

Commercial Sex Work and HIV and AIDS: An Onomastic Perspective

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KEYWORDS Anthroponomastics. Zimbabwe. Ladies of the Night. Nomenclature. Linguistic. Survival

ABSTRACT This paper examines diverse names used to refer to 'commercial sex workers' or 'ladies of the night' at Zimbabwe and Mozambique Nyamapanda boarder post. The 'commercial sex workers' regard themselves as casualties of the economic hemorrhage Zimbabwe was in since the beginning of 2000s due to various militating reasons beyond the present scope. Through participant observation, one-to-one interviews and questionnaires, the research established that the 'ladies of the night' get ready, lucrative market from, among others, the two governments' personnel manning the border post, boarder jumpers, truck and bus drivers plying that root. This economic distress has led to onomastic innovation as the 'sex workers' and the outsiders resorted to using various names as labels to capture the unfolding trade and accompanying HIV and AIDS calamity. Names are then used to perform different communicative roles, for intra and extra class stratification, labeling and as survival and marketing strategies.

INTRODUCTION

Statistically, world record reads that 70% are infected during intercourse between men and women; 10% are infected in sexual relations between men; 10% are infected from mother to child and through blood transfusions while 5% are infected through unsterilized needle (mostly drug users) (*Humana people to people: We who are HIV positive/ negative 2: 2001: 7-8*). The HIV and AIDS epidemic has become a catastrophe because the disease spreads very fast in a large part of the population. In one way or the other everyone living today is either the affected or the infected. The thorny question remains that of why behaviour change has failed despite these shocking and alarming statistical data's availability of the devastations this disease has caused throughout the world. Honestly, can one still argue that those still indulging are ignorant of such facts? Surely one does not need to be a rocket scientist to appreciate how HIV and AIDS have adversely affected governments, organizations, communities and families. It is against these alarming realizations that this paper pos-

its that those still indulging are of two extreme poles, 'those with limited options' against 'those with various options'.

'Those with limited options' are the individuals who argue that they indulge purely for economic reasons as they have failed to make ends meet in Zimbabwe's hyper inflationary environment. In short, they posit that they are the economic victims as they could not get formal jobs due to lack of proper qualifications or scarcity of jobs. On the other extreme are those who indulge while they have various options at their disposal. Some of them are married, have a reasonable economic base, some are not yet married and have the potential to marry but, nevertheless, they have taken the risky path. Against this background, it emerges that those actively and passively involved in the commercial sex business in Zimbabwe resorts to using various names/terms to describe their risky undertakings.

Furthermore, this background information about what it takes for one to have AIDS is very important because if a person with HIV takes care of his or her health, s/he can live for a long time with HIV, before developing into AIDS (*National AIDS Coordination Programme 1994: 7*). Through research, it is now known that if one looks after his/her health that person may live longer after AIDS has developed. Among other things, this background information empowers people to make informed choices in view of this

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hazard. Furthermore, it enables this research to call for a deeper and closer critique as to why indulgence seems to continue unabated despite such facts on the why, how, when and what of this epidemic. In fact, the paper asks why HIV and AIDS continue to strike the Sub-Saharan Africa with such 'overwhelming power' (*Humana People to People: We who are HIV Positive/negative* 4: 5). This paper then calls for a paradigm shift which entails a closer look at the state of Zimbabwe's politics and economy as the major causes of this calamity, among other causes this paper treats as peripheral, as shown by the experiences at the Nyamapanda border post in particular and Zimbabwe in general.

Background

The researchers got hold of literature that was distributed by government and Non-governmental organizations that informed Nyamapanda residents that AIDS is acquired from a Human Immuno Deficiency Virus (HIV). This virus can live in one's body for many years before it causes HIV and AIDS. The virus attacks the immune system, which is the body's defence against illness. Finally, when the immune system is very weak, many infections enter the body and the culmination is AIDS (*Humana People to People Information Series 1* 2000:4). In addition, Fikile (2004) defined Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) as the name given to a group of serious illness in HIV positive people when they are no longer able to fight off the infections they suffer from because of lowered immunity.

