Osward Chanda

PORTABLE INHERITANCE: THE LIVING HERITAGE OF

TRADITIONAL NAMES IN POSTCOLONIAL ZAMBIA

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Central European University

Budapest

June 2020

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by

Osward Chanda

(Zambia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy,

Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Osward Chanda**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 30 June 2020

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Signature

Abstract

This study highlights the link between traditional Zambian names (anthroponyms) and cultural heritage and discusses how wider social, political and cultural changes have affected naming practices in post-colonial Zambia. Zambians used traditional names in precolonial times. Contact with European Christian missionaries and British colonisation from late nineteenth century to independence significantly changed naming practices. As in other colonies, European Christian missionaries and colonial authorities discouraged the use of traditional Zambian names in colonial Zambia in their quest to propagate European ideals. This was because the names were closely linked to local traditions, which missionaries considered as pagan. As a result, Biblical or European names were assigned to Zambians on conversion to Christianity, during school enrolment or job recruitment. On the other hand, the introduction of permanent surnames during the colonial period has helped preserve many traditional names and inspired creation of new surnames from nicknames, colonial concepts and localised forms of European languages. After Zambia gained political independence in 1964, the new government embarked on promotion of local culture. In addition, the older generation were keen on reviving their traditions. As a result, use of traditional first names became common. Charismatic churches in the postcolonial period, like the European Christian missionaries earlier, also discouraged usage of traditional names. The methods used in this study included ethnographic research in Chongwe, Kafue and Lusaka districts and quantitative analysis of names of University of Zambia (UNZA) graduates between 1976 and 2016. Zambian traditional names are linked to many aspects of cultural heritage, including indigenous religion, initiation and clans/totems. From the interviews, it was established that Zambians were made to change their names by adopting European/Biblical names in the colonial period. Related to this, the low percentage of local first name usage (7.9%) among 1976 UNZA graduates confirms the

colonial/missionary restrictions on the usage of the names which existed when the graduates were born. Usage of local first names increased in the following decades, to 18.3% in 1986, 39% in 2006 and decreased to 31.6% in 2016. There was a rise in the percentage of graduates who had names from a mixture of local languages, and the noticeable presence – though on a small scale – of Arabic/Islamic names. The traditional/local name use patterns were different among Zambian ethnic groups; however, all ethnicities experienced increased usage of local names over the study period.

Acknowledgements

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Above all, I appreciate my wife Hope and our son Lubuto for their immense sacrifice, entrusting me with wings to fly far away from the "nest" for such a long time as I conducted my studies, pursuing my passion.

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List of Abbreviations

BSA	British South Africa (company)
CMML	Christian Mission in Many Lands
FCS	Free Church of Scotland
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
LMS	London Missionary Society
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist Church
THPAZ	Traditional Health Practitioners of Zambia
UMCA	Universities Mission to Central Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNZA	University of Zambia

Preface

The first time I recall hearing the pleasant sound of my name, *Chanda Penda*, on official records was at Five Clinic in Section Four of Roan Township, Luanshya, before I began going to school. On many occasions in my childhood, as soon as I heard a nurse call out the name *Chanda Penda* in the injection room, I took off from my mother's side, running around the clinic. People always helped her chase me around, catching and bringing me back. *Chanda Penda* was also my official name when I attended pre-school, from 1990 to 1992, at Bwafwano, which was located next to 14 Shaft Mine in Section Six neighbourhood.

When I went to first grade at Chaisa Basic School in 1993, I remember encountering the extra name *Oswald* on my official list of names. It had been given to me as my baptismal name at Uganda Martyrs Parish, Roman Catholic Church. However, I only recall *Chanda Penda* on my official records up until enrolment in grade 1. Through experimentation with letters of the alphabet, I changed it to *Osward* somewhere along the way.

My current interest in Zambian names can be traced to 1997 during my primary school days at Chaisa Basic School (Luanshya). I wrote *Osward Chanda* on my notebooks. This was because I could no longer endure the teasing from some of my classmates, who kept laughing at my surname, *Penda* (which sounded like the Bemba word for "counting"). Then, the late Mr. Musabi, a senior teacher, went ahead and wrote *Osward Chanda* in the official school register, based the name on my notebooks. From that time, I have unhappily borne the name *Osward Chanda* – feeling different and distant from my siblings. I could not change my name later in secondary school when I wanted to because I had already written national exams under the new name.

It was also in the same year, 1997 in my fifth grade, when I really wanted to know the meaning for my name, *Chanda*. Each time I asked my mother what the name meant, her answer was always *"kepushe ba noko kulu"* ("go and ask your grandmother"). I kept running in these circles as my

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grandmother constantly referred me back to my mother – both of them did not know the meaning. I thus grew up with this unanswered question alive and burning in me.

After finishing my undergraduate studies, I made two attempts to officially change back to *Chanda Penda* without success. It is common for name change applications to be rejected in Zambia. My family and close friends have always addressed me only as *Chanda*, while *Osward* is used in official environments.

While in my third year at the University of Zambia in 2010, my classmate *Chanda Divine Katongo* and I passionately discussed and planned on solving the problem of finding the meaning for our shared name. Unlike me, *Chanda* grew up in rural Luapula Province, but still did not know what the name meant. Our conclusion was that we should research and write a dictionary of Zambian names in order to provide a solution for anyone who might have a similar challenge. We immediately formed a team, began our research and successfully sought help from some of our lecturers and other cultural authorities. Later, *Chanda* lost interest in the project, but it was too late for me to give up.

In December 2013, we published the Encyclopedia of Zambian Names™ with 7000 personal names from about 30 of Zambia's 73 ethnic languages and dialects from all ten provinces of Zambia, their meanings, brief histories and, in some cases, pronunciations. This ongoing research currently has about double the initially published number of names. It is a collaborative work with other researchers and many more names were given to our team by researchers who had previously researched and published names in their own local Zambian languages. However, I have personally participated in research in names from all regions represented.

Introduction: Names as Portable Inheritance

In this work, I study traditional names[1] of people (anthroponyms) in Zambia, highlighting how naming is connected to cultural heritage and discussing how naming practices have been affected by historical, cultural and social change. This section presents the general background, underlining Zambia's cultural and linguistic diversity, the study objectives, methodology and gives a general outline of the thesis.

