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The Most Popular Shona Male Anthroponyms¹

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ABSTRACT This paper focuses on identifying the most popular male Shona names widely used in Zimbabwe by Shona speakers. It proceeds to establish the meanings attached to the identified most popular male Shona names. Nine semi-structured interview questions were used to gather data from five hundred male and female respondents aged above eighteen years. It emerges that the most popular male anthroponyms amongst the Shona-speaking female respondents are mostly unisex, acceptable, accommodative, conciliatory and subtle. Conversely, instances also abound from male respondents that male first names are laden with frustrations and gloomy representative of the context that gave rise to particular names.

INTRODUCTION

Getting at meanings being conveyed by personal names is a serious activity in many cultures. This emanates from the realization that serious thought processes and consultations are engaged in before namers settle for whatever given name. Yet, as people become more individualized due to variables like education, religious affiliations and globalization among others, naming is becoming more personalized. The later trend has seen namers naming their children without consulting significant family members or friends as used to be the norm amongst the Shona people of Zimbabwe before and just after colonization in 1890. This article proceeds by discussing how data for this study was gathered, personal naming dynamics, the analytical theory, the Shona society's perception of male children, an examination of popular Shona given boys names followed by the popular boys' names from female respondents, popular male names from male respondents and composite popular Shona given male names. To exemplify the findings, tables containing the top five names within a category are used.

Objectives of the Study

This study was undertaken to:

- identify the most popular male Shona anthroponyms.
- establish the meanings attached to the most popular Shona male names

METHODOLOGY

Data was gathered predominantly from seven of the ten Shona-speaking provinces of Zimbabwe. The research, among others, sought to get clues on the most popular Shona boys anthroponyms hence nine semi-structured interview questions were designed, piloted, improved upon and utilized (Makondo 2010a) to a sample size of five hundred respondents. Semi-structured interviews, according to Robson (2002), help the researcher find out what is happening and to seek new insights. Semi-structured interviews are preferred because of their flexibility which allows the researcher to pitch the questions in a manner palatable to respondents and the context of discussion (Makondo 2009).

Besides, semi-structured interviews, allow interviewees sufficient freedom to delve into the issues at hand thereby exposing the researcher to in-depth information about attitudes and behaviour of the respondents. The interviewer, as observed by Atkinson and Hammersley (1994), merely prompts and encourages the respondents to respond hence semi-structured interviews are an open instrument, that is, flexible, adaptable and appropriate, among others, for projects in many areas of linguistics like semantics and pragmatics. Semi-structured interviews also, according to Corbetta (2003) helps the researcher to ethnographically understand the attitudes of the respondents through repeating a question, summarizing the answers given, pausing, encouraging, expressing interest and asking for elucidation.

In addition, Pfukwa (2007) emphasizes the need for collaboration and engagement between researchers and subjects because the subjects 'own' the names and have their detailed descriptive backing. Also, the uses of open-ended questions, as reckoned by Easterby-Smith et al. (2002) help minimize bias while David and Sutton (2004) identify the advantage of openness to the specifics of individual lives and their general context. Similarly, these questions allow the interviewees to reply as they wish as they generally start or include words like 'what', 'why' (Saunders et al. 2003). Therefore, as Makondo (2010) notes, the use of semi-structured interviews help to explore responses that are of significance to the research topic, to seek an explanation where one does not understand the interviewee's meaning or where the response does not clearly reveal the reasoning involved.

OBSERVATIONS AND DISCUSSION

Naming Trends

Rosenthal (2005) was concerned about the etymology of family names in France, England and Germany and the related Teutonic name system. Rosenthal (2005:3) rightfully says,

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

Rosenthal is also vital for three things; the conjecture that 'much information stands yet to be gathered under the rubrics of onomastics and anthroponym', observing that names have a 'causative power' (Rosenthal 2005) and concluding that tracking names across space can be matched with tracking them through time. The study of personal names is gaining popularity by day. For instance, Makondo (2010) quoting Louie (2006) notes that names underwent a tripartite metamorphosis as initially they were composed of one word, then two-worded names came into picture before names composed of two words regarded as one name emerged.

A brief scant of global naming trends show that a lot is being done to try and get at the diverse meanings of personal names. The colonization of many parts of the world including Zimbabwe significantly affected world anthroponomastic trends. Early settlers brought with them 'imported names' of foreign/exotic origin (Neethling 2000) into the new areas they settled in thereby injecting alien culture.

