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## Trashing Negative Behaviour through Naming: A Case of Some *Manyika* Surnames.

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Jacob Mapara

Chinhoyi University of Technology, Institute of Lifelong Learning & Development Studies

### Abstract

This paper argues that anthroponyms are an important living heritage aspect that serves as an identity tag that each human being is conferred with, after birth and in the course of life's journey. These names, the paper posits, are a product of the social environment within which each being is located and exists. It additionally observes that the Shona like most sane human beings everywhere deplore bad behaviour and see it as necessary to remind possible offenders of the negative consequences of such obnoxious and nefarious deeds. Therefore, noting that names are an important part of indigenous ways of communicating values, this paper discusses some selected Manyika surnames, highlighting the values through nicknames that the identified group holds dear. It observes that through names people, especially the young ones learn and continue to acquire valuable knowledge that reminds them and entrenches the idea that acts like drunkenness, inexplicable fear and laziness were and continue to be frowned at. Through some selected names the essay unpacks each name and attempts to critically examine some meanings in some instances that may be hidden in them or where there are none, emphasize what was seen as important that led to some family heads being described through such eke names. The article concludes by pointing out that such a practice of underscoring distaste for adverse behaviour has continued up to this day and is realized even in some nicknames that those who seek public office are conferred with, especially when they resort to the use of violent means to get into political positions.

**Key words:** nicknames, anthroponyms, supernumerary name

## Introduction

Names are in some way identity tags conferred on people, places or other living beings for the very purpose of acknowledging the uniqueness of each being or place, or as a mnemonic instrument to keep memories alive. They are therefore part of humanity's living heritage, also called Intangible Cultural Heritage. Therefore, put differently, names are either a single word or set of one or more by which a person, animal, place, or thing is known, addressed, or referred to (Mapara, 2013). Their significance lies in the fact that once apportioned, they become the main tags or badges through which the named is identified and acknowledged. Another aspect about names is that despite carrying the power to identify the targeted, they may carry or carry no meaning within them. When names carry meanings, they become from a linguistic perspective, speech acts that serve among other purposes to make declarations or express opinions on certain aspects that relate to life in general and human behaviour and relations in particular. This thus explains why among the Shona of Zimbabwe, of whom the Manyika are a sub-group, as among most people of Africa, names are not just allotted. They are apportioned in the aftermath of thoughtful reflection. It has to be noted that this careful and reflective consideration comes into play even if the names are being given to animals, things or places as well as of late after the advent of the cash economy, businesses. It is therefore essential to appreciate that the very act of naming amongst the Shona sometimes culminates in the making of statements that may be declarations or expressions of certain ideas or thoughts. Names thus become microtexts or statements in miniature (Pfukwa, 2012). Despite the fact that there are many types of names that the Shona give, this chapter as reflected in its title focuses on names or anthroponyms that are apportioned to people as descriptors of negative behaviours that the namers would be hoping will be refrained from and would also in the process serve as warning lights to the youngsters in the immediate environment of behaviours that they should steer clear of. Information relating to these names was gathered through a relatively new area in the research methods field – that of indigenous research strategies.

## Research Methods

It is however significant that these names be placed within the context of anthroponyms in general so that when they finally get focused on, their significance becomes amplified, and largely so when informed by an indigenous research approach. An indigenous research method was found to be appropriate for this study because it is informed by peoples' interests, knowledge and experiences. These experiences and interests must be at the centre of meaningful research methodologies and constructions of knowledge and understanding of indigenous peoples (Rigney, 1999). The other important aspect about an indigenous

inquiry approach is that the researcher together with the informants are part of a team where there is an exchange of ideas and not just a one-sided approach where the researcher is only there to gather information and not contribute to the building of knowledge. The indigenous approach also allows for memory to come into play, and participants can be engaged not necessarily in formal environments only but even in the least expected of these like at a shopping centre for instance, when one can ask about a particular event or names that they would have heard being spoken about. It is a very flexible approach that does away with the rigidity of western-centric approaches that are straitjacketed.