Language and Cultural Diversity
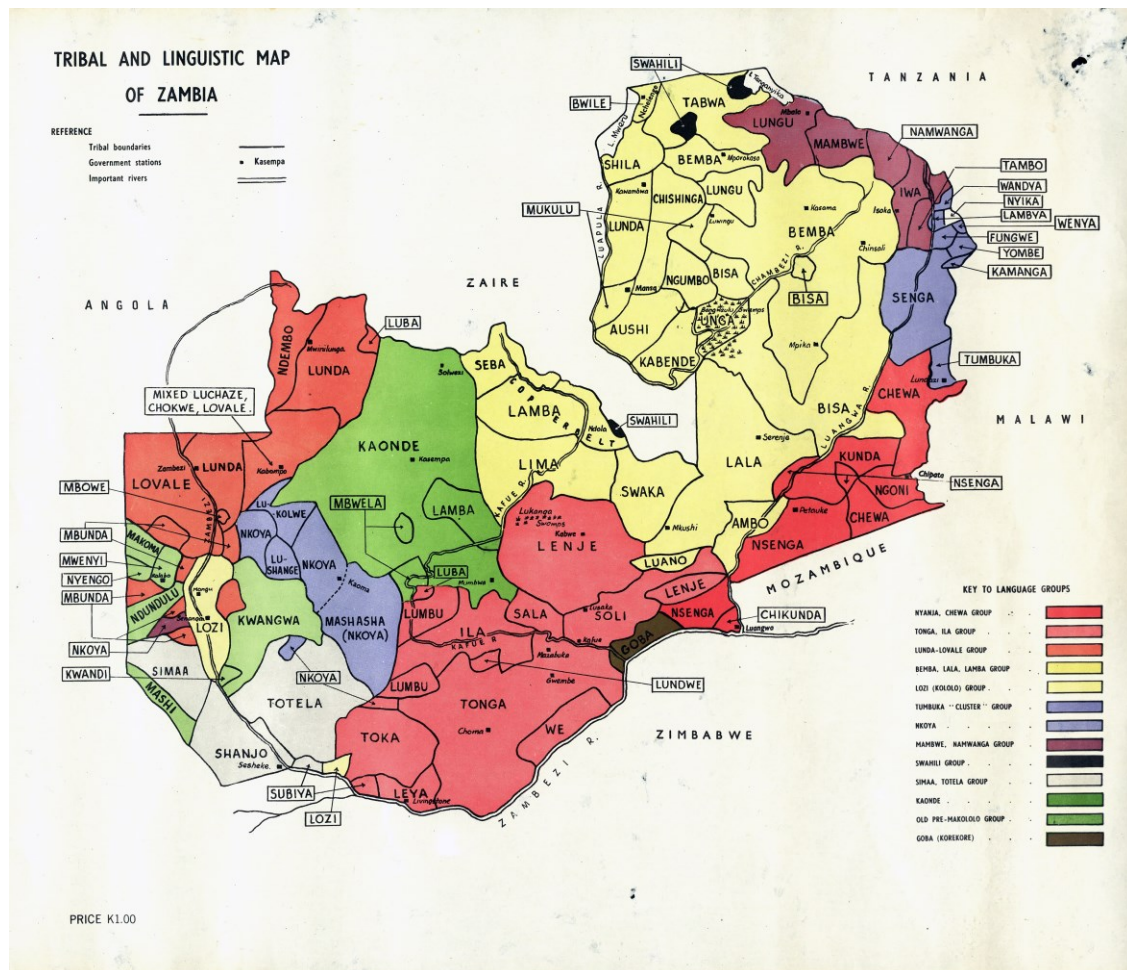
Figure 1: Linguistic Map of Zambia - Source: African Studies Centre Leiden[2]

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[1] See the "Glossary" section on page 84 for a definition of the term "traditional name(s)" as used in this thesis.
[2] African Studies Centre Leiden, "Tribal Linguistic Map Zambia," Wikimedia Commons, 2019, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tribal_Linguistic_map_Zambia.jpg.

Zambia is made up of 73 languages and dialects. Figure 1 above shows the geographic distribution of Zambian languages as drawn by Leiden University's African Studies Centre. It is important, however, to note that linguistic maps usually fail to capture the full complexities of the sociolinguistic situation as many people from different ethnicities now live together in the same localities.[3] From colonial times, English has been the main language of broadcasting, educational instruction and administration. In the 1920s, the government began to make efforts to organise the 73 languages and dialects into clusters for administrative purposes. For instance, in 1927 the Advisory Board on Native Education agreed to adopt four native languages: Lozi, Tonga, Bemba and Nyanja to function as principal languages in their respective regions. In 1954, Luvale and Lunda were added to the list, and Kaonde joined later as the seventh.[4]

The other languages fell under the principal languages. For example, Kashoki notes that in 1927, these languages fell in the same class/cluster: Aushi, Bemba, Bisa (Biza), Chishinga, Kunda, Luunda, Ng'umbo, Taabwa and Unga,[5] Bemba being the main language in the cluster.

More recently, the New Breakthrough to Literacy (NBTL) program launched in the early 2000s promotes educational instruction using the seven national languages.[6] These local languages are the media of instruction from grades 1 to 4 in their respective territories. They are also used to broadcast some programs on national radio and television platforms, and television programs have

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[3] Wim MJ Van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain: Ethnicity and History in Central Western Zambia*, Monographs from the African Studies Centre, Leiden (London: Kegan Paul International, 2004); Busi Makoni, Sinfree Makoni, and Pedzisai Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8, no. 3 (2007): 437–467; Marja Hinfelaar, "Gwembe Tonga 'Feared Being Thrown into the Bush like Animals' The Doyenne of Zambian Anthropology Speaks: An Interview with Elizabeth Colson," in *The Record* (Lusaka: Original Publishers, 2010), 9–11.

[4] John M. Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1971); Mubanga E. Kashoki, *Keeping in Step with Modern Times: A Comprehensive Account of Lexical Adoptives in Icibemba* (Lusaka: Bookworld, 2012); Chanda Penda, *Encyclopedia of Zambian Names: Reconciling Zambian and Global Worldviews* (Pensulo Publishers Limited, 2013).

[5] Mubanga E. Kashoki, Keeping in Step with Modern Time: A Comparative Study of Lexical Adoptives in Icibemba, (Lusaka: Bookworld, 2012) 1; Sirapi Ohannesian & Mubanga E. Kashoki (eds.) , Language in Zambia, London: International African Institute, 1978

[6] Rebekah Gordon, "Language of Education Planning in Zambia" 3 (2014): 11.

sign language interpreters. In addition, the eighth national language, Zambian Sign Language (ZSL) is the medium of instruction for learners with hearing impairments at all levels of education.

After the fourth grade, the seven local national languages give way to English as the means of instruction. However, the languages become optional subjects between grades 8 and 12. They can also be studied at tertiary level, but both instruction and final thesis output are in English.

Other than the national languages, the rest of the languages and dialects are used for verbal communication primarily in their respective regions. Further, some of these languages are also frequently used during annual traditional ceremonies, in songs, local radio programs as well as through special interest local history/heritage publications/books.

