

THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI



**ENGLISH-BASED NAMES IN THE SHONA CULTURE OF
ZIMBABWE**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN LINGUISTICS**

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has never been submitted to any other university.

..... Date

Givemore Shonhayi

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as the candidate's supervisor.

..... Date

Dr. Alfred Buregeya

..... Date

Dr. Jacinta Kiranga

DEDICATION

To The Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, through the Immaculate Heart of Mary

To my late mother Tariro Midzi

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ABSTRACT

The corpus of “Zimbabwean” names has a characteristic philological misnomer – the English-based name. Shona anthroponymy is replete with ‘strange’ names, names whose core is English yet whose constitution is a flagrant disregard of English naming practice. The descriptor ‘English-based name’ does not even do justice to the significance of this characteristic in Shona culture anthroponymy. This study sought to investigate the English-based names given to children in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe. The study sought answers to address the following questions: a) what word-formation processes are employed in the giving of the English-based names?; b) what grammatical categories are involved in the composition of these English-based names?; c) what are the parents’ and name givers’ motivations for giving these names?; and d) what are the historical and cultural factors that influence the giving of the names under study? The names were gathered from six schools and St Mary’s Catholic Mission baptism register. A total of 120 name givers were interviewed. The results show that the names gathered are a product of several word-formation processes: compounding, used at the rate of 46.4 %; suffixation, at a rate of 25%; derivation, at a rate of 19.6%; and backformation, at a rate of 9%. The study also established that 37 (i.e. 40.2%) of the 92 names gathered fall under the noun category; the grammatical category of adjectives had the second highest number at the rate of 17.4%; 17.4% of the names belonged to the verb category, 2.2% belonged to adverb class and lastly the preposition class had only 1 name (1.1%). Names formed of more than one grammatical category were assigned to a “special category”; they represent 29.3% of the total. The name givers’ motivations for giving those “strange”, English-based anthroponyms were found to be related to religion, family problems, gender issues, names given for the love of them, direct message to the name bearer, name inheritance and the position of the child in the family. The study recommends a widening of the ambit of the research of English-based names to the geographical areas of Zimbabwe not covered by the present study, for instance, to the Ndebele culture, whose people constitute the second largest ethnic community in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1. Definition of key terms

The key terms to be defined are onomastics and anthroponomastics.

1.1 Onomastics

Crystal (2003:325) defines onomastics or onomatology as:

A branch of semantics which studies the etymology of institutionalized ('proper') names, such as the names of people ('anthroponomy') or ('anthroponomastics') and places ('toponymy' or 'toponomastics'); also called onomatology. In a looser usage, 'onomastics' is used for personal names and 'toponymy' for place names.

Onomastics studies names in general as shown in the above definition. The current study will focus on anthroponomastics, a subdivision of onomastics.

1.2 Anthroponomastics

According to Koopman (2002:10) the term anthroponomy is derived from the Greek word '*anthropos*' meaning 'man' or 'human', it deals specifically with the personal names of human beings. This study will be concentrate on English-based anthroponyms also known as personal names or given names or first names, among the Shona people of Zimbabwe. According to Article 7 of the Convention on Rights of Child (1990) personal names are regarded as the first fundamental and obligatory names conferred to an individual at birth.

1.3 Background to the Study

My first name is **Givemore** (*give + more*). It is the name I was given at birth. I had never taken serious interest to know the connotation of the name, neither did I ever think of asking my parents why they gave me that name. The interest to study names came when I first introduced myself to my non-Zimbabwean classmates at the University of Nairobi. It is common that every time I provide my name **Givemore**, people laugh or question if that is my real name. To a non-Zimbabwean, common Zimbabwean names like **Lovemore**, **Witness**, **Trymore**, **Godknows** are not only fun, but they are ‘bizarre’, unique and ‘weird’. The comments and questions regarding my name and other English-based names among Zimbabweans create a gap that requires a linguistic investigation. This unique and ‘bizarre’ naming practice in the Shona culture gives rise to questions like: Who gives these English-based names? What motivates a parent to give a child any of the aforementioned English-based names? What factors influence the giving of English based names? Is there any specific pattern followed in this naming process?

The majority of people with English-based names in Zimbabwe do not take particular interest in knowing the meaning of their names. Speaking for myself, I never understood or took interest in knowing why my parents gave me the name **Givemore**. When I began this study and began to think of the meaning of my name, I thought I was named Givemore because I am an only child. However, I also know of someone called **Givemore** and he has six siblings, another person with the same name and he is the first born, and yet another with the same name and is the last born. The same applies to those with other English-based names like **Addmore**, **Kissmore**, **Nomore**, and **Norest**. Since these names are so common, the people in Zimbabwe do not pay particular interest in the deeper meanings of these names, neither do they find them bizarre or

weird. The furthest they may go is to guess the surface meaning and to point that indeed some of the names are funny. It is this background that gives this study the impetus to investigate the deeper meaning of such names.

According to Kazembe (2009) as quoted in Makondo (2009: 94) “...though the Shona have been affected by a tide of globalisation, certain traditions have survived to date”. One such a tradition is that of names and naming. Names and naming is part and parcel of the Shona people. The practice is as old as the people. The naming pattern has however evolved throughout their history. Different scholars have divided the Shona anthroponomastics differently. Pfukwa (2003:15) divided the Shona onomastics into two broad categories, namely the colonial and post-colonial phase. In this categorisation, he posits that there were two major historical periods in the life of the Shona people that saw the change in their naming patterns.

Chitando (1998a:25) on the other hand, came up with four different epochs of Shona anthroponomastics. The first epoch is that before the colonial or missionary period. During this time the Shona people were giving culturally bound Shona names. The second period was between 1920s and 1950s when the Shona people adopted European names. According to Makondo (2009:33) missionaries during this period “made it mandatory that their converts adopt Christian names to show their commitment for change”. The Shona people were made to adopt mainly Christian names from the Bible or names of Catholic saints. It is worth noting that the Catholic baptism has two columns for names: *Nomen paganum* (Pagan name) and *Nomen Christianum* (Christian name). The nomenclature clearly exhibits the typical Christian aversion for the traditions of the converted peoples. Chitando (1998a) posits that after the foiled Shona/Ndebele uprisings of 1896- 1897, it was shameful for one to have a

Shona name. The contact with the missionaries, explorers and hunters made many to adopt the western culture and western names. Kiviniemi (1993:119) adds that this trend of forcing Biblical names was prevalent across the world.

The period between 1960 and 1979 saw the Shona people resisting the colonial rule. This also marked another phase in the Shona anthroponomy. Chitando (1998a: 25) places this as the third phase, marked by high nationalism and resistance of the colonial rule. Since it was the period of the war of liberation, most of the names were war related. According to Hasting (1979:133) during this period “English and Biblical names were being rejected because they were associated with the religion of the oppressor.” Several scholars such as Pongweni (1983), Ranger (1985:208), Viriri (1999:167) and Alexander (2000:146) have studied the war names among the Shona people. Their studies reveal that indeed this period forms a major epoch in Shona anthroponomastics. Names assumed during this period extended from those that were meant to encourage the people to fight the white regime, pseudo names, names that prophesied of the independence, and those that ridiculed the white settlers. The *Chimurenga* names (*nom de guerre*) as they were called, have been conscripted into the canon of personal names (Makondo, 2009: 34). The fourth and final period according to Chitando (1998a:25) is the period after 1980. This is the time when Zimbabwe had attained her independence. The Shona naming practice also changed a great deal. According to Chitando’s (1998a) this period marked “...the rise in names that, while African, are a reflection of Christian concepts”.

The aforementioned classifications however omit a cluster of anthroponyms which is English-based, yet there are many people with these English-based as their first names. The present study sought to bridge this gap and provide literature on this

class of names. Such names as **Lovemore**, **Addmore**, **Nevermind**, **Eventhough**, and **Godknows** form an interesting research ground in the Shona anthroponomastics. This current study sought therefore to investigate the English-based names in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe.

Previous researchers on Shona names and naming practice evince that indeed there is meaning in every human name. There is a need for an inquiry in English-based names because they are heavy in meaning. The fact that some parents forgo the option of Shona names, common English names (like **Mercy**, **Albert**, and **Rosemary**), inherited names and Christian or Baptism names; and opt for English-based names required an investigation. The morphological process of forming these names from two or three English words without necessarily following the grammatical rules of English show that the value is in the meaning of the names and not necessarily the rules of English.

Makoni, B, Makoni, S and Mashiri (2007) studied the implication of Shona naming practice on language planning, ideologies of language and language shift. They studied the names and naming practices of the Shona people from 1960 to 1990. Their focus was to show that onomastics provide important insights into language planning, language policy and development to new varieties of English. Their study however fell short of addressing the fundamental linguistic and cultural bases behind these names. Their work did not provide answers to the aforementioned questions that come with the English-based names among the Shona people of Zimbabwe.

Pongweni (1983), who is considered as the father of anthroponomastics in Zimbabwe, opines that the study of names is a linguistic investigation that is coupled with social and political events predominating people's lives. For Shona people, names

are as observed by Evans-Pritchard (1939-237) "...social documents which fix a person's position in the social structure." Lieberon (1984:7) adds that names define a person, where they come from, and provide hints on the events that surround one's birth and can identify that which the name bearer or the namer likes or dislikes in their lives. This study takes Shona practice of assigning English-based names seriously. It was aimed at seeking answers to many factors that motivates and influence the parents or the community to give these names.

1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

The above background sets the basis for a linguistic inquiry in the names and naming practices in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe. Since it has been established that names in Zimbabwe have meaning and there is particular significance attached to the names, there was a need to study the English-based names in the Shona culture. The study was purely discovery oriented and it sought to have answers to questions like: Who gives these English-based names? What motivates the name giver to give such names? What circumstances in the people's lives warrant assignment of such names?

To the best of my knowledge, existing literature that attempts to answer the above concerns only focus on Shona names. The current study sought to establish if the same factors that influence Shona names also influence the English-based onomastics. There is limited literature in as far as English-based names among the Shona people is concerned. It is this gap that the current study sought to bridge. There are many questions that could be asked as to why the Shona culture prefers English-based names. These questions create the gap that this study sought to bridge.

Name givers in the Shona culture have a wide range of names to choose from. There is an option of using Shona names, Christian names such as **Maria**, **Moses** and **Elizabeth**, and ordinary English names such as **Martin**, **Clement**, **Mercy**, and **Evelyne**. Surprisingly, there is an increase in the English-based names such as **Nomore**, **Effortless**, **Nevermind**, and **Marryme**. These names formed from English words (without necessarily following the grammatical rules of English) are heavy with meaning. This study sought to investigate the reasons and significance of such names among the Shona people of Zimbabwe.

1.5 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What word-formation processes are used in giving English-based names in Shona culture?
2. What grammatical categories are involved in the composition of English-based names in Shona culture?
3. What are the name givers' motivations for giving English-based names in Shona culture?
4. What (historical and cultural) factors influence the giving of English-based names in Shona culture?

1.6 Objectives

The objectives of this study were:

1. To investigate the word formation processes utilised in giving English-based names in Shona culture.
2. To identify and describe the grammatical categories that are prevalent in the naming system.
3. To explain the name givers' motivations for giving English-based names in Shona culture.
4. To determine the (historical and cultural) factors that influence the giving of English-based names in Shona culture.

1.7 Justification of the Study

Previous studies in Shona onomastics and anthroponomastics have answered the questions regarding the formation and naming of Shona names; the current study sought to investigate if these answers can also be applied to English-based names. It also sought to ask further questions like: Who gives these English-based names? What motivates the name-givers to give English-based names? What factors influence the giving of these names? Which parent has the preference in naming the child? Is geography or social class a factor? The present author is named **Givemore**, a name given at birth; he is therefore motivated to know the answers to these questions.

This study is a contribution to the body of knowledge on anthroponomastics and onomastics in Zimbabwe and the envisaged Shona Culture Personal Names Dictionary. The research is key as it bridges the gap between Shona anthroponyms and English-based anthroponyms. It is also a step into Makondo's (2009) suggestion for further research where he said: 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.

Many people outside Zimbabwe find the English-based first names by Shona people bizarre, unique and strange. This naming pattern is not common in many countries. There is therefore need for a linguistic study on factors that motivate the name givers or the Shona society to give such names.

Very little has been done in onomastics in Kenya, since the current researcher is studying at a university in Kenya, the findings of this study call for serious onomastic studies in Kenyan universities. As already established, names are carriers of meaning in the society, this study opens a new discussion on the significance of names in Kenya.

Ultimately, the study is a contribution to Pragmatics, Semantics, Semiotics, Anthropology, Comparative Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study of onomastics is generally wide and so is the population and geographical area occupied by the Shona people. The study only concentrated on English-based names among the Shona people found in Bikita District, Masvingo Province. The majority of people found in Masvingo Province are Karanga- one of the sub-classes that form the Shona tribal group. The names were collected from six selected schools and a Catholic Church baptism register in Bikita District. Time, resources and space limited the study to only six schools, it was going to be more productive and interesting if the study had covered more schools in the district. It was also not possible to meet all the name givers, parents or namers.