Similarly, the use of Baganda personal names demonstrates that those traditional names 'have deeper meanings than is generally apparent' (Nsimbi 1950) as they are summaries of the society's philosophy. According to Beattie (1957) personal names express the namer's 'state of mind' as they are allusive and their understanding demands some knowledge "of the web of thought, imagery and metaphor". Furthermore, Neethling (1995) notes that name giving among the Bantu cultures reflect the socio-cultural circumstances of the group/clan. Moyo (1996) also observes that the Ngoni-Tumbuka-speaking people of northern Malawi prefer names with historical importance. Similarly, Olawale (2005) adds that much meaning about African philosophy is communicated in a name. Olawale also notes that if one is given the right name, you start off with certain indefinable but very real advantages.

From Koopman's (1990) study of the Zulu society, it emerges that name givers and bearers are always aware of the meaning of the name and the literal meaning of the name is always directly related to the reason for giving it. The ability to read between the lines, as it were, depends upon a cultural continuity in which language is embedded and this is not open to all as only those who grow up within the community can, perhaps, participate fully in this expanded communicative interaction. The discourse now shifts to the presentation and examination of the findings of this study.

Popular Shona Given Male Names

Shona oral tradition has it that the Shona society used to value more male children. Informants reckon that a mother who bore boys was proudly named Vachizvaramachinda (mother of boys) and was highly valued when compared to Vamachekanhembe (mother of girls). In addition, married women because the moment they gave births to a baby boy as some polygamous marriages were due to the husband's quest to get a baby boy. Male children were 'favoured' because they ensure the immediate continuation of a father and clan name. Also, boys were 'favoured' for supplying ample labour force and security for the family or kingdom especially within the context of chieftain wrangles (Mutasa 1990, 1991) before the European colonization of Zimbabwe in 1890.

In addition, the Shona philosophy has a popular Shona saying *azvaramachindahaafi* (he/she who gave birth to boys does not die) that aptly

captures this mood. The saying refers to the ability of one who has given birth to many male children to regenerate and replenish the earth with his offspring. This explains, among others, the prevalence of polygamous marriages (Zvarevashe 1976) which were a pragmatic way of ensuring that the Shona society sustains itself.

Popular Shona Given Male Names From Female Respondents

This segment discusses the findings of questions four up to six. Question four requested respondents to state one Shona personal male name that is popular or familiar in their localities. Locality refers to the physical area within which the respondent works, learns or lives. This was followed by question five which sought to get at the meaning of the identified name while question six asked the respondents to give reasons as to why the specified name is popular or otherwise.

Table 1 presents five most popular Shona male names from female respondents aged 18-78 years preferred. The names are *Tatenda* (we are thankful), *Tendai* (be thankful), *Tafadzwa* (we have been made happy), *Tawanda* (we are now many) and *Farai* (be happy). The table presents the name and the total number of responses got from the research respondents.

Table 1: Names from female respondents

Name	Total
Tatenda	212
Tendai	129
Tafadzwa	118
Tawanda	101
Farai	98

From Table 1, the unisex personal name *Tatenda* (we are thankful) tops the list as it was mentioned two hundred and twelve times by the respondents. The given name *Tatenda* could be the shortened version of *Tatendavose* (we have thanked all), *Tatendavadzimu* (we have given thanks to the ancestors), *Tatendaishe* (we have thanked the Lord), *Tatendamusiki* (we have thanked the Creator), *TatendaMwari* (we have thanked God) and *Tatendavatipa* (we have thanked those who gave us the child). Insights from pragmatic tenets show that these compound versions of *Tatenda* communicate sev-

eral contextual meanings. Interviewees reckon that *Tatenda* denotes thanksgiving to the force or being that enabled the family/parents or namers to have a stable marriage and the child.

As highlighted earlier, the namers or parents have all the reasons to be jubilant as they have got a male child who would ensure the continuation of the father and clan's name in the patriarchal Shona society. The name projects a family, couple or corporate perception in mwana ndewemunhu wese (a child is for everyone) as depicted by the plural prefix /Ta-/(we). The name should be understood within the Shona philosophy which treats child-bearing as a communal responsibility as family members, midwives and other significant allies who performed diverse significant positive roles are hereby thanked. To this end, the name is synonymous of a thank you message on a card or billboard meant for public consumption.