Table 1: Major Languages in Zambia - Source: 2010 Census Report, Central Statistical Office [Edited][7]

Language Group	1990	2000	2010
Bemba	39.9	38.5	41.0
Nyanja	20.1	20.6	23.3
Tonga	14.8	13.9	14.5
North Western [Kaonde, Lunda, Luvale, …]	8.8	7.7	6.6
Baroste [Lozi]	7.5	6.9	6.3
Others[8]	9.9	12.4	9.7

Both the National Cultural Policy and the Language Policy of Zambia give equal status to all Zambian languages.[9] This implies that despite a language having minority or majority status,

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[7] Central Statistical Office, "2010 Census of Population National Analytical Report" (Government of Zambia, 2012).
[8] The "Others" row and information in square brackets are my additions.
[9] "National Cultural Policy of the Republic of Zambia" (Government of Zambia, 2003); Prince FM Lamba, "The Impact of the 2003 National Cultural Policy on the Performing Arts Industry in Zambia with Specific Reference to Working

Zambian languages ought to be promoted on all platforms. The cultural policy further attributes to all Zambians, and to institutions, the individual and collective responsibility for promoting cultural heritage.

Background to the Study

While much of the literature available on African anthroponyms and toponyms, as observed by Makoni et. al., is drawn from linguistics, [10] my endeavour and wish is to make a contribution to the field of cultural heritage studies through Zambian anthroponyms. Being among the most portable cultural elements,[11] names individually and collectively constitute a "museum" of intangible cultural heritage (ICH).

Around the world, names as key cultural elements or gestures of bestowing names have been regarded by some as symbols of acceptance of an individual into the human family.[12] They have played the important function of linking one to the wider society and culture.[13] While it is argued in some societies that names have no meaning but merely serve the purpose of identity,[14] Mbiti establishes that "[n]early all African names have meaning."[15] Broadly, Zambian traditional names firmly situate individuals into the nation's cultural heritage. More specific, names are typically taken from the natural environment, circumstances of birth and social experiences prevailing prior

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Conditions" (MA Thesis, Pretoria, University of Wits, 2007).

[10] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe," 445.

[11] P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1, 8 vols. (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1987); Gulbrand Alhaug and Minna Saarelma, "Naming of Children in Finnish and Finnish-Norwegian Families in Norway," *Socio-Onomastics: The Pragmatics of Names* 275 (2017): 69.

[12] Terhi Ainiala, Minna Saarelma, and Paula Sjöblom, *Names in Focus: An Introduction to Finnish Onomastics*, vol. 17 (Helsinki: BoD-Books on Demand, 2018).

[13] Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "General Introduction," in *Methodology and African Prehistory*, ed. J. Ki-Zerbo, Reprinted, General History of Africa 1, 1981, 1–23; Alexandre Kimenyi, *Kinyarwanda and Kirundi Names: A Semiolinguistic Analysis of Bantu Onomastics*, vol. 7, African Studies (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1989); G. N. Bangeni and A. Coetser, "Xhosa First Names, Societal Values and Power Relations," *Nomina Africana* 14, no. 2 (2000): 59–69; Gabriele Vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn, eds., *The Anthropology of Names and Naming* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 2006); Alhaug and Saarelma, "Naming of Children in Finnish and Finnish-Norwegian Families in Norway."

[14] John Stuart Mill, *A System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive*, ed. J.M. Robson, vol. 7 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1974); John R. Searle, "Proper Names and Descriptions," in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, vol. 6 (New York: The MacMillan Company and the Free Press, 1967).

[15] John S. Mbiti, *African Religions & Philosophy* (Double Day and Company, Inc., 1970), 154.

to, or at, the time of birth.[16] According to Sumbwa, among the Lozi "names are not only meaningful but purposeful. The purpose of a name dictates its choice for a particular individual."[17]

In traditional Zambia, the naming processes and practices were quite elaborate. They involved specific rituals which required the participation of a baby's family, the name giver and name-bearer her-/himself.[18] The baby received names from different people, depending on the different traditions among the 73 languages and dialects of Zambia, among them: midwives, grandparents, sacred personalities (traditional priests) and parents.[19] However, Ngulube asserts that, there are many more overarching common cultural practices than differences among the different ethnicities in Zambia. Moreover, he emphasises that the differences from one ethnic group to another should be perceived in terms of "degree" rather than "type".[20] It is also worth noting that naming was flexible in some societies as individuals could acquire new names (eponyms) at different stages of their lives and discard old ones, depending on their outstanding achievements.[21]

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[16] Mwizenge Tembo, "Evaluation of African Indigenous Names Among the Tonga People of Southern Zambia" (Lusaka: Institute of African Studies, 1988), Elizabeth Colson Research and Documentation centre; Mwizenge Tembo, "What Does Your African Name Mean? The Meanings of Indigenous Names among the Tonga of Southern Zambia" (Lusaka: Institute of African Studies, 1989), Elizabeth Colson Research and Documentation centre; Nyambe Sumbwa, "Some Zambian Names as Sources of Diversified Knowledge: The Barotse and Other Examples," *Nomina Africana* 11, no. 2 (1997): 47–66; Mukumbuta Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture* (Libreville: International Centre for Bantu Civilisations, 2000); Mwizenge Tembo, *Zambian Traditional Names: The Meaning of Tumbuka, Chewa, Nsenga, Ngoni, and Tonga Names* (Julubbi Enterprises Limited, 2006); Mwizenge Tembo, *Satisfying Zambian Hunger for Culture: Social Change in the Global World* (Xlibris Corporation, 2012); Penda, *Encyclopedia of Zambian Names*.

[17] Sumbwa, "Some Zambian Names as Sources of Diversified Knowledge," 51.

[18] Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*; Mulenga M. Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings* (Lusaka: Mulenga Kapwepwe, 2002); Elizabeth Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2006); Sylvester Mutunda, "Personal Names in Lunda Cultural Milieu," *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research* 1, no. 1 (2011): 14–22; Sylvester Mutunda, "Luvale Personal Names and Naming Practices: A Socio-Cultural Analysis," *International Journal of Education* 1, no. 3 (2017): 75–81; Gerald Chishiba, "The Naming Process Among the Lamba People of Zambia: A Socio-Cultural Study," *International Journal of Education, Culture and Society* 2, no. 3 (2017): 83, https://doi.org/10.11648/j.ijecs.20170203.11.

[19] Siambalala Bernard Manyema, "Ethnic Identity, Agency and Development: The Case of Zimbabwean Tonga," in *Tonga Timeline: Appraising Sixty Years of Multidisciplinary Research in Zambia and Zimbabwe*, ed. Cliggett Lisa and Bond Virginia (Lusaka: The Lembani Trust, 2013), 25–65; Minna Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links: The Encounter between African and European Anthroponymic Systems among the Ambo People in Namibia" (PhD Thesis, Helsinki, University of Helsinki, 2003); Naboth MJ Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia* (Nalinga Consultancy/Sol-Consult A/S Limited, 1989); Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*.

[20] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.

[21] Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings*; Atoma Batoma, "Parallel Naming and Self-Identity in Post-Colonial Africa: The Example of the Kabye in Togo" (Personal Names and Cultural Reconstructions, Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2019).