1.9 Literature Review

Makondo (2009) studied the anthroponyms in the Shona society focusing on Shona names and how the naming practice has evolved from the period of 1890 to 2006. The study by Makondo is one of the modern and important contribution to Shona anthroponomastics. In his study he "...reckons that Shona first names came as a result of unparalleled anthroponomastics and linguistics innovation exuded by the Shona people in their bid to tame their reality." The study sought to identify the factors that influence naming among the Shona people, to ascertain the popular anthroponomastics trends and to build a model that would represent the Zimbabwean anthroponomastics traits. While the current study shares the common motive, it concentrates on the English-based anthroponomastics which is a common naming practice but missing in Makondo's (2009) study.

A further insight into Makondo's (2009) work provides a theory and a model that is relevant to the literature review on onomastics among the Shona people. The study used the anthroponyms-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory and an approximation model. Since names in African culture are not just indexical but carriers of meaning, the theory amalgamates different linguistic categories that are relevant in the study of names. The theory shows the interrelatedness of pragmatics, semiotics and semantics and how these linguistic fields are relevant to anthroponomastics. The decompositional theory submits that "the disciplines of pragmatics, semiotics, and semantics provide 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." According to Makondo (2009:216) the anthroponyms-pragma-semio-semantic decompositional theory gave birth to the approximation model which "conclude that because Shona personal names are a unique comprehensive discourse, one has to be aware of how it puts across its idea."

Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri (2007) studied the naming practice and language planning in Zimbabwe. Their study challenged the failure by the previous studies on anthroponomastics in Zimbabwe to address the implications of naming on language planning, ideologies of language and language shift. They took the naming practices in Zimbabwe as a factor that should influence the language policy and development of variety of English in the country. Their study also included the new dimension of how the change of names brought about the use of names from non-standard English. The current study departs from this study whose objective was the influence of naming to language change, language policy and language planning. The present study concentrates on the naming as a communication means and a sociolinguistic factor.

Mill (1843) in *A System of Logic* pioneered the debate on significance of names. This study and that of his followers premised that names have no meaning. According to Mill (1882:40) "...proper names are not connotative: they denote the individuals who are called by them, but they do not indicate or imply any attributes as belonging to those individuals." He adds "when we name a child by the name Paul, or a dog by the name Caesar, these names are simply marks used to enable those individuals to be made subjects of discourse" (1882:20). Those who subscribe to this view believe that names are only there to distinguish individuals and to facilitate their referencing. This view, however, is disputed by many African writers or those who have studied the African culture. Mabotja (2005) opines that naming is a linguistics act that is highly connected to the people's values, traditions, fears, hopes, aspirations. Names reflect what the country, society, family or individuals are going through. The current study also supports this view that even English-based names in Shona culture are not just indexes but have a pragmatic, semiotic and semantic significance. As Mbiti (1975: 92-95) puts it "Shona parents gave their children names that reflected their own situation, ideals, and frustrations".

Sebashe (2003) studied the change of place names in Limpopo Province in South Africa. The study concentrated on how after South Africa's transition to democracy in 1994, the government changed some of the names which were either in English or Afrikaans to local languages. The study reveals that indeed names have important cultural and social aspects. Names give a sense of self-identity, self-value, and self-esteem. The place names in Limpopo had to be changed to local vernacular languages which have meaning to the people and reflect their respective feelings. This study sought to investigate what motivates the Shona people to still maintain the language of the Europeans, change the rules of English morphology, and compose these

‘weird’ English based names. It also sought to discover the value they place in such names and if these names have influence in one’s sense of self-identity, self-value and self-esteem.

Dickens (1985) studied the western influence on Zulu anthroponomastics. Special attention was paid on the influence of Western education or Western names in the Zulu naming practice between 1849 and 1982. Whereas in most parts of Africa people have adopted Western names like Nelson, Robert, Martin, or Biblical names like Mary, Peter, John, the English based names among the Shona people seem to divert from this complete adaptation of names. Rather, they use the English words and compound them to compose new names. This study sought to investigate the motivation behind this practice and why some namers would prefer to use English to compose a first name other than adopting the names existing in Western naming practice.

A study in Tshivenda personal names by Ladzani (1997) reveal that the Venda people of South Africa derive their names from verbs. The study paid particular interest in the morphology of the personal names in Tshivenda. Many English-based anthroponyms in Shona culture are also derived from verbs. This study went beyond and examined other linguistic categories that are utilised in the English-based personal names among the Shona people. Ladzani’s study also served as an insight in studying the morphology of English-based personal names.

The study of names among the Shona people was also extended to dog names. Hunt (1952:67-73) and Tatira (2004:85) studied dog names in the rural areas dominated by the Karanga people. The studies revealed that the Shona people expressed their feelings and emotions in dog names. The dog names studied exposed what was happening in the family. This was common in polygamous marriages where the wives

could indirectly express their feelings through dog names. The practice of dog naming played an important social communicative role which was considered non-confrontational among the Shona people. Considering that not all people understand English, the current study investigated how these indirect and non-confrontational tactics are the reasons behind the English-based personal names among the Shona people.

Another insight into the Shona naming practices is noted in Pongweni (1983) who studied Chimurenga names (war of liberation names). In his study, Pongweni established that between 1966 and 1980, when the country gained her independence, the naming patterns among the Shona people changed. The people did not only drop the European names they had acquired previously, they adopted war related names. The Chimurenga names exposed "...their ideology and aspirations" (Pfungwa, 2003:13). Ranger (1985:208), Viriri (1999:167) Alexander et al (2000:146) and many other historians have also intensively studied war related names and found out that they reflect the aspirations of the people for racial justice. The struggle of Zimbabweans did not end at the eve of independence, the period from 2000 saw the economy of Zimbabwe nosedive. This study sought to investigate if the political and economic hardships experienced by the Shona people from 2000 to date influenced the giving of English-based names.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

The current study on English-based anthroponomastics in Shona culture was informed by Systemic Functional Linguistics, henceforth (SFL).

1.10.1 The Systemic Functional Linguistics Theory (SFL)

The SFL theory was developed by M.A.K Halliday in the 1960s. Halliday and his followers developed this theory in the United Kingdom and later in Australia (O'Donnell, 2012:1). The theory is also known as Hallidayan Linguistics, or Systemic Linguistics. It views language as a medium to create meanings in context. Language is viewed as a network of interrelated systems of meanings that allows writers and speakers to choose when communicating (Egins, 2004: 327). Language in this theory is considered primarily functional. Without this functional dimension of language, structure and form are absolutely pointless.

SFL is found on three parameters which are known as semiotic functions. These variables include field, tenor and mode (Halliday, 1978). Field deals with external reality that a particular text is based, tenor is concerned with the relationships between the participants in the linguistic act, and mode is the means through which communication takes place. The current study sought to establish the extent to which these parameters apply in the giving of English-based names in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe.

The major tenet of this theory is that language operates as a system of choices. The process of assigning English-based names among the Shona people heavily relies on this tenet. The name givers settle on English-based names among other choices from which they can get names for their children. SFL theory provides a framework under which the parents make choices, not only to choose names but also a choice to use English words and combine them without necessarily following the rules of English grammar.

Another central tenet of SFL that highly informs the giving of English-based onomastics among the Shona people focuses on beliefs, culture and the social environment. As plainly described by Coffin (2001:95) in SFL beliefs, values and behaviours that are found in a particular culture or society have the capacity to impact and orient the language system and how people use language in everyday lives. This tenet enriched this current study in explaining how the cultural values and the social environment of the Shona people shape and influence their language especially that of English-based anthroponyms.

SFL theory was chosen as the most appropriate theory against the inquisitive nature of this study. The theory postulates that the economic and social systems, in this case of the Shona people, influence their language and choices. This theory was therefore helpful in answering the questions regarding the social and cultural environment and how they influence the assignment of English-based onomastics. In this theory, language is seen as a social means which helps human beings to find meaning. According to this theory, the speakers make linguistic choices constrained by the semantic repertoire drawn from the personal or cultural experiences. Fowler (1986:148) evidenced the above by giving a list of area where such reality exist; these include: birthplace, family, and social group.

This theory's focus on the relationship between language and social function was a great reinforcement to this study. According to O'Donnell (2012:2), Halliday's theory is more concerned in the way in which language is utilised in social settings for the purpose of attaining a specific target. The theory was relevant and useful to this study because it allowed the English-based personal names to be analysed in four ways which are: context, semantics, lexicon-grammar and pragmatics. The theory places effort on the 'functional' part which refers to the text as an entity that performs a

particular work in a particular environment. This insight was handy in analysing the English-based given names which are context based.

1.11 Methodology

1.11.1 Types of Data and Their Sources

The subjects for this study were 90 name bearers and 120 name givers of English-based names. The sources of the data where the English-based names were gathered included: school registers, baptism registers and the bearers of English-based names I know in Bikita District. The names collected from the registers were used to identify the name givers who were then interviewed using the prepared interview guide. Five schools (primary and secondary) in Bikita District were conveniently selected based on the geographical distance between them. The schools included: Gumunyu Primary School, Chikukutu Primary School, Mutarara Primary School, Duma Primary School, Mazungunye Government School and Chirima Secondary School. The second source was the baptism register of St Mary's Catholic Mission. The rationale behind the church registers was to see if the English-based names are also recorded in the Church's baptism register.

These schools and the church are found in Bikita District in Masvingo province, which is considered the home of the Karanga people, who are a Shona ethnic group. The third source was the adults like myself within the Bikita District who also have the English-based names.

1.11.2 Data Collection Procedure

Interviews were used to gather data. The interview guides had the following questions: Who gives the name in the family? What motivates a name giver to give a child English-based names? Was the name inspired by something that had happened? Is there any

specific pattern followed in this naming process? Do you know of any relative with a similar name? What does the English-based name you gave to your child mean to you? When giving the name, did you translate or derive the word(s) from Shona language? The guide also sought the demographic data on the name giver, that is, their age range, relationship with the name bearer, and their religion.

The verbal nature of this study required me to use the qualitative method of data collection. According to Leedy (1993) qualitative method is concerned with human beings' interpersonal relationships, personal values, meanings, beliefs, thoughts and feelings. I therefore used this qualitative approach by having semi-structured interviews with the name bearers. As defined by Frey and Oishi (1995:01) interviews are “a purposive conversation in which one person asks prepared questions (interviewer) and another answers them (respondent). In this case I was the interviewer, guided by the prepared questions. Since the interviews were semi-structured, I was flexible in asking questions during the interviews. I interviewed the name givers from their homes and those who attend the Catholic Church were interviewed at the church before or after the church service. The data was collected in the month of April and May 2019.

1.11.3 Data Analysis Procedure

The gathered information was analysed taking into consideration all the responses given. The responses from the semi-structured interviews were used in classifying the data according to themes and categories. The preliminary part of the data analysis included the following:

- The list on gathered English-based names and the common structural patterns followed by these names.
- The name bearers and their gender.

- The name givers' relation to the name bearer and demographic information on age and gender.

The four major categories that emanated from the responses formed the biggest part of the discussion. Sub-categories were annexed to the main categories with each section receiving detailed analysis. The first major category to form this section was the word formation processes that are involved in the formation of English-based names. In this category, the analysis focused on compounding, suffixation, derivation and backformation.

The second major category that was analysed was the grammatical categories utilised in the formation of English-based anthroponyms among the Shona people of Zimbabwe. The analysis discussed the grammatical categories such as Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Prepositions and names belonging to a special class that combines more than one grammatical category.

The third category that informed this analysis of data was the factors that motivated the parents or name givers to give the names. In line with the SFL theory, names are assigned to fulfil a specific purpose. The parents or the name givers had different reasons for giving these names. This section was thematically presented and discussed.

The fourth and last major category that formed this section was the analysis of different aspects of the Shona people that influenced the assignment of English-based names. Subsections of this category included the historical and cultural factors that influenced the giving of English-based anthroponyms.

Since the study was discovery oriented, no response was considered wrong or irrelevant. Conclusions were drawn based on the subjectivity and objectivity of the research findings. Detailed tables for clearer illustration of the main findings were drawn where necessary.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NAMES, NAME BEARERS AND NAME GIVERS IN SHONA CULTURE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses findings on the English-based names, the name bearers and largely the name givers in the Shona culture. The findings are presented in tables and the table with combined demographic data of the name bearers and the name givers is attached to the Appendices as Appendix 1. The chapter will present and discuss the gathered English-based names and the common structural patterns drawn from these names. It will discuss the name bearers and their gender. The biggest part of this undertaking will present and discuss the name givers who were the central participants in this research. Particularly, the discussion will focus on the variables such as age, gender and religion in an effort to establish if they have an influence in the giving of English-based names.

2.2. The Names

The English-based names under study were collected from the official registers of six schools in Bikita District and a baptism register of St Mary's Catholic Mission. The total number of names collected were 90. The list of the names is provided in appendix 1, on the first third column. The names were also given codes as indicated in column two of appendix 1. There were 19 names with more than one name bearer. The deliberate act of collecting some names with more than one name bearer was to establish if the name givers were motivated by the same reasons in giving these names. The percentage of names with one name bearer is 78.8%, thirteen of the names (14.4%) had two name bearers, three names (3.3%) had four name bearers, two names (2.2%) had three name bearers, and lastly one name (1.1%) **Love more** had five name bearers.