The *National AIDS Coordination Programme* (1994:7) and *Humana People to People Information Series 1* (2000:8) note that the average length of time from infection with HIV to AIDS can be as short as a few months or as long as ten years. Respondents for this research shared some knowledge on the fact that the moment the HIV virus enters the human cell; its one goal is to replicate. This occurs as the virus needs to enter a human cell to be able to copy itself. It therefore targets the T-cells or the CD4 cells whose task is to provide the human body with the defence mechanism. When it enters these CD4 cells it begins to use the proteins in them and it forms new viruses which go out of the CD4 cell through the cell walls, to find new CD4 cells to further infect (*Humana People to*

People Information Series 1 2000:6). In short, when one gets infected with the HIV virus, the later starts coping itself very fast during the first two weeks. In these early days it replicates very fast because the immune system has no immediate defence against it as it takes some time to build up this defence.

Therefore, *Humana People to People Information Series 1* (2000:7) highlights that:

- ♦ a perfectly healthy looking person can be very infectious with HIV.
- ♦ a person is more infectious just after being infected.
- ♦ a person is more infectious just after being re-infected.
- ♦ a HIV positive person should avoid re-infection.
- ♦ HIV positive person should avoid being sick from any disease.

As a result, when the HIV viruses become so many in numbers that they kill the CD4 cells much faster than the body can produce, it means that the immune system will be gradually weaker and weaker. This means that the defence is down, the body can no longer protect itself against any illness and this is the time one is said to have AIDS.

Objectives

This research sought to:

- i) Establish names used to refer to commercial sex workers
- ii) Identify who give names to commercial sex workers.
- iii) Examine the meanings attached to the names given to the

METHODOLOGY

The researchers, through the use of questionnaires, one to one interaction and participant observation techniques gathered the data for this study. These methods, among other things, entailed the researchers mingling with members of the community so that they could see and assess the movement of the target people. The movements that were important to monitor involved their day-to-day hawking interactions that they were using as cover up strategies by some participants of marketing 'themselves' in preparation for their actual indulgence

Through the various observations, the researchers were able to identify those who were active as they were always seen 'purposefully' roaming around the places mingling with the potential clients. Furthermore, one to one interactions enabled the researchers to discuss with those actively and passively involved in the business. This strategy shed a lot of light on why, how, when the concerned people became involved in these operations.

Through these interactions, the researchers were referred to some colleagues of the 'ladies of the night'. This adventure enabled the researchers to learn a lot on their marketing strategies, on how they looked after themselves, on what they say about the state of the epidemic and on what they perceive as the way forward for Zimbabwe and the region in general. Also, this method helped the researchers as the majority of the ladies are not literate hence their opinions were captured through the one to one interactions while the literate ones were given questionnaires. Most of the participants opened up when they got assurances that their identities would not be made public. In other instances, some respondents required some form of monetary payment for them to participate in the study as during the interviews the researchers would have disturbed their money 'hunting' routines to feed themselves and their immediate relations.

Additionally, some data was got from some government offices and non-governmental organizations situated at the boarder that deals with HIV and AIDS related issues. The interviewed non-governmental organizations are on both sides of the Nyamapanda border. Also, it was noted that some of these organizations support each other as they plan, share visions, personnel and expertise about the disease despite the political divide that exists between the two boarders. With regard to HIV and AIDS, Jackson (2002) notes that it is meaningless to talk positive living if people cannot afford basic necessities hence all relevant stakeholders should join hands.

This research was done predominantly at the Nyamapanda border, Zimbabwe's gateway into Mozambique and Malawi. It is in Mudzi district in Mashonaland East province. This place is very hot and generally it does not receive enough annual rainfall to sustain meaningful agricultural activities as it is in Zimbabwe's agricultural

region 5. Nyamapanda is made up of Mudzimu, Tsonga, Mutesva, Nyamuyaruka and Mukombwe villages among others. The majority of the people who patronize this place come from Mudzi, Mutoko, Murewa and Kotwa districts, Harare and Mozambique to mention a few areas.

