TERMS OF ADDRESS IN SHONA: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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Abstract

Terms of address in Shona derive from a multiplicity of sources, both modern and traditional. Proper names, nicknames, titles, pronouns and prefixes are commonly used. Emphasis is on the discussion of the type of names the Shona utilize, the contexts in which they are applied, their semantics and the circumstances that motivate their creation. The speaker and the addressee's relationship, cognitive, historical and ideological reality, determine the choice of names and other address variants. The choices also reflect very broad categories of social meaning. Address forms can, therefore, be screens upon which the Shona project their attitudes towards different aspects of their life. The author shows that the use of address forms and cultural values are closely interrelated. This article gives a socio-linguistic account of the synchronic patterns and diachronic change in address terms. Shifts over time in addressing patterns may provide a powerful indicator of profound societal shifts.

INTRODUCTION

THE MOTIVATION TO do this article is the awareness of the increasing intercultural contact in Africa and the world in general. In Zimbabwe there is an ever increasing contact between the Shona and expatriate workers and specialists, development officers, and investors from all over the world. Ignorance of the correct addressing practices often leads to embarrassment of those who are not native speakers of Shona. In this article, terms of address refer to proper names, nicknames, titles, pronouns, prefixes and other referent terms with semantic significance. An understanding of Shona names and other forms of address, their origins and context in which they are used create an awareness of the identity and the sociolinguistic history of the Shona. I argue that the naming and addressing practices are dynamic and they reflect linguistic, political and cultural changes and the changes and continuities in the way human relationships and identities are perceived and the factors that determine them.

Contemporary sociolinguistics is concerned with establishing the connection between language and culture. A study of forms of address

may be a reliable way of establishing this connection. Many people are addressed and referred to by their ordinary personal names, nicknames and other special names. Of concern to this study are the linguistic and cultural variables embodied in the Shona naming and addressing practices. The study of names and other terms of address and shifts in them is important because language has certain well-defined functions for the people who create and use it. Shifts over time in the naming and addressing patterns may provide a very powerful indicator of profound social shifts. The language used normally co-varies with speech situations and the speakers' linguistic performance is governed by their communicative competence in that it takes cognisance of extralinguistic factors. Knowledge of the latter enable language users to deploy appropriate expressions as determined by the situations. Consequently, the message framed by the speakers is not only meaningful, grammatical and stylistically appropriate, but it is well formulated in terms of the social structures and the social categories that regulate a given speech community (McGivney, 1993, 19).

Traditional and modern social relations are generally of two broad types, namely 'respect' and 'joking'. Both relationships are based on kinship: blood and social. Certain behavioural and linguistic patterns are expected of, and between given individuals. This article tackles two tasks. One is the exposition of the social grammar of Shona that is used to create, re-create, maintain and transform social relations and attitudes. The other is to demonstrate that every language and culture has more complex linguistic devices for expressing social phenomena than what Brown and Gilman (1960/72) proposed for the Indo-European languages.

Using a variety of methods, Brown and Gilman investigated second-person usage in French, German, Italian and Spanish. They argued that the use of the pronoun was determined by semantics, which they called power and solidarity. The power semantic is nonreciprocal in the sense that two people cannot have power over one another in the same domain at the same time. The more powerful of the two receives a V (from the Latin *vou*) for formality or respect and gives the less powerful person T (from the Latin *tu*). It is assumed that parents have power over their children, employers over employees and the old over the young, among others. There are instances where there is common ground between people. The people may share some common experience, may be intimate to each other, and may be of the same profession or in any other relationship that does not define them in terms of power. This is where the solidarity semantic applies. In Shona, not only pronouns but also other sets such as names or nouns and nominal morphemes are used. Besides power and solidarity, these terms are conduits of communicating group values and expectations, individual beliefs, fears, hopes, feelings

and attitudes towards others, the community, ancestral spirits, fate and the heavens.

FIRST NAMES

Peers, in particular age-groups, among children, adolescents and adults in a reciprocal pattern, use first names. Among peers in informal situations, first names are used in alternation with nicknames, names of endearment and pet names. When people become very good friends, the exclusive, mutual use of first name no longer seems enough to symbolise the friendship (Fasold, 1990, 10). In this case, they address each other using multiple names: sometimes using first name or last name, sometimes using totems or praise names or nicknames. These multiple names are used in free variation. Friends of the younger generation may use the slang version of their first names to show solidarity. For example, *Farai* would be addressed as *Fatso* and Peter as Pets, among others.