This means that names such as **Memory**, **Priviledge** (sic), **Lovemore**, **Perfect** and **Moreblessing** are common among the Shona people.

Names such as **Privilege** had four name bearers but the spellings were different: **Priviledge**, **Previledge**, and **Privilledge**. Only one name giver gave the Standard English spelling. Other names that were also spelt differently include **Jealous** which was spelt as **Jelous**, Formula was spelt as **Formular**. The use of spellings different from the Standard English spellings could be because of different reasons. First, the name giver does not give the spelling, they simply give the name. Their interest is in the message that is carried in the name. If the name giver knew the standard spelling, then this could be the failure by the person who first officially recorded the name. For Milroy and Milroy (1985) as quoted in Makoni et al (2007:454) “The continued use of non-standard spelling forms as names by the educated reflects the limitation of standard language ideology in the discursive construction of naming.” This could be at the hospital or at the registry. The spelling that is on the birth certificate is regarded as the official one and it may not be changed. The name giver is also under no obligation to use the standard spelling, they are more interested in the meaning. These spellings could also be because of the first language influence. As suggested by Makoni et al (2007:454) “...some of the spellings of the names reflect forms of writing conventions by the second language users of English in which English names are inserted into a first language... The fact that these spellings are retained even in official documents reflects the extent to which “New Englishes” have permeated in Zimbabwe.”

2.2.1 Common Structural Patterns

This study was also interested in knowing if the given English-based names in the Shona society have a particular pattern. The gathered names evince different patterns that are available in the given names. Table 1 below shows the common structural patterns in the given names.

Table 1: Common Structural Patterns

	Single word	Two words	Three words	Names ending with <i>more</i>	Names in form of questions
Total	62	26	2	10	2
Percentage	68.9%	29.9%	2.2%	11.1%	2.2%

The table above shows that 62 out of 90 names are formed as a single word. The second structural pattern that is common (29.2%) is two lexical items that are combined. Since names are supposed to communicate and have meaning, the choice of one word may not communicate what they want to pass across, hence the need for compounding. This practice is also available in the Shona names where some names are composed of a complete sentence. The names range from a combination of two words like **Tawananyasha** (we have found mercy), **Isheanopa** (God gives), to sentences like **Chinondiyachii** (What can eat me), **Mwanandinaye** (I am with the child) and even complex sentences like **Pakuramunhumashokoanowandisa** (Where one grows/is born/a lot is said), **Zvisingagone kwinemunhunamwarizvinogonekwa** (That which is not possible with men, is possible with God) and **Takurakudaivahunjavachirekurwa** (As mature as we are, we should not be seen to be fighting) (Makondo, 2009:188).

The same practice is also seen in the giving of English-based names with three words which are phrases, clauses and some are sentences. Gathered names include, **Don'tworry** (do not worry) and **What'smore** (What is more). Available literature in Shona anthroponomastics reveal that names in Shona culture are meaning bound. The use of names in form of a phrase, clause or a sentence confirm this need even in English-based names. The names supplied above have a direct message to an individual, family or the society.

There is also another productive pattern (11.1%) where some of the names end with **-more**. Examples of such names include **Givemore, Takemore, Lovemore, Blessmore, Gladmore, Trymore** and many others. There are also those that begin with **More-** such as **Moreblessing, Morelife, Morerest**. The **-more-** either at the beginning or the end is a request for blessings, love, life, happiness and other God given rewards. Still using the same option, some also give names in form of questions such as **Whatmore, and What'smore**.

The gathered name list also show names that are in form of rhetoric questions. Names such as **Whatmore, What'smore** serve as perfect examples. This style is also seen in the given Shona names such as **Mahunwepi** (Where did you drink it (beer)?) and **Maidei** (What did you want?) (Makondo, 2009:129). It appears therefore that the coinage of names, either in Shona or in English, as shown above, follows a similar pattern. This again is a pointer to the fact that names in Shona culture should have a meaning.

2.3. Name Bearers

The place of the name bearers in this study was minimal. Their main task was to help me locate the name givers. Important information in this study on the name bearers can be gathered from the names discussed above and their relation with the

name givers. The research only sought data on the gender of the name bearers as presented below.

2.3.1. The Name Bearers' Gender

Table 2 below shows that from the gathered data, there are more males (59.2%) with English-based names as compared to females (40.8%).

Table 2: Data Presentation on Name Bearers' Gender (120)

Gender of participants	Frequency	%
Male	71	59.2
Female	49	40.8
Total	120	100

Using the names that have more than one name bearer, it came out that some of the names such as **Promise, Pride, Believe, Moreblessing, Definite, Together,** and **Whatmore** are shared between the two genders. These names are gender 'neutral' and can be used on any gender. There are also some names which are strictly associated with one gender. These are names like: (for males) **Bigboy, Braveman, Busyman, Lovemore,** and **Godknows;** (for females) **Privilege.** There is however no criteria in English-based names to determine a particular name that suits a certain gender. According to the Zimbabwe Population Census (2012), the gender distribution show that there are more females than males, 51.9% and 48.1% respectively. The gender distribution of English-based names reflects the opposite. This means that giving of English-based names is more common in male children than in female gender.

2.4 Name givers

A name giver is "anyone who gives a name to an entity". Focusing on anthroponyms, these include parents, relatives, strangers, ministers (church), schoolteachers, pastors, and self (Machaba, 2004:110). The name givers were the central participants in this study. The study sought to know their relationship with the

name bearers, their age, and their religion. These variables are presented in appendix 1. It was within the interest of this study to know if these above variables are determining factors in the giving of English-based names. A total of 120 name givers were interviewed, and their responses helped in answering the many questions that motivated this study.

2.4.1 Name Givers' Relationship with the Name Bearers

One of the critical questions in this study was: who gives the English-based names in the Shona culture? The study needed to know if it is the parent or the other. Table 3 below shows the name givers of English-based names in the society under study.

Table 3: Relationship between Name Giver and Name Bearer (n=120)

Relation	Frequency	%
Father	74	61.7
Mother	25	20.8
Both parents	3	2.5
Aunt	10	8.3
Grandmother	2	1.7
Grandfather	6	5
Total	120	100

The Shona culture is open on who gives the name in the family. Findings presented in table 3 above shows that name givers of English-based names could be the father, the mother, both parents, the aunt, or the grandparents. The data presented in table 3 above show that of the 120 names, 74 (61.7%) were given by their fathers, 25 (20.8%) were given by their mothers, 3 (2.5%) were given by both parents, 10 names

(8.3%) were given by their aunts, while 2 out of 120 (1.7%) were given by their grandmothers, and 6 out of 120 (5%) were given by their grandfathers.

The presentation of the fathers as the highest name givers of English-based names warrants a wide discussion. First, this reflects the patriarchal dominance in the society. This dominance extends even to the use of Western names like the English-based at the centre of this study. Occupying the highest place as solitary name givers also demonstrates that the father is the owner of the family. He does not only change the second name of the wife but also gives the first names to the children.

The mothers follow with 20.8 %. One common factor that gives the mother sole authority to give the name is when the father refuses to take responsibility of the child. Mothers also take the authority of being the solitary/only name givers because of the experiences they go through during the pregnancy or in the family; they feel they need to express this in the names of the children. The coming of the equal rights has also raised the place of the mothers to be at par with the husbands in the naming authority (Makondo, 2009).

The third group that commands a large number of name givers is the aunts. Most of these were passing on their names to their brothers' children together with the good qualities reflected in their achievements. Makondo (2009:77) said "...they (aunts) are the custodians of the feminine values cherished by their respective families".

The grandfathers and grandmothers follow with 5% and 1.7% respectively. The grandparent's role in naming grandchildren in the Shona society is an old practice. The role of grandparents in giving English-based names shows that giving of English-based names is not only for a specific age group, neither is it the sole duty of the parents.

Table 3 above also shows that 2.5% of the names were given by both parents. The couple agree on a particular name before they announce it to the outsiders. The 2.5% can be justified by the fact that the study was looking for the particular individual who coined or provided the name. A common practice gathered in this research is that parents share the responsibility in giving names. In some cases, the father may choose to give the English-based name and the mother gives a Shona name, or vice versa. This explains the existence of two given names.

2.4.2 Name Givers' Age Range

The data presented in table 4 below shows the age range of the name givers.

Table 4: Data Presentation on Name Givers' Age Range

Age range	Frequency	%
20-30 years	15	12.5
31-40 years	34	28.3
41-50 years	47	39.2
51-60 years	17	14.2
61 and above	7	5.8
Total	120	100

A total of 15 out of 120 (12.5%) name givers were aged between the age of 20 and 30. This is the group of parents or name givers likely to be having their first child. The study observed that this group prefers names that are long; preferably a compound name such as **Lovemore, Loveness, Moreblessing** and **Get-Patience**. There were also names that express joy of having the first child. Surprisingly, however, they also give names such as **Sacrifice, Last, Difficulty, Whatmore, Get-Patience**. Family problems and birth complications would warrant such names even to younger spouses.

The name givers between the ages of 31-40 represent the second largest group of name givers at 28.3%. Most of these would be having the second or third child. On average, these are in-between the child bearing age and could be hoping to have more children. The names that were gathered in this age group include: **Together, Progress, Advance, and Blessmore**. There was also a set of names such as **Perseverance, Trust and Believe**. These could be because the couple is looking for a child of a specific gender. The age group with the largest number of name givers was those between 41 and 50. This group had 47 out of 120 name givers (39.2%). Names gathered in this age group include: **Lastman**, or those names that show gratitude such as **Rejoice, Lovemore, Liberty, and Worship**. At this age, the mothers may be having their last child due to menopause. If they have not found the gender they want, they give names like **Anxious, Givemore, or Believe**. The name givers between the age of 51-60 form 14.2% of the total number of name givers. Names given in this age group include: **Whatmore, Together, Remember, Privilege, Bigchange** among others. The last age group of participants (5.8%) was those aged 60 and above. At this age parents have reached the “senior citizen” stage. Names that were gathered in this age group included: **Liturgy, Moreblessing, Godwin, and Perfect**. Further studies could focus particularly on the relation between the age and the preferred names. Having discussed the age range, the study proceeds to name givers’ religion.

2.4.3 Name Givers’ Religion

Religion forms another variable that is important in discussing the name givers of the names under study. The study sought to establish if religion is an influencing factor in giving English-based names among the Shona people. Religion has always influenced the name giving in the Shona culture. First, it was the African Traditional Religion (ATR) then after colonisation, for most Shona people, it was Christianity that

dominated Shona onomastics (Makondo, 2009). Zimbabwe is among the countries witnessing the mushrooming of churches. This was evidenced by the number of denominations gathered in this study. For the purpose of analysis, first, I decided to group these churches in two main religions, that is, Christianity and ATR. There are only three participants who openly shared that they only follow the African traditional religion. Depending with the age or the doctrines of the Christians denomination, there are a number of participants who belong to both religions that is ATR and Christianity. Even when majority of the respondents profess the Christian faith, by the virtue of their being Africans, they would still go back to ATR especially in times of family crises. The Christian denomination were divided into five main groups as shown in table 5 below.

Table 5: Distribution of Name Giver by Denomination (n=120)

Denomination	Frequency	%
Pentecostal churches	26	21.7
Zionists churches	24	20
Main line churches	25	20.8
Apostolic churches	42	35
African Traditional Religion	3	2.5
Total	120	100

The dominating group were the Apostolic churches, commanding 35% of the participants, followed by Pentecostal churches 21.7%, Mainline churches 20.8%, and Zionists churches 20%. The largest number of name givers were therefore in the Apostolic churches. A number of Apostolic churches do not use the Bible. They are mainly guided by the spirit and prophecies. Since they do not frequently use the Bible, their chances of adopting Biblical names are slim. This means that their religious names would be of their own choice.

The second group include the Gospel prosperity churches. These at times preach or read the Bible in English. This is done even in the rural areas. They are more inclined to use English names.

The study also observed that in the Mainstream churches where they have a choice of using Biblical names, names of saints and role models in the church; they still look up for English-based names. In the baptismal register where one is baptised with a Christian name, people still maintain the English-based names.

CHAPTER THREE: THE LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE NAMES UNDER STUDY

3.1 Presentation of Results

This chapter presents and discusses the results on the linguistic aspects of the English-based names under study. The linguistic aspects are presented and discussed in two parts. The first part deals with the word-formation processes underlying the names. The word-formation processes identified include compounding, suffixation, derivation, and backformation. The second part discusses the grammatical categories to which these names belong. The English-based names gathered in this study belong to classes of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. There is another class that will be discussed as a special class. This contains compound names formed from words of two or more grammatical categories.

