allowed them to have the concerned child. This thankful statement implies praises being sarcastically showed at death for having let them off the hook. Yet, in essence, their fears are not completely over for it does not take much time for one to die.

In **Hatirwuzeze** (We are not afraid of it) a seemingly bold statement is made by a people projecting their preparedness to face death. Yet, deep down their hearts they know that it leaves them with lifetime scars. The name is made up of two morphemes that make up */Hati-/.* A structuralist morphological analysis of these units is as follows: {ha-} – hortative morpheme, {ti-} – subject marker, {rwu-} object marker, {zez-} – verb radical and {-e} – terminal of final vowel. On this note,

one must take note of the fact that most Shona prefixal morphemes are monosyllabic (are made up of one syllable). The name is synonymous with **Takarumirira** (We are waiting for it). Informants reckon that senior family members like grandparents might have joined in giving this name, a situation that demonstrates how death has disturbed the entire family. Through the names the family has joined each other thereby encouraging each other. This underscores the communal ownership of children. These names from interviews and questionnaires highlight name variation due to emotional and ". . . social circumstances" (Epstein and Kole 1998:266) the namers are in.

In addition, two informants interviewed on April 14, 2005 gave four death-related scenarios that resulted in personal names. In scenario one, a sister lost her mother-in-law six months into her pregnancy while her father-in-law had died before she was married. The two agreed to name their first boy child **Masiiwa~Musiiwa** (One left behind). The name expresses their dismay at having to assume charge of the household as her husband was the oldest son. At the same time they are expressing her disappointment that her son would not have paternal grandparents. In scenario two, a sister went through her pregnancy uneventfully and they named that child **Nyaradzo** (Consoler). In the third scenario the name **Tapiwasimbiso** (We have been given strength) came after the father fell very sick and was close to death when his wife had her first pregnancy but recovered to see his first born child.

The fourth scenario has the name **Shingaitaashure** (Lets strive hard we are lagging behind) after the death of a twin brother. These names are pregnant of diverse meanings. They are a result of deep thought and their immediate contexts can be read from them by one who manages to read their historic, pragmatic, semiotic and semantic import amongst others. These names are instances of particularized implicatures for they have their reference embedded in the name. Therefore, getting at their gist requires one to utilize many insights as the names are anchored in the culture of the namers. Names are used as ways that erase some memories at the same time giving them space in their lives as historical monuments and Pfukwa (2007) elaborates on erasure.

Furthermore, from this discussion it emerges that many death names have been shortened; clipped or distorted hence their meanings may only be guessed unless one consults the users of the respective given names. Names that show this are **Kufa** for **Kufadirori, Kufahakupere, Kufahakurambwe, Kufakunesu** and **Pasi** for **Pasiharigute, Pasiparamba, Pasipanodya** and **Pasipamire.** The emotive

use of these names is overriding and easily accessible to one cognizant of what names as semiotic signs stand for. These names execute the pragmatic performative mediating roles in an emotionally charged communication situation. Thus, these given names are powerful dialogic tools that invoke a universe of discourse in which there are ". . . speaker and audience, directly or implied" (Okpewo 1993).

To sum up this section, Makondo (2007:106) reckons that,

> . . . the resultant linguistic innovation has greatly benefited their language as its linguistic base has been broadened through the resultant anthroponyms. Furthermore, these personal names shed vital information on the Shona people's use of language for specific communicative purposes. This demonstrates that naming is a functional and purposeful enterprise among the Shona people.

This means that death-related names do not easily make sense to one void of their pragmatic context and semiotic culture of use as they implicitly make reference to that phenomenon. The decompositional dimension becomes imperative so that their denotative and connotative semantic and semiotic values can be fully appreciated. Discourse now shifts to place oriented personal names.

6.10 Place oriented names

Everything that happens under the sun happens within a particular place and knowing that place helps one contextualize the happening. Furthermore, research informants note that some names allude to places where the parents first proposed each other, had their first sexual intercourse, where people slept/stayed and or the portion of the land that was the borne of contention when the birth took place. It emerges that physical ". . . environment" (Dittmar 1976:237) influences ". . . linguistic choice" (Edwards 1985:5). Within this breath, this section discusses four categories of place oriented given names.

In contrast with the popular Shona classifications that found personal names in class 1a, this study posits that personal names are also found in the locative classes 16, 17 and 18. Class 16 /pa-/ as a primary prefix indicate place or region at or on which attention is directed like in **Padyo** (Near).

When it is used with secondary stems it has similar reference as in names **Pamba** (At the house) and **Pamhiri** (Across). Class 17 /*ku-*/ with primary stems indicates a general area, neighbourhood or vicinity in place rarely in time, to which attention is directed (Fortune 1988:80). It differs from class 16 in being less precise and further from the speaker like in class 17a **Chitongo/Dongo** (A deserted area), **Chekure** (Of far away), **Chenzira~Chezhira** (Of the way/path) (possessive phrases/possessives that have been nominalised)**, Chirindo** (A place where one waits watching out for wild animals intending to devour crops), **Chebundo** (Of the bush), **Chirikure** (That which is away), **Chiriseri, Chirimubhachi** (That which is in the jacket), **Chisango** (Bush), **Chiriseri** (That which is behind) taken from novels and plays. Class 18 /*mu-*/ with primary stems indicates an area or positions within a space or time to which attention is directed like in **Mugwagwa** (Road) (a class 3 noun which becomes a locative by being pre-prefixed by another /*mu-*/ to read **mumugwagwa**), **Munyika** (In the country) and **Muruwa** (In the rural area).

Some of these names make reference to places of religious importance. Depending on one's religious background, the names **Canaan, Jerusalem, Jordan~Jorodhani, Jeriko** (**Jericho), Israel** and **Egypt**, among others connote several things. To some these are places of religious importance as they worship facing them (**Jerusalem**), remind people of the hope of Israel (Canaan) and what the Lord did to this race as reported in the biblical Exodus story where they were liberated from Egypt. **Jordan** reminds Christians of the preparatory work of John the Baptist and the baptism of Jesus as reported in Luke 3; Mark 1:9-12; Matthew 3:1-17. **Jeriko** (**Jericho**) reminds Christians that salvation is for all as **Zaccheus**, the tax collector was accommodated by Jesus when he passed through Jeriko as recorded in Luke 19:1-9.

Zimbabwean places where people worked were found. **Wankie/Hwange** was popularly mentioned because it is a coal mine that attracted many Zimbabweans. This was because the imposition of the money economy made it imperative for the locals to be employed so that they could pay taxes such as hut tax, dog tax, animal taxes amongst others through the required legal tender**.** Some Masvingo province respondents mentioned **Gutu** because it was their nearest town. It was suggested that the name reminds them that their spouses were working there at the time the birth occurred. These observations apply wholesome to the origins of the name **Gatoma~Kadoma**. In addition, the place was the only focal point as the area is surrounded by commercial farming areas. Farm labourers could

only get time to visit this place and buy whatever they wanted. At the same time it provided employment. One mentioned that the name came as a way of reminding themselves of how they survived death after the bus they were in collided with a goods train. In this instance, the namer notes that he brought the news home during the next visit when he saw that his wife had given birth. They then agreed to name their boy-child after what they regarded was the hand of God that allowed him to survive so that he could see their first boy child.

In addition, the name **Zimbabwe** was given by those who disclosed that they wanted to make it clear that they suffered a lot because of this country. They allege that they went through many forms of brutal treatment which led them to actively join the liberation struggle. These individuals posit that the name is their way of summarizing their bitter experiences as they had resolved to bring an end to European rule. In the same vein, the name **Africa** was advanced by those who reckon that during the war of liberation what counted was your African identity. This was a way of enabling people to forge unity with fellow African brothers and sisters who supported the Zimbabwean war. In countries like, Mozambique, Angola, Tanzania, Botswana amongst others, was the African identity. This is the same with how the Zimbabweans transcended their Shona and Ndebele differences when they emphasized on *Mwana wevhu* (Child of the soil). This was a powerful way of cementing relations as people have realized the prudence of the idea that they first should fight an intruder before they put their house in order.

The last group of place related names make reference to international places like **Russia, Bosnia, England~Ngirandi** and **Germany. Bosnia** was linked to the Sarajevo assassination and how the First World War started. **Germany** was popular for the machinations of the then Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck from the 1870s to the late 1880s; his role in the Berlin colonial conference, his ability to enter into several political treaties with many nations and managed to keep the force of Britain and its allies at bay through the resultant Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. **England**'s role especially in Zimbabwe has been to trick for some justifiably associate it with the political mess Zimbabwe found herself in since 1890 yet others admire her as a superpower and much credit is assigned to her language; English. Russia got prominence in Shona names because of her support during the liberation struggle. Russia propagated the socialist ideology which was meant to counter the capitalist philosophy. Then, when the Zimbabwean leadership embraced the former, Russia as the main

proponent of the philosophy gladly supported Zimbabwe, among other reasons, as their contribution towards the demise of capitalism. In addition, many Zimbabweans were schooled and employed in these countries hence their attachments with those countries were cemented in the resultant names. The foregoing highlights that different circumstances gave rise to various names hence it's imperative for people to understand these developments so that their understanding could be enhanced. The next category examines the part played by Christianity in the Shona naming system.

6.11 Christianity-oriented names

Christianity came by the colonization of Zimbabwe in 1890. Mutswairo (1983, 1988) presents Germany priest Father Biehler who justified the use of maximum force so that the Shona people could accept the new religion. The priest underscores the extent to which black people were downtrodden. The militancy of the men of the cloth is made manifest when he says,

> *Kufunga kwavatema hakusi kwehunhu, ndokwevana vaduku. Vanhu ava*
> *vanofanira kurangwa zvakaoma nokudzidziswa kuteerera isu vachena*
> *nokuona kutonga kwedu kune simba kwatiinako? Tikasaratidza simba*
> *kwavari tichatsikirirwa navo nokudzorerwa pasi poupenyu hwavo*
> (Mutswairo 1988:24).

> (The way the black people reason does not befit grown up people. They must
> be severely disciplined and be taught to obey us, the whites and to appreciate
> our rule and mighty? If we do not show them our might they shall overcome
> us and force us to follow their ways of life).

Richartz then asks why he does not preach the gospel of love and unity to counter that only to be told that,

> *Hapana vhangeri rinodzika midzi pavanhu vasina kudziidza, vanonamata*
> *midzimu. Chokutanga ngavakundwe vagodzidziswa chikristu netsika*
> *nemagariro edu ane hunhu kwahwo* (Mutswairo 1988:124).

> (No gospel can have roots amongst the uneducated people who worship
> ancestral spirits. First of all, let them be conquered so that they can be taught
> Christianity and our civilized ways of life).

The colonial myth that Africa was a benighted region and her inhabitants knew nothing is declared

here. The priest argues that because Zimbabweans were not educated in their schools therefore they knew nothing, a view that demonstrates their parochial perceptions of Zimbabweans. Their weird superiority complex is again highlighted.

Mutswairo, through Nehanda lampoons the role played by missionaries who brought Christianity. He made it clear that they were preachers of God's supposed love to humanity at the same time they were active political agents of the Europeans hence their ambivalent role. Nehanda, here representing Zimbabweans, rightly observed the imperialistic nature of Christianity when she asks,

> what faith is that, that is fast sending me to the gallows? Leave me alone.
>
> Go to those of your kind whose faith is so benign that they and it can kill me (Mutswairo 1983:75, 1988:138).

Additionally, Mutswairo made clear that,

> *Nehanda akaendeswa kudanhiko rokusungirirwa raive ramiswa namakristu*
>
> (Mutswairo 1988:138). (Nehanda was taken to the gallows erected by Christians).

As for Kaguvi, the priest Richartz used the same tactic that was turned down by Nehanda, unfortunately, **Kaguvi** accepted and was renamed **Dismas** (The good thief, crucified with Christ) (Mutswairo 1983:75). Mutswairo retorts that the name Dismas was a gross misrepresentation of what Kaguvi had done for his people amidst the advancing European colonization. Despite what surrounds Christianity, many Shona people adopted and devised Christian –oriented names.

Bible-oriented names are now very popular amongst the Shona people (see Section 5.1.4). They are in Shona, Ndebele and English. This is understood as the religion boasts of the largest followers, a multiplicity of denominations and it sounds nice to be identified as a Christian. The varied Bible-oriented names demonstrate the Shona people's linguistic innovativeness as they derived and devised various first names from a foreign religion in their quest to contemporarise it. Names in this unit are derived from various Christian theological concepts like **Mutsa~Nyasha** (Grace), **Tariro** (Hope) and **Rudo** (Love). Moreover, some names come from biblical personalities like **Goriyati** (Goliath) and

Manuwere (Emmanuel) and so forth. These names were preferred with the hope that they could mould ". . . a person's character and have a bearing on future behaviour" (Mafico 1995:62).

The Shona people devised innovative composite names to express their profound understanding of God and the related issues of their belief. The personal name **Kudzaishe** (Praise the Lord) comes from /*Kudza-*/ (Respect, praise), */-i-/* (The) and */-she/* (Lord). /*Kuda-*/ (To love is in infinitive mood) joined with /*Nga-*/ from **Ngaakudzwe** (Let him be praised/honoured is in hortative mood) and /*Pembedza-*/ (Praise which is in a commanding mood) from **Pembedzaishe**. Another example is of **Nyashadzaishe** (The Lord's mercy) that comes from /*Nyasha-*/ (Mercy), {*-dza-*} (Identifies the owner of mercy) and {*-ishe*} (Lord). **Ngaakudzwe** (Let God be elevated). In **Tadiwanaishe** (We have been loved by the Lord) the /*Ta-*/ identifies the namers, {*-d-*} is the verb root for love, {*-iw-*} a passive verbal extension root showing that something has been done on behalf of someone, {*na-*}identifies the agent who is {*-ishe*} (The Lord). The names **Tinomudaishe** (We love the Lord), **Mukomborerindiishe** (The blesser is the Lord) and **Pembedzaishe** (Praise God) highlight the composite nature of names. The pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory and the approximation model here advocated for help one identify the ". . . significant sub constituents . . . ." (Gardiner 1940:20) of first names; blocks necessary for one to get at their core meaning(s). It emerges that names were not given in haste for they are ". . . supposed to represent the most cherished thought in the mind of the giver at the time the name is given" (Metuh 1981:192). Thus, these names ". . . acted as a benediction, a wish, a motto and blessing to the bearer" (Mabuza 1997:31). It surfaces that each time parents name a child they would be saying something about the way they wish their child to be, about who they see themselves as and about what their future should be.

The study got names showing humanity reciprocating the divine initiated love. In this category are names like **Tinomuda~Tinodaishe** (We love God). The names are a people's public affirmation of their commitment to God regardless of what happens to them. The names are synonymous with **Anotidaishe** (God loves us), a conclusive statement based on the namer's evaluation of what they had gone through. **Munashe** (In the Lord) claims they have a firm relationship with the Lord. The name implies that their deeds are as a result of the Lord's leading, just like the Pauline teaching that a born-again Christian is one who has his/her life being run by Christ. **Tirimunashe** (We are in the Lord) sums up the teaching in John 15 that believers must have a relationship similar to a branch and a tree.

The names identify one's location as in the Lord, in the manner outlined in Shona noun class 18 /*mu-/*. Other names are a call to people to be with the Lord (**Ivainashe**), **Ivaimunashe** (Be in the Lord) and this outpouring of the heart is reminiscent of the Psalmist who delights to associate the name of Yahweh with the acts in which He displays Himself like his righteousness (Psalms 89:15-16).

Panashe (Where the Lord is) declares that where the Lord is things do not go wrong hence they have managed to raise a family amidst challenges. The name is reminding the foes that they cannot stop the will of the Lord in other people's lives as the Lord is the Almighty. **Mberikunashe** (Ahead there is the Lord) connotes people who have embraced the biblical teaching of faith as expounded in Hebrews 11. Just like Israel under Moses was led by the Lord during the Exodus enroute to Canaan, the couple trusts that the Lord is always their guide hence they shall not fear any challenges. They trust that their marriage would be a success for it is God's institution. **Ngonidzashe** (The mercy of God) denotes that whatever they face and enjoy is as a result of God's providence. The namers have designed their names which are equivalent to what **Emmanuel** (God is with us means), is a clear demonstration of the extent to which the Shona people have understood the new religion and its tenets which they have Africanized. This name appears in the shorter unisex version of **Ngoni** (Mercy) and it submits that one is not the owner of his/her life. These names are given to mark religious ideas and experiences. To this end, the Shona people gave their children names that reflected their socio-religious concerns and cultural context (Chitando 1998a:25).

Simbarashe (The Lord's power) echoes similar sentiments with the preceding names. This, according to informants was popularized because of the seeming clash that emerged between those who embraced Christianity and those who remained in African Traditional Religion. The new believers were expected to remain traditional as **Masvinyange** (One who squeezes) in Moyo (1977) yet their new religion regards that as demonic worship. To that end, when the converts to the new religion succeeded in whatever prophets of doom had deemed their demise, their humble response was echoed through the statement *Isimba raMwari* (It is the power of God). This underscores the perception that most of Shona names are statements made by their coiners which name readers must comprehend for them to understand their import. The syntax and semantics of these statements must be anticipated for one to decode and decompose their meaning(s). By implication, **Tendaikunashe** (Believe in the Lord) castigates those denying embracing the new religion and its way of life as demonstrated by the

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local pioneers. Through the name they are politely encouraging others to try and put their trust in this Lord and see whether their condition would not improve. The connotative dimension of this name implies that people sharing a particular world view comprehend each other easier as they share certain background knowledge.

Sharaishe (Choose the Lord) is reminiscent of Joshua and Elijah's call to the Israel of old when they had violated the Decalogue. Joshua 24:15 is a passionate plea by the leader of the Israelite people,

> And if it seems evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this   day   whom
> ye will serve, whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the
> other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell,
> but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.

Elijah in First Kings 18:21 expands this idea by saying,

> How long halt ye . . . between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow
> him; but if Baal, then follow him. And the people answered him not a word.

Therefore, the namers are preaching as well as urging their relations to repent to the Lord. The named become living preaching statements to whoever meets them just like God is said to have instructed the prophet Isaiah and Hosea, among others to assign their children names that capture the relationship of God and Israel; "Behold I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel . . . ." (Isaiah 8:18). From Hosea 1:4-9, the first child was named **Jezreel** signifying that God was to avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu. The second daughter was named **Lo-ru-hamah** meaning that the Lord was not going to have mercy upon the house of Israel as he was to utterly destroy it. The last daughter was named, **Lo-ammi** declaring God's denial of Israel. The point here is that, to the Israelites and whoever knew their history and relationship with God, the meanings of these names were self-evident on their semantic anaphoric schemata. Derived names are the next pack that was identified.

6.12 Derived names

Yes, almost all names are derivations, but this section uniquely delves into name derivation from surnames, languages and accessories. It recognizes that derivations led to lexical adoption, borrowing

and transformation of words into Shona names resulting in the linguistic enrichment of the Shona language. Three sources of name derivations are discussed here.

6.12.1 Surnames

As the locals came into contact with foreigners who had foreign names, one sees the former converting the latter's surnames into first names. In most cases sound was the determining marker that led to the choice of Shona equivalences. First names were drawn from surnames like **Benzies** to **Benzisi, Kenny** to **Keni, Jones** to **Jonasi, Drew** to **Dururu, Tapson** to **Tapisoni** and **Fynn** to **Fini** (from NADA). This tendency was singled out from the Shona who gave personal names after their family surnames resulting in scenarios like **Mara Mara** (Bitterness bitterness) (a case from Zaka, Masvingo province) and **Dhamu Dhamu** (Dam dam) (a case from Wedza, Mashonaland East province). Explanations for this abound, ranging from the view that a people is proud and jealous of its surname hence its guarding jealously the legacy left by its clan founders at the same time honouring the clan founder(s). Therefore, personal names are not fixed, uniform or unvarying as actual usage varies ". . . from group to group, speaker to speaker" (Akmajian et al., 2001:275) as various circumstances give rise to various names.

6.12.2 Languages

This section focuses on personal names drawn from English, Afrikaans, Portuguese and Ndebele to name a few. This move aims at highlighting the extent to which the Shona naming systems benefited from the interactions that ensued when the different races came into contact. Names like **Bobo** (Bob), **Bhuresi** (Bless), **Givhiti** (Gift) were drawn from the English language, **Chikwereti** 'Square it'/Skuld, **Chamboko** (Sjambok), **Dhazibhomu** (Disselboom) derived from Afrikaans language, **Chaka** (Tshaka), **Muzvondiwa** (Zonda, hate, one who is hated, disliked) drawn from Ndebele language, **Zhuwawo** (John)**, Zikomu** (Chew, excuse me) derived from Portuguese and **Mbozha** (Bourgeois) drawn from French highlight this point. Separate languages enable groups to keep secret their ". . . inherited, singular springs of their identity" (Steiner 1975:67). In this instance, languages are ". . . a vehicle of communication and concealment" (Edwards 1985:17). Furthermore, this highlights the extent of cultural crosspollination.

6.12.3 Accessories

Some names are drawn from the accessories people use on daily basis. These names denote and connote things that surround the day to day operations of an individual. These names were initially given to mature people who were associated with these accessories before they found their way into the lives of their children as first names of their volition or as per the demands of family namers. One who always had the jacket on, talks of one, admires one putting it on was likely to be named **Bhachi** (Jacket). **Banga** (Knife) was a name given to one who uses a knife especially during fights, was thinly built had survived a knife attack. One who was heavily built, was thinly built yet fit or worked at a rail station was likely to be named **Njanji** (Rail line). A sneak, baldhead and one who calls a spade a spade was given the secondary name **Chisvo** (Blade). The named is likened to the operations of a blade.

In like manner, a seller of sacks had put them on as a redress mechanism in the *kutanda botso* practice was named **Masaga** (Sacks). The name connotes that a child was born in circumstances related to the need to have one of the parents execute the practice for the good of the family. Hodza (1983) notes that if one wrongs his/her parents or aunt and the issue were not redressed, upon their death it was believed that they would come as a spirit seeking appeasement. The spirit could cause some misfortunes which can normalize if the accused admits. Research established that if a spouse dumps the other say due to illness and s/he dies with a grudge, the same would happen. The point here is that these names were coined after an assessment of certain accessories' usefulness or otherwise. This accounts why these names have a multiplicity of meanings. Therefore, one who is not aware of such developments at most will be found wanting in as far as getting at their core meanings is concerned. After this, the study focuses on African traditional religion oriented anthroponyms.

6.13 African traditional religion oriented names

The Shona people regard themselves as ". . . the spiritual conduits through which ancestors speak to their descendants" (Vambe 2004:40). As Lan (1985:98) puts it, the Shona people believe that,

> . . . the right of ownership in land is demonstrated and proved by the ability of a particular set of ancestors to control its fertility. The people whose ancestors bring the rain own the land.

It is within this context that this section discusses names taken from *mudumba, dzinza, chihani, chenza, gombwa* and *jemedzwa*. Until the advent of imperialistic-related religions like Christianity, the Shona people predominantly clung to African traditional Religion oriented names. Among other things, African Traditional Religion God (*Mwari)* the ultimate Supreme Being through the ancestral spirits as conduits. African Traditional Religion holds that marriage has to be sanctioned by the living dead whom they regard as now occupying elevated forms of existence. As a result, when the living want to do anything, they had to first inform or seek the blessings of the departed. Furthermore, as an honouring strategy, personal names of the departed had to be given to the remaining offspring. In addition, the giving of a name has a deeper and more personal significance, the positive donation of a new character and capacity. This shows ". . . that all societies have complex languages that reflect the environment in which their people live" (Daniels and Radebaugh 1998:76) through the names they advocate for.

The name **Godobori** (Expert diviner) referred to an expert diviner. The Shona people consult this practitioner in times of need. These days there are prophets who execute a similar function. When a child was born as a result of the prescription got from him/her, informants suggest, one could be named after him/her. This is true to names that make reference to discourse related to the operations of this individual. The discourse gave rise to names like **Hakata** (Consulted diviner bones), **Shoperai** (Consult a diviner), **Chitokwadzima** (Name of a diviner's bones), **Chigerwe** (The possessed), **Dzinoreva** (After the predication made by the diviner's bones came true) and **Chinengundu** (One born with a hairy skin). Informants note that these names were popular sometime ago but now are almost rare as they are found in circumstances the parents could not help but acknowledge what they went through to get the child. Otherwise, the moment these names are mentioned, one who is conversant with the language quickly reckons that they refer to traditional healers' discourse. An interviewee gave a scenario when a Zimbabwean couple in Sierra Leone named their first son **Tinashe** (We are with the Lord). The child was born without the mother having gone back to her natal home to have the birth of their first child in line with the Shona belief that fertility is passed on from mother to daughter. This belief postulates that when one has the first birth, maternal and paternal

ancestors watch over the individual who must perform this ritual to seal the pact. In this instance, the name testifies to their gratefulness as there had been no complications. The next on line are imperative suggestive first names.

6.14 Imperative suggestive names

This category deals with commanding names. It demonstrates the various power configurations the namers held that gave rise to blunt instructive and commandeering names. When a spouse was/is always promiscuous s/he is reprimanded for such behaviour through several telling names. **Garapasi** (Sit down) is an instruction for the individual to behave appropriately as sitting down shows a decided person. S/he must be contented with the status quo hence the Shona proverb *dzingidzi gonyera pamwe maruva enyika haaperi* (literally a spouse must be contented with the one s/he chose for being promiscuous does not pay). **Bvuma** (Accept) echoes similar instructions while **Gumisa** (Bring to an end) categorically calls for the end of such a practice. **Bvuta** (Take by force) indicateS that a spouse was taken as a result of indulgence in extra-marital affairs (from interviews). It suggests that the spouse had to be taken by force from another lover, a situation reminiscent of Hosea and Gomer (Hosea 1-3).

In addition, the name **Risai** (Look after) calls the family members to look after the new family so that it can be established. They need to be taken care of maybe because they are not formally employed or had some problems hence they are calling the experienced ones to bear with them. **Fadza** (Please) demands that the spouses satisfy each other's physiological and emotional needs among others for the marriage to be enjoyable. This is an instruction from the aunts to the nieces and from grandfathers to nephews/sons/grandsons that they should perform the married role effectively for them to protect themselves from outside poachers who want to destroy other people's marriages. The name **Ruvirai** (Search for survival provisions) instructs the concerned to work for themselves so that they get their life necessities (from questionnaires). This assumes that the stated was not being done hence one sees the mental symbiotic relationship between the expression, content and semiotic signs. This testifies to the effect that great significance is attached to the naming of a child. Having said this, attention turns on to rhythmic names.

6.15 Rhythmic names

An interesting naming trend of rhythm oriented names was found among the Shona people. Some informants declare that they opted for certain names because of their intention to have names that sound almost alike. These informants had attained educational qualifications from Ordinary level upwards and they have studied Shakespearean literature among others at school. They have studied the various poetic repetitive devices like alliteration, linkage formations like initial, middle, cross and final, forced rhythm, word inversion among others. For instance, names like **Bright** (boy), **De<u>light</u> and Div<u>ine</u>** (girls) were found. The namers declared that they wanted their daughters' names to start with /D-/ and sound the same as shown by their underlined segments. A similar trend was given where a couple derived their children's names from the initials of their personal names. The couple has English first names that start with a /D-/ hence they sequentially named their four children **Delane** (boy), **Delal**, **Dione** (girls) and **Dale** (boy). Their reason for the choice of these names is predominantly their desire to have a family made of names that start with /D-/. In these circumstances, meaning issues are secondary.

A third scenario has Shona names where boys' names are **Munyaradzi** and **Munashe** whilst the girl was named **Mutsawashe**. Informants declare that if they continue to bear children they would remain with names that start with the /*Mu-*/ prefix. Among other reasons, they want personal names that match their surname which also starts with an /M-/. This family has bible-oriented names which start with the prefix /*Mu-*/. The father had studied Religious Studies up to university level and is a believer in the advent of Jesus, sentiments frozen in the three names. The names are derived from what God has done to humanity. **Munyaradzi** implies the role of the Holy Spirit that Christ promised humanity when he returned to heaven. This spirit is the other being of God and Christ as these make the Trinity. **Munashe** suggests that the namers have a relationship with Christ who urged humanity to be in one accord with him as he is the embodiment of the father if they cherish the idea of being saved through and by him.

The last name, **Mutsawashe** denotes the Lord's grace at the same time noting that the couple had a daughter at their third attempt, an indication of God's mercy over them. This seems the case as it took some to seek various medicinal enhancements for them to get a child of their choice, yet to this family

it occurred naturally. Therefore, from these names one notes that a family could perpetuate a certain line of thinking or argument through the names they give. This demonstrates that an understanding of their context of use helps one to comprehend the mind frame of the namers, a move that helps one decompose them. The ability to approximate the original setup cannot be further underscored as this unravels a lot of meanings. Furthermore, some informants suggest that they just gave names without having thought of their appearance only to see them fitting a certain pattern while others suggested that they gave serious thought to the naming processes.

6.16 History oriented names

These names show that the mentioned phenomenon happened almost concurrently with the pregnancy or birth of the concerned child. As most Shona people were not yet literate, they saw it prudent that they froze such noble happenings in the resultant names. **Murehwa** and **Mbizo** (from NADA) point to where army regiments came from that helped in the overthrow of the 1896 Shona uprising. **Dhiba** (Dip tank) reminds the namers of what happened at the dip tank like to **VaMberikwazvo** (Mr. Forward–looking) in Makari (1985). The old man was instructed to climb a thorn tree by a European child. The name also reminds people of when the dip tank was built and how Africans lost their herd because at the dip tank anyone found to be having cattle exceeding the stipulated number they were taken by the colonial personnel. **Mafangasimbi~Makechemu** (Police officer) denotes one's employment or the detaining of a spouse at the time a birth occurred. It also connotes that the child was born when the couple was suffering police brutality. Informants posit that it also suggest unending family restrictions that prohibited their happiness just like prisoners in a holding compartment. On the other hand, **Madhunduru** (Contours) shows that a child was born when land surveyors demarcated land. The name is similar to **Musavhaya** (Surveyors) and helps one conclude that ". . . meaning does not originate in the individual consciousness" (Gane 1989:183) but from the surrounding experiences.

Makiwa (Europeans) identifies that the birth occurred when a spouse was working for Europeans or was harassed by the former. It refers to a western-oriented lifestyle that blacks embraced hence were given such initially as a descriptive name. **Mhashu** (Locusts) implies to the time there was a locust invasion that destroyed crops. It is reported that the birth happened during this trying time hence the

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name becomes a reminder of the historical era. On the other hand, **Tamayi** (Relocate) makes reference to forced resettlement by the Europeans. These names remind one of various experiences their coiners underwent. This shows that a name ends up with various meanings; the one intended by the namer, the one perceived to be the meaning(s) by the name-bearer and by the surrounding communities. This highlights the view that one need be aware of the historical contextual issues surrounding the given name for him/her to navigate the decomposition of their meaning. In short, this section highlighted the commemorative significance of Shona personal names as they freeze landmark experiences in the namer's lives. Related to this genre is war oriented personal names.

6.17 War oriented names

Several wars have been fought in Zimbabwe since time immemorial. One is reminded of the ethnic wars that used to involve the Shona and the Ndebele. These wars were followed by several Ndebele and Shona attempts to repel the advances of the colonizers. The next decisive wars involved the Shona people in 1896 against the same foe but fate had them defeated by the newcomers who were better armed and determined to colonize. This study notes that all these experiences were fossilized in various personal names that were popularized during the various historical epochs. Yet, this section concerns itself with the most recent protracted war of liberation that culminated in the attainment of independence in 1980.

This study found names beaming with hope, the ideal, popularizing certain ideological concepts, instilling fear, showing aggression and mentioning weaponry amongst others. The names highlight the innovativeness of the Shona people as they contemporaries their war experiences in names that capture their wishes and aspirations. These names become sources of strength as they motivated contemporaries to remain on course. Most of the war names have remained in circulation to date as personal names. **Muchapondwamakarara** (You shall be murdered in your sleep) was a militant name that was a threat and warning to the warring parties. It was meant to tell the state security forces that they shall be attacked in their sleep, suggesting that the liberation war fighters were nocturnal operatives. It also calls the namers to be ever vigilant as during the war situation there was no time to slumber. **Magoanorumakanaukamavamba** (Wasps sting the one who started them) suggests that wasps are no threat unless they have been provoked. By inference, the name connotes that the Shona

people were not bloody thirsty but that they were involved in the war liberation at the provocation of people who colonized them and went on to dehumanize them in their own country. The name suggests that the state forces are getting a fair share of what they have asked for. These names were found to be personal names preferred by those who view themselves as victims of circumstances in their diverse marriage circumstances.

Chirangamabhunu (The discipliner of Boers) refers to the militancy the blacks had embarked on as the only device that could knock sense in the heads of the colonizers. This emanates from the futility of meetings that had been held that failed to retrieve Zimbabwe from her colonizers. **Bvumazvipere** (Accept and it will be over) denotes the expected outcome; capitulation. The name shows that the war was now aimed at having the antagonist relinquish power if independence was to be attained. In the marriage set up, the namer(s) is not asking for anything more than that. They just want to be given their space or else they would remain on the course which the outsiders perceive as detrimental. This study submits that Choto (1990), Chimhundu (1991), Makata (1982), Masundire (1991) and Pesanai (1985) among others did much on war names. After examining war names attention shifts to witchcraft names.

6.18 Witchcraft oriented names

The majority of the Shona people do not believe in natural causes for death hence the *kubvunzira* practice done a day or so after burial when a delegation is sent to a spirit medium to consult on the possible explanations of the death. Within this context, Hodza (1983:22) presents an elderly man advising the child of the deceased father,

> *Unofanira kuti kana wati gare gare, wombofamba-fambawo kun'anga semunhu wemurume undotsvaga chabaya baba. Mumwe musi ungarere nhiriri mumurara, ukazofuma wodyirwa huku.*

> (After some days you ought to go and consult a diviner about the cause of the death least you sit on a problem that later would cause you much harm).

Witchcraft related names were prevalent because the colonial system did not recognize witchcraft through their Witchcraft Suppression Act of 1957. In return, the Shona people resorted to telling

names in line with the principles ". . . [of their] own local situation . . . history and traditions . . . . " (Bhebe 1999:89). This is set to change as by May 10, 2006 *The Herald* reports of moves towards the 'Witchcraft Act Amendment'.

On May 13 2006, a Chijindwi sub-dialect speaker of Manicaland province gave three successive offensive names given by a couple accused of witchcraft. The first one, **Muchahupuhwa** (You shall be given witchcraft) denotes that one can acquire the spirit and witchcraft skill knowingly or otherwise. This is denoted by **Tsvakaunahwo** (Look for one who has it). The name seems to be urging the interested to go round looking for one with it so that s/he can acquire it. Through **Takurandihwo** (We grew up with it) the namers declare that they grew to that age with that art hence they see nothing wrong in it. Chiguvare (1976) and Mukandi (1983) declare in their works the prevalence of this practice and several interviewees concurred. Stories abound of how one acquires the art. Some charge that one buys it from witchdoctors, inherits it from his/her parents, is given to the most hated or loved child by a particular practicing parent or one unknowingly acquires it if one picks something that has been deliberately lost by a bothered practitioner. Shona myth has it that the name **Karoi** (A witch) denotes the throwing alive of people who had been seen and known to practice this art; a show of disapproval of their deeds hence were thrown into the river. Therefore, these names declare the existence and prevalence of the practice at the same time noting that its practitioners were feared.

The name **Bingwa** (Bewitched) comes from *pinga* (Cause to fall); the core purpose of witchcraft. The name connotes finger pointing at some individuals alleged to be foes of the namer. Informants suggest that one would be saying that s/he is in that predicament because of the deeds of witches. **Chakandiwana** (It [bewitchment] got me) and **Chakanyuka** (It emerged from nowhere) repeat similar views. One is declaring his/her innocence amidst the storm. The subject prefix {*Cha-*} alludes to witchcraft and one is making it categorically clear that things have gone contrary to his/her expectations and plans. {chaka-} is underlyingly made up of three morphemes {chi-}, {a-} and {ka-} which are realized as {chaka-} after the application of morphophonemic rules or constraints which delete /i/ in {chi-} in order to resolve vowel hiatus. The name **Muroyindishe** (A witch is a king) denotes that people who were associated with this practice were feared. The Shona say *zviri nani kunetsana newaunoona kwete vehusiku* (It is better to fight with the one whom you see not to fight

with night operators). Witches are believed to be operative during the night although these days stories abound that they do their things even during the day. The researcher got to one place in Manicaland province where they call each other by names like *Mai* **Sherekete** (Mother of one who causes problems), *Mai* **Imbwadzangu** (Mother of witching dogs) and *Baba* **Chirigwido** (Father of that which causes problems). These people are feared and they move in cohorts. At beer drinking places people do everything they can to make sure that they do not share their beer for they are known for killing people *nenduru yegarwe* (With crocodile bile). This explains why during the war liberation war fighter or guerrillas were against witches and they killed many of them. They even captured this in their slogans, "*Pasi nevaroyi*" (Down with witches). As a result, many of them found their ways to urban centres that were relatively peaceful as there were places inhabited by State security forces.

The name **Urayayi** (Kill) connotes a subtle attack at the witches and whoever is sympathetic to them. One appears to be giving them authorization so that they finish off with the remaining children or family members as suggested also by the name **Pedzisai** (Finish off). Yet, in essence one is calling on the perpetrators to be rational and acknowledge that what they are doing is dreadful. Therefore, these names call those in positions of responsibility to make sure that such people are annihilated for the good of the society. This sounds logical as they cause people to live in fear as **Taonanhasi** (We have seen today) implies their callousness. It suggests that the namers are not sure that the child would survive long enough to maturity as others' lives have been abruptly cut. To this end, it is crystal clear that these names directly or indirectly identify a particular audience, has power to enhance as well as threaten social solidarity**.** On the other hand, the study found names that are a result of extraordinary considerations of what the namers have experienced.

6.19 Extraordinary names

The study got names whose denotations and connotations most Shona people have reservations with. These are names that vent the frustrations and anger of the couple. The names entangle the children in the problems surrounding a marriage in a strong way. The name put across the deepest concerns of their namers and mostly ends up being negative prophecies. The name **Nhamo** is blunt and has negatively shaped many lives of its bearers as observed by many informants. Vambe (2004:97) defines *nhamo* as,

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The concept '*nhamo*' in Shona is a collective word of pain, hunger, suffering, world weariness, despair and all conceivable misfortunes that can visit a mortal.

Politically and economically it reminds one that the Shona people were forcefully moved to barren soils, were underpaid, were denied education, and were brutally treated at the hands of the colonial government. They were also charged several forms of taxes among other human rights denials which saw them being reduced to poverty stricken people. In marriage circles, it summarizes the experience of those in troublesome marriages to the extent that their lives were reduced to worthless experiences. The name appears in various ways as testified by the following examples. **Nhamodzenyika** (Problems of the country) denotes the problems that are bound to be faced as long as one survives. This name '**Nhamodzenyika'** is made up of a substantive 'nhamo' and 'dzenyika' a possessive phrase. It is therefore a substantive phrase that has been converted into a complex nominal construction. The name also suggests that one has been involved with the political issues emanating from the prevalent political status quo. The name becomes a remark of the sufferings people are enduring.

In **Chenhamo** (One for problems) the namer(s) is declaring that death is his/her fate. This means that the named is regarded as one born amidst problems hence they shall follow him/her. A sizeable number of informants suggest that such a name is a bad wish for the child. This name is synonymous with **Munhamo** (In problems), **Muzanenhamo** (One who comes with problems; */-za/* is an old verb that means to 'come'), **Tamukanenhamo** (We got up with trouble), **Tangenhamo** (Starter of problems) and **Nhamoinesu** (Problems are with us). In **Muzanenhamo** '*nenhamo*' (With problems) is an adjunct since 'nhamo' is inflected by the adjectival prefix {ne-}. These names imply the prevalence of problems in the family and the life of the named. As a result, a defeatist attitude is implied that suffering awaits someone, a reality that kills one's motivation and innovation. Many Shona people declared their reservations with names with the stem */nhamo-/* (see Section 7.4).

Additionally, **Tambudzai** (Harass) connotes that the named is given licence to cause problems in life. Informants note that most of the name bearers end up in unsuccessful marriages, being prostitutes, patronizing beer halls, occurrences that were unheard off amongst Shona women. **Tamburikai** (Sufferer) appears a benediction that one must suffer and in most cases the names became true.

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Informants declare the power of names as they create an individual's worldview in surprising fashion. Evidence abounds of Shona people who could not rise beyond the meaning of their names (see Section 7.5). This explains why, as people grew up, they were prepared to be converted to religions like Christianity and adopt new names. In fact, informants warned that namers should desist from the culture of naming children after their frustrations but they should give them hopeful names that wish one good tidings. These are the names that make children feel free to interact with others as they project an admirable image of their bearer. Next, the study found that some personal names were derived from the things people owned.

6.20 Possessive suggestive names

There are names that are suggestive of owners of various means of production or expertise. There might have been an ownership wrangle over cattle or land and these events coincided with the pregnancies or the births. Informants submit that the name **Nyan'ombe** (Cattle owner) maybe a result of someone owning many cattle, a mother who had many cattle paid for her as bride wealth or the mother/father was a cattle herder or had the resultant sexual intercourse that resulted in pregnancy whilst herding cattle. Similarly, **Nyamunda** (Field owner) signifies a land owner, one who worked hard during the gestation period, a father/mother who was a farm labourer or land preparer. Furthermore, **Sanyore** (One who does things easily) implies one who was an expert in something which s/he does with unexplainable easiness, aplomb or one who always takes things simply. Also, the name was given to a child who was born without complications when the mother gave birth while she was alone or the midwives testify that the labour process was so smooth to their sheer surprise. In the same breath, **Chinyazanda** (The owner of eggs) connotes the seller of eggs. *Zanda* is a dialectal variation of *zai* (Egg). Informants suggested that the couple might have been known of keeping a large number of fowls and the births occurred during one of the selling errands hence the name. **Nyandoro** (Owner of a sign or insignia) denotes one born with a distinctive identification mark. The name also connotes the popularization of someone's totem. In short, the names identify the owner of something. The next section deals with hunting names.

6.21 Hunting names

Hunting was not a sport but a means of survival amongst the Shona people as it provided the much needed relish as shown among others in Chakaipa (1958, 1961) and Kuimba (1963). The names under review seem to have been given to those who had mastered the hunting skills. **Kandawasvika** (One who throws when near) was an instruction given hunters on apprenticeship. It was meant to have their prowess sharpened as when one goes out hunting, one does not have many weapons to afford throwing them anyhow. One must ensure that he is within close range to maximize on resources and chances. The name was also a description of the conduct of a hunter that found its way to his child. In like manner, **Rambanapasi** (One who keeps to the ground) describes the way one gets at the prey without it being aware; by keeping to the ground as far as possible. This is similar to the war myth that liberation war fighters disappeared for when they saw danger they crawled away by keeping their bodies as close as possible to the ground. A place by this name has been found in Wedza, Mashonaland East and informants disclosed that much hunting was done around this area and one needed to be very skilful to successfully kill any animal.

The name **Dambanemhuka** (One who plays with animals) refers to a renowned hunter. The way he does hunting has been trivialized into the way he plays with children, an observation that declares his unparallel achievements. The name is synonymous with **Bangamuseve** (One who always carries arrows) that paints a picture of someone who is always on hunting expeditions. /*Banga-/* (Carry, knife) suggests that the individual is always seen carrying hunting spears indicating that hunting was his fulltime engagement or was slimly built. Such individuals were mostly possessed by hunting enabling spirits. On the same note, **Matambanepfumo** (One who is a renowned spear user) denotes one whose prowess at using the spear is well-known and testified to by the amount of game he kills. The point is that the Shona hunters used spears, arrows, knobkerries, nets and dogs yet amidst imitated resources they managed to slaughter big animals like impalas among others. This testifies to their aiming abilities hence that prowess led people to equate it to playing with a spear. Therefore, children of these expert hunters were named after these names.

Shambamuto (One who baths in soup) is the one who always kills game and eats meat. /*Shamba*/ refers to washing and the image created is that at his house people literally wash their hands with

blood of animals, a situation indicative of the fact that animal slaughter is an everyday experience. Another synonymous name was **Shambaropa** (One who baths with blood). The bearers of these names were men of recognition in the hunting profession. These were men who could ask their families to prepare *sadza* (Stiff porridge) without relish for they would be sure to bring meat. Some were possessed by hunting spirits and ceremonies were held in recognition of such *mashave* (An enabling spirit that bestows some abilities on the recipient). Some of these men could go hunting possessed and their performances were just out of this world. In essence, these names were given as first names to children of expert hunters or were wish names. Informants suggest that they started as mere descriptions of occurrences became nicknames given to grown ups before they became personal names. In later generations they became names of g*ombwa, chenza, jemedzwa* or *chihani*. Acceptive names form the next name category that worth considering.

6.22 Acceptive names

This category speaks volume about the Shona practice of showing appreciation for whatever positive thing that would have been done to them. Four names discussed here are **Tavonga~Tinotenda** (We are thankful) and **Tofara~Tafara** (We are happy). The plural subject prefixes *Ta-, Ti- To-* signify joint naming hence the names are expressing the view of a couple or family**.** The names are declarations to the effect that the namers are happy and have accepted the occurrences. These names are stress reducers as they show that one is appreciative of whatever baby one has given birth to. They suggest a Supreme force as being behind the births hence one is acknowledging their authority as givers of life. In addition, informants note that the namers would be thanking significant family members for having supported their marriage through whatever means and through these names they are echoing their appreciation. After acceptive names, attention shifts to derogative suggestive names.