Names and naming dynamics indicate broader social change.[22] They also explain and classify patterns of domination and submission.[23]

Moreover, names indicate what the name giver expects of the name bearer.[24] For instance, when Xhosa parents expect their children to exhibit positive human attributes in future, they express their wish in the kinds of name they assign to them.[25]

Apart from sharing many similarities in the cultural practices related to naming, the Zambian multi-ethnic environment also offers many variations. For instance, whereas a Lamba or Luvale midwife assigns a (temporary) name to an infant immediately after birth, it is customary for many others to wait until the shedding of the umbilical cord stump before the infant receives a name from its father or grandfather.[26] Therefore, as the national cultural policy states, Zambian society offers unity in diversity.[27]

Several Zambians have previously conducted research focusing on various aspects of traditional names. In addition, as noted in the preface, I have also been active in researching Zambian names and their meanings. This work is important in filling the knowledge gap on how the names link to some aspects of cultural heritage and the influence of greater cultural, political and social trends on naming practices.

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[22] Valerie Alia, "Women, Names, and Power," *Women and Language* 8 (1985): 34–36; Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe."

[23] Alia, "Women, Names, and Power"; Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe"; Zvinashe Mamvura, Itai Muwati, and Davie E. Mutasa, "Toponymic Commemoration Is Not for One Sex: The Gender Politics of Place Renaming in Harare," *African Identities* 16, no. 4 (2018): 429–43, https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2018.1474086.

[24] Bertie Neethling, "Name Choice among the Xhosa of South Africa," *The Language Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (2004): 4–6.

[25] Neethling; Madoda Cekiso and Thenjiwe Meyiwa, "Gendered Naming and Values Inherent in the Xhosa Amakrwala (Graduate-Initiates): Implications for Teaching a Multicultural Class" (17th International Biennial Conference, Maseru: Names Society of Southern Africa, 2012).

[26] Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*; Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings*; Tembo, *Zambian Traditional Names*; Mutunda, "Luvale Personal Names and Naming Practices: A Socio-Cultural Analysis"; Mutunda, "Personal Names in Lunda Cultural Milieu"; Chishiba, "The Naming Process Among the Lamba People of Zambia"; Chola Musonda, Sunday Ngalande, and John Simwinga, "Daring Death among the Tumbuka: A SocioSemantic Analysis of Death-Related Personal Names," *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJHSSE)* 6, no. 7 (2019): 109–20, http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2349-0381.0607012.

[27] "National Cultural Policy of the Republic of Zambia."

Objectives of the Study

- o To highlight the link between Zambian names and Zambian cultural heritage

- o To discuss how wider cultural changes have affected naming practices in Zambia since independence

Methodology

A combination of both primary and secondary sources have been analysed in addition to qualitative ethnographic research and a case study through quantitative analysis of names of University of Zambia (UNZA) graduates. I conducted the ethnographic field research in Chongwe, Kafue and Lusaka districts of Zambia in July 2019.

In addition to my analysis of traditional Zambian names (from a variety of ethnic groups), their meanings and cultural significance from previous research, 23 respondents (19 interviews) were interviewed. Among these, four were aged between their mid-60s and 73, while the rest were of varying ages between 20 and 52. The purposeful selection criteria for the four elderly participants included age – those who had some experience of life under British colonial rule. The other group was randomly selected, observing balance in gender, socio-economic status and political views.

For the elderly participants, questions were centred on the treatment of indigenous Zambian names in colonial times and after independence and how the names relate to Zambian culture. The younger participants contributed on the current attitudes among Zambians and – most of them being parents – sharing their own naming practices.

I conducted one-on-one interviews, in addition to group interviews. A sound recorder was used to make audio recording of the interviews with prior consent of the participants; the recordings were later transcribed and analysed. These responses were then analysed together existing literature.

Unless otherwise stated, most names analysed in the qualitative chapters are drawn from the Encyclopedia of Zambian Names, while the quantitative chapter, Chapter 4, uses names from the comprehensive UNZA graduate directory.

The main source of data for Chapter 4 was the publicly available UNZA graduates directory, which contains names of all the institution's graduates for the fifty-year-period from its foundation in 1966 to 2016.

Higher learning institutions in Zambia draw their students from all regions and from all ethnic groups. They are generally considered to represent all ethnicities in the larger Zambian society. Furthermore, diversity can be observed in students recruited from all regions (rural and urban), from high, middle and low-income families, and from all religions and ethnicities. More so, the national university, has exhibited this balance in student enrolment from its inception to the present. Therefore, the lists of graduates from UNZA, in my judgement, provide good samples for analysis of Zambian names from multilingual/multicultural sources.

Traditionally, the university has had three main avenues of enrolment: the school of education, the school of humanities and social sciences and the school of natural sciences. The criteria I employed involved selection of sample lists of graduates from programs which have been offered by the respective schools from inception. The lists selected were in ten-year intervals, including 1976, 1986, 1996, 2006 and 2016. More specifically, the lists were those for the Bachelor of Arts with Education (B.A.Ed.), Bachelor of Arts (B.A.) and Bachelor of Science (BSc.) programmes. That these were, and still are, among the most highly populated programs in the university provided a sufficiently wide sample.

However, there were some exceptional cases during sample selection. For instance, I noticed that there was no B.A. list for 1976 in the directory. Yet, 1975 had two different lists for B.A. graduates. I therefore used my discretion and treated the second list as if it were from 1976. Similarly, since

there were two graduations for the 2016 academic year, the other one happening in January 2017, I only used the earlier lists for both B.A. and B.A.Ed. Conversely, I made an exception, combining the 2016 BSc. and Bachelor of Computer Science lists from the same school to increase the sample size.

A total of 2,504 names of UNZA graduates were analysed using excel. I examined each list and took note of the sources of the names. Once analysed, I interpreted the results, taking into account existing literature as well as the views expressed by respondents during my ethnographic field research of July 2019.

In addition to the above approaches, this work has been influenced by personal experience, which may portray me as an actor through some anecdotal reflections to enhance some discussions.

In an endeavour to approach the subject of names from a holistic perspective, and thereby, capture all essential information at my disposal, I have used historical, dramaturgical, educational, anthropological, ethnographic, heritage, linguistic/onomastic, and biography sources. Some are in text, picture, and audio format. In addition, six other informants who were not available at the time of my field work – not included in the number of respondents (23) captured above – supplied useful information later on through personal communication by electronic means.

Limitations of the Study

Due to financial and time constraints, all the three districts which were selected for this study – Chongwe, Kafue and Lusaka – are located within Lusaka province. However, the districts provided diversity in terms of ethnicity and socio-economic status of participants.

Besides, the UNZA graduate lists analysed in Chapter 4 did not provide information on the gender of the graduates. Although it was possible to tell the gender of some graduates through their names, it was still not clear for many others, especially those who had unisex first names. This made it

difficult to analyse the gender dynamics in usage of traditional Zambian personal names in the postcolonial period.