One other strategy that was employed was the sharing of beverages that was part of the discussions on the significance of the names that are discussed in this paper. The sharing of beverages is anchored in the realization that this very act of food-sharing and consumption has other benefits that ensue out of it. For example, during a meal, some issues that may have been disremembered or overlooked during other discussions may crop up and may significantly contribute to the body of already collected data. The other important aspect about such a practice is that:

It also provides a platform where other ‘hanging’ and hazy points may be clarified or further explored, a practice that is almost akin to the western concept of discussing some things over for instance tea or coffee (Mapara, forthcoming).

The above words amplify the significance of collectively partaking in a meal of sharing beverages because refusal to participate may be viewed negatively in indigenous communities where one maybe perceived as a misfit and as lacking *unhu/ubuntu* (qualities of being human/humanness). It is this humanness that is critical in the understanding of anthroponyms and a brief insight into some of their types will help in understanding how some names are coined.

## Varieties of Anthroponyms

Given that an anthroponymy is a subarea of onomastics that deals primarily with the creation of personal names (Baptista et al., 2006); it is significant to appreciate that like all names among the Shona, anthroponyms communicate love, loathing, admiration and a plethora of other issues that those who name would be hoping to communicate to the outside world. Also, worth noting is the actuality that there are many types of such names and some of these, for example, bynames, are briefly discussed in the two paragraphs that follow.

A byname is a nickname that is exclusively given to someone for the sole purpose of distinguishing that individual from another who bears the same given name. Such a name may come from that person's behaviour or some other physical aspect for example, *Murefu* (The tall one) which linguistically is an adjective in Shona, but when it assumes the role of a proper name becomes itself a Class 1a noun (Fortune, 1991). Some bynames may have evolved into surnames. Another anthroponym is a nom de guerre whose origins are in the French language. It literally means "war name", and it is one which the bearer gives her/himself or is given by fellow combatants. In Shona such names are called *Chimurenga* names (Pfukwa & Barnes, 2010; Pfukwa, 2012). There are also religious names that people are given or give themselves to show that they have embraced a new faith. In Christianity, most missionaries, especially in the Catholic and Anglican churches always insisted that the newly baptised convert assume a name, preferably that of a deified late Christian designated a saint. This was however not the case with other denominations like the Dutch Reformed Church, although the new convert was also expected to assume a new name that could be indigenous that was reflective of the acceptance and conversion to the new faith. In Islam it is still common practice that one assumes an Islamic name (usually Arabic) after converting to this belief.

Other anthroponyms are the cryptonym, matronym or metronym, necronym, and patronym. A cryptonym is a clandestine forename that is used for the security of the name-bearer. This is related to the nom de guerre, but the two are necessarily the same, in that it may be given not in war situations but may be in criminal gangs. It has the potential of growing into a full-blown nickname once it becomes public knowledge. A matronym or metronym may or may not be a nickname. It is that type of anthroponym that has its origins in a female relative, while the term metronym is specifically reserved for a personal name that originates from a mother's name (Connor, 2021; Brown et al., 2014; Cross, 1910). It is common practice that people use naming as a means of remembering their dear departed relatives, especially parents. Such a name that is given as an honour to a deceased relative is called a necronym. In Shona indigenous religion such a name may be given as a result of some challenges that a family may have faced and would have been advised by spiritual leaders that a late relative would like her/his name to be given to the targeted child. It is also possible that a necronym may start off as a nickname where the namers may be observing traits that resemble those of a late relative in a child. These traits may be in the form of behaviour, voice or physical structure. These names may also be given in memory of a child whom parents would have lost (Testoni et al., 2020). Another significant anthroponym that may originate as a nickname is a patronym. This is a personal name that is apportioned to a person but has its genesis in one's father's name (Brown et al., 2013).

## Purpose of Names

Names matter and every time an appellation is mentioned, hearers make a number of assumptions about that person or company or brand. A name thus helps not just in the act of identifying the named, but also functions as one's public face (Watts, 2016). "It tells customers who you are, what you do, and a little about how you do it" (Watts, 2016, np). Names at times are also reflective of the race or ethnic group of the named. That the act of naming is also cultural is not in dispute. It is for this reason that naming is an important contrivance that is used among several indigenous African cultures to convey certain messages, either to a person in his/her individual capacity, family members or a community (Machaba, 2004). Even though names can be deployed as devices that have the potential to unite communities, "they can also serve as a dividing tool in various communities" (Machaba, 2004, vii).