3.1.1 Tables of Results on the Word-Formation Processes Underlying those Names

The selection and coinage of English-based names among the Shona people of Zimbabwe is an outcome of different creative word-formation processes. The names under study have interesting morphological and morphosyntactic compositions that warrant a linguistic discussion. The results are presented in five tables: one, table with the names that result from compounding, (see table 6); two, table with names that result from suffixation (see table 7); three, table of names that results from derivation (see table 8); four, is the table of results with names that results from back formation (see table 9); and lastly the table of results with the summary of the above tables on different word formation processes (see table 10).

3.1.1.1 Names Resulting from Compounding

Table 6: Names Resulting from Compounding

	COMBINED PARTS	COMPOUNDS	COINED COMPOUND NOUNS (Given Names)	TOTAL	%
1.	Adjective + Noun	Big + boy Busy + man Brave + man Big + change Cool + news Last + man	Bigboy Busyman Braveman Bigchange Coolnews Lastman	6/26	23
2	Noun + Verb	God + knows God + gives God + win	Godknows Godgives Godwin	3/26	11.5
3	Verb + Noun	Get + Patience	Get-Patience	1/26	3.8
4	Adverb + Adverb	Both + well	Bothwell	1/26	3.8
5	Adjective + Pronoun	Glad + more	Gladmore	1/26	3.8
6	Pronoun + Aux V + Pronoun	What + is + more	What'smore	1/26	3.8
7	Determiner + pronoun	What + more No + more	Whatmore Nomore	2/26	7.7
8	Verb + pronoun	Bless + more Give+ more Love + more Take + more Try +more Learn + more	Blessmore Givemore Lovemore Takemore Trymore Learnmore	6/26	23
9	Verb + Adverb + Verb	Do + not + worry	Don'tworry	1/26	3.8
10	Adverb + Pronoun	Ever + less	Everless	1/26	3.8
11	Determiner + Noun	Any+ way More + blessing No + rest	Anyway Moreblessing Norest	3/26	11.5
	Total			26	100

Table 7: Names Resulting from Suffixation

	CLASS MAINTAINING		CLASS CHANGING	
	Combined classes	Formed name	Combined classes	Formed name
	Process - or N → N	Processor	Persist – ence V → N	Persistence
	Love- ness N → N	Loveness	Settle- ment V → N	Settlement
	Victor- y N → N	Victory	Provide- nce V → N	Providence
	Proud- y Adj → Adj	Proudy [sic]	Forgive- ness V → N	Forgiveness
			Pure- ity Adj → N	Purity
			Probable- ity Adj → N	Probability
			Silent- nce Adj → N	Silence
			Wise- dom Adj → N	Wisdom
			Fortune- ate N → Adj	Fortunate
			Nerves- ous N → Adj	Nervous
Total	4		10	

3.1.1.2 Names Resulting from Derivation

Table 8: Names Resulting from Derivation

	Where the name is derived from	The derived name
1	(to) bother	Bother
2	(to) perfect	Perfect
3	(to) plan	Plan
4	(to) pride	Pride
5	(to) progress	Progress
6	(to) promise	Promise
7	(to) prospect	Prospect
8	(to) reason	Reason
9	(to) sacrifice	Sacrifice
10	(to) silence	Silence
11	(to) trust	Trust
	Total	11

3.1.1.3 Names Resulting from Backformation

Table 9: Names Resulting from Backformation

	Back-formed names	Original form
1	Appreciate	Appreciation
2	Behave	Behaviour
3	Perfect	Perfection
4	Obey	Obedience
5	Remember	Remembrance
	Total	5

Table 10: Summary of Word-Formation Processes

	Compounding	Suffixation	Derivation	Backformation	Total
Total	26	14	11	5	56
%	46.4%	25%	19.6%	9.0%	100

3.2 Discussion of the Results

3.2.1 The Names Resulting from Compounding

Lieber (1992) defines compounding as a word formation process that involves joining two elements each with a full lexical meaning. The data in table 6 shows that 26 out of 90 names (28.9%) are formed from compounds. The names are formed from combination of words from different categories of linguistic analysis. The most productive combinations are Adjective + Noun and Verb + Pronoun which have 23% of the total names resulting from compounding, and 6.7% of the total names under study. The second productive combinations are Noun +Verb and Determiner + Noun with 11.5%. There are two names (7.7%) with names formed from Determiner + Pronoun. The other combinations with 3.8% include: Verb + Noun, Adverb + Adverb, Adjective + Pronoun, Adverb + Pronoun, and Determiner + noun. Two names (7.7%) are a compound of three parts: Pronoun + AuxV + Pronoun, a name like **What'smore**, and Verb + Adverb + Verb for **Don'tworry**. According to Booij (2007:76) compounding is frequently used as a word-formation process in many languages because of its semantic transparency and versatility.

3.2.2 The Names Resulting from Suffixation

Suffixation is a word formation process where an affix is added to the base. Table 7 shows that some English-based names are as a result of suffixation. The proper nouns (name under study) are formed from nouns, verbs, adjectives. This class forms 25% of the total names gathered in this study. This shows that it is a productive word-formation process and is highly utilised in the formation of English-based names. The names formed as a result of this process are both class changing and class maintaining. The class maintaining names from the available data include names such as **Processor**, **Loveness**, **Victory**, and **Proudy** [sic]. They form 28.6% of the total names under

suffixation. The first three are formed from Noun and Noun while **Proudly** [sic] is within the Adjective class. Ten of the names (71.4%) are class changing. The names change from Verb to Noun- a process called nominalisation. These include names such as **Persistence, Settlement, Providence, and Forgiveness**. Still in the nominalisation class but coming from the class of Adjective are names such as **Purity, Probability, Silence, and Wisdom**. The other names in the class changing category are names formed from Nouns to Adjective, that is, names such as **Fortunate** and **Nervous**.

3.2.3 The Names Resulting from Derivation

Table 8 above shows that 11 of out of the 56 (19.6%) identified names are formed from derivation. The basic function of derivational process in morphology is to enable the language users to make new lexemes (Booij, 2007:51).

Lyons (1977:522) defines derivation as the morphological process resulting in formation of novel lexemes. The names in table 8 perfectly show how the names are formed through derivation. The 19.6% shows that the process is relatively productive especially if one is to use a bigger sample size.

3.2.4 The Names Resulting from Backformation

Table 9 contains words that are formed from back-formation. Crystal (2003:47) refers to it as "...an abnormal type of word-formation where a shorter word is derived by deleting an imagined affix from a longer form already present in the language." This is also another common technique that is used in the formation of English-based names in Shona society. The 'new' names are formed from removing the affix from (actual or supposed) another word. A name like **Obey** (V) is back-formed from the word obedience (N), **Remember** (V) from remembrance (N) and so on. The fact that the names are back-formed, changing the class of the word from noun to a verb means that

the name givers use their mastery of the language to make the names communicate exactly what they want to pass across.

3.3 The Grammatical Categories to which those Names Belong

Table 11: Grammatical Categories of the Names under Study

	ADJECTIVES	NOUNS	VERBS	ADVERBS	PREPOSITIONS	SPECIAL CLASS
1	Anxious	Angel	Advance	Proudy	Between	Anyway
2	Blessed	Blessing	Behave	Together		Bigboy
3	Definite	Bother	Believe			Bigchange
4	Difficult	Choice	Obey			Blessmore
5	Fortunate	Courage	Promise			Bothwell
6	Honest	Evangelista	Rejoice			Braveman
7	Initial	Forgiveness	Remember			Busyman
8	Innocent	Formular (sic)	Silence			Coolnews
9	Jelous (sic)	Genius	Worship			Don'tworry
10	Last	Hardship				Everless
11	Nervous	Hope				Get-Patience
12	Obvious	Knowledge				Givemore
13	Perfect	Liberty				Gladmore
14	Polite	Liturgy				Godknows
15	Previous	Medicine				Godgives
16	Silent	Memory				Godwin
17		Perseverance				Lastman
18		Persistence				Learnmore
19		Plan				Lovemore
20		Pride				Moreblessing
21		Prayer				Nomore
22		Priviledge (sic)				Norest
23		Probability				Takemore
24		Processor				Trymore
25		Progress				What'smore
26		Promise				Whatmore
27		Prospect				Loveness
28		Providence				
29		Purity				
30		Reason				
31		Sacrifice				
32		Settlement				
33		Showers				
34		Silence				
35		Trust				
36		Victory				
37		Wisdom				
Total	16	37	9	2	1	27
Percentage	17.4%	40.2%	9.8%	2.2%	1.1%	29.3%

3.4 Discussion of the Results on Grammatical Categories

3.4.1 Names in the form of Adjectives

The data in table 10 shows that 16 or the total names (17.4%) are Adjectives. Names belonging to Adjectives are the second highest preferred class. Crystal (2003:11) views adjectives as a term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to the main set of items which specify the attributes of nouns. This means that the main function of an adjective is to specify the attributes or modify a noun, or another adjectives. Their other function is "...to express the main semantic content of the verb phrase" (Payne, 2006:116).

In this study adjectives are used as proper nouns. The Shona people are not interested in the function of a grammatical pattern but in the meaning contained in the name. The choice of adjectives could be because adjectives directly speak to the people's situations. Names like **Previous**, **Perfect**, **Anxious**, **Fortunate** plainly describe the situation of the community, the family, the parents or the child. Since names are also given as a direct message to the child, adjectives such as **Polite**, **Innocent**, **Honest**, and **Blessed** are preferred by many name givers among the Shona people.

3.4.2 Names in the Form of Nouns

The majority of the names gathered in this study are in the noun class. The total number adds to 40.2% of the total names gathered. This is the most productive class as would be expected. The names in this class are however unique because they are not just proper nouns. The names gathered are drawn from common nouns such as **Plan**, **Medicine**, and **Evangelista**; abstract nouns such as **Hope**, **Courage**, **Victory**, **Wisdom**; compound nouns like all the names grouped under special class; uncountable

nouns such as **Knowledge, Pride, Purity, Silence, Trust** and more. The name givers in the Shona culture use other types of nouns, provided they help them to pass a message.

3.4.3 Names in the Form of Verbs

Crystal (2003:490) defines verbs as “elements which can display morphological contrasts of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person and number.” Their main function in grammar is to convey an understanding of the action that is expressed, or to convey the state of the subject. Table 10 also shows names which belong to the Verb class. Nine of the names gathered belong to this category. In the names that are given in table 10, the verbs (functioning as proper nouns) are directed to someone in the family or an event in the life of the family. Majority of the names are also those verbs that are directed to the name bearer, mainly as an instruction for them to take up some qualities. This is true of names like **Worship, Obey, Behave** and **Believe**.

3.4.4 Names in the Form of Adverbs

The names gathered in this study also belong to the class of Adverbs. This class is however not productive. I only gathered two names (2.2%). The first name **Proudy** [sic] is not a Standard English word. The name giver used the grammatical tactic of adding **-y** to a word like an adjective or adverbs to form an adverb. This knowledge is transferred to words which are in Standard English and in the end coin names like **Proudy**. The selection of the name **Together** show that the name was given not for any other reason but to pass a message of the name givers.

3.4.5 Names in the Form of Prepositions

Table 10 also has a name that belongs to the Preposition. The English-based names in the Shona society are also made “strange” because of the grammatical class they belong. This unique way of naming is not common in many societies. Again, the name givers were not interested in the grammatical category of the name but in the message contained in the lexeme. In this case, the name **Between** directly corresponds with the message that the parent wished to pass. In the end, it shows the position of the child which is part of the function of prepositions.

3.4.6 Names Belonging to a Special Class

The last column of table 10 shows a class where names are formed by combining words from different grammatical categories. As noted under names in the form of Nouns, these names could easily be classified under compound nouns. The column of special class with 29.3% of the names was set aside to show the extent to which the givers of English-based names in the Shona culture are not interested in the grammatical category per se but any combination that brings the message they want to pass. In all these names above, the name givers were not so much interested in the category itself but in the semantic value of the word. The special class also contains words or parts of the name which cannot be placed in any grammatical category like the name **Get-Patience**, where a hyphen is used to separate the compound noun. There were also names such as **What’smore**: what + is + more and **Don’tworry**: Do+ not + worry, where the name giver used the contracted form in coining the name. This again shows the creativity and the extent that the name giver in this society has gone in as far as using the colonial language to form names, but without necessarily following the grammatical rules in the English language.

CHAPTER FOUR: MOTIVATIONS BEHIND AND FACTORS IN GIVING THOSE “STRANGE” NAMES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the name givers’ motivations for giving those “strange”, English-based names and the historical and cultural factors influencing the name givers’ choices. It transpired from the interviewees’ responses that these choices were related to religious reasons, family good fortunes and misfortunes, gender issues, name inheritance concerns, and specific historical factors.