In Shona society, the nonreciprocal use of first name is determined by age, social and occupational status, kinship and attitudes. Parents address their young children using their first names. Usage is often underpinned by naming conventions: thus a son or a daughter named after a grandparent could be addressed semijocularly as *baba* 'father' and *amai* 'mother' respectively by their own father. One speaker, a man, recounted that his parents addressed him as *mudhara* 'old man' as a way of expressing intimacy. Parents and their adult children normally exchange plural forms of address. A shift can occur when a parent wants to express anger or reproof. He will withdraw to first name, even in the presence of the addressee's own children. This licence is, however one-sided. Even if the child is angry he/she will never use the parent's first name. Both in traditional and in modern society, children may only use their parent(s)' first name when referring to them positively or negatively.

In terms of attitudes, short-term switching can occur, for example, between husband and wife who normally use reciprocal plural or reciprocal singular. A shift from reciprocal plural to singular may occur when there is tension between them. As McGivney (1993, 31) points out, respect and conflict are incompatible. Tripp (1972, 236) observes that 'When there is agreement about the normal address form to alters of specified statuses, then any deviation is a message.' The wife or husband reverts to the singular pronouns and subject concords and first name in order to sound off at the other more effectively. When the issue that caused the trouble is resolved, they return to the form of address that they normally use. A shift may also occur in an institutionalised relationship. For example, normally there would be an asymmetrical relationship between a manager and his secretary. But when they start

dating and eventually become intimate, they will start addressing each other with first name, perhaps in secret to start with. Shift in this case is interpreted as changing the listener's perceived identity or relation to the speaker.

In the family domain, kin terms are used as a form of title. Because there are often several members of each kin category, the title is used together with first name in direct address or in reference. Sometimes, the title is used with the addressee's first or last child's name. The following examples illustrate this: *babamunini Mateu* 'uncle Mateu', *sekuru Garaji* 'uncle Garaji', *tete Rusiya* 'aunt Rusiya', and *mainini Mebho* 'aunt Mebho', or *amainini maiChenai* 'aunt mother of Chenai', *tete maiChido* 'aunt mother of Chido', and *sekuru baba aTonderai* 'uncle father of Tonderai'. It is also not uncommon to hear children addressing or referring to neighbours with their first names prefixed with an honorific marker. For example, *VaRunesu, VaRazaro* although the honorific marker is normally prefixed to the addressee's second name.

Of interest here is the impact of Western Christianity and colonialism on Zimbabwe's political and cultural systems. Predictably, there were changes in the Shona naming and addressing practices. From the 1930s to the 1970s it was obligatory for Blacks to drop their traditional names and accept biblical names on baptism. There were two reasons for dropping traditional names: the White missionaries and employers had difficulty in pronouncing Shona names and it was believed that an English or Christian name symbolised salvation. These attitudes, among other things, inculcated a sense of inferiority in Africans. People either retained their traditional domestic names in secret while officially, at school, work or church they used English names or dropped their Shona names completely if they felt embarrassed by them. There were other names that aroused laughter in class when they were called out. Examples of these names are *Tofirei* 'what do we die for', *Togarepi* 'where shall we live now', and *Mandirunga* 'you have made me suffer', among others. While to the new converts such names were a source of stigma and to the missionaries, symbols of damnation, to the Shona, these names were vehicles of socio-cultural communication.

The Shona used names as forms of address in varied situations and institutions such as in polygamous families or in extended families where there is jealousy, suspicion and rivalry (Pongweni, 1983, 34) and could refer to hostile neighbours or a community or to the ancestors or heavens. Dogs' names are also used to communicate the owners' discontent or as a response to some criticism directed against their owner by members of the family or community. The situation has changed now. Children can be baptised without the 'insistence that they be given "White" names (Kumalo, 1992, 346). Pongweni's (1983, 2) observation that 'with the wide

political conscientisation of the masses, Christian names were rejected in favour of Shona names' is not entirely accurate. The implication of this statement is that only English names are Christian names and that all Shona names are culture-bound. But many people adopted Shona words translated from English concepts to convey Christian ideas: *Tsitsi* 'mercy', *Ropafadzo* 'blesssings', *Chipo* 'gift', among others. Some common Shona names are also inflected to convey Christian sentiments. Some of the names are used in their long form and others are contracted. The following are some of the more popular ones: *Tinashe* 'The Lord is with us', *Tapiwa/Tapiwanashe*, 'The Lord blessed us' *Tendai/Tendaishe* 'Give thanks to God', *Tsitsi/Tsitsidzashe* 'Mercy/Lord's mercy', *Ngoni/Ngonidzashe* 'Grace/Lord's grace' and *Kudzai/Kudzaishe* 'Revere the Lord'.