6.23 Derogative suggestive names

This category deals mostly with descriptive derogative names. A sizeable number of personal names implicitly or explicitly describe human anatomy. These names might have started as mere descriptions of the conditions of children before they were engraved into names which other readers deduce to be derisive. The namers would have evaluated the appearance of the child at birth, size and tone when

crying among others. These developments would then give them clues on what name to settle for. One born with an extraordinary size was likely to be named **Matungagore**. It also declares a wish of the height they regarded as the best one. This was popular during colonial rule where Europeans, among other reasons, recruited one to be a police officer on the basis of his height. This suggests that if the namers wished the bearer to be a police officer, they were declaring the height they hoped should be attained. **Mazino** (One born with or had early teeth germinating in unusual ways). The name was also popularized if a child's teeth developed outside in an unusual way to an extent that they protruded outside the mouth. **Chiguma** (One with a protruding forehead) meant one born with an extraordinary head appearance. This name is synonymous with **Chimusoro** (One either with a big or small head). /*Chi-*/ is a class seven noun prefix which among the Zezuru people is derogatory in this instance. **Mangwanya** (One with big ears) was derived from the appearance of the ears of the named whilst **Manyinginya** (One with an ugly face) was derived from the ugly appearance of the face. The name is synonymous with **Mafidibo** that describes one with deformed facial appearances evocative of a baboon**.**

Mbombomera (One with deep voice) was given to a child who had a deep voice (from NADA). **Chimunhu** (One who speaks and thinks like an African) was a derogative name given to a European person who behaved like an African. During the war of liberation, when comrades wanted to know the composition of the Rhodesian state soldier's groups they would ask, "*Panga paine vanhu vangani?"* (How many people were in the group?). The general populace could not fathom the idea that a European is a human being because for them the word *munhu* (person) refers only to blacks so they could retort, *Panga paine vanhu vashanu nevarungu vatatu* (There were five people and three whites). Within this background, the name **Chimunhu** was a nickname given to whites or a neutral way people asked the gender of the birth *chimunhui*? (What gender is s/he?). The next category deals with totemic oriented given names.

6.24 Totemic names

Totemic names build on the discussion of fauna oriented names. Every Shona person has a *mutupo* (*T*otem). Totems are popular among the Shona people as they unite and identify people by their origins. If they move from say Mashonaland East and go to Mashonaland West and meet someone of

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a similar totem, the two treated each other as real blood relatives. Totems were very important and marriages among people of the same totems were discouraged. To achieve this the Shona people urge suitors to first establish each other's totem before they become serious on love proposals. In the event that some were rebellious to the extent that they wanted to marry each other, one would be asked to pay *Mombeyechekaukama* (Cow of ending a relationship) of a white colour. It is a known practice that the beast has to be white. It has to be difficult to find so that people are discouraged. Two totemic oriented personal names, namely **Moyo** (Heart) and **Madhuve** (Zebra) (from interviews) are discussed. Informants note that the names demonstrate the pride the namers have in their origins. The names make clear that they want to be identified by their clan founders at the same time showing that if the births are of boys then the continuity of their clan has been assured. This is in line with African Traditional Religion as these namers are praising their clan founders.

6.25 Conclusion

This chapter settled for twenty four theme-based personal name categories. The broadest category deals with marriage commentary names. This identified varied issues that brought discomfort in a marriage setup. The next broadest category dealt with death-related names. These project the feelings of the Shona people about death. Rhetorical names conform to the Shona non-confrontational expectations by questioning the status quo in subtle ways. These names demonstrate that the Shona system aimed at the normalcy of relations and not at unnecessarily exposing each other. Names making reference to witchcraft and behaviour issues were also identified. These names reprimand unwanted behaviours thereby calling for meaningful change if life is to be enjoyed. Extraordinary name category dealt with blunt names that froze the status quo in ways that one feels ought to have been watered down. This testifies to the observation that the names are the mind and hearty feelings of their coiners and their examination equals to approximating their origins so that their import can be understood. War and historical issues found their way into names. These names came from the experiences the namers have gone through. Rhythmic names testify to individual linguistic preferences as a result of one's educational orientation. Time was not ignored by the Shona people hence it found its way in the resultant names as well as their hunting adventures. Religious considerations define one's life as shown by names that were drawn from Christianity and African Traditional Religion. Notwithstanding the foregoing, names were derived from flora and fauna. The

significance of the anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory has been demonstrated alongside the approximation model, the maxims of brevity and tactfulness. The study now turns attention to popular Shona personal names.

CHAPTER SEVEN

POPULAR SHONA ANTHROPONYMS

. . . somewhere in every name there lurks trouble for its owner. Either one's name is unpronounceable or inherently comic, pretentious or too plain, rhymes with or it's reminiscent of something ignoble . . . one way or another cognominal impediments await nearly everyone (Aristides 2001:15).

7.0 Introduction

This section examines popular Shona male and female names, the most interesting names as well as those Shona people have reservations with. Popular Shona names are those that are widely used in the society.

7.1 Popular Shona male names

The Shona society places more value on male children. Among other reasons, the society experienced chieftain wrangles as alluded to by Mutasa (1990, 1991), Zvarevashe (1978), Kuimba (1963) and Mutswairo (1956) among others. Male children were favoured because they ensured the immediate continuation of a clan's name and at the same time supplying ample security for the family or kingdom. A popular Shona saying captures this mood, *Azvara machinda haafi* (He who gave birth to boys does not die). This does not refer to the literal death but to his ability to regenerate and replenish the earth with his offspring. This explains why polygamous marriages were rife. According to a Gweru, Midlands province, female informant aged eighty-eight interviewed on October 23, 2005 a mother who bore boys was named *vachizvaramachinda* (Mother of boys) and was highly valued when compared to *vamachekanhembe* (Mother of girls). In addition, married women got settled the moment

they gave birth to a baby boy as some polygamous marriages were in the quest to get a baby boy. Within this context, it emerges that there were some masculine oriented names.

7.1.1 Popular male names among female respondents

Questionnaire question thirteen established the most popular Shona male names female respondents' preferred (see Table 7.1).

Total	Total
Tatenda	220
Tendai	126
Tafadzwa	122
Tawanda	121
Farai	118
Nhamoinesu	117
Tinashe	116
Kudakwashe	116
Tapiwa	113

Table 7.1: Names from female respondents

Nine such names were identified. **Tatenda** (We are thankful) tops the list. It denotes thanksgiving to the force or being that enabled them to have the child. The name projects a corporate perception. The living individuals like family members, midwives and whoever contributed positively is hereby thanked. To this end, the name is like a thank you message on a card or billboard meant for the public to read. The second name, **Tendai** (Be thankful) is a call for people to congratulate the couple for what they have achieved so far; the raising of this family. It emerges that the name was preferred where the authenticity of a particular child was at stake. Some family members or spouse would have doubted if the child belongs to the family or is from out of wedlock. The name implies that the family was not appreciative of their role hence this subtle call. **Tafadzwa** (We have been made happy) declares the joy of the namers. They now have a child that they had hoped for. Bearing a child

satisfies and completes a Shona person's life. This is against the agony people go through if they fail to. Shona people could do whatever it takes to have a child as upon marriage one was supposed to be called by the name of the first child.

Tawanda (We are now many) reckons that the family population has increased because of the added family member(s). Informants observe that this name is usually given second children going upwards as acknowledgment of the increase that had been witnessed in the family. Shona people are proud of such developments as they cherished the idea that *hura mapoko hunozvara mbavha nevaroyi* (Pregnancy gives birth to children of mixed morality and ability). As they hoped that children would look after them in their old age, having many children was regarded as noble so that if one fails to be responsible others would still take up the responsibility not how **Saraoga** (Remain alone) neglected his mother in Marangwanda (1959). The other name is **Farai** (Be happy) that suggests that the family or spouse might not be readily accepting the child maybe because they had hoped for another gender. Because of the presumed misfortune, the name is calling them to be happy as in the fullness of time they shall get their preferred child. **Nhamoinesu** (Suffering is with us) is the sixth name that declares that challenges are characteristic of their life. Interviewees note that they might have had serious illnesses during the gestation period coupled with delivery complications. As if that was not enough, the child was born with poor health and to add to this, the family suspects them of some wrong doings. In situations like these, the name is an acknowledgment that suffering surrounds them and they do not know what to do. The acceptive tone in this name is sarcastic as it connotes a call for assistance as the prevailing circumstances are not ideal for one to attain a meaningful marriage life.

The seventh name, **Tinashe** (We are with the Lord) denotes and connotes that the couple had gone past circumstances they had doubted they could sail past. The problems they had encountered were almost insurmountable yet today they can declare that the Lord is with them for they have succeeded. The name connotes known detractors to their joy who are being challenged that they thought they have all the powers yet the Lord the couple believes in is the Almighty. **Kudakwashe** (The will of the Lord) echoes similar sentiments with the preceding name. In addition, it submits that the child they have is as a result of the Lord's will and are appreciative of it even though they might have wished otherwise. The ninth name, **Tapiwa** (We have been given) furthers the preceding views. Namers hereby declare that they are recipients of nature's gifts in the form of whatever child. In essence,

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popular male names female respondents' gave are acceptive, accommodative, conciliatory and subtle names that demonstrate the socialization this gender received among the Shona people.

Of the nine names this section looked into, six of them start with the /T-/, a subject prefix or subject concord, that is **Tatenda, Tendai, Tafadzwa, Tawanda**, **Tinashe** and **Tapiwa**. This indicates that the names make reference to joint or corporate interests. This underscores that child-naming among the Shona people was predominantly representative of the entire family interests. In other words, naming was the media the family used to inform the world of its challenges, joys and wishes. This observation comes against the backdrop that in Shona there are no morphemes that are made up of a consonant only such as /T-/. All morphemes in Shona are made up of V, CV or VC syllabic structures. Within this context, these names just start with the voiceless coronal/alveolar consonant [t] and not a prefix. The only awkward name is **Nhamo** which denotes suffering against the eight that are calls for acceptance, declarations of achievement and alignment to an Almighty source of life. It also emegesthat **Tendai** is the only name that has its subject as a second person. The other five names are first person.

7.1.2 Popular male names among male respondents

The popular male names according to male respondents are sequentially **Tendai, Tafadzwa, Tinashe, Tapiwa, Nhamo, Tanaka, Tawanda, Tadiwanashe** and **Nyasha** as Table 7.2 records. Four names are worth discussing here as they are the only additions to the list given by female respondents (see Section 6.19). The first one is **Nhamo** (Suffering) followed by **Nhamoinesu** given by female respondents. **Tanaka** (We are now well) denotes that the couple regards itself as comfortable as they now have children of all gender. Interviewees posit that a couple felt comfortable if they had more boys than girls or balanced numbers. **Tadiwanashe** (We have been loved by the Lord) aptly summarizes a family that has things going according to their expectations. Through the name they are recognizing the role of the Lord in their child-bearing efforts. The name **Nyasha** (Grace/Mercy) is synonymous to **Tadiwanashe** hence points out that what they have achieved thus far is because of God's providence hence are thankful. Informants note that even non-believers in God preferred these names as veneration of whatever they perceive to be the ultimate source of power. Therefore, male names underscore the success of the family in having children especially of the male sex. They

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declare their appreciative disposition to the increase that they have witnessed and wish it continues like that. In addition, this section has seven names of the subject prefix */T-/* whilst they belong to class 1a. Eight of the nine names are almost synonymous except for **Nhamo** for reasons already discussed in Section 6.19

Total	Total
Tendai	270
Tafadzwa	265
Tinashe	179
Tapiwa	163
Nhamo	139
Tanaka	136
Tawanda	133
Tadiwanashe	128
Nyasha	121

Table 7.2: Names from male respondents

From Shona novels and plays a slightly different picture of the popular male names is painted (see Table 7.3). The top nine names are **Tendai, Sarudzai, Pedzisai, Rufaro, Shingairai, Dambudzo, Jekanyika, Kufakunesu** and **Matambudiko. Sarudzai** (Choose) calls the fellow spouse or family members to be decisive on their choice so that the namer can make informed decisions. This is after an ambivalent disposition has been manifested as a result of certain occurrences in the family. The spouse might have heard of an extramarital affair hence is urging the partner to come out clean on the issue so that s/he can decide his/her future. The namer is not the docile type of person, hence s/hewants to make timely decisions. **Pedzisai** (Finish) is a call to have whatever that was started finished, whether good or evil. The name, according to interviewees connotes witchcraft hence it implies that some deaths and misfortune have occurred at the hands of some individual(s) and the namer is sarcastically calling them to reform. The literal reading; that s/he does not want deaths and misfortunes is meant to knock sense in the evildoer. Also, the name implies an encouragement for the couple to continue with child bearing as they have just hit the key yet they are hinting at stopping**.**

Rufaro (Joy) echoes the jubilant mood that greeted that birth, an indication that the child was much awaited. Some interviewees posit that the name is given to a child of whatever gender born after a string of children of a similar gender. **Shingairai** (Persevere) implies the opposite of **Farai**. The name is suggestive of a marriage characterized by challenges yet the couple is urged to be patient. **Dambudzo** (Problem) and **Matambudziko** (Problems) are names synonymous with **Nhamu** and **Nhamoinesu**. In addition, **Kufakunesu** (Death is with us) connotes problems as death brings physical, economic, social and emotional disorders (see Section 6.9).

Name	Total
Tendai	198
Sarudzai	183
Pedzisai	89
Rufaro	48
Shingairai	43
Dambudzo	36
Jekanyika	23
Matambudziko	21
Kufakunesu	20

Table 7.3: Popular male names from novels

7.1.3 Composite popular male names

A look at the preferences by female and male questionnaire respondents gives an interesting picture of the top ten Shona names (see Table 7.4). Serially the top ten names are **Tendai, Tafadzwa, Nhamoinesu, Tawanda, Tatenda, Tanaka, Tadiwanashe, Nyasha, Farai** and **Kudakwashe.** From newspapers and graduation booklets, the most popular names are **Tawanda** and **Tinashe**. The preferred names listed here suit marriages of all kinds hence their popularity. They are different from

confrontational names in tone as these echo acceptance disposition. Belief in the Lord is reverberated through **Tadiwanashe** (We have been love by the Lord), **Nyasha** (Grace) and **Kudakwashe** (The will of the Lord).

Name	Total
Tendai	594
Tafadzwa	491
Nhamoinesu	256
Tawanda	254
Tatenda	220
Tanaka	136
Tadiwanashe	128
Nyasha	121
Farai	118
Kudakwashe	116

Table 7.4: Composite questionnaires popular male names

In addition, informants note that these names are unisex except the popularly masculine **Farai, Nhamoinesu** and **Tawanda**. Therefore, the most popular male names are **Tendai** and **Tafadzwa**, a call to appreciate what one/couple has done.

7.2 Popular Shona female names

One who had many girls was respected in as far as people regarded him/her as the provider of daughters-in-law. Almost everyone of marriageable age among the Shona people was expected to marry. When girls got married their families of origins got rich through the payment of bride wealth. Marriage between families meant that they would support each other whenever the need arose as they were now relatives. In other words, daughters were diplomatic ambassadors of their respective

families to their married families. This explains why they needed to conduct themselves well so that they would not bring reproach to their families of origin. As a result, girls were not casually named. The namers among other things, had to make sure that they coined meaningful and charming names. Naming of girls was like the branding of whatever product which has to be meticulously done so as to augment its marketability. Notwithstanding this, instances abound where frustrations and gloomy-laden names were given because of the pressing status quo.

7.2.1 Popular female names among female respondents

Question fourteen of the questionnaire sheds light on the most popular Shona female personal names (see Table 7.5). The top eight names are **Chipo, Tendai, Tsitsi, Chiedza, Vimbai, Tambudzai, Rudo** and **Fungisai**.

Name	Total
Chipo	228
Tendai	188
Tsitsi	154
Chiedza	139
Vimbai	127
Tambudzai	125
Rudo	125
Fungisai	120

Table 7.5: Popular female names from female respondents

The overall most popular name amongst female respondents is **Chipo** (Gift). **Chipochandapiwanamwari** (The gift that I have been given by God) connotes a namer being censured of what has happened hence this declarative response that identifies God as the source of the child. The namer is exonerating him/herself of any wrong doing. The name, other informants note, connote a divorced mother who gave birth to a child whose father has denied responsibility.

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Furthermore, it was suggested that the child might be having severe physical challenges and the namer is voicing his/her acceptance of the status quo at the same time warning the 'enemies of the marriage' that no one knows what the future holds. The Shona say *seka urema wafa* (Laugh at someone's shortcomings when dead for you never know what tomorrow holds). In short, one must not deride someone. This is so as the Shona society before the advances in medical sciences, regarded such births as indicative of a mother who was adulterous or a witch. The name is indirectly telling the accusers that they are missing the point as the creator saw it fit to give them such a child and they have accepted it hence it testifies to the point already raised in Section 5.1.8. On the other hand, **Chipochedenga** (A gift from [God] heaven), informants suggest, acknowledge that the child is really a gift from God for they have never seen such a cute child. The name is feminine. **Chipochangu** (My gift) echoes possessiveness of the child and whatever is happening in the marriage. The namer is saying that the status quo is his/her fate hence even if people might have reservations with it; s/he is ready to live with it. This name is synonymous with **Chipochake** (His/her gift). **Chipochedu** (Our gift) denotes joint ownership of the challenge posed by the gift.

The name **Tsitsi** (Mercy) declares that they are in their present situation due to the provisions of the Lord. In fact, the name implies concerted efforts in having evil things inclusive of the demise of the namers' marriage happen. The name also calls the alleged enemies to be merciful and give them chance so that they prove their innocence and importance in the family. It suggests one being ill-treated for reasons beyond her/his comprehension. The name almost echoes similar sentiments with **Vimbai** (Trust) and **Fungisai** (Think deeper). The latter are calls for transparency and painstaking thinking before they condemn the namers. **Tambudzai** (Trouble) lampoons the enemies for it implies the opposite. They are being called to stop behaving in ways that are detrimental for the unity and progress of the family. In fact, they need **Chiedza** (Light, Understanding) so that they can appreciate how others should be handled. The name implies that their enemies must show an appreciation of the roles expected from their offices. For instance, mothers-in-laws and aunts must be supportive enough of their child's marriage instead of them being enemy number one. In essence, they are being reminded that they are all foreigners to this family who came because of love hence they must support each other and be exemplary enough as befitting their offices. **Rudo** (Love) is a call to have this principle cherished and demonstrated so that the marriage can be enjoyable. Also, these names are

feminine for love seems associated with females. In fact, the Shona culture taught girls that they are predominantly there to be attractive to men.

7.2.2 Popular female names among male respondents

The study realized that the preferences of the two genders in terms of the popular female names are at variance. The genders agree on the first two names; **Chipo** and **Tendai** only. Male respondents went on to place **Rudo** on the third whilst it is number seven in the list of female preferences. Then, these other seven names are not in the top nine lists of female popular names; **Tatenda, Nyasha, Tafadzwa, Muchaneta, Hazvinei, Rumbidzai,** and **Tadiwanashe** (see Table 7.6).

Name	Total
Chipo	311
Tendai	276
Rudo	194
Tatenda	158
Nyasha	142
Tafadzwa	140
Muchaneta	136
Hazvinei	128
Rumbidzai	124
Tadiwanashe	118

Table 7.6: Popular female names from male respondents

Informants submit that these names resonate acceptance tone and non-militancy. Even **Muchaneta,** in this context interviewees observe that it is a stern reprimand for those against his wife that they better appreciate her for he shall not discard her because of them.

From Shona novels and plays a different yet complimenting scenario is painted about the popular female Shona names. It emerges that **Sekai, Shamiso, Tambudzai, Nyemudzai, Rudorwashe, Rumbidzaishe, Rwaringeni** and **Dambudzo** (see Table 7.7) are the top eight names. **Shamiso** (Surprise) suggests that the couple was either surprised by that kind of the child, by what surrounds the birth, by their treatment in the family or by the miraculous escape from a life-threatening experience they had found themselves in. **Nyemudzai** (Given for a short while) connotes the ever existence and threat of death in the family hence the namers are not sure the child would live long. They have lost other children through death and they are not so optimistic that this one belongs to them or not. Other informants submit that the name summarizes the treatment of the namer, that s/he is not fully welcome hence is satirizing such unfortunate conduct.

Name	Total
Sekai	86
Shamiso	82
Tambudzai	59
Nyemudzai	58
Rudorwashe	56
Rumbidzaishe	53
Rwaringeni	47
Dambudzo	42

Table 7.7: Total popular female names from novels

As far as the threat of death is concerned, the name is synonymous with **Rwaringeni** (It [death] is aiming at me); at my child. This might be so because the child would have been born with ill-health or the conduct of fellow family members is clearly suggestive of people who do not wish him/her good hence the name seeks to avert extremes. Similarly, **Dambudzo** (Problem) suggests of a complication especially due to illness, mistreatment, certain deprivations and death that might be regarded as

hovering upon the family. The name hereby testifies to the menace as a way of submitting to the outsiders their vulnerability at the same time seeking assistance. The Shona people say *kana chinhu chikafumurwa chinobva chapera simba* (If something evil is talked of before it happens it looses its power) hence this might be one counteractive tactic the namer has used.

Furthermore, **Rudorwashe** (The Lord's love) and **Rumbidzaishe** (Praise the Lord), in their full versions are declarative statements from the namers overflowing hearts from what they had experienced, the birth of the child and the peace characteristic of their marriage. The namers are acknowledging that they have gone thus far due to the Lord's providence against some who taught that a marriage is stabilized through the use of love portion as done by the promiscuous **Munondidii**? (What can you do to me?) from Bvindi (1981). As a result, the namers are encouraging others to praise the Lord for his generosity, a move that demonstrates the extent to which the Shona people believe in a being outside their realm that is responsible for this survival.

7.2.3 Composite popular female names

The overall top ten names are **Chipo, Tendai, Rudo, Tatenda, Tsitsi, Nyasha, Tafadzwa, Chiedza, Muchaneta** and **Hazvinei** (see Table 7.8). The names are **Chipo** (Gift) and **Tendai** while from newspapers and graduation booklets it is **Rudo** (love) and **Muchaneta** (You shall get tired). Furthermore, from novels and plays the most popular female names are **Maidei** (What did you want) and **Sekai** (Laugh). One notes that these names are precise and straight to the point. Besides, as they are for women, they seem not heavy laden except for **Muchaneta, Sekai** and **Maidei** that connote confrontation. These three names imply hitting back responses being made to certain known individuals for what they have done. The namers are pointing their reservations to the conduct of such people in conformity with the Shona culture that is polite as well as diplomatic. The essence of understanding their context of origin becomes paramount so that one can understand that they are contextualized implicatures that capitalized on the maxims of brevity and tactfulness in their projection of their meanings. The approximation model ensures that the 'enemies of the marriage' are imagined and their context is almost animated thereby highlighting that Shona personal names are extractions from ongoing macro discourses. The names allow one to submit that such situations were

rife and these names acted as checks and balances that minimized and kept at bay people who were against other's marriages.

Name	Total
Chipo	539
Tendai	464
Rudo	375
Tatenda	158
Tsitsi	154
Nyasha	142
Tafadzwa	140
Chiedza	139
Muchaneta	136
Hazvinei	128

Table 7.8: Composite popular female names from questionnaire

7.3 Most interesting Shona names

Interesting names are those whose denotative reading occasionally draws laughter whenever they are mentioned. These names are almost akin to popular names but their difference lies in their semantic import. These names are appealing to the wider spectrum of the Shona society. As namers use names to project a particular reading of the status quo, their denotative value makes hearers reflect and be amused over how life occurrences are fossilized into the named's lives.

7.3.1 Interesting names among male respondents

Questionnaire question fifteen identified the most interesting Shona personal names and the results are tabulated in Table 7.9 below.

Name	Total
Nhamoinesu	325
Tatenda	148
Tendai	146
Panashe	139
Tinomuda	124
Chiedza	121
Tafadzwa	111
Tsitsi	101

Table 7.9: Interesting names according to males

The names are **Nhamoinesu, Tatenda, Tendai, Panashe, Tinomuda, Chiedza, Tafadzwa** and **Tsitsi. Nhamoinesu** (Suffering is with us) connotes a couple or family in dire problems for reasons they seem not aware of. They might have encountered death, sickness, and censure by community members among others. Informants disclose that the name was also preferred when the husband deserted the wife who is prepared to wait for him yet it is not known if he will return. The family is caught in a quandary, they cannot sent her back to her family, they are hesitant of giving her to any brother of the missing man for fear that he might return any time. This was the era when communication systems were almost non-existent between far away places like countries as compared to today.

As a result, they were forced to wait for a long time yet, because of the age of the wife, they risk exposing her to adulterous activities, a charge that might be difficult to blame her of as she has a life to live. Among other related issues, the name is the family members' acknowledgement that problems are with them and not with the other spouse. Some suggested that marriage relationships might be sour in a particular family because of issues like avenging spirits as in Hamandishe (1970), Hodzongi (1981) and Ribeiro (1970). Within these families, problems are not due to the married but are inbuilt issues hence bold family members hereby offer a bold public statement accepting that their house is in

turmoil. The other eight names are interesting because of their positive denotations and connotations as already discussed.

7.3.2 Interesting names among female respondents

The top nine most interesting names according to female respondents are **Tatendakunashe, Tendaiishe, Tawananyasha, Tadiwanashe, Tinotendashe, Panashe, Munyaradzi, Tanyaradzwa** and **Tafadzwanashe** (see Table 7.10). The Shona culture requested that when a birth occurred, community members would visit and show their appreciation of the gift of life and the addition to humanity. People brought varied tokens to compliment their verbal declarations of enjoyment. Within this framework, these nine names are a declaration of joy over what has happened. **Tatendakunashe** (We have given praise to the Lord) indicates that they reckon He is the provider of life hence is worth of such recognition.

Name	Total
Tatendakunashe	248
Tendaiishe	211
Tawananyasha	138
Tadiwanashe	124
Tinotendashe	118
Panashe	110
Munyaradzi	110
Tanyaradzwa	96
Tafadzwanashe	92

Table 7.10: Interesting names according to females

The name **Tendaiishe** (Give thanks to the Lord) is a refusal by the namers to usurp the Lord's praise for they recognize that they did nothing much in dictating the way events have unfolded. They are mere recipients of provisions from the Lord hence He must be credited for it. The name is

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synonymous with **Tawananyasha** (We have got the Lord's mercy). Simply put, mercy is the unmerited favour and the namers are saying they have done nothing on their own accord to deserve such a child or marriage. This echoes the biblical doctrine that salvation is by grace alone and not by works (Ephesians 2:8).

The name is synonymous with **Tadiwanashe** (We have been loved by the Lord) and **Tinotendashe** (We thank the Lord). These names show the namer's submissive disposition. The name **Panashe** (Where the Lord is/By the Lord) and **Munyaradzi** (The comforter) identifies the Lord who is the Creator God. **Tanyaradzwa** (We have been consoled) notes that they have been facing serious challenges due to various life threatening occurrences yet they have emerged seemingly victorious. **Tafadzwanashe** (We have been made glad by the Lord) declares joy at everything that they have encountered. These names imply the extent to which Christianity has become part and parcel of the Shona people's way of life. They demonstrate the Shona people's innovativeness as they managed to glean meaning from whatever surrounded them.

The names suggestive of *Mwari* (God) indicate that the Shona people knew God in a way different from the one that came with the missionaries. The realization that almost all these names are shorthand, like **Tafadzwa** for **Tafadzwanashe, Tendai** for **Tendaikunashe** (Give thanks to the Lord), **Tendaiishe** (Give thanks to Lord), **Tendaimwari** (Thank God), **Tawana** for **Tawananyasha, Tawanakundiso** (We have got a way forward); **Tatenda** for **Tatendakunashe** (We have thanked the Lord), **Tatendamwari** (We have thanked God), **Tatendashe** (We thanked the Lord) among others testify to the importance of the anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory. It aids one's understanding that the names are from the similar roots and their variance are explainable by the preferred message(s) within a particular context. On a related note, the approximation model encourages readers and name hearers to use the tenets of the decompositional theory to imagine the original context that gave rise to the preference of a particular version of the name. This testifies to the complexity that surrounds how the Shona people come to prefer particular names. The seven names with the subject prefix /*Ta*-/ ricochet couple or family naming preferences.

7.3.3 Composite interesting Shona names

The section sheds light on the most interesting Shona personal names as shown by the clues from the six sources of data. They are **Tatenda, Tendai, Panashe, Tawananyasha, Nhamo, Tadiwanashe, Tinomuda, Chiedza** and **Tinotenda** (see Table 7.11).

Name	Total
Tatenda	396
Tendai	357
Panashe	249
Tawananyasha	215
Nhamo	213
Tadiwanashe	131
Tinomuda	124
Chiedza	121
Tinotenda	118

Table 7.11: Composite interesting Shona names

Six are of the /T-/ subject prefix thereby suggesting that they are a result of corporate namers or are aimed at respected or a group of people.

7.4 Shona names with reservations

Names with reservations are those that Shona people appear not at easy to mention as they are connotatively loaded. These are the names whose meanings are not readily available to non-first language speakers as they are mainly composite, lengthy and loaded in nature. It is a real task having some of them written in most official documents later on having them called out as they are tongue twisters, yet, to the ones who understand the language, their meanings are almost self-evident. This follows the observation that their intended identities and perceived identities (Joseph 2004:118) may vary due to the decoder's standpoint. One note that identities are not simply a matter of what their

possessors (or would-be possessors) project, but of how such projections are received and interpreted. This highlights the significance of this study's theory as the decompositional dimension is a prerequisite for one to get at their core meanings.

7.4.1 Names females have reservations with

Questionnaire question sixteen picked the Shona personal names people have reservations with. Females have reservations with the names **Nhamo, Muchaneta, Hazvinei, Maidei, Ndakaitei, Takudzwa, Tamburikai, Tambudzai, Muchadura** and **Sekai** (see Table 7.12).

Name	Total
Nhamo	331
Muchaneta	318
Hazvinei	224
Maidei	218
Ndakaitei	215
Takudzwa	211
Tamburikai	210
Tambudzai	120
Muchadura	108
Sekai	102

Table 7.12: Names females have reservations with

All the names connote problems in the marriage hence are rhetorical questions. The names are also categorical statements that things are not well in the marriage. At the same time their enemies are being urged to disclose on why they are treating them in that way. It is important to realize that these names have been examined elsewhere while it suffices here to observe that people have reservations with their connotative import. An approximation of their context and an appreciation of the Shona

language makes it clear that they are loaded multifaceted names. Even **Takudzwa** (We have been elevated) connotes that some people were against their establishment and progress yet, for reasons beyond their comprehension, they have continued to succeed.

7.4.2 Names males have reservations with

Popular top ten names male respondents have reservations with are **Nhamo, Tamburikai, Chamunorwa, Musorowegomo, Takarumirira, Gwatipedza, Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, Ndakaitei, Muchaneta** and **Hazvinei.**

Names	Total
Nhamo	429
Tamburikai	211
Chamunorwa	210
Musorowegomo	208
Takarumirira	199
Gwatipedza	188
Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda	182
Ndakaitei	120
Muchaneta	112
Hazvinei	107

Table 7.13: Names males have reservations with

7.4.3 Composite Shona names with reservations

The top ten names with reservations are **Nhamo, Muchaneta, Tambudzai, Hazvinei, Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, Maidei, Ndakaitei, Chamunorwa, Dambudzo** and **Musorowegomo.** All the names connote various challenges. **Pakura-/Pazvarwa-/ Pafamunhumashokoanowanda** (Where one grows/is born/is dead a lot is said). This name with its three variations is loaded with emotions as it shows that the couple suffered a lot through community gossip about their marriage, children or death. In the spirit of harmony, one then settles for such telling names as a hit back strategy thereby aptly alluding that s/he treats their response as the norm. The name is positive as one is suggesting that they shall come to terms with the reality as their response is a passing phase. People have reservations with these names because calling their bearers is a real task hence one has to be innovative enough to devise a shorter version at the same time safeguarding their bearer's dignity.

Name	Total
Nhamo	526
Muchaneta	524
Tambudzai	418
Hazvinei	314
Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda	218
Maidei	213
Ndakaitei	208
Chamunorwa	203
Dambudzo	198
Musorowegomo	187

Table 7.14: Composite name with reservations

Musorowegomo comes from */Musoro-/* (head), */-we-/* (of) *-gomo* (mountain). The name might imply one born with a big head or of one born to lead as a chief in Shona was referred to as *gomo*. Whenever the name is called, many people have reservations with it. Some even laugh for various reasons. Some it is because they cannot see the immediate link between physical landscapes of such nature with a human being. Secondly, those who know how a mountain looks like would then seek a resemblance of that landscape in the name bearer and more often than not, they cannot fathom the link. Within this scenario, one has to consider many things for one to get at the intended or implied meaning of the name.

A Chipinge male informant aged seventy-six; Manicaland province on January 10, 2006 gave the longest name **Zvisingagonekwinemunhunamwarizvinogonekwa** (That which is not possible with men is possible with God) that the researcher has ever heard. This was coined by a couple that has undergone untold challenges in their marriage to the extent that they almost lost hope. To sum it all, this lengthy telling name is the outpouring of the namer's hearts to their tormenters. This name is also demonstrative of a couple that now has its faith pinned only on the Sovereign Lord as they had tried everything else to no avail. Because people have reservations with some given names, the study shifts focus to name changing trends.

7.5 Name changing

Varied scenarios of name changing were identified by the study. According to Pfukwa (2007:121), to name the self is a declaration of independence from wider social control and it is a choice of identity. Allen (1990) adds that it is an act of defiance as well as an act of empowerment as the namer has power over the named. In Africa, **Stanley Kamau** (Jomo Kenyatta - Jomo means 'burning spear') in Kenya and **Joseph Mobutu** (Mobutu Seseseku kuku: Mobutu - the black roaster which deflowers all the hens in the village) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Samaki 2001:12) are among others who changed their personal names. In Zaire, Yanga (1978:238) comments that change of names was a decolonization process when the Zairian people discarded Western-oriented names. This trend is also found in Igbo society where,

. . . political names provide insights into the peoples perceptions and feelings about consultative democracy, oligarchic spirit, military grandeur, bourgeois tendencies and individual non-conformity characteristic of Igbo traditional politics . . . . (Ebeogu 1993:133).

In Zimbabwe, during the war of liberation many people who actively participated changed their personal names so that they concealed their identity for security reasons among others. Against this background, Sungano presents an apt discussion between a recruit and a ZANLA combatant,

Iwe taura zita rako chairo rechimurenga?Ukabvunzwa zita unotaura rechimurenga kwete zvimazita zvenyu zvokusvondo sezvinonzi Mwari wacho munomuziva? Abrahama, Jacob, Peter, *chii ichocho? Kanganwai zvizita zvose izvozvo* (Sungano 1985:47).

(Give us your real war name. When asked your name you mention your war name not those names you got from the church as if you know God: Abraham, Jacob and Peter, what isthat?Forget all those names.

Furthermore, the trend that mature and married Shona people are not called by their personal names comes into view. A scenario presented by Tsodzo graphically captures this,

Wisdom: *Imi amai, regai kungoti munonzi mai Muchena chete. Ko zita renyu chairo ndiyani*?
(Mother, do not say you are Mrs. Muchena only.What is your first name?).
Tsitsi: *Nhai mwanangu, wati zita rangu chairo rousikana richada here kutaurwa? Rava kurema.*
(My child, do you think it is still easy to call out my personal name. It is now difficult).
Tsitsi: *(Vachinyara) Rinonzi Tsitsi, mwanangu.*
(Being shy) it is Tsitsi, my child) (Tsodzo 1982:16).

The study notes some name bearers who opted for shorter and flamboyant personal names they hope would best represent their preferences. The movement of individuals from one locality to another has encouraged especially those with criminal records to adopt new names as covering up devices. The bad stigmatization (Goffman 1963) associated with particular names led some name bearers to discard them. For instance, two male informants aged sixty-seven and fifty-three of Manicaland province gave situations of people changing from **Panedziso** (Where the eye is) to **Penuel, Mwanandinaye** (I

am with the child) to **Onias** and **Chinondidyachii** (What can eat me) to '**Admire**'. As Pfukwa (2007:114) notes,

> . . . the process of renaming opened up to new possibilities, new attributes, new values, reshaping ideologies and creating new concepts of the self as well as redefining the groups within which the self operated.

In other words, these people suffered from identity crisis as they felt that their names inhibited them easy access to what they hoped for hence they arbitrarily discarded them. The saddest part of this development is that parents (and whoever knew their original names) would not identify them the moment they adopted these names in towns, farms, schools to mention a few, a clear indication of given names missing their identificatory role.

The study got the name **Maunzagonarembudzimumusha** (You have brought bewitchment in the homestead) that was changed to **Manuel;** a shorter version for **Emmanuel**. Informants submit that family members preferred the former name as their expression of reservations to the married mother. They accused the mother of witchcraft because she came from a family renowned for that. Through the name they suggested that the marriage is equivalent to one who pulls a tree branch that brings with it rubbish it finds in its way. Some were alleged to be Christians and wanted their child to marry one of their faith only to realize that he married a traditionalist. Interviewees also gave **Takurakudaivanhungatiregekurwa** (As mature as we are we should not be seen to be fighting) as a name that was changed to **Takura** (We have grown up). The former version called for normality in the family characterized with fighting. The name calls the involved people to remember that they are grown up people yet the status quo is suggestive of childish behaviour. The named informant testifies that he used to wonder and feel ashamed whenever the teacher calls his name. He reports that the teacher could not write his full name on an identification card they were given in the infant grade. As a result, the teacher gave him the shorter version **Takura** which was eventually popularized more than the original lengthy one. As a result, the informant declared that he purposed in his heart never to disclose the lengthy name to anyone for he is ashamed of it. The problem with these names is that they create certain ". . . attitude . . . ." (Parkin 1989:61) about their bearer even before the latter is seen. People have reservations with these names because their intended identities, that is, the identity

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the namer aims to project and the interpreted identities, that is, that which various readers get at as they bring various variables in their reading of the name are always at variance.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter identified that the male and female respondents have different preferences of personal names. On the issue of popular male names, female respondents preferred **Tatenda** and **Tendai**. This differs slightly with male respondents who settled for **Tendai** and **Tafadzwa**. This allows the study to conclude that the most popular male names are **Tendai** and **Tafadzwa**. As for popular female names, the two genders agree that **Chipo** and **Tendai** are the most popular names. As for the most interesting names, male respondents gave **Nhamoinesu** and **Tatenda** whilst female respondents identified **Tatendakunashe** and **Tendaiishe**. The two names are the full versions of **Tatenda** and **Tendai** respectively as well as being the most popular ones. **Nhamo, Muchaneta** and **Tamburikai** are the ones female and male respondents respectively have reservations with. The dominant names, therefore are **Nhamo** and **Muchaneta**. The popularity of names of the /T-/ subject prefix emerged crystal clear as they dominated as tabulated in various tables discussed in this chapter. It also surfaced that one must be aware of the fact that most of these names can be shortened depending on the message that is popularized.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ENVISAGED SHONA NAME CATEGORIES AND ADDRESS TRENDS

*Names . . . construct an ideologically preferred reality (Galasiński and
Skowronek 2001:11)*

8.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to achieve five things. It starts by seeking to establish the prevalence of the present personal name categories. It goes on to assess their applicability at the same time gauging the wishes of the namers and the named. It continues to explore the future naming terrain alongside the preferred address forms.

8.1 Prevailing name categories

Question eight of the questionnaire identified the prevalent Shona given name categories (see Table 8.1 below). The research picks that maternity home name (*zita remudumba*) tops the list with ninety-seven (19.4%). Hospital and clinics came with colonization. Before their establishment, the Shona people relied on midwives (*vananyamukuta*) and births were done in their homes, especially in the kitchen where the birth natal would be buried in or around that room as in Moyo (1977). The name was given just after birth before the child was allowed to come out of *imba* or *dumba ye-/rekuzvarirwa* (birth room) hence the name *zita remudumba* (The maternity home name, Kabweza et al., 1979.16). The name is either given by the parents or by the midwives and it suggests that once conception occurs, then a name was thought of but it was kept a secret for fear of witches.

The ninety-six (19.2%) English name category refers to any name in that language while ninety-three (18.6%) Christian names occupy the third spot. English names have been referred to sparingly in this study as it preoccupies itself with Shona names. But, the study submits that English names are now part of the Shona naming system. It also emerges that many Shona names are translations from English. The study also notes in passing that Shona names outdo English names while Ndebele names occupy the third spot for reasons this study is discussing. On Christianity, personal name-changing and addition was observed in the seven provinces of Zimbabwe. For instance, a seventy-three year old female respondent at Cecil John Rhodes Primary school, Gweru, Midlands province on October 21, 2006 notes the role of Catholics, amongst others, in name changing through their baptismal rite. She declares that the baptismal rite makes it mandatory for one to acquire a new name like **Mariarosa**, a compound name from **Mary** and **Rosary** as they regarded traditional names as devilish.

Name type	Total	Percentage
Mudumba/maternity	97	19.4
English	96	19.2
Christian	93	18.6
Dzinza/Lineage	52	10.4
Chihani/Family event	38	7.6
Gombwa/Ancestral	35	7
Chenza/Emulate	32	6.4
Jemedzwa/Diviner suggested	31	6.2
War	23	4.6
Other	13	2.6
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 8.1: Prevailing Shona personal name categories

Then, fifty-two (10.4%) lineage names *(zita redzinza)* are the second most popular Shona names. Fortune (1988:43) submits that these are the titular names of chiefs/headmen like **Mangwende, Chinamhora** and **Svosve** in Mashonaland East, **Makoni** and **Mutasa** in Manicaland among others. Yet, these names started as personal names and their owners are venerated in their respective families just like ancestral spirits. It is only on national issues that they acquire national connotations. This vindicates Frege (1949) who argues that different individuals might understand the meaning of a proper name differently. For Searle (1958), even the same individual in different speech contexts might intend or understand the same proper name differently,

> . . . the uniqueness and immense pragmatic convenience of proper names in our language lie precisely in the fact that they enable us to refer publicly to objects without being forced to raise issues and came (sic) to agreement on what descriptive characteristics exactly constitute the identity of the object. They function not as descriptions, but as pegs on which to hand descriptions. Thus the looseness of the criteria for proper names is a necessary condition for isolating the "referring function" from the "describing function" of language (Searle 1958:172).

Zita redzinza category encompasses names of grandparents as this song portrays,

> *Makamutumidza zita raambuya vake*
> *Makamutumidza zita raambuya vake*
> *Ndokumupa zita rasekuru*
> *Ndokumupa zita rasekuru*
> *Makamupa zita ratete vake*
> *Makamupa zita ratete vake*
>
> (You gave her the name of her grandmother
> You gave her the name of her grandmother)
> (You gave him the name of the grandfather
> You gave him the name of the grandfather)
> (You gave her aunt's name
> You gave her aunt's name)
> (Cephas Mashakada and The Sounds of the Muddy face 2007, *Mazita atinopa vana*).

These names become *mazita edzinza* because the names have been used successively in a family genealogy. It is the Shona people's vehemence that when one uses the name of the departed recklessly they feel offended. They regard that as an insult directed to the original name owner and all those who are after him/her. To this effect, Dembo gives strong warning to *mai mwana* (mother of children) not

to scold, beat or abuse the child who bears the departed's name as doing such directly insults him and the departed whose legacy he jealously guards. In the song *Vana vane mazita ngavaremekedzwe*, Dembo says,

> *. . . ndati tukai zvenyu ndisipo shungu dzipere!*
> *. . . ndati tukai zvenyu ndisipo shungu dzipere!*
> *Vana vane mazita ngavaremekedzwe amai mwana!*
> *Vana vane mazita ngavaremekedzwe vakuru!*
> *Mukati pfutseke mashoraka mai vangu!*
> *Mukati pfutseke mashoraka baba vangu!*
> *Mukati pfacha mbama mashoraka baba vangu . . . .!*
>
> (. . . I said scold them in my absence I do not mind!
> . . . I said scold them in my absence I do not mind!
> The children with names must be respected, mother of my child!
> The children with names must be respected, they are seniors!
> If you scold them you have belittled my mother!
> If you scold them you have belittled my father!
> If you clap them you have belittled my father . . . .!).
> (Leonard Dembo and The Barura Express, *Vana*
> *Vane Mazita Ngavaremekedzwe*).

Besides, names that mark family events (*mazita echihani)* thirty-eight (7.6%) occupy the third most popular Shona category. These names freeze significant historical events in manners exclusively clear to their originators. Therefore Shona names are almost entirely a record of what was happening in the family at the time the child was born. The biggest storehouse for Shona names is that part of his life which arouses his deepest feelings. Names are therefore a picture of the emotional life of African society, and according to Jackson (1957) 80% or more of proper Shona names are derived from the heartaches caused by family quarrels and death. The remaining 20% or less is descriptive names, reflecting the looks of the child, some important event at the time of birth or a description of the place of birth. The others are death, descriptive and the new order category. Therefore, many respondents reckon their preparedness to disclose these moments to the named was when serious need arose, say the latter misbehaves, they are really blissful or when they feel the named has matured enough to comprehend furtiveness.

The Shona people believed in life after death. Their belief is that if one is mature, has a family and lives an upright life; upon death that person has interests to return as an ancestral spirit so that s/he

can look after the family. They accepted those people who died natural deaths and has the *kuchenura* (the brewing of beer to bring back the spirit of the dead) ceremony done. The spirit was usually of a parent that was expected to choose anyone from the family members to be its medium. The chosen individual was supposed to accept or decline the selection. Some believed that the selection was undeniable as the spirit would continue to let the person encounter misfortunes until s/he accepts. These spirits were believed to have the ability to deny one employment, pregnancy among other things (Hodzongi 1981, Hamandishe 1970 and Ribeiro 1967). The one who accepted the name would have an acceptance ceremony prepared and would be given a new name and the entire family would give him/her acceptance gifts. *Zita regombwa* was therefore associated with one's ancestral spirits (Bourdillon 1976:216; Aschwanden 1982:38) or with certain houses, lineage and its ". . . surrounded by spirits" (Fortune 1988:43).