More essentially anthroponyms are communication tools that serve among other purposes to describe, declare, express or protest. Names as descriptives function to give more information on what the named or tagged does. For instance, the name *Murefu* that has already been given above, serves to give more information on the physical structure of the identified, in this case one who is tall. Besides being descriptives, some names can also take the role of declaratives, as in the name *Tinonetsana* (We will fight one another). The named may get this name as one who does not at all times take any challenges from even the powerful lying down. As much as they can declare the position of the named or namer, anthroponyms can also be means of expressing anger, opinion or satisfaction. The name *Tafaranashe* (We are happy in the Lord/because of the Lord) is given as an expression of joy by a couple who may have had a child after a long time. They may also name such a child to express joy at finally having a baby girl in a house that was full of boys only. In Africa, especially in countries that were under colonialism, some names were used as a way of protesting against the excesses of racism. A good example of such a name is *Takondekana* (We have really suffered) which some Tangwena people gave to their child at a time they were being kicked off their ancestral lands by the Smith regime (Mapara, 2013). One last aspect worth observing about names principally among the Shona of Zimbabwe is the fact that some names, especially nicknames can be given and used to exert pressure on the named and relatives to help a member of the family to take a more positive route as regards life orientation. It is out of such protest and descriptive as well as expressive names that some nicknames may have originated

## Origins of Nicknames

A nickname is a supernumerary name that is used in place of a proper one for a person, place or thing. It is ordinarily used to express affection; it is a custom of compliment and delight, and is also called a hypocoristic name since it may carry in it undertones of love or close emotional bond. Adding his voice to what nicknames are, Ashley (1989) defines these in the same vein as eke (extra) names that are given in derision or out of affection, and further points out that they are sometimes given as informal versions of forenames or of surnames resulting in a situation where they can replace either forenames or surnames. Leslie and Skipper (1990) concur with Ashley and also describe a nickname as, “a term of familiarity which substitutes for a proper name ...” (1990, p. 273). The import of their definition is that the nickname may or may not entirely eradicate the proper name. It can therefore correspondingly be used to express defamation of personality, principally that undertaken by bullies at school or in the neighbourhood. Essential to note is that nicknames may be complimentary names, but they are not the same as pseudonyms. Their use and acceptance especially in early days, is dependent on the relationship between the namer and the named.

The word ‘nickname’ has its origins in Old English. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2017), the multipart term ‘ekename’, which plainly means ‘supplementary or additional name’, has its confirmation going back to as early as 1303. Therefore, etymologically, the word has its roots in the Old English phrase ‘eac’ which means ‘also’, (*Merriam Webster Online*). The word is related to ‘eacian’ whose meaning is ‘to increase’ (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). The same dictionary states, “mid-15c., *neke name*, a misdivision of *ekename* (c. 1300), *an eke name*, ‘a familiar or diminutive name,’ especially one given in derision or reproach ...” The aspect on derision is interesting because in Shona, nicknames are called *mazita ekutsvinyirwa* or *mazita emadunhurirwa* which means that nicknames are given as a way of being descriptors that largely draw attention to negative attributes that are in a person and not necessarily on one’s physical being although it is also one of the factors that may spur some to coin what they consider as appropriate nicknames.

In the foregoing paragraphs what comes out clearly is the fact that nicknames are given either to praise or lambast people. Leggio (2001) confirms this when she states, “In Italian-American culture nicknames, even though to others they may seem harsh and cruel, are terms of endearment and give a sense of belonging.” It is thus clear that they have their genesis in how people observe character and behaviour within the community and that they are aimed at building and reinforcing positive relationships in some instances. However, despite the fact that they add colour and flavour to human life, they can also be perceived

as red flags that pinpoint behaviours that the community or nation at large may consider as despicable. An interesting attribute about them is that some may start off as epigraphs or praise names but can potentially end up being labels of derision and mockery. For instance, one may be called Dombo (Rock, stone) as a nickname in praise of solid character and being steadfast in focus. But the same name may become a means of mockery if the same person turns out to be too rigid and hard hearted. In the first instance, it is a name that is full of praise, but in the second one, the nickname assumes a more sinister and darker description of the named and identified as someone who is devoid of humanity.