In terms of infrastructure development, this place has a clinic, a police post, Zimbabwe Revenue offices, sizeable supermarkets, service stations, various shops, some non-governmental offices, Nyamapanda secondary school that accommodates children from Ngarwe and Nyamapanda primary schools, MuZezuru and Dendera primary and secondary schools, several government offices, a grain marketing board and a hospital.

On the other side of the border in Mozambique is Cuchamano Township that is connected to water and electricity from Zimbabwe. The majority of the people on this side of the border are fluent Shona speakers. These people get most of their provisions from Zimbabwe as they travel to Kotwa, almost fifteen kilometers into Zimbabwe for provisions they would have failed to get at the border post. During the period of the study the chief was living on the Zimbabwean side and he had jurisdiction over an area that stretches almost forty-five kilometers into Mozambique. The nearest school on the Mozambique side is Dunga. Also, a sizeable number of Zimbabweans and Mozambiqueans are in possession of two national identification cards and some have resettled themselves either in Zimbabwe or in Mozambique. Inter marriages among them are the order of the day. Some organizations/companies employ personnel from both sides.

Moreover, the dominant language spoken here is Shona. In addition, the people also use a language they refer to as Chilembe, that is cross-border, which is similar to Korekore, a Shona dialect. Below are some extracts from this language to exemplify linguistic similarities:

- ♦ *Mbani* (Chilembe) - *Ndiyani* (Shona) (who is s/he) more similar to Ndebele (Bani).
- ♦ *Tidoma penemwe* (Chilembe) - *Takasimba hameno imi* (Shona) (we are fine we do not know how you are).
- ♦ *dzodzo zvamuri kuranga* (Chilembe) - *Izvozvvo zvamuri kutaura* (Shona) (that which you are discussing).
- ♦ *Chirenje* (Chilembe) - *Gumbo* (Shona) (leg).

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents the observations and discussion of this research.

The researchers note that the youngest of the ladies involved in 'commercial sex' business are eleven years old while the oldest is fifty-nine. The majority of these ladies fall between twenty-four and thirty-seven. For the males, generally the age ranges from fifteen to six five years old.

Also, the majority of the respondents cited political and economic reasons as being behind their involvement in 'commercial sex' business. On the political platform, some of the respondents blamed the ZANU PF led government's failure to stir the country out of the political and economic quagmire it is in which heightened after the land redistribution exercise, the third Chimurenga. They argue that the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front led government has failed to command respect from the outside world hence the resultant targeted political and economic sanctions orchestrated by the West. This group of informants sees the way forward as lying in the government's acknowledgement of its failures as the remedy for the crisis. They insist that the Inclusive led government should dovetail its foreign policy so that it accommodates the demands of the West so that the majority of Zimbabweans would benefit. This group further wishes to see a reversal of the so called 'gains' of the third Chimurenga and almost everything associated with it.

Furthermore, some of the most vocal group of informants argue that they are left with limited options for survival because, firstly, their area usually does not receive enough rains to sustain meaningful agriculture. They claim that they are left with limited options to earn a decent living. For example, those girls who indulge at the age of eleven cite lack of food, school fees and other basics as the pull and push factors. They further argue that they had dropped out of school due to economic reasons. This is against the United Nations Convention on the rights of the child that was ratified by 187 countries inclusive of Zimbabwe by June 1996 that states that:

- ♦ the State (the government of a country), the courts, parents and other adults must think about the good of the child at all times, instead of what is best for them (1996: 2).

- ♦ children have right to family life: Parents and guardians must give their children a safe home, food, clothing, schooling and protection. The State must help the parents and guardians to do this, remembering that the good of the child comes first (1996: 4).
- ♦ the State must set up programmes to help parents to feed, clothe and house the child if the parents cannot do so (1996: 9).

The United Nations Convention (1996: 6) further mentions the child's right to education when it points out that the State must encourage children to attend school every day as well as reduce the number of children who leave school early.