Colonial capitalism brought with it the culture of master-servant relations. 'The asymmetrical use of names and terms of address is often a clear indicator of a power differential' (Wardhaugh 1998, 265). For a long time in Zimbabwe, Whites used naming and addressing practices to put Blacks in their place. Hence the arbitrary and odious use of 'boy', 'nanny', 'girl', 'kaffir', among others, to address Blacks. The asymmetrical use of names was also part of the system. Whites addressed Blacks by their first names in situations that required them to use titles, or titles and last names, if they were addressing Whites. There was a clear racial distinction in the practice. The origin of the distinction was British paternalism. Parker (1960, 83) records, 'In the raging debate among Rhodesians on the nature of education suitable for Africans in 1927, one member of the department of African Education said, 'the native is a child, with the habits of a child, and if he is to progress it must be slowly'. The use of asymmetrical address terms and names by the Whites also reflected colonial stereotypes of Africans as lazy, irresponsible and inefficient.

In modern society the term 'boy' has been adopted and adapted into Shona as *Mubhoyi*. This name and its plural form *Mabhoyi* are often used by the Black elite who perceive themselves as anglicised to derogatorily refer to those that they see as conservative, traditional, irresponsible, and unreliable Black folks. Although the term 'nanny' is still being used by some racist White employers, among Black domestic employers the Shona version of 'Girl', *Musikana* or its possessive form *musikana webasa* or *Sisi* (the corrupted version of 'sister') have taken its place.

In the commercial farms, some Afrikaner employers were bitterly disposed to Africans and they derisively called them 'kaffirs' and or 'bhobhojani'. The use of these terms shows that the Whiteman's language contained 'a series of calculated insults directed at those who are not members of his ethnic or racial community' (Awoonor, 1975, 348). The Blacks secretly referred to the Afrikaner farmers as *mabhunu* (Boers) but addressed them as *bhasa* (Boss), for the elderly man, *pikinini bhasa*

(Little boss), for the son and *madhamu* or *misisi* (Madam/Mrs), for the boss's wife'. The name *Bhunu* later acquired some positive semantic extension to refer to a strict, prompt and unwavering personality. But during the war of liberation it was used to refer to any racist White person. Similarly, the title 'madam' may be used to address lady teachers, or any lady who looks polished in any way.

NICKNAMES

Members of society give a nickname (*zita remadunhurirwa*) to the individual. The name is usually descriptive, summing up the individual's character, physical shape and idiosyncrasies (Kahari, 1990, 283). While Kahari's conception is concise, it leaves out two important attributes of a nickname that pertain to Shona society. Kahari's definition implies that nicknames are given to men alone and that they always have to be given by members of the community. In Shona, like in Ndebele and other communities in Southern Africa, nicknames are given to both men and women and individuals can also adopt nicknames for themselves. One may have been impressed by a character and may decide to adopt the name of that character as a nickname. The self-selected nickname is always positive and has overtones of self-praising and bragging. Sometimes the imposed nickname may become more established than the one adopted for oneself. There is a tendency for the addressee to resist the imposed nickname, thus indirectly encouraging peers or members of the community to use the name more frequently.

Imposed nicknames are of three types. They can be positive, negative and descriptive. Morphologically, the names in the three categories are either compounds or derivatives. Nicknames are only used to address the addressees directly by friends or acquaintances. The other members of the society may only refer to the names in secret.

Positive Nicknames
Nicknames appear as metaphorical descriptions of members of a community. A positive nickname can be a symbol of endearment and cherished values. At community and national levels such names are given to leaders and/or to individuals who distinguish themselves in activities of communal or national significance. A fair and impartial chief or head of a household can be addressed as *Maenzanise* 'the fair one' and a particularly quiet or humble person can be addressed as *Chinyerere* 'the quiet/polite one'. National leaders can be given pet names. In the 1950s when Joshua Nkomo was a trade union leader and then from the early 1960s to independence a prominent nationalist leader in Zimbabwe, those who supported him addressed him as 'Father Zimbabwe' or *Mudhara*

(Old man) (*uMdala*, in Ndebele) to register their admiration of his leadership. These names also symbolised Nkomo's stewardship in the armed struggle of Zimbabwe. It is also common, however, for members of any political party or organisation, subordinates or young people to address a male leader or an adult male whom they perceive as guardian as *Mudhara* or *Mudhara* and last name to show respect and reverence. There is also widespread use of *Mudhara* in conjunction with first or last names as polite forms not only between intimates but also to mark social distinction between non-intimates.

In the 1979 general elections there was a strong contest between ZANU PF and PF ZAPU. The party symbol for the former was a cock (*jongwe*) and that of the latter, a bull, *handira*. When ZANU PF won the elections by a wide margin, defeating PF ZAPU in the process, from then on, Mugabe became affectionately known and addressed as *Jongwe* and *Karigamombe* (one who defeats the bull) by his supporters. In fact, *Karigamombe* is Mugabe's actual name that came to the fore at independence but it is widely used as a pet name.