Interesting enough, when appeasing the departed ancestor, the Shona people called them by their Shona personal names especially those that would have been role models and have their welcome back ceremonies done. They called them starting from the juniors going up to the seniors. This is in agreement with their culture that *kukwira gomo husendera* (When you climb a mountain you start on the sides going up). The fact that they only used Shona names during their appeasement programmes demonstrates that every Shona person was given a Shona name. This explains why the Shona people jealously guard their Shona names as these connect them with the present world as well as with that of the departed. These ancestral spirits were informed on whatever significant moves the family would be taking so that their blessings and guidance would be invoked. They were believed to be their intermediaries between them and **Musiki**, a Shona name for God. This hierarchy is what Christianity, through its bible sought to discredit as it emphasizes on Jesus Christ as the only way to God and to salvation as John 14:6 shows, "Jesus said unto him, I am the way, the truth and the life, no man cometh unto the Father, but by me".

On the other hand, thirty-five (7%) ancestral names *(mazita egombwa)* inspired by *mudzimu* (the departed) occupy the fourth position. In other words, the *gombwa* name came because the parents voluntarily resolved to name their child after their lineage ancestor. Ancestral names are slightly different from the thirty-one (6.2%) diviner-suggested ones *(mazita ejemedzwa)* (Kahari 1997:125)*, on sixth position. It came as a result of some supernatural interventions that caused the child to deny

sucking, sleeping and causing unnecessary crying and illness among others. It is alleged that the family might have forgotten their departed as they have a tradition in which they were supposed to name their children after their parents as well as having *bhuru remusha* (a family bull) in honour of *sekuru* (grandfather) who started the clan.

In Kuimba (1965) a semblance of such a bull is given though this one is more western-oriented. The name of the grandfather would be given to this bull during a ceremony that has beer made for it and upon the pouring of the beer on the body of the bull; the animal responded in a unique way that suggested approval or otherwise. Informants disclosed that the bull used to visit the yard and women would ululate before it majestically walked to the kraal. The bull was respected just as the person whom it represented and it was believed to have powers to look after the herd and it was not supposed to be yoked. The name suggested that the concerned people had to consult diviners so that they could be told exactly what to do and when everything was done as expected, the misfortunes could come to an end. Two informants aged eighty-two and sixty-six of Mount Darwin, Mashonaland Central province interviewed on March 20, 2005 noted that the challenges associated with these names come to an end if they are formally accepted through the *kupemberera* (name welcoming) ceremony. In addition, they add that,

> *Ane zita redzinza sandiye aizobudirwa nanyazita asi uyo ane rejemedzwa sezvo nyazita ari iye ainge azvisarudzira.*
>
> (The one with ancestral name was not the one who would be possessed but the one with the diviner-suggested as the former had volunteered the name).

Alternatively, war names are mostly preferred by people who were actively involved in one way or the other in the liberation struggle. In semiotic terms, these names act as signs that remind the namers, the named and the audiences of the diverse colonial experiences where many acquired physical, psychological bruises and injuries. This group regards itself as having been betrayed by the ZANU (PF) regime as they are yet to enjoy some of the promised deliverables hence rhetorical names like **Chandakafirachii?** (Why did I suffer/die?). The name denotes that one was actively involved in the war yet s/he did not get satisfactory material benefits or otherwise recognition for that while some had their homes, possessions plundered during the war. Within this context, one notes that this name is a serious provocative rhetorical question meant to remind the concerned authorities of what they did not

fulfill. Furthermore, the dynamism of Shona anthroponyms emerge clearly as the name applies in different epochs. Those who have suffered at the hands of the protracted political bickering of ZANU (PF) and MDC since the late 1990s still find the name applicable. Therefore, the decompositional dimension helps to situate and pin the name within its proper milieu, a move which results in people getting at its core meanings.

Chenza is an imitative or emulative name (Roberts 1931:90). The idea is that one is named after someone with the hope the named would do as the former. Stein and Potenza (2000) make reference to the naming of **Kunta** by the Mandinkos who believed that a child would develop seven of the characteristics of whomever or whatever he was named after. The Yoruba people of Nigeria believe that your name is very important because it is the name the world will call you for ever. They believe that choosing a name for a child is something that should be taken very seriously (Stein and Potenza 2000:6).

8.2 Wished name category

Question nine zeroed on wished name categories. This affords the study the premise to project the future preferences of Shona given names. From Table 8.1 below one sees the order of the wished name categories. Christianity, an exclusivist religion has gone on top and all name categories that have links with the veneration of the departed are pushed towards the bottom of the ladder from *dzinza* to *gombwa* categories. In short, the dominance of Christianity and English is underscored by their 39.8% against 40.8% of four categories namely *mudumba, dzinza, chenza* and *chihani* names. The ascendancy and dominancy of Christianity has been recognized in questionnaire questions eight, nine and ten because the religion is a subject of study in schools and colleges/universities, among other already raised issues.

From Mashakada's 2007 song "*Mazita atinopa vana*" one notes that Shona personal names are meaningful and prophetic,

> *Mazita atinopa vana ane zvaanoreva*
> *Mazita atinopa vana ane zvaanoreva*

(The names we give children are meaningful
The names we give children are meaningful).
Mashakada and The Sounds of the Muddy face

Mashakada argues against the practice of naming children after grandparents for he alleges that the named ends up living miserable lives because the shortcomings related with the original name users would have befallen them. He says,

Wished category	Total	Percentage
Christianity	135	27
Mudumba	73	14.6
English	64	12.8
Dzinza	54	10.8
Chenza	39	7.8
Chihani	38	7.6
Jemedzwa	32	6.4
War	25	5
Gombwa	24	4.8
Other	16	3.2
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 8.2: Applicability category

Mazita atinopa vana ane nhamo nematambudziko
Mazita atinopa vana ane nhamo nematambudziko
Nhasi uno mwana wotambura
 Nhasi uno mwana wotambura
Nhasi uno mwana wonetseka
Nhasi uno mwana wonetseka

(The names we give children are associated with suffering and misfortune
The names we give children are associated with suffering and misfortune)
(Today the child is suffering

Today the child is suffering)
(Today the child is in pain
Today the child is in pain).
(Cephas Mashakada and The Sounds of the Muddy face, *Mazita atinopa vana*).

This highlights the power of a given name. In some instances, the study notes that individuals named **Nhamo** lived up to their name. On the other hand, this is a simplistic explanation to human suffering as other forces outside this scope contribute much.

Mashakada further posits that some names are settled for in the hope that they would bring good tidings to their bearers,

> *Taiti zvimwe mwana uchagarika*
> *Taiti zvimwe mwana uchagarika*
>
> (We had hoped that the child would enjoy life
> We had hoped that the child would enjoy life).
> (Cephas Mashakada and The Sounds of the Muddy face, *Mazita atinopa vana*).

On the same note, as a born-again-Christian, Mashakada clearly advocates names that remind the namers and bearer(s) of the providence of the Almighty,

> *Kune mazita akanaka-naka ari pedyo naMwari*
> *Kune mazita akanaka-naka ari pedyo naMwari*
> *Kune mazita akanaka-naka ari dhuze dhuze nababa*
> *Kune mazita akanaka-naka ari dhuze dhuze nababa*
>
> (There are very good names that are nearer to God
> There are very good names that are nearer to God)
> (There are very good names that are nearer to the father
> There are very good names that are nearer to the father).
> (Cephas Mashakada and The Sounds of the Muddy face, *Mazita atinopa vana*).

Relatedly, the escalation of suffering suits Christianity's hopeful message where a blissful life is almost guaranteed if one obeys Christ's commands regardless of who one is. This explains why Christian related names emerge as the future model name type. People use these given names to reminds themselves of God and the Second Advent. On the same note, religious names seem more fashionable as they make one appear 'holy' and upright.

Furthermore, in the second bottom position is *gombwa* category with twenty-four (4.8%) while *jemedzwa* with thirty-two (6.4%) is now fourth from the bottom. *Jemedzwa* category is related with *kugarwa* (being possessed) while *gombwa* with the *nhaka* (inheritance) concept. Most interviewees vent their trepidation of the living-dead whom they suppose are responsible for bringing misfortunes to their families as their hit back strategy for alleged wrongs done by the living.

Related to wish names, question ten determined what people are likely to name their children after (see Table 8.2 below).

Named after	Total	Percentage
Bible	129	25.8
Joyful experiences	100	20
Celebrity	56	11.2
Sportsperson	41	8.2
Sorrowful events	39	7.8
After namer	38	7.6
Hope	37	7.4
Family member	37	7.4
Other	23	4.6
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 8.3: Wished name category

60% of the respondents suggest that emulative names are the most preferred future name category. The emulative group comprises of bible-oriented (25.8%), celebrity (11.2%), after namer (7.6%), Hope (7.4%) and family member (7.6%). On the other hand, 27.8% make the events oriented category; joyful experiences (20%) and sorrowful events (7.8%) groups. The role of names as historical banners is entrenched as encompassed in these categories. The role of celebrities in this world of unparallel advances in all spheres of life cannot be ignored hence these names occupy the

second echelon. Most of the sportspersons are from sporting disciplines like tennis, golf, soccer and wrestling. As a result, some namers prefer certain names without directly linking their choices to personalities behind them. Interesting enough, the Shona people choose from internationally and locally renowned celebrities and sportspersons. The fact that these personalities are found in various advertising channels means that their names become iconic as their mere mention reminds the audience of what surrounds those personalities.

In addition, this emulative spirit demonstrates how 'contagious' the lives of the celebrities have become. On November 05, 2008, *The Star,* a South African newspaper reported of a naming frenzy in Kenya after **Barak Obama** became the first black American President of African descent. Similarly, from Bindura, Mashonaland Central province it emerged on January 14, 2006 that sixteen male questionnaire and interview respondents preferred names after their political heroes/heroines **Joshua Nkomo**, **Rekayi Tangwena** and **Herbert Chitepo**, just to name a few.

Some also named their children after themselves as a way, among others, of showing how precious they regard the offspring as well as how appreciative they are of the name originator. This feature of naming a child after oneself signifies the joining of two hitherto separate persons in the closest unity. The other on 4.6% (23) caters for those who preferred to give whatever name as well as those who were baffled by the idea that names have categories.

8.3 Address forms

Address forms are the words speakers use to designate the person they are talking to while they are talking to them. Two main kinds of address forms are ". . . names and second-person pronouns" (Fasold 1980:1). Furthermore, the earlier conclusion that the Shona have ". . . only one principal . . ." (Roberts 1931) need to be verified.

Questionnaire question eleven determined the total number of names the respondents had (see Table 8.3). Three hundred and one (60.2%) respondents have one name, one hundred and nine (21.8%) has two, seventy-five (15%) have three while fifteen respondents have four or more names. The factors

that gave rise to two or more names are varied and some are discussed here. The first scenario is when one has two first Shona names like **Mapiye Mabweazara** (The disturber, stones are full).

Number of first names	Total	Percentage
One name	301	60.2
Two names	109	21.8
Three names	75	15
Four names	15	3
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 8.4: Number of first names

According to a male informant aged seventy-seven, interviewed on January 4, 2005 at Chiduku, Manicaland province, this came about because parents and relatives separately named the child hence the two names trend. Informants note that this trend was rife as significant relatives declare their preferred names that the parents had to comply with. This has been possible as long as the families had been staying within the same communities with minimal western influence. The Shona inheritance practice left all inheritors with more than one personal name that they were to use in different contexts depending on the ensuing relationship and context. Furthermore, the two names came by the agreement of the couple. The father and mother would have felt strongly that they needed to capture certain sentiments through those names and the result was two or more names. The couple might have failed to settle for one first name, the two families from which the couple comes from would have given each one name or the midwife would have given hers that summarizes the labour experiences. In addition, reasons beyond their control like the imposition by ancestral spirits might explain why one ended up with more than one personal name in Shona.

The second popular trend is when one was given a Shona and English name. This appearance shows that the Shona name was coined first hence it is mentioned first followed by either English or a name

in whatever language. Informants suggest that this demonstrates that the parents named their child. The English name, some suggest came at the discretion of parents or from school, church or their need to show the outside world that they have embraced the English culture. In such instances, a scenario like **Takunda** (We have conquered) **Moses** was found. Identity crisis as a result of the demands of the two worlds represented by the two dominant languages, Shona and English, was cited as one major driving force. As a result, people choose to have two names from different languages so that they easily could fit into the two worlds. This then accounts for the existence of Shona and English names. This was mainly manifest in the third dual naming scenario where an English name came before a Shona one like in **Brightone Munyaradzi.** In these instances, before a Shona community one invokes privileges bestowed on him/her by his/her Shona name only to do likewise before a community s/he suspects to be more English inclined.

Furthermore, some have two or more English names only like **David Thomas Livingstone** or three Shona names like **Tapuwa** (We have been given) **Tazviona** (We have seen it) **Zvigodii?** (So what?). The latter scenario shows that the namers are accepting a particular status quo by showing that it is a given occurrence while the second name declares that they are witnesses of it. The third name then asks the motive behind the developments. An approximation of this context reveals that something very bad might have happened and is hereby captured in the telling names. As for English names, informants reckon that parental preferences, exposure of couples to outside modes of socialization gave rise to such tripartite names.

In addition, it emerged that most of the second and above names appear in abbreviated forms. They are most heard during wedding, graduation, funerals and inauguration. The named, in such a situation, is at liberty to popularize a preferred name against others. At the same time, the number of people who would be called by names after their colonizers testify to the amount of ground the former have covered in having their culture accepted by the locals. This 'conversion' into western-oriented names was taken as a yardstick of their success in spreading the so-called light to Zimbabwe. A lady aged seventy-eight interviewed in Manyame Park, Chitungwiza, Harare province on October 21, 2006 says that the current nomenclature trends show that rampant name-copying has happened within the communities. This practice almost became a norm ever since the colonizers in their different forms set feet on Zimbabwe.

On the same note, question twelve established the preferred popular personal name address forms among the Shona people. As Table 8.4 below shows, three hundred and seventeen (63.4%) respondents indicated that they do not mind being called by their first names in whatever circumstances. This phenomenon started in urban centres, mines, farms where the colonial employers belittled their workers by calling them through their first names regardless of their age. In contrast, one hundred and eighty three (36.6%) respondents regard being called by their first names a disrespectful and demeaning tendency cherished only by adults of loose morality.

Preferred Address	Total	Percentage
Yes	317	63.4
No	183	36.6
Total	**500**	**100**

Table 8.5: Preferred address form

They regard being called by one's first name as one's denial of the fact that s/he has grown up. They argue that they must be addressed through the various respectful address forms available ". . . across languages, across national boundaries, across social groups within the same country from one individual to the next" (Fasold 1980:16). This group prefers to be called by names of their children, totems and *zvidawo*. Some preferred address forms informants gave are *anya***Mutsawashe**, *mainini* Sekai, *tete* **Farisai**, *mbuya* **Tapera** and the name of the husband or to have the honorific prefix appended before their first name like *Va-* (Mr) **Munashe**. Yet, at work places, two ladies recommended on Mai Chisamba Zimbabwe Television (ZTV) show on May 6, 2006 that surnames should be used instead of the first names. It therefore goes without doubt that Shona address form mechanisms have changed due to cross-cultural pollination.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter achieved five things. It started by identifying the dominant personal name categories the named have. These are maternity names, English, Christian and lineage names. The chapter noted various trends as preferred by the consulted respondents. It emerged that if the respondents would be given a chance to rename themselves, the most popular name categories would be Christian, maternity, English and lineage names. It proceeded to seek clues on the future naming trends by affording the naming practitioners to give their preferences. It emerged that emulative names would be the dominant category with 60% followed by event oriented names with 27.8%. On the issue of the number of personal names the named have, it emerged that 60.2% have one, 21.8% have two whilst others have up to four and possible explanations for such trends have been given. This category notes that some people have two or more personal names from the same language. It also surfaced that Shona people have strong reservations in being addressed by their first names. The study now proceeds to wind up by stating its major findings.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

. . . name familiarity and name preference (Colman et al., 198:1).

9.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the landmark contributions of this investigation. It shows how the research's keystone questions, aim and objectives were addressed. It proceeds by pointing out the foremost factors that influence the selection and use of Shona anthroponyms at the same time scrutinizing noteworthy naming trends that surface during this study. After this, consideration is given to the implications of this study to theory and related disciplines before remarks are made on its implications to future research**.**

9.2 Factors that influence use of Shona anthroponyms

This section concludes by discussing factors behind the selection and use of Shona anthroponyms as stated by objective 1.4.1.ii. It argues that the Shona people's selection and use of personal names was not ad hoc as it has several interrelated factors that requires one's undivided attention to decipher them. One must approximate the context that gave rise to various given names the Shona people have.

Broadly speaking, a blend of eleven interrelated factors was identified. These are age, gender, education, namers, nationality, residential area, religion, profession, birth order, historical and birth circumstances as discussed in Sections 5.1.1-5.1.11. The latter encompasses political, economic and social issues amongst others. Elsewhere, Neethling (1995:957) discusses at length the part played by socio-cultural circumstances. Put in other words, this study suggests that these eleven variables greatly shape one's perceptions, priorities, worldview and inclinations. For instance, it is within this

breath that the research established that different age groups, gender, namers and people from various residential areas, amongst others preferred various types of names. To this end, the study argues that a closer examination of these things needs to be done by whoever intends to understand a given people's way of life and history. It surfaces that a name maybe a result of more than one factor, an indication that these factors should not be looked at in isolation. The study came to this realization as it got its corpus from six data gathering methods that provided it a broad spectrum of data. Within this context, it materializes that interrogating the name-givers and name-holders is prerequisite as this improves one's understanding of the significance of the names. This is what most of the researchers before 1980 could not accomplish for, as Sections 1.7.3 and 2.3 state, they lacked the prerequisite language and research skills. Therefore, this qualitative ethnographic study emphasized the benefits and need of having personal name researchers try as far as possible to understand and see the phenomena through the eyes of the studied.

This study is crucial for having recognized that the main namers amongst the Shona people are parents as testified by 81.2% of the five hundred respondents of all age groups. This testifies to the extent to which the Shona people were united against the popular propaganda that women's ideas were always trivialized by the Shona men. By way of exemplification, 56.4% of the respondents submit that united couples named their children against the 13.6% by the father and 11.2% by the mother. The difference between the fathers and mothers is a mere 2.4%, a number so little for people to justify the perceived patriarchal dominance. In fact, it came out that this was a colonial stereotypical perception of the society the colonizers preferred so that they could divide the African continent thereby enhancing their exploitative designs. Related to this, it was established that grandparents (10.8%) were active namers amongst the Shona society, a cardinal point that demonstrates the unity of the society. This society reckons that one is married into a family in as much as one marries from a family, therefore, all significant family members have one or two things to contribute to the good of a marriage. By extension, this entails listening to their naming preferences thereby allowing them to communicate with the outside world their deep thoughts and ideals over life. To this end, this study submits that this culture holistically addressed the societal needs of belonging; a prerequisite human need good for a healthy nation.

The study submits that politics is the greatest factor that influences the selection and use of personal names. The Zimbabwean scenario is a case in point where the study focused at what happened over a period of one hundred and sixteen years (1890-2006). From these, ninety years (1890-1980) were spent under direct British rule. The study reckons that one's understanding of personal names is greatly enhanced by his/her understanding of their historical contexts. As a result, this study annotates the decisive political phases that greatly impacted on the Shona first names. This builds up on Pfukwa (2003:15) and Chitando (1998a) who identified two and four phases respectively (see Section 2.4).

The propounded phases are:

a) Pre-1890 era: During this epoch Zimbabweans had contact with the outside world through the Muslims, Arabs and Portuguese and Nguni groups that left South Africa during *mfecane* (see Section 1.3). Personal names are predominantly in the local languages.

b) 1890-1950s: This period saw outright moves at the ". . . erasure . . . ." (Pfukwa 2007:105) of Shona naming patterns. The idea was to deny and degrade the Shona people of their Africanness through the popularization of Western oriented English and Christian names. This was the era of forced settlements orchestrated by diverse colonial machinery led by the European colonizers. Related effects of colonization on names have been discussed elsewhere by Rennick (2005:296), Neethling (2000:57-73), Smith and Smith in Baird (2006:176). As a result of this onslaught on Shona personal names, the study recognizes that this period explains the mushrooming of names whose etymology suggests that they are of foreign origins, the modification and readaptation of Shona names as the namers battled to safeguard their legacy. As a result, the knowledge of these developments demonstrates that given names are paramount hence their existence has been tensely contested.

c) 1950s-79: The era of resistance to all Western oriented nomenclature forms and the Zimbabwean war of liberation is the decisive factor. Zimbabweans notwithstanding fellow Africans, embarked on massive ". . . oral aggression . . . ." (Holland 1990:97) to obliterate the Western-oriented naming systems. Zimbabweans have recognized that names that people call each other are powerful barometers of social relations (Allen 1983, Herbert 1999). The study reckons that the intricacies surrounding whose name is used underscore the importance of given names. Therefore, this era saw the reinstatement and redefinition of Africanness as the parochial calculated western version was discarded. Through these names a preferred vision was designed that rallied Zimbabweans around the

liberation struggle. Conversely, some opted for Shona names by suppressing their Western ones so that they match the popular trend; a development that accounts for the emergence of use of more than one personal name by an individual.

d) 1980-90s: This is the euphoric era that was characterized by the declaration of independence. Names of conformity were popularized as almost everyone wanted to be associated with the ruling party and government. Almost everyone wanted to use names that suited the era. War, Shona, Christian and English oriented names proliferated within this era. Being a black African became an elevated status as the race defeated the highly regarded British. The contributions of this study are such important as readers need to appreciate the macro-effect of these political landmarks as they immediately or otherwise impact on whatever name.

e) 1990s to date: The fifth era is of disillusionment due to the economic and political meltdown in Zimbabwe. This left many people failing to come to terms with such a reality and, as if to reinvent the wheel, people resort to using given names to project their perspectives on the status quo. The study projects that disgruntled-oriented names will dominate as people become vociferous requesting for improvement in their conditions of living. This will be done through Shona, English and Ndebele personal names as they are the popular languages and the failures are associated with home-grown governance systems.

The study concludes that knowing these phases is paramount as it is a significant step towards deducing the meaning(s) of various given names. Because these five political eras had different concerns, the study notes that one name acquired various denotative and connotative meanings as shown by **Batanaiva-(nhuva-)-tema** (Black people unite). During the pre-1890 era, the name was a call for Shona people to remain united so they could ward off enemies from other ethnic groups. During the 1890s-1950s the challenge became the penetration, advances and unending demands of the colonizing forces. In this phase, the name was now calling families and societies to form united blocks against their identified foreign intruder. This motto saw through the liberation struggle during the third phase (1950s-1980). In the fourth era, the name became a call for Zimbabweans to stay vigilant and united so that they could equally enjoy the benefits of the hard won independence. Yet, after 1990 the name becomes a call for Zimbabweans to reconsider their ways and to unite so that they could face their new challenges. This era has new concerns after the prolonged political impasse between ZANU (PF) and the main former opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change that

culminated in the swearing in of the latter's President as Prime Minister on February 11 2009. Henceforth, the name now calls for Zimbabweans to bury their past grudges and urgently rebuild their economy. Therefore, the study accentuates that ". . . identity is decidedly multiple in nature" (Dundes 1983:238). In short, knowledge of these phases is a requirement as it enhances the preeminence of the decompositional approach so that one can appreciate the diverse meanings highlighted in the theoretical framework.

9.3 Prevalent naming trends

The identification of prevalent Shona naming trends, as required by Section 1.4.1.iii, is the focus of this discussion. The section submits that it is imperative of a reader of Shona names to familiarize himself/herself with developments in the neighbouring countries as these have a great bearing in this landlocked country (see Section 1.3). For instance, the region shares Bantu names whose classification requirements are almost the same as Fortune (1980) reckons. This understanding justified the massive consultation of sources to establish naming trends in South Africa, Malawi and Zambia among others.

The study realized that Shona given names can be put into twenty-four broad theme based categories. It comes out clearly that most personal names are commentaries of the various experiences the Shona people have experienced. This study exclusively submits that the Shona people cherished life as demonstrated by numerous names that revolved around marriage, death, behaviour, witchcraft, request and rhetorical names, amongst others. Makondo (2008) emphasized the use of first names as weapons for matriarchal protest thereby highlighting their use in seeking fairness and redress of alleged societal injustices so that life through the marriage institution could be enjoyed to its fullness. This highlights the use of rhetorical and request names alongside the diverse name categories that are enshrined under the marriage category.

This study posits that a closer look at these names shows that they are for tranquility hence their disdain for death and witchcraft. The innovativeness of the Shona people was shown by their ability to devise first names that dialogue life hindrances in ways that give hope, healing and meaning to life. Death and witchcraft has been trivialized by the Shona people in ways that promote harmony in the

society as the latter's perpetrators are indirectly or otherwise dialogued with so that they reform. This testifies to the beauty of these names as they project various pragmatic meanings; the social, expression, communicative, utterance, propositional, sense, denotative and connotative meanings in ways that their reader need be well conversant with the language and decompositional tenets for him to decode these surface or underlying meanings. This echoes their dynamism against some critics who saw African names as ". . . primitive . . . ." (Genovese 1974:449), as mere labels void of meaning. This disproves the fallacy that Africans were/are barbaric and that they needed the colonialists to enlighten them as this naming art was developed long before the latter came into Africa.

The study notes that the Shona people's use and preference of whatever forename was context bound. The extraordinary personal name category the study establishes reckons that when things were regarded as extremely bad and beyond comprehension, telling, confrontational names were opted for. This strikes a balance as the society cherished harmony and diplomacy at all costs. In this situation, names that many people have reservations with were coined. On the other side, rhythmic names testify to the poetic and linguistic innovativeness of the Shona people. They used personal names to convey their poetic aesthetic values thereby highlighting their healing effect.

This study argues that Shona names are the most popular in Zimbabwe followed by English with Ndebele ones occupying the third position. Various factors account for this distribution, among others, the historical circumstances and the population distribution in Zimbabwe where many of its ten provinces are named after the Shona people (Mashonaland East, West, Central, Manicaland, Masvingo) and two directly after the Ndebele people (Matabeleland North, South). Within this stratum it is clear that Harare is a Shona speaking province for it is situated in the heartland of Shona speakers so is Bulawayo to Ndebele while Midlands is Shona dominated. Secondly, the 2002 census results testify to the dominance of Shona language as Zimbabwe's population is distributed as follows; Shona people 71%, Ndebele 16%, other Africans 11%, Europeans 1% and Asians 1%. It came out clearly from the newspapers, graduation booklets, questionnaires and interviews that Shona and English names almost run neck to neck with Shona dominating. This speaks volumes about the power of a people to use their names to identify them amidst the relentless onslaught that saw the imposition of English. Within this breath, it emerges that the Shona people have reverted to their way of naming hence the contemporarization of English, Christianity and other religions as popularized

names are Zimbabwean homegrown. Therefore, this research highlighted that the Shona people use their personal names ". . . to reclaim their history and identity from cultural terrorism and degradation of colonial era" (Fanuel in Ngara and Morrison 1989:47) by emphasizing that there is ". . . nothing disgraceful . . . ." (Achebe 1975:44) in Shona names.

A similar trend has been noticed elsewhere by Stewart (1979:4) and Norman (1999:9). The resultant stratified society that had this order, Whites, Asians, Coloureds and black Africans gave English language the H (high) status while African languages, Shona and Ndebele were given the L (low) status. This diaglossic situation meant that English was the imposed language of business. Among other things, it meant that personal names in any other language(s) were seen with contempt. This paints a picture that no other local languages existed to the contrary of the linguistic reality in the country as section 1.2 alluded. As the former three languages have developed orthography and literature, they have remained the official languages. In other words, only names in these languages have been allowed to flourish at the expense of the diverse so-called minority languages.

The most discouraging scenario is that the Zimbabwean government seems to have endorsed this status quo since 1980 to the dismay of its electorate who vividly remembers how during the war of liberation English was disdained because of its association with all the atrocities the Zimbabweans suffered at the hands of the Europeans. Now it is twenty-nine years and the Government of Zimbabwe has not taken a decisive multilingual language policy that would have seen the elevation of her several so-called minority languages. Her neighbour, South Africa took this fruitful route and now boosts of eleven official languages. The study reckons that the boom in the study of names of whatever kind in South Africa is as a result of the recognition given to the diverse languages. Within this breath, Zimbabwe's onomastic studies can be greatly enhanced if her linguistic muddle is addressed. This aids a people's development as personal names give their bearers an identification, confidence, individuality in their quest to claim and define their space.

The dominance of Christianity came to the fore. This speaks volume about the colonizing system and its machinery (Brumberg 1986:133) among others. The influence of Christianity is so entrenched that its names dominate the wished category as shown by the 39.8% (Christian/English names) against 40.8% (*mudumba, redzinza, rechenza, rechihani*). Also, it remains a formidable force because it has

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25.8% (Bible oriented) against 27.8% (events oriented) and 41.8% (emulative names). The Shona people long realized that this religion has become their part of life hence their contemporarizing of the religion through making Shona personal names from its various teachings. As a result, the study establishes that there is no longer one type of Christian names; one has to differentiate between Bible –oriented names which are raw extractions from the Bible like **Paul** and Christian–oriented names like **Tendaimwarivanhuvatema** (Black-people-praise-God) which are derivations from the religion's teachings. In addition, this study reckons that it is imperative for one to identify that these two categories are in two strands, one in Shona/Ndebele and the other one in the English language thereby demonstrating their differences. The language of choice conveys meaning differently.

Furthermore, the study identifies indications to the effect that emulation-oriented names (after celebrities, after namers, scholar and parents) are to dominate the future naming processes. Sadly though, ready-made names stifle anthroponomastic and linguistic innovation which has been the trademark of the Shona naming system. The study bemoans the fact that many first name emulators are not aware of the milieu behind those names, especially those in other languages. The issue of generation gaps comes to play as the 'young' generation has succumbed to the effects of globalization at the expense of homegrown Shona anthroponyms.

A trend that personal names come from nouns and adjectives was observed almost worldwide. Yet, Shona ones are unique as the people ended up devising mouthful composite ones like **Zvisingagonekwinemunhunamwarizvinogoneka** or **Maunzagonarembudzimumusha**. The elasticity of the Shona language is demonstrated. These names show that a lot of thinking, evaluation, introspection would have been exercised before they are coined. This highlights the uniqueness of the Shona way against the observation by Louie (2006:213) who picked the tripartite metamorphosis trend which ended with two worded names. Interesting enough, the resultant Shona names require one to be aware of rules of Shona phonology, morphology and syntax, among others, to be able to decompose them and get at their meanings. Yet, most of their namers were/are not schooled in the stated diverse disciplines of study.

It appears that not all names advocated for by the European missionaries/colonizers in Zimbabwe were genuinely Bible-oriented. The majority of them were after their deified grandparents,

godparents, remote ancestors and deceased siblings whom they were baptized after in Britain in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet, when the former colonized Zimbabwe they encouraged the latter to discard their equivalent names, *mazita emudumba*, *edzinza, egombwa, ejemedzwa* and *echenza.* This indicates the extent to which they were committed to crippling the latter so that they continue veneration of their heroes and heroines at the same time safeguarding their hegemony. The study concludes that there is nothing 'unholy, sinister' about whatever name as these are 'neutral' signs that are only 'corrupted' by the varied cultural perceptions of the namers, name bearers and name readers/audience. The dichotomy between the intended and implied meaning comes to the surface. This testifies to the significance of decompozing a people's history for one to comprehend the philology of their personal names.

Shona linguistic innovativeness comes out clearly as they managed to hybridize names from whatever culture they came into contact with and ended up with ones loaded with their perceptions. This was/is attained through the processes of adoption, adaptation, rephonologization, remorphologization and name blending, among others. This innovativeness is buttressed by their culture that allows everyone to coin whatever personal name they prefer. For instance, the homegrown Bible-oriented name **Tinashe, Munashe** (We are with the Lord, We are in the Lord), are quite different from **Emmanuel** (God is with us). The Shona religious and philosophical worldview is now blended with the Judaic and Greek perceptions to name a few. This highlights a people contemporarizing their experiences through naming so that their environment remains meaningful first and foremost to them.

Another popular trend is that many first names started as descriptive instances of various experiences. These descriptions could have been of occupations, feature(s) of a child, hunting expeditions or of war incidences, among others. This study conjures that with the passage of time these names were cemented into secondary or added names. As time went by, they were now frozen into first names. During this time, people were used to them; they had been pruned, had lost unwanted elements and at the same time they had gained accepted denotative and connotative values. This move highlights the progression of the Shona society and allows one to get an insight into the various landmark experiences that define them as encompassed in their resultant names.

The study also noted various popular Shona names. The most popular male names emerged as **Tendai** and **Tafadzwa** while female names as **Chipo** and **Tendai**. As for the most interesting names, the study identified **Tatenda** and **Tendai** whilst **Nhamo** and **Muchaneta** are the names the Shona people have reservations with. It emerged also that when one has reservations with his or her name, one freely changes it. The dominance of names with the subject prefix /*Ti-*/ and /*Ma-*/ emerged across the study; a demonstration that naming among Shona people is a couple as well as a family affair. The latter prefix dominates in marriage names amongst others. In addition, names are chosen in the quest of namers to mould their named into something admirable. The intended meaning projection becomes a dominant factor. The prevalence of Shona personal names is indicative of their protest against the imposed Western culture that they saw militating against all their homegrown forms of expression. These names show the contemporaries that the namers are proud to be identified with their culture. Therefore, the resultant naming trend is their bid to reclaim and redefine their space hence Shona names are on the increase among Shona speakers of all walks of life.

Related to the above, a trend of having multiple Shona first names is gaining preeminence in Zimbabwe. The study notes that some have as many as four names whilst the most popular is still the one name (60.2%) followed by two names (21.8%). This is different from five (Muthioni 1990, 0beng 2001:1.9), twenty names (Samaki 2001) and one used by paternal and one by maternal (Evans-Pritchard 1948:166) observed elsewhere. This is a worthwhile step as Shona anthroponyms were at risk of passing into oblivion due to the relentless pressures exerted by globalization and its multifaceted machinery. Name hybridization coupled with use of names in various languages becomes the best alternative so that the name bearer could take advantage of the entire world. For instance, a South African suffered xenophobic brutality because his name suggests he was a foreigner, a point that testifies to the need to have conformist personal names. In other instances one has names of the same language, an indication that the names are a result of several namers vying to have their preferences fossilized.

It emerges that 63.4% always want to be addressed by their first names while 36.6% have reservations with this**.** The gathered data shows the dominance given to homegrown address forms. For instance, an individual named **Munyaradzi** can be addressed in different ways depending on the dominant relationship and context at hand. S/he can be addressed as: *Va-, Sa-, Nya-, Muzvare*, *Mbuya,* S*ekuru,*

Amai, Baba, Mukoma, Muzukuru, *Comrade*, *Tete, Tezvara, Mukuwasha* as in Madzibaba **Munyaradzi, Mukuwasha Munashe, Amai Mutsawashe** among others. On the other hand, some religious sects like Johane Masowe apostolic sect prefer *Madzibaba*(fathers) or *Madzimai* (mothers) address forms while many protestant churches are for English versions Brother, Sister-, Elder-, Pastor- or Prophet- **Munyaradzi**. Yet, at work, the majority do not mind if they are called after their surnames, can have any of the above address forms or the English prefixes Mr., Mrs., Miss., Sir, Madam, Mistress, Doctor, Professor to name a few. On the other hand, the words 'Madam' and 'Mistress' have now picked some negative connotations especially in urban areas. 'Madam' is usually associated with a woman who runs a brothel, while a 'Mistress' is a woman who has an extra-marital affair with a married man. These respondents grudgingly accept being called by their first names as they treat it as a demeaning move. But, in intimate relations, they prefer first names as they suggest the extent to which people share love space.

9.4 Implications for theory

The study propounded and demonstrated the relevance of the anthroponym-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory. It highlighted the interrelatedness of pragmatics, semiotics and semantics. It went further to argue for an approximation model as a way that enhances one's understanding of personal names. The theory and its related model requires readers of names to understand that Shona personal names are statements, sentences or discourses that one must understand through imagining their original context of use. This is where the realization that these personal names are instances of contextualized implicatures comes to the fore. The study argues that Shona personal names give their readers or hearers prerequisite insights for one to realize that they are anaphoric and multifaceted. An appreciation of the language becomes important for this aids one's decompositional and reconstructional efforts. Also, the study propounds the maxims of brevity and tactfulness as crucial pillars for one to understand the construction of Shona given names. The study submits that Shona forenames are brief in appearance yet they are pregnant of meaning. They are carefully coined as they use few words to project life-time observations. Their tactfulness conforms to the societal codes of conduct where politeness was encouraged towards one another. With this realization, an examination of Shona names demonstrates that they would be projecting very serious issues yet it is done subtly. This study is handy to historians, geographers, onomasticians, phonologists, morphologists,

anthroponomasticians, sociologists, anthropologists, linguists, pragmatists, philologists, semioticians, and semanticians, philosophers of language, logic and educationists among others. Therefore, to those who want to reconstruct the history of the Shona people and their way of life, this study hopes it made significant strides towards filling that gap.

To Shona lexicography, this study made significant strides in gathering the ten thousand Shona personal names. The next crucial and immediate task is to ensure that a Shona personal names dictionary is finalized so that it enhances the study of who the Shona people are. The study submits that this must be established as an area of study across the diverse levels of study so that people can be informed of this significant avenue a people's philosophy is communicated. The identity and history of a people are contained in these names hence the recommendations.

9.5 Implications for further research

This study submits that the categorization of Shona personal names needs to be revisited with the idea of broadening it commensurate to the present observations this study of ten thousand Shona personal names made. Shona personal names cannot continue to be restricted to noun class 1a. This study posit that Shona personal names can be found, for instance in classes 6, 7, 8 9, 10 16, 17, 18 and 21 among others. The study reckons that this is an area worth exploring for the linguistic enrichment of the Shona language.

Personal names in English, Ndebele and the so-called Zimbabwean minority languages need to be studied for one to get a comprehensive understanding of the contributions of this discipline to Zimbabwe. In addition, many studies can build from the findings of this study and many research articles are envisaged.

9.6 Implications for policy and practice

It is high time the Zimbabwean linguistic situation must be addressed head-on as it continues to militate against the holistic development of the country. The anthroponomastic landscape emerges as one of the causalities as this study demonstrated. In addition, the Ministry of Home Affairs in

particular and all other related ministries should draw a leaf on the appropriate translation of the given name. The Zimbabwean passport erroneously regards these names as *Zita/Ibizo*/Other names. This study has shown that these names ought to be called first, given, personal or names of birth so that it is clear that we are talking of the ones given on top of the family name.

On a larger spectrum, the findings of this study inform and enhance, among other stakeholders, civic society, the media, policy makers, researchers, non-governmental organizations' understanding of the Shona people's worldview and their language.

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APPENDICES

PERSONAL NAMES FROM NADA ARTICLES

Bangu, bang he often falls, his head making 'bangu' on the ground.

Batei, contracted form of Ndakabatei what have I been working for?. This is a good-for- nothing wife. It can also mean what use was

Bebura, from surname Bibra.

Benzisi, from surname Benzies.

Bodo, black kaffir por. Blackie.

Bopoto (4), angry talk, quarrelsome, noise, a child is born amidst quarrels and noise.

Buru, bull.

Bvanyangu, refuses emphatically to continue discussion after reaching a decision.

Bvuta, snatch.

Chakwesha, completed all tasks in hand.

Chamakandiona, what have you seen about me (which you dislike, understood). The implication is that the namer is worse treated by her husband than the other wives.

Chamboko, carried a sjambok.

Chando, winter.

Charakupa, what that day has brought.

Chekamwenje, will not change his mind when once made up.

Chengeto, salvation.

Chenzira~Chezhira (2), off the path, a daughter born on a journey, near the road.

Chibata, work now (command).

Chibayangwena (3), destroyer of crocodiles, one who manoeuvres you into a position where you are trapped. Name derives from the fish, a squeaker, which has strong spines in its dorsal and fins. They are respected by the crocodile that will not eat them for fear of being killed. Hence the application to Mr Tapson as one not to be trifled with.

Chibgwe, likened to a stone. Never yields.

Chibwe, little stone (after excessive requests to alter allocations of land he carried a heart-shaped stone.

Chigogodza, a woodpecker.

Chiguma, a man with a long forehead.

Chihanga, gandamuseve it seems he was a good guinea fowl shooter.

Chijaka, fast-walker.

Chikandiwa, I am as a thing thrown to my husband, he does not love me.

Chikanga, this is the name of a well-known n'anga (traditional healer) that arrived at Essexville at the same time.

Chikwepa (2), always smoked pipe.

Chikwiramakomo, one who climbs hills.

Chimanjemanje, modern, up to date, impatient (a play on words indicated).

Chimunhu (3), one who can speak and think like an African.

Chimunwe, little finger. Used to point with a short finger when talking.

Chimusoro, hard-headed.

Chinehasha (2), bad-tempered.

Chingonga, one who has power.

Chinyama, a little piece of meat.

Chinyandura, provocative.

Chinyerere (8), quiet one.

Chiparamoto, one who scatters fire.

Chipikiri, a nail.

Chipiwa, a present from God.

Chipo, a gift, a child born long after the marriage was consummated and it was feared the mother was barren.

Chirambadare, he who keeps to his meeting place, recluse.

Chiratidzo, a sign, a son born in a family of daughters.

Chireshe, he mixes speech with little bursts of laughter.

Chirindo, a hut in a garden used when watching for animals and birds, a child born there.

Chisango, veld, a child is born in the bush and not at home.

Chitemamhuru (2), meticulously just, screw-worm in a calf, used to get right into the meat or of a case.

Chituri, little wooden grain mortar.

Chiumburu, roly-poly.

Chiweshe, the one who lays waste, polygamist.

Chochorai, covet our riches, you will see what is going to happen.

Chamunorwa (chinyi), what is all the fighting about?.

Dambudzo (2), trouble, a daughter born whilst the parents are in some sort of trouble.

Dhiba, dip-tank when the dip-tank was built in the district.

Dimba, tiny.

Dongo, an evacuated, discarded village where the infant saw the first light of day.

Dununu, vague.

Dururu, derived from surname Drew.

Dzapasi, the houses of below, so many have already been buried.

Dzimbanheti, thin homes, lean houses. Several children have already died. Our home is thin.

Farirepi where shall we find happiness, we are unwelcome.

Fini, from surname Fynn.

Fundi, a learned.

Gakamira, trumpeter hornbill (had big nose and deep voice).

Gamuchirai, receive.

Gandamiseve, to use a bow and arrow.

Gandashanga (2), one who speaks at random, striker of grass, used to beat the grass with his walking-stick as he walked along.

Ganyabvu, one who is impatient because he wants things done speedily and efficiently.

Garapasi, sit down (command).

Garwe, crocodile, one who is fearless.

Gombararwo, its death hole. We are continually digging holes for the dead.

Gona, medicine utensil, birth the result of medicine given after imputed barrenness.

Gondo, eagle. His head resembled that of an eagle.

Gorerino, this year (insisted this while destocking).

Gotora, from his habit of claiming to be the only billygoat in the field.

Gunguirukwa, roly-poly.

Hakunavanhu, there are no people. They are all dead.

Hamundidi, you do not love me.

Hamundioni, you do not see me, you look past me.

Handizvinzwi, I do not hear what you are saying?

Hapaguti, no satisfaction, there is always death in the family.

Harukundwi, it is not beaten, overcome.

Harusekwi, it is not laughed at. Note that the particle ru- is used. It is called a concord of the */ru-/* class of nouns referring to death (rufu).

Harushari, it does not pick out some.

Haruzivi, it does not know, it visits all homes.

Hochi, Afrikaans Otjie pig Juru brown termite.

Hondowe, indicates strength.

Ibvai, get away

Imbayarwo, its house. Death has come to live with us.

Imbayevhu, house of clay. You too my baby will return to dust.

Jakata, held court under chakata trees.

Johani, his Christian name.

Jonasi, from surname Jones.

Jongwe, rooster. Probably his hairstyle.

Kachinda, cotton thread, always took these off staff uniforms.

Kadozora, can shoot them in the eye.

Kambada, a little leopard.

Kambanje, dagga smoker.

Kamuchacha, quick steps.

Kamusewu, allocated small pieces of land for clearing?

Kanyuchi, little bee (stings like it).

Karize, scorpion. If at first a warning is not heeded punishment (sting) follows.

Kashiri, little bird.

Katena, origin unknown.

Katsime, little fountain (dimple on chin).

Katswimbo, little stick (carried this).

Keni, from surname Kenny.

Kudzaishe, praise the Lord.

Kufakunesu, death is with us, a child born whilst the parents are bereaved.

Kumbirai, ask.

Kundisai, make me a victor.

Kusemamuriwo, to dislike herbs (literally), hunter of game (significance).

Kutsirai, club together in insulting or doing evil to me.

Mabande, belt, probably wore a large one.

Mabwazara, contraction of Mabweazara the caves are all full.

Macharangwanda (2), tall loose-limbed person, inherited name from father.

Machingura, to look out for a wife. When a baby was born the father was out hunting for a second wife.

Mafangasimbi, quick to arrest.

Mafuranhunzi, shoots flies, a good shooter.

Magwenzi, *gwenzi*, is a small bush. Behind a bush it all happened. This name and Chenzira, are also used for illegitimate children.