Since the last list of UNZA graduate names analysed is composed of graduates who were born mostly in the early 1990s, an important aspect is missing in the names on the lists – names derived from contemporary Western popular (pop) culture. I am of the view than these names may be common in later lists as television and internet became increasingly accessible to the public in later years – despite radio and the print media having been strongly established much earlier.

In addition, I could not order some useful books through the Inter-Library Loan service as the CEU library, like many others, halted some of their services during the Covid-19 lockdown. Related to this, some useful old journal articles on Southern African onomastics, which I ordered in good time, did not arrive early enough to be consulted for the thesis. However, many recent articles were accessible online through open access.

Brief Summary of Thesis Chapters

To begin with, Chapter 1 focuses on precolonial Zambia, giving a brief historical overview and outlining the cultural environment. It orients the reader with the matrilineal and patrilineal systems of inheritance, the spirituals aspects of societies, and how all these factors influenced naming practices. Lastly, the chapter gives a brief outline of traditional naming rituals.

Next, on the clash of cultures, Chapter 2 outlines European contact with the Central/Southern African region in general and, in particular, with Zambia. The roles of European Christian missionaries and the British colonial government in enforcing the adoption of European/Biblical names among Africans have been pointed out. The chapter also presents excerpts of interviews from my ethnographic research, detailing the experiences of some Zambians during the colonial era.

Then, Chapter 3 highlights the link between Zambian names and cultural heritage. Among the several dozen categories into which the names can be divided, it focuses on their links to indigenous

religions, initiation ceremonies and clans/totems. Traditional Zambian names are embedded in various important rituals, traditional songs and symbols.

Lastly, Chapter 4 quantitatively explores the naming patterns toward the end of the colonial era and much of the postcolonial period. The chapter examines naming trends among UNZA graduates in ten-year intervals between 1976 and 2016. Students who graduated in 1976 were born during the last years of colonial rule. Therefore, the significantly low percentage of local names in this cohort confirms ethnographic research interview data presented in Chapter 2 on unfavourable treatment of the names during the colonial period. Likewise, the changes in the following decades mirror the many societal influences in the postcolonial period.

CHAPTER 1: Precolonial Zambia

This chapter presents a brief historical overview of traditional societies, and focuses on naming practices in precolonial Zambia. In doing so, it presents some general similarities and variations among different ethnic groups.

1.1 Historical Overview

There is generally little written evidence about Central African society prior to European contact.[1] As is commonly known, neither Zambia nor any African country existed with their present boundaries prior to the partition at the 1884/85 Berlin Conference. Musonda establishes from an archaeological position that there were five distinct types of societies in Africa, regardless of whether a society was centralised, decentralised, weak or strong.

> The five types included: the hunter-gatherer societies such as the San and !Kung of Southern Africa; pastoralists whose economy depended on animal husbandry such as the Masaai and the Fulani communities; agriculturalists who depended and continue to depend on agriculture, fishing, hunting and barter systems of trade; stratified societies that consisted of agriculturalists and pastoralists, such as those in the West Sudanic states who were characterised by shared common values (such as the Bunyoro of Uganda, with their very strong economic and political setup); and state societies such as the Bemba, Lozi and the Undi Kingdom, who were ruled by kings and queens with taxation as a major economic activity.[2]

Archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest settlers among modern Zambian Bantu-speaking societies, the Tonga people of southern Zambia and northern Zimbabwe, settled in this region in about the sixth century AD or earlier.[3] Historically, Tonga society had no rulers or chiefs. Communities were organised around spiritual figures such as priests, healers, rainmakers and mediums.

The majority of current Zambian peoples migrated from two powerful empires in the present day

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[1] Some regions had prior contact with Arab and Indian traders. In addition, interactions with others from East Africa and other African regions through conquest, trade and wars has shaped Zambian culture. However, it was later European contact which had significant impact due to their large scale control of entire systems of government and culture. Zambia is at times described both as a Central African and a Southern African nation.

[2] Francis B. Musonda, "Looking Back and Looking Forward: Iron Age Studies in Southern Zambia and Their Contribution to the Understanding of the Tonga," in *Tonga Timeline: Appraising Sixty Years of Multidisciplinary Research in Zambia and Zimbabwe*, ed. Cliggett Lisa and Bond Virginia (Lusaka: Lembani Trust, 2013), 7.

[3] Musonda, 19; Manyema, "Ethnic Identity, Agency and Development: The Case of Zimbabwean Tonga," 35.

Democratic Republic of the Congo – the Luba and Lunda states. These include the Bemba, Chewa, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale and Tumbuka, among many others. Other groups including the Iwa, Lungu, Mambwe and Namwanga are said to have come from East Africa and settled in Northern Zambia. The Ngoni fled from the Mfecane, wars of King Shaka of the Zulu, in present day South Africa. These languages, including Tonga and nearly all other Zambian languages are categorised as Bantu languages.[4]

The Chewa left the *Old Luba* kingdom around the twelfth century and settled in Malawi, Mozambique and Eastern Zambia. Then, the Bemba and Lozi people migrated from the new Luba and Lunda[5] empires, respectively, in about 1650. The Lozi settled in western Zambia while the Bemba in northern Zambia. The Lunda of Kazembe in Luapula Province in northern Zambia were fully established in the area around 1740. Having come much later, the Ngoni arrived around 1835, but finally settled in their present homeland in Malawi, Tanzania and Eastern Zambia around 1870. For a clearer distribution of the languages of Zambia, refer to the linguistic map in Figure 1 above.

Politically, traditional Zambian societies can broadly be categorised as centralised and decentralised. Decentralised societies without a powerful central ruler included those of the Ambo, Kunda, Lamba, Soli, Swaka, Tonga (as referred to earlier), Senga and Tumbuka, among others. On the other hand, centralised kingdom states which were centred on a powerful political ruler with subordinate chiefs included the Bemba, Chewa of the Undi Kingdom, the Lozi, and the Lunda of Kazembe.

The above complex processes of migration/settlement contributed to the multi-lingual and multicultural character of the area. These were also crucial in the different name giving patterns and traditions. Generally, the centralised kingdom states gained control over larger areas beyond their

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[4] Mubanga E. Kashoki, *The Factor of Language in Zambia* (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990).
[5] The New Luba kingdom, though situated around the same area as the Old Luba kingdom, between Lake Boya and Lake Kisale in Katanga (Shaba) Province of the present day Democratic Republic of the Congo, was only founded around 1500 AD. It was a reinvention of the older kingdom by a new conqueror, Kongolo, who is said to have come from East Africa. The Lunda Kingom was founded toward the west of the Luba state around 1550 by King Nkondi (spelling variants include: Konde).

original homes and thereby ruling over other ethnic groups.[6] As a result, many elements of their traditions and languages, including names, were adopted by other groups and vice versa.