Imposed nicknames are also common in sport, particularly soccer, which has the largest following in Zimbabwe. Mpondi (Interview, February 1998) observes that soccer nicknames are given by either the addressee's team-mates, or by the fans. The names may be derived from the playing style of the player, a foreign player whose style is approximated by that of the addressee, the player's totem or clan praise name. Pongweni (1983, 20) points out that traditionally prowess in hunting and distinction in farming or good manners earned one a name. The names alluded to or described the various episodes in which their bearers distinguished themselves or the way they distinguished themselves. Most of the soccer names have the same function as these prowess-related names. Most of these nicknames are used and popularised by the team-mates, the fans and the soccer commentators as they recite them during appropriate occasions. Because the name generally celebrates the addressee's dexterity and talent, he readily accepts it and the use of that name motivates him to display exceptional skill. The following are examples of some of the current popular soccer players in the country and their nicknames:

(a) Examples of those that are named from their playing style:
   — Moses Chunga 'Razorman' (i.e. one who dribbles swiftly and scores).
   — Ephraim Chawanda 'Rock of Gibraltar' (i.e. a steadfast defender).
   — Peter Ndlovu 'Nsunkuzonke' (i.e. one who is always in form).

(b) Examples of those whose nicknames are from their totems or clan praise names:
   — Stanley Ndunduma 'Sinyo' (i.e. short form of Sinyoro of the Heart totem).

— Sunday Marimo 'Mhofu' (i.e. of the eland totem).
(c) Examples of those that are named from foreign players or personalities:
  — Benjamin Nkonjera ' Mackanacky' (i.e. a Cameroon player of the same stature and vigour).
  — Alois Bunjira 'Zola' (i.e. plays like the Italian player Gianfranco Zola).
  — Joel Shambo 'Mwalimu' (KiSwahili word for teacher used to refer to the former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere — i.e. an exemplary player).

There are some players, however, whose nicknames are derived from their professions, for example, Tauya Murehwa, nicknamed 'Doctor' because he is a medical doctor and he, incidentally plays 'with clinical precision' (Mpondi, Interview, February 1998).

Negative Nicknames
Imposed negative nicknames are generally used for expressing disapproval, deriding, and insulting the addressee in order to discourage him/her from certain forms of behaviour. If a community intends to show its discontent with the character of a person in power and/or authority, it imposes a nickname on him/her. Community here refers to varied institutions such as the family, school, work place, club, organisation and the nation. Since the nickname has a commentary function and may upset the addressee, the community uses the name to refer to him/her in secret. The addressee may or may not know his/her nickname. Nicknames imposed on children by their peers or adults may be used to address them directly.

Morphologically, there are two types of imposed nicknames: those that are coined from the character of the addressee and those that are taken from names of known people or media/literary characters whose behaviour resemble that of the addressee.

Coinages
In traditional Shona society most of the nicknames were highly descriptive and imaginative. Examples of coined names, which depict certain behavioural patterns and that appear as corded messages are:

Mushambanegore 'literally One who bathes once a year — i.e. someone who does not bathe regularly'.

Zifuridzo or Zimwaya 'a habitual liar'

Gora 'literally A vulture — i.e. an opportunist'

Marujata 'a quarrelsome woman'

Because of the nature of the job, one can safely say that every schoolteacher in Zimbabwe has a nickname. Teachers are given nicknames by pupils or students from repeated use of certain words or terminology,

from marked pronunciation, dressing, certain mannerisms and/or from physical appearance. Sometimes a teacher's nickname becomes a code of reference on issues that pertain to the teacher among the students and it is also a way for the students to reinforce their solidarity. Nicknames can be hierarchical. While students give their teachers nicknames, the teachers themselves may give the headmaster/mistress a nickname and a group of heads may also give an Education Officer a nickname, and so on.

Children are given nicknames by their peers or by adults. The names may be coined from the children's character or may be adopted from names of certain members of the community whose characters resemble those of the children, or from television or literary characters. Unlike the adults, children can easily be addressed by their nicknames as a way of communicating certain messages to them. There was a time when Shona parents generally believed that left-handedness was a form of disability and that it should be discouraged. Children who were left-handed were nicknamed *Chiboshwe* 'the left-handed one'. In modern society, this idiosyncrasy is however, construed as positive and is a sign of intelligence. There are certain tendencies that children are expected to grow away from by the age of four. Examples of these tendencies are wetting their pants and blankets and shrieking for assistance at the slightest scratch by peers. Those children in the first category are nicknamed *Ziwozhe* and those in the second are called *Mazhambe*. When the children are addressed by these names they feel stigmatised and then make an effort to change.