Along this breath, one would point out that the government of Zimbabwe should continue to ensure that these girls remain in school because the Convention says that every person under the age of eighteen is a child entitled to these rights. As the youngest girls are eleven, one sees the extent to which the government and its structures has failed to ensure that children should remain in school, a situation that protects them from the world full of predators. As a result, the failure of the parents and the guardians translate into the Zimbabwean government's failure to ensure that these basic provisions are availed to everyone deserving them.

Additionally, research respondents allege that the majority of their fathers in this area are employed in low paying jobs like being security guards and gardeners in Harare, Kotwa, Mutoko, Mudzi, Cuchamano and at Nyamapanda border. Also, they argue that some parents urge their girl children to indulge so that they could beef up the meager funds their parents earn. This is contrary to the Convention that categorically states that children may not be used to make money by doing work which is "dangerous, harmful or interferes with their education" (1996:10). Moreover, the State must ensure that the demands of laws, which say at what age a child may work, how long the child may work each day, and in what kind of places a child may work are adhered to.

This paper also established that the girl child and the mother are left with minimal chances of avoiding casual sex regardless of the risks associated with it. Some informants pointed out that they partake in this hazardous business with their full parental 'blessings' as they would have

failed to provide necessities their family requires. These informants argue that 'commercial sex' becomes a business of the family. Asked about the morality surrounding such activities they pointed out that *kusi kufa ndekupi nekuti mukada kuzvibata munongofa nenzara* (which way does not lead to death, because if you want to be chaste you could still die of hunger).

The research further notes that some informants pointed out that at times their husbands literally arrange for them under the disguise of them being their 'sisters'. Some male informants also saw nothing wrong in such behaviour in their views summed by the saying, *blazo kana zvinhu zvatighter tinotsikisa dzose kuti tiyambuke* (brother, when things get tough we do whatever arises) for survival.

Of the four hundred informants, two hundred and fifteen argue that hardships associated with raising children forces the majority of women to engage in extra marital affairs or in full-fledged 'commercial sex' engagements. These informants fall in the category of those with limited options as they made reference to their failure to look after their children because the breadwinner would have departed or abandoned them. To further compound their problem, they highlighted the increasing burden of looking after an ever increasing HIV and AIDS number of orphans whom they ought to look after.

Furthermore, the pressing need for life basics seem to force the remaining mothers to opt for 'commercial sex'. Some blamed the failure of the almost defunct *kugara nhaka* (inheritance system) and the extended family as major contributors to the escalation of the pandemic. They allege it is so because the families in which the wife was married into and from are no longer prepared to support her and the children. Among other reasons, the concerned people, at times genuinely lack resources while at times it is due to their greediness and selfishness. To add to the problem, the affected mother might not be having a professional skill to earn money so even if she wants to be an illegal border jumper, still she needs some capital, which will not be within her reach. Also, border jumping is characterized by risks like those of being caught by the police or the patrolling soldiers who in turn require her to bribe them for her freedom, moves resulting in her sexual victimization.

In addition some informants cited the need for security as the major reason why they target and indulge with the security, revenue personnel and boarder jumpers. They argue that in these instances 'commercial sex' indulgence is a survival strategy. Also, the stringent requirements on the Zimbabwean side by the revenue authorities, the informants allege, fuel their desperation thereby further exposing them to HIV and AIDS. They pointed out that commodities like rice, soap and many others that are scarce or expensive in Zimbabwe are readily available at Cuchamano Township on the Mozambique side. But, the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority tax requirements, they claim, are exorbitant to the effect that they are a deterrent to the importation of such commodities. The respondents argue that if these requirements were lenient they could have earned a decent living by importing and selling these wares in Zimbabwe. Also, although it is a welcome move that the border is open for the locals on Tuesdays and Fridays, they pointed out that the allocated duty free was too little a figure looking at the hyper inflationary environment Zimbabwe was in during the era of the study.