1.2 Naming in Precolonial Zambia

In precolonial times, some communities gave their children one name at birth, and one or more extra names within several days to a month after birth. Others waited for the new-born child to shed off the umbilical cord stump before they could assign it any name. The name assigned at birth, usually by the midwife, was temporary, and the real name was given later on.[7] To distinguish an individual from others who might have borne similar names, extra layers of personal identity were added. These include naming persons after their distinguishable personal qualities such as physical features, personality and experiences; place of origin or residence, and so on.[8] As a result, there was a tendency to acquire extra names at different stages in life – some names being temporary as name bearers still maintained their old names, and others necessitating the taking on of a new identity altogether, while shedding the old. Another important distinguishing feature, used after the forename, was reference to the name of the subject's clan/totem.[9]

Clan or totem association was, perhaps, one of the most important social categorizations in traditional society. A study conducted by Doucette presents forty-five clans of the Bemba and related peoples.[10] Siegel confirms this and goes a step further in asserting that some matrilineal

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[6] Richard Francis Burton, *The Lands of Cazembe: Lacerda's Journey to Cazembe in 1798; Transl. and Annotated by RF Burton.* (London: Royal Geographic Society, 1873); Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, eds., *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959).

[7] Mutunda, "Personal Names in Lunda Cultural Milieu"; Mutunda, "Luvale Personal Names and Naming Practices: A Socio-Cultural Analysis."

[8] Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings*; Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*.

[9] A totem is a social category of related people such as a family, clan or tribe where one belongs and is usually represented by an animal or other natural figure. Anthropologists associate belief in totems with animism. Belief in totems is common among some traditional/tribal communities around the world.

[10] J.M. Doucette, *The Clans of the Bemba and of Some Neighbouring Tribes* (Kasama: Malole Parish of Kasama Archdiocese, 1992).

groups in eastern Central Africa share thirty to forty exogamous clans. These clans take their names from plants, animals or other phenomena in the natural or cultural environment.[11]

In matrilineal societies such as the Bemba, Chewa, Lunda, and Luvale, the maternal clan name was used to specifically distinguish individuals. Conversely, patrilineal societies such as the Ila, Lozi, Ngoni and Tumbuka, used the paternal clan name.[12] For instance, if two individuals from the *Luungu* and *Mwansa* maternal clans in a Bemba society bore the name *Mondo*, they were referred to as *Mondo umwina Luungu* "Mondo of the Lungu clan" and *Mondo umwina Mwansa* "Mondo of the Mwansa clan", respectively.[13] This way, a person's name would typically be fully understood as part of a phrase. Importantly, though some of these additional terms, such as clan association, were inherited, they did not function as modern surnames do – they were just used as distinguishing references and not official identities.

1.2.1 Matrilineal System

In matrilineal societies, nearly all forms of a person's inheritance was from the mother's side. This included property, political/royal authority, priestly authority, and so on.[14] Additionally, according to Siegel, the distinguishing name/reference used was either a subject's mother's matriarchal or father's matriarchal clan name.[15] Siegel further specifically identifies some similar clans were found across different Zambian ethnic groups:

> This clan system is common to the matrilineal peoples found between the southern end of Lake Tanganyika and the Luangwa River in the east, and west to the Lualaba and Lunga Rivers. The peoples involved are, in alphabetical order, the Ambo (or Kambonsenga), Aushi, Bemba, Bena

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[11] Brian Siegel, "Chipimpi, Vulgar Clans, and Lala-Lamba Ethnohistory," *History in Africa* 35 (January 2008): 1–2, https://doi.org/10.1353/hia.0.0003.

[12] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*; Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*; Penda, *Encyclopedia of Zambian Names*.

[13] Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings*.

[14] This necessitated the now outlawed practice of "property grabbing" after a parent's death. Until fairly recently, many Zambian families experienced grabbing of their family and household property by the deceased's relatives who considered themselves to be more of rightful heirs than the deceased's surviving offspring or spouse. In matrilineal families, for example, nephews would consider themselves heirs of their deceased maternal uncle's property. Regarding inheriting of traditional political/royal authority, this system of inheritance is very much alive.

[15] Siegel, "Chipimpi, Vulgar Clans, and Lala-Lamba Ethnohistory," 2.

Chishinga, Bena Kabende, Bena Mukulo, Bena Ngumbo, Bisa, Kaonde, Lala, Lamba, Lima, Luano, Kazembe's Lunda, southern Lungu, Sanga, Seba, Senga, Swaka, Tabwa, and Unga.[16]

An important feature of matrilineal tradition is that the children belonged to the mother. The entire structure recognised the mother and her relatives as the "real" family of a child and the father more or less an outsider or a loose link in this bond. Events from the onset of marriage were designed to support this existence. In the typical *uxorilocal* setup, a man relocated to his new wife's village/home. As a result, children grew up closer to their mothers' relatives.[17]

There were exceptional circumstances, however, when matrilocal families relocated to a husband's village. "[F]or although marriage is by custom matrilocal, after being married for some years couples often tend to move to a village whose headman is a member of the husband's clan, and who is usually his close relation."[18] Though matrilineal, some societies such as the Ndembu were customarily *virilocal*, requiring the new wife to relocate to her husband's home.[19] Another circumstance for making such a choice between staying and relocating was the status of the man's relationship with his in-laws. "If a man is happy in his in-law's village he will often stay there for life."[20] On the other hand, if the relationship with his in-laws was not good, he relocated either with or without his family – in the latter case, it would be considered as today's divorce.[21]

1.2.2 Patrilineal System

The major difference between patrilineal and matrilineal traditions is ownership of children. This feature is very crucial in regard to all forms of inheritance. "Unlike in the matrilineal societies

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[16] Siegel, 2.
[17] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[18] J. T. Munday, "Some Traditions of the Endwa Clan of Northern Rhodesia," *Bantu Studies* 14, no. 1 (1940): 438–39.
[19] Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Symbol, Myth and Ritual Series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969).
[20] Munday, "Some Traditions of the Endwa Clan of Northern Rhodesia," 439.
[21] Munday, "Some Traditions of the Endwa Clan of Northern Rhodesia."

where children have no right to their fathers' wealth but to their mothers', children in patrilineal societies belong to their fathers in all respects."[22]

The patrilineal tradition is considered by some people as alien to the Zambian cultural landscape.[23] Support for this argument is based on historical evidence that groups with this practice have had immense external influence, mostly from Nguni and Sotho traditions of Southern Africa. For example, the Lozi of Western Zambia were ruled for twenty-five years by the Kololo, a Sotho-speaking group;[24] the Ngoni people of Eastern Zambia, as mentioned above, are relatively late comers in Zambia after fleeing Shaka's wars. The Ila of central and Tumbuka of eastern Zambia have been significantly influenced by the Lozi and Ngoni, respectively.[25]

However, Ngulube further recognises the existence of common similarities which are identifiable in all Zambian tribes and societies. "The differences in values and beliefs between matrilineal and patrilineal societies should best be understood from the point of view of degree and not that of nature."[26]

Furthermore, Siegel suggests that, due to their wider distribution in the Central African region, clan names "probably predate [the region's] current ethnic labels, and the supposed migration of these peoples' ancestors from the western, Luba or Lunda land of "Kola"."[27] This observation strengthens our understanding that the phenomenon of clan categorization is rooted in the region's precolonial experience. This could be at least, as presented above, before the sixth century (for Tonga people), twelfth century (Chewa) and for the vast majority before the eighteenth century – before process of formation of the present ethnic groupings.