Some nicknames may refer to the physical characteristics of the addressee. These names are negative in that they denigrate the addressee by pointing to his/her visible physical handicap or distinctive stature. The Shona speech community considers such forms of address insulting. These forms of address may be used only in the absence of the person referred to. He/she may be aware of what he/she is called, but as long as it is said during his/her absence, he/she takes no offence. While adults may use such nicknames directly but more sparingly, children can use the nicknames on their peers with a deliberate intent to insult them. Among children, the use of unpleasant and insulting nicknames may result in a fight. Examples of such names derived from physical handicap are: *Kondo* 'literary Hammerkop, for one-eyed person', *Chikabi* 'one who limps', *Musorodamba* or *Musorobhangu* 'one with a big head', *Chegotsi* 'one with a protruding occipital bone', *Chiokomhende* 'one with a twisted arm', *Bofu* 'the blind one'.

Those names that refer to the addressee's distinctive stature are either adoptives or coinages. Examples of adoptives are *Toro* 'the tall one', *Shoti* 'the short one' and those of coinages are *Pedyonevhu* 'the short one, i.e. one who is close to the soil', *Chimvata* 'the short and fat one'. There are some nicknames that are gender specific. Nicknames

such as *Mandebvu* 'the bearded one', *Zuda* 'the bald-headed' and *Nyamhanza* 'the bald-headed one/one with a bald forehead' are used for men only and those like *Dairyboard* 'one with big breasts that will produce a lot of milk' are used for women only. Usually, it is the men who address women as 'Dairyboard' and not women addressing or referring to each other as such. It seems that a nickname such as this for example is derogatory to modern girls and young women, especially if its use is associated with beauty but to mothers it may be an accolade and an acknowledgement of fertility and motherhood.

ENDEARMENT NAMES

Endearment names imply intimacy. Friends and sweethearts use them in addressing each other, as do parents and their children, and the community generally when addressing/referring to their leaders. Sometimes it is difficult to draw a line between endearment names and nicknames because endearment can be marked in nicknames as shall be illustrated later in this section. When used by the community, endearment names can become pet names.

Like in Zulu and Ndebele, in Shona parents can address their children using endearment names. The intimacy is marked either by tone or by the contraction of the names. Friends and sweethearts can do the same. The following are examples of contractions that show endearment:

Full Name	Contracted Name
Mandivavarira	Mandi
Tandiwe	Tandi
Tichaona	Tich(a)
Samuel	Sam
Muchaneta	Mucha
Mazviwanza	Mazvi
Chengetai	Chengi(e)

There is no universal preference for the contracted form. It depends on the addresser and the sentiments implied by the contraction. Sometimes the contracted form becomes regularised and the original form may not be readily understood from the shortened name. A name can be contracted in several ways. For example, only the first letter [C-], the first syllable [CV(C)-], or the last part [-CV(C)] of the name may be used to demonstrate endearment. The names *Tadiwa* and *Tapiwa*, for example, may be shortened in any of the following ways: *Tadiwa* can be contracted by different speakers as: 'T', 'Ta' or 'Tadi' and *Tapiwa* can be

shortened as: 'T', 'Ta', 'Tapi' or 'Piwi'. The shortened names are commonly pronounced with a perceptually lenis voice quality. Both male and female names can be shortened this way. The significance of the nickname does not lie, however, in the statement of this phonological shortening. Mashuta (1997, 32) observes that 'shortened forms are often less formal than the longer sources from which they are derived and thus they can convey a casual attitude' toward the addressee. Sometimes slang forms of the shortened names can be used as address names. Mashuta (1997, 2) also observes that 'language choices convey information about the social relationship between people as well as the topic of discussion'. Hence the use of slang forms of the shortened names such as 'Pets' for Peter, 'Gidza' for Gilbert, and 'Fatso' for *Farai* or Francis, reflects solidarity and acquaintance of the addressee and their addressers.

Modern children address their parents as 'Dad' and 'Mama' instead of *Baba* and *Amai*, to show intimacy and sometimes to patronise them if there is something they want done for them. It is important to note that parents can also address their children as *Baba* or *Amai* in place of their first names. Brown (1965, 217-232), cited in Markova (1978), states that 'such changes in forms of address are likely to be a consequence not of an altered role relationship but as a changed personal one'. The role relationship will continue to be that of child-parent, but the shift occurs because the impersonal attitudes have become more mutual. The terms *Baba* and *Amai* are also used to address or to refer to certain respectable members of the community such as pastors, church elders, councillors, chiefs and their spouses either to express endearment or respect.