4.2 Religion

Mbiti (1969) is credited to have said, “Africans are notoriously religious” and nothing is beyond the purview of religion. Religion plays a pivotal role in Shona society, a role reflected in Shona anthroponyms. Appendix 1 shows that indeed 100% of the participants belong to a religious denomination. Tables 5 shows that 98.3% of the participants are Christians, belonging to different denominations. Shona anthroponymy is not limited to Biblical names or names of saints; the name givers go beyond this and creatively compose names with religious influence such as **Angel, Believe, Blessing, Blessed, Blessmore, Evangelista, Godgives, Godwin, Liturgy, Moreblessing, Prayer, Sacrifice, Showers, and Worship.**

The name giver of the name *Angel* revealed that the child was born when they (the parents) were planning to go to South Africa. Initially, the father had given her a Shona name, but the mother insisted that since they were going to a foreign country, they needed an English name. The mother revealed that she had a wide range of English names to pick from, but since they were going to a foreign country, away from the people they knew, they needed the angel of God to guide and protect them. She adopted

the name from the Bible where God would send His angels to guide people on their journey. The name in a way, was meant to conjure divine succour in the inhospitable foreign land. In the case of *Believe (BL1)*, the name was given by the father as a message to the mother who had lost her first baby. The name *Believe* was directed to the mother so that she would place her trust in God by believing that He is the one who gives children. The name *Blessmore* serves to cement what has already been established that the Shona people believe that children are a blessing from God. The name giver confirmed that the name *Blessmore* was directed to God to continue blessing them with more children. Closely related to *Blessmore* is another common name *Moreblessing (MB1, MB2, MB3)*. In the two recorded cases where these name were chosen, the parents were thanking God for ‘blessing’ them with yet another child. An interesting anecdote in the difference between *Blessmore* and *Moreblessing* is the position of the child. The name *Blessmore* is preferred for a first born or in cases where the parents want more children, while *Moreblessing* is given to a child born after the first born, most preferably the last or second last child. The name *Blessmore* is an entreaty to God to give abundance in fertility while *Moreblessing* is meant to thank God for the blessing received.

In the case of *Godknows (GK1)*, although the parents knew of another person with a similar name, they specifically chose that name following the complications that surrounded the delivery of their child. They attributed the successful delivery of the child to God, hence their choice of *Godknows*. Another interestingly religious name gathered in the research was *Liturgy*. The name was given by an aunt who was married to a pastor. She had liked not only the uniqueness of the name but the religious association of the name. The name was specifically given as a reminder to the name bearer that her aunt wanted her to be associated with religious worship. Regarding the

name *Prayer*, the couple had lived for seven years without a child. They believed that they later got the child because of praying, hence their decision to name their child *Prayer*. A similar story was shared by the giver of the name *Showers*. The father shared that as a married couple, they had stayed for a long time without a child and when the child came, she became “showers of blessings”. The father of *Worship* who is also the name giver reported that he received this name from an “angel” while he was in prayer. In *Sacrifice*’s case (his elder brother is called *Samson*) the parents who gave this name wanted a Biblical name that also started with the letter “S”. They had made a promise to God that if they would have another child, they would give him to God as a “sacrifice”.

4.3 Family Problems

According to Makondo (2009: 30), some Shona names emanate from problems people face in the family. He comments that “... people posit that the problems confronting them are beyond their comprehension hence the surrendering tone in the name”. Ubahakwe (1981) supported this view when he observed that some indigenous African names tell a story about the parents or family of the name bearer. This study confirms this view, even though the focus is on English-based names. English-based names in the Shona culture communicate what everyday words may not. The choice of English-based names seems to be the safest way that the name givers dare use because they are not directly confrontational.

In the interview with the name giver of *Difficult*, the name giver revealed that the mother had been abandoned by a lover who was supposed to marry her. The man refused to take responsibility for the baby. When she returned to her parents, they also refused to accommodate her. She ended up living with her elder sister. The challenges

she faced during her pregnancy made her to think of no other name for the child but *Difficult*. The difficult moments she encountered motivated her to give the name *Difficult*. The name *Remember* was also informed by an almost similar case where the father of the child had refused to take responsibility for the pregnancy. The mother moved to live alone as a single mother. The name *Remember* was directed to the father of the child to remember his child one day.

Another interesting name is *Don'tworry*. The name was given by the father after his parents had refused to bless his marriage. His girlfriend had got pregnant while they were still in school. The name *Don'tworry* was addressing the wife and served as a way of giving her strength on the fact that they had to start their family at a very young age. The father and name giver of *Victory (VC2)* also gave that name because his relatives did not love his wife. When his wife gave birth, he decided to call the child *Victory*, having overcome family challenges.

In the case of *Everless*, the name was given by the father who had heard someone with the similar name. He decided to also give this name to his daughter because she was born when the couple was in abject poverty. The name *Everless* referred to the material resources which were “ever less” regardless of the hard work he was putting into improving his life. In *Forgiveness*' case, the father gave the name because his parents did not love his wife. He decided to ask for forgiveness from his parents through the name of his child.

A name like *Jelous* [sic] warrants a lot of questions from the people in the family. The name was given by the father who chose this specific name because he realised that people around him were jealous of him. The mother of *Learnmore* settled on the name due to sad experiences she had gone through after she got married. She

recounted that she married but her husband died, leaving her with one child. She then decided to get married again, but after the first pregnancy, the second husband died. This was a lesson to her. She decided to **Learnmore**, recalling her past experiences. She had learnt a lot through her suffering by losing husbands.

Some names are also given to directly promote peace in the family or to correct the vices that cause family problems. This is what influenced one couple to call their child **Loveness**. The parents wished for love in the family. The child became a message of peace in the family. In some cases, the names are given to encourage someone. For **Persistence**, they thought it a fitting name because they had had family problems and so the name expressed how **Persistence**'s mother had persisted and persevered in the rocky marriage, although the name giver said that the name came from the grandmother.

A name such as **Norest** supports that family problems were motivating factors in the giving of English-based names. The namer of **Norest** revealed that she used to disagree with and at times she was beaten by the husband. When she had this child, she decided to call him **Norest**. She did not rest from being beaten by her husband. Closely related to that name is **What'smore**. The name was also given because the family members were often fighting among themselves. The name was a message to the family as a rhetorical question asking "what more is going to come from fights". The name giver was afraid that the fights would lead to death.

Silence (SLI) is another name that reflects family problems as a motivating factor in giving English-based names. The couple had lived for three years without a child. The husband's parents had confided in their son that he should divorce his wife. The couple however later had a child, a gift that silenced the parents. Sometimes family problems are so intense that one decides to leave his or her home, village or town. This

is reflected in the name *Settlement*, about which the interviewee revealed that they had moved from their province of birth to another area far away from other relatives due to family problems. When they went to settle in this new area, they decided to call their child *Settlement*. The parents of *Godknows (GK3)*, who also were his namers, settled on this name because when the child was born his father's uncle had just died. The naming of the child was to give consolation to the family. The name *Bother* was given by his late paternal grandfather. However, the mother did not know the reason why the grandfather had settled on that name. She however revealed that the name giver had died a bitter man because his family had not approved of his marriage. Marrying without the consent or blessing of family was considered an abomination although the grandfather had paid the fine demanded by the culture. The name *Reason* was given by the father when he noticed that the child was "too light in complexion compared to other siblings". This probably was a veiled accusation of marital infidelity against the mother of the child. The father of *Reason* also wanted to know why he was only having male children.

4.4 Gender Issues

Gender is a very sensitive issue among the Shona people. Although parents love and accept any gender of their children, they expect to have both genders in the family. The topic becomes even more sensitive if there is no male child. Shona culture dictates that if the woman (for whatever reason, the blame for failure to conceive is given to the woman) cannot give birth to a male child, then the husband can go outside the home and have a child out of wedlock. This is confirmed in the English-based names gathered in this research where mothers as name givers give their children names that reflect their feeling of being cheated, ill-treated by their husbands or in-laws.

Bothwell, a name resulting from compounding two words, *Both-* and *-well*, is an expression of acceptance that “both genders are still okay”. In an interview with the parents, it was gathered that his parents did not want to appear as if they preferred one gender over the other. For them it was as ‘well’ having either a male or female child. From the interviews with *Anyway’s* father, the name *Anyway* - which, when directly translated in Shona, means ‘whatever direction it takes’ the father had hoped to have four children, two boys and two girls. This however did not happen. His two children were both male and when they got another boy, he decided to call him *Anyway*. The name meant to the parents that they had come to accept whichever gender of child they would get. This should not be confused with the English adverb which is used to confirm or support a point or an idea. The name *Anyway* actually means ‘either way’.

As already observed, a male child occupies a high place in the Shona society. Since the society is patriarchal, having a male child means that the family line is not going to die for lack of children. The male child preserves the family name. For such a practice which could be considered highly African, it is not surprising that English-based names are used to express this wish of having a male child. This is evidenced in names such as *Anxious*, which the name giver (the mother) chose even before the child was born, expressing how anxious she was about the gender of the child. She had given birth to only female children and she was beginning to get worried, hence the name *Anxious*. Although the name *Blessed* has been mentioned under those names motivated by religion, the interview with *Blessed’s* father revealed that the main reason for giving the name *Blessed* was because as a couple they were blessed with a male child coming after four girls. *Formular* [sic] is the fifth child and her siblings are all female. Her mother said this: “*ndakanga ndazvara vana sikana chete ndikati zvafanana, yangova sitaira*” [I had given birth to girls only, and then I said this is now a similar style]. The

name *Formular* meant to her a mundane way of doing the same thing, perhaps recalling her Mathematics classes. The name *Liberty* was chosen by the child mother after she got a male child. She had been threatened about her failure to give birth to a male child that the husband would marry another woman if she “failed” to give him a son. In the case of *Perfect (PF2)*, the family was looking for a male child and, after a long time, God gave them a male child whom they considered a perfect gift. The Shona people believe that if they do not have a child the marriage is not perfect. Male children are considered the “perfect” gender. The same gender issue motivated the giver of the name *Plan*. Having a male first-born child meant that life had gone according to plan. For *Lovemore (LR3)* the family had received more love from God through the birth of a male child. The love in the family between the couple had increased because of the male child, so they decided to call him *Lovemore*. In the case of *Obvious*, who was born in the rural area, there was no technology to detect the gender of the unborn babies. The couple had had only female children and when the mother was pregnant, the father was sure that, that time, the child was going to be male. When the child was born, the father said, “I told you that it was obvious that this time it was going to be a male child”. That is how the child got the name *Obvious*. The name *Promise (PRI)*, given by the mother, was a fulfilment of the “promise” she had made to her husband that they were going to have a male child. In some cases, like that of *Trymore*, the father was encouraging his wife to keep trying until she got a male child after the couple had given birth to three girls.

There are also names that suggest that the parents wanted a female child. The name *Fortunate* was given by the mother after she had given birth to three male children consecutively. When she got a female child (whom she considered a fortune), she decided to call her *Fortunate*. It was also the similar reason behind the name *Pride*

(*PE2*) where the mother was motivated by the gender of the child. In the case of *Previledge* [sic], the mother had given birth to four boys and when she gave birth to a girl, she decided to call her *Previledge* [sic] because she finally had a female child. For *Progress (PSS2)*, the couple was expecting a female child and when they had one, they viewed it as progress. The name *Whatmore (WMI)* was given when for a long time the mother (who is also the name giver) could not have a female child. The husband was thinking of ‘going out’ to look for a female child and when she got pregnant and gave birth to a female child, she asked him, “what more do you want?”

In summary, it has been seen foregoing previous paragraphs that the issue of gender as a motivating factor in the assignment of English-based names is divided into three parts. The first category is that of those parents who did not mind any gender. They gave names that showed that they accepted any gender of child. Names such as *Bothwell* and *Anyway* are found in this class. It is important to note that both parents are the name givers in this category. This reflects the mutuality of the feeling expressed in the name of the child.

The second class is that of those names motivated by a strong desire to have a male child. Here are names such as *Anxious*, *Blessed*, *Perfect*, *Formula* and *Pride*. The main name givers in this category are the mothers. It seemed that mothers, like fathers, are equally concerned about giving birth to male children. A mother would feel uncomfortable and restless when she has not given her husband a male child. She is also insecure and lives with the fear that the husband can go and have another child outside the marriage.

The third category is that of names given by parents seeking a female child. The study observed that the fathers are the ones who give more names in this category. While a boy child is a sign of the perpetuation of the family name, the female child is equally a great gift in Shona society because she is considered a source of income. A female child will get married and will bring in a bride-price for the father.

The data gathered show that in the category of names motivated by gender of the child, about 23% of the names were given by both parents, 31% by the fathers, and 46% by the mothers.

4.5 Names Given for the Love of Them

Some English-based names in Shona culture are motivated by the love of the names. The name givers are sometimes moved by the ‘sound’ of the name or its meaning. The study gathered that some names were given simply because the name giver had heard, read or come across the name and liked it. It is however important to observe that names motivated by this aforementioned factor still have a specific meaning. Bosch and De Klerk’s (1995:23) shared this view when they observed that, “...while the name serves the referential function, they retain the meaning-bearing function and this meaning is generally transparent, accessible and records complex details about the name bearer.”

The father of **Privilege** gave her the name because he simply loved the ‘sound’ of the name especially in its short form, “*Prevy*”. The father of **Prospect** also loved the name and decided to give this name to the child. For **Processor**, the father who gave the name liked it and wanted his daughter to have a ‘prestigious’ English name. In **Purity**’s case, the mother loved not only the ‘sound’ of the name but also the meaning. As a devoted Christian, she disclosed that her life was guided by the Church teachings and the Decalogue.