The second name, *Tendai* (be thankful) was cited by one hundred and twenty-nine respondents. The longer versions of *Tendai* are *TendaiMwari* (thank God), *TendaikunaMwari* (give thanks to God), *Tendaivakaenda* (give thanks to the departed), *Tendaivakaenda* (give thanks to the ancestors), *Tendaivakatipa* (give thanks to those who gave us the child), *Tendaivatipa* (give thanks to those who gave us the child), *Tendaivatipa* (give thanks to those who gave us the child), *Tendaivatipa* (give thanks to those who gave us the child) and *Tendaizvenyu* (please give thanks). *Tendai* is a call for the family members or community to congratulate the couple and some spiritual authorities for the establishment of their marriage and the resultant birth of this boy child.

On the same note, the respondents suggest that the name implies that the entire family was not appreciative enough of their role hence this subtle call for reformation through the varied ways the name *Tendai* appears. It emerges that in some instances the name *Tendai* was preferred where the authenticity of a particular child was doubted by some family members or a spouse. Also, if a child was born and the father denied responsibility, the father or mother's families were hereby being implored to forgive and accept the child.

In addition, *Tendai* is a unisex name. Also, some Shona names demonstrated by the full versions of *Tendai* can be rightly regarded as sentences uttered within particular discourses which name readers have to approximate for them to get at the embedded meanings. This realization epitomizes the essence of contextual

reading of Shona given names for their full import to be appreciated. To this end, the quintessence of pragmatic, semiotic, semantic and decompositional tenets come to the fore in one's quest to get at the denoted and connoted meanings.

Tafadzwa (we have been made happy), the third name mentioned by respondents one hundred and eighteen times declare the joy of the namers as they now have a child that they had hoped for. The personal name *Tafadzwa* can be a shortened version of the compound given names TafadzwanaShe (we have been made happy by Lord), Tafadzwanevadzimuvedu (we have been made happy by our ancestral spirits), TafadzwanaMwari (we have been made happy by God) and TafadzwaneMusiki (we have been made happy by the Creator). It also emerges here that these given Shona names Tafadzwanevadzimuvedu, TafadzwanaMwari and Tafadzwane-Musiki are statements summing the namers' joyful or saddening life experiences. These humble statements are usually remarks made by the namers, parents of the child or their significant families in response to congratulatory remarks (makorokoto) from well-wishers. Within this milieu, pragmatic considerations preponderate hence the name reader needs to understand that this name is preferred by namers of diverse religious backgrounds denoting and connoting several significant issues.

The given name also highlights that bearing a child satisfies and completes a Shona person's life against the agony the Shona people go through if they fail to bear children (Zvarevashe 1976). The experiences of the Shona people are similar to those of the Canaanites and Hebrews as demonstrated by Hannah, the wife of Elkanah who was tormented by her co-wife, Peninnah for her failure to bear children and the treatment of Sara, the wife of Abraham by Hagar, just to name a few. The point of suffering if one had failed to have a child is clearly exemplified in this biblical story below that highlights the suffering Hannah went through and how she handled it:

1Samuel 1:2 And he had two wives; the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah: and Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no children.

1:4 And when the time was that Elkanah offered, he gave to Peninnah his wife, and to all her sons and her daughters, portions: 1:5 But unto Hannah he gave a worthy portion; for he loved Hannah: but the LORD had shut up her womb.

1:6 And her adversary also provoked her sore, for to make her fret, because the LORD had shut up her womb.

1:7 And as he did so year by year, when she went up to the house of the LORD, so she provoked her; therefore she wept, and did not eat.

1:10 And she was in bitterness of soul, and prayed unto the LORD, and wept sore.

1:12 And it came to pass, as she continued praying before the LORD, that Eli marked her mouth.

1:13 Now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard: therefore Eli thought she had been drunken (Thompson 1988).

Equally, Kuimba (1976) portrays a graphic picture where the entire Shona community gossiped about a stigmatized couple that had seemingly failed to bear a child and the moves that were executed to either have another woman or man brought in to salvage the situation. Shona people could do whatever it takes to have a child as the married people are supposed to be called by the name of the first child like *mai vaTa-fadzwa* (mother of Tafadzwa) or *baba vaTa-fadzwa* (father of Tafadzwa).

The fourth name Tawanda (we are now many) mentioned one hundred and one times by the respondents reckon that the family population has increased because of the added family member(s). Informants observe that this name is usually given upwards as acknowledgment of the increase that had been witnessed in the family through the birth. The personal name Tawanda is derived from the statement Tawandamumhuri (we are now many in the family). Shona people are proud of such developments as they cherished the idea that hura mapoko hunozvara mbavha nevarovi (pregnancy gives birth to children of mixed morality and ability). As they hoped that children would look after them in their old age, having many children was regarded as noble so that if one fails to be responsible others would still take up the responsibility.