Additionally, a sizeable number of the informants pointed out that they indulged in 'commercial sex' because of lack of other viable business projects they could engage in to earn a living. These ladies argue that if one wants them to rear say poultry, they want a lot of capital in form of money, labour and time among other important variables. They argue that this also applies to projects like selling vegetables, clothes and all related wares. But, they hinted, their sex business does not seem to require all those inputs, as the fundamental input is their availability and maybe accommodation, the later they claim they could do away with depending on the time of the day and place. They further allege that on good days if one had good business, one stands to net above US\$40 per day/night tax-free. Assuming that she operates consistently at this level for twenty working days a calendar month, she stands to net above US\$840. Due to these alarming figures, the 'ladies of the night' boast that their trade pays well as civil servants were getting around US\$350. They further allege that they are amongst the few ladies who can afford to dress expensively, to eat the most expensive foods as they are the 'owners of money'.

Besides, some ladies who divulged how they got enrolled in this business echoed similar sentiments. Some reported that their husbands used to bring home monthly earning below US\$200. For example, one who had failed to visit relatives for three years due to the ever-escalating bus fares boarded a *gonyeti* (haulage truck) that broke down before her destination. The driver then made love advances, which she readily turned down until she was told that she was being offered US\$20 for the service by the 'Kir-*inga*' or 'I say' (the nickname for Chichewa-speaking drivers from Malawi). The two then continued to indulge for the five days the truck was stuck there. So, the informant informed the researchers that she arrived at her destination US\$80 richer, and from this day on, she had never returned to her husband in Harare as she now patronizes *Nyamapanda* border post. This story, the researchers reckon, might have lured many ladies who found themselves in similar predicament due to the deterioration of Zimbabwean economy.

With reference to commercial sex and naming, the Shona people predominantly prefer culture-bound, meaningful first names that act as badges of "basic group identity" (Isaacs 1975: 27) that produces, according to Wittenberg (2000: 2) "a web of signification". Also, Shona personal names, according to (Evans-Pritchard 1939: 237) are "social documents which fix a person's position in the social structure". Makondo (2009, 2010) further argue that Shona names define who one is, where one comes from, make reference to events surrounding one's birth and "identify that which the namer(s) and bearer(s) hates or cherishes in their lives, among other things" (Lieberson 1984: 7).

Two sources of names dominate. The first category is of names coined by those active in the 'commercial sex' business. These 'boasting' names are as a result of self-naming activities. The other names are given by the interested as well as by onlookers. The following six categories were identified. These names are descriptive of the ladies who engage in this business. They echo sentiments that have something to do with their behavior, when they operate, where they live, how they view their age, their business and how they describe their colleagues.

Age Related Names

The name *Sisi* (sister) is an address form initially used by the potential lover who will not be

aware of the lady's name so it's a way of introducing himself. *Sisi* is a neutral address that suggests that the addresser is not sure if the addressee is pro-commercial sex work or not, for this could be ascertained as the discussions ensure. The lady might also initially respond by calling the potential clients *Bhudhi* (brother) and later could be given her real name or a name for convenience. The address terms *Sisi* and *Bhudhi*, with necessary accompanying gestures, according to research responds connote availability of the involved parties as they are meant to encourage the prospective love birds to go on their discussions as is expected from a sister and a brother.

Mukoma (elder brother/sister) refers to a biological or non-biological senior brother or sister. During the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, *mukoma* was used to refer to comrades fighting in the war against the Rhodesian forces. Within this context, the use of *mukoma* is a mark of linguistic anthroponomastic adaptation as it now refers to the 'ladies of the night' fighting for economic survival. The title *mukoma* became a befitting one as soldiers march into the battle field knowing that two certainties await them, death and survival. Also, this title is used by potential clients who, when asking about the whereabouts of the concerned lady, addressing a junior would say *mukoma wako aripi?* (where is your elder sister). This might be a ploy to hide the identity of the target person. The informants made it clear that they usually disclose their real names to their 'good and high paying clients' and not to everyone, as, in the event of unlikely mishaps, they want to remain protected.

The address 'young girls' is used by the ladies addressing themselves or by the interested male folk referring to a group of ladies. The term might be making reference to correct age group as ladies aged from eleven years were found to be active in 'commercial sex' business. Also, the address might suggest a denial of the reality that age has caught up with some of them who still want to appear young yet they are advanced in years. Related to this is the address 'sweet sixteen' suggestive of the correct age-band or used as a euphemistic phrase to adults who still behaves like the sixteen year olds.