Mahohoma (2), the loud-voiced one.

Maukazuwa, bone thrower for the day, popular oracle by means of lots.

Majecha, sands, the family into which this child is born has suffered much infant mortality. It is a Zezuru custom to burry dead infants in the sand near a river.

Majuru, white ants, children of this family often die young and soon eaten by white ants.

Makandamaviri, two skins or a two pound fine.

Makechemu, manacles, this child was probably born soon after his father was arrested on some charge or other and who was tied up to prevent his escape.

Makhaki (2), like khaki clothes.

Makiyi, the keeper of the keys.

Makudo, baboons.

Makungubala, walks like a strong man, like a warrior who is ready to fight.

Makuvire (4), gatherer of people, given his father's name, this name was probably inherited from Brabant who insisted on the people living in groups.

Mandebere, speaks Sindebele well.

Mandebvu, bearded.

Mandevana, small beard.

Mangirazi, wore spectacles.

Mangoyongoyi, thin like a string.

Mangwaya, big ears.

Manyanani, to run with someone.

Manyatela (3), one who wears boots, sandals.

Manyatera, one who kicks.

Manyinginya, phantoms, an ugly or deformed child.

Manyuchi (2), had a liking for honey, stings like a bee.

Mapalala, the helper.

Mapanabomvu, give them red (meat).

Mapangisani, hurry up

Mapani, vleis or flat treeless country.

Mapanimbomvu, red mupani.

Maparara the destroyer.

Mapenduka (2) one who changes his mind.

Mapete, cockroaches.

Mapfeni, as a cadet he greeted the D.A.'s every morning with "how are the mapfeni today"

Mapfumo, spears, his parents were involved in an assault shortly before his birth.

Maponese, saviour (organized famine relief 1917-1918)

Maramba (t) -svina (2), one who dislikes untidiness.

Marapara, sable antelope, his father is a mighty hunter of wild beasts.

Marayire, adviser.

Maringinya, walks proudly.

Marufu, deaths.

Marufudza, you have been herding death. You are so busy with death day after day that one would say you were herding it like cattle.

Masawi, grass or tares the child is not expected to live long and will soon wither and die.

Masemeni, you despised me.

Mashumba (5), like a lion.

Masikati, midday.

Matakopasi, buttocks on ground. He preferred to sit.

Matandidwala, like climbing granite.

Matapi, Mashona vlei otomys (used to trap these as a child).

Mateyesanwa, argumentative.

Mativengerei, why have you hated us?

Matswimbo, stick, carried one

Matungagore, one who pokes the cloud very tall.

Mavu (2), soil, this child is not expected to live long and will soon be buried.

Mavurapacheya, you opened the chair.

Maware, mountains.

Mayisiri, handy man.

Mazino/ Mazinyo, teeth.

Mazwimbogupa, he who desires to give, charitable.

Mbada, leopard', as A.D.C. he tracked down rates defaulters everywhere in the country' 'refers to being one of the tribe because of…

Mbizo (5), of Mbizo regiment.

Mbombomera, deep voice.

Mchenje, ant, when buried body eaten by ants.

Mchineripi, which have you left, confounded in argument?

Mhashu Njeru, locusts, the year the locusts came.

Mhiripiri, chilli.

Mhute, mist, this baby boy will vanish as the mist.

Mkototsi, the caller from work, when land is being tilled by attendants at a beer drink the owner, when enough work has been done,

Morosi (2), from surname Morkel.

Mpandaguta, give him I have enough, charitable.

Mpondozenyati, horns of a buffalo 'derived from my practice of giving two sides to every talk or meeting that is the horns of a dilemma'.

Mrewa, was stationed at Mrewa.

Msekiwa, one laughed at, humorous.

Mubada, a walking stick.

Mucharangwanda, a tall person, called after his father.

Muchekanzeve, cut ear.

Muchemi, cry-baby.

Mudinyi?, what are you doing?

Mudiwa (2), loved, liked by all people.

Mudyiwa the eaten –up one (by witches).

Mudzwiti, district commissioner.

Muganu, boundary.

Mugarapanyama, great hunter.

Mujabuki, restless one.

Mujere, Jere, born when the father was in jail.

Mukandagumbo, he did a lot of walking.

Mundeyi, one who makes turns.

Muneri, Mufundisi, preacher, teacher.

Munyarari (3), a quite person.

Munyoro (4), gentle, easygoing.

Mupabanga, final arbitrator.

Murefu, tall one.

Murehwa, from Mrewa station to army.

Murukutira, does not divulge all.

Musorowenyika, a ruler of the world.

Mutandawachingenzira, the thin stick is blocking the path (you must go round. He won't change his mind).

Mutasa, upright walker.

Mutemamuru, not lenient, even with children.

Mutemwachimwe, cut once.

Mutsahuku, waker of fowls. Early riser.

Mutsunguma, one with a long forehead.

Mutswangiwa, looked for a child born after the mother had taken medicines to overcome sterility.

Muwanga a tree of extremely hardwood. He will not change his mind.

Mvunzi, red-hot coals.

Mvuu, hippopotamus.

Mxetamanga, to finish the lie, he has a great aversion to those who lie.

Namatirai, cleave to the Lord.

Ndakadashe, I have loved the Lord.

Ndambakuhwa, an argumentative person.

Ndambakuwa, while marching a prisoner to camp in front of a horse the man suddenly swung round and struck the horse on the nose.

Ndanatsiwa, I have been cleansed.

Ndasvika, I have arrived at the goal.

Ndinatsei, cleanse me.

Ndizozo~ Ndizvozvo, that is so.

Nesibeti, from surname Nesbitt.

Ngonidzashe, the grace of the Lord.

Ngwena or Garaipasi, crocodile or sit down.

Njodzi disaster, the mother experienced great troubles during her confinement.

Nyamambishi (2), won't stand nonsense.

Nyaradzomunashe, comfort in the Lord.

Nyashadzashe, the grace of the Lord.

Nyengeterai, pray.

Ongai, thank the Lord.

Pari (2), from surname Powley.

Pasihapazari, the earth is never filled.

Piripiri, red hot peppers

Pondombiri (3), a fine of two pounds.

Pururai, strip off, strip us as leaves from a branch.

Raviro, promise.

Revandibve, speak, that I may go. The namer has had a dispute with her husband's other wives, who have threatened to tell out the husband. The meaning is 'tell out husband so that he may get rid of me, I am willing to go'.

Rudo, love.

Rufu, death.

Rukweza, rapoko grain, likes beer.

Ruvengo, hatred.

Sarai, goodbye, the father died before the birth took place.

Saraugare, stay and live (in peace), the namer has had a quarrel with one of the other wives and this is a threat to leave, to attract her husband's attention.

Sevengwani, this is a Shangaan name is a flat bit of wood hung round the neck and used for scraping off perspiration from the face.

Shambadzirai, barter me to the witches.

Shayisano, to be mutually lacking. Used by a man to console himself when he and a rival have both courted the same girl, who has been given by her father to a third party.

Shopo (Shopera), bone thrower, diviner.

Shumba, lion-as big or as brave as.

Shumirai, Serve the Lord.

Shuro, cunning as a hare.

Sikoti, from surname Scott.

Sinyerere, a quite person whose actions and reactions can therefore not be predicted.

Sungai, tie up, fasten.

Sungano, covenant.

Tafireyi?, what are we dying for, the husband often ill-treats his wife, who has many children by him, but he will not pay all the lobola .

Taitivanhu, we thought they were people (but now find that they are wizard's understood). Given by a father when his daughter's marriage proves unhappy. The implication is that her relatives were thought to be good people vanhu but have since proved them not to be so.

Takaendisa, we have gone too far. If we had married nearer home, there would not have been so much trouble.

Takagarisa, we have stayed too long. We should have left this husband long ago.

Takawira, we fell in, his parents are in trouble.

Takundwa, we have been defeated, a child of a small family, other families have been favoured by having more children.

Tamayi, move did big exercise resettling people.

Tambudza, torment.

Tamburemi, a troublesome man.

Tandabantu, likes people.

Tandavarai (2), stretch your limbs.

Tandavaroyi, chaser of sorcerers

Tandawari, to sit with legs stretched out in front of one.

Taonga, we say thank you.

Tapedza, we have finished.

Tapera, we are finished, a child born whilst the parents are in fear of death.

Tapisoni, from surname Tapson

Tarangakamwe, a person who sticks to his guns.

Tariro, hope.

Taruberekera, we have given birth for death's sake.

Taruona, we have seen death.

Tarusarira, we are left behind to be used by death.

Tarusenga, we have carried it.

Tera, from surname Taylor.

Teverajinga, the phrase means' follow the base of the hill'. He commonly used it in rebuking people.

Teyai, set traps so that I shall be bewitched.

Tichivangani, how many of us are left?

Tobvesu, we should go. She uses this name in the hope that after she has quarreled with the other wives the husband will intervene in her favour. The name is intended to draw his attention to the dispute among the women.

Tomasi, from surname

Tongesayi, take us before the courts, a child born whilst the parents were involved in a legal dispute.

Tongotarira, we are just, or merely, looking on. Used of a headstrong wife. The implication is that after a few

attempts at controlling her husband looks on in silent resignation.

Tozivaripi, what word is there that we know, we are completely dumbfounded? Death has silenced us.

Tsotsi, got name when forced to destock cattle.

Tsungai, be brave.

Tumasi, Thomas

Tungamirirai, lead the way, O Lord.

Uchirayi, clap your hands (command).

Upaka, from surname Parker.

Vatswayitswayi, one who always sweeps his face when thinking.

Vengai, hate ye.

Vengesai, hate me much.

Vengwa, the hated one.

Vhunzawabaya, ask after first stabbing, that is, act and ask questions later.

Vhunze, red coal.

Vusiku, a direct translation of 'night'.

Wiri (3), African word for 'Willie'.

Zevezeve, whispers.

Zimunga (2), a very tall man.

Zinwii, the quiet one.

Zinyakatira (2), from his distinctive way of walking and his build, unruffled.

Zinyoro, soft-natured.

Zorodzai, give me peace.

Zvakare, and again.

Zvakona, it failed. Your attempts to bewitch have failed.

Zvandakaitirwa, that which has been done to me.

Zvanyanya, it is too much, the mother has been ill-treated by her husband and his relatives and cannot bear it any longer.

Zvapano, the things which are here. In full *zvinhu zvapano zvakaipa*-things are bad here. An attempt to draw her husband's attention

Zvinamazuva, things which change from day to day, thus perhaps tickle or inconsistent. Feelings change from day to day. Used of a caprious wife but may also be used of an erring husband.

Zvirimumoyo, it is in the heart, the mother is nursing a grievance.

PERSONAL NAMES FROM SHONA NOVELS AND PLAYS

Anesu (m), He (God) is with us (HK=*Handei Kun'anga*).

Bandamukombe (m), breaker/eater of ladle made from gourd (PDM-*Pfungwa Dzasekuru Mafusire*).

Banga (m), knife, Sword (RI=*Rudo Ibofu*).

Bangamuseve (m), keeper of arrow (MWN=*Museve Wade Nyama*).

Batamoyo (m), hold-your-heart=control yourself (WM=*Wechitatu Muzvinaguhwa*).

Benyu (m), huge, alive and active (CN-*Chako Ndechako*).

Benyumundiro (m), huge and alive in the plate=gourmand (KG=*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*)

Bhachi (m), coat Afrikaans-baadjie (AM=*Akafuratidzwa Moyo*).

Bhasvi (m), hair in the nose? (R=*Ruchiva*).

Bhiridha (m), builder (U=*Uchandifungawo*).

Bhobho (m), bob (MM=*Mwoyo Muti*).

Bhokiseni (m), boxing (M=*Muchadura*).

Bhondo (m) R.

Bhuresi (m), bless (NK-*Ndodzoka Kumusha).*

Bingwa (m), one who is treated against charms (NAN= *Ndambakuudzwa Akaonekwa Nembonje).*

Bobo (m) bob (MP=*Mary Ponderai).*

Bope (m), snappishness, pugnacity, riotous (SN=*Shanje Ndimandiurayise).*

Bvekerwa (m), the one who is pushed in and made to invade (MN=*Mira Nowako).*

Bvumira (m) agree, concede (UH=*Utsinye Hunopfuka).*

Chabvonga (m), that which mixes up things or gatherings, MP.

Chagwiza (m), that which rubs against a tree or wall (CMH=*Chine Maneji Hachifambisi).*

Chairikira (m), one who wears one piece of clothing on top of another (ZZM=*Zviuya Zviri Mberi).*

Chaitezvi (m), that which has done this (JE=*Jekanyika).*

Chakadini (m), what, how is it-what is the nature of its existence? (KN=*Kurumwa Nechokuchera).*

Chakafukwa (f), that which is covered, concealed, hidden (UN/K=*Unei Nazvo/Kudzidzoroya).*

Chakandida (m), that which liked, loved, selected, chose me (PN=*Pfuma Ndeyamaoko).*

Chakandiwana (m), that which found or possess me (ANA=*Akanga Nyimo Avangarara* (2)).

Chakanetsa (f), that which bothered (NKM=*Ndiko Kupindana Kwamazuva*).

Chakanyuka (m) that which emerged, came from the ground germinated NH= (*Ndakaziva Haitungamiri).*

Chakoma (m) that which refuses (parental orders) (PU=*Penga Udzoke).*

Chamboko Sjambok Afrikaans (m), a whip (ZV=*Zvairwadza Vasara).*

Chandakaita (m), what I did or whatever I did, committed UH

Chandavengerwa (m), what I am hated for (FE=*Feso).*

Chandiregera (f), what has released me (HH).

Chanetsa (f), that which bothers.

Charumbira (m), that which runs or runs after (ZP=*Zvichabuda Pachena).*

Chasakara (m), that which is worn out (MG-*Murambiwa Goredema*).

Chatambudza (m), that which has bothered, trouble maker, frustrated, disillusioned (DMAH=*Dzasukwa mwana-asina-hembe* (2)).

Chatikobo (m), that which has struck UN/K.

Chatungwa (m), the pierced one (KHW=*Kukurukura Hunge Wapotswa*).

Chauke (m), that which is looked at, gazed at, watched, admired (MM=Moyo Muti).

Chawasarira (m), what you survived for UN/K.

Chayu (f), of this one (PU=*Pengaudzoke*).

Chazezesa (m), notorious person, the dreaded one (MD=*Mwana ndowangu* (2))

Chebundo (m) of the forest, robber, and highway man MM.

Chekure (m) a foreigner (NK=*Ndiko kusasana*).

Chemedzai (f) Cause them to weep, cry, mourn, and grieve CMH.

Chemhere (m) of hue and cry (RRR=*Rufu Runobereka Rufu*).

Chemhuru (m) of the anti-hill, conceived by the grassy anti-hill, an illegitimate child (MWN=*Mugoni Wepwere Ndeusinaye).*

Chemwandoita (m) whatever you do, ZZM.

Chenai (-moyo) (f) be kind, tolerant.

Chendafira (m), what I die for, NK.

Chenesa (f), one who cleanses, cleans, MN

Chenga (f), preserve, protect, keep jealously and/or amorously (RI=*Rudo Ibofu*).

Chengaose (f), preserve, protect, keep jealously and/or amorously (MI=*Mhosva Inoripwa).*

Chengetai (f), guard, protect (KHW=*Kumuzinda Hakuna Woko*).

Cheninga (m), of the deep and dark mine or cave, HH.

Chenzira (f), of the path, road (born by the road side or path) (ND=*Ndakaitei*).

Chichoni (m), ukushona-to get stuck-Zulu, an urban worker who does not go back to the village (ZP=*Zvichabuda Pachena* (2)).

Chidaga (m) the soiled one (KU=*Kumazivandadzoka).*

Chidanhikira (m), the hopper RRR.

Chidehenya (m), the ugly skull (MI=*Mhosva Inoripwa).*

Chidyamakono (m), eater of the male ones=fighter, defeater (AY=*Akanyangira Yaona*).

Chidhabgurosi (m), dumb bells=stupid, dull person (ZV=*Zvichakuwanawo).*

Chifendekete (m), the chubby or portly one (GO=*Gondoharishari).*

Chigaduro (m), the cutter, chopper (KK=*Kutonhodzwa KwaChauruka*).

Chigaramudenga (m), he who dwells in the sky=self opinionated (NHZ=*Nherera Haina Zororo*).

Chigerwe (f), what is sat on, NHZ.

Chigiya (m), to speak boastfully, to dance vigorously (TM=*Tambaoga Mwana'ngu* (2)).

Chigogodza (m), small whip-snare for birds, wood-pecker, MI.

Chigonda (m), trust, musculature at base of spine of quadruped, MN.

Chigunduru (m), that which falls and rolls, the strong one (ZV-*Zvousiku*).

Chigwenhure (m), black-eyed bulbul (GA-*Garandichauya*).

Chihaka (m), pangolin (MWNY-*Museve Wade Nyama*).

Chiherere (m), the ululator, UN/K.

Chihombe (m), the big one, PU.

Chihuku (f), fowl, hen, RI.

Chihute, young mukute tree (f) (CCK-*Chaitemura Chava Kuseva*).

Chihuyo (f), upper grindstone held in hands (NN-*Ndochema Naani*?)

Chihwerure (f), threshing beer-party lampoons, MWNY.

Chihwiza (f), the ugly grasshopper, UN/K.

Chijaka (f), the one who goes around, MWNY.

Chijikwe (m), dancing *shave* spirit, HH.

Chikaponya (m), the one who throws, the thrower (KU-*Kumazivandadzoka*).

Chikarihachiomi (f), a pot of beer never dries up=a shebeen queen (NZV=*Ndoita Zvakaita Vamwe*).

Chikavhanga (m), that which mixes up things, ZV.

Chikengezha (m), old, worn out, cracked object (MY=*Mhiko Yorudo*).

Chikofa (m), cyst (NP=*Ndiri Parumananzombe*).

Chikombo (f), small piece of virgin land (RR=*Rinonyenga Rinohwarara*).

Chikosha (m), one who is important, appreciated, valued (NH=*Ndakaziva Haitungamiri*).

Chikova (m), rivulet, ZV.

Chikumi (m) October, the tenth month, the small ten, MWN.

Chikuyiro (f), the grindstone, MWNY.

Chikwaira (f), the dancer, performer (*KU-Kurauone*).

Chikwaturo (m), the expert, exposer, revealer, PU.

Chikwereti, loan-English 'square it' or Afrikaans-skuld (m), KHW.

Chimbimu (m), dust raiser (KHK=*Kunyarara Hakusi Kutaura?*).

Chimuko (m), utility, profit, advantage (m), MWN.

Chimupoto (m), tin-like (UC=*Uchandifungawo*).

Chimutezu (m), part of body, member of organization, JE.

Chimuti (m), short tree, stick, stump (ZV=*Zvichikuwanawo*).

Chimwecho (f), the same one, similar (KC=*Kutonhodzwa Kwachauruka*).

Chindora (m), young and immature pumpkin, NP.

Chinengundu (m), that which wears a crown, MWNY.

Chingosho (m), a device or toy for making a rattling sound, a person who rattles (MU=*Mwoyochena Unobaisa*).

Chinguwani (f), the ugly hat of leaves, KU.

Chingweru (f), beast without horns (MM=*Makunun'unu Maodzamoyo*).

Chinhamo (f), sufferer, Troubled, plight (PN=*Pfuma Ndeyamaoko*).

Chinhoi (m), dust or mote in the eye (MD=*Mombe Dzamashanga*).

Chinjekure (f), one who goes around, gads about (RMH =*Rina Manyanga Hariputirwe*).

Chinonyanya (m), one who overdoes (anything), UN/K.

Chinyaradzo (f), pacifier/comforter NH=*Ndizvo Here.*

Chinyazanda (m), the possessor of land, species of scorpion, MWNY.

Chinyekunye (m), scintilator, HH.

Chioniso (f), torch bearer, indicator, omen, sign (RU=*Ruvengo).*

Chipanera (m), spanner, RR.

Chipendo (m), that which bends, flexible, UC.

Chipezvero (m), the man who excites, JE.

Chipochedenga (f), gift from heaven, FE.

Chipungu (m), bateleur eagle, GO.

Chipunza (f), the breaker, destroyer (NK=*Ndiko Kusasana*).

Chipuvira (f) the diver, one who plunges into or get entangled with problems SW=*Sarura Wako.*

Chiradza (m), the drunkard, DMAH.

Chirango (m), token service, punishment (ZP=*Zvichabuda Pachena).*

Chirenje (m), small desert, MG.

Chirichena (shirichena) (m), white bird, JE.

Chirigwido (m), the tough one, KK.

Chirikure (m), object in the distance, NP.

Chirimubhachi (m), something hidden in a jacket, NP.

Chirisamhuru (m), calf herder AY, (NY=*Nhume Yamambo).*

Chiriseri (m), that which hides behind (GHM=*Gehena Harina Moto).*

Chirodzero (m), the grind-stone, GHM.

Chirombo (m), fearful creature, KK.

Chiromo (m), big, ugly mouth, the forefront, the beginning (MU=*Muchadura).*

Chirongo (f), the water pot, the one preserved, arranged, UN/K.

Chiroodza (m), pledger of daughter in marriage, TM.

Chiroto (m) dream, AY.

Chisakaitwa (f), that which is not done, a rarity (UH=*Utsinye Hunopfuka).*

Chiseko (m), the laughing stock, ZP.

Chisese (f), of good disposition, of dregs, AY.

Chishanu (f), fiver, Friday, RR.

Chisvo razor (m, m, f), ZP.

Chitanya (m), one who sits legs stiff and wide apart, ZV.

Chitate (m), in the manner of fatherhood, JE.

Chitehwe (m), animal skin (NZ-*Nzvengamutsvairo).*

Chitokwadzima (f), one of the faces of the four wooden divining pieces, hakata used by n'anga, said to refer to manhood or aged man, SC.

Chitsamatore (m), grinder of oldish animals, animal tamer, breaker (VV=*Vakafa Vakazorora).*

Chitsamatoro (m), grinder of rice-fields, AY.

Chitsvamumeso (m), burnt in the face, something new to the eyes. (MA=*Maidei).*

Chitsvuku (m), the one who is ill-tempered, the red one (MD=*Mombe dzemashanga).*

Chiutsi (f, m) (TO=*Tonderai).*

Chivako (m), building, binding (RI =*Rurimi Inyoka).*

Chivhimaushe (m), searcher for kingship (PN=*Pfuma Ndeyamaoko).*

Chivindi (m), courage, bravery, Dutch-courage, MD.

Chiwoniso (f), torch light (ND=*Nhorondo Dzokuwanana).*

Chiwororo (m), destroyer, one who is severe, NHZ.

Chizarira (m), the last one, trap for large game, MSNY.

Chizuva (f), short day, GO.

Choga (m), the only one, loner (WK=*Wandigura Kunorira).*

Chokuda (f), heart's desire (KN=*Kurumwa Nechokuchera).*

Chokudya (m), food, edibles (AM=*Akafuratidzwa Mwoyo).*

Chokumarara (m), of the compound, ZP.

Chomunorwa (m), what you fight for (NH=*Ndakaziva Haitungamiri).*

Chomutiriwemhanza (m), of luck, fortune, GO.

Chonjo (m), creeper, Abrus precatorius, squatting on one's heels, GO.

Chorosi (m), NZ.

Churu (f), anti-hill (NM=*Nhamo Mushamhu).*

Dadai (f), be conceited, be vain UN/K

Dambanemhuka (m), one who plays with animals, hunter, TM.

Dambanemuswe (m), one who plays with the tail, R.

Dambanevana (m), one who plays with children (CC=*Chido Chomushakabvu).*

Dambaza (m), hopper of migratory locust.

Dambudzo, one who causes or brings about suffering, vexation (f, f, f, m, m, m), ZV.

Dekenye (m), vast number of people, SC.

Denhere (m), thicket, jungle, UN/K.

Dhazibhomu (m), disselboom-Afrikaans, NH.

Dhibha (m), dip-tank or go through the process of dipping, ND.

Dhikisoni (Dickson (m), UC.

Dhito (m) ditto, ME.

Dhongijena (m), white horse, CC.

Dhorina (f). AM.

Dhorizhu (m), soot, CN.

Dhudhuza (m), thump, strike with a blunt object, strike with a thumping sound cf dudluza Zulu, MM.

Dindikwa (m), uncompleted work, journey or legal case, ND.

Diwai (f), be loved, liked (RRR=*Rudo Rwakaputsa Ruvengo).*

Dobvu (m), heavy lead (RM=*Runako Munjodzi).*

Dombo (m), stone, rock representative in marriage negotiations, KC.

Dongo (f), clay, earth, deserted village, ND.

Dorika (Dorica) (f) (NHM=*Nyati Haizi Mombe).*

Duma (m), fame, notoriety cf Zulu udumo, MG.

Dumbujena (m), white loin-cloth (NHH=*Nyoka Huru Haizvirumi).*

Durai (f), confess, say it, RR.

Dzaku (m), lifting up heavy weight, MI.

Dzanza (m), a handful, MA.

Dzasukwa (m), they (the beer pots) have been washed, dried up, DMAH.

Dzinesu (f), misfortune is with us (PR=*Pfumo Reropa).*

Dzingire (m), expulsion (KN=*Kurumwa Nechokuchera).*

Dzinodzangu (m), these which are mine, ZV.

Dzinoreva (m) m), they confess, MWNY.

Dzodyepi (f), where shall they graze, eat?, GO.

Dzokeranai (f), reconcile, re-unite (SW=*Sarura Wako).*

Dzvombi (m), common house skink, lizard, MU.

Dzungudzai (m), shake, disturb, ZP.

Dzvinyu (m), lizard, GA.

Dzvova (m), roar, belch, NN.

Fadza (f), make happy, please, NK.

Fani (m), Fanuel, R.

Funye (m), one who presses down, MWNY.

Farasiya (f), Felicia, MN.

Farisai (f), be exceedingly happy, glad, pleased (CC=*Chakabaya Chikatyokera).*

Feresiya (Felicia (f) (WM=*Wechitatu Muzvinaguhwa).*

Feso (m), devil thorn.

Foto (m), of deflation, collapsing, dying down, UN/K.

Fumandiwe (m), you get rich, enrich yourself, NHH.

Funiso (f), that which enriches, ZZM.

Fungiso (f), reminder, that which causes to recall, symbol, sign (WK=*Wandigura Kunorira).*

Funye (m), go-away-bird, MWNY.

Gakava (m), dispute, argument, AY.

Gambiza (m), water ditches, vleis, marshes, MG.

Gandidze (m), thrown about, HH.

Gangaidzo (m), puzzler, confusionist (HK=*Handei Kun'anga*)

Gangazha (m), worn-out, cracked object, CC.

Garandichauya (f), wait, I shall return, GA.

Garapo (f), settle, sit there, NKK.

Gararirimo (m), it (beer) is always in there, inside (KU=*Kurauone*).

Garati (m), huge *mukarati* (burkea africana) tree, huge, edible catepillar found on mukarati tree, RM.

Garwe (m), crocodile, NHH.

Garwedema (m), black crocodile (KN=*Kurumwa Nechekuchera*).

Gasva (m), less than full quantity, NH.

Gatsi (f), NK.

Giresi (f), grace (NDA=*Ndakakutadzirei*).

Givhiti (m), gift, NP.

Goba (m), quiver, RM.

Gobo (m), Stamped-out tree or tree-stump (RDN=*Rakatsva Dumbu Nomusana*).

Godi (m), of climbing, RM.

Godobo (m), expert diviner, healer PR=*Pfumo Reropa.*

Godobori (m),expert diviner, healer SW

Godzi (m), hawk, JE.

Godzore (m), one who fits cf *kodzera* (WK=*Wandigura Kunorira*).

Gogoti (m), one who scrapes with fingers food remains cf kokota, CMH.

Gombwe (m), guardian spirit, especially of tribe, bracken, NHZ.

Gondo (m), large bird of prey, KK.

Gondoharishari (m), the bird of prey does not select, GO.

Gonhokadzi (f), huge woman who looks like a man, an amazon/bold, HH.

Gorembeu (m), yearly seedlings. UN/K.

Goremucheche (m), a child every year (GH=*Gondo Harishari*).

Goriyati (m), Goliath, AM.

Goronga (m), pit, trench, UH.

Gotora (m), uncastrated he-goat, big calabash, HH.

Gudomunhu (m), good morning a baboon is a human being, ZV.

Gudza (m), blanket woven from bark-fibre, KN.

Gumai (m), butt/knock against and bruise, come to an end (CCH=*Chakabaya Chikatyokera*).

Gumbo (m), leg, KHW.

Gumburai (m), make sad, annoy, CC.

Gumisa, cause to stop, end, shake well and hard (AW=*Akada Wokure* (2)).

Gunja (m), black bellied (SN-*Shanje Ndimandiuraise*).

Gunyana (m), September, small ten, ZV.

Gura (m), an old agricultural land, deserted or still in use, MWN.

Muzvondiwa (Ndebele zonda, hate (m), one who is hated, disliked (m), a bare agricultural piece of land, deserted or still in use (VV=*Vakafa Vakazorora).*

Guramatunhu (m), cross-country walker, traveller, KHW.

Gutsa (m), large stump, satiate, satisfy, KA.

Guuriro (f), one who is handed old clothes, KU.

Gwanyanya (m), it (death) is too much, excess of anything, GO.

Gwara (m), coward, KG.

Gwatiringa (m), it (death) is facing us, RRR.

Gwatirisa (m), it (death) is herding us, UH.

Gwejegweje (m,), of rattling, rattler, ZV.

*Gwekwerer*e (m), the dragger (HY=*Hunde yerufu*).

Gwewe (m) an, uncastrated he-goat, body odour, NH.

Gwenhure (m), black-eyed bulbul, MWNY.

Gwenzi (m), shrub, bush, SN.

Gweshe (m), old and worn-out knife, NP.

Gwevera (m) he who moves along the ground in sitting position, on behalf of, he who attracts, WK.

Gwidzai (m), fight for, KHW.

Gwikwi (m), owl-like bird, MWNY,

Gwinyai (m), be strong, determined, CN.

Hakata (m), wooden/shell divining pieces, JE.

Hama (m), relative, NK.

Hamandishe (m), a relative is a king=is important (NH=*Ndakaziva Haitungamire* (2)).

Hamunda (m), strong person (NAN=*Ndambakuudzwa Akaonekwa Nembonje)*.

Hamundide (f), you do not love me, MG.

Hamunyari (f), you have no shame, you do not get tired, KU.

Handidiwe (f), I am not loved, liked, PR,

Haripotse (m), it (the spear) does not miss, PR.

Harubvi (it (death), does not go away, VV.

Haruvhunzwi (f), it (death) cannot be questioned, MWNY.

Hatidane (f), we do not love or call each other, UC.

Hatikuri (m), we don't grow up, VV.

Hatineti (m), we don't get tired (MD-*Mombe Dzemashanga*).

Hatirwuzeze (f) we do not dread it (death), RU.

Hatiugare (m), we don't inherit it (chieftainship), AY.

Hazviitwi (f), it's not done, KU.

Hazvipere (m), it won't come to an end, PR.

Hazvirehwe (f) it is not said, revealed, disclosed (ANR=*Akadzipwa Neganda Remhuru*).

Hazvisekwi (m), it is not laughed at, ZP.

Hazviyemurwi (m), it is not admired, appreciated, HK.

Heya (m), is that so, NDR.

Hodzeko (m), vessel in which milk is set to thicken, RU.

Hofu (m), hollow, hollowed out space, MN.

Hoi (f) of urging oxen to stop, NP.

Horiya (m), hollier, MG.

Hunidzanaiwa (m), firewood is rained, wet, CMH.

Hurevana (m), universality of back-biting, gossiping, MWNY.

Hwapuro (m), the act of stripping, PN.

Hwendere (m), huge and strong person, GO.

Hwerure (m), threshing beer-party lampoons.

Ipai (f), you give (to the Lord), get bad, rotten (NZV=*Ndoita Zvakaita Vamwe*).

Itai (-zvenyu) (m), do (as you please), RR.

Jacha (m), small shelter, one in frenzy, MA.

Jaidzai (f), to cause to get used to, familiarize, HK.

Jakwara (m), threshing beer party (ME=*Mashiripiti Engozi).*

Jangwa (m), white-tailed mongoose, CMH.

Jarata (m) Roofless enclosure, tumbled-down building, NH.

Jasi (Afrikaans-jas) (m) greatcoat, WK.

Javangwe (m), light brown leopard, HH.

Jefita (Jefta) (m), NN.

Jekanyika (m), one who cuts across the country-traveller/explorer, JE (3).

Jeki (jack) (m), MU.

Jeko (m), sickle, cutter, motor-car jack, RRR.

Jemedza (m), that which causes crying/mourning, sorrow, unhappiness, GA.

Jenjedza (f) ,that which makes wise, RDN.

Jeranyama (m), he who craves for meat, FE.

Jeranyika (m) one who digs up the land, a farmer.

Jeri, Jerry (m), ND.

Jesenga (m), weaverbird, CDM.

Jetu (m), the cutter, CCK.

Jetura (f), a huge cutter (TO=*Tonderai).*

Jinda (m), sub-chief/headman

Johani (m), MP.

Jongwe (m), the cock, ZP.

Josaya (Josiah (m) (CC=*Chipo Changu).*

Jukwa (f), a dancing spirit, HH.

Kachori (m), the little one who makes signs with an eye or eyes, NK.

Kaguchu (m), small calabash, KHW.

Kagwee (m), small bush-baby, MI.

Kamoto (m), a small fire, CN.

Kamuchacha (m), small creeping shrub whose leaves are cooked as spinach, RDN (2).

Kamunda (m), small piece of land, field, ME.

Kamutondoro (m), small walking stick, small wooden shaft of spear, ME.

Kandeya (m), one who goes round, rotation, KU.

Kangoma (m), small drum RMH.

Kanhiyo (f), small chick, KHW.

Kapadu (m), light slapping of face or head (MD=*Mombe Dzamashanga).*

Kapfumvuti (m, f), small *brachystegia boehmii* tree, RDN.

Karakadzai (m), make a statement whose truth one is not sure of, argue, speak loudly in self-defense, CN.

Karibha (m), small trap, ZV.

Karikoga (m), the one who is alone, a loner.

Karumekangu (m), my small/diminutive husband, KA.

Kasirina, Catherine (f), CMH.

Kaswa (m), little/small bundle of grass, RRR.

Katerere (m), little ochre, NH.

Kokoriyo (m), cock-crowing sound, ZV.

Komboni (m), government or public property, NAN.

Kondo (f), hammer-head bird, NKK.

Kubvoruno (f), to be rid of this (plight), go away from this (plight), ND.

Kudyazvokupara (m), to eat that which has been searched for, vagabond, PDM.

Kudzanai (f), respect each other, RU.

Kufahakupere (m), death is eternal, does not come to an end, PN.

Kufahakurambwe (m), DMAH.

Kugariranhamo (m), to stay, live for misfortune, CCK.

Kumbirai (-kunashe) (f), ask for (ask the Lord), RM.

Kumwaya (m), gossip, spread, throw about, WM.

Kunaka (m), the good, pleasant, beautiful one (IN=*Imbwa Nyoro*).

Kunonga (m), to pick up, to find, UN/K.

Kununa (m), to be fat, stoutness, MWN.

Kupukai (m), become rich, be wealthy, MWNY.

Kurimahufamba (m), ploughing (farming) is as good as travelling, vending (SU=*Sara Ugarike*).

Kurimakwaramba (m), farming is not for us-it has refused us, MWNY.

Kurumidzo (m), the act of hurrying, MD.

Kusasana (m),to enjoy life, to feel free, CCK.

Kutyauripo (m), to fear when you are present, KU.

Kuyana (m), to be friendly, co-operative, reconciliatory, MP.

Kwangwari (m), exposing what should be covered, SU.

Kwanhurai (f), split it open, pluck off, KHK.

Kwiripi (f), where is it?, NKK.

Kwirirai (m), prosper, take somebody to court, AY.

Maidei (f), what did you want, what were you after, JE (9)?

Chamunorwa (m), what you fight for, GA (7).

Matirasa (f), you have abandoned us (5).

Garikai (m), be at peace, be settled and be prosperous, CC (4).

Muchaneta (f, f, f, m) you will get tired (of her), GA (4).

Chiramwiwa (f), the forsaken, rejected, ME (3).

Dendera (m), ground hornbill, JE (3).

Farai (m), rejoice, be happy, be pleased, TM (3).

Kufakunesu (m), death is with us, KA (3).

Kurauone (m), grow up and you see, learn, KU (3).

Majika (f), junctions, HH (3).

Masango (f), woodlands, forests, MG (3).

Matambudziko (m), plight, NH (3).

Mawere (m), precipice, steep descent, HH (3)

Muchazvirega (f), you will stop it, CDM (3).

Badza (m), a hoe (GA-*Garandichauya*, MA –*Maidei*) (2)

Chabata (m), that which holds fast (MA-*Mapatya*, HH-*Hondo Huru* (2).

Chauruka (m), the jumper (KK=*Kutonhodzwa Kwachauruka* (2)).

Chenjerai (m), be cautious, watchful, careful (NK-*Nyarawo Kani* (2)).

Chiedza (f), dawn, light brightness (PA-*Pafunge* (2)).

Chigwaku (f), short-handled spoon, ZV (2).

Chikweya (m), the crippled, MWN (2).

Chimusoro (m), big head, MP (2).

Chipeneti (m, f), safety pin (SC=*Sajeni Chimedza* (2))

Danda (m) log (2), KHW.

Dzapasi (m), of the earth, ground, MWNY (2).

Dzimbanhete (m), weak families, AY (2).

Dzungu (m), dizzy, aberration, DMAH (2).

Fadzai (f), make happy, please, cause to rejoice, UN/K (2).

Fungai (m, f), you think, reason, MU (2).

Gasa (m), cease raining, HH (2).

Gezai (f), wash please, HH (2).

Gomo (m), hill, mountain, PU (2).

Gondongwe (m), bird of prey is like a leopard, GO (2).

Gonzo (m, f), ZV (2).

Gore (m), year, cloud, PU (2.

Gwati (m), tree bark, a boat, KHK (2).

Handisumbe (m), I do not hesitate, GA (2).

Hazvinei (m), it does not matter, HK (2).

Jojo, George (m), MM (2).

Kudzai, respect, cause to grow, CC (2).

Machipisa (m), one who sells cheaply, KU (2).

Madyiwa (m), one who gives easily, one eaten up, NHH (2).

Madzingesu (m),you have expelled us, AY (2).

Maenzanise (m), MI (2).

Makaitireni (f), you did it for me, RU (2).

Makanaka (f), you are beautiful, generous, perfect, HH (2).

Mandebvu (m), whiskers, bearded, NM (2).

Maneji (m), omen, NH (2).

Masekeni (f), you laugh at me, GHM (2).

Mashiri (m), huge birds, MU (2).

Mashumba (f), big lions, RI (2).

Masimba (m), power, NK (2).

Maswera (m), he who spends the day doing the same thing, NKK (2).

Matenzeni (f), (one who imitates, resembles me, PDM (2).

Matichaya (m, f), you have hit, beaten, defeated us, SC (2).

Mationesa (f), you have caused us to see, MN (2).

Mbirimi (m), industrious person, champion, GHM (2).

Mhute (m), mist, ZK (2).

Mirirai (m), wait for, stand for, symbol, MWNY (2).

Miriro (f), significance, symbolism, MA (2).

Moyo (m), heart, of the heart totem, GR (2).

Mubaiwa (m), one who is stabbed, hurt, ZV (2).

Muchanyara (f), you will be embarrassed, get tired, HK (2).

Mabasa (m), acts, jobs, works, ZV.

Mabhinzi (m), broad beans, ZV.

Mabvura (m), one who scorches, PN.

Machinga (f), the interceptor, MD.

Machingura (m), one who meets, intercepts, HH.

Machona (m), one who works far from one's native village or home, you are broke, GO.

Machoronga (m), disturber of peace, NZ.

Madamombe (m), lover of cattle, UH.

Madanyaya (f), one who loves stories, news, gossip, NH.

Madezvipi (f), which do you want or have you chosen?, RI.

Madhunduru (m), contour ridges, NH.

Madhuve (f), women of zebra totem, NH.

Madiro (f), do as you like, please, WN.

Madovi (m), peanut butter (NN=*Ndochema Naani).*

Madzamure (m), one who takes a handful, RMH.

Madzinga, the expeller, ND.

Madzivadondo (m), the defender of the forest, HH.

Madzivo (m), troublemaker, KU.

Madzudzo (m), one who leaks, problems, JE.

Mafaune (m), he who dies easily, intentionally.

Mafidibo (f), one with face-wrinkles, HH.

Mafirakureva (m), he who dies for (someone) person, who tells the truth regardless of the consequences, HY.

Mafurambwa (m), one who shoots dogs, NP.

Mafusire (m), the coverer, peacemaker, PDM.

Magamba (m), war heroes/heroines.

Magen'a (m), hare, of the plain, GOW.

Magereje (m), contour ridges, ZV.

Mahanisi (m), harness ,UC.

Maheruheru (m), one who snatches, ZV.

Maheu (m), sweet beer made from left-over *sadza*, water and malt and left to stand overnight, ZV.

Mahunwepi (m), where did you drink the beer? HY.

Maidza (m), you have attempted, tried, KHW.

Mainetsa (f), you were troublesome SN=*Shanje Ndimandiurayise*.

Maingeni (f), you have come for me, MG.

Maitei (f), what have you done? CN.

Maizivei (f), what did you know? NHM.

Makagona (f), you made it, you succeeded, VV.

Makandionei (f), what did you see in me? AM.

Makanyara (f), you were embarrassed (MK=*Manakira Kure).*

Makatukura (m), you are comfortable, KU.

Makina (m), fruit of *mukina* tree, KU.

Makiwa (f), white people, Europeans, RDN.

Makombe (m), he who surrounds, KU.

Makoni (m), the able one, of the buffalo, *nyati* totem (IN=*Imbwa Nyoro).*

Makopa, you have copied English, NHH.

Makumba (m), the gatherer (KN=*Kurumwa Nechokuchera).*

Makungudza (f), recalling minding with regret, CMH.

Makuni (m), huge firewood (PA=*Pafunge).*

Makura (m), you are aged, old fields lying fallow.

Makwara (m), cowards, paths (ND=*Nhoroondo Dzokuwanana).*

Mambara (-dhemeti) (m), damn it, stubborn, CMH.

Mambiri (m), two-some, fame, GHM.

Mandega (m), the solitary one, egoist, individualist, RRR.

Mandichenjedza (f), you have made me wise, you have alerted me, CCK.

Mandidzamira (f), you have made me uncomfortable, TO.

Mandigona (f), you have dealt me a blow, KN.

Mandiisepi (f), where have you placed me? HH.

Mandikora (m), you have bored me, PN.

Mandinema (f), you have abused me jokingly, NK.

Mandinetsa (f), you have bothered me.

Mandinonga (f), you have picked me up, MWN.

Mandinyeya (f), you have back-bitten me, KU.

Mandionei (f), what have you seen in me, UH?

Mandipfuvisa (f), you have brought unrest to me, CCK.

Mandirasa (f), you have abandoned me, thrown me away (KA=*Karume Kangu*)

Mandirunga (f), you have made me suffer intensely, you have salted me/seasoned me, GO (2).

Mandisema (f), you detest, abhore, prick me, MU.

Mandisembura (f), you annoy me, you are making a lot of noise to me, KU.

Mandivavarira, you are, after me, determined to do me harm, HO.

Mandivenga (m), you hate me, KK.

Mandizvidza (f), you despise me, NK.

Mandure (f), one who stings, stinger, IN.

Maneto (m), fatigue, tiredness, ZK.

Mangapa (f), draping over shoulder, ZVO.

Mangaza (m), one who looks longingly, ZV.

Mangunguma (m), lying dead and decomposing, KHK.

Mangwanamangwana (m), day after day, HH.

Mangwanya (m), one without personality or one who is unorderly, GHM.

Manhembe (m), loin skin, MN.

Manhivi (m), ugly sides, paddling pools, HH.

Manjowa (m), one who throws things about carelessly, UN/K.

Manukuna (m), HH.

Manuwere (m), Emmanuel, CDM.

Manyandi (m), one who holds tightly, RRR.

Manyanga (m),ugly horns, magic horns, you stalked, NK.

Manyengavana (m), one who courts or sleeps with children, TM.

Manzira (m), big paths, FE.

Manzungu (m), big peanuts, ZV.

Maonei (f), what have you seen, AW.

Maonzeni (f), you make me thin, ND.

Maovera (f), stage in the development of mealies, KHW.

Mapengo (m), the mad one, the insane, AM.

Mapinga (m), thick forest, treat with protective medicine, KN.

Mapitse (m), competition, UC.

Mapiya (m), you have barred, NM.

Mapondera (m), FE One who breaks into.

Maposa (m), one who throws, praise name for the Ngara, porcupine totem, MWNY.

Mapuratsapi (m), one who threshes a storage hut, GO.

Marunjeya (f), one who gads about, KG.

Maruza (m), you have come for it (death), MP.

Masaga (f), sacks, NKK.

Masakasa (m), one who talks entertainingly, SC.

Masare (m), one left behind, GA.

Masasa (f), species of tree, huge doors, MP.

Masawi (m,) weeds, ND.

Masemeni (f), you despise, abhore me, UN/K.

Masenda (m), the wood worker, carver (NDA=*Ndakamuda Dakara Afa*).

Masendeke (m), one who lies off, SW.

Masengwe (f), species of duck, GO.

Masese (m), sediments of beer, HK.

Mashizha (f), leaves, AM.

Mashongedze (m), one who adorns, GO.

Masiyiwa (m), you have been left behind/out, ZV.