ADOPTIVES

A very common consequence of contact between Shona and English is lexical borrowing. Examples of such borrowings are abounding in address forms. Among the educated, it is common to use titles either in their original English form or their Shonalised versions. Examples of these titles are 'Misi', 'Misisi', 'Mista', 'Dr', and 'Professor'. Some individuals insist that they are addressed as such and they feel insulted by being referred to without the title or by the use of the wrong title. In some Zimbabwean churches English names such as Brother +/-First Name/Last Name and Sister +/- First Name/Last Name are reciprocated to express brethren equality. A foreign anthropologist or linguist would be mistaken if, having heard Christians calling one another 'Brother' and/or 'Sister' and concluded that the words did not have a basic genealogical role. These terms are used in extended ways, as was pointed out earlier, because of the analogies between how blood brothers and sisters treat each other, and how Christians interact.

The preceding analogy proves that for address and kinship terms, as for the majority of other words, a term may have 'a primary sense — and various extended senses (Lounsbury cited in Cooper, 1973, 112). Like in many societies, in Shona, the primary role of certain terms is to express various blood-ties. However, it is often the case that these words are given secondary, analogical extensions.

It is common for the elderly people to proudly refer to or address their educated children or relations with their professional titles such as; *Ticha* 'teacher', *Nesi* 'nurse', *Dhokota/Chiremba* 'doctor', *Dhiraivha* 'driver', *Mabharani* 'clerk', *Musoja* 'soldier', *Mufundisi* 'pastor', *Mudhomeni* 'Agricultural demonstrator' and *Mudhibhisi* 'dip attendant', among others. This form of address celebrates the professional achievement of the addressee. Initially, the addressee feels rather offended and embarrassed by being addressed as such, especially in public but eventually gets accustomed to it. The community may use professional titles as address names in a derogatory manner if the addressee's form of employment is considered demeaning. Examples of such terms are *Mahobho* 'Night watchman', *Gadheni bhoyi* 'gardener' and Messenger.

In status-marked situations, members may be addressed by their designations for their period of office or sometimes, afterwards. It is not uncommon to hear people being addressed by title alone as: 'Chairman', 'Secretary', 'Treasurer', 'Dean', 'Bishop', 'Deacon', 'MP' (for Member of Parliament), 'Ambassador', *Sabhuku* 'headman', *Chipangamazano* 'advisor', among others. Sometimes title plus Last Name may be used: Dean Chakwesha, Sabhuku Chihaka, and Ambassador Matura. This form of address, when used during the addressee's term of office implies reverence of the position that the person holds. But if used when the addressee no longer holds that office, it may be a celebration of the good work that the addressee did during his/her term of office or may be an ironic commentary either on someone who holds on to a position unconstitutionally, or someone who demands recognition associated with a designation that he/she no longer holds.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION

Pongweni (1983) gave a comprehensive analysis of war names, their origins, function and meanings. Pongweni however, limits himself to the former guerrillas' metaphorical personal names. The derived names, pet names and nicknames that were used between the guerrillas and the peasants to refer to each other and those that were used by the guerrillas and the regime to refer to each other were left out completely. These are our main concern because these terms of address reveal the speakers' attitudes to, and their expectations and relationships with the addressees and their different roles in the war.

In addition to the use of the enigmatic and cryptic war names that Pongweni refers to, the guerrillas addressed and referred to one another as 'comrade'. 'Comrade' means 'a person who shares closely in the activities, occupation or interest of another' (Stein, 1988, 277). The Zimbabwe nationalist parties took up this term from the Maoist Socialist ideology that they adopted from the Eastern European countries that supported the armed struggle. The term was used symmetrically not only to express the guerrillas' ideological orientation, but also to imply equality and companionship in the struggle for independence. Today, when the term 'comrade' is exchanged among members of the ruling party, ZANU PF, it simply means party cadre, whether or not one participated in the war of liberation in one way or the other. After independence, the ruling party promoted the use of 'comrade' to replace the titles and honorific titles, such as 'mister'. The party wanted to put everyone on an equal footing through encouraging the use of an address form that implies no social or economic differences and unites all politically. The use of the word as a form of address was clearly associated with socialist commitment. The Press, caught up in the independence euphoria, tended to use the term loosely to refer to any Zimbabwean. However, many Zimbabweans still prefer the use of a title to the use of 'comrade' especially now that the ruling party abandoned Socialism and the use of the term has become anachronistic.