The name *Coolnews* was given by the father who said that he liked reading sections in the newspaper which he believed had what he refers to as ‘cool news’. So, this name given to his son was a summary of his hobby, which is reading. Although he had not come across a person with such a name, he used language - in this case English - to bring together the two words to form a proper noun which he assigned to his son.

From the interviews carried in this study, it appears that fathers prefer English-based names simply because they love the name. Their pride is in giving an English name which is ‘complicated’ like **Coolnews** and **Processor**. Giving such English names earns them respect and a better image in the society. From the total number of name givers interviewed in this category of names, only one out five was female.

4.6 Message to the Child and Names Given as a Fulfilment of Promise(s)

Mohome (1972), in a study of Sesotho names, pointed out that the meaning attached to Basotho anthroponyms play a pivotal role in defining “personhood” based on the belief that a given name determines the type of person the name bearer is going to be. This study concurs with this observation in that names among the Shona people are believed to have an influence on the character of their bearers. Some of the English-based names gathered in this study are direct messages to the name bearer. Apart from these names being a message to the child, some of the name givers’ assignment of them is motivated by fulfilment of promises in their lives.

The father of *Behave*, who is also the name giver, revealed that the choice of this name was meant to give a permanent message to the child that he should behave well in life. The name *Polite* was also meant to be a living message to the child that he should be polite and avoid the vices that would embarrass the parents or tarnish the family name. The name *Braveman*, a combination of the two words *brave* and *man*,

was given because the name bearer was male and was the only male child in the family. The name *Braveman* was also addressing the child to grow up to be a brave man. The interview with the father of *Braveman* revealed that since he was the only boy child, he “needed him to be brave so as to protect his sisters and his mother”. There is a belief among the parents in Shona society that a real man is one who is brave. Closely related to that name is *Busyman*. The name was a message for the child to work hard in life. The father revealed to me that he wanted his son to “eat the fruits of his sweat”, hence he wanted him to be a “busy man. In giving the name *Remember (RM2)*, the parents wanted their child to remember his parents when he would grow up. It is not easy to bring up a child and it would be great if the child remembered his parents. The parents of *Honest* wanted a child who was honesty. The same applies to the name *Innocent* were the parents wanted an innocent child – one who would be of good character. This has become a popular name whose value is however placed on the message and not on the popularity of the name. For *Knowledge*, the parents wished their child to grow up with knowledge. The name was given by the grandfather who wished his grandson to have knowledge of their family history. As for *Obey*, the parents wanted him to become an obedient child. The father of *Perfect* did not disclose what really had happened but whatever had happened had come out “as perfect as he had speculated”.

The name *Progress* was given to represent “development or change from a lower social status to a higher status through hard work”. The mother disclosed that as a family they had progressed in life through hard work and they wanted their child to emulate them. It was also a mark of where they were on the social ladder. The namer of *Silence (SL2)* told me that they wanted an ambassador of peace in the family. This could mean that there was no peace in the family. As for *Silent* the parents wanted a

child who would learn to listen more than he would talk. The child was to learn to be silent when someone is talking to them, a virtue they had learnt as parents.

The interview with *Together*'s mother revealed that the father had denied his child. She then decided to call the child *Together* because it was only her and her child. They needed to live together because there was no father to look up to. In the interview about one of the frequently given names, *Memory (MM3)*, the mother revealed that she wanted her child to become a wise person, remembering where they had come from as a family. The term *memory* in Shona means the same thing as *remember*.

It was noted that there are more male children who bear the names that contain a direct message to the child than the female name bearers. The total percentage of male children in this category is 85.7% against 14.2% for female name bearers. This may mean that in Shona culture a lot more is expected from the male children than from the female children. The female child is going to lose her name once she is married as she acquires the name of her husband.

While the message to the child is a significant motivating factor in the giving of English-based names among the Shona people, there are also some names which arise as a fulfilment of a promise. Two of the name bearers with the name *Promise (PM1 and PM2)* belong to this class. The first *Promise (PM1)* was named so because the parents had made the promise to each other that whatever challenges they were going to face in life, they would still marry each other. When they had their first child, they decided to give him the name *Promise*. As for the other *Promise (PM2)*, her parents had made a promise to each other and the aunt was the witness. When the child was born, the aunt then came and named the child *Promise* to remind them of the promise the parents had made when they were still in courtship. The naming of the child in this

category seems to be the contribution of more than one individual because the promise was made between two people or more. The names motivated by the message conveyed to the child and as a fulfilment of a promise confirm Adler's (1978) assertion that names do several things: they identify, denote and signify something, come to be descriptive of it and take it out of the realm of the unknown or the amorphous.

4.7 Birth Complications

The study gathered that birth complications is among the major factors that motivate the giving of 'strange' English-based names among the Shona people. The belief among the Shona people is that names communicate, not only to other people, but also to the ancestors and to God. The carefully chosen names are meant to address or express what the family would be going through or their wishes. One of the names I came across in the research is *Courage*. The name comes from the English noun which means *strength in the face of pain or grief*. The name was given by the father consoling his wife when they had had five miscarriages. When the sixth pregnancy was successful, he decided to call him *Courage*. It was meant to strengthen the mother who had faced pain and grief after losing five pregnancies. This story was also shared by the mother of *Definite* who, after losing three pregnancies, was finally blessed with *Definite*.

Another name given as a result of birth complications is *Get-Patience*. The name was given by the parents of the child. The first child had died, and when they got the second child, they decided to give her the name *Get-Patience*. They were reminding each other to be more patient, but even more, the name was directed to the relatives who had started talking evil about the couples' misfortune. The name was advising them to be patient. In support of this view Mandende (2009:38), in the study of the Vhavenda people of South Africa writes, "... in most instances, where there are

successive deaths, children born after these deaths are given consolation names, such a *Hangwani (Forget)*.

Barrenness is a curse in Shona society. A couple that is barren is looked down upon. It is unfortunate though that in most cases the woman is the one who is blamed first for the couple's failure to conceive. The husband can go outside the marriage and confirm if indeed he can have children or not. It is however almost impossible for the wife to do the same, unless the family of the husband sanctions it. Some of the names motivated by birth complications came when the parents had lived for a long period without having a child. The choice of the name is motivated by this long wait. An example is the name such as *What'smore* where the parents of the husband had told their son to divorce the wife because she could not give them grandchildren. When she finally conceived, the husband decided to name him *What'smore*. The same applies to the case of the naming of *Godknows (GK1)* where the couple had waited for years to have a child. There were birth complications and the mother was told that she was not going to be able to give birth again. When she finally had a child, for her the only fitting name for the child was *Godknows*. In an interview with the name giver of another child named *Godknows (GK2)*, the mother was not able to conceive in a long time and when she finally conceive, the child was unfortunately born with disabilities. They surrendered it to God hence the name *Godknows*. In the case of *Providence*, the couple also had stayed for a long time without a child. When they finally got the child, the only suiting name for them was *Providence*.

The name *Last* appeared again in this category. In this case the name was given because the mother had had three miscarriages. She had resolved not to have children again, hence the name *Last*. It is the case with *Memory (MM2)* where the mother had

almost died when she was pregnant. The name *Memory* was a message to the child that she should always remember how her mother suffered with her pregnancy. A similar case is that of the mother who named her daughter *Sacrifice*. The mother almost lost the child during birth. She had an operation and she wanted to be “sacrificed” in place of her child, hence she gave the name *Sacrifice*. As for *Victory (VCI)*, the father related that when the mother was pregnant, she got seriously ill that they thought that she was going to die together with the child. When they both survived, the father decided to call the child *Victory*.

Shona anthroponomastics also include derogatory names and names that mock, taunt and dare God, spirits and enemies. These names are common when the children are born after several deaths in the family. Such protective names are given in order to confuse the ancestors and make them believe that the family does not care anymore about the death of the children and so taking them will not be a punishment to the family. The name in this case is “...a kind of superstitious token that should achieve the opposite” that is to protect life. Basotho and AmaXhosa say that when such frequency of death occurs, ‘the woman bears for the grave’. They give children names like *Thotobolo* (*place for dumping rubbish*), *Ntja* (*Dog*), *Moselantja* (*Dog’s tail*) or *Mokoto* (*A thing of naught*) (Thipa, 1986:209). This practice is also found in Shona names where parents would name the child, *Hatirwuzenze* (*We are not afraid of it*) or *Takarumirira* (*We are waiting for it*) (Makondo, 2009: 140). The ‘it’ in the names being a veiled reference to death. The same practice has been transferred even to English-based names. A name like *Takemore* is given when the children are dying just after birth. The parents decide to give the child the name *Takemore*, as if daring death or the gods to take the child again.

Names in this category come in different forms. There are those who were born after several deaths and these constitute the highest number, followed by those born after a long period of waiting. The third group is that of children who almost died at birth or whose mother almost lost her life at the birth of the child.

4.8 Expression of Joy

The birth of the child brings joy to the family in every society. The Shona people have all kinds of explanations for the couple that does not have children. When a couple has children, they are considered a complete family. Expression of joy forms another class of factors that motivate giving of “weird” English-based names among the Shona people. The expression of joy is felt more acutely especially in the families where the father and the mother are happily married. The birth of a child is taken as the fruit of their love and union. Sometimes, the expression of joy is even greater when a couple takes a long time before having a child. When they later have a child, the most probable name they would choose for the child would be one that expresses joy such as *Bigchange*. The interviewee who gave their child the name *Bigchange* shared that when they got the child, God had blessed him with a formal job. For a long time the father had been doing informal and temporary jobs, getting less than a dollar per day. It was even difficult for him to send his children to school. When this new child was born, he decided to call him *Bigchange*, a reflection of the newly assumed social status of his family.

Two out of four name givers who gave the name *Lovemore (LM1 and LM2)* shared the same sentiment that they named their children *Lovemore* as an expression of the joy they had as a family through the birth of the child. It was an expression of joy in the family for God had shown them great love. The namer of *Medicine* recounted

that “*mwana uyu akauya semushonga nokuti ndakanga ndatambura*” [*This child came as medicine because I had suffered*]. The child brought joy after the mother had suffered years of ridicule for not having children. This was threatening her marriage.

For another couple that gave the name *Memory (MM4)*, they wanted to express their joy because God had remembered them by giving them a child. Similar to this case is that of *Moreblessing (MB3)* where the couple had taken time without a child. When the right time finally came, God blessed them with twins. They called one *Blessed* and the other *Moreblessing*. Another name collected in this category was *Rejoice* where again the couple was rejoicing for the birth of their child.

For the name *Wisdom*, the interviewee (the father of the name bearer) shared that his brother (Wisdom) had passed his form four exams. It was all wisdom and this wisdom had to be relived in the new born baby. The parents of *Gladmore* gave this name as an expression of their joy for having been blessed with another child. The gladness was even greater because the child came with no complication as they had expected. For *Pride (PE2)*, the mother was happy to have a baby who was her pride and he was going to earn her respect in the family and so she named him *Pride*.

In the case of *Godwin*, the uncle of the name bearer had died the same year the child was born. The child was believed to have come to replace the uncle who had died and this was a great joy to the family. Firstly, because the name *Godwin* was not going to die with the uncle, and secondly because the couple had got a boy child. According to the name giver, “Since the birth and death happened according to God’s plan, then it was God’s win”.

4.9 Name Inheritance and Position in the Family

Herbert (1995) in his study of sociolinguistics of personal names in South Africa says when a child is ill and a diviner establishes that an ancestor is causing the illness, the child is given the name of the ancestor. When the name of that ancestor is given to the child, the child would immediately be healed of the illness. In other cases, the ancestor's name is given even before the child gets sick. The inherited name is supposed to appease the ancestors or act as a talisman to ward off illness. The advent of Christianity among the Shona brought mixed reactions with regard to name inheritance. Although the practice has reduced, the interviews reveal that name inheritance is still practised, and more so in the rural areas. It is interesting that the practice did not end with Shona names. The practice is also seen in the giving of English-based names. The data collected show that some names come from name inheritance. One such name was *Perseverance (PS2)* which was inherited from an aunt. Another parent who named her daughter *Perseverance* liked the name but she did not really know what the name meant but admired someone who had a similar name. The parent of *Proudy* [sic] disclosed that the aunt had told her brother before she died that if the child would be a girl, they should name her *Proudy*. *Proudy* was named so because she had made her parents proud in life and would do the family proud as well.

Apart from the names coming from aunties, other female children in the Shona society inherit their names from their grandmothers. The name *Persistence* was inherited from her grandmother. This study argues that it is not by coincidence that the grandmother was named *Persistence*. It means there was a reason why she was named *Persistence*. While the name *Believe (BL2)* was cited under names influenced by religion, the second namer of *Believe* named her after the child's aunt whom the parent considered as a role model. *Choice* was also named after her aunt. The parents claim

that at birth she resembled the aunt. The aunt then gave her name *Choice*. The parents of *Hope* also shared that she resembled her aunt who was also named *Hope*. It was for this reason that they decided to give her the name *Hope*. They added that they also had the hope that she would grow to be a good and respectable person like her aunt. They also had hoped that the name bearer would emulate her aunt. For *Privilege* [sic], the name was also inherited from the aunt. When the couple got a girl child they saw an opportunity to relive the aunt - hence giving the name *Privilege* [sic].