Masvinyange (m), one who squeezes, ZK.

Matakanure (m), he who removes that which grips, RI.

Matakuro (m), beer offered to one carrying a beer pot to the party, MWNY.

Matambanadzo (m), one who plays, dances with them (animals) GA.

Matambanepfumo (m), one who plays with the spear, a warrior, KK.

Matanda (m), logs, timber, one who runs after, pursuer, expeller, chaser, MG (2).

Matapurani (m), multiply, ZV.

Matare (m), courts, iron bells, RMH.

Matigimu (m), one who destroys, NZ.

Matiotsa (f), you have softened us, CCK.

Matiparadza (m), you have preached, talked to/about us, MD.

Matiperura (f), you have enraged us, WM.

Matohwe (m), fruit of the matohwe tree, MWNY.

Matsika (m), he who treads on or steps over, HY.

Matsikanhiyo (m), one who steps over the chickens, flat footed person, ZV.

Matsvuku (m), the red ones, ZV.

Matsvamoyo (f), your heart is hurt, dejected, RR.

Matuka (m), you have insulted, scolded, HH.

Matumba (m), huge drums, GA.

Matura (m), granaries, you have off-loaded, CC.

Maukazuva (m), collector of the sun, MU.

Maunga (f), the collector, gatherer, MD.

Mauruka (m), the jumper, MG.

Mavende (f), gap between teeth, MWNY.

Mavhininge (m), the fast one, MK.

Mavhiza (m), swish tail, SN.

Mavhunga (m), one who causes things to lose strength and become weak, HY.

Mawaya (m), wires, MA.

Mwayarika (m), one who is unstable, RN.

Mazana (m), hundreds, ugly children, KHW.

Mazarandanda (m), full of capacity with people, WM.

Mazarura (m), he who opens up, pioneers, uncovers, KHK.

Maziti (m), huge tree-like figures or apparitions, IN.

Mazorera, an animal character) (m) one who smears, SN.

Mazorodze (m), one who brings about rest, comfort, death, MG.

Mazungunye (m), the restless, fretful one, MI.

Mazviereka (f), you are on target, you have aimed directly, UN/K.

Mazvitireni (f), you have done it for me, WM?

Mazvikokota (m), expert, MWNY.

Mazvinyanya (f), you have gone beyond limits, excessive, AM.

Mazvipi (f), what?, RDN.

Mazvironda (f), you have traced, tracked them down, ND.

Mbaimbai (m), bye and bye English, NKK.

Mbengo (m), madness, insanity, hatred, RRR.

Mberikunashe (m), ahead is the chief, MWNY.

Mbiri (m), fame, two.

Mbogo (f), ripe wild zhanje (loquat) that has not fallen from trees, MY.

Mbombi (m), pump, RN.

Mbozha bourgeois French (f), gentlemen in the western sense, rich man, RI.

Mbudu (m), pocket, pouch, carrier bag, UN/K.

Mbungo (m), stalk borer, small softball, UN/K.

Mbwadzavo (m), their dogs, MWNY.

Mbuyadzakare (f), old fashioned women, IN.

Meja major (m), sickness of poultry, sheep (NDI=*Ndinoziva).*

Mhandu (m), an enemy, MU.

Mhangiri (m), HH Mhangwa (f) opening in the tree trunk, NZ.

Mharadze (m), one who separates, spreads, scatters, destroyer, SW.

Mhariwa (f), the perched on, GO.

Mhere (m), shout, scream, PU.

Mhike (m), promise, AM.

Mhindudzapasi (m), FE.

Mhirimo (m), earthenware pot for holding beer, DMAH.

Mhiringa (m), one who trips, MG.

Mhizha (m), an expert ironmonger, RI.

Mhofu (m), eland, DMAH.

Mhofuyomukono (m), a male eland, GHM.

Mhondiwa (m), the killed, the murdered, RR.

Mhurai (f), despise you, NN.

Mhuru (m), calf, UN/K.

Mhurushomana (m), few calves, GHM.

Misodzi (f), tears, MWNY.

Mogonyei (Munongonyei) (f), what will you do, CCK?

Mombeshora (m), straw-coloured beast, TM.

Mombeyarara (m), the beast is asleep, fallen, GHM.

Motsi (m), one, the first one, DMAH.

Musekiwa (f), the one who is laughed at, ANA.

Muchachechuka (f), you will remember, realize, be surprised, ND.

Muchadii? (f), what will you do?, TM.

Muchadura (f), you will confess, MU.

Muchanyuka (m), you will emerge (from the ground), MU.

Muchaparara (m), you will disperse, separate, die, SW.

Muchapera (m), you will be destroyed, die, perish, GHM.

Muchapareva(f), you will confess, VV.

Muchapawana (f), you will find I, AM.

Muchape (m), administerer of laxative to detect criminals, SN.

Muchapera (m), you will be vanquished, die, perish, GR.

Muchapondwa (m), you will be murdered, RI.

Muchati (m), bride, bridegroom, KK.

Muchawanda (f), you will multiply, ZP.

Muchayeuka (f), you will recall, remember, AM.

Muchayiwa (m), beer made from resoaked straining, AY.

Muchazoona (f), you will find out, discover, KU.

Muchazoonei (f), what will you see?, AY.

Muchazviona (f), you will find out, discover, HH.

Muchazvisiya (f), you shall leave, abandon it, WM.

Mucheka (m), the cutter, a chequered cloth, RN.

Muchemi (f), one who cries, the bereaved, the mourner, CN.

Muchena (f), the poor one, NN.

Muchengeti (m), the keeper, guardian, AW.

Muchinapo (f), you still behave in the same manner, HY.

Muchineripi? (m), do you still have anything to say? What more/else have you to say?, CDM (2).

Muchochonyi (m), the Hatcher, WK.

Muda (m), the one who loves, likes, RN.

Mudadi (m), the conceited, GO.

Mudazvavamwe (m), admirer of other people's things, RN.

Mudimu (m), one who cuts through with a stroke, MI.

Mudori (m), hopper, trotter, runner, HH.

Mudyanegava (m), one who eats with or who eats jackals, the greedy one, HH.

Mudyanyama (m), the one who is after meat AY (2) ND.

Mudzimiri (m), he who extinguishes (fire) on behalf of someone, AW.

Mudziwepasi (m), the root of the earth, land, GHM.

Mudzonga (m), long strip of meat, UH.

Mufandaidza (m), he who dies after trying, NH.

Mufirazvevamwe (m), he who dies for other people's problems, causes, ND.

Mugadza (m), the one who installs, crowns, MD.

Mugadzi (m), he who crowns or places an object in a stable position, NK.

Muganhu (m), clay pot for cooking meat, inside the clay pot, MWN.

Mugeza (-richakwata) (m), the greedy one, HH (2).

Mugombo (m), on the virgin land, land owner, KK.

Mugove (f), share, portion, RR.

Muguri (m), the mealie-cob, cutter, divider, judge, GO.

Mugwagwa, (m) road, CDM (2).

Mugwazo (m), a portion to complete, NH.

Muhwati (m), one who walks stealthily, FE.

Mujaho (m), competition, race, MA.

Mujere (m), creeper, in gaol, SW.

Mujubheki (m), one from Johannesburg, also generally means one who has been to South but specially to Johannesburg (MM=*Makunun'unu Maodzamwoyo*).

Mukandawire (m, f), he who throws and falls in, *RMH* (2).

Mukandazema (m), one who has a strong, unpleasant body odour, NH.

Mukanga (m), one who roasts, fries, UN/K.

Mukaro (m), nose-rope, ridge, HH.

Mukombwe (m), the surrounded, MG.

Mukomondera (m), war, battle, violent cold wind, SU.

Mukonoweshuro (m), male rabbit, NP.

Mukurunguru (m), the gambler, SN.

Mumbamarwo (m), the house of death, a family of misfortune, JE (2).

Mundawaro (-jambwa) (m), its misfortune, own field, MWNY.

Mundindi (f), the stable, firm one, KHW.

Mundo (m), the giver, ZV.

Mundogara (m), one who insists on staying, is sitting apparently doing nothing, ZZM.

Munemo (m), playful talk, decorator, NHZ (2).

Munesu (f), you are after, with us, MK.

Munetsi (m), the botherer, UN/K.

Mungofa (m), you will die, ZV.

Mugweni (m), one who kindles fire, fire-maker, GHM.

Munhamo (f), one who is in a plight, NN (3).

Munhuirema (f), a person is a fool, human beings never learn from experiences, CC.

Munhukwatsva (m), a person when the going gets tough, ANR.

Munhukwaye (m), a good person, SU.

Munhumurombo (m), a poor person is a human being, NM.

Munhuwepi (m), what kind of a person, ANR.

Munjai (f), one who gads about, PR.

Munjoro (m), an instrument for digging holes, KHL.

Munodawafa (m), you like the dead, RRR.

Munondidii (f), what can you do to me, KHW.

Munyonga (m), the disturber, KU.

Munyongani (m), the crooked, RMH.

Munyoro (m), the gentle, soft one, polite, RMH.

Mupakaviri (m), one who gives twice, open-handed, TM.

Mupambawashe (m), he who robs the chiefs, JE.

Mupamombe (m), he who gives cattle, GHM.

Mupawose m), one who gives all, everybody, ZV.

Mupezino (f), one who gives the tooth, smiler, MWNY.

Mupindu (m), one who changes, erratic, JE.

Mupondwi (m), the murdered, JE.

Murambadoro (m), he who refuses beer, teetotaller, NHH.

Murambatsvina (f), one who objects to dirt, clean, clean person, NHZ.

Murambiwa (m), the rejected one, MG (2).

Murapa (m), the healer, NK.

Murapakamwe (m), one who cures only once, an expert, KU.

Murapanemhandu (m), he who cures even his enemies, SN.

Murauki (f), pone who is able to be fished out, KU.

Murape (f), the healer, MM.

Mureche (f), one who hangs over things, MG.

Murekandafa (an animal character), one who stops when one is dead, steadfast, SN.

Murerwa (f), the raised one, one who has been looked after, RH.

Murindagomo (m), one who guards the hill, KU.

Muringazuva (m), he who faces the sun, MG.

Murombo (m), poor person, indignant, UC.

Murovasango (m), he who beats the forest, travels, hunts in the forest, GON.

Murowi (m), a witch, an expert, JE.

Musafare (m), don't (you) rejoice, be merry, ZV.

Musaka (m), natural gap between teeth, the causer, HH.

Musandibate (m), don't touch me, leave me alone, KU.

Musara (f), one who is left, playfulness (NK=*Nyaraiwo Kani).*

Musarapasi (m), one who remains on the ground, earth, FE.

Musarurwa (m), the selected one, the chosen, UN/K (2).

Musasa (m), the musasa tree, shelter, PR.

Musekiwa (m), one who is laughed at, ridiculed, scorned, NHH (3).

Mushai (m), one with nothing, poor man, NAN.

*Mushambanhak*a (m), one who bathes in inheritance, NDR.

Mushayabasa (m), one without work, the lazy one, UN/K.

Mushayavanhu (m), one who is without the people, deserted one, ND.

Mushayazano (m), one without plans, the lazy one, MM.

Mushonga (f), medicine, one who adorns oneself, ZV.

Musiyadzasukwa (f), one who leaves (the party) after the (beer) pots have been washed, drunkard, NH.

Musiyapachena (m), one who exposes, the exposer, UN/K.

Musora (m), in the grass, one who provokes, PN.

Musuruvari (m), one who is sad, AY.

Musvibe (f), the black one, hard-hearted, evil, MWN.

Musvodazvaitwa (m), one who is embarrassed after the event, NAN.

Muswewembizi (m), the zebra's tail, CCK.

Mutandawachingama (m), Mr. stumbling –block, the log is lying across, RI.

Mutandwa (m), one who is chased away, the expelled one, RU.

Mutangadura (m), one who begins with the granary, who attacks the granary first, MWN.

Mutara (m), the *mutara* tree, one who searches, demarcator, delineator, RI.

Mutasa (m), the upright, honest, NH.

Mutemachihwe (m), one who cuts the stone, stonecutter, AY.

Mutemo (m), law, rule, regulations, VV.

Mutemwa (m), the one who is slashed, cut, appointed, MU.

Mudimuri (m), one who cuts across the path, JE.

Mutinha (m), the animal driver, GO.

Mutiro (m), the baboon, MN (2)

Mutitimanja (m), mutiti tree (erythrina abyssinioca), ME.

Mutizwa (m), the deserted one, SD.

*Mutonhodzazvinopis*a (m), one who cools that which is hot, KK.

Mutowembwa (m), dogs' soup, FE.

Mutsa (m), mercy, kindness, RRR.

Mutsare (m), a line, one who makes a line, demarcator, delineator, HH.

Mutsigavamwe (m), one who supports with a stone, MWN.

Mutsvanzva (m) the mutsvanzva tree, NDR.

Mutumwa (-pavi) (m), one who is sent on dangerous errands, mission HH (3).

*Mutusv*a (m), whipper, NP.

*Mutyandasvik*a (m), one who fears after he has arrived, NH.

Mutyavanhu (m), one who is afraid of the people, he who respects people, PDM.

Mutyavaviri (m), one who is afraid of two people, MWNY.

Muwengwa, the hated, disliked one, MP.

Muzaraweto (m,) one who is full of beer froth, drunkard, NK.

Muzvondiwa (Ndebele zonda, hate (m), one who is hated, disliked, RRR.

Mwakazozwenyi (f), what did you then hear, RRR?

Mwanyara (f), you have been embarrassed, tired, CN.

Mwara (m), of falling of grain on floor and scattering, UC.

Mwarewangei (m), why did you have to say that, RMH?

Mwenje (m), light, HH.

Ndaizivei (f), what did I know?, a feeling of regret (KHK=*Kurumba Handi Kusvika*).

Ndakabayiwa (f), I was stabbed, killed, hurt, RM.

Ndakaitei (f), what did I do (to deserve this), ND (3)?

Ndakanatswa (f), I was treated well (NDA=*Ndakakutadzirei).*

Ndakaziva (-haitungamiri) (f), had I known (regret) does not lead the way, MWNY.

Ndambo (m), one who refuses, NN.

Ndamuka (m), I am up, awake, I have seen reason, MD.

Ndanatsei? (f), what is it I have done well (now)?, RRR

Ndarapei? (m), what have I cured?, HH.

Ndawana (m), I have found it alias remember ye, RDN.

Nderera (m), oversized, ZV.

Ndichafa (m), I will die, GA.

Ndingoveni (f), I shall be or let me be the only one, selfish person, KU.

Ndoro (m), shell-like white ornament, emblem, insignia, mark, CDM.

Ndudzo (m), anvil, KK.

Nduru (m), bile, RI.

Ndyire (m), greedy, avaricious, covetous, eagerly desirous, PR.

Nevanji (m), first-born child, heir, PR.

Ngoma (m), drum, KU.

*Ngomayarir*a (m), the drum is played upon, GO.

Ngoni (-dzaishe) (m), mercy, kindness (of God), ZK.

Ngwerume (m), male leopard, PN.

Nhaka (m), inheritance, GA.

Nhamburo (m), superstitious fear, tribulation, worry, plight, KU.

Nhamo (-inesu) (m), tribulation, worry, misfortune, calamity, adversity, plight (is with us) CN (7), KU.

Nhanga (f), girl's dormitory, pumpkin, KHK.

Nhango (m), pieces, internodes, RI.

Nhanha (f), a baby, UC.

Nharo (m), argumentative, obstinacy, MWN.

Nharu (m), step, JE.

Nhau (m), news, KU.

Nhava (m), small woven bag made of bark fibre, RI.

Nhengure (m), fork-tailed drongo, MWNY (2).

Nherera (m), orphan, JE (2).

Nhika (m),edible mouse, valley, NHZ.

Nhindi (m), piece of meat, JE.

Nhokodzembudzi (m), goat's droppings, RMH.

Nhowa (m), edible caterpillar, the young one of a duiker, HH.

Njanji (m), railway line, MWN.

Njerere (m), black kite ZV.

Njuma (m), poll VV.

Nyachide (f), the loved one, KU.

Nyachoto (m), the fire-place's owner, ME.

Nyakanyaka (m), provocation, public disturbance (Ndebele), GO (2).

Nyakudzivinga (-mhaka) (f), one who comes for them (crimes), MN.

Nya- (-ve-) -nde (m), he who has lost some of his front teeth, HH.

Nyamaropa (m), the bloody one, UH.

Nyamayaro (-gora) (m), meat for it (the vulture), CN.

Nyamunda (m), owner of the field, SN.

Nyamunetsa (m), one who causes trouble, KU.

Nyamunhu (f), possessor of the person, slave owner, ordinary person, UN/K.

Nyandoro (m), possessor of shell-like white ornament, chief, king, NDR.

Nyangadzo (f), one who disturbs, spoiler, RRR.

Nyanisi (f), truly, surely (Ndebele), CMH

Nyan'ombe (m), possessor of cattle, pastoralist, FE.

Nyaradzo (f), comforter (KN=*Kurumwa Nechokuchera*).

Nyarai (f), shame on you, feel embarrassed, be ashamed, CN.

Nyarutema (m), one is dark, crocodile, NN.

Nyasha (-dzashe) (f), mercy, grace (of the Lord), NH.

Nyatwa (m), misfortune, plight, RDN.

Nyaya (f), stories, KU.

Nyeesai (f), you gossip intensely, RU.

Nyembezi (f), tears (Ndebele), MWNY.

Nyemudzai (f), you tantalize, raise false hopes, NP (5).

Nyemwerai (f), smile, NZ.

Nyenge (-dzai), (f) court a while, you deceive.

Ongai (Vongai) (f), be thankful, grateful, UN/K.

Paidamoyo (f), where the heart desired, what the heart wanted and yearned for, RR (2).

Pamhidzai (f), do, say it again, repeat (MK=*Manakira Kure* (2).

Pamugere (m), where you are seated, settled, SC.

Paradzai (m), disperse them, destroy, MK.

Paraziva (m), where (it-misfortune) has known, frequents, NP.

Pasi (-panodya) (-pamire) (-harigute) (m), the earth eats up, the earth is cruel, the earth is not satisfied, MP.

Pasipanodya (m), the eat eats, devours, CDM (3).

Pawanaka (m),he who gives to good people, KU.

Pazvakavambwa (m), where it started (CCK=*Chaitemura Chava Kuseva*).

Pedzai (m), finish up, complete, AM.

Pedzeni (m), finish me, kill me, MD.

Pedzisai (m), finish off, kill, bring to a close, terminate, AW (8).

Pengesai (m), cause to go mad, MG.

Penzura (m), English pencil clear obstacles, CCK.

Pepukai (f), wake up, be aware, MM (2).

Pesvani (m), incite, sharpen, NP.

Pfidzai (m), give up a course of action or habit, be contrite, MN (2).

Pfimbi (m), hole in the ground to store or mature fruit, RI.

Pfocho (f), provocative way of speaking, run away, go out of sight, CMH.

Pfupajena (m), white bone, GO.

Pfuvisi (m) that which spoils, harasses, SC.

Pomerai (f), accuse falsely, GON.

Ponderai (m), break into, MP.

Pondai (f), (you) murder, PU.

Popotai (m), grumble, SC.

Porozozo (m), messy, CCK.

Punha (f), young girl not yet reached the age of puberty, HH.

Rabudahweta (m), dried foam of fermenting beer, a brewing stage=a drunkard, MWNY.

Radzai (f), bury, cause to sleep, RM.

Radzaimakura (f), lazy fallow old agricultural land, HH.

Rambakupetwa (m), to be folded, refuse to be defeated, KU.

Ranganai (m), conspire, plot against one another, MK (4).

Rangarirai (f), remember, recall, NKK.

Rangazvukai (f), walk quickly with arms swinging, HH.

Rango (m), punishment, penance, atonement, NK.

Rindai (f), be on the watch, guard, look out, NKK.

Rindi (m), white vlei sand, hole in the ground, JE.

Risai (m), herd livestock, MA.

Risipambi (m), that which does not plunder or take by force, HH.

Rombo (m), luck, fortune, NDR.

Rondo (m), clay pit, clay, order of succession, MWN.

Rongedzai (f), make order, pack, arrange, ZV.

Roodza (m), marry, give away in marriage, KHW.

Roparembwa (m), dog's blood, KK.

Rowai (f), bewitch, PU.

Rowesai (f), cause to bewitch, RI.

Rudo (-rwashe) (f), love (of the Lord) (8), ZK.

Rudzura (m), cause to return, HH.

Rufaro (m), joy, happiness, CN (4).

Rufu (m), death, NZV (2).

Rugadzo (f), installation, act of crowning, UC.

Rugare (m), peace, comfort. Luxury, settlement, ANR.

Rujahanye (f), NH.

Rujekese (f), to make things clear, enlightenment, NAN.

Rujeko (f), light, dawn, NDA (3).

Rumba (f), run, growl, FE.

Rumbidzai(she) (f), praise ye (the Lord), AW (5).

Runako (f), beauty, RM.

Runesu (m), it (death, misfortune) is with us, MU (2).

Rungamirai (f), be honest, upright, AW.

Runyararo (f), peace, silence, quietness, RR.

Runyepo (f), back biting, the art of lying, SC.

Runzirai (f), mislead, misinform, NN.

Runzirwai (m), be misled, RRR.

Ruparanganda (m), flash of lightning, KU.

Rusere (m), eight times, NZV.

Rushambo (f), bracelet of painted grass, RN.

Rutendo (f), faith, belief (UCH=*Uchanditsvaga).*

Rutunga (m), small animal enclosure, Mosquito KU.

Ruvangu (f), hawk, AY.

Ruvarashe (f), chief's flower, NAN.

Ruvhunambwa (m), that which breaks the dog that is, the hare that runs very fast, GO.

Ruvimbo (f), trust, honesty, confidence, RR.

Ruvirai (f), you work, act for, MD.

Ruviro (m), fermenting, MWNY.

Ruwa (f), countryside (flower in Manyika dialect), GA.

Ruwadzano (f), fellowship, peaceful association, harmony, MK.

Ruware (m), bare expanse of rock, GA.

Ruzvidzo (m), despising, looking down upon, RR.

Rwaenda (m), its (death) gone, moved away, NK.

Rwarandaenda (m), fall sick after I am gone, MWNY.

Rwaringeni (f), it, death, misfortune stares me in the face, NKK (4).

Rwatirera (m), it (death), misfortune) has bred us, VV.

Rwauya (m), it (death, misfortune) has come, KU.

Rwendo (m), journey, trip, HK.

Rwezhara (m), of starvation, hunger, poor people MWNY.

Rwiriko (m), shaft of spear, PR.

Rwizi (m), river, KK.

Rwodzi (m), strip of inner bark, NP.

Sakurema (m), the possessor of power, the respected one, VV.

Samuriwo (m), possessor of vegetables, vegetable grower, CC.

Sandanga (m), ox-drawn container (made of grass and wood) for carrying crops from the fields, NM.

Sande (m), Sunday, KHK.

Sando (m), hammer, NP (2).

Sangare (m), possessor of the porcupine- a member of the Ngara totem. In Manyika it refers to those of the hyena totem. They are at times referred to as Ngare KU.

Sanyore (m), possessor of easiness, IN.

Sara (Sarah. f), KK (3).

Sarai (f), stay behind, PDM.

Saraoga (m), he who is left alone, KU.

Sarirambi (m), he who remains to join the army, FE.

Sarudzai (m), take your pick, you select and make your choice, GA (8).

Sarururo (m), the act of remaining behind, lagging behind, JE.

Saunyama (m), possessor of darkness, blackness. In Manyika it means great hunters, providers of a lot of meat, RMH.

Sekai (*-zvenyu*) (f), laugh mockingly, KHW (8).

Sekesai (f), cause to laugh, MP.

Sema (f), despise, abominate, detest, loath, UH.

Semaura (m), shrike, MWNY.

Shairashe (m), the chief's wandering and dancing spirit, CCK.

Shambadza (m), barter, spread around gossip, HH.

Shambamuto (m), he who washes in the soup, hunter, KG (2).

Shambaropa (m), wash in blood-hunter, KG.

Shamiso (f), an astonishing event, marvel, HH (6).

Shamuyarira (m), whipping stick, cracking whip, GHM.

Shamwariyeropa (m), friend of blood, blood friend, comrade, fellow combatant, one who kills easily, a guerilla, GR.

Shandu (m), change, reverse, turn over, AY.

Shangahaidonhi (m), a grain does not fall, HH.

Sherekete (m), playful, mischievous, KK (2).

Shingai (f), be courageous, be determined, RMH (2).

Shingaidzo (f), one who thwarts and frustrates, NHH.

Shingairai (m), be brave, be persistent, MP (3).

Shongedzai (f), decorate, adorn, CC (2).

Shonhiwa (m), the despised, ME.

Shoperai (m), divinate, ND.

Shorai (m), despise, MP.

Showerai (f), jeer at, ND.

Shumba (m), lion, CC (2).

Shumbayamuka (m), the lion has awakened, GO.

Shumirai (f), dedicate, offer, serve and introduce, ME.

Shupai (m), you bother, CN.

Shupikai (f), suffer, worry, CN (3)

Shuvai (f) (yearn, long for, SW, NN (2).

Simbarashe (m), God's power, NZV.

Simbisai (f),strengthen, encourage, CN.

Simukai (m), you stand up, MK.

Sukai (f), cleanse, wash, NDA.

Sunganai (f), unite, cooperate, MWNY.

Svinurai (m), wake up; open your eyes, AM.

Svondo, Sunday, NP (2).

Svorai (f), look, down, despise, UCH.

Svotwai (m), KU.

Swera (m), spend the day, time.

Tadenhwa (m), we have been provoked, MD.

Tadzei (f), misdemeanor, MD (2)?

Tadzimirwa (m), we are in the dark, at a loss, ND.

Tadziripa (f), we have repaid atoned, made reparation CCK.

Tafa (m), we are dead, KK.

Tafadzwa (m), we are pleased, made happy, CCK.

Tafirei (m), what do we die for, MU?

Tagarika (m), we are settled, comfortable, AM.

Taguta (m), we are satisfied, satiated, RRR.

Taimbosekwa (f), we used to be laughed at, KHK.

Taireva (m), we used to say, warn you, NK.

Taitivanhu (m), we used to think they were human beings that are good people, ANR.

Taizivei (f), what did we know, NM?

Takaidza (f), we tried, attempted, GO

Takanongwa (f), we were discovered, picked up, TM.

Takashanda (m), we worked hard (KN=*Kurumwa Nechekuchera).*

Takavarasa (m), we buried them, threw them away, ME.

Takawira (m), we fell into it, RR.

Takazvida (f), we asked for it, that's what we chose, liked, loved, KN.

Takomberwa (m), we have been surrounded, MD.

Takunda (f), we have defeated, overcome, MN (2).

Takundwa (m), we have been defeated, overcome, AW.

Takura (m), we are old, experienced, NM.

Takurai (f), you carry, MWN.

Takurasei (m), how have we grown, AY?

Tamai (f), you emigrate, ZK (2).

Tambaoga (m), play alone, TM.

Tambudzai, you bring about, cause worry, suffering, plight, MU (5).

Tamburai (f), you suffer, worry, MD.

Tamuka (m), we are awake, aware, arisen, NDA (2).

Taneta (f), we are tired, weary, RR.

Tangai (m), you initiate, begin, RRR.

Tanganeropa (m), begin by shedding blood, PR.

Tangwarirana (m), we are both alert to each others' activities, MWN.

Tanyangana (m), we have stalked each other, UN/K.

Tapera (m), we are finished, we have had it, MU (3).

Tapererwa (m), we are at a loss for ideas, SD

Tapfuma (m), we are (now) rich, RRR.

Tapfumanei (m), what makes us rich, ND?

Tapfuwa (m), we have reared, we are bothered, MI.

Tapitapi (m), tasty, sweet, KHW.

Tapiwa (m), we have been given, TM (3).

Tarema (f), we are with child, respected, feared, MN.

Taremba (m), we are tired, weary, NDA.

Taremedzwa (m), we have been burdened, MD.

Taringana (m), we are even, equal, AY.

Tarirai (m), you look, watch, behold, WK

Tariro (f), hope, expectation, CCK (3).

Tarisai (m), behold, look at, HK (2).

Tarovedza (m), cause to become accustomed, train, MD.

Tarubva (m), we are out of it (death), misfortune), CC (3).

Taruchera (m), we have dug it (death), we have brought death to ourselves, KU.

Taruona (m) we have seen, experienced it (death, misfortune), RR (3).

Tarurera (m), we have raised it (death, misfortune), AY.

Taruvinga (m), we have come for it (death, misfortune), ANA (3).

Taruza (m), we have come for it (death, misfortune), we have lost, SD.

Tasariranhamo (m), we have been left to experience and endure misfortune, AY.

Tatoraushe (m) we have usurped the chieftaincy GO.

Taurai (m), you say it, NH (2).

Tavada (m), we have liked/loved them, HH.

Tavarwisa (m), we have fought them, we provoked to fight, VV.

Tavengwa (m), we are hated, MU (2).

Tavirimirwa (m), we have been insulted, GO.

Tawanda (m), we have increased in number, GO (3).

Tazvipedza (m), we have accomplished the task, ND (2).

Tazvirega (m), we have given up, stopped it, PR.

Tazvishaya (m), we can't find them, there is no sense or meaning to this, KA.

Tazvitya (m), we are frightened of them, RMH (2).

Tendai (-kunashe) (m), be grateful, thankful (to the Lord), AW (9).

Tichaona (m), we will see the out-come, ANA (2).

Tichareva (m), we will confess, RMH.

Tichanetswa (f), we will be bothered, MD.

Ticharwa (m), we will fight, RM (2).

Tichatonga (m), we will rule, GO (2).

Tichaungana (m), we shall gather together, RRR.

Tichaurawa (m), we will be killed, murdered, HY.

Tichauya (f), we will come, GA

Tichaziva (m), we will know as time passes, NHM.

Tigere (m), we are settled, comfortable, seated, MU (3).

Tikaidzai (m), cause to move, GON.

Tinarwo (m), we are with it, death, misfortune, MK (2).

Tinei (m), what have we (got), KN?

Tinesu (m), we are ourselves, CN.

Tingarwa (m) we can fight, ZP.

Tinoda (m), we want, love, like, wish, AW.

Tirivai (m), what are we, RRR.

Tirivanganiwo (m), how many are we, ANR.

Tivanzwe (m), shall we sound, hear, feel them, shall we be hidden from them KU.

Tobaiwa (m), we are killed, stabbed, ZP.

Todyei? (f), what shall we eat?, KG

Tofatabaiwa (m), we die after being stabbed ME.

Togara (m), we now settle, live, sit SU, (2).

Togarasei? (m), how shall we live, stay alive? KU.

Tonderai (m), recall, remember, NHZ (2).

Tondo (m), of being tall, JE.

Tongai (m), you sit in judgment, ANA (3).

Tonganai (m), judge one another, MU.

Tongofa (m), we die easily, simply, HH.

Tongoona (m), we will see, observe, NDA (3).

Toonegumo, we will see the end, SN.

Torega (m), we leave it, let go, NDA.

Torevasei (m), how shall we say it, KN (2)?

Toringepi (f), where shall we turn to, MY?

Toro (m), tall, KHW (2).

Tovera (m), reduce swelling by applying a compress on behalf of, UN/K (2).

Tozvipei (m), what shall we offer, give them or what shall we give ourselves, ME?

Tozvireva (m), we will say, reveal it, NN.

Tsangamidzi (m), plant with aromatic root stalk, NK.

Tsava (m) apply a compress to reduce swelling or an urban area dance form called tsaba-tsaba, NH.

Tsikidzi (m), bed bug, SC.

Tsikira (m) stamp on, CC.

Tsitsi (-dzashe) (f), mercy, pity, grace (of God), IN (6).

Tsombori (m), fruit of *mutsombori* plant, MWN.

Tsungapamberi (m), determination and perseverance ahead, NP.

Tsungirirai (f), be determined, you persevere, NH (2).

Tsvagirai (-kuno) (m), search, look (here, this way), ZV.

Tsvakai (f), look, search for, KK.

Tugogo (f), small high-heeled shoes, old ladies, KHW.

Tukiso (f), cause for scorn, scolding, swearing, ANR.

Tunei (m), what have these little things, AW?

Urayai (m), you kill, murder, destroy, UH.

Ushendibaba (m), kingship/chieftainship is father, UH.

Vengai (m), hate, dislike, abhor, ANA (2).

Vhandu (m), of being unstable, chaotic, insane, NAN.

Vhunzai (m), ask, inquire, UN/K.

Vhuramayi (m), bad, ugly, bitter water, ZK.

Vimbai (-nashe), (f) trust, have faith (in the Lord), NN.

Wadyazheve (m), one who has eaten one's ear, DMAH.

Wadzanai (f), reconcile, live in harmony, AW (2).

Wafawanaka, (m), KH.

Washaya (m), the deceased, he who can't find it, HY.

Wejongwe (m), of the cock, CC.

Wongedzai (f), cause to be grateful, thankful, GO.

Yevedzo (f), an object of admiration, attraction, fascination, pleasure, HK.

Zambarara (m), entrance, gateway, FE.

Zanda (m), egg, wide field, KHW.

Zango (m), cloth-wrapped charm, ZV.

Zanovaviri (m), two heads are better than one, PDM.

Zarira (m), close door, entrance, NN.

Zenda (m), husband or wife –to-be, hunting spirit, GHM.

Zengezai (m), the dreaded, murmur against, CC.

Zenze (m), mane, dorsal fin, SC.

Zevezeve (m), a whisper, NP.

Zhaka (m), of walking heavily, that is in the sand, HH.

Zhuwawo (Portuguese for John (m), ZV.

Zikomu (m), Chewa excuse me, GA.

Zimbangura (m), large door going backwards and forwards, RU.

Zembe (m), charcoal, NN.

Zimbwembwe (f), running, mouth-drooping, HH.

Zimhunze (f), destroyer, destructor, MI.

Zimondi (m), eater, glutton, devour, MWN.

Zimunya (m), eater, glutton, devourer, eater of leftovers, RI, ANA (2).

Zimuto (m), thick soup, VV.

Zimwai (m), gossip, NN.

Zimwaya (f), broadcaster, gossiper, KG (2).

Zindoga (m), the only one, solitary, KU (2).

Zingizi (m), wasp, NHH (2).

Zingwena (m), big crocodile, GO.

Zinwamhanga (m), one who drinks fermented beer, TM.

Zinyemba (m), big/broad cow pea, CC (2).

Zinyimotenderera (m), dice go round, MU.

Zinyoni (m), big bird, MU.

Zipfende (f), sedge with small tubers underneath, RI.

Zirema (m), Big fool, cripple, KHW.

Zivanai (m), get to know each other, KU (2).

Zivei (Ndai- (-zivei) (m), what did I know what, knowing a little, ZP.

Zivisai (f), inform, make known, know intensely, MI.

Ziwa (m), know, be informed, NN.

Zizi (m), owl, MWNY.

Zuda (m), Afrikaans suide (South) (m) any coin that is illegal tender in *Zimbabwe,* KHW.

Zumbani (m), shrub whose leaves are used in the preparation of a cough mixture, PR.

Zungunde (m), body odour, ZV.

Zuweni (m), speak (in praise of me), ZZM.

Zuze (m), GA (3).

Zvandibva (f), I am rid of it; I am through with it, RI.

Zvanguzvauya (m), my things have come, that is a feeling of being possessed, KHK.

Zvanyadza (f), it has embarrassed/disgraced, KK (3).

Zvarevashe (m), what the chief has decreed, the chief's decree, AW (2).

Zvauyanepi?: Zvinei (m), how has it come about? PN.

Zvavamwe (m), for other people's (property), MD.

Zvega (m), on their own or by themselves, CC.

Zvekure (m), of distance, far-off, far-away, KHW.

Zvemoyo (f) of the heart, heart's content, MWN.

Zvemusi (f) of the changes of days, time, moody, KN.

Zvenyika (-dzino) (m), of this world, country, people, worldly, NM.

Zveshiri (m), of the birds, in the manner of birds, KHW.

Zvichabuda (f), it (truth) will come to light, emerge, ZP.

Zvichadzokera (f), it will return or come back, ZVO.

Zvichaipa (f), things will be bad, awful, KN (2).

Zvichapera (m), it (they) will come to an end, come to pass, RRR.

Zvichatiriga (m), this will bring our downfall, death, GA.

Zvichatiwanawo (m), it will catch up with us too, MD.

Zvichemo (m), grievances, troubles, RI.

Zvidzai (f), despise, look down upon, AW.

Zvinei (f), does it matter, KN.

Zvinesu (f), it is with us, after us and will not leave us alone, MD.

Zvinotorimwa (m), they have to be grown alias internode, pieces of advice, RI.

Zvinowanda (m), they will increase, multiply, be plentiful, RM.

Zvirege (f), leave them alone, stop dealing with them, NN.

Zvirevo (f), proverbs, correct procedure, WN.

Zvizoregwa (f), so that it will be stopped, let go, set free, MWNY.

Zvondiwa Zulu ukuzonda,to hate (m),
the hated one, NAN.

PERSONAL NAMES FROM QUESTIONNAIRES

13) State one male Shona first name that is popular

Male

10-20

Farai, be happy.
Kuzivakwashe, the Lord's knowledge.
Tafadzwa, we are made happy.
Takudzwa, we are respected.
Takunda, we conquered.
Tapiwa, we are given.
Tatenda, we are thankful.
Tendai, be thankful.
Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

21-30

Farai, be happy.
Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.
Panashe, there is the Lord.
Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.
Takawira, we fell into it.
Tapiwa, we have been given.
Tatenda, we are thankful.
Tawanda, we are many.
Tendai, be thankful.
Tinashe, we are with Lord.
Nyasha, grace.

Kudakwashe, the will of the Lord.
Munyaradzi, comforter.

31-40

Dambudzo, problems.
Fadzai, make happy.
Farai, be happy.
Kurauone, grow upand you shall see/learn/understand/you will learn from experience.
Kurauzvione, grow and you shall see it.
Mapfumo, spears.
Muchadura, you shall disclose.
Nhamo, problems.
Nyaradzo, consoler.
Nyasha, grace.
Panozvarwamunhumashokoanowanda, where someone is born a lot is said.
Tafadzwa, we are made happy.
Tanaka, we are well.
Tatenda, we are thankful.
Tavonga, we are thankful.
Tawanda, we are many.
Tendai, be thankful.
Tinashe, we are with the Lord.
Tinotenda, we are thankful.

41-50

Farai, be happy.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Nhamo, suffering, problems.

Kudzaishe, praise the Lord.

Munyaradzi, comforter.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Tawanda, we are now many.

Chamunorwa, that which you fight for.

Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.

51-60

Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.

Marwei, why fight?

Masimba, powers.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Tadiwa, we are loved.

Tafadzwa, we are made happy.

Takudzwa, we have been elevated.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tawanda, we are now many.

Tendai, be thankful.

Ticharwa, we shall fight.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

61-70

Farai, be happy.

Kuda, to love.

Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.

71+

Kurai, grow.

Tonderai, remember.

Sarudzai, choose.

Garisanai, live well with others.

Female

10-20

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Tapiwa, we have been given.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

21-30

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Takudzwa, we have been elevated.

Tambaoga, play it alone.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tawanda, we are now many.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tinotenda, we are thankful.

Nhamo, problems.

Farai, be happy.

Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.

Tapiwa, we are given.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

31-40

Chipo, gift.

Farai, be happy.

Kudakwashe, the will of the Lord.

Munyaradzi, comforter.

Nhamo, suffering.

Nyasha, grace.

Panashe, there is the Lord.

Tafadzwa, we are made happy.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Takudzwa, we have been made big.

Tanaka, we are well.

Tapiwa, we are given.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tawanda, we are many.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

41-50

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Tendai, be thankful.

Nyasha, grace.

Tapiwa, we are given.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

51-60

Kurai, grow.

61-70

Tatenda, we are thankful.

71+

Muchandiuraya, you shall kill me.

Taurai, talk.

Tonderai, remember.

Urayayi, kill.

Zvichapera, it shall come to an end.

14) State one female Shona first name that is popular

31-40

Chipo, gift.

Nyaradzo, consoler.

Nyarai, be ashamed.

Rudo, love.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Tatenda, we are happy.

Tawanda, we are now many.

Tendai, be thankful.

Chiedza, light.

Dambudzo, problem.

Kudzai, respect.

Nyasha, grace.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Male

10-20

Chipo 5, gift.

Rudo 4, love.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tendai 5, be thankful.

Chipochashe, the Lord's gift.

Nyasha, grace.

Ropafadzo, blessing.

Ruvarashe, the Lord's flower.

Shamiso, surprise.

41-50

Chipo, gift.

Maidei?, what did you want?

Makaita, you did well.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Rudo, love.

Sarudzai, choose.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tendai, be thankful.

21-30

Chipo, gift.

Farisai, be joyous.

Hazvinei, it does not matter.

Kudzai, respect.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Nyasha, grace.

Rudo, love.

Sekai, laugh.

Tariro, hope.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tsitsi, mercy.

51-60

Chipo, gift.

Mazvita, you did well.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Tendai, be thankful.

61-70

Farai, be happy.

Chipo, gift.

Netsai, trouble.

Chenzira, of the way.

Female

10-20

Chipo, gift.

Chiedza, light.

Rudo 2, love.

Tendai, be thankful.

Fungai, think.

Chido, wish.

Tsitsi, mercy.

21-30

Chipo, gift.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tsitsi, mercy.

Vimbai, trust.

31-40

Chenzira, of the way.

Chiedza, light.

Chipo, gift.

Fadzai, please.

Fungisai, think deep.

Kudzaishe, the will of the Lord.

Nyarai, be ashamed.

Tanaka, we are now well.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tsitsi, mercy.

41-50

Sarudzai, choose.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

51-60

Chipo, gift.

61-70

Tatenda, we are thankful.

>71

Chioneso, what made us to see.
Chipo, gift.
Rudorwashe, the Lord's love.
Sambadzai, sell.
Tambudzai, trouble.

16) State one Shona name that you have reservations with?

Male names

Anotidaishe, the Lord love us.
Chamunorwa, what you fight for.
Chenhamo, of problems.

Chenhamo, of suffering.
Chenzira, of the way.
Chinake, the sarcastic beautiful one.
Chipo, gift.
Dadirai, despise.
Dambudzo, trouble.
Fadzai, praise.
Gwatipedza, death has finished us.
Gwatipedza, it has finished us.

Ivainesu, be with us.
Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.
Maidei? what did you want?
Makanyadza, you shamed.
Makazooneni? you saw me?
Manetsa, you are a bother.
Manyowa, manure.
Marufu, deaths.
Marufu, deaths.
Mberikunodziya, its hot in front.
Mbudziyadhura, goat has become expensive.
Misodzi, tears.
Muchadura, you shall disclose/confess.
Muchandiona, you shall see me.
Muchaneta, you shall tire.
Muchanyara, you shall be ashamed.
Muchaona, you shall see.
Muchapondwa, you shall be murdered.
Muchatonga, you shall judge/rule.
Mukosho, the valued/valuable/anus

Munashe, in the Lord.

Munhamo, in problems.

Munyaradzi, comforter.

Ndaiziveyi? what did I know?

Ndakaitei? what did I do?

Ndakaiteyi? what did I do?

Ndakarovashe, I beat the Lord.

Ngonidzaishe, the Lord's mercy.

Nhamo, problem.

Nhamo, problems.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Nhamoinesu, suffering is with us.

Nhamoyebonde, problems of the marriage bed.

Nyasha, mercy.

Panashe, where the Lord is.

Panozvarwamwanamashokoanowanda, where someone is born a lot is said.

Ripai, repay.

Ropa, blood.

Rudo, love.

Ruvimbo, trust.

Rwembwa, of the dog.

Shamiso, surprise.

Shorai, despise.

Tadiwa, we have been loved.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Takadini? What did we do?

Takura, we have grown up.

Takuravanhutadaingatiregeikugwa, as mature as we are we ought not to be fighting.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tanaka, we are well.

Tangenhamo, start problems.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been consoled.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been comforted.

Tapiwanashe, we have been given by the Lord.

Tapondiwa, we have been murdered.

Taruberekera, we gave birth for it.

Tarusenga, we are carrying it.

Tavonga, we have thanked.

Tazviona, we have seen it.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tendekai, be trustworthy.

Tererai, listen.

Tinotenda, we are thankful.

Tinovimba, we trust.

Tinovimba, we hope.

Tonderai, remember.

Tongai, judge.

Tungamirai, lead.

Urayayi, kill.

Urombo, poverty.

Wedzerai, increase.

Zimusweravasingadi, the
tail they do not want.

Zvenhamo, of problems.

Female names

Anotidaishe, the Lord loves us.

Chatunga, that which conquers using horns.

Chengetai, keep.

Chido, wish.

Chinondidyachii? what is it that eats me?
/there is nothing that eats me meaning 'I am
 fearless/nothing bothers me'

Chipo, gift.

Dambudzo, trouble.

Garikai, be well.

Hazvinei (4), no matter.

Hazvinei, it does not matter.

Hazvinei, no matter.

Hazvinei, it does not matter.

Kurauone, grow up and see.

Maidei? what did you want?

Maidei? what did you need?

Maidei? what did you desire?

Maivepi? where were you?

Mandivenga, you have hated me.

Matifinha, you have become a bother.

Matinyanya, it has become too much.

Muchadura, you shall disclose/confess.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Munorwei? what do you fight for?

Musorowegomo, head of a mountain.

Ndaizivei? what did I know?

Ndakaitei? what did I do?

Ndakaitei? what did I know?

Netsai, trouble.

Nhamodzenyika, problems of the country.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Nokutenda, with faith.

Nyarai, be ashamed.

Nyasha, mercy.

Nyasha, mercy.

Nyembezi, from Ndebele.

Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, where a person grows
 a lot is said.

Panofamunhumashokoanowanda, where a person dies a
lot is said.

Revai, speak out.

Rowai, beat, witch.

Rudo, love.

Rudo, love.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Sekai, laugh.

Shupikai, suffer.

Tadiwa, we have been loved.

Takawira, we came into it.

Takudzwa, we have been elevated.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tamburike, trouble.

Tanyaradwanashe, we have been consoled by the Lord.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been comforted by the Lord.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Taurai, speak.

Tavengwa, we have been hated.

Tavonga, we have thanked.

Tavonga, we are thankful.

Tichaona, we shall see.

Tinarwo, we are with it.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

Tonderai, remember.

Tozivepi? what then shall we do?

Tutsirai, increase.

Vagerehavo, luck for those who are well.

Zvapano, of here.

15) State one Shona name that interests you most
Male

10-20

Tawananyasha, we have got mercy.

Shumirai, pray.

Nyagura, of the veld/owner of the used field.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Nyasha 2, mercy.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Wadzanai, have good relationships.

Nhamo 2, problem.

Yeukai, remember.

Tonderai, remember.

Tapiwa, we have been given.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been comforted.

Tendai, be thankful.

Musorowegomo, head of mountain.

Tafara, we are happy.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been consoled.

21-30

Chemwapiwa, that which you have been given.

Makanaka, you are good.

Mashiripiti, omen.

Muchadura, you shall disclose.

Mufudzi, shepherd.

Mukudzi, the increaser/respector.

Munashe, in the Lord.

Musorowegomo 2, head of a mountain.

Ndakatadzei? what wrong did I do?

Nhamodzepabonde, problems of the marriage bed.

Nhamoinesu 2, problems are with us.

Panashe, where the Lord is.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Takunda, we have succeeded.

Tamburikai, trouble.

Tarwirei? Why did we fight?

Tatenda 2, we are thankful.

Tawananyasha, we have found mercy.

Tichaona, we shall see.

Tofara, we are happy.

Tsitsi 2, mercy.

Tapiwa, we have been given.

Pembedzaishe, praise the Lord.

Romborashe, the Lord's blessing.

Tamirirakufa, we are waiting to die.

Nhamo, problem.

Tapiwanashe, we have been given by the Lord.

31-40

Chiedza 2, light.

Dambudziko, trouble.

Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.

Kudzaishe, praise the Lord.

Maunzagonarembudzimumusha, you have brought a bewitchment in the family.

Nhamodzenyika, problems of the country.

Nyinurai, smile.

Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, where a person grows a lot is said.

Panozvarwamunhumaskoanowanda, where one is birth a lot is said.

Tanaka, we are now well.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tendai 2, we are thankful.

Tinomuda, we love him/her.

Tinomuda, we love him/her.

Tsungai, persevere.

Zvaitasei? what has happened?

Isheanesu, the Lord is with us.

Kupakwashe, the way the Lord gives.

Makaresheni, you throw me away.

Mandivengerei? why do you hate me?

Marujata, one who dumps/throws down..

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Mugwagwa, road.

Muroyindishe, a witch is a king.

Musorowegomo, head of the mountain.

Ndanatsei? what good have I done?

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Ningai, look into.

Panashe 2, where the Lord is.

Romborashe, the Lord's wish.

Sekai, laugh.

Shorai, despise.

Tanaka, we are now well.

Tendaishe, thank the Lord.

Tinotenda, we are thankful.

41-50

Chidembo, civet cat.

Farai, be happy.

Hazvinei, no matter.

Mashura, omen.

Ropafadzo 2, blessed.

Shuvai, desire.

Tafadzwa 2, we have been made happy.

Tatenda 2, we are thankful.

Tendai, be thankful.

Chenzira, of the way.

Chibayambuya grandmother's piecer.

Chipo, gift.

Manenji, omen.

Musorowegomo 2, head of the mountain.

Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, where one grows many words are said.

Pakurovamunhumaokoanowanda, when beating someone hands join.

Takwana, we are enough/we have had enough.

Tanatswa, we have been well.

Vimbai, trust.

51-60

Chemwandoita, whatever you have done/you do.

Chipo, gift.

Dambudzo, problem.

Kudakwashe, the will of the Lord.

Makanakaishe, the Lord you are well.

Mberikunodziya, in front it is hot.

Revai, speak.

Shangaharidonhi, a seed does not fall.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

Tinodaishe, we love the Lord.

Usherwegona, the kingship from magic.

Varaidzo, entertainer.

61-70

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Chipo, gift.

Farai, be happy.

Runesu, it is with us.

Gwatipedza, it has finished us.

Female

10-20

Ndaizivei?, what have I known?

Ngonidzashe, the Lord's mercy.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Pururai, leave.

Rumbidzai, praise the Lord.

Tadiwa, we have been loved.

Tadiwanashe 2, we have been loved by the Lord.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Tanatswa, we are cleansed.

Tanyaradzwa, we are consoled.

Tapiwa, we have been given.

Tawananyasha, we got the Lord's mercy.

Tichaona, we shall see.

Tinotenda, we are thankful.

Tonderai, remember.

Vimbai, trust.

21-30

Anotidaishe, the Lord loves us.

Mazviita 2, thank you.

Mufaro, happy.

Munashe, in the Lord.

Muneinazvo 2, what does it have to do with you?

Munyaradzi, comforter.

Murisi, watcher.

Musorowegomo 2, head of the mountain.

Mwoyongewenyu, the heart is yours.

Nguvayashe, the Lord's time.

Nhamo, problem.

Nyasha, mercy.

Panashe 2, where the Lord is.

Rutendo, a thanks token.

Sekesai, cause to laugh, laugh more.

Tanatswa, we have been made well.

Tapuwanashe, we have been given by the Lord.

Tatenda 2, we are thankful.

Tawananyasha, we got the Lord's mercy.

Tendai 3, be thankful.

Varaidzo, comforter.

Varaidzo, comforter.

Vengesai, hate more.

Vimbai, trust.

Zuva, day, sun.

Zvanyadza, it has been disgraceful.

Zvitsvako, inciting.

Murambiwa, the rejected one.

Munopa, you give.

31-40

Takudzwa, we have been increased.

Tawananyasha, we found mercy.

Zondiwa, hated.

Tinotenda (2), we are thankful.

Panozvarwamwanamashokoanowanda, where one is born a lot is said.

Tanatswa, we have been made well.

Musorowegomo, head of a mountain.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been comforted.

Kudzanai, respect each other.

Nyarai, be ashamed.

Manyara, you are ashamed.

Anesu, he is with us.

Nyepudzai/Nyemudzai, reduced the state.

Sekai, laugh.

Tatenda (2), we are thankful.

Ngaakudzwe, let him be praised.

Tozvireva, we shall disclose it.

Tichaona, we shall see.

Paidamoyo (2), what the heart loved.

Gwaendepi? Where has it gone?

Jokonya, put something in the hole to provoke.

Chomudondo, of the bush/forest.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Chiratidzo, sign.

Munyaradzi, comforter.

41-50

Mozonyei?, what shall you do?

Nyasha, grace.

Rudo, love.

Shamiso, surprise.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Vimbai, trust.

Zariro, closer.

51-60

Kudakwashe, the wish of the Lord.

Chiedza, light.

Rudo, love.

61-70

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

16) State one Shona name that you have reservations with

Male

10-20

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Muchanyara, you shall be ashamed.

Ndakaiteyi? what did I do?

Nhamo, problem.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tinovimba, we trust.

Zvenhamo, of problems.

Munhamo, in problems.

21-30

Anotidaishe, the Lord loves us.

Chenhamo, of problems.

Chenhamo, of suffering.

Chenzira, of the path.

Chipo, gift.

Ivainesu, be with us.

Kudakwashe, the Lord's wish.

Muchadura, you shall disclose.

Muchatonga, you shall judge.

Munashe, in the Lord.

Munyaradzi, comforter.

Ndaiziveyi? what did I know?

Ngonidzaishe, the Lord's mercy.

Nhamo 5, problem.

Nhamo, problems.

Nhamoinesu (2), problems are with us.

Nhamoinesu 4, problems are with us.

Nhamoyebonde, problem of the marriage bed.

Nyasha, mercy.

Panashe, where the Lord is.

Ripai, repay.

Rudo, love.

Ruvimbo, trust.

Rwembwa, of the dog.

Shamiso, surprise.

Shorai 2, despise.

Shorai, despise.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by the Lord.

Takudzwa (2), we have been elevated.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been consoled.

Tapondiwa, we have been murdered.

Tavonga, we have thanked.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tendekai, be trustworthy.

Tererai, listen.

Tonderai, remember.

Tongai, judge.

Urayayi, kill.

31-40

Chenhamo, of problems.

Gwatipedza, it has finished us.

Manetsa, you have been a bother.

Manyowa, manure.

Misodzi, tears.

Nhamo, problems.

Panozvarwamwanamashokoanowanda, where one is born a lot is said.

Takudzwa, we have been increased.

Takuravanhutadaingatiregeikugwa, when people are mature as we are we must not be fighting.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tanaka, we are well.

Tangenhamo, start problems.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been consoled.

Tapiwanashe, we have been given by the Lord.

Tinovimba, we trust.

Chamunorwa, what you fight for.

Makanyadza, you ashamed.

Marufu, deaths.

Muchandiona, you shall see me.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Mukosho, small tree

Mutserekese or lizard.

Ndakaitei? what did I do?

Ndakarovashe, I beat the Lord.

Tadiwa, we have been loved.

Takadini?, what did we do?

Takura, we have grown up.

Tungamirai, lead.

Urombo, poverty.

Wedzerai, increase.

41-50

Chinake, the beautiful one.

Dadirai, despise.

Maidei?, what did you want?

Marufu, deaths.

Mbudziyadhura, goat has become expensive.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Muchanyara, you shall be ashamed.

Ndakaiteyi? What did I do?

Nhamo, problem.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tinovimba, we trust.

Zvenhamo, of problems.

Munhamo, in problems.

Tazviona, we have seen it.

51-60

Dambudzo, trouble.

Fadzai, please.

Gwatipedza, it has finished us.

Makazooneni? You saw me/ You finally got me.

Mberikunodziya, in front it is hot.

Muchaona, you shall see.

Muchapondwa, you shall be murdered.

Nhamo, problem.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Ropa, blood.

Taruberekera, we have given birth for it.

Tarusenga, we are carrying it.

Tinotenda, we are thankful.

Zimusweravasingadi, the tail they do not want.

61-70

Chamunorwa, what you fight for.

71+

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tinovimba, we trust.

Zvenhamo, of problems.

Munhamo, in problems.

Tazviona, we have seen it.

21-30

Anotidaishe, the Lord loves us.

Chido, wish.

Chipo, gift.

Dambudzo, trouble.

Female

*Hazvine*i, no matter.

Kurai, grow.

Maidei? what did you want?

Maivepi? where were you?

Mandivenga, you hate me.

Matifinha, you have been a bother to us.

Musorowegomo, head of a mountain.

Ndaizivei? What did I know?

Ndakaitei? What did I do?

Nhamo 7, problem.

Nhamo 7, problem.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Nokutenda, with faith.

Nyasha, grace.

Nyasha, mercy.

Revai, speak.

Rudo, love.

Rudo, love.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Shingai, persevere.

Shupikai, suffer.

Takawira, we fell into it.

Takudzwa, we have been increased.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tambudzai, trouble.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Tatenda, we are thankful.

Taurai, speak.

Tavengwa, we have been hated.

Tavonga, we thanked.

Tichaona, we shall see.

Tinashe, we are with the Lord.

Tonderai, remember.

Tonderai, remember.

Tutsirai, increase.

Zvapano, of here.

31-40

Chatunga, the bully.

Chengetai, keep.

Chinondidyachii? What is it that eats me?

Hazvinei, no matter.

Kurauone, grow so you can see.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Nhamo 14, problem.

Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, where one matures people say a lot.

Panofamunhumashokoanowanda, where one grows a lot is said.

Sekai, laugh.

Tadiwa, we have been loved.

Tanyaradzwanashe, we have been consoled by the Lord.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been consoled.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Nyembezi, from Ndebele.

Maidei? what did you want?

Matinyanya, it has become too much.

Muchadura, you shall disclose.

Netsai, trouble.

Tamburike, sufferer.

Tavonga, we have thanked.

Tozivepi? what should we know?

41-50

Garikai, live well.

Hazvinei, no matter.

Maidei? What did you want?

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

*Munorwe*i? You fight for what?

Nhamodzenyika, problems of the country.

Nyarai, be ashamed.

Rowai, witch.

Tinarwo, we are with it.

Vagerehavo, those who have peace.

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Ndakaitei? What did I do?

Hazvinei, no matter.

PERSONAL NAMES FROM

INTERVIEWS

Amunamoyo, you have no heart.

Batiraishe, work for the Lord.

Batirashe, work for Lord.

Bvumisayi, accept.

Bvunzai, ask.

Chadonha, fallen.

Chaka, Tshaka.

Chamaona, that which you saw.

Chanakira, it has become well.

Chandapiwa, that which I have been given.

Chanzi, chance.

Chenaimoyo, have a clear conscious.

Chenjedzai, be ware.

Chidochemoyo, the heart's desire.

Chikombingo, opaque.

Chimbomirai, just stop.

Chioneso, that which causes to see.

Chipiwa, the given one.

Chipuka, animal.

Chirimo, winter.

Chisango, a veld, bush.

Chishuvo, desire.

Chisvipo, spit.

Chitarisiro, a hope for.

Chitendai, be thankful.

Chivimbisochei? Promise for what?

Chivimbiso, a promise

Chivingwa, that which people came for.

Daimurimi?, if it were you?

Dakarai, relax.

Dambudzo, suffering.

Dekero, relax.

Dekesa, cause to relax.

Diwauripo, loved only when there.

Dondisesedzai, take me bit by bit.

Donhodzo, comfort.

Sharai, choose.

Dudzirai, explain.

Dziripi?, where are they?

Dzivaidzo, disturber.

Dzokera, return.

Dzoraivaripasi, bring back the deceased.

Edzai, try.

Fugamai, kneel.

Fundai, learn.

Gadzikano, being settled.

Gamuchirayi, receive.

Garidzanai, stay well.

Garira, stay for.

Gate, big earthenware pot.

Geza, wash/bath.

Gondongwe, he goat.

Garainesu, stay with us.

Gumisai, bring to an end.

Gwatirera, it has reared us (death).

Gwinyai, persevere.

Gwiranai, together fight for.

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Hamandawana, I have found relatives.

Hambayi, let us go.

Hamudiwamwe, you do not love others.

Harusiyi, it does not leave.

Harutizwi, you cannot run away from it.

Hatinawedu, we do not have supporters.

Hazviimbirwi, you do not sing for that.

Hondivenga, those hate me.

Hondo, war.

Isheunopa, the Lord gives.

Inzwanai, listen to each other.

Ipai, give.

Itaitione, do while we see.

Kufazvineyi, it does not matter if one dies.

Kakari, a small clay pot.

Karota, died

Kasiye, leave it like that.

Kudzaishe, praise the Lord.

Kudzionera, to see for myself.

Kukurai, remove.

Kumidzayi, respect.

Kundishora, to despise me.

Kunofiwa, there shall be deaths.

Kushinga, to persevere.

Kuziwakwamwari, God's fore knowledge.

Kwadzanai, harm one another.

Madiko, the loved.

Madzima, rub, cover.

Mafadzo, happy.

Mufandaedza, one who dies making an effort.

Mafirakureva, talk regardless of effect.

Mahara, for no pay.

Maidaani?, whom did you love?

Maimbodei?, what exactly did you want?

Majawure, the happy one.

Makaita, thank you.

Makaitahenyu, thank you.

Makundai, victor.

Makuwire, a drunkard who even drinks
 bad beer.

Manatsa, you did well.

Mandidaingeyi? Why did you do this?

Mandikangaidza, you disturbed me.

Mandinyanya, you have over done it.

Mandinyenya, you gossiped about me.

Mandisuka, you finished me.

Mandizvidza, you despised me.

Manowa, a biblical name after Samson's mother.

Maonei?, what did you see?

Marima, you ploughed.

Maritaona, we saw the money.

Mariyeni, derived from 'Merlin' into 'Marian'.

Marupi? Of which one?

Masarirambi, totem.

Mashamandizvo, you are surprised with it.

Mashura, omen.

Maswera, how have you spent your day?

Masvayamwana, do away with kids.

Matambudziko, sufferings.

Matariro, the hoped.

Mavanza, you hid.

Mavhima, you hunted.

Mawonei? what did you see?

Mawords, words.

Maziweyi? what did you know?

Mazorodze, bringer of rest.

Mhosva, crime.

Mhurayi, despise.

Miidzo, trials.

Mikomborero, blessings.

Misiya, blood of a slaughtered animal

Misiyano, differences.

Muchaiteyi, what shall you do?

Muchapaziva, you shall know it.

Muchareva, you shall disclose.

Mucharevei, what shall you say?

Muchayevedzwa, you shall be lured.

Muchazondida, you shall love me.

Muchazviona, you shall see.

Muchazvireva, you shall disclose.

Muchineripi? what else do you have?

Mudzidzi, learner.

Mudzimureka, spirit cease.

Mudzinganyama, the one who sent meat away.

Mugwagwa, road.

Muketiwa, the chosen.

Mukono, male.

Mukudzei, respect.

Mumbamashe, in the king's house.

Munaro, you have it.

Mungororo opaque.

Munodowenyu, you love yours.

Munozivaishe, you know the Lord.

Munyika, in the country.

Muoneswa, the one who has been made to see.

Mupinga, in the bush.

Murumbidzeishe, so you praise the Lord.

Muruwa, in the rural areas.

Musademba, do not grumble.

Musaemura, do not respect.

Musaida, do not love it.

Musandide, do not love me.

Musanyara, do not be shy.

Musasiyashe, do not leave the Lord.

Musavengana, do not hate each other.

Musavhaya, surveyors.

Musawashe, the Lord's mercy.

Musevenzo, work.

Musiiwa, the one left behind.

Musindo, strife.

Musungwa, prisoner.

Mutandwa, the chased.

Mutemo, law.

Mutinhima, the fearful one.

Mutizirwa, the one people run to.

Mutizwa, the one people run from.

Mutsawashe, the Lord's mercy.

Mutumwapavi, one sent of trick errands.

Mututuvari, an aggressive person.

Muyananisi, reconciler.

Muyedziri, increaser.

Mwadirawani? how do you pour?

Mwaereni? you estimated me?

Mwakarasheni, you threw me aside.

Mwanaishe, child is king.

Mwanawamambo, the king's child.

Mwandiona, you see me.

Mwariunesu, God is with us.

Ndaifireyi? why was I suffering?

Ndakachinyei?, what wrong did I do?

Ndakadashe, I loved the Lord.

Ndakarwirwa, my battles were fought
on my behalf.

Ndakaziva, Had I known.

Ndapanzwa, I have heard it.

Ndazvipedza, I have finished it.

Ndomupe, I will give.

Ndoudzaani, whom should I tell.

Ngaatendwe, let him be praised.

Ngatobongese, let us praise.

Ngavaite, let them do.

Ngavaitetione, let them do while we see.

Nguvairo, time pushing.

Ngwariranai, be alert of each other.

Nhaudzei, what stories.

Nyadzai, make shy.

Nyamadzawo, their meat.

Nyamayavo, their meat.

Nyanyiwa, increased.

Nyaradza, silence.

Nyaradzai, make silent.

Nyaradze, silenced.

Nyaradzo, consoling ceremony.

Nyashadzaishe, his grace.

Nyatsuro, owner of hare/keeper of orphans.

Nyatwa, problem.

Nyemudzai, seducing, cerating curiosity.

Nyunyutai, grumble.

Nzwananai, listen to each other.

Paidamoyo, where the heart loved.

Pamhai, do again.

Pamhidzayi, do once more.

Pamhiri, across.

Panonetsa, it is difficult.

Paradzai, destroy.

Patyiwi, so it be feared.

Pedzisai, finish.

Pemberai, rejoice.

Pfungwa, mind.

Pfungwayemoyo, mind of the heart.

Pikirayi, declare.

Pomokai, you must fear.

Pondai, murder.

Regai, stop.

Regedzai, stop it.

Regererai, forgive.

Revesai, say the truth.

Ringisai, watch.

Romberayi, saw traditional healer so
you can kill me.

Rudairo, faith.

Rugare, peace.

Rukudzo, praise/respect.

Rukumbirira, intercession.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Rumbidzaishe, praise the Lord.

Runatso, done well.

Runyararo, peace.

Ruramisai, do well.

Ruregerero, forgiveness.

Ruwa, rural.

Ruwadzano, togetherness.

Ruzivo, knowledge.

Rwadzisa, cause to suffer.

Rwatirinda, death is watching over us.

Saimani (Simon)

Sakadzo, made a spent force.

Sara, remain.

Sarainaye, remain with him/her.

Saruna, chosen.

Seiko? why?

Sekai, laugh.

Sengeturai, help carry.

Shambadzeni, spread gossip.

Shambadzirai, market.

Shatirwai, be angry.

Shayamano, lack of ideas.

Shinga, preserve.

Shumbairerwa, a lion is reared.

Shupo, cause of trouble.

Simbisai, make strong.

Simudzirai, promote.

Simukai, stand up.

Simukaiwo, also stand up.

Sukutai, cleanse.

Sunungukai, release.

Svinurai, watch.

Tadzoka, we are back.

Taembedzwa, we have been made big.

Tafanana, we are now similar.

Tafirenyika, we died for the country.

Tafundiswa, we have been taught.

Tafunga, we have thought.

Taipei? what wrong have we done?

Taisekwa, we use to be laughed at.

Taishuva, we wished.

Takaendesa, we sent it.

Takaingofa, we used to die.

Takaiona, we saw it.

Takanyisa, we defeated.

Takatadzeyi? What wrong did we do?

Tamanikwa, we have been put in between.

Tamburai, suffer.

Tamburiro, the reason of suffering.

Tamutswanashe, we have been raised by the Lord.

Tanamai, be cool.

Tanhoya, we are finished.

Taona, we saw.

Taonaziso, we saw the eye.

Taonganashe, we thanked with the Lord.

Tapedza, we have finished.

Taperakufa, we have all died.

Taperaneyi? Why are we spent?

Taremedzwa, we have been loaded.

Tasara, we are remaining.

Tasaranarwo, we have remained with it.

Tasaranago, we remained with death.

Tashingirira, we preserved.

Tasiiwa, we are left.

Tasimudzwa, we have been raised.

Tasunungurwa, we have been liberated.

Tauyanashe, we came with the Lord.

Tauyanavo, we came with them.

Tavambwa, we have been provoked.

Tavanetsa, we troubled them.

Tavatya, we are afraid of them.

Tawana, we got.

Tawanda, we are now many.

Tawedzegwa, we have been skinned.

Tawedzengwa, we have been skinned.

Tayirevei? what did we use to say?

Tazviwana, we got it.

Tenderoyaishe, the Lord's will.

Tendevukayi, repent.

Tendishe, thank the Lord.

Tevedzeraivo, do as have been done.

Tevedzeraiwo, also do as others/done.

Tevedzerayi, do like that.

Tevera, follow.

Tichakunda, we shall overcome.

Tichawanda, we shall be many.

Tichayana, we shall reconcile.

Tichaziva, we shall know.

Tinayeshe, we are with the Lord.

Tinayeshewedu, we are with our Lord.

Tinoapei? what do we give them?

Tinodavamwe, we like more.

Tinomuda, we love him/her.

Tinomukudza, we praise him/her.

Tinomunamatashe, we pray the Lord.

Tinomutenda, we thank him/her.

Tinomuvonga, we thank him.

Tinovapi? We are with which ones?

Tinoziva, we know.

Tinyiko, what is it?

Tirivacho, we are for it.

Tirivafi, we are to die.

Tirivaviri, we are two.

Tiwirai, persevere.

Tofarirepi?, where shall we rejoice?

Tomupeishe, we will give him/her to the Lord.

Tonderai, remember.

Tongogara, we shall just sit and wait.

Tongozivaishe, we only know the Lord.

Torevei, what shall we say.

Tsangudza, torment, suffer.

Tsitsidzaishe, the Lord's mercy.

Tsivai, revenge.

Tsungirirai, persevere.

Tsverenyenga

Tswatayi, fix.

Tungamiraiishe, Lord lead.

Tuso, reward.

Tutsirayi, increase.

Unesu, is with us.

Unganai, gather.

Vadzimutinavo, we are with the departed.

Vakanai, build, mend each other.

Vambai, start.

Vandudziraishe, reform for the Lord.

Vavarirai, persevere for.

Vavariro, hope.

Vhundukai, surprised.

Vimbainashe, trust the Lord.

Vonai, see.

Vonisani, see with others.

Wedzerai, increase.

Wirimayi, despise.

Zadzisai, fulfill.

Zamai, try.

Zimbabwe, house of stones.

Zivaishe, know the Lord.

Zvineyi, does it matter.

Zivisai, make known.

Zororo, rest

Zuvarashe, the Lord's day.

Zvakadei, what did it like?

Zvakaonzamoyo, that which made the heart faint.

Zvapano, of here.

Zviedzo, trials.

Zvikadai, then like this.

Zvikomborero, blessings.

Zvinaye, it is with that one.

Zvinoitavamwe, which others do.

Zvinopera, it shall come to an end.

Zvipozvashe, the Lord's blessings.

Zvisinei, it does not matter.

Zvisinei, it is not a problem.

Zvokomba, its hardening.

PERSONAL NAMES FROM GRADUATION BOOKLETS, NEWSPAPERS, NOVELS AND PLAYS

Abednigo

Abel

Abisha

Abishel

Absalom

Actor

Adam

Adonija

Advent

Advocate

Africa

Agripa

Akudzanai, the one named the respector.

Alderman

Alexander

Amadungwe, the one of the line.

Amai Hokoyo (ZK), mother of advise.

Amai Nyevero (ZK), mother of warning.

Amen

Aminata

Amon

Amos

Andrea

Andrew

Andrew Mapadza (NDU), hoes.

Andrew *Mukombachuru* (NDU), anti-hill
 surrounder.

Anesu, the Lord is with us.

Angel

Angirayi, run for.

Anna

Anotida, the Lord loves us.

Aphiri (MUM)

Appreciate

Arisimuta

Arutumwi, it is not sent.

Asali

Asipinasi

Assumpta Mushaike (TAT)

Augustine

Azaria

Baba Muchena (NDU), father of a white one.

Baba Peters (CHK)

Babamunini Zvandareva (HY), father of what I have said.

Baiwai, be pierced.

Banai, kick out.

Bango, pole.

Barire, causer of trouble.

Barnabas

Bartholomew

Basiketi, basket.

Basirai, help.

Batai, grab.

Batanai, unite.

Batanaivatema (TAT), black people unite.

Bathoromia

Batimeo

Batirai, help.

Batsarai, help.

Baureni

Bayisai

Bazooka (KM)

Beginner

Belief

Believe

Benjamin

Bereidzvene, a hyena is holy/beautiful.

Berejena, white hyena.

Berifa

Berita

Betina

Betserai, help.

Betserai, assist.

Betserayi, help.

Better

Betueri, Betuel.

Beverley

Bhazuka (HY), bazooka.

Bhinya (TAT), to suffocate by holding
 the neck.

Bhiriadhi magorira (KM)

Bhiza, horse.

Bhodho (KM), big cooking pot.

Bhunu, boer.

Bigboy

Binya, rapist.

Bishi, bush.

Bismarck

Black Mamba (ZV)

Blackpower (HY)

Blessed

Blessmore

Blood *Kufainungo* (NDU), dying is laziness.

Boas

Bomber (ZV)

Bonaventure

Bongani

Bonus

Booka

Booker

Bope, havoc.

Bornfree

Bossina

Bowasi, Boaz.

Brillant

Brother Emilo (TAT)

Brother Rudolf (TAT)

Buka, hallucination.

Bulahimu opaque.

Burusa, take down.

Buster (VR)

Bvanyangu, disturber.

Bvanyangu (TAT), commotion causer.

Bvisai, remove.

Bvisai, take away.

Bvisai, replace.

Bvuma, accept.

Bvumai, believe.

Bvumazvipere, accept and it will be over.

Bvumazvipere (HY), believe and it will
be done.

Bvunzai, ask.

Bvunzawabaya (MUM), ask after you
have strike.

Cain

Caleb

Cameroon

Canaan

Caphas/Caiaphas

Captain Knight (ZV)

Cement

Cephas

Chabarwa, that which has been born

Chabata, that which has grabbed.

Chabaya, it pierced.

Chada, liked.

Chaderopa, desired blood.

Chadworth

Chadzamira, that which has been
 entrenched.

Chaedza, knowledge.

Chaita, it has done.

Chaitika, it has happened.

Chaitwa, it has been done.

Chakabvapasi, it came from the ground.

Chakandinakira, it is good to me.

Chakanetsa, that which was the problem.

Chakanyuka, it came from nowhere.

Chakasara, that which remained.

Chakauya, it came.

Chakavanda, it is hidden.

Chakonda, it refused.

Chakuinga, that which unknowingly came to you.

Chakurangeyi? How has it grown?

Chakweshadombo (CHK), that which rubbed a stone.

Chakwizira, that which rubbed.

Challenge

Chamakandiona, that which you saw in me.

Chamanga, it is filled up.

Chamasi opaque.

Chamboko, sjambok.

Chamboko (ZV), sjambok.

Chaminuka, Shona legendary leader who was killed
by Lobengula.

Chamisa, that which stopped.

Chamukainyama (CHK), whatever comes up is meat.

Chamunogwa (NDU), what you fight for.

Chamunorwa, you fight for.

Chamunorwa (HY), which you fight for.

Chamwaita, which you did.

Chanakira, it is now well.

Chandapiwa, what I have been given.

Chandaresango, the bush faced person.

Chandimhara, that which landed on me.

Chandiregerera, it has forgiven me.

Chandiringa, it defeated me.

Chando, cold.

Chanetsa (KM), it troubled.

Changachirere, that which was sleeping.

Changamire, chief.

Changasiyeni can it leave me?

Chanzi, chance.

Chaonekwa, it has been seen.

Chaoroko opaque.

Chapanduka, it rebelled.

Chapangara opaque.

Chapedzambudzi (KM), that which finished goats.

Chapeyama, that which went wrong.

Chapfuwa, that which has been kept.

Chapisa, it is hot.

Chapisa (HY), it has become hot.

Chapungu (CHK)

Chaputika, it burst.

Charakupa, what heaven has given you.

Charamba, it refused.

Charambeni, it denied me.

Chari, small blanket.

Chariga, that which defeated.

Charira (CHK), that which blew.

Charira (VR), it blewed.

Charles

Charles son of queen Elizabeth (CHK)

Charuka, it knitted.

Charuma, it bit.

Charumbira, it ran for.

Chasakara, it has become old.

Chasara, it remained.

Chasuka, it cleaned.

Chatambudza, that which troubled.

Chatambudza, that which bothered.

Chatambudza (MUM), it troubled.

Chatindiara, it has become hardened.

Chatukuta, it emerged.

Chaunoita, what you do.

Chauraya, it kills.

Chauyabu (CHK) opaque.

Chavurura, it has ripened.

Chawapedza, what you have finished.

Chawapiwa, what you have been given.

Chawasarira, what you have remained behind for.

Chawira, it fell in.

Chayamiti, smash trees.

Chayerera, it was washed away.

Chazezesa (CHK), that which instilled fear.

Chazika, it calmed/its known.

Cheetah

Chekai, cut.

Chekai, be alert.

Chekare, of the past.

Chekufa, of death.

Chembetani

Chemedzai, cause to cry.

Chemhere, of noise.

Chemist

Chemunodirwa, why you are loved.

Chemunosiya, what you leave behind.

Chemushonga, of medicine.

Chenaimoyo, have a clear heart.

Chenayi, be clean.

Chenesai, make clean.

Cheneso, fine payment.

Chengara Mutudza (MUM)

Chengeta, keep.

Chengetanai, look after each other.

Chengeti, keep.

Chengeto, keep.

Chenhamu, of problems.

Cheni, chain.

Cheniso

Chenjerai, be awake.

Chenjerai Mushore (CHK), be alert the
 despiser.

Chenzira, of the way.

Cherechedzai, watch closely.

Cherish

Chesai, run/look after.

Chibage, maize.

Chibairo, sacrifice.

Chibamu, the broken half piece of
 something.

Chibaya, pierce.

Chibhuru, a bull.

Chidau, totem.

Chidembo, civet cat.

Chidemo, an axe.

Chidhinhapondo, pound for a brick.

Chido Mutingwende (CHK), wish.

Chidochashe, the Lord's wish.

Chidye village (VR)

Chidziva, a pool.

Chidzukwa, a spring of water.

Chiedza, light.

Chiedza (CHK, knowledge.)

Chiedza (CHK), wisdom.

Chifamba, walk.

Chifashu, one who gives in abundance.

Chifungo, a thought.

Chigadheni, a garden.

Chigadziramemba (HY), the one who sorts out members.

Chigejo, a plough.

Chigumise, of the last.

Chigwindiri, strong thing.

Chiiko? What is it?

Chikandiwa, a thrown/bewitchment.

Chikanza

Chikerema (CHK)

Chikono, a male.

Chikonzero, reason.

Chikura, grow up/mature.

Chikuyi, a grinder.

Chikwasha, destroy.

Chimani

Chimbambaira (ZK), a landmine.

Chimbambaira (ZV), landmine.

Chimbetu, trouble.

Chimbidzai, rush.

Chimbidzikai, be hasty.

Chimbo, song.

Chimene, the selfish person full of ego.

Chimhosva, a crime.

Chimombe, a cow.

Chimukwembe (CHK), a luggage.

Chimurenga (CHK), war.

Chimurenga (NP), war.

Chimurenga (VR), rebellion.

Chimusoro, a head.

Chimuti, a tree. It also means 'Smith' (Ian Smith).

Chimuti (CHK), a shrub.

Chinakise, what makes good.

Chinamatira, that which clings.

Chingamidzai, receive/welcome.

Chingasiyeni, how will it leave me?

Chingoto, traditional beer.

Chinguruve, a pig.

Chinhambo, a distance.

Chinhanga, a pumpkin.

Chino, this.

Chinoera, it is holy.

Chinoingira, it came for.

Chinosunda, which pushes.

Chinovava, it itches.

Chinovava (KM), that which itches.

Chinozachinooneni (TAT), that which comes will see me.

Chinya, anger.

Chinyanyu, the excessive.

Chinyuku, a sudden appearance.

Chioneso, that which made us to see.

Chiorese, something used to gather something.

Chiororo (MUM), a discipliner.

Chipadza, a hoe.

Chipambawasere, the one who raided eight.

Chipanera, spanner.

Chiparaushe, fought for chieftaincy.

Chipatapata (KM), sudden rush.

Chipatiso, something that makes people awake.

Chipendo, a promise.

Chipfunde base (VR)

Chipikiri (ZV), nail.

Chipiri, Tuesday.

Chipiwa, a given.

Chipo, gift.

Chipochedenga, a gift from heaven.

Chipunze, destroy.

Chipuriro, Sipolilo.

Chirairo, supper.

Chirairo, an instruction/supper/dinner.

Chirambamhanda opaque.

Chirambamuriwo, refuser of vegetables.

Chirangamabhunu, a discipliner of Europeans.

Chirangamapenzi, discipliner of mad people.

Chigadziramapenzi (Christopher Ross) (CHK), discipliner of undisciplined people.

Chirangano, a promise.

Chirango, a punishment.

Chirariro, that which is eaten last for the night.

Chirasha, throw away.

Chirashiwa, thrown away.

Chiratidzo, sign.

Chiratidzo, demonstration.

Chiregedze, leave it that way.

Chiremba, doctor.

Chirevo, proverb.

Chirikure, it is away.

Chirikure (NP), its away.

Chirimubhachi (NP), it is in the jacket.

Chiringamoyo, watch of the heart.

Chiripamberi, it is ahead.

Chiripanyanga, it is on the horn.

Chirichega, it is alone.

Chiriseri, it is behind.

Chirochierwa, everything must be scaled.

Chirombo, a fierce beast.

Chiromo, small mouth.

Chirwa, fight.

Chisadza, a portion of stiff porridge.

Chisainyerwa opaque.

Chisango, a bush.

Chisara, remain.

Chishamiso, a surprise.

Chishanu (HY), Friday.

Chisi, a rest day.

Chisiponyi?, what is it that is not there?

Chisvo, blade.

Chitema, a black thing.

Chitengu village (VR), reed basket.

Chitida, now love us.

Chitima, train.

Chitiza, run now.

Chitongo, a deserted place.

Chitsidzo, promise.

Chitsike, step on it.

Chitsuro, a hare.

Chitsva, a new thing.

Chitsvedemo, one who fights well.

Chitsvuku, a red thing.

Chitupa, an identification card.

Chitura, take down the carried.

Chivaka, build.

Chivaraidzo, an entertainment.

Chivese, burn it.

Chivhinge village (VR)

Chivhiyamabhunu, a skinner of Europeans.

Chiwanza, increase.

Chiwurawa, be killed.

Chiyedzo, temptation.

Chocolate

Choga, alone.

Chokuda, of one's choice.

Chomusaiziya, that which you did not know.

Choni, one who was away for a long time.

Choose

Chopper (ZV)

Choreva, it is now speaking out.

Choto (KM), fire.

Chounda, the shine one.

Christmas

Christopher Columbus

Chuma, bead.

Cigarette

Clarity

Claudius

Cleopatra

Clever (ZV)

Cloud

Columbus

Conelius

Confidence

Conilious

Cooperation

Courage

Dadirai, despise.

Daimurimi? If it were you?

Danisa, call much louder. *In Ndau it means 'cause*
to be shy'.

Daka, grudge.

Dambudzo, trouble.

Dambudzo (ZV), problem.

Danai, call.

Danai (VR), invite.

Dananayi, love each other.

Danda, pole.

Dandanyika, pole of the country.

Dande, a place in the far northern province
 of Zimbabwe.

Dani, call.

Danidzirai, call for.

Daniel

Darikai, pass.

David

David Smith (CHK)

Davidzo, a call.

De Beers (MUM)

De Klerk (ZV)

Debora

Debra

Defineti, definite.

Demetria

Demo reZANU (ZV), axe of ZANU.

Dende base (VR), calabash.

Dennis Norman (CHK)

Dennis *Taroyiwa* (CHK), we have been bewitched.

Deredzai, reduce.

Deria

Deriah

Desire

Detroite

Dewa, of Moyo totem.

Dhamu, dam.

Dhemeti (ZV), damn it.

Dhende (HY), plan.

Dhikisoni (MUM), Dickson.

Dhimandi, demand.

Dhokotera, doctor.

Dhokotera (KM), doctor.

Dhorika, Dorica.

Dhorobha Maonde (ZK)

Diamond

Didzai, do us others have done.

Diesel

Diet

Digmore

Dingani

Diniwe opaque.

Dirorimwe, one baboon.

Dirwai, be poured.

Dizanadzo, one who runs away with them (beasts).

Dominic

Dondo, forest.

Dondofema, forest breath.

Dongo, deserted.

Dontforget

Dorcas

Dorica

Dragon

Drimfondeni (TAT)

Driver

Dube (CHK)

Dudzai, disclose.

Dudzai, speak out.

Dudzai (NJ), speak out.

Dudzayi, disclose.

Dukuduku, small one.

Dumaza opaque.

Dumaza opaque.

Dumba, shelter.

Durban

Duri, wooden mortar.

Dzaguma, it has ended.

Dzaguma, came to an end.

Dzama, gone for ever.

Dzaramba, they refused.

Dzawanda, they have become many.

Dzawira, they fell into.

Dzepasi, of the ground.

Dzidzai, learn.

Dzidziso, lesson.

Dzikamai, be calm.

Dzikamai, do not rush.

Dzikamayi, be stead.

Dzimbanhete, small houses.

Dzinandanyi opaque.

Dzingai, chase.

Dzingirai, chase away.

Dzingisayi, chase away.

Dzinonwa, they drink.

Dzinopana, they give each other.

Dzinoreva, they tell.

Dzinoruma, they bit.

Dziva, a pool.

Dzivaidzo, a disturbance.

Dzivaidzo, disturber.

Dzokai, return.

Dzokai (HY), come back.

Dzokamushure, come behind.

Dzoro, turn, big head.

Dzoserai, put back.

Dzotizeyi? why are they running away?

Dzungaidzai, disturb.

Dzungaidzo, disturbance.

Dzvene, holy.

Dzvetera (TAT)

Dzvokorai, watch.

Easy Go (ZV)

Easygo (HY)

Edward *Murambwi* (CHK), the rejected one.

Edzai, try.

Efa	Evidence
Effeso	Eyeson
Effort	Ezekiel
Egypt	Ezra (MUM)
Elijah	*Fadaye, opaque.*
Elisha	*Fadzai,* make happy.
Eliza, Elizabeth.	*Fadzai Makuni* (CHK), make happy trees.
Elizabeth	*Fadzanai* (VR), make each other happy.
Emerita	*Fadzi*, make happy.
Empire	*Fadzisa*i, make happy.
Endaimabhunu, go Europeans.	Fairtalk (ZV)
Engiriza	Faith
England	*Famba,* walk.
Enkeldoorn (TAT)	*Fambawaputa*, walk after having smoked.
Enock	*Fambirai,* walk for.
Enough	*Fana,* look like.
Ephraim	*Fanadzo,* look like.
Ephraim	*Fanirai*, be equal.
Eria	*Faniri,* one who quickly wants to look like.
Erika	*Fanyana* opaque.
Erikana	*Farai*, enjoy.
Erimoti, Elimoth.	*Farai Hove* (CHK), enjoy fish.
Eriyoti, Elliot.	*Farawu,* enjoy.
Esau	*Farikai,* be happy.
Esirida	*Farisai*, be happy.
Esther	*Farisayi*, be joyous.
Evah	Fatch
Evangelist	*Fatima*, opaque.
Everest	*Fatuma,* opaque.
Everton	Fauna
Everton	Felix

Ferdinard

Feremayi, opaque.

Festus

Fidelis

Fife

Fight

Fireyi? Why die?

Fisher

Fisherman

Fitimbai, walk cautiously.

Fiyona

Forget

Forgiveness

Frederick

Freedom

Friday

Fudzanai, look after each other.

Fumai, be rich, wake up early.

Fumandiwe, you be rich.

Fumirai, wake up for.

Fumisai, make rich.

Fundira, learn something.

Fundisa, teach something.

Fundisai, teach.

Fungai, think.

Fungisai, think deeply.

Future

Future (ZV)

Gabarinocheka (ZK), tin can cut.

Gabarinocheka (ZV), a tin that cuts.

Gabriel

Gadzikwa, sat down.

Gaka (HY), cucumber.

Gama, not fully full.

Gamanya (CHK) opaque.

Gamba (ZV), hero/heroine.

Gandanga, soldier/guerilla.

Gandanhamo, thrower of problems.

Gandidzanwa, passed from one to another.

Gandidzanwa, one who people gossip about.

Gandidzanwa, refers to when people are denying responsibility of something.

Gandiwa, a field.

Ganeti, opaque.

Ganizani, opaque.

Gara, sit.

Garai, please sit.

Garanewako, sit with yours.

Garatidye, sit and we eat.

Garauzive, sit and know.

Gardiner

Garikai, be well.

Garikai (CHK), live well.

Gatoma, named after a place called.

Gatooma/Kadoma.

Gavakava (CHK)

Gaza, a place name.

German, country name.

Geshom

Geza, bath your body.

Gideon

Gidi (KM), gun.

Gift

Givemore

Given

Gladmore

Gloria

Godfrey

Godhelp

Godhi, God.

Godknows

Godo, envy.

Godsave

Godspower

Godwill

Godwin

Goliath

Gomba, pit.

Gomo, mountain.

Gona Rechimurenga (GR), medicine
of the war.

Gonawapotera base (VR), declare victory
 after you have gone round it.

Gondai, you are secured by someone.

Gonde, to take advantage of someone.

Gondo (ZK), eagle.

Gondoharishaye, an eagle does not fail to get.

Goni, door.

Gono, male.

Gonye (KM), worm

Goodshed Master (TAT)

Goodway

Gora, grasshopper.

Gore, cloud, year.

Gorejena, white cloud.

Goremusandu, a year of mixed fortune.

Gorerenzara, year of famine.

Goteka, be able to provide heat.

Govero, the divided.

Govha, the provoker.

Gozho, rat.

Grace

Greater

Gudo (KM), baboon.

Gudomunhu (ZV), Goodman

Gudza, blanket.

Gumba, take all.

Gumbo, leg.

Gumiro, the end.

Gumisai, end.

Gunguwo (KM) opaque.

Gunha (ZK)

Gunpowder (HY)

Gurai (TAT), break.

Guramatunhu, one who walks around the country.

Guranenzara (KM), fixed by hunger.

Gutsa, make satisfied.

Gutu, of the *gumbo* (leg) totem.

Guyo, grinding.

Gwaindepi? where has it gone?

Gwakwani, miser.

Gwamuri, divide.

Gwanyanya, it has become too much.

Gwapedza, it has finished.

Gwarima, it ploughed.

Gwariro, the alert.

Gwashavanhu, finisher of people.

Gwasira, a group of spreaded animals.

Gwatibaya, it has caused pain.

Gwatikunda, it defeated us.

Gwatiringa, it is watching us.

Gwatirisa, it is monitoring us.

Gwauya, it has come.

Gwavava, it itches.

Gwazavafa, it finished the dead.

Gwaze, to finish an assigned task.

Gwazirei, why did it come?

Gwejegweje (ZV)

Gwenhamo, of suffering.

Gwenzi, bush.

Gwese (CHK) an unsharpened metal like a knife.