## Evolution of Nicknames into Names, Surnames

Nicknames, like other names have their origins in different events and characteristics that are found strewn along the thoroughfares of people's lives informed by dissimilar activities and professions. They might moreover be reflective of one's origins, ethnicity, religion or even profession like medical doctor and one ends up being called *Dhokotera* and this finally becomes a family name. These complimentary names may also be transitory, but there are some that take a claim on a person's life such that they become a permanent feature that even gets inherited by their descendants. Phillips (1990, p. 281) states that, "Some nicknames may last a lifetime; others may disappear after only one occurrence." De Klerk and Bosch (1997, p. 102) further posit, "This fluidity allows nicknames to reflect a much closer relationship between language, society and culture than personal names can." This actuality is significant because it is largely this scenario that exists among the Shona, specifically the Manyika who are the subject of this chapter. Given the fact that there is a close-knit relationship that permeates language, society and culture, it is therefore not surprising that some nicknames have evolved into either personal names or surnames. The evolutionary process is however not smooth but may take place in a period generally not exceeding two generations. It may also occur even within a generation in most cases as a result of boasts by the named.

The first stage in the evolution of nicknames into surnames occurs through the adoption and acceptance of a nickname as a first name, or as an identity tag that flourishes as a result of common and popular use. This has nothing to do with whether the name bearer likes it or not, but because s/he resigns to the community onslaught and even ends up identifying her/himself by that sobriquet. The resignation is usually associated with nicknames that portray the bearers in negative light, while those that are positive are easily embraced and borne by their bearers as badges of honour.

Nicknames also evolve into names and surnames when children or grandchildren and even spouses of the named identify themselves as such. For example, a child may be sent to ask for a hoe in a neighbouring village. On arrival the would-be benefactor may not know who the child is, or may not know her/his parents. If the child mentions the father's surname the would-be benefactor may ask "*Makombe upi wacho?*" (Which Makombe?), to which the child may respond, "*Nyahuma*" (The one with a protruding forehead). In this case, the Makombe in question is known by an aspect relating to his physical features and in this instance the most outstanding one is the big forehead for which he is known in the area. Out of this evolutionary process comes some names that when heard may cause hearers to turn their heads. These in almost all cases are those that have a twist in them that could possibly cause the audience members to want to dig deeper into the name and unearth some reasons that may have led to such a designation. The writer of this chapter noted that most names that attract the attention of those in the audience have to do with labels that lampoon and disparage deleterious behaviour such that they may be called public forms of chastisement, as well as living lessons that others in the community can learn from.

### Denouncing abominable behaviour through anthroponyms.

Most names in the indigenous medium among the Shona, and specifically the Manyika are memory retainers. They are living emblems of what is appreciated and applauded in society and what is as well generally spat at and is seen as meant for the dust-bin of moral castaways. Among the Manyika, it was observed that most nicknames that stick and that evolve into surnames are reflective of an ancestor whose deeds were considered good and positive or repulsive and was constituted of acts that the community prayed that children would not emulate. Names such as Chitepo celebrated hard work and entrepreneurship in that the bearer became identified with the basket that he moved around with bartering fish for grain or other acceptable items. On the extreme end are also those names that evolved from behaviour that the community spat at. Some of these names that stand out as public admonishments are Mukotsanjera, Nyautore, Muhlamaenza, Mutizamhepo, and Korera. These are but the only names that are analysed here and they serve to introduce some of the names that are carriers of some of the worst forms of behaviour that is not tolerated in society. The names are not necessarily analysed in alphabetical order.