The cases of name inheritance are also seen in male children. They take their uncle's names (the brother of their father) or the grandfather's. The study noted that these names are given by males. The three *Lovemores* (*LR3*, *LR4*, *LR5*) who participated in this study inherited their names. For the first one, the parents wanted more love in the family. The other couple related that they named their son *Lovemore* (*LR3*) as a way of showing the joy that filled them after having a male child. They wanted him to be respected since he had inherited the name of his great grandfather. The third *Lovemore* (*LR4*) who had inherited his uncle's name is said to have resembled his uncle. The parents wished that their child would not only resemble his uncle physically but also in doing good deeds. The father also added that the name *Lovemore* (*LR5*) meant one who adds love in the family. These names are not merely inherited, the name bearer is expected to behave and take on the qualities of the person who originally had the name. This study confirms the findings of Thipa (1983:237) who observed that name inheritance is meant to express the wish of the original name bearer who is reborn in the child. This is not only physical reincarnation but of all the good qualities the person possessed.

It is interesting to note that when a child was given the name of an aunt, everyone in the family would begin to call this child 'aunt' and would give her the same respect they were giving the original name bearer. The same applies to a male child who inherits the name of the grandfather or an uncle who would inherit even the respect coming from the name.

The Shona people also inherit names from a relative or any other person the name giver admires in the society. This is also common in English-based names. Examples include the name *Nervious* [sic]. The interviewee disclosed that he had known a relative with that name and he was happy when he learnt the meaning of the name. He decided that the time he would have a female child, he would give her *Nervious*. He also liked English-based names. The father of *Bigboy* was recalling a former workmate by that name whom he had admired a lot.

The findings in this study show that names among the Shona people are inherited from aunts, uncles, the grandmother or the grandfather, relatives and non-relatives. The majority of the names gathered and the interviews conducted confirm that aunts form the highest group of relatives who want their names to be inherited by children followed by uncles. The lowest class is of non-relatives, for example, people the name givers admire. The study also showed that name inheritance is not only done when one is dead; even the living can also give their names to children.

Another factor that also motivates the giving of English-based names among the Shona people is the position of the child in the family. The Shona people have gone to the extent of using the English language into forming names that tell the position of the child in the family. The same practice is also found in Shona names as studied by Makondo (2009:88) where the first born may be given the name *Mazarura* (The one

who opened) or *Muzaruri* (The beginner). This was informed by the society's demand for abstinence from sexual activities until one is married. The last born children were also given names such as *Taguma* (We have finished) or *Magumise* (The end). These names were a declaration that the couple had finished procreation. In English-based names, names are purposefully selected in line with the birth order. They do not only tell of the position but contain in them a meaning that goes beyond just position. The name *Initial* was given because of the position in which the child was born. The name giver responded "*Ndiye aiva dangwe*" [*She was the first born.*] Their last born child was named *Last*. Another name gathered in this study was *Between*. The parents were motivated to give this name by the position the child had assumed in the family. The father shared that their plan was to have three children. *Between* being the second born child was going to be the one 'between' the other two. The name *Givemore* also tells of the position of the child in the family. The name is directed to either the father or the mother that the family still wants some more children. The name is also directed to God since the Shona people believe that God is the one who gives children. The *-more* could also be in form of resources and other blessings. In the case of *Lastman*, the parents had had enough children and they decided to call him *Lastman*. *Last-* stood for position and *man-* stood for the gender. Shona anthroponyms are not only to communicate something but to communicate fully. Another name given to the last born children is *Nomore*. He was the sixth child in the family. In the interview, the father revealed that the relatives had hinted that due to the economic hardships in the country, having many children was going to be a burden.

Names such as *Advance* may not express the exact position in the family but they may be placed under this category. The interview established that the parents gave the name *Advance* in anticipation of more children. The parents wished to advance in

having more children. This could be a go-ahead, either to the father or the mother that the other partner still has the desire to have more children. As already noted, Shona anthroponyms are meant to communicate a message to someone. For *Trust* the parents chose the name before birth of the child. They ‘trusted’ that the child was going to be a boy and a last born.

4.10 History

The economy of Zimbabwe took a nose dive in the early 2000s. The situation reached the critical levels around 2008 when the people lacked basic commodities. The country was hit by an unprecedented hyperinflation estimated at 79,600, 000,000 per month. In addition, there was a serious drought and basic commodities disappeared from the market and from supermarket shelves. Since Shona anthroponyms are influenced by events in people’s lives, English- based names were given to children based on this economic meltdown. Such a period in people’s lives influenced the giving of English-based names among the Shona people. Examples of names include *Genius*. The parents revealed that the dire economic situation forced them to illegally migrate to South Africa where they had their child. The situation forced them to find means to have their child delivered safely in a foreign country. They considered themselves geniuses for coming up with the plan of going to South Africa. The name giver of *Hardlife* revealed that the child was born during the economic meltdown during which the father also lost his job. Life was so difficult for the family and the only child name they could think for their child was *Hardlife*.

The family history can also be an influencing factor in the giving of English-based names. Name givers give names that show events in their lives. A name such as *Memory (MMI)* is also given to landmark family history. The name giver revealed that

their love had come a long way and they had endured a lot and he named their child, *Memory* to remind them of the ups and downs they had gone through as a couple. As for *Previous*, the father reported that he had suffered many things in his life. He had suspected that his wife was cheating on him. They had however resolved the issue. When he got the child, he decided to call him *Previous*. The name *Probability* started as a nickname given by the father when he was working for a white man. *Probability*'s father was famous for foretelling the future which the white man believed was only probability. Years later when he got a child, he decided to call him *Probability*, recalling his years as the farm worker. The name *Privilege* [sic] was chosen when the father got promoted at his workplace. This happened the same year their daughter was born. He then decided to call their daughter *Privilege* [sic] recalling the good luck they had received as a family.

Historical events have a huge influence on the naming system of the Shona people. The names recalled and memorialised these events in the lives of the people. In the study of the Basotho of Southern Africa, the naming process is a socio-cultural interpretation of historical events. Among the Basotho names such as Griffith, Tjotje (King George) and Lugden are common and they recall the colonial period (Guma, 2001).

4.11 Culture

Cohen and Eames (1982:413) define culture as “the way of life of a particular group of people and their shared set of learned manners, customs and beliefs.” It is impossible to separate the giving of names and the culture of the people. Names are an archive of culture. In their study of personal names in Botswana, Mathangwane and Gardner (1998:75) gathered that names play an important role in conveying the cultural values

and traditions of the people. There are several cultural factors that influence the giving of English-based names in the Shona culture. The data gathered in this study indeed confirm that the assignment of English-based names tells of the way of life of the Shona people, their customs and beliefs. These cultural factors include name inheritance, the name giver relationship with the name bearer, expectations of parents, and the relationship with God and ancestors.

One of the cultural factors that influence giving of English-based names among the Shona people is the practice of name inheritance. From the data above names such as *Perseverance, Persistence, Lovemore, Privilege* [sic] and many others were directly inherited from either aunt, uncle, grandmother, grandfather, a relative or any other person admired by the name giver. The person does not only inherit the name but indeed the qualities of the original name bearer. Even though the practice of name inheritance is considered outdated and pagan and would not be transferrable the context of giving of English-based names, the data gathered proves otherwise. The difference with the practice of name inheritance in this study is that the practice is voluntary, the parents actually have a say and the name is not imposed on the child. This is supported by the study on the Eskimo as studied by Guemple quoted in Bean (1980:312) where the name and bearer are believed to have an effect on each other. The Eskimo consider the moral conduct of the original name bearer before conferring it to the child. Successful people in the Shona culture as in the Eskimo society earn many namesakes.

The question of who gives the name in the Shona culture is among the cultural factors influencing the giving of English based names. Studies in Shona anthroponyms by Makondo (2009) show that the parents are the highest namers at 56.4 %, father 13.6%, mother 11.2 %, grandparents 10.8%, aunt 6.4% and others 1.6 %.The current

study agrees that the parents occupy the highest level of namers in the Shona culture while the “others” are least. This shows that naming in the Shona culture remains a family affair with the father and mother taking the first preference. Though traditionally fathers have been known to possess the ultimate say in the naming of a child, mothers have of late gained prominence as name givers. The mainstreaming of the female gender in all social discourse (through enabling legislation) has resulted in women coming to the fore in determining the course of the life of their child. For example, in Zimbabwe a mother does not need the presence of the father of the child when getting a birth certificate whereas the father of the child cannot get a birth certificate for a child in the absence of the mother of the child.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the various factors that motivate name givers in Shona culture to give “strange” English-based names. The study showed that names could be motivated by more than one factor. The study noted that names such as *Godknows*, *Memory*, *Givemore*, *Definite*, have a greater frequency among the name bearers in the study. The factors that motivate the name giver vary even if it is the same name. Parents pick names to suit their unique situations. The name is believed to be communicative. It was also observed that one name could be having different motivating factors. Thus a name like *Godwin* could be name inheritance, but it also expresses joy in the family and is religiously motivated. The study established that English-based names are supposed to communicate and to communicate fully. A name like *Lastman*, one would correctly guess that this is the last born male child. However, there are also some names that are vague, while some are given to mean the opposite. Some names such as *Takemore* seem to be a kind of ‘playing dead’ by the name giver in the face of capricious gods or spirits which he fools, taunts and dares to bring more misfortune.

The result is that the name giver achieves the opposite effect which is averting the misfortune. It is also a practice among the Shona people to give rhyming names such as **Kupakwashe** (Gift from the Lord) and **Kudakwashe** (The Lord's wish); **Munashe** (With God/Lord) and **Tinashe** (God is with us) or names with the similar initial letter of the alphabet such as **Tapiwa**, **Tatenda**, **Takudzwa**, **Tanatswa** before they consider settle on the meaning. Although many names given above go beyond rhyme or same initial letter and consider the meaning, some names such as **Sacrifice** were motivated by both factors. Notably, spellings of some names differ from the Standard English spelling. While it is not clear whether the wrong spellings were made at the Registrar of Births and Deaths' office or at the hospital, there are some instances where the parents know the correct spelling (basing on their level of competence in the use of English) but prefer their version of the name, for example: **Priviledge** and **Proudy**—their parents are trained school teachers. One would think they should know the spelling is **Privilege** not **Priviledge**. This is supported by Makoni et al (2007: 454) who noted that the non-Standard English spelling forms are retained even when the name givers are formally educated and are able to spell the names in the Standard English manner. For Milroy and Milroy (1985) quoted in Makoni et al (2007:454) "...the continued use of non-standard spelling forms...reflects the limitations of standard language ideology in the discursive construction of naming." On the other hand Gandhi (1999) argues of mimicry in post-colonial writing that it is a process of "self-differentiation through the logic of inappropriate appropriation." In the same vein, the name giver gets the "best of worlds": the prestige of an English name without the 'alien' tag given to it. A name such as *Privilege* was spelt in four different ways: *Priviledge*, *Privilledge*, *Priveledge*, and *Privilege*. In most cases, the spellings end with *-dge*. This could have been influenced by common words like *knowledge*, *acknowledge*, and *porridge*. It could

also be a lack of knowledge of the proper spelling of Privilege. It is not a coincidence that Privilege is often found on the list of ‘frequently misspelt words’. The study established that English-based names are preferred when the name giver wants to communicate something direct but in a language that many people may not fully understand. The cryptic nature of the meaning of the names like **Takemore** and **Reason** taunts the audience to which the message is being directed. Some of the factors motivating name givers are consistent with the findings of Suzman (2000:13) who studied Zulu anthroponyms. In her study, she discovered that Zulu personal names document several significant events in the family history. These include their happiness at having a first a boy and then a girl (*Bongani*- be thankful), their aspirations for continuation of family line, problems in the marriage, the mother’s uncomfortable pregnancy and the birth of a child relatively late in life. Other examples include names such as *Untombikanina* (Girl of her mother), *Umziwehlahla* (House of Fortune) and *Lindokuhle* (Waiting for good things) (Koopman, 1986).

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This study set out to investigate the nature of English-based names in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe. Specifically, it sought to forge an archive of such anthroponyms and, to analyse their linguistic structure and, most importantly, to establish the *raisons d'être* of the preference for each of those names by the respective name-givers, with a view to gaining an insight into how names are more than just a cultural artefact, an appellation contrived to exercise power over a named object but are imbued with ontological significance. The names were collected through convenience sampling in six schools in the same district. The study consisted of 120 name givers in Bikita District, in Masvingo Province.