Marangwanda (1959) expounds on this perspective by presenting how *Saraoga* (remain alone) neglected his mother and the resultant untold suffering she went through as she had no other child to seek assistance from. In addition, the masculine given name *Tawanda* conveys the Shona people's conviction that when boys get married they immediately contribute to their family/clan's population growth as their off-springs will be called after the father's surname against children from girls who would be called after the surnames of their new married clan/family surnames.

The firth personal name from female respondents is Farai (be happy) which was cited ninety-eight times by the interviewees. Farai could be the shortened version of Faraizvenyu (be happy), Faraihamadzangu (be happy my relatives) or FaraimunaShe (be happy in the Lord). Respondents reckon that the given name Farai suggests that the family or spouse might have some challenges like denying to readily accepting the child maybe because they had hoped for another gender. Musengezi (1998) expounds at length on this phenomenon when a mother was ordered by the husband and his family members to name her four girls born in succession as an indication that they were denying them as they had expected her to give birth to male children. This attitude seems prevalent amongst those people who look down at a girl child. As for the name Farai, because of the presumed misfortune, the namers through the name are calling the family or spouse to be happy as in the fullness of time they shall get their preferred child.

Similarly, Faraizvenyu addresses significant family members who seem not to be forthcoming in offering support to the new family. The name becomes a special call for a changed disposition so that life can be palatable for the new couple. Besides, also, the name suggests a family characterized with sadness due to diverse misfortunes or challenges hence the call for them to be joyful as a new family member has been brought in who might signify new beginnings and blessings. In addition, FaraimunaShe is a subtle reminder that whoever is censuring the new family should remember that children are a gift from the Lord (Isaiah 18.8) so they need to rejoice in the Lord. The religious attachment of the namers is exuded by the compound given name Farai-(be happy)-Munashe (in the Lord).

Of the five male names given by female respondents this section looked into, four of them namely *Tatenda, Tendai, Tafadzwa* and *Tawanda* start with a subject prefix or subject concord / T-/. This concord indicates that the names make reference to joint or corporate interests against an emerging trend in which the couple's interests are the sole naming premise due, among others, to the individualistic tendencies prevalent in the industrialized modern societies. This underscores that child-naming amongst the Shona people was predominantly representative of the entire family interests. In other words, naming was the media the family used to inform the world of its challenges, frustrations, joys and wishes. The benefits of pragmatic tenets of presupposition, performative and speech acts come to the fore. This observation comes against the backdrop that the Shona language does not have morphemes that are made up of a consonant only such as /T-/. All morphemes in Shona are made up of vowel, consonant vowel or vowel consonant syllabic structures. Within this context, these names just start with the voiceless coronal/alveolar consonant [t] and not a prefix. Discussion now relates to male names preferred by male respondents.

Popular Shona First Male Names from Male Respondents

Conversely, the popular male names according to male respondents are sequentially *Tendai* (be thankful), *Tafadzwa* (we have been made happy), *Tinashe* (we are with the Lord), *Tapiwa* (we have been given) and *Nhamo* (suffering) as Table 2 presents.

Table 2: Names from male respondents

Name	Total
Tendai	197
Tafadzwa	165
Tinashe	149
Tapiwa	123
Nhamo	113

As *Tendai* and *Tafadzwa* have already been explained under male names given by female respondents, this section begins by expounding on *Tinashe* (we are with the Lord). The third popular given name, *Tinashe*, was mentioned one hundred and forty-nine times by the interviewees. *Tinashe* implies a marriage that has been characterized with challenges up to the deliverance of the named child. The namers are connoting that they have gone this far through the protection afforded them by the Almighty Creator (*Mwarimusiki*). This is understood within the African Traditional Religion, a culture that believes in the role of witches (Mukandi 1983) and evil avenging spirits as behind misfortunes people encounter in life.

Also, the name acknowledges that despite the existence of individuals who wished them bad as witnessed by a troublesome gestation period, the couple has been sustained and has even been blessed with a boy child. The name is also preferred by religious-oriented parents who reckon that children are a gift from the Almighty hence the name is their considered way of giving praise and making their convictions known. Respondents cited trying instances which left even medical personnel worried whether the child would survive or not and, within such moments the name *Tinashe* became apt.

Conversely, the anthroponym Tapiwa (we have been given) is a declarative name stating that the family accepts whatever child they have given birth to. Tapiwa as the fourth most popular male name was cited by one hundred and twenty-three male respondents. Also, the name is acceptive in tone because even if the couple had hoped for a child of another gender, their desire remains a wish. In addition, even if the child has some deformities, the namers hereby acknowledge him as a gift from the giver of life. The passive role of the namers is denoted in their receiving a child, sentiments implying innocence. Furthermore, the name is a strong statement to those who downplayed their ability to bear children as this child has proven them wrong. To this end, the loaded nature of names becomes apparent as their meanings are entrenched within particular contexts that gave rise to them.