The Manyika are known in Zimbabwe for their love of beer, and the statement *Mhamba ingonaka newamai* (Beer tests better with women as partners and co-consumers). This statement has generally been taken by most Zimbabweans to mean that the Manyika do not just love beer and women, but that they are hard drinkers as well. This is something that is

quite debatable. An onomastic survey appears to dispute the fact that the Manyika are hard drinkers. The name Mukotsanjera is testimony to the fact that while the Manyika may like their beer, they are not slaves to it. In fact, they frown upon those who get so immersed in beer drinking such that it becomes a pastime. Information gathered by this writer shows that some person may have been named Mukotsanjera because of a bad and hard drinking habit which ended up becoming a burden to the person, his family and the larger community.

### *Mukotsanjera*

The name Mukotsanjera (One who hides finger millet) is derived from the verb *-kotsa* (hide) and the noun *njera* (finger millet). In precolonial times extending way beyond the sub-region's contact with the Portuguese, the main staple for the Manyika was *njera* (finger millet). So *sadza* (pap) was prepared using this grain. One who was a gormandiser could be nicknamed Mukotsanjera, an anthroponym that was given to bring to the attention of colleagues that that person had a very healthy appetite such that s/he could consume quite a lot when compared to others. Worth noting however is that while gormandising was frowned upon, it was never a reason for such a name to stick as long as one did not become a nuisance and mess after food consumption. According to informants, this name originated from a person who was so nicknamed because of hard and careless drinking. They pointed out that in Manyika, the term *njera* is not just used to refer to a grain but also to beer which is brewed from it. In fact, it was stated that when one cannot handle an alcoholic beverage after partaking it, the Manyika would say, "*Uyu angorambwa ngenjera*" (This one is rejected by *njera* – which really means this one cannot handle beer).

In light of the foregoing paragraph, the name Mukotsanjera becomes an admonition to one who misbehaves or gets involved in negative and nefarious acts after having partaken one too many. The frowned upon acts included for instance, spoiling oneself like vomiting on one's person, getting involved in brawls and public spats as well as sleeping in thoroughfares and refusal to go home preferring to go to places where more beer would be available, thus becoming a *musiyadzasukwa* (one who only leaves a drinking place after the beer pots have been cleaned) (Chakaipa, 1967). The name thus evolved and became a public reprimand and identity marker of the person who bore the nickname. With the passage of time, it has become a personality tag but more importantly, it serves as a living verbal symbol of what youngsters have to refrain from. Even if they like beer, and drink it, the youngsters, through this name are reminded that they have to take it with moderation, and not curve a bad reputation that is anchored on drunkenness that additionally degenerates into public fights and the immolation of one's character and reputation.

## Nyautore

Laziness is likewise highly frowned upon among the Manyika as is the case among other Shona people. Some proverbs in fact serve to highlight how the Manyika like other Shona and Bantu groups are attached to the land and the value that derives from it. One such axiom is *Mukudzinga matiro ngemo mukuona ndimo* (It is in the act of chasing away baboons that the farmer discovers areas for the further expansion of his fields). This proverb underscores the importance of being exploratory in behaviour. What is however important that comes out of it is the value of farming land to the farmer. In fact, the importance of agricultural activity tied to tilling the land is further emphasized in another proverb, *Parima badza hapanyepiba* (The place where the hoe has dug cannot tell lies). This proverb also highlights the importance of investing in agricultural labour because positive results would accrue. It is therefore not surprising that the Manyika have always frowned upon lazy people and this act of scowling at laziness and people who are perceived as embodiments of such unacceptable behaviour have been given nicknames that speak against their perceived laziness. One such name is Nyautore.

*Nyautore* is a class 1a noun (designation assigned to a person as a first name) that is made up of two constituents, *nya-* which is an ownership prefix and *utore*, which is a Class 14 noun which means indolence. When combined the word is *Nyautore* and it really means owner of laziness. To be labelled an owner of laziness is to be summed up as one who is incorrigibly lethargic and slothful such that when people observe you, they will be seeing a personification of languor. This anthroponym also serves as a living example of behaviour that is publicly scorned and spat at. It is one that reminds youngsters of the vilification that visits those that are perceived as indolent and perpetually hunger plagued in their families. The name also goes beyond just being a descriptor of those who are lazy in the agricultural sphere, but also those whose levels of slothfulness even affects their personal hygiene as well the immediate environments of their homesteads. For instance, such persons are known for having unkempt home grounds and dirt may be found strewn all over. Consequently, the name Nyautore becomes some kind of Wet Gunpowder Award which is an Iranian symbolic award that is given to “ridiculous people whose chaffy character is evident to everyone and when this nature of theirs is accompanied with self-belief turns into an indefinite foolishness for them” (DBpedia, nd).