During the war, the use of the term 'comrade' between the peasants and the guerrillas was asymmetrical. While the peasants addressed the guerrillas as *macomrade* 'comrades' or *vanamukoma* 'literally Brothers, comrades', the guerrillas used *vabereki* 'parents' for the adults and *chimbwido* 'errand girl' and *mujibha* 'errand boy' for the young girls and boys respectively. The terms *vabereki, chimbwido* and *mujibha* defined the addressees' supportive roles in the armed struggle and 'comrade' associated the guerrillas with power, symbolised by their commitment, self-sacrifice, and the guns that they carried around. While the term 'comrade' acquired extended meanings and continued to be used as an address noun after independence to express varied forms of companionship, especially among the political elite, the terms *chimbwido* and *mujibha* diminished in use because they became tags of antiheroism. During the war, patriotism was obligatorily expected of the peasants. Anyone who was alleged or suspected of supporting the regime was labelled *mutengesi* 'a sell-out' and was either heavily punished or killed by the guerrillas.

SEMANTIC EXTENSIONS

Industrialisation and urbanisation and the accompanying growth of trade centres and increased mobility brought together Shona speakers who are

unknown to each other and from different families, clans and regions. People devised strategies for getting around uncertainty about proper address forms. Some words with already established meanings acquire new senses when they are used between men and women and between men alone. It is common in several work places and homes that the men who do odd jobs are older men, usually much older than their bosses. Unlike the Whites, most Blacks feel reluctant to address people who are old enough to be friends of their parents by their first name. Names such as *Sekuru* 'uncle/grandfather' can be used to resolve this conflict. A woman and a man who have met for the first time and do not know how to relate to each other may address each other as *Mukuwasha* 'son-in-law' and *Ambuya* 'mother-in-law' respectively. These names or titles are seen as a way of establishing a regulatory social distance between the woman and the man although an intimate relationship may develop between them later. Two male strangers or acquaintances who have not yet established a form of relationship between them may address each other as *Tsano* 'literally Brother-in-law'. The terms *sahwira* 'ritual friend', *mukadzi wangu* 'my wife', *shamwari* 'friend', uncle and aunt, among others, are also used for marking out and expressing of social relationships. These examples emphasise the point on words having both central and extended references, mentioned above.

A further look at the use of the terms *shamwari* and 'uncle' clarifies this argument. When *shamwari* is used to children by parents or any adult, a command is turned into a request with a persuasive and patronising effect. In Shona, or Zimbabwe in general, the term 'uncle' does not only mean one's parents' brothers but also friends of the family. Some children are encouraged to call anyone who is their father's friend or acquaintance, uncle. The forms of address that have been discussed here may be alternated with the addressee's last name if it is known.

PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS

In traditional Shona society, all members of the community are, at the local level, somehow related through kinship or marriage. All individuals can therefore be located within the 'kin/affine/generation matrices' (McGivney, 1993, 29). Strangers are normally given a plural address form, until some appropriate group membership is established. In other circumstances where considerable difference in age or the addressee's sex is pertinent, respectful titles such as those discussed in the section immediately preceding this one above, are used.

In Shona, as in other languages (particularly African) both 'respectful' and 'joking' relationships are expressed through pronouns, subject concords and other address categories that have been discussed above.

The pronouns referred in this article are as follows:

Pronoun	Person / Class	Subject concord
Iwe	2nd person singular	u- (present/future, wa- (past tense)
Imi	2nd person honorific	Mu- (present/future), ma- (past tense)

Plural pronouns are enjoyed between certain categories of actual and potential relatives. Older children and adolescents use honorific forms to their parents and to members of the kinship group and community of adjacent generations with their parents. Parents normally return plural forms to their adult children, particularly married ones. However, only the parents have the freedom to shift from the honorific to the singular depending on their mood of relation to the children. As has already been mentioned, if a child, no matter how young, is named after a grandparent, that child normally enjoys reciprocal honorific with his/her parents because, 'the identity of the original bearer of the name was, through the power of the name, mystically transferred to the child through naming after' (Pongweni, 1983, 13).

An example of potential relatives where the speakers exchanged plural forms is that between a man and the consanguines of a girl he is wooing irrespective of their ages. Reciprocal plural is also enjoyed between parents-in-laws and children-in-laws and adults of adjacent generations, although the latter can shift to reciprocal singular.

Nonreciprocity is determined by the status of the speakers, age (to some extent), and role relationships. In Shona, age is a very important variable. But there are many instances where it is cancelled by role relationships. For instance, an old man can ask a young man of his health using the honorific and he receives either a honorific also or a singular form, probably because the old man's mother or wife is of the young man's clan or family. Culturally, one is also expected to use a nonreciprocal honorific to one's uncle and aunts, though they may be the same age as the speaker or even younger. Another example is when the speaker's father marries another wife who is much younger than him/her. The young wife enjoys a nonreciprocal honorific from the step-son/daughter. If the speaker dislikes the stepmother for some reason, he/she may address her in the singular in private. If the speaker does it in public, he/she may be reprimanded for disrespecting his/her father.