In addition, the personal name, *Nhamo*, (suffering) was cited by one hundred and thirteen respondents. The given name *Nhamo* implies untold suffering. According to informants, the name is a heavy laden that a child can be given. *Nhamo* chronicles suffering either of a spouse, couple, family or country. The Shona language has many personal names that derive from the stem *-nhamo-* (Makondo 2011) and their exploration is beyond the present scope. Also, the self-fulfilling prophecy of the name has been echoed as many people, according to informants with such name, has ended up being vagabonds in life.

In addition, since Shona people regard a cultured individual as one who is not openly belligerent, the name *Nhamo* becomes a noble restrained way of declaring the aggrieved views as well as challenge the status quo where seniors and significant family and community members are involved whom the namers are not licensed to confront. Respondents further cite cases in point where seniors responded by taking to task those implicated to be ill-treating the namers as conveyed by the name, developments showing that the name would have attained its pragmatic goal of mending relations. It becomes apparent that first names are powerful pragmatic weapons used in defining family relations in concealed ways. Therefore, to understand the import of diverse given names, name readers should read in-between the given name for them to glean the intended messages. This discussion proceeds by looking at merged popular male given names.

Composite Shona Popular Personal Male Names

A look at the first name preferences by female and male questionnaire respondents gave an interesting picture of the top five Shona given names (see Table 3).

Table 3: Composite popular male names

Name	Total
Tendai	594
Tafadzwa	491
Nhamoinesu	256
Tawanda	254
Tatenda	220

The top five first names are Tendai (be thankful) (594), Tafadzwa (we have been made happy) (491), Nhamoinesu (suffering) (256), Tawanda (we are now many) (254) and Tatenda (we are thankful) (220). Insights from the respondents suggest that the preferred names listed here suit marriages of all kinds hence their popularity. For example, Tendai and Tafadzwa make a call to / for the couple to be appreciated, Nhamo underscores the prevalence of suffering, and Tawanda denotes the family population growth while Tatenda echoes celebratory overtones. The /T-/ prefix declares that families proudly identified themselves with male children for, among others, they ensure their families hegemony and continuity. Therefore, the top male names examined here are declarations of various prevalent status quo in ways that brings to the fore the extent to which the Shona people cherished peace and tranquillity.

CONCLUSION

This article identified different most popular male Shona names preferred by male and female respondents. It emerges that the two genders have different male Shona name preferences. On this note, female respondents preferred Tatenda and Tendai names that popularly calls for acceptance especially of the (here assumed to be the mother) in the new married family. The names might also suggest a call to have the child accepted in the father's family as well as having the new family's contributions being appreciated. This differs slightly with male respondents who settled for Tendai and Tafadzwa. It emerges that Tendai is a popular male Shona name as shown by male and female respondents. However, Tafadzwa, is the namer, here assumed to be the father's family declaration of the acceptance of the child, mother and the new couple. Furthermore, the study established that the preferred most popular male Shona names are loaded with diverse pragmatic meanings which requires name readers to decompose them so as to get at their denotative and connotative meanings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are some of the recommendations this study makes. Firstly, a study on most popular female Shona personal names would help give the other dimension not examined by the present study. Also, a comparative study of Shona and Ndebele naming patterns in Zimbabwe on most popular male names would add much value to the discipline. In addition, a comparative study that seeks to establish naming patterns within the southern part of Africa would further properly contextualize this study. This is possible and necessary as countries within the southern part of Africa seems to share a lot of naming practices.

NOTE

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APPENDIX

Research Questions

The questions below and responses you shall give shall be used for research purposes only. Respond by ticking/circling the correct response as well as filling the given spaces.
1. Are you male/female?
2. What is your age range: 15-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, 66+
3. You reside in a mine, farm, rural area, high density, medium density, low density
4. State as Shene areas the purposed of the purpose of the purposed of the purpos

0.	Toureblac in a minie, farm, farm area, mon achory, meanann achory, for achory
4.	State one Shona personal male name that is popular or familiar in your area
5.	What is the meaning of that name?
6.	Why do you think that name is popular?
7.	State one Shona personal female name that is popular or familiar in your area
8.	What is the meaning of that name?
9	Why do you think that name is popular?
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The end

Thank you