The study established that 61.7% of the names were given by the father, 20.8% were given by the mother, 8.3% were given by the aunts, 5% were given by the grandfathers, 2.5% were given by both parents, and lastly 1.7% of the names were given by the grandmothers. The study also investigated morphological processes that are found in the English-based anthroponyms. The names gathered were a product of several word-formation processes, the most prevalent of which was compounding, used at a rate of 46.4%. Names resulting from compounding ranged from compounds of two words to those of three words, such as *Don'tworry* (Do + not + worry) and *What'smore* (What + is + more). The second most productive word formation process was suffixation, with 25% of the names such as *Forgiveness*. Names resulting from derivation were 19.6%, for example, *Bother* while those resulting from backformation were 9% such as *Appreciate*.

The study identified the grammatical categories to which the given names belong: 37 (i.e. 40.2%) of the names gathered fell under the noun class, for example *Angle*. The grammatical category of adjectives had the second highest number at

17.4%, for example, *Difficult*. Only 9.8% of the names belonged to the verb category, for example, *Obey*, adverb class at 2.2%, for example, *Together* and lastly one name *Between* (1.1%) belonged to the preposition class. Of the aggregate of names gathered in this study, 27 names were compounds.

The name givers' motivations for giving those "strange", English-based names and the historico-cultural factors influencing the name givers' choices were diverse, and in some cases overlapping. The reported motivating factors are: religion, family problems, gender issues, love for the named, direct message to the child, name inheritance and position of the child in the family. In addition, the historical events in Zimbabwe in general and the mores of its people also spurred the choice of English-based names among its Shona population. While the giving of some names was motivated by a specific factor, several name-givers were motivated by more than one factor. An example is the name *Showers* which has a quasi-religious motivation can be in the same view a signifier of joy.

The present study was delimited to one district – Bikita District – in Zimbabwe and from this area 120 name-givers participated. Such a sample size may not be representative of the geographically diffuse and variagatedness of the kaleidoscope of the Shona people and culture of Zimbabwe. So, further ethnolinguistic research on English-based names given to Shona children could be extended to the other districts of the country where Shona is spoken, to ascertain, for instance, if there were spatio-temporal idiosyncrasies both in the semantics and reasons for those names. Similar, and possibly comparative research could be extended to the Ndebele context whose people form the second largest ethnic community in Zimbabwe. They too are known to give English-based names to their children.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Demographic Data of the Name Bearers

SUBJECTS CODE		NAME BEARER	GENDER	NAME GIVEN BY	NAME GIVER'S AGE BRACKET	NAME GIVER'S RELIGION
1	AD	ADVANCE	MALE	FATHER	31-40	ZCC
2	AN	ANGEL	FEMALE	MOTHER	41-50	RCZ
3	AX	ANXIOUS	MALE	MOTHER	41-50	ZCC
4	AW	ANYWAY	MALE	FATHER	51-60	SDA
5	BH	BEHAVE	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	MASOWE
6	BL1	BELIEVE	FEMALE	MOTHER	41-50	ZCC
7	BL2	BELIEVE	MALE	FATHER	31-40	CATHOLIC
8	BB	BIGBOY	MALE	FATHER	51-60	APOSTOLIC
9	BC	BIGCHANGE	MALE	FATHER	51-60	SDA
10	BT	BETWEEN	MALE	FATHER	41-50	RESURRECTION & FIRE
11	BM	BRAVEMAN	MALE	FATHER	41-50	MASOWE
12	BS1	BLESSING	MALE	FATHER	41-50	METHODIST
13	BS2	BLESSED	MALE	FATHER	31-40	SDA
14	BO	BLESSMORE	FEMALE	FATHER	31-40	AFM
15	BR	BOTHER	MALE	GRANDFATHER	31-40	ZCC
16	BW	BOTHWELL	MALE	FATHER	41-50	MASOWE EKWA THEMBA
17	BY	BUSYMAN	MALE	FATHER	41-50	CATHOLIC
18	CH	CHOICE	FEMALE	AUNT	31-40	ZION APOSTOLIC CHURCH
19	CN	COOLNEWS	MALE	FATHER	51-60	ZVIRATIDZO
20	CR	COURAGE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	AFM
21	DF1	DEFINITE	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	ZCC
22	DF2	DEFINITE	FEMALE	FATHER	20-30	RCZ
23	DC	DIFFICULT	MALE	FATHER	20-30	MADZIBABA
24	DW	DON'TWORRY	MALE	FATHER	51-60	CATHOLIC
25	EV	EVANGELISTA	FEMALE	FATHER	51-60	CATHOLIC
26	EL	EVERLESS	FEMALE	FATHER	61 & ABOVE	MAFC
27	FG	FORGIVENESS	FEMALE	FATHER	51-60	APOSTOLIC
28	FT	FORTUNATE	FEMALE	FATHER	61 & ABOVE	ZCC
29	FM	FORMULAR	FEMALE	MOTHER	41-50	ZAOGA
30	GN	GENIUS	MALE	GRANDFATHER	41-50	CATHOLIC
31	GP	GET-PATIENCE	FEMALE	BOTHPARENTS	20-30	ZCC

32	GM1	GIVEMORE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	ZCC
33	GM2	GIVEMORE	MALE	MOTHER	51-60	CATHOLIC
34	GD	GLADMORE	MALE	MOTHER	41-50	AFM
35	GG	GODGIVES	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	MASOWE
36	GK1	GODKNOWS	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	ATR
37	GK2	GODKNOWS	MALE	GRANDFATHER	41-50	ATR
38	GK3	GODKNOWS	MALE	GRANDFATHER	41-50	CHURCH OF CHRIST
39	GW	GODWIN	MALE	AUNT	60 & ABOVE	ACC
40	HN	HONEST	MALE	FATHER	31-40	ZVIRATIDZO
41	HS	HARDSHIP	MALE	FATHER	31-40	MADZIBABA
42	HP	HOPE	FEMALE	MOTHER	41-50	SDA
43	IT	INITIAL	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	CHURCH OF CHRIST
44	IC	INNOCENT	MALE	FATHER	20-30	MASOWE
45	JO	JELOUS	MALE	FATHER	20-30	ZVIRATIDZO
46	KL	KNOWLEDGE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	SDA
47	LB	LIBERTY	MALE	GRANDFATHER	41-50	ZVIRATIZO
48	LS	LAST	MALE	AUNT	20-30	ZION
49	LM	LASTMAN	MALE	FATHER	41-50	RCZ
50	LN	LEARNMORE	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	MASOWE
51	LT	LITURGY	MALE	AUNT	60 & ABOVE	FULL GOSPEL
52	LS	LOVENESS	FEMALE	FATHER	20-30	APOSTOLIC
53	LR1	LOVEMORE	MALE	FATHER	20-30	CATHOLIC
54	LR2	LOVEMORE	MALE	FATHER	20-30	ZAC
55	LR3	LOVEMORE	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	FULL GOSPEL
56	LR4	LOVEMORE	MALE	GRANDFATHER	41-50	ZCC
57	LR5	LOVEMORE	FEMALE	BOTH PARENTS	31-40	JEKE
58	MD	MEDICINE	FEMALE	AUNT	31-40	END TIME MESSAGE
59	MM1	MEMORY	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	AFC MUGODHI
60	MM2	MEMORY	FEMALE	FATHER	31-40	CHURCH OF CHRIST
61	MM3	MEMORY	FEMALE	AUNT	41-50	ZION APOSTOLIC CHURCH
62	MM4	MEMORY	FEMALE	AUNT	41-50	RCZ
63	MB1	MOREBLESSING	MALE	FATHER	20-30	CATHOLIC
64	MB2	MOREBLESSING	FEMALE	FATHER	60 & ABOVE	END TIME MESSAGE
65	MB3	MOREBLESSING	FEMALE	MOTHER	31-40	AFC MUGODHI

66	NV	NERVOUS	FEMALE	FATHER	60 & ABOVE	CATHOLIC
67	NM	NOMORE	FEMALE	GRANTMOTHER	31-40	METHODIST
68	NR	NOREST	FEMALE	MOTHER	41-50	AFM
69	OV	OBVIOUS	MALE	FATHER	51-60	ZCC
70	OB	OBEY	MALE	FATHER	41-50	CATHOLIC
71	PF1	PERFECT	MALE	FATHER	41-50	MASOWE
72	PF2	PERFECT	MALE	FATHER	41-50	AAC
73	PF3	PERFECT	MALE	FATHER	41-50	JEHOVAH WITNESS
74	PF4	PERFECT	MALE	FATHER	60 & ABOVE	AFM
75	PS1	PERSEVERANCE	FEMALE	AUNT	20-30	AFRICAN APOSTOLIC
76	PS2	PERSEVERANCE	FEMALE	MOTHER	31-40	JEHOVAH WITNESS
77	PT	PERSISTENCE	FEMALE	FATHER	31-40	MASOWE
78	PN	PLAN	MALE	FATHER	41-50	ZCC
79	PL	POLITE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	CATHOLIC
80	PR	PRAYER	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	JEHOVAH WITNESS
81	PD	PREVILEGE	FEMALE	MOTHER	51-60	ZCC
82	PI	PRIVILEGE	FEMALE	MOTHER	31-40	AFM
83	PG	PRIVILEGE	FEMALE	FATHER	20-30	MADZIBABA
84	PV	PRIVILLEGE	FEMALE	FATHER	31-40	MADZIBABA
85	PO	PREVIOUS	MALE	FATHER	51-60	MADZIBABA
86	PE1	PRIDE	MALE	MOTHER	41-50	ZION
87	PE2	PRIDE	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	ZAC
88	PB	PROBABILITY	MALE	FATHER	31-40	AFRICAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH
89	PRO	PROCESSOR	FEMALE	FATHER	31-40	MASOWE
90	PSS1	PROGRESS	MALE	BOTH PARENTS	31-40	AFRICAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH
91	PSS2	PROGRESS	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	ZCC
92	PM1	PROMISE	FEMALE	AUNT	51-60	ZAC
93	PM2	PROMISE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	INTERNATIONAL AFMC
94	PC	PROSPECT	MALE	FATHER	41-50	MASOWE
95	PU	PROUDY	FEMALE	FATHER	31-40	AFM
96	PDE	PROVIDENCE	FEMALE	FATHER	51-60	ZCC
97	PRT	PURITY	FEMALE	MOTHER	41-50	ZCC

98	RS	REASON	MALE	FATHER	51-60	CATHOLIC
99	RM1	REMEMBER	MALE	GRANDMOTHER	51-60	ZCC
100	RM2	REMEMBER	MALE	FATHER	31-40	MASOWE
101	RJ	REJOICE	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	MASOWE
102	SC1	SACRIFICE	FEMALE	AUNT	20-30	AFM
103	SC2	SACRIFICE	FEMALE	MOTHER	31-40	ZCC
104	ST	SETTLEMENT	FEMALE	MOTHER	31-40	SDA
105	SH	SHOWERS	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	MASOWE
106	SL1	SILENCE	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	BETHSAIDA APOSTOLIC
107	SL2	SILENCE	FEMALE	FATHER	41-50	CATHOLIC
108	SN	SILENT	MALE	MOTHER	31-40	INTERNATIONAL AFMC
109	TM	TRYMORE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	AFM
110	TR	TRUST	MALE	MOTHER	41-50	ZCC
111	TG1	TOGETHER	MALE	FATHER	31-40	ZCC
112	TG2	TOGETHER	FEMALE	MOTHER	51-60	ATR
113	TK	TAKEMORE	MALE	FATHER	41-50	JEKE
114	VC1	VICTORY	MALE	FATHER	41-50	ZAOGA
115	VC2	VICTORY	MALE	FATHER	31-40	ZCC
116	WM1	WHATMORE	FEMALE	FATHER	51-60	ZCC
117	WM2	WHATMORE	MALE	FATHER	20-30	ZAOGA
118	WT	WHATSMORE	MALE	FATHER	20-30	ZCC
119	WS	WORSHIP	MALE	FATHER	41-50	APOSTOLIC CHURCH
120	WD	WISDOM	MALE	FATHER	31-40	AFM

Appendix II: Interview Schedule for the Parent/Name Giver

English-based name..... DATE.....

Section A: Demographic Information

1. Gender:

Male ()

Female ()

2. Marital status:

Single ()

Married ()

Divorced ()

Others (specify).....

3. Indicate your age:

20 - 30 years old ()

30 - 40 years old ()

40 - 50 years old ()

50 - 60 years old ()

60 years old and above ()

5. Relation to the child:

Father ()

Mother ()

Relative ()

Section B: Questions on English-based names

1. Who gives the name in the family?
2. What motivates a name giver to give a child English-based names? What motivated you in particular?
3. Was the name inspired by something that had happened?
4. Is there any specific pattern followed in this naming process?
5. Do you know of any relative with a similar name?
6. What does the English-based name you gave to your child mean to you?
7. When giving the name, did you translate or derive the word(s) from Shona language?

Interview Guide in Shona

Mibvunzo kumupi wezita

1. Ndiani anopa zita remwana mumhuri?
2. Ndiani akapa zita?
3. Zita iri rinorevei mururimi rweChiShona?
4. Pane here zvakanga zvaitika kuti mupe zita iri?
5. Pane hama yenyu here, kana mumwe munhu wamakanzwa aiva nezita iri?
6. Sekufunga kwenyu, ndezvipi zvingakonzera mubereki kuti ape zita akadai kumwana?

Thank you for participating in this interview