Related to this is the name Warriors. This is the nickname of Zimbabwe's soccer teams. The name has overtones to how the liberation war was waged that culminated in the 1980 hosting

of the Zimbabwean flag accompanied by the new anthem, *Ishē komborera* (God bless) Africa. These ladies seem to prefer this title as it captures the risky adventures associated with their profession. Most, if not all reported that they were aware that HIV and AIDS kills but they professed lack of better survival options as the driving factors for their adventures. The other risk is associated with how they get clients as some respondents made it clear that they could do everything it takes to attract and get their close friend's high paying client. The warrior element also comes as they pointed out that their business entails doing everything it takes to lure a potential client whom they will be fully aware that he is married or that his wife would be their friend.

In addition, the respondents further claim that the risky nature of their trade at times requires them to summon their courage to sleep with a man who might be showing signs of having succumbed to the disease only because he would have offered a reasonable amount of money. They then disclosed that the so-called 'protected sex' is optional because if the client insists on having sex without using protective devices and is offering a better amount they have no option except accepting.

Shoes-related Names

Patapata (sandals) is the name given to the new recruits who will not yet be able to buy shoes for themselves. The name is indicative of one from a lower class. In addition, *Patapata* do not provide same comfort as does the shoes. This seems a true rendition of the services the two groups of ladies provide to their clients in their business.

On the other hand, *Bhutsu* (shoes) refers to the senior ladies who charge higher fees because they are established and look much presentable as compared to the amateurs in the *patapata* group. The latter group is characterized with lack of experience, unattractive appearances hence their immediate goal will be to lure clients from the seasoned operators so that they can establish themselves in the industry.

Religion-driven Names

Muponesi (savior), *Mai Ruwadzano* (mother of togetherness/fellowship) or *Mubatsiri*

(helper) are names that connote the service these ladies offer to their clients. These titles, with Judeo-Christian overtones connote the sacrifices these people engage in to 'help', as if to say they do not immediately benefit from the whole activity yet they will be sacrificing their lives. The names here seem to suggest that the ladies are offering a much sort after service hence are treated as helping the desperate people. For instance, some truck drivers, depending on their routes might be required to be away from their spouses for weeks or months yet they have to respond to the physiological need. This applies also, as respondents point out, to some individuals who are working far away from their spouses and the 'ladies of the night' notes that such are the bulk of their clients. This saw the rise of the phrase 'small house' meaning an extra marital affair a man can have far away from the 'big house' here representing the rightfully married queen of the heart. Yes, some informants made it vehemently clear that they do not enjoy the activity but only its proceeds.

Derogatory Names

The Shona culture regards married life highly. It is within this context that mechanisms were in place to prepare boys and girls for the married life when they would be mature. Grandfathers among others were tasked with the responsibility of inducting boys into the dynamics of suiting and married life. As for girls, grandmothers and aunts executed this noble task of ensuring that daughters were well prepared. Yes, exceptions were there even before the contact with the colonisers of some who choose to be deviant and such the Shona society distasted.

Within the preceding discussion, one notes that the Shona language have terms that some regard as strong that they use to put across their castigation of deviant behavior that sees one end up involved in 'commercial sex'. Such people were called *mahure* or *pfambi* both translated to prostitute. *Pfambi* vividly summaries the nomadism associated with the trade as one will be involved with several lovers from the verb - *famb-a* (walk). On the same note 'commercial sex' workers declare that they are involved in a business of sex. *Garinya* (opaque) has begun as slung term for prostitute portraying a lady who has decided not to worry herself with the reprimands from her family or community except that her wishes are her rule.

In addition, *Jorijo* (peck and peck) seems indicative of their business execution with clients who are not highly paying. Respondents note that such clients are given short moments that are equivalent to their meager payments hence the name graphically captures what goes on. Again, the research notes that the male folk usually uses this term in reference to their non-committal to have a long time with the 'service' provider.