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[22] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 71.
[23] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[24] Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*.
[25] Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Murray Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1920); Yizenge A. Chondoka and Frackson Fwila Bota, *A History of the Tumbuka from 1400 to 1900: The Tumbuka under the M'nyanjagha, Chewa, Balowoka, Senga, and Ngoni Chiefs* (Lusaka: Academic Press, 2007).
[26] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 76.
[27] Siegel, "Chipimpi, Vulgar Clans, and Lala-Lamba Ethnohistory," 2.

Moreover, during his visit to the Lunda of Kazembe in 1798, Francisco de Lacerda records having met the "Muiza" (Bisa) informants and heard references to "the hostile "Uemba" and "Mussucuma" (Bemba and Sukuuma, a feisty Fipa subgroup), and to the peaceful "Aramba" (Lamba) and "Ambo". Regardless of ethnic identities, people with the same clan name (or referent) are theoretically related."[28]

1.3 Spiritual Aspects

This sub-chapter focuses on traditional spiritual beliefs in Zambian communities. These include belief in a supreme being, in spirits and in witchcraft. Highlighting spiritual beliefs is crucial to understanding the link between traditional names and naming practices on one hand, and cultural heritage on the other. A name is considered to be spiritual and a real part of the human being – as an extension of the name bearer's soul.[29] More clarity will be given in the subsections below as well as in subchapter 3.1.

1.3.1 Supreme Deity

There is generally belief of the existence of a supreme supernatural power, or god, in all Zambian traditions. This being is the source all life, the supplier of rain, food and all that is beyond human capabilities[30].[31] According to Ngulube, this was an overarching belief that superseded any other belief.[32]

This supreme deity was given credit and responsibility for all matters beyond a community's comprehension. In addition, the people ascribed all manner of worship toward god. God was given different names and titles in the different languages including *Mwali*, *Mulimu*, *Lesa*, and *Leza*,

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[28] Siegel, 2; Burton, *The Lands of Cazembe*, 99.

[29] Leonie Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia" (PhD Thesis, London, University of London, 1996).

[30] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 78.

[31] Though the nature and form of god might differ from tribe to tribe, there is general agreement among all of the belief in existence of a supreme god who provides rain, food and other provisions which are beyond human capacity.

[32] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 79.

Njambi or *Nzambi* and *Chiuta*; others were *Kalunga, Kalenga, Mulenga,* and *Chilenga, Mulungu,* and *Nyamalenga*. They looked to god in times of catastrophes such as droughts, famines, floods and diseases. They also looked to him for provision of rain, game and other major resources.[33]

After the evangelisation of Central Africa by European Christian missionaries, members of the different ethnic groups have transferred the names and titles originally used for the supreme god in the traditional understanding to refer to the Christian God. In addition, most of these names and titles are also used as anthroponyms.[34]

1.3.2 **Divinities/Deities**

Divinities rank next to the Supreme Being. This is similar to many other sub-Saharan African societies. *Musonda*, for instance, is the Bemba/Mambwe divinity in charge of protecting animals, *Musanya* is the Mambwe/Namwanga divinity ruling the sun and weather.[35] The Lunda hunting divinity is *Nkula*. In the jungle, hunters were therefore obliged to pour libations of the blood of the animals they killed to *Nkula* as expression of appreciation for their hunting success.[36] There are many divinities in charge of specific functions and phenomena around traditional societies such as lightning, the earthquake, fertility, rainfall, and so on. According to Adamo, divinities are merely "… functionaries and act as intermediaries between the Supreme Being and the rest of the universe …. They have no power of their own, except what the Supreme Being permits them to do. Yet they are very important as far as the orderly function of the universe is concerned."[37] The names of the divinities are also regularly used as anthroponyms.

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[33] Ngulube, 79.

[34] Assigning the names of god to people, in my understanding, is common practice in modern Zambia. Name givers are usually concerned with the meaning of the name or the person (deceased or living family member) after whom they are naming the child. Typically, no special consideration is given to the fact that it is the name of god or a deity. However, more research need to be done on whether some gods or deities are expected to protect the name bearer. In cases of inheriting special gifts or callings from spirits of ancestors, such as healing powers, a living heir may or may not need to inherit an ancestor's name in order to inherit her/his power.

[35] Andrzej Halemba, *Mambwe-English Dictionary* (Ndola: Mission Press, 1994).

[36] Victor W. Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967).

[37] David T. Adamo, "Christianity and the African Traditional Religion(s): The Postcolonial Round of Engagement,"

1.3.3 Ancestor Veneration

> *When a man dies his corpse is buried, but not the shadow. The shadow remains in the village where he lived—his soul, his spirit: it is still called chimvule (it is also then called mufu) ... It is the shades who guard and protect them, the shades who try to hurt them, the shades are those to whom they pray, the shades are those whom they fear and must placate.*[38]

While the supreme god was in charge of the most important aspects necessary for human existence, the spirits are believed to control daily life in a community.[39] It therefore follows that the spirits occupy a lower rank than the supreme spirit – god.

There exists an interdependence between the spirits and human beings. Whereas spirits depend on humans to remember, worship and occasionally feed them (through food and drink offerings), humans depend on them for daily provisions, health, fame and fortune.[40] The living have a responsibility to offer such recognition, remembrance, praises, worship and offerings to the spirits and the spirits' responsibility is to reciprocate these gestures with offering help, protection and security to the living.

If the living do not perform their responsibility, the spirits become angry and reciprocate this negligence with punishment on the living. Such punishment might include childlessness in marriages, calamities, afflictions, misfortune, lack of success in hunting, and so on.[41]

Humankind's praise or worship is offered to the spirits during ceremonies and other social and family events through traditional poetry, royal praises and panegyrics.[42] It is believed that the spirits are among us and can be felt in the physical environment. For example, feeling a smooth breeze of

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Verbum at Ecclesia 32, no. 1 (2011), https://doi.org/10.4102/ve.v32i1.285.

[38] Frank H. Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1923), 132.

[39] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 23; Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*.

[40] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*.

[41] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*.