In Shona, joking relationships obtain between both adjacent and alternate generations. Radcliffe-Brown, cited in Saches and Blount (1975, 237), says that 'joking occurs at tension point in the social structure of a society, and it serves to maintain an equilibrium between the conjunctive

and the disjunctive components of intrasocial relationships'. In Shona there are three forms of joking relationships: the one associated with tension dissolving proposed by Radcliffe-Brown, institutionalised joking and joking associated with friendship relationships. One example of the social setting where the first type of joking relationship occurs is a funeral ritual ceremony where the ritual family friend *sahwira* jokes with members of the deceased's family accusing them of killing their own relative. Although sometimes the jokes may be pointers to the actual cause of the death, its main function is to console the members of the deceased's family. Institutionalised joking involves a man and his sisters' daughters and their husbands and a man and his mother's brothers' wives, for example. Beside the use of the singular pronoun, this joking encounter has, of necessity, many of the qualities attributable to drama and play-acting. Classmates, fellow students, fellow revolutionaries, lovers, and intimate friends enjoy the last type, for instance. These use the singular pronoun to reinforce group solidarity.

Besides personal pronouns, Shona uses third person noun prefixes to express other kinds of relationships or shifts in relationships. The third person noun prefixes that are used in Shona are those classes 7 (chi-), 8 (zvi-, plur). 11 (rwu-), 12 (ka-), 13 (twu-) and 21 (zi-). These are secondary commentary prefixes. When used with nouns in secondary association in face-to-face interaction or in reference, 'they carry overtones of sarcasm, criticism, caricature as they make their implied comment on an item's size or quality' (Fortune, 1981, 36). When a wife is angry with her husband she can shift from the honorific (imi) to the singular form combined with a secondary prefix as in, *Uri zibenzi* 'you are a big fool'. The singular and secondary forms are chosen deliberately to express contempt. The use of these prefixes is also predominant in insults and name-calling exchanged in informal discourse between peers and people of adjacent generations.

CONCLUSION

Socio-cultural processes underpinning the naming and addressing processes in Shona is a 'natural' topic for sociolinguistics that has yet to be studied systematically. It is a natural topic in that it combines linguistic phenomena with an underlying social phenomenon related to the sociology of knowledge. Just as knowledge and thought processes occur within the framework of a given social milieu, so too the choices that parents make in naming their children, can be linked to conditions of the society (Lieberson, 1983, 77). This article demonstrated that, in Shona, there is a broad variation in naming processes and in terms of address usage in general. As terms of address, names can be used either alone or

in connection with another term. The choices reflect very broad categories of social meaning, including respect, intimacy, praising, 'playful', 'abuse', contempt and patronage, among others. Some sociolinguistic dimensions to the naming and addressing process have been illustrated, for example, shifts over time in the naming patterns. The changes in the naming practices reflect the redefinition of the social reality within which names are given. Parallel to the nuclearisation of the family, urbanisation, the war of liberation and national independence, is the rise of an indigenous Christian humanism. Church affiliation plays an important role in the social life of many people, and this influence is reflected in the namegiving.

Like in many communities, the status structure of the Shona society consists of symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships and styles of interaction. In face-to-face interaction, the continuous creation, re-creation and maintenance of these kinds of relationships is largely achieved verbally through the choice of nouns and pronouns. We have demonstrated the correlation between linguistic practices and social order. The overlap of social conventions and grammatical rules is what accounts for the link between language, mind and society. Every social distinction that is possible between speakers, the recognition and display of which is necessary to the smooth development of an encounter, is overtly expressed in language choice. Just in learning to speak 'correctly', a Shona child should learn the hierarchies of respect and intimacy and learn where he/she belongs within them. We have also described the social phenomenon that is expressed by, and/or correlated with, nouns, pronouns and other devices available to the speakers. Brown and Gilman's (1960) pioneering work is important for its role in opening this whole field but as this research has shown, it cannot be regarded as a universal social 'semantics', but as a local theory of markedness for a narrow range of European languages. Brown and Gilman proposed two relational social categories: 'direction of power' and 'degree of solidarity'. As we have seen, the case for Shona is much more complex than this. In brief, the factors influencing naming and addressing practices are hardly a novel topic. But its sociolinguistic nature has yet to receive the extensive study that this fascinating subject deserves. This article has attempted to provide a framework for viewing to the topic.

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