Business-tied Names

This research notes that 'commercial sex worker' and 'sex worker' are terms preferred by the active ladies or by the community. In their quest to legalize their operations, the ladies and their sympathizers propounded that their efforts should be reckoned to be a business venture that is offering a much needed service just like any other business projects. Some respondents regard these names as all-encompassing and affording them the dignity they need hence they freely declare their profession when asked by prospective clients. Again, some respondents argue that the names have a tendency of making the business venture of these ladies less disgust.

In like manner, the name 'Hooker' refers to a seller or vendor of whatever merchandise. The research notes that during day the majority of these ladies will be trading wares like airtime, tomatoes, vegetables, clothes to name a few. Respondents also declare that the bulk of their day activities are meant to scan the terrain for full-fledged night 'commercial sex' operations. They pointed out that when duty calls during day, the operations are executed by such clients who cannot wait for the cover of the night. Within this context, upon being asked they declare that they are hookers or vendors, names that mean different things to different audiences. For example, when law enforcement agents want to harass them, they show them the wares that they will be selling yet the wares also include the unmentionable service.

Time-oriented Names

'Lady of the night', 'Night operator' and *Nhiriri* (wildcat) are names that allude to the time this business is bumper, the night when the people are supposed to be resting with their families after their daily chores. The three are nick-

names given by the community deriding their conduct. The way the *Nhiriri* animal catches and preys chicken is equated to the way these ladies swindle their clients from their rightful marriage partners. The animal *Nhiriri* operates during night and it is a menace to home kept fowls like chickens, an interesting parallel as these ladies are a threat to the married ladies at night. This is so because as 'hookers' they take whoever comes their way, for respondents note that they rarely deny offers except when the situations will be pressing, that is, if the high paying client will be around. Research respondents also submit that they are such dedicated to getting money at all costs hence menstrual cycles does not disturb their day-to-day operations.

Individuality-oriented Names

In addition, they are also called *Nhengo yakazvimirira/dzakazvimirira* (a woman who is not married but runs her own affairs) for in this business one does not need to consult much, do as pleases the majority but one first and foremost pushes for her own personal goals. Respondents note that even if it means locking a child below a year in a room at night while the mother goes out to hunt for clients, let it be. This behavior is contrary to societal demands that women be under husbands. As a result, these people are so independent that they do not worry what the communities say about them, only if they get their bread and butter.

Place Related Names

The following names describe where these ladies are usually found at *Nyamapanda* after *Murambatsvina* (operation clean-up) has destroyed many illegal structures. The names are: *Anogara kuseri kweshop* (lives behind the shop), *Haasi muridzi weshop* (is not the shop-owner), *Haatengesi mushop* (does not sell in the shop), *Haashande mushop* (does not work in the shop) and *vekumahwani* (those who live in one rooms) room. They are usually found residing at these places and at times sharing and being congested in the few rooms available.

CONCLUSION

This research established that commercial sex workers are also called by loaded names like *Nhiriri*, *Jorijo*, *Mukoma*, *Garinya*, *Patapata*,

Warrior, Ladies of the night among others. It also emerged that these names are used as secret codes of communication prevalent among people who indulge in 'commercial sex' which they use to attain their goals, a testimony of linguistic and semantic innovations. This then demonstrates the functionality of nomenclature among the Zimbabwean Shona people as this relatively new business enterprise has since devised jargon relevant to itself through the coining of pregnant names. The research also recognized that the commercial sex workers name themselves as well as receive names from their clients and non-clients. With reference to HIV and AIDS, it emerged from this research that we need to call a spade a spade and summon all our resources if humanity still cherishes the idea of conquering this menace. Citizens need to act in morally and ethically accepted ways to safeguard the dignity of humanity as such actions could curtail the epidemic, among other strategies.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is envisaged that similar studies could be done in other borders and towns/cities/growth points in Zimbabwe so as to establish emerging trends in such respective areas. Also, a regional

comparative study could shed light on naming and HIV and AIDS.

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