## Muhlamaenza

The researcher, in his discussions with some community elders noted that naming is as much of oral performance as it is a speech act. In actuality, the very act of bestowing a

name is thus not arbitrary (Mapara & Nyota, 2017), but an action that results from careful thought and observation and through it one chooses to sum up certain behavioural traits. Names are therefore not just statements in miniature but also function to reflect upon a society's attitudes towards what is embraced as good on one side and also as abhorrent on the other. Such is the case of the name Muhlamaenza/Muhlamainza also rendered as Mutyamaenza (One who is afraid of summer) that is a lesser jagged rendition of Nyautore that has been discussed in the preceding two paragraphs. This name's equivalent rendering in other Shona dialects would be Murwarazhizha (One who falls ill in summer). Muhlamaenza is not randomly given. It is deliberately chosen as a word that speaks to unbecoming behaviour that is characterized by laziness as reflected in fear of summer traits like lightning which may cause one to get away from the fields as a way to get out of potential harm's way through strikes. The name thus becomes an indigenous way of cautioning the targeted person to refrain from avoiding working on his fields (fields are customarily owned by men who then distribute them to their wives, although they also belong to the community, through males), because of fear of lightning.

As already alluded to above, that the name Muhlamaenza also has its equivalence in Murwarazhizha, it thus also means someone who feigns illness in summer to avoid working the fields. Such a person is also described as one *akamedza mutswi* (one who swallowed a pestle). The connotation of the act of swallowing a pestle is that the person cannot bend in the fields to for instance weed the cultivated patch. This is so because a pestle is straight and it cannot bend. The only thing that can happen is that if it is forced to bend it will break. By extension then is meant that one who is called Muhlamaenza has the fear of breaking his back in the fields. This name condemns such people and is also a living example of how the Manyika do not tolerate folks like these who have a habit of 'falling' ill during the summer season but get very much alive outside that period and in fact develop very healthy appetites for food that others would have cultivated and harvested. The name Muhlamaenza, just like Nyautore and Mukotsanjera can best be understood in the context of appreciating the fact that "As all African names, nicknames do not only refer, but also convey a great deal of information" (Mashiri, 2004, p. 26).

### *Mutizamhepo*

Cowardice is an act that many abhor. Among the Shona cowardice has been captured in idioms such as *kuva bete* (being a cockroach) and *kuva nebapu rehwei* (to have the lung of a sheep). These idioms are derived from observations that relate to the behaviour of the creatures that are deployed as imagery in the Shona wisdom sayings. In the case of the above two idioms, the flight that characterizes the creatures when they feel threatened is

what has caused the creators of these two expressions to use them to refer to people who are perceived and generally accepted as beings who quickly take to flight when they feel threatened even by the mere sound of wind rustling through the leaves of trees by the roadside. Such people exist elsewhere and among the Manyika there is such a name that reflects such palpable cowardice in the form of Mutizamhepo (One who runs away from wind). The researcher besides noting that people who bear this nickname as their surname are largely found in Nyanga District, although there are some in Mutasa district, is also related to them as his *vazukuru* (loosely translated to mean nephews and nieces, although the closeness is lost in translation).