Gwezuva, of the sun.

Gwiriri, snoozing.

Gwisai, fight.

Gwiti (HY), playing between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which does not end in sexual intercourse..

Haanyadzise, does not shame people.

Haatendi, does not believe.

Haatongerwi, you cannot decide for the Lord.

Habakkuk

Hadzinzwi, they do not hear.

Haggai (TAT)

Hakufiwi, they do not die.

Hakunavanhu, there are no people.

Hama, relatives.

Hamadzashe, relatives of the king.

Hamadziripi?, where are relatives?

Hamandishe, relatives of the king.

Hamiliton

Hamudikuwanda, you do not want to be many.

Hamufari, you do not want to be happy.

Hamunamoyo, you do not have heart.

Hamundigoni, you can not fix me.

Hamungadaro, you should not do that.

Hamunyari, are you not ashamed.

Hamusatimagona, you have not yet succeeded.

Hamutendi, you are not thankful.

Hamutyi, are you not afraid.

Hamuzvione, you do not see it.

Hanah

Hanani

Handigwi, I do not fight.

Handina, I do not have.

Handira, bull.

Handisemi, I am not selective.

Handitye, I am not afraid.

Haparimwi, it will not be ploughed.

Hapawori, it will not decay.

Hapazari, it does not get filled.

Happison

Happymore

Happyson

Harinangoni, it does not have mercy.

Haripo, it is not there.

Harubvi, it does not go away.

Harugaki, it does not end.

Harugami, it does not receive.

Harunakwadi, it is not well.

Harunashe, it does not have a king.

Harunavamwe, it does not have others.

Haruperi, it does not end.

Harutendi, it is not thankful.

Haruzivi, it does not know.

Haruzivishe, it does not know the chief.

Hasha, anger.

Hatendi, does not believe/accept.

Hatidane, we do not love each other.

Hatina, we do not have.

Hatirarami, we will not survive.

Hatitye, we are not afraid.

Hatiwagoni, we cannot outdo them.

Hatiwande, we will never increase.

Hatizvigoni, we cannot manage it.

Haurovi, you will not be forgotten.

Havadi, they do not want.

Havazvidi, they do not want it.

Hazvinandaa, it does not matter.

Hazvineihazvo, it does not matter.

Hazvineyi, there is no problem.

Hazviperi, it will never end.

Hazviyemurwe, to be not worth admiring/
emulating.

Healthy

Heavens

Henry *Muchena* (ZK), poor/white.

Herbert Chitepo (CHK)

Herod

Hillary

Zvoumba, of house/mould.

Hitler

Hodhibha, they can be dipped.

Hofisi, office.

Hombarume, expert hunter.

Homora, to pull out from a hole.

Hondo, war.

Hondo (ZK), war.

Hondo yechimurenga (HY), war of liberation.

Hondo-Sarawoga (KNN), war-remain alone.

Hope

Hosiya, Hosea.

Hotera, hotel.

Hove, fish.

Humanikwa, being cornered.

Hungoidza, it is trying.

Hungwe, a bird *(chapungu).*

Hunyenyiwa, the dimunitives.

Hurombo, poverty.

Hurumidza, be urgent.

Hushehunouya, chieftaincy shall come.

Imbayago, its house.

Imbayarwo, its house.

Indira, go on behalf of.

Ingidzai, opaque.

Inspector

Inspector White (VR)

Inzwirashe, the Lord's word.

Iridzai, opaque.

Irikidzai, increase.

Isaac

Isaki, Isaac.

Ishe, Lord/chief.

Ishe Mupawose (ZV), chief giver of all.

Isheanesu, the Lord is with us.

Ishewakatipa, the Lord gave us.

Ishmael

Isaiah

Israel

Itai Maposa (CHK), do.

Itaitione, do and we see.

Itayi, do.

Ityai, be afraid.

Ivaikwadikwadi, be straight.

Ivainaishe, be with the Lord.

Iyanayi, be reconciled.

Jaira, used.

Jairos

James

James *Shoko* (CHK), word.

Jameson

Janhi, jump/mine worker.

January

Jatisai, drop strongly from heights.

Jaya, young man of marriageable age.

Jayaguru, senior bachelor.

Jecheche, young one.

Jega (KM), jagger.

Jehu

Jemedza, cause of crying.

Jemina

Jeneti, Janet.

Jephat

Jephita

Jere, jail.

Jeremaya, Jeremiah.

Jeremiah

Jeri Charira (VR)

Jeriko

Jeroboam

Jethro

Jetina

Jevani, opaque.

Jimi Makomo (VR), Jimmy mountains.

Jimu, Jimmy.

Jiti, jump from the top and stand with viguor.

Joachim

Joana

Job (NDU)

Jobi, Job.

Joe (HY)

Joe *Chimurenga* (ZK), war.

Joel

Johane

John *Huro* (NDU),

John *Mazhindu* (ZK) one who is not stable.

Joji, George

Jojo, George

Jojo Cheramwena (TAT), George dig a pit.

Jojo Masvika (ZK), George you have arrived.

Jojo Muchazviona (TAT), George you shall see it.

Jojo Tapera (TAT), George we are finished.

Jojo Tavengwa (TAT), George we have been hated.

Jokonaya

Jona, Jonah.

Jona, Jonah.

Jonasi

Jonasi Simukai (CHK) John Stand-up.

Jonathan

Jongwerehondo (HY), cock of the war.

Joram

Jorodhani, Jordan

Josaya, Josiah

Josaya, Josiah.

Josenepa, Joseph.

Joseph

Joseph

Joshua

Josiah (ZK)

Jotham

Judas

Judge

Julias

July

Juma, abruptly attack.

Jumayi, abruptly attack.

June

Juru, ant/ termite.

Justice

Juwere, Joel.

Kabatebate, one who touches many things.

Kachana, far away.

Kadiki (HY), small one.

Kadiki Muhondo (KM), small one in the war.

Kadzviti, a Ndebele warrior.

Kaenasi opaque.

Kaera, it scaled, it has become holy.

Kagubi, a prominent Shona leader in the 1896s

uprising alongside Nehanda.

Kagurabadza, that which broke a hole.

Kahari, an earthen pot.

Kahwani, once.

Kahwiti, small sweet.

Kakara (KM), a fierce animal.

Kakondohwe, an uncastrated he goat.

Kambanje, dagga.

Kambirienda, fame gone.

Kamhashu, a small locust.

Kamucheka, a small thread.

Kamudzengerere, one that goes round and round.

Kamurayi, divide, reduce.

Kamureza base (VR), a flag.

Kamuriwo, a relish.

Kamuzonde, opaque.

Kamwanda village (VR)

Kandege (KM), a plane.

Kanetsa, it has been a problem.

Kangamwiro, forgiveness.

Kanganwai, forget.

Kanganwiro, forgiveness.

Kanhukamwe, one thing.

Kanhukamwe, one thing.

Kaniso, cause for fighting.

Kaniziyo, Canisio.

Kano, this one.

Kanogwere, opaque.

Kanokanga, it roast.

Kanoveti, opaque.

Kanu, being surprised.

Kanyenze, small fly.

Kanyimo, a round nut.

Kanyongo opaque.

Kanyuchi (VR), a bee.

Kaombe, a big one.

Kapenzi, a mad person.

Kapfumotepa (HY), a spear thickens.

Karadzai, confuse.

Karigamombe (CHK), that which defeated
 cattle.

Karikoga muhondo (HY), one alone in the
 war.

Karimupfumbi, those in the dust.

Karineti, opaque.

Karinyaka, I need it.

Kariri, small itching item.

Karumekangu, a husband of mine.

Kasekera opaque.

Kashi opaque.

Kasikai, be quick.

Kasikayi, be fast.

Kasinemunda, that which does not have a field.

Kasinganeti, that does not tire.

Kasirai, be fast.

Kasirayi, be fast.

Katambarare, that which has spread itself.

Katambe, playfulness.

Katarina, Catherine.

Katiipoti, a teapot.

Katima, a train.

Katombo, a stone.

Katsanda, small bushel.

Katsika, it stepped.

Katsvuku base (VR), a red.

Katuri, a mortar.

Kaunda

Kaunda

Kaunda (MUM)

Kaura, learnt in a difficult way.

Kaurai, learn it the hard way.

Kaurimbo, a glue.

Kawachi, a watch.

Kawadza, one who added more than.

Kayangaya, the one that keeps swaying.

Kazhanje, a small loquart fruit.

Kechemu, hand cuffs.

Ken (TAT)

Keni Makota (VR)

Keredzera, carry aside.

Keremina opaque.

Kerina

Kesina

Keta, choose.

Kid *Marongongo* (ZV)

Kila (HY)

Kingsley

Kingstone

Kipani, keep in.

Kipikipi (HY), get in the holding place/cell.

Kizita, small name.

Kizito opaque.

Knowldege

Kobra (CHK), cobra.

Kodoa

Kokanai, call each other.

Komborerayi, surround.

Komborero, blessing.

Komichi, cup.

Kopera, close.

Korona, crown.

Koshai, be of value.

Kovanai, distribute to each other.

Kubara, give birth.

Kucheche, at church.

Kuchena, being smart.

Kuchinani? Who are still there?

Kuchinei? What else is there?

Kuda, love.

Kuda muhondo (KM), love during war.

Kuda Muhondo (KM), love in the war.

Kudakwa, being drunk.

Kudakwashe, the Lord's will.

Kudakwashe (VR), the wish of the Lord.

Kudya, eat.

Kudza, increase.

Kudzai, respect.

Kudzai (CHK), praise.

Kudzai (NDU), show praise.

Kudzaishe, praise the Lord.

Kudzanai, respect each other.

Kudzionera, seeing everything there.

Kufa, death.

Kufa Charira (VR), death it has blown.

Kufa Chitongo (CHK), death a deserted place.

Kufahakurotwi, death is not dreamt of.

Kufahakutane, death is quick.

Kufainyore, death is easy.

Kufakunesu, death is with us.

Kufariranwa, being happy for each other.

Kufaruvenga, hate death.

Kufazvinei, death no longer matters

Kugara, to sit.

Kuhudzai, finish.

Kuimba, to sing.

Kumbirai, request.

Kumirayi, speak for.

Kunaka, being good.

Kundai, conquer.

Kundishora, despising me.

Kundiso, a means for success.

Kundodyiwa, there will be eating.

Kunikeni, to expose me.

Kunosaraani? who will remain?

Kunyangwe, no matter.

Kupera, being finished.

Kupfumira, be awake early for.

Kurai, grow.

Kurauone, grow and see.

Kurauwone, mature and see.

Kurawarehwa, grow after being talked of.

Kurayi, grow.

Kuridza ngoma nedemo (KNN), beating a drum with an axe.

Kurima, ploughing.

Kurindwa, be watched.

Kurwaisimba, fighting means power.

Kurwakumire, fighting must stop.

Kushama, being surprised/naked.

Kushaya, not having, having died.

Kushoma, it is few.

Kutadzaushe, failing chieftaincy.

Kutambura, suffering.

Kutapira (KM), juice and sweet.

Kutenda, be thankful.

Kutsirayi, assist against something.

Kutsvara, to scratch.

Kutukwa, being scolded.

Kuudzadombo, telling a stone.

Kuudzerema, telling a foolish person.

Kuvaonga, thanking them.

Kuwana, getting.

Kuwandoga, being alone.

Kuziva, knowing.

Kuzivakwashe, the Lord's knowledge.

Kuziwa, knowing.

Kuzizina, leaking.

Kuzomuka, to wake up.

Kuzomunhu, to be a human being.

Kwaedza, it has dawned.

Kwaipa, it is bad.

Kwanayi, be composed.

Kwangwa, to listen attentively.

Kwaniswai, be made composed.

Kwashata, it is now bad.

Mafirekurewa, one who says the truth no matter what it takes.

Kwashirai, hunt/sort for.

Kwenda, a place.

Kwindima, to sit angrily.

Laina

Laiza

Lamp (GR)

Last

Lazaro

Lazaros

Lazarus

Lenin

Lenin (HY)

Lenin (ZK)

Leopold

Levi

Levi (KM)

Leviticus

Libert

Life

Linda

Livingstone

Lonely

Longiwa, desire something.

Lot

Luckson

Luka, Luke.

Lungisa, repair/fix correctly.

Luwiza, opaque.

Mabasa (ZV), deeds.

Mabasa, acts.

Bafana Bafana, South African soccer team.

Mabaya, you did/said exactly.

Mabengwani, opaque.

Mabhiza, horses.

Mabhiza, horses.

Mabhonzo (VR), bones.

Mabhumbi, bombs.

Mabhunu, Europeans.

Mabhunu (GR), whites.

Mabhunu Hokoyo (CHK), Europeans be aware.

Mabhunu Muchapera (HY), Europeans you shall be finished.

Mabhunu Muchapera (KM), whites you shall be wiped out.

Mabidha, picks.

Mabikahama, you cooked relatives.

Maboyi, nickname for African labourers.

Mabuku, books.

Mabuya, you talked of.

Mabvirakare, you started long ago.

*Mabvumb*i, large puff adders.

Mabvuto, the snatched.

Mabwe, stones.

Mabweazara, stones are now full.

Machama, you tried.

Machando, colds.

Macharicha, one who does not wait.

Machazire, cutter.

Macheka, you cut.

Machekabuwe, stone cutter.

Machekano, cut here.

Macheke, one who cuts using a knife.

Machekera, you are in for a treat.

Machena, you are smart/clean/poor.

Machenera, you have become smart for.

Machenjera, you are now wise.

Machido, too much interest.

Machimbidza, you were fast.

Machimbidzofa, you died early.

Machina, machine.

Machine

Machineson

Machisa, you ironed.

Machivenyika, you admired the country.

Machiyenyika, you admire the country.

Matimba, you dug.

Machoko, chalks.

Machona, you have been missimg for a long time.

Zvonetsa, it is now difficult.

Maclean

Macpatson

Madadi, one who is proud.

Madakufamba, one who walks frequently.

Madambudziko, big problems.

Madekurozwa, you wanted to be disadvantaged.

Madenyika, you like your country.

Madi, one who does what s/he wants.

Madirayi, doing what you want unofficially.

Madodana, you did exactly the same.

Madubako, opaque.

Madubeko, funeral problems.

Madzakutsaku (ZV), dissidents.

Madzamuse, one who causes things to fly.

Madzana, you danced.

Madzivanzira, one who blocks the way/

misleads.

Madzivire, the preventer.

Madzudzo, troubles.

Madzvamuse, the dismissor.

Maenzanise, the equalizer.

Maeresera, you did well.

Mafara, you are now happy.

Mafaro, joys.

Mafaune, one who plays death..

*Ma*fight, one who always fights.

Mafirakureva, one who says the truth

 regardless of the effect.

Mafirenyika, dying for one's country.

Mafunga, you have thought.

Mafungei? What have you decided?

Mafura, you grazed/you shot.

Mafurambwa (NP), you shot a dog.

Magadzire, builder.

Magaisa, the grinder.

Magarawani? have you stayed?

Magarika, you are now well.

Magarira, you set on something.

Magariro, the way of living.

Magaya, you thought/grind.

Magidi, guns.

Magoanoruma kana ukamavamba (HY),

 wasps bite if you provoke them.

Magora, locusts.

Magura, you will never do it/you cut.

Maguraushe, you broke the chieftaincy.

Maguta, you are satisfied.

Mahachi, horses.

Mahengechefu (ZV)

Mahoko base (VR), pegs.

Mahuda, you liked it.

Mahuni, fire logs.

Mahuni, fire logs.

Mahwinei? What did you gain?

Mai Nyasha (NJ), mother of Mercy.

Mai Regina (TAT), mother of Regina.

Mai Rerutsai (NDU), mother of lessen the burden.

Mai Sekesai (VR), mother of cause them to laugh.

Maidza, you tried.

Maikoro, Michael.

Maimbotii?, you used to say this and that?

Maina, small thing.

Maipenzi, you led to be mad.

Mairosi, opaque.

Maitii? what were you saying?

Maitivafe, you wanted them to die.

Maitivanhusu? you thought they are people?

Maitya, you were afraid.

Maivepi? where were you?

Maizivei? what did you know?

Majaha, boys.

Majawa, opaque.

Majecha, sands.

Majidu, one who irritates those who want to talk to him/her.

Majoko, yokes.

Majongwe, cocks.

Majoni, European security personnel.

Majuta, Jews.

Majuta, you crocked.

Maka, mark.

Makabonesu, you saw us.

Makaita, thank you.

Makaita, you did well.

Makaiteyi? What did you do.

Makambe, one who causes fights/havocs.

Makamure, divider.

Makanakaishe, the Lord you are good.

Makanda, skins.

Makandipei? what did you give me?

Makandipei? what did you give me?

Makandipei? you gave me what?

Makanga, you roasted.

Makani, the fighter.

Makanzwei? what did you hear?

Makariyo, opaque.

Makata, uphill.

Makatenge, you almost.

Makatora, you took.

Makazoonei? what else did you see.

Makazviwanepi? where did you get it.

Makeke, cakes.

Maketo, the chosen.

Makeyi, last year.

Makita, seller/market.

Makiwa, Europeans.

Makochekanwa, joined together.

Makombe, large ones/one who surrounds.

Makomborero, blessings.

Makonese, the one who stopped.

Makoni, doors.

Makoni (CHK), doors.

Makoto, left overs/chaff.

Makufeni, opaque.

Makundwei? what have you been defeated?

Makurirofa, you grow up so you could die.

Makurume (MUM)

Makurumidze, the urgent one.

Makusha, thower/broadcaster.

Makuwerere, big things never seen.

Makuyana, you grind each other.

Makuza, the encourager.

Makwara, cowards/lines.

Makwenyu, of yours.

Mambetu, of suffering.

Mambokadzi Elizabeth (CHK), Queen Elizabeth.

Mambondimumwe, the king is one.

Mambovanhu, king is people.

Maminimini, surprises.

Manassah

Manatsa, you did well.

Manava, you are softened.

Mandava, crimes

Mandianike, you exposed.

Mandichivei? what do you admire from me?

Mandifadza, you pleased me.

Mandigona, you did me well.

Mandiguta, you are satisfied with me.

Mandiiteyi? what did you do to me?

Mandima, owner of portions.

Mandimika, you are against me.

Mandinyanya, it is now too much for me.

Mandipaushe, you gave me chieftaincy.

Mandipeiko? what did you give me.

Mandipezano, you gave me any idea.

Mandirega, you left me.

Mandiringa, you watched me.

Mandisa, you put me.

Mandishona, you despised me.

Mandisi, the usual refuser.

Mandiudza, you told me.

Mandivavarira, you are always after me.

Mandiwana, you found me.

Mandiwana, you got me.

Mandiya, one who always things are his/hers.

Mandoti, you tried that and that.

Maneji, manager.

Maneto, the tiredness.

Manetswa, you have been bothered.

Mangaiso, cause of problem.

Mangava, crimes.

Mangezi, Europeans.

Mangisi, sweetened beer brew.

Mangoma, drums.

Mangwana, tomorrow.

Mangwiro, one who fights without stop.

Maningi, too much.

Manlord

Mano, ideas.

Manongo, lazy one.

Manowa

Manwa, you drunk.

Manyaya, stories.

Manyepa, you lied.

Manyezu, one who bears too much fruits.

Manyonga, disturber.

Manyoro, the soft one.

Manyowa, manure.

Manzira, roads.

Manzungu, big ground nuts.

Mao (ZK)

Mao (ZV)

Maodzwa, you have been discouraged.

Maokoashe, the Lord's hand.

Maokomai, hands are mother.

Maonachi, you saw this one.

Maonedza, you were made to see.

Maonei? what did you see?

Maoneka, you bid farewell.

Maonekesa, you bid farewell long ago.

Maoneyi? what did you see?

Mapa, you gave.

Mapako, caves.

Mapanga, knives.

Mapani, lowlands.

Mapedzamombe, you finished the cattle.

Mapfumo, spears.

Mapfumo (TAT), spears.

Mapika, you swore.

Mapise, the hot one.

Mapiye, the disturber.

Mapomba, you tired/put pressure.

Maponda, you murdered.

Mapukuta, you brushed.

Mapurisa, police.

Mapuruvheya (VR), Black Rhodesian Soldiers.

Maputseni, you destroyed me.

Mara, bitter.

Maradze, causer of sleep.

Maraire, advise giver.

Maramba, you refused.

Maramba base (VR), you refused.

Marambanyika, you refused country.

Marambaushe, you refused chieftaincy.

Maramwidze, reason why people refused something for each other.

Marandure, stopper.

Maravanyika, you counted the country.

Marayini, lines.

Marevasei? how did you say?

Mareveni, you meant me.

Margadaline

Maria

Maribha, you have magically sorted me.

Marimbu, one who is weak.

Marimira, you ploughed for.

Marimwe, always one.

Marina, mariner.

Maripi?, which one?

Marirwa, you fought for.

Marita, Martha.

Marita (ZV), Martha.

Mariya, Mary.

Marko, Mark.

Marksman

Marodza, you sharpened/omen usually bad according to the Manyika.

Maromo, mouths.

Marondera, you packed a lot in the mouth,/ a place in Mashonaland East.

Marova, you have been away for some time..

Marovha, you were absent.

Marowa, you have been away for some time.

Marowe base (VR)

Marozva, you destroyed.

Marufu, deaths.

Marukwanisa, you managed it.

Maruma, you bite.

Marume, men.

Marumwei? where were you biten?

Marunganyika, you salted the country.

Marutizira, you run away from it.

Maruva, flowers.

Maruza, you lost.

Marwa, you fought.

Marwarazhizha, one who gets sick during summer

Marwei Chigezamugovera (CHK), you fought for what you who baths on Sabbaths.

Marwiro

Marx (ZK)

Mary

Masaga, sacks.

Masaina, you signed.

Masamba, tea leaves.

Masanga, coincidence.

Masanganise, cause people to meet.

Masango, bushes.

Masango mavi (MM)

Masara, you are behind.

Masaramusi, you remained that time.

Masare (Kirk) (TAT), remainder.

Masarira, you are behind for it.

Masaudzo, rags.

Masauko, difference.

Masawi, false *rapoko*.

Maseko, cause of laughter.

Mashaini, one who shines.

Mashambanhanga village (VR), washer of girls' sleeping room/pumpkins..

Mashavakure, you hunted far away.

Mashinga, you have persevered.

Mashiri, birds.

Mashoko, words.

Mashonganyika, you wore the country.

Mashoriwa, the despised one.

Mashudu, one who shoots without selecting.

Mashuku, loquats fruits.

Mashukushe, one who shakes too much.

Mashumba (CHK), lions.

Mashundu, fullness.

Mashura, omen.

Mashura (HY), surprise.

Masikati, midday.

Masimba (GR), powers.

Masimbaashe, the Lord's power.

Masiya, you left.

Masocha, opaque.

Maspeak, speaker.

Masunganidze, you joined.

Masungare, tied strongly.

Masungwa, you are arrested.

Masunungure, liberator.

Masvikeni, where did you get to.

Masvimbo, knobkerries.

Masvingise, one who encourages.

Matambanadzo, one who plays with them.

Matambanashe, playing with the Lord.

Matambudza, you troubled.

Matandirotya, chasing in a way that shows you are afraid.

Matanga, you started.

Matapurai (ZV), multiply.

Matara, you set.

Matare, the setter.

Matarutse, the stopper.

Matekaire, the one who walks for.

Matemadombo, the stone hitter.

Matengambiri, you bought fame.

Mateo, Matthew.

Mateta, you are afraid.

Matewo, Matthew.

Mathias

Matiashe, you said it is of the chief.

Matifadza, you made us happy.

Matigimu, the much famous one/the one who causes the ground to reverberate.

Matikiti, tickets/pumpkins.

Matimati, tomatoes.

Matimazviona (TAT), you have not yet seen it.

Matimba, you dug.

Matinanisa, you exposed us.

Matinhure, cause of falling of traps.

Matinyanya, it has become too much.

Matinyanya, it has become too much for us.

Mationesa, you made us to see.

Mationesa, you caused us to see.

Matipano, you said here.

Matirasa, you throw us away.

Matiyenga, you are after us.

Matiyosi, Matheus.

Matiza, you ran.

Matiza, you went away.

Matizamhuka, you run away from animals.

Matizanhau, you run away from cases.

Matongo, deserted places.

Matope (NJ), mud.

Matora, you took.

Matsikachando (TAT), you stepped on ice.

Matsikanhiyo (ZV), you stepped on chicks.

Matsipi, the evil designer.

Matsitsiro, pressers.

Matsvai, the finisher.

Matsvayi, finisher.

Matsvororo

Matthew

Matumba, shelters.

Matunhu, places.

Maturity

Matyambaasiyana (HY)

Mauchi, honeys.

Maunze, you brought.

Mauya, you came.

Mavengahama, you hate relatives.

Mavengeni, you hate me.

Mavese, the fire starter.

Mavhiki, weeks.

Mavhimira, you hunted for.

Mavhiri (KM), wheels.

Mavhu, soils.

Mavhunga, you missed.

Mavhuro, opener.

Mavhuto, one with impact/one who blows the

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furnace.

Mavurayi, go/serial killer.

Mawamba, you started.

Mawana, you got.

Mawaya (ZK), wires.

Mawoneni, you saw me.

Mawoneyi, what did you see.

Maxmilian

Mayor

Mazarakura, it has grown big.

Mazarura, opener.

Mazhambe (mutengesi) (HY), one who cries loud

Mazhazhate, one with groaning voice.

Mazhindu (ZK), one who is so agile.

Maziitirei? why did you do that?

Mazingaidzo, the confusor.

Mazivangei? how did you know?

Mazizwe, one who claims to know everything.

Mazorodze, comforter.

Mazuru, holes.

Mazvakemazvake, each for each and everyone.

Mazvihwa, you have heard it.

Mazviona, you saw it.

Mazvitadza, you failed to address it.

Mazwi, words.

Mbada (KM), leopard.

Mbakiso, for construction.

Mbanje, dagga.

Mbekeya, useless person.

Mberengwa, a place formerly called

Belingwe.

Mberikunashe, in from there is the Lord.

Mberikwazvo (ZK), it front of it all.

Mbezo (KM), small axe for wood cutting

or shaping.

Mbire, *mukanya* totem. This is believed to be place

of origin for those of the baboon/monkey (*Soko*)

totem.

Mbokochena, something that causes

trouble for others.

Mbuya Nehanda (MUM), a female spirit

medium that became a rallying point for

Zimbabwe's resistance to European rule.

Meditate

Medium

Meeting

Melbourne

Mercedes

Merymediatricks

Mfundo, the learned/lesson.

Mhaka, crime.

Mhangarayi, report.

Mhara, land on.

Mharadzano, separating ways.

Mharadze, disperser.

Mharidzo, sermon.

Mharire, the trouble causer.

Mhike, opposer.

Mhiko, promise.

Mhindudzapasi (MUM), tricks of the earth.

Mhirizhonga (KM), chaos.

Mhonda, destroyer.

Mhosva, crime.

Mhuka, animal.

Mhukayatadza, animal have done wrong.

Mhumhi, animal destroyer.

Mhunduru, that which causes itching.

Mhungu (NJ), a snake of the velds.

Mhurai, despise.

Mhurai, castigate.

Mhuri, family.

Mhuriyengwe, family of a leopard.

Mhute, mist.

Micah

Michael

Midzi, roots

Migove, allocations.

Miidzo, tempatations.

Mikairi, Michael.

Million

Mindoringisa, watch closely.

Miriama Mafa (CHK), death.

Mirika, Milica.

Mirirai, wait for.

Miriraishe, wait upon the Lord.

Miriro, waiting for.

Miriam

Misha, homes.

Misodzi, tears.

Misomari, useless money.

Moda, you now love.

Modina

Modokai, Modeccai.

Mofati, Moffat.

Moffat

Moga, alone.

Mogeni, Morgan.

Mogonyei? what shall you do?

Molina

Mona (TAT), Monalisa.

Money Maker

Moneyworks

Monica

Monyororo (TAT), twister.

Mordecai

Moreblessing

Moses (ZK)

Moses *Tongai Marufu* (CHK), judge deaths.

Motomoto, fire fire.

Motounopisa, fire burns.

Motsi, one.

Moza (HY), Mozambique.

Mozambique (MUM)

Mozodii? What shall you do?

Mozotii? What shall you say?

Mpariwa, the troubled one.

Mpedziswa, the finished.

Msevenzi, worker.

Mtero, tax.

Mubaiwa (ZV), the victim.

Mubango, in the pole.

Mubatapasango, one who gets caught in the bush/one who starts a journey into a bush.

Mubato, in the party/handle.

Mubaya, the piercer.

Mubayi, piercer.

Mubvakure, foreigner.

Mubvumbi, drizzling day.

Muchabaiwa, you shall be pierced.

Muchabveyo, you shall leave.

Muchacha, vegetable from cucumber leaves.

Muchacha, strong football shot.

Muchada, you shall want.

Muchadehama, you shall want relatives.

Muchadenyika, you shall love your country.

Muchadeyi?, what else do you want?

Muchaendepi?, where shall you go?

Muchafa, you shall die.

Muchaiteyi? what shall you do?

Muchakagara, you are still seated.

Muchandifunga, you shall think of me.

Muchaneta, you shall tire.

Muchanyara, you shall be ashamed.

Muchanyorei?, what shall you write?

Muchaona, you shall see.

Muchapera, you shall be finished.

Muchapera (GR), you shall be finished.

Muchapera (MM), you shall be finished.

Muchapera Mabhunu (HY), Europeans you
 shall be finished.

Muchapfidza, you shall learn it the hard
way.

Muchapondwa Makarara (MUM), you
shall be murdered in your sleep.

Muchapondzwa, you shall be murdered.

Mucharutya, you shall be afraid of death.

Mucharwa, you shall fight.

Muchatuta, you shall pack and go.

Muchaziwepi? what shall you know?

Muchazorevaani? whom shall you
back-bite?

Muchazvipedza, you shall finish it.

Muchechetere, evenness.

Muchema, the crier.

Muchemedzi, the cause for crying.

Muchemeyi? what do you cry for?

Muchemwa (TAT), the cried for.

Muchena (ZV), poor, European.

Muchengeti, keeper.

Muchengeti (NJ), keeper.

Muchengetwa, the kept one.

Muchenyu, in yours.

Mucheri, the digger.

Muchineripi? What else do you have?

Muchineripizano? What idea do you still have?

Muchinguri, the receiver.

Muchipisi, the fixer.

Muchokwa, the choked one.

Mudakwenyu, one who loves his/her origins' things.

Mudambanuki, one who is free and
associates with all.

Mudavanhu, lover of people.

Mudavose, lover of all.

Mudawarima, one who loves s/he who has ploughed.

Mude, love.

Mudewairi, lover of two.

Mudiwa, the beloved.

Mudoni, the one who fell.

Mudyavanhu, eater of people.

Mudyiwa, the eaten.

Mudzamiri, the missed one.

Mudzanga, cigarette.

Mudzimeti, slang for wife.

Mudzimundiringe (MUM), ancestors watch over me.

Mudzimureka, ancestors stop that.

Muedzo, temptation.

Mufakwadziya, one who dies when old.

Mufambisi, fast walker.

Mufaro, happiness.

Mufudzi, shepherd.

Mufumi, rich.

Mufunganzira, one who thinks of the way.

Mugabe (CHK), opaque.

Mugadza, one who makes people sit.

Muganhiri, one who is not composed.

Mugari, sitter.

Mugarike, so you can be well.

Mugarisi, one who makes people sit.

Mugate, in a big pot.

Mugova, distributer.

Mugove, a gift.

Muguru, in a hole.

Mugwagwa, road/path/way.

Mugwisi, a fighter.

Mugwisi, one who incites.

Muhwahwa, in beer.

Mujambajecha, skipper of sand.

Mujee, in jokes.

Mujere, in jail.

Mujerimani, a German.

Mujibha (CHK), boys who assisted liberation war combatants.

Mujubheki, from Johannesburg.

Mukai (HY), wake up.

Mukandabhutsu (MUM), one who kicks, walks fast.

Mukandi, thrower.

Mukandiwa, the thrown.

Mukarati, a tree.

Mukaratirwa, opaque.

Mukayi, wake up.

Muketiwa, the segregated.

Mukoki, caller/one who invites.

Mukomberi, the surrounder.

Mukonoweshuro (NP), male hare.

Mukoroverwa, the crocked one.

Mukubika, in cooking.

Mukudzani, respect each other.

Mukudzei, praise him/her.

Mukudzindishe, the increaser is the Lord.

Mukundindishe, the victor is the Lord.

Mukundwa, the defeated one.

Mukundwe, be defeated.

Mukwati, a renowned war leader against European imperialistic moves in the 1896s.

Mukwindi, the moody one.

Mukwiti, one who abdicates.

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Muletye, opaque.

Mumbamarwo, its house.

Mumbamazvo, its house.

Munakandafa, one who will be good in death.

Munakira, one who is good for something.

Munamati, worshipper.

Munamato, prayer.

Munangi, aimer.

Munapo, you have it.

Munaro, you have it.

Munashe, in the Lord.

Munatsi, good doer.

Munatsi, doer of good things.

Munda, field.

Muneinazvo? What do you have to do with it?

Muneizvedu, what do you have with our things.

Munemo (ZV), a joker.

Muneni, you are with me.

Munesu, you are with us.

Munetsi, troubler.

Muneyi? what do you have?

Mungaererwa, have it scaled for you.

Mungarevani, whom can you back bite.

Mungofa, you will always die.

Munhamo, in problems.

Munhongi, the one who picked.

Munhupedzi, the mad person.

Munhuuripi? where is the person?

Munhuwakare, an old person.

Munhuwei? A person of what?

Munhuwei? What type of a person?

Munjanja, from Njanja place.

Munjodzi, in trouble.

Muno, here.

Munochiveyi? what attracts you?

Munoda, you love.

Munodawafa, you want the dead.

Munofa, you die.

Munoitei? What do you do?

Munondidii? What can you do to me?

Munongi, the gatherer.

Munoonesu, you see us.

Munorwei? You fight for what?

Munorwei (TAT)? Why fight?

Munorweyi? You fight for what?

Munosunama, you get annoyed.

Munouya, you come.

Munozogara, you shall live.

Mununuri, rescuer.

Munya, comforter, leftover sadza (tone dependent).

Munyadzi, one who drew shame.

Munyai, go-between.

Munyanyi, the increaser.

Munyanyi, increaser.

Munyanyiwa, the increased one.

Munyara, the ashamed one.

Munyaradzi, the comforter.

Munyatwa, in trouble.

Munyengeri, the villain.

Munyengetero, prayer.

Munyenyuwa, the much talked of.

Munyika, in the country.

Munyikwa, the drowned.

Munyiswa, the defeated one.

Munyoro, the soft one.

Munzara, in hunger.

Munzwa, thorn.

Munzwembiri, so you hear the fame.

Mupakaviri, one who gives twice.

Mupambawashe, king's kidnapper/chief's maid.

Mupandaguta, one who gives when he is full.

Mupandawana, one who gives if he gets.

Mupande, lightning.

Mupandira, one who plants before the rain.

Mupangavanhu, one who advices people.

Mupanwa, the shared one.

Mupapangwa, one exposed to severe wind.

Muparadzi, destroyer.

Muparanganda, one who refuses whatever advise.

Mupawaenda, one who give those who have gone.

Mupedzanhunha, the addressor of problems.

Mupedzi, the finisher.

Mupereki, the one who accompanies someone.

Mupeta, the one who folds/beer.

Mupfudze, manure.

Mupfumi, the rich one.

Mupfuuri, the passer by.

Mupfuwahuku, one who keeps fowls.

Mupini, handle.

Mupona, the survivor.

Muposhi, the thrower.

Mupunga, rice.

Muputa, the smoker.

Muradzi, one who puts others to sleep.

Murairwa, the advised one.

Murambiwa, the rejected one.

Murandu, fine.

Murangano, in planning.

Muranganwa, the agreed one.

Muraswa, the thrown away.

Murauro, the hooker.

Murawu, laws.

Murehwa, one always spoken of.

Murenga, war.

Mureverwi, the reported one.

Murevesi, the one who says as it is.

Murewa, a place name.

Murhingo, opaque.

Murima, in the darkness.

Murimo, allocation.

Murinda, in the grave.

Murindagomo, one who watches over a mountain.

Muringai, the concotion for diseases.

Muringi, the watcher.

Murinye, the one who suffered most.

Muriritirwa, the looked after.

Muriva, in the trap.

Muroiwa, the bewitched.

Muroiwa, the witched one.

Murombo, poor.

Murombomunhu, poor.

Murongazvombo, the arranger of weapons.

Muropa, in the blood.

Murove, flooding.

Muroyi Wavatema (ZK), witch of blacks.

Murozvi, of the Rozvi totem.

Murudo, in love.

Murumbi, one who behaves like whites.

Murungu, white.

Murwarazhizha, one who always gets sick during summer.

Murwendo, in the journey.

Murwisi, the fighter.

Musa, mercy.

Musademba, do not regret.

Musademba, do not regret.

Musaemura, do no praise.

Musafare, do not be happy.

Musafare (ZV), do not celebrate.

Musahura, do not be promiscuous.

Musakarara, do not always shout.

Musakarira, do not always ask for more.

Musakwa opaque.

Musambiwa, the one denied.

Musandide, do not love me.

Musanyara, do not be ashamed.

Musapare, do not provoke.

Musapatika, do not get perturbed.

Musareva, do not say it.

Musareva, do not mention.

Musariri, one who remained.

Musariri, the remainder.

Musariri, the remainder.

Musariri, the one who remained.

Musariwa, the segregated one.

Musarurwa, the chosen one.

Musarurwa, the segregated.

Musasa, a tree popular in dry regions.

Musasiyashe, do not leave the Lord.

Musatya, do not be afraid.

Musavengana, do not hate each other.

Musavhaya, surveyor.

Musawashe, the Lord's mercy.

Musayemura, do not praise.

Musayengana, do not hate each other.

Musekiwa, the laughed one.

Musemburi, the disturber.

Musendekwa, the one put aside.

Musengi, carrier.

Musengwa, burden.

Museredzo, the aftermath of/dessert.

Musha, home.

Mushamisi, you surprised.

Musharo, the old one.

Mushavanhu, home is people.

Mushinyuri, the liberator from oppressive times.

Mushonga, medicine.

Mushore, despise.

Musikadi, even you do not want.

Musikirwa, the one something was made for.

Musimudziwa, the carried.

Musimwa, the planted.

Musindo, disturbance.

Musindo (CHK), havoc.

Musingarimi, non ploughers.

Musirimi, if it were not you?

Musodza, one who gave a still-birth.

Musodzi, tears.

Musokeri, a witness, a migrant.

Mussolini

Musungwa, the arrested.

Mususa, one who encourages.

Musuwo, door.

Musvotwa, the provoked one.

Muswe, tail.

Muswehaurari, tail does not stop waging.

Muswere, take long, entire day.

Mutambi, player.

Mutambiranwa, the one played for.

Mutamiswa, one relocated.

Mutandwa, the chased.

Mutangwa, the provoked.

Mutarisi, the looker.

Mutasa, the upright one/ the lazy one. This
is the case of Didymus Mutasa whose
actual surname is Makoni, but because
his grandfather was said to be lazy, the
nickname 'mutasa' stuck.

Mutauri, speaker.

Mutaurwa, the one talked of.

Muteeri, follower.

Mutemi, cutter.

Mutendi, believer.

Mutenheri, closer.

Mutero, tax.

Mutetiwa, the shunned one.

Muteyo, trap.

Muti, tree.

Mutikano, opaque.

Mutiyade, opaque.

Mutize, runner.

Mutizirwa, the one women run to.

Mutizwa, one run from.

Mutoda, you must like.

Mutonhodza, cooler.

Mutonyaani, whom are you looking for.

Mutorashanga, a river/which takes reeds/ a
place name.

Mutsa, mercy.

Mutsago, pillow.

Mutsai, awake.

Mutsauri, divider.

Mutsigigwa, the supported one.

Mutsigiri, supporter.

Mutsikamahwe, one who walks on rocks.

Mutsikapanyoro Mukwiragomo (NDU)

Mutsvangwa, the one looked for.

Mutume, send.

Mutumwa, the send.

Mutumwa, the send.

Mutumwa (ZV), the send.

Mutumwapavi, one send on tricky errands.

Mutunhu une mago (MUM), a place that has wasps.

Mututuvari, the one full of pride.

Mutuzo, encouragement.

Mutyavaviri, one afraid of two people.

Mutyowa, the softened one.

Muungani, the gathered.

Muvengwa, the hated.

Muvengwi, the hated.

Muvhevhi, the proposer.

Muvhevhi (TAT), the crook in love.

Muvirimi, one who looks down at others.

Muwandi, the increaser.

Muwandi, increaser.

Muwirimi, underminer.

Muyambiri, warner

Muyamuri, helper.

Muyengwa, the hated.

Muyevedzi, entertainer.

Muza, the corner.

Muzamani, one who always tries.

Muzanenhamo, one who came with problems.

Muzavazi, talker.

Muzawazi, talker.

Muzezuru, a Zezuru.

Muzi, the one who came.

Muzondiona, to see me.

Muzondiwa, the hated.

Muzonzini? what will be done?

Muzoremba, be tired.

Muzorori, rester.

Muzvondiwa, hated.

Mvarume, a male figure.

Mvumba, animal known for fighting.

Mvura, water.

Mvuri, shadow.

Mwaita, thanks.

Mwakarashevu, you threw me away.

Mwakona, you did well or you failed.

Mwanamuchena, white child.

Mwandiitawepi?, you made me of what?

Mwandimutsira, you started for me.

Mwandipa, you gave me.

Mwandiringana, you are enough for me.

Mwangu, mine.

Mwanyadza, you shamed.

Mwanyara, you are ashamed.

Mwaona, you saw.

Mwarupa, you gave it.

Mwawoneni, you saw me.

Mwazviita, thank you.

Mwedzi, month.

Mwena, hole.

Mwenewazvo, its owner.

Mwenewevhu, owner of the soil.

Mwenje, light.

Mwoyoungozowa, heart would collapse.

Mwoyoyedu, our hearts.

Nago, forward with the task.

Nailon (HY)

Nakai, be well.

Nakai, be nice

Nakayi, be nice

Nako, forward with what you are doing.

Namatai, pray.

Namatirai, keep together, pray for.

Nangisai, look closely.

Nashile

Natashah

Nathan

Nation

Natsai, do well.

Natsayi, do it nice.

Natso, be careful.

Naume

Ndaba, I stole.

Ndachambi, opaque.

Ndachambi, opaque.

Ndadzibaya, I have pieced them.

Ndadzungira, I have gone up and down.

Ndagurwa, I have been cut.

Ndaita, I have done.

Ndaiziveyi? what did I know.

Ndakaisvei? what did I do?

Ndakakuda, I loved you.

Ndakaruda, I loved it.

Ndakarwirwa, I have been fought for.

Ndakatsikei?, what am I stepping one?

Ndakaziva, had I known?

Ndakaziva, I had known.

Ndakazivei? what did I know.

Ndakaziwa, had I known.

Ndambakuhwa, one who refuses advice.

Ndamera, I have germinated.

Ndanatsei? what good have I done?

Ndapota, I have gone behind, please.

Ndaraika, I have learnt a lesson.

Ndaraza, I have lost.

Ndarukwa, I have been tricked.

Ndavazavo, its their problem.

Ndechei? its for what?

Ndega, alone.

Ndendechi, one like it.

Ndenya, in like manner.

Nderera (ZV), orphan.

Ndewere, Ndebele.

Ndichaona, I shall see.

Ndikombei, surround me.

Ndinei?, what do I have?

Ndiri parumananzombe (NP), I am caught
 in-between.

Ndirwire, fight for me.

Ndirwirei, intervene for me.

Ndirwo, it is that.

Ndiweni (CHK)

Ndizvo, it is so.

Ndizvozvo, it is so.

Ndodana, I have to call.

Ndodana, I have to call.

Ndodyei? what do I eat?

Ndofireyi? why should I die?

Ndomupei? What should I give you?

Ndomupeishe, what shall I give to the Lord.

Ndongwe, it means 'locusts' in *Manyika.* They are

known as *'mhashu'* and *'hwiza'* in the other Shona dialects.

Ndovorwi, why led to fight?

Ndumiyana, being sent on behalf of someone.

Nduna, chief/ a man/strong fighter from Induna.

Nechitoro, the shopowner.

Nefutari, Nepthali.

Nehanda, the lady spirit medium of Zimbabwe.

Nehemiah

Nelita

Nemerai, play jokes/lampoon/chide.

Nesu, with us.

Nesvinga, with a bundle of wood.

Netsai, trouble.

Netsaizvenyu, bother me, it is okay.

Never

Neverdare

Ngaatendwe, let s/he praised.

Ngaave, let it be.

Ngadziore, let them decay.

Ngairongwe, let it be arranged.

Ngano, folktale.

Ngapasare, let it remain.

Ngatikweyane, let us pull other.

Ngavaite (TAT), let them do.

Ngavi, oxen.

Ngazana, a girl.

Ngoneni, being after me.

Ngorima, one who ploughs.

Ngorombe, a poor one.

Ngoshi, the respected one *(Tonga)*

Nguo dzouswa (NDU), clothes of grass.

Nguvadzakwana, times are ripe.

Nguvairo, time has gone.

Ngwarai, be aware.

Ngwarai (TAT), be alert.

Ngwariranai, be aware of each other.

Nhamburo, suffering.

Nhamo, problem.

Nhamo (TAT), suffering.

Nhamo mutema (KM), suffering/problem is always around.

Nhamo Mutema (KM), problem of black.

Nhamoinesu, problems are with us.

Nhamoyatanga, problems have begun.

Nhamoyetsoka (VR), the feet's problem.

Nhamu, problem.

Nhandara, a level place.

Nhau, news.

Nhaudzei? what news?

Nhengure

Nherera, orphan.

Nherera (NDU), orphan.

Nhereramunhu, orphan is a person.

Nhira, opaque.

Nhura, parcel for the journey.

Nicholas

Nikita, opaque.

Nimrod

Njanji, rail line.

Njarava, opaque.

Njerere, the hawk.

Njerewushe, wisdom is chieftaincy.

Njodzi, disaster.

Njonda, a rich gentleman.

Njuzu (NJ), mermaid.

Nkomo (CHK), cattle (Ndebele).

Noah

Nokutenda, with faith.

Noliwe

Noma

Nombeko

Nomusa

Nomvuyo

Nonokai, be late.

Notandoh

Numeri, Numbers.

Nunurai, rescue.

Nyadenga, owner of heaven.

Nyadzisai, cause to be ashamed.

Nyahumwa, the dust-gatherer or the one covered in dust.

Nyakanyaka (HY), disturbance.

Nyakurerwa, the reared.

Nyama, meat.

Nyamadzawo, their meat.

Nyamainashe, meat is with the chief.

Nyamanhindi, pieces of meat.

Nyamayarwo, meat for it.

Nyamayedenga, meat for heaven.

Nyamita, forename of Nehanda.

Nyamunda, field owner.

Nyanza, sea.

Nyapfuri, the iron smith.

Nyapfuri, the iron smith

Nyaradzai, console.

Nyaradzayi, comfort.

Nyaradzi, peacekeeper.

Nyaradzo, consolement.

Nyarai, be shy.

Nyarai (CHK), be ashamed.

Nyararai, be quite.

Nyasha, mercy.

Nyasha (NJ), mercy.

Nyashadzaishe, the Lord's mercy.

Nyashadzamwari, God's mercy.

Nyashadzashe, heaven's mercy.

Nyashadzedenga, heaven's mercy.

Nyatanga, beginner.

Nyatsuro, owner of the hare or one who looks after orphans.

Nyatwa, problem.

Nyeketerai, pray.

Nyembe, accolade.

Nyembesi, tears.

Nyemudzai, attempt to give but later did not give.

Nyemwererai, smile.

Nyenga, propose love.

Nyengerai, mislead.

Nyengeterai, pray.

Nyeperai, lie for.

Nyeperayi, lie.

Nyepudzayi, tantalise.

Nyerere (MUM), the silent one/former Tanzanian leader now late.

Nyevera, advice.

Nyevero, warning.

Nyevero (ZK), advise.

Nyomo, dip slightly.

Nyika, country.

Nyika (KM), earth.

Nyika (NJ), earth.

Nyika (TAT), world.

Nyikadzanzwa, countries have heard.

Nyikadzino, these countries.

Nyikadzino, this country.

Nyikayaramba, the country has refused.

Nyikayazara, the country is full.

Nyiki, deep.

Nyimo, round nuts.

Nyingweni, so it be me.

Nyoni (CHK), a bird (Chewa/Nyanja and Ndebele)

Nyorovai, be socked.

Nyunyu, newcomer.

Nzenza, a person of loose morals.

Nzivo (TAT), havoc/battle.

Nzombe, ox.

Nzungucherwa, dug groundnuts.

Nzuwa opaque.

Nzwisisai, hear properly/understand.

Obed

Office

Omega

Onai, see.

Oneni, see me.

Onismus.

Oniyasi (MUM)

Opa

Oripa

Pabvabangopasekesa, where a pole has been removed it has become weak.

Pabwe, stone.

Pachawo, its amongst them.

Paida, it loved that.

Paidamoyo, what the heart loved.

Paidashe, what the Lord wanted.

Paiva, it was.

Pakachena, it is clean.

Pakachena, it is smart.

Pakuramunhumashokoanowanda, where one grows a lot is said.

Pambana, be united.

Pamhayi, repeat.

Pamhidzai, do again.

Pamhidzayi, increase.

Pamhidzirai, do more.

Pamure, separate.

Panashe, where the Lord is.

Panavanhu, there are people.

Pangai, desire.

Panganai, plot together

Pangira, advise.

Pangiwa, be advised.

Panichai, punishment.

Panyikapashe, on the Lord's land.

Para, shorter version of destroy.

Paradza, destroy.

Paradza, destroy.

Paradzai, dismantle.

Paradzai Mabhunu (KM), destroy whites.

Paraiwa, where advice was given.

Parere, where it sleeps.

Parerenyatwa, where problems are
 sleeping.

Parichi, thick porridge from maize meal.

Paridzirai, distribute.

Paridzirai, preach.

Parutsva, on fire.

Pasca

Pasi, earth.

Pasihapazari, the earth does not get full.

Pasindepedu (MUM), the earth is ours.

Pasinemabhunu (HY), down with whites.

Pasipamire, the earth has refused.

Pasipano, on this earth.

Pasipanodya, the earth earths, takes.

Pasipanodya (HY), the earth eats.

Paswani, opaque.

Patience

Patimos

Patinamo, it happened as what has happened
earlier.

Paul

Paurosi, Paul.

Pavarivega, where they are alone.

Pawandiwa, they have increased.

Pawandiwa, are now many.

Pawaringira, that which you are monitoring.

Paweni (CHK) opaque.

Payarira, where it has sounded.

Paymore

Pazvakavambwa, where it has been started.

Peace

Peacemaker

Pedzai (HY), finish.

Pedzi (KM), short version of Pedzisai, finish.

Pedzisai (CHK), finish.

Pedzisi, finish.

Pemhiwa, the provider for beggars.

Penduka, come back.

Penisera, pencil.

Penjeni, pension.

Penny

Pepukai, awake.

Perekai, hand over.

Persuade

Pesanai, divide.

Pesanayi, cross paths.

Peter

Peter Gun (HY)

Peter Gun (HY)

Peterson

Petros

Pfavayi, be calm.

Pfidzai, never do it.

Pfidzai, regret

Pfidzayi, learnt a lesson.

Pfidze, learnt.

Pfugamai, kneel.

Pfumai, be rich.

Pfumayaramba, wealth has refused.

Pfumisai, make rich.

Pfumo revanhu (TAT), people's spear, the United African National Council (UANC)'s paramilitary wing also known as Dzakutsaku.

Pfumorodze, sharpen spear.

Pfungwa, mind.

Pfunhu, untie.

Pfuurayi, go past.

Pharo, Pharaoh.

Philemon

Philip

Pindirai, intervene.

Piketsvimbo, always fighting, always carrying knobkerrie.

Piki, peak.

Pikimukai, wake up fast.

Pikirayi, swear for.

Pikisa, deny.

Pikitai, carry.

Pindai (KM), get in.

Pindura, reply.

Pioneer

Pirayi, hand over.

Pisirai, burn for, breached.

Piwainyika, be given the country.

Podzai, comfort, cool.

Poko, pierce.

Polite

Pomerai, accuse.

Pondai Mabhunu (NP), murder whites.

Pondayi, murder.

Ponderai, murder for.

Porunovengwa, where it is hated.

Poshiwa, one missed by something like a bullet.

Potera, hide/take cover.

Povho (CHK), the majority civilian population that gathers for a political meeting during wartime.

Power

PraiseGod

Praymore

Price

Princess

Prisca

Proctor

Prosper

Providence

Pswakai, this is from the old orthograph. It means 'look for/search'..

Punish

Purazeni, farm.

Putsayi, destroy.

Pwisiwa, it means to ber defeated.

Rabaya, it pierced.

Rabecca

Rabeka/ Rabecca

Rachel

Rafero, Raphael.

Raina, Laina.

Raini, line.

Raisi, rice.

Rajabu, this is Hindi. It is Raj Ahab which means 'King Ahab'.

Rambisai, categorically deny.

Rambisai, deny strongly.

Rambwayi, be rejected/denied.

Raminosi opaque.

Ramunyenyewa, for the despised/ underrated.

Ranga, discipline

Rangaridzai, remind.

Rangaridzo, reminder.

Rangarira, remember.

Rangarirai, you must remember.

Ranja, sight of a thrown away thing.

Ransom

Rapai, heal/console.

Rapid

Raramai, survive.

Raramai, survive.

Raremukai, recuperate.

Rashai, throw away.

Rashai, discard.

Rashirai, dispose on them.

Rashirai, accuse one another.

Rashiwe, something abruptly thrown away.

Ratambwa, it has been played.

Rati, show.

Ratidzo, demonstration.

Ravasingade, that they do not love.

Ravasingadi that they hate.

Reagan

Reasoner

Refreshment

Regai, leave it.

Regedzai, leave us.

Regerai, stop it.

Regiment

Regina

Rejoice

Rekai, stop it.

Remeredzai, respect.

Remina

Rerai, look after.

Respect (VR)

Reuben

Revai, speak.

Revai (TAT), disclose.

Revesai, be honesty.

Revitiko, Leviticus.

Rewayi, speak.

Rewu, Rehu.

Rezvinani, to who does that belong?

Rhinos

Rhodes

Rhodes Avenue (VR)

Rice

Richard *Rwafa* (TAT), it has died.

Richardson

Rifarashe, the best of the Lord.

Rimai, plough.

Rimawu, plough also.

Rindai, wait.

Rindirai, wait for.

Ringirai, watch for.

Ringisai, watch closely.

Risayi, keep, herd/look after.

Rishoni, Rishon.

Risinamhodzi, that with no seeds.

Risona

Rita, litre.

Robi, Robert.

Rodiwero, Rodwell.

Romana, it has to do with the word 'Rome' as in

'Pax Romana' (The peace of Rome'.

Romeo

Ronaldo

Rondai, track.

Rondozai, beat without someone fighting back.

Rongani, organize each other.

Ropa rakawanda richadeuka (HY), a lot of

blood shall be shed.

Ropafadzo, blessing.

Rorah, Lorah, it is also Laurah/Laura.

Rosa

Rosewita

Rosifina, Roseline.

Rosina

Rovesa, beat hard.

Rowesai, beat much/cause to be bewitched.

Rozi Charira (VR), Rose that which has

made noise/has exploded.

Rubwe, a stone.

Rudado, pride.

Rudo, love.

Rudo Marufu (ZK), Love deaths.

Rudorwashe, love of God.

Rufu, death.

Rufurunoza, death is coming.

Rugare, peace.

Rujeko, light.

Rukudzo, respect.

Rukumbirira, intervention.

Rukundo, success.

Rukurumbira, the large fame.

Rukwishuro, a divider.

Rumbidzai, praise.

Runesu, it is with us.

Runesu, it is following.

Rungaidzo, spoiled.

Rungamai, be humbled.

Rungano, story.

Rungisai, counsel.

Rungoi, man made fibre.

Runo, this one.

Runochinya, it is cruel.

Runodada, it is proud.

Runyararo, peace.

Rupiza (KNN), crushed soya porridge.

Ruramai, be honesty.

Ruramisai, strengthen.

Ruregerero, forgiveness.

Rusere, eight times.

Rusununguko, liberation.

Rutendo, thanks-giving.

Ruth

Ruvanene, beautiful flower.

Ruvarashe, the Lord's flower.

Ruvaro, that flower.

Ruvimbo, trust.

Ruwadzano, gathering.

Ruwanza, increaser.

Ruwedzerei, increase.

Ruwimbo, faith

Ruzane, one with it.

Ruzariro, the last one.

Ruzeze, unnecessary fear

Ruzivo, knowledge.

Ruzururo, opener.

Ruzvidzo, disrespect.

Ruzvidzo (CHK), disrespect.

Rwafa, it has died.

Rwatida, it has loved us.

Rwatirera, it has taken us long.

Rwatiringa, it is upon us.

Rwenyu, yours.

Rwizi, river.

Rwodzi, tree strip.

Rwokuda, it loves.

Sabhu (HY), sub.

Sabina

Sacrifice

Sadzi, opaque.

Sagandira, owner of music item.

Sai, shorter version of Simon.

Saina, sign.

Saini, signature.

Sajeni Johane (ZK), sergeant John.

Sakina, Sekinah, a variant form of 'Shekinah' the cloud that appeared at Christ's transfiguration.

Sakunara, one who always quarrels.

Sakutukwa, the despised.

Sale

Salisbury (TAT)

Sambadzayi, market.

Samhaka, the guilty one.

Samora (MUM)

Samora (ZV)

Samson

Samu, mathematics, shorter version of Samuel.

Samuel

Samusa (ZV)

Sanangurai, set apart.

Sanganai, meet.

Sangodema, black jungle.

Sanyika, country owner

Sara, remain.

Sarah (NDU), the name is biblical, Isaac's wife.

Sarainaye, remain with him/her.

Sarudzai, descrimnate

Saruna, choose.

Saruro, favour

Saul

Savious

Sekai, scorn

Sekai (HY), laugh at.

Seke, laugh shortly/a name of a place.

Sekenhamo, laugh at problems.

Sekesai, cause to laugh.

Sekuseka, as if it was laughing.

Semai, despise.

Sengamayi, carry mother.

Senita, senator.

Senyai, plough.

Senzeni, Ndebele.

Sepu, opaque.

Seremina, opaque.

Seretina, opaque.

Seriza, opaque.

Serudzai, belittle.

Seruna, opaque.

Sesedzai, take slowly.

Sevenzai, work.

Severinosi, Sylvanias, Sylvanos.

Shaibu, opaque.

Shakespeare

Shamba river (VR), bath.

Shamba river (VR), bath.

Shamhu, rod.

Shamhuyashe, the Lord's rod.

Shamiso, surprise.

Shamiso (CHK), surprise.

Shamu, rod.

Shamuyashe, the Lord's rod.

Shamwari Yeropa (GR), friend of blood.

Shanangurai, set apart.

Shanduko (CHK), reform.

Shangahaidonhi, grain does not fall.

Shangwa, suffering.

Shangwa, suffering.

Sharai, select.

Sharon

Shava, totem.

Shayachimwe, lack something.

Shayamano, lack of ideas.

Shayawabaya, fail to get employment.

Shelter

Shelton *Chidoro* (ZK), of beer.

Shepherd

Shepherd *Zivanai* (CHK), know each other.

Shereni, shilling.

Sheri, cherry.

Sherudo, the Lord is love.

Sheunesu, Lord is with us.

Shikopo, spook.

Shindi, squirrel.

Shinga (KNN), persevere.

Shingai, persevere.

Shingairai, please persevere.

Shingairayi, please persevere.

Shingirai (VR) persevere.

Shingirirai Chimurenga (HY), persevere

its war.

Shingirirai Tinotonga (ZK), persevere we shall rule.

Shingisai, encourage.

Shingiso, encouragement.

Shinya, tight.

Shinyirai, cry quietly/hiss.

Shiri, bird.

Shoko, monkey.

Shokorashe, Lord's word.

Shongai, dress.

Shongeso, the one used to dress.

Shonhahende opaque.

Shoperai, consult.

Shorai, demune.

Shorwi, demuned.

Shoti (KM), short.

Shudikai, make it short.

Shumbanhete, slim lion.

Shumbai, lion.

Shumbairerwa, the reared lion.

Shumirai, worship.

Shumiraishe, worship the Lord.

Shungu, commitment.

Shungu (CHK), anger.

Shupai, torment.

Shupi, suffer

Shupikai, suffering.

Shupikai, suffering.

Shupiko, problem.

Shutu, fullness.

Shuvai (CHK), desire.

Shuwa, truly.

Sibindi (CHK)

Sign Gwenzirinotsva (TAT), bush is burning.

Silas

Silas (NP)

Simbai, endure.

Simbanegavi, cleave to the string.

Simbarashe, the Lord's power.

Simbi, metal.

Simbi (VR), metal.

Simbi village (VR), iron.

Simbisai, make strong.

Simbiso, encouragement.

Simon

Simora

Simotiya, opaque.

Simudzai, carry it up.

Simudzirai, promote.

Simukai, stand up.

Simukai (ZK), stand up.

Simukirai, stand a little bit.

Sindiso

Singano, of folktales.

Singiro, tie around.

Sinikiwe, opaque.

Sinini, coming out from an unexpected source in little quantities.

Sininisami, opaque.

Sipanera, spanner.

Sipanichiwe, opaque.

Sipiriyasi, opaque.

Sipiwe

Sithole (CHK)

Six pence, six coins.

Siyafa, we die.

Siyaka, leave

Siyamawere, leave the slope.

Sizani, opaque.

Smile

Smith

Smith (MUM)

Solar

Soldier *Mashumba* (ZK), lions.

Solomon Ngoni (ZV), mercy.

Solomon

Son

Sorofa, always die.

Sosi, opaque.

Soweto (ZV)

Space

Special (KM)

Speed (ZV)

Spider (ZV)

Stanley Avenue (VR)

Stephenson

Stoddart

Stonegold

Stophery (TAT)

Story

Succeed

Sukai, clean.

Sukutai, cleanse.

Sumburani, tie a bundle.

Summer

Sundayi, push.

Sunde, a push.

Sungai, tie.

Sunganai, be united.

Sungayi, tie.

Sungirirai, tie to something.

Sungisai, tie it more.

Sunny

Sunungukai, be free.

Sunungurai, untie.

Sunungurai (HY), untie.

Sununurayi, tie it.

Surveyor

Susupenze, is pence.

Suzan *Chemhere* (CHK), that which made

noise.

Svinurai, open your eyes.

Svinurayi, be alert.

Svitsai, hand over.

Svodai, be ashamed.

Svondo, Sunday.

Svorai Munorwei (TAT)? despise why you fight?

Svotwai, be bored.

Svuure, skin.

Swadiki, opaque.

Taanarwo, we are now with it.

Taaridzo, we are with it.

Tabvirwa, they have gone away from us.

Tabvuma, we have accepted.

Tachiona, we have seen it.

Tachiveyi?, what have we admired?

Tachiwei? what have we liked?

Tada, we have loved.

Taderera, we have lowered ourselves.

Tadiwanashe, we have been loved by
the Lord.

Tadyarakumunda, we have planted at
the field.

Tadzei? what have we done wrong?

Tadzimirwa, we are closed out/we are lost.

Tadzirai, do wrong for someone.

Tadziripa, we have paid back.

Tadzoka, we are back.

Tadzungaira, we have loitered.

Taengana, we hate each other.

Taenzana, we are now equal.

Taenzaniswa, we have been made alike.

Tafadzwa, we have been made happy.

Tafadzwanashe, we have been made
 happy by the Lord.

Tafangenyasha, we are dying because
of the Lord's mercy.

Tafara, we are happy.

Tafaranashe, we are happy with the Lord.

Tafaranazvo, we are happy with that.

Tafi, shortened version of *Tafirenyika*.

Tafirenyika, we die for the country.

Tafirenyika (CHK), we died for the country.

Tafirenyika (VR), we died for the land.

Tafireyi? Why do we die?

Tafunga, we have thought.

Tafura, we shot.

Tagarika, we are living well.

Tagarira, we are waiting for.

Tagarisa, we have stayed long.

Taguta, we are satisfied.

Tagutanazvo, we are full of it.

Tahwa, we have heard it.

Taingofa, we were still to die.

Taipei? what wrong have we done?

Taishuva, we wished.

Taisireva, we used to say.

Taitivanhu (TAT), we thought they are people.

Taitosi, Titus.

Taiziei? What did we do wrong?

Taka, short version for Takawira meaning
 we messed.

Takabvakure, we came from far off.

Takabveyo (CHK), we came from there.

Takabvirakare, we started long ago.

Takabvirwa, they started long.

Takadiyi?, what did we do?

Takaedza, we tried.

Takaedzwa, we were tried.

Takaendesa, we sent it.

Takaindisa, we sent it.

Takaiwana, we got it.

Takarindwa, we are watched.

Takarumirira, we are waiting for it.

Takaruza, we lost.

Takaruza (MM), we missed out.

Takashaya, we could not get it.

Takavarasha, we lost them.

Takawira, we fell into it.

Takawira (TAT), we came into it.

Takayindisa, we sent it.

Takaza, we tried.

Takazvida, we loved it.

Takecover

Takepower

Takorera, we are used to it.

Taks (KM)

Takudza, we raised.

Takudzwa, we have been praised.

Takunda, we succeeded.

Takudzwa, we have been defeated.

Takura, we have grown up.

Takuraneyi? what is it that made us grow up?

Takwana, we are enough.

Takwanisa, we made it.

Tamai, relocate.

Tamai (ZV), move to another place.

Tamanikwa, we have been caught in-between.

Tamanikwa, we have been caught unaware.

Tamari is Shona version of *Thamary*

or *Tamar.*

Tambanewenyu, play with yours.

Tambaoga, play alone.

Tambira, receive.

Tambira, play for.

Tamburai, suffer.

Tamburikai, trouble.

Tamburiro, trouble.

Tamira, relocate to/we have waited/we are waiting. It depens on the tonal inflections used.

Tamirira, we are waiting for.

Tamirirashe, we are waiting for the Lord.

Tamirirofa, we are waiting to die.

Tamisayi, help relocate/make to relocate.

Tamuka, we have risen.

Tamukamoyo, our heart is rekindled.

Tamuona, we saw him/her.

Tamutswanashe, we have been raised by the Lord.

Tanaka, we are now well.

Tanatsiwa, we are made well.

Tanatswa, we are made well.

Tandadzai, entertain.

Tandai, chase away.

Tandayi, chase.

Tandayo, chase it.

Tandiwe, the loved one.

Taneta, we are tied.

Tanetswa, we have been bothered.

Tangai, start.

Tanganda, start with that.

Tanganeropa (CHK), start by drawing out blood.

Tanganyika, is the name of mainland Tanzania before its union with Zanzibar.

Tangawamira, start by ploughing.

Tangirai, start for others.

Tangisai, start.

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Tanyanyiwa, it has become too much.

Tanyaradzwa, we have been consoled.

Tanzania (MUM)

Taona, we saw.

Taonameso, we saw the eyes.

Taonekwa, we have been seen.

Taoneyi? What did we see?

Taonezvi, we saw this.

Taonga, we thanked.

Taonzana, we made each other slim.

Tapambwa, we have been kidnapped.

Tapararana, we have separated.

Tapera Charira (VR), we are finished it blew.

Tapfidza, we are done.

Tapfuma, we are rich.

Tapfumiswa, we have been made rich.

Tapfuwa, we have kept.

Tapison

Tapiwa, we have been given.

Taponwa, we have been given birth to.

Tapurai, take it from.

Tapuwa, we have been given.

Tarairwa, we have been instructed.

Taramusi, set a date.

Taranike, separate a while.

Taregererwa, we have been forgiven.

Taremekedzwa, we have been honoured.

Taremeredzwa, we have been honoured.

It is Jindwi, a Manyika sub-dialect.

Tarenyika, set the country.

Tarindwa, we have been watched.

Taringana, we got equal.

Tarirai, see.

Tarirai, watch.

Tarirayi, see.

Tariro, hope.

Tarirodzashe, the Lord's hope.

Tarirowavashe, hope of the Lord.

Tarisai, watch.

Taropafadzwa, we have been blessed.

Taruberekera, we gave birth for it.

Tarukwasha, we hunted it.

Tarumbidzwa, we have been praised.

Tarumbiswa, we were made to run.

Tarumbwa, we are surprised and attacked.

Taruona, we saw it.

Tarupuwa, we have been given it.

Tarusenga, we are carrying it.

Tarutira, we are used to it.

Tarutira Chigidi (CHK), we are used to the weapon.

Taruvinga, we came for it.

Taruwinga, we came for it.

Tarwira, we fought for.

Tarwira, we fought for it.

Tarwirei? why did we fight.

Tarzan

Tasanangurwa, we have been set apart.

Tasangana, we met.

Tasara, we remain.

Tasara, we have remained.

Tasaranago, we remain with it.

Tasaranarwo, we remain with it.

Tasarapamwe, we remained together.

Tasarira, we are behind.

Tasariroona, we remained to see.

Tasarirowona, we remained to see.

Tashaya, we lost.

Tashayawedu, we could not get a supporter.

Tashinga, we persevered.

Tashinga (CHK), we have been courageous.

Tashinga Zvenyika (CHK), we perservered.

Tashupa, we caused trouble.

Tashupika, we suffered.

Tasiana, we separated.

Tasiyenyika, we left the country.

Tasunungurwa, we have been liberated.

Tatadzei? what wrong did we do?

Tatira, we are used to it.

Tatirangenhamo (CHK), we are used to
 problems.

Tatisayi, sent away.

Tatsvarei? what did we start?

Taungana, we are gathered.

Taura, speak.

Taurikana, we have come together.

Tauringana, we came together.

Tauro, speech.

Tauya, we came.

Tavarisa, we watched them

Tavarwisa, we fought them.

Tavatya, we have become afraid of them.

Tavaya, those ones.

Tavazadza, we have made them full.

Tavaziva, we have known them.

Tavedzerwa/Tawadzegwa/Tawedzengwa,
we have been increased.

Tavengerwei? why are we hated?

Tavengwa, we have been hated.

Tavenyika, we are now a country.

Tavingei? We came for what?

Tavonga, we are thankful.

Tavunga, we came.

Tawagwisa, we fought them.

Tawedzengwa, we have been increased.

Tawedzerwa, we have increased.

Tawedzerwa, we have increased.

Tawengwa, we have been hated.

Tawodzera, we are used to it.

Tawona, we saw.

Tawonashe, we saw the Lord.

Tawonekwa, we bid farewell.

Tayagadza, we made them to sit.

Tayana, throw one away in Korekore/
we are together.

Tayedza, we tried.

Tayireveyi? what were we saying?

Tayiziyani? whom did we know?

Taylor

Tazivei? what did we know?

Taziya, we are hungry.

Tazviona, we saw it.

Tazvipedza, we finished it.

Tazvishaya, we lost track of it.

Tazvitya, we have become afraid of it.

Tazvivinga, we came for it.

Teedzai, follow.

Temba, trust.

Tembai, trust.

Temptation

Tendai, be thankful.

Tendabute, thank snuff.

Tendai, be thankful.

Tendai (HY), be thankful.

Tendai (KM), thank.

Tendai (VR), thank.

Tendai Mudzimu (HY), thank ancestors.

Tendai Nherera (KM), thank orphan.

Tendaupenyu, be thankful of life.

Tendawakura, be thankful you have matured.

Tendekai, be trustworthy.

Tendekayivanhu, people be trustworthy.

Tendesai, sincerely be thankful.

Tendesayi, cause them to be thankful.

Tendeuka, repent.

Tendeukai, repent.

Tendisai, cause to be thankful.

Tengesai, sell.

Tengeyi?, buy what?

Tenhedzai, knock.

Teodros

Tereni, pay.

Tererai, listen.

Terero, way of paying.

Teresina

Terrorists (TAT)

Teukai, spill over.

Teurai Ropa (NP), spill blood.

Tevedzerai, follow.

Tevera, follow.

Zvoushe, of chieftainship.

Thamary

Theophilus

Thomas

Thomas *Tinarwo* (TAT), we have it.

Tiberias

Tichaedza, we shall try.

Tichaedza, we shall try.

Tichaenzana, we shall be equal.

Tichafara, we shall be happy.

Tichagarika, we shall live well.

Tichagwa, we shall fight.

Tichaidza, we shall try.

Tichaitora (CHK), we shall take the country.

Tichakunda, we shall conquer.

Tichakunda (NDU), we shall be victorious.

Tichakura, we shall mature.

Tichaona (TAT), we shall see.

Tichapfuma, we shall be rich.

Tichasara, we shall remain.

Ticharaswa, we shall be thrown away.

Tichareva, we shall disclose.

Ticharwa, we shall fight.

Ticharwa (TAT), we shall fight.

Ticharwa (ZV), we shall fight.

Tichatonga (CHK), we shall rule.

Tichatonga (TAT), we shall judge.

Tichatonga (ZK), we shall be victorious.

Tichatonga (ZV), we shall be leaders.

Tichaurawa, we shall be killed.

Tichaziwa, we shall know.

Tichazorwa, we shall fight.

Tichazvipedza, we shall finish it.

Tichivona, whilst we were seeing.

Tichasukuta, we shall grind everything.

Tifare, so we can be happy.

Tigere, we are well.

Tikana, we fought.

Tiki (NDU), tickey (a coin whose value was two and half-cents).

Timina, opaque.

Timire, so we stand.

Timothy

Timoti, Timothy

Tina, we have.

Tinaapi? which ones do we have?

Tinago, we are with it?

Tinaishe, we are with the Lord.

Tinarwo, we are with it.

Tinashe (HY), we are with the Lord.

Tinatsiwa, good has been done to us.

Tinaye, we are with him.

Tinazvo (KNN), we have it.

Tindike, suppress.

Tindiri, get inside of something unaware.

Tinei? what do we have?

Tineizvedu? what do we have ourselves?

Tinevimbo, we have hope.

Tingadiiwo? what can we do?

Tinhidza, beat strongly.

Tinodashe, we love the Lord.

Tinofa, we die.

Tinofara, we are happy.

Tinofirei? why do we die.

Tinofireyi? Why do we die?

Tinomuonga, we thank the Lord.

Tinomuwongaishe, we thank the Lord.

Tinopona, we are alive.

Tinos *Nhamoyapera* (NDU), problems are over.

Tinosi, Tinos.

Tinotenda, we are thankful.

Tinotonga, we rule.

Tinovapi?, whom do we have?

Tinovonga, we are thankful.

Tinoza, we come, 'kuza' mean 'we come'.

Tinoziva, we know.

Tinzwani, so we hear each other.

Tionge, so we thank.

Tipedze, we finish.

Tipeyi, give us.

Tirevei?, what should we say?.

Tiriboyi, we are workers/boys.

Tiripano, we are here.

Tiriparwendo, we are on a journey.

Tiritoga, we are alone

Tirivacho, we are of it.

Tirivamwe, we are together.

Tirivangani?, how many are we?

Tirivanhu, we are people.

Tirivarombo, we are poor.

Tirivayi?, what are we?

Tiriwashoma, we are few.

Tiriza, opaque.

Titus

Tivakudze, so we praise them.

Tivavone, so we see them.

Tivenga, so we hate.

Tivirai, persevere.

Tiyanani, we reconcile.

Tizirai, run for.

Tizora, razor blade (Portuguese).

Tingware, so we can be alert.

Tobias Mandigona (TAT), you have fixed me.

Todo (HY), straightness.

Toendepi? where can we go?

Tofa, so we die.

Tofaraseyi? how can we be happy.

Togara, so we sit.

Togarepi? where can we sit?

Togodii? (TAT), what can we do?

Tokuraseyi? how can we grow?

Tomasina, opaque.

Tombiazodwa, small girl.

Tomu Gore (VR), Thomas year/cloud.

Tomupei? what will we give him/her?

Tonderai, remember.

Tonderayi, remember.

Tongesai, judge.

Tongofa, we die.

Tonhorai, be calm.

Tonzwana, we hear each other.

Tope, make full.

Toperesu, we are being finished.

Torai, take.

Torai (VR), take.

Torai Zvombo (NP), take war weapons.

Torapito (MUM), take whistle.

Torerayi, take for someone.

Torevasei? how can we say it?

Toro (KNN), tall.

Toropiyo, unworthy guys.

Torwiraushe, we fight for chieftaincy.

Tosiya, we leave.

Totamirepi? where can we relocate to.

Tovai, cool to reduce pain on skin.

Tovonga, we are thankful.

Toziva, we know.

Tozivepi? (NDU), where do we know?

Tozivepi (VR), where do we know?

Tozivepi Munorwei? (TAT) where do we know? why do you fight?

Tozvionapano, we see it here.

Tozvireva, we disclose.

Trinity

Trust

Trust Blood (VR)

Trymore

Trymore (ZV)

Tsanangurai, explain.

Tsandirai,it means I work for and its different from *Tsindirai* which means compress to strengthen.

Tsanga, grain.

Tsangamidzi, ginger.

Tsara, select, draw a line.

Tsarukanai, be organized.

Tsaurai, separate.

Tserayi, select.

Tseriwa, selected.

Tseru opaque.

Tsetere, to seal using something.

Tshaka

Tsikai, step on.

Tsindi

Tsitsi, mercy.

Tsitsi (VR), grace.

Tsitsidzaishe, the Lord's mercy.

Tsivai Chikara (TAT), repay a monster.

Tsumbirani, wishing for each other.

Tsunga, persevere.

Tsungai, persevere.

Tsungapamberi (NP), persevere for future.

Tsungirai, persevere.

Tsungirirai, persevere.

Tsungisai, cause others to persevere.

Tsuro (HY), hare.

Tsvairaimabhunu (TAT), sweep Europeans.

Tsvakai, look for.

Tsvakai, look for.

Tsvakaishe, look for the Lord.

Tsvakaiwadi, look for the good one/ honest one.

Tsvakayi, hunt for.

Tsvakwi, the hunted.

Tsvangeyi? what were you looking for?

Tsvaru akazvara tivu (TAT), a scratch led to a fight.

Tsverukai, be ashamed.

Tsvetu, put down abruptly.

Tswarayi, select from ground mixture.

Tukuta, emerge.

Tumai, send.

Tumirai, send for.

Tumirai (VR), send for.

Tungamirai, lead.

Turikai, put up.

Turugari opaque.

Tutayi, carry.

Tutsirai, increase.

Tuwaya, some wires.

Twoyears

Tyorai, break.

Uchidei? looking for what?

Uchirai, clap.

Udzanai, tell each other.

Unesu, he is with us.

Unidza, bring together.

Union

Unite

Unity

Upenyu, life.

Upfu (KM), mealie meal.

Urayayi, kill.

Usai, relish.

Usaihwevhu, relish for the soil.

Ushe, chieftaincy.

Usher

Utete, the thin one.

Utsanana, hygiene.

Uyai, come.

VaCharira (ZK), Mr It blew.

VaChimoto (VR), Mr Fire.

VaHezvo, Mr That.

Vaho-o, Mr So.

Vakai, build.

VaKomboniyatsva (CHK), Mr

Compound-is-burnt.

Valentine

VanaChimbwido (CHK), ladies who helped
 comrades.

VanaPendeke (CHK), of no fixed aboard.

VanaShefu (CHK), the big chiefs.

Vandirai, hide for.

Vandudzai, reform.

Vangisai, make them to aim.

Vanzirayi, hide

Varaidzai, entertain.

Varanda, servants.

Varure, open.

VaSango (VR, Mr Bush.)

VaShiri (ZK), Mr Bird.

VaSutu (CHK), Mr Suit.

VaTambudzai (VR), Mr Troubler.

Vavariro, wish.

Vavariro (VR), aim

Vavengi (VR), enemies.

Venasi, Venus.

Veneka, light.

Vengai, hate.

Vengai, hate.

Venganai, hate each other.

Vengesai, hate more.

Veniseni, Vincent.

Vetsai, keep busy.

Vheremu (TAT), Verm.

Vhoti (KNN), vote.

Vhumani opaque.

Vhurandeni, Valentine.

Vhurumuku, suddenly awake.

Vhusa, wake them up.

Vimbai, trust.

Vimbai (CHK), trust.

Vimbai Chin'ombe (CHK), trust a cow.

Vimbainashe, trust in the Lord.

Vimbika, be trustworthy.

Vimbikai, be trustworthy.

Vimbiso, promise.

Vingirayi, come for.

Viola *Matizha* (TAT)

Virimai, despise.

Vitanani, opaque.

Viva (NDU), forward with.

Vonai, see.

Vongai, thank.

Voronica, Veronica.

Voronika, Veronica.

Vulture (KM)

Vunganai, come together.

Vurayayi, kill.

Vurinosara, soil remains.

Vusanisizwe, opaque.

Wachenuka, you have been exposed.

Wachi, watch.

Wadawareva, they say whatever they want.

Wadzanai, be reconciled.

Wadzanayi, reconcile.

Wadzire, prepare bed for.

Wadzwanya, crushed.

Wafawarova, the dead is no more.

Wages

Wairesi, radio.

Wairesi (KM), radio.

Wakapira, you appeased.

Walls (CHK)

Warinda, waited.

Wasara, you remain.

Washington

Watch

Watsiga, helped carry by head.

Watsikwa, the crushed.

Watungwa, the horn pierced.

Watyoka, the broken.

Webster

Wedzerai, increase.

Wekeni, of the can.

Wellington

Wengai, hate.

Whatmore

Whiteboy

Zvoushe, of chieftaincy.

Wimbai, trust.

Wimiro, opaque.

Wirikidzai, put more.

Wirimayi, despise.

Wisdom

Wiseman

Wiseman (ZV)

Witness

Wonder

Wonekai, bid farewell.

Wongai, be thankful.

Wuragu, the weakest.

Yamungu, opaque.

Yamurai, help.

Yamurai (VR), assist.

Yananisayi, help reconcile.

Yasini, opaque.

Yedzwa, tried.

Yemurai, assist.

Yeukai, remember.

Yevai, watch.

Yugo (HY)

Zadzisai, fulfill.

Zadziso, fulfiller.

Zairegondo, egg of an eagle.

Zaka

Zakaria

Zakeo

Zambezi

Zamwarira, opaque.

Zango (ZV), charm.

ZANLA (MUM)

Zanorashe, the Lord's idea.

ZAPU

Zaranyika, fill the country.

Zavave, widest and biggest.

Zebediah

Zebhedhiya Hamadziripi? (VR), Zebediah
 where are relatives?

Zecchaus

Zekiya

Zengeya

Zephaniah

Zerere, soft hair/soft green grass.

Zeti, the alphabetical letter *Z.*

Zevezai, whisper.

Zezai, be afraid.

Zhangazha, talkative and noisy.

Zhanje, loquat.

Zhizha, summer.

Zhuwawo (ZV), John.

Zibako, big cave.

Zidane

Zidenga, big heaven.

Zifambi, one who always walks around.

Zifundiswa, the taught.

Zimbabwe – Rhodesia (TAT).

Zimbabwe (HY), house of stones.

Zindere, big beetle which is edible.

Zindoga, lonely one.

Zinedine

Zinyama, big piece of meat.

Zinyoro, the cool one.

Zireva, one who always speaks out.

Zishanhi, big axe.

Zivahama, know relatives.

Zivanai, know each other.

Zivanai (VR), know each other.

Zivashe, know the Lord.

Zivengwa, the hated.

Ziwai, know.

Ziwanai, know each other.

Zizhou, big elephant.

Zizi (KM), owl.

Zondayi, hate.

Zondiwa, hatred

Zondo, cattle hooves which are cooked
and are delicacy.

Zoraunye, smear itching staff.

Zorodzai, put to rest.

Zororai, rest.

Zororo, rest.

Zuvarashe, the Lord's day.

Zuvarigere (Harrison) (MUM), the say is on.

Zvada, it has liked.

Zvaguta, its satisfied.

Zvaida Kushinga (ZK), it needed perseverance.

Zvaipa, it has become bad.

Zvairwadza Vasara (ZV), it pained those who remained.

Zvaitwa, it is done.

Zvakasikwa, the created.

Zvakavapano, it has been here.

Zvakwana, it is enough.

Zvamaida, that which you wanted.

Zvamaziva, now that you know.

Zvandasara, as I have remained.

Zvandaziva, now that I know.

Zvanezuro, of yesterday.

Zvanyadza, it has been shameful.

Zvanyadza, it has been shameful

Zvanzikwa, it has been heard.

Zvapera, it is finished.

Zvarehwa, it has been said.

Zvarevamambo, that which the king said.

Zvarevashe, that which the Lord said.

Zvarivadza, it kept us busy.

Zvashura, it has been ominous.

Zvataona, that which we saw.

Zvavambire, of the Mbire totem.

Zvavanjanja, of the Njanja totem.

Zvavashe, of the Lord.

Zvekusekwa, of laughing.

Zvemeso, of the eye.

Zvenhamu, of problems.

Zvenhidza opaque.

Zvenyika, the worldly things.

Zvenyika (CHK), of the country.

Zvenyika (NDU), of the country.

Zvepadze opadze.

Zvepano, of here.

Zvepanyika, of the earth.

Zvichabuda, it shall come out.

Zvichapera, it shall end.

Zvidzai, disrespect.

Zvidzayi, do not respect.

Zviito, deeds.

Zvikomborero, blessings.

Zvikoni, failures.

Zvimbwasungata (VR), traitors/ unprincipled people who just followed anyone. It was used during the liberation war to refer to those who associated with the Smith regime for money and political power.

Zvinairo, it is with that.

Zvinake, so it would be well.

Zvinei, what does it have.

Zvinodavanhu, that which people love.

Zvinofa, it dies.

Zvinorova, it can be forgotten.

Zvinotendesa, it makes it believable.

Zvirasheyi, throw them away.

Zvirere, sleeping.

Zvirevo, proverbs.

Zvirikure, that which is far.   …

Zvirikuzhe, that which is outside.

Zvishamiso, surprises.

Zvisinei, it does not matter.

Zvitongewo, judge for yourselves.

Zviuya, of coming.

Zvoita, its happening.

Zvokunzwa, of hearing.

Zvokuomba, the roaring.

Zvomaita, that which you did.

Zvomunoita, that which you do.

Zvondai, hate.

Zvondiwa, the hated one.

Zvonetsa, it is problematic.

Zvoumba, of the house.

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to collect information, for academic purposes only, on the attitudes of black Zimbabweans towards the selection and use of Shona personal/first names. Kindly complete the questionnaire by ticking the appropriate response or by inserting your answers in the spaces provided. To maintain anonymity and confidentiality, please do not write your name.

1. Sex: Male/Female.

2. Age: 10-20/21-30/31-40/41-50/51-60/61-70/Above 70.

3. Level of education: Below 'O' level/ 'O' level/ 'A' level/Diploma/Degreed.

4. Home religious background: Christian/ Muslim/ African traditionalist or ………

5. Parents are Zimbabweans by birth/ descent/ registration and you are a rural/mine/ farm/ urban (high or low/ medium density) dweller?

6. Who should name a child?…………………………

7. You have a Maternity home name (*remudumba*)/ Ancestral name (*regombwa*)/Diviner suggested name (*rejemedzwa*)/ Lineage name (*redzinza*)/ Name that marks a family event (*rechihani*)/ Nickname (*remadunhurirwa*)/ A name that emulate someone (*rechenza*), War name, English, Christian, and Muslim or ….………

8. Given a chance, you preferred a: Maternity home name (*remudumba*)/ Ancestral name (*regombwa*)/ Diviner suggested name (*rejemedzwa*)/ Lineage name (*redzinza*)/ Name that marks a family event (*rechihani*)/ Nickname (*remadunhurirwa*)/ A name that emulate someone (*rechenza*), War name, English, Christian, and Muslim or.……

9. State one male/female Shona first name that is popular……………….

10. State one Shona first name that interests you most……………..and the one you have reservations with………………

11. Given a choice, you could name your child after e.g. a politician or………

12. How many first names do you have?……………and do you always prefer to be called by your first name Yes/ No.

Thank you for your participation.

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4. Home religious background: Christian/ Muslim/ African traditionalist or ……

5. Your parents are Zimbabweans by birth/ descent/ registration/other………

6.You are a rural/mine/ farm/ urban (high or low/ medium density) dweller?

7. Who should name a child? Parents/ Father/Mother/Grandparents/Others………

8.You have a: Maternity home name (remudumba)/ Ancestral name (regombwa)/Diviner suggested name (rejemedzwa)/ Lineage name (redzinza)/ Name that marks a family event (rechihani)/ Nickname (remadunhurirwa)/ A name that emulate someone (rechenza)/ War name/English/ Christian/ Muslim or ….……

9. Given a chance, you preferred a: Maternity home name (remudumba)/ Ancestral name (regombwa)/ Diviner suggested name (rejemedzwa)/ Lineage name (redzinza)/ Name that marks a family event (rechihani)/ Nickname (remadunhurirwa)/ A name that emulate someone (rechenza)/ War name/ English/ Christian/ Muslim or.……

10. Would you name your child after a politician / sportsperson / religious personality / celebrity / businessperson / a scholar / a joyful / sorrowful event/other……….

11. How many first names do you have?……………

12. Do you always prefer to be called by your first name Yes/ No?

13. State one male Shona first name that is popular………………………

14. State one Shona name that you have reservations with………………....

15. State one Shona first name that interests you most……………………….

16. State one female Shona name that is popular………………………….

Thank you for your participation.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

These interview questions are designed to collect information, for academic purposes only, on the attitudes of Zimbabweans towards the selection and use of personal names. Kindly share your thoughts with the interviewer and your confidentiality is guaranteed.

1. What is your age group?

2. If you do not mind, what is your level of education?

3. If any, what is your home religious background?

4. Are your parents are Zimbabweans by birth; descent; registration; other?

5. Are you are a rural, mine, farm, urban (high; low; medium density) dweller?

6. Who should name a child? Parents, Father, Mother, Grandparents, Others?

7. You have a Maternity home name (*remudumba*), Ancestral name (*regombwa*), Diviner suggested name (*rejemedzwa*), Lineage name (*redzinza*), Name that marks a family event (*rechihani*), Nickname (*remadunhurirwa,*), A name that emulate someone *(rechenza)*, War name, English, Christian, Muslim or others?

8. Given a chance, you preferred a: Maternity home name (*remudumba),* Ancestral name (*regombwa*), Diviner suggested name (*rejemedzwa*), Lineage name (*redzinza*), Name that marks a family event (*rechihani*), Nickname (*remadunhurirwa*), A name that emulate someone (*rechenza*), War name, English, Christian, Muslim or others?

9. Would you name your child after a politician, sportsperson, religious personality, celebrity, businessperson, a scholar, a joyful, sorrowful event, other?

10. How many first names do you have?

11. Do you always prefer to be called by your first name Yes/ No?

12. State one male Shona first name that is popular and state why?

13. State one female Shona name that is popular and why?

14. State one Shona first name that interests you most and why?

15. State one Shona name that you have reservations with and state why?

16. Why do you think a name like this was given?

Thank you for your participation.