Mutizamhepo is a complex noun that is in class 1a (Fortune, 1991) made up of *mu-* which is the noun prefix, *-tiza*, a verb stem and *mhepo* a noun that functions as a predicate. The name does not suggest that people should be carelessly brave, and in fact there are situations when cowardice is viewed as a virtue as captured in the proverb, *Makunguo zvaakatya, mapapata awo mangani?* (Since crows exhibited their cowardice [by flying away], how many carcasses of theirs are there?). This proverb is emphasizing that it at times pays to take flight in the face of danger. There are however extreme cases of fear that are also not tolerated. It is these that are captured and memorialized and immortalized in the name Mutizamhepo. Such extremities in behaviour are cautioned against and young ones therefore always have to see the name bearers as living testimony of how extreme cowardice is looked at with derision. The value of such a name is best captured in Mashiri's words when he states, "Generally speaking, Shona people seem to rely most heavily on nicknaming practices for defining inappropriate or excessive behaviour, uphold cultural ideals and politely rebuking deviant behaviour or personalities" (2004, p. 34).

### *Korera*

While the above names have focused on how much laziness and cowardice are frowned upon, it is essential to note that the Manyika also strongly detest people who are vile and cruel. One example that the researcher stumbled upon is the surname Kòrérá which happens to be the name the Manyika of the Tangwena area also give to the butcher bird (*Lanius collaris*) because of its cruel deportment towards its prey. According to Horne, (2013) the butcher bird which is also called the Fiscal Shrike is a cruel bird that is known for:

impaling their prey on thorns, branches or barbed wire. This act is not performed reluctantly, the food item is skewered so that the sharp point of the murder weapon protrudes all the way through. If they do not eat their meal on the spot, these sharp objects are used as a "pantry" to store their food for a later snack (Horne, 2013, np).

The above words create a vivid mental image of a bird that appears to go to great lengths to inflict pain on its prey, a fact that is as well confirmed by Stoner (1939). The author further characterizes the thorns and barbed wire as ‘the murder weapon’ (np), an indicator of what may best be called uncalled for killing, but the reasons for this behaviour are of course explained. For the Manyika it is such behaviour as exhibited by the bird that they find despicable. They additionally state that when this bird is impaling other birds and insects onto thorns and barbed wire it will allegedly be saying, “*Korera. Mai vako vakandiitawo nezuro*” (You have to brave this. Your mother did the same to me yesterday). These words also carry undertones of vindictiveness and revenge, yet in other more positive settings the word *kukorera* means to briefly endure burning pain to allow for the cleaning of for example, a wound that can potentially turn septic if left unattended. However, when applied to this shrike fiscal bird, and then is extended to a human being, the meaning carries life threatening undertones as is discussed in the paragraph that comes below.

When the name *Korera* is given to a person, it is used as a descriptor of one who is known for excessive cruelty and brutality. The words, “*Korera. Mai vako vakandiitawo nezuro*” are indicative of a person who is not only unforgiving, but one who also takes revenge and vindictiveness to all who are related to a person who would have crossed swords with him. The person who is given such a name is equated to one who encourages a person in unbearable pain to be brave. The anthroponym also adequately captures the inclination of some people who just enjoy inflicting pain on others, especially the small, weak and vulnerable. The name thus serves as a living example of behaviour that is not just contemptible, but also acts that need to be avoided if one is to be accepted as a human being. In the *ubuntu/unhu* perception, among the Shona, of whom the Manyika are part, a real person should not have *mwoni unenge wenyoka inoruma chaisingadyi* (having the mind of a snake that bites what it does not eat). Through this name, youngsters, especially children are being discouraged from unnecessary killing of creatures especially those that do not form part of their food supply. When they decide to kill fauna for food, they should do this in a manner that is civil. Over and above all this, the children are discouraged from being cruel to one another or other fellow human beings in general.

## Conclusion

This paper has discussed, through an analysis of five surnames that originated as nicknames, how unbecoming behaviour such as cruelty and drunkenness are frowned upon by the Manyika, a sub-group of the Shona that is found in Mutasa and Nyanga districts of Manicaland Province that borders Mozambique. It has noted that names play a significant socializing agency since they are used as tools for the dissemination of information. Some

of the information as has been observed in the above paragraphs relates to discouraging youngsters from engaging in activities that may ruin their public standing as well as affect their families and clans. The paper has also noted that the fact that these names have lived up to today means that their original bearers were used as vehicles through which such negative behaviours as reflected in these names has to be avoided. Worth noting is that while there are other negative and nefarious acts that the Manyika dislike, these names carry within them reminders of some of the vices that are viewed as most vile.

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