[42] Patrick Wele, *Likumbi Lya Mize and Other Luvale Traditional Ceremonies* (Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1993); Tamara Guhrs and Mulenga Kapwepwe, eds., *Ceremony!: Celebrating Zambia's Cultural Heritage* (Lusaka: Celtel Zambia PLC and Seka, 2007); Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*.

fresh air can at times be taken to mean crossing paths with the spirits.[43] Therefore, there is a perceived coexistence with the ancestors in the world of the living.[44]

When people die, they are believed to join the world of the spirits – they merely lose the physical body, but continue existing among us. In other words, they become ancestors. For this reason, elderly people (who are seen as closer to dying) are respected more and depended upon for their perceived closeness to the ancestors.[45] They are considered to be in a clearer position to know the will or desires of the ancestors. Good people become good ancestral spirits who can be called upon in times of need. Evil people become deadly spirits who cause harm. In addition, if the burial ritual is not performed well, it is believed that the deceased's spirit might become restless and cause harm to the living.[46] Thus, there are good spirits and evil spirits.

Being childless is considered a sign of displeasure from the spirits. An individual might have offended them by not making offerings to them. They, in turn punish the individual with infertility.

When a barren person dies, all orifices in his/her body are blocked with charcoal during burial as if to lock their 'undesirable' spirit inside the dead body, never to wonder among the living. In the same vein, their name is cut off from being passed on to future generations; it is to be forgotten forever in the family.[47] "The placing of charcoal in the private parts of a deceased symbolises closure of an unwanted experience in the family thereby wishing it never to resurface in the survivors of the family."[48]

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[43] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*.
[44] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."
[45] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*.
[46] Turner; Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*; Victor Turner, *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Process among the Ndembu of Zambia*, Symbol, Myth and Ritual (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981).
[47] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[48] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 49; Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*.

1.3.4 Witchcraft

As is the belief in a supreme god, the belief in witchcraft cuts across all Zambian ethnicities. Ngulube claims that witchcraft in Zambia as a timeless phenomenon – past, present and future – which remains unquenched by modernisation. [49]

Regarding definition of a witch, Ngulube states that "[a]ny person who has the power to kill others with magic charms is a witch. Witchcraft is the entire practice of such powers."[50] Furthermore, E.E. Evans-Pritchard subdivides such different categories as witchcraft, sorcery and wizardry among the Zande of South Sudan and Congo DR. Each categorisation has certain distinct features, adheres to certain systematic rituals, and uses particular weapons to attack their victims.[51] Upon their death, witches are believed to become evil ghosts.[52] See Chapter 3 for more on this subject.

1.4 The Naming Process

It is believed that the spirits are the ones who give children.[53] As agents of the spirits, traditional priests or elders were entrusted with the responsibility of naming children. In other societies, the father or grandfather or another senior member of the family was given the honour to name the baby. Others still offered the grandmother or the midwife the role of naming the child.[54] While some assigned names to a child at birth, others only gave the first name after the infant shed its umbilical cord stump.[55] That the same baby received names from several name givers is partly responsible for the many names that some people bore.[56] "To this effect, the pleasure or displeasure derived from new birth by the spirits responsible in this area, is seen by the baby's acceptance or refusal of the

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[49] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 24.
[50] Ngulube, 24.
[51] E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
[52] Evans-Pritchard, 15.
[53] Manyema, "Ethnic Identity, Agency and Development: The Case of Zimbabwean Tonga"; Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[54] Manyema, "Ethnic Identity, Agency and Development: The Case of Zimbabwean Tonga."
[55] Munday, "Some Traditions of the Endwa Clan of Northern Rhodesia"; Mutunda, "Luvale Personal Names and Naming Practices: A Socio-Cultural Analysis"; Musonda, Ngalande, and Simwinga, "Daring Death among the Tumbuka: A SocioSemantic Analysis of Death-Related Personal Names."
[56] Batoma, "Parallel Naming and Self-Identity in Post-Colonial Africa: The Example of the Kabye in Togo"; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."

name given to it."[57] A baby, who is to be the name bearer, is thus considered to be an active participant in the naming process.[58] "Continuous crying by the baby after it has been named shows displeasure and denial of the name by the spirits. The child will continue in the uncomfortable behaviour until another name acceptable by the spirits is given."[59]

In the following excerpt, Melland describes a divination process which was used for, among other functions, name giving to children among the Kaonde people of Northern Rhodesia.

> Kansheku. A form of divination used only to find out when spirits of departed are giving trouble: not used for living offenders. The witch-doctor takes an axe, lays it on the ground and mentions the names of deceased people whose spirits may be causing the trouble. As he mentions their names he moves the axe backwards and forwards on the ground. It moves freely till the troubling spirit is named: then it sticks to the ground. This method is also used to find out who is reincarnated in a child. (Vide supra "Naming the child.") This is also used in Kuzhula kapuki (q.v.).[60]

Melland states that divination is an indispensable practice when choosing a name for a newly born child. This helps parents ascertain which ancestor has reincarnated into the child's body.[61] Munday confirms the belief in reincarnation among the Ila, Lala, Lamba, Swaka and other groups in Northern Rhodesia and adds that an ancestor can be reincarnated into more than one person at the same time.

> Since the child is said' To bring back the name' of that forbear, the child is known as the icibwila (ukubwela=to return) of that person. One dead person may have several ifibwela alive at the same time … "The spirit umupasi is like the wind, it can divide and enter into several people".[62]

As the birth of children is considered by some to be the rebirth ('reincarnation') of ancestors who once lived among humans, the spirits must be consulted when giving names as they know exactly who among them has been reborn.[63] In contrast, Colson argues that "Despite the close association between child and the mizimo for which it is named … the Tonga denied any belief in

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[57] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 80; Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*.

[58] Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*; Fredgerious Mwaba Kabaso, "A Morphological and Semantic Analysis of Nicknames in Ng'umbo" (MA Thesis, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2016).

[59] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 80; Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*; Ogonna Chuks-Orji, *Names from Africa: Their Origin, Meaning, and Pronunciation, Edited by Keith Baird* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1972).

[60] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, 227.

[61] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*.

[62] Munday, "Some Traditions of the Endwa Clan of Northern Rhodesia," 437.

[63] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 81.

reincarnation."[64] Regardless of this position, Manyema suggests that the Tonga of Zimbabwe, like many other ethnicities in the region, considered the birth of a child as reincarnation of an ancestor.[65] Therefore, though there are many similarities in the traditional beliefs and practices concerning naming among many ethnicities, there are finer differences within a group and, more so, from group to group.

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[64] Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*, 143.
[65] Manyema, "Ethnic Identity, Agency and Development: The Case of Zimbabwean Tonga."

Chapter 2: European Contact

From the beginning of Portuguese contact with Africa, when they established Elmina slave castle at the Gold Coast in 1482 and a base at Sâo Tomé in 1483, they propagated both empire expansion and mission work at the same time.[1] They, in fact, wanted to close in as quickly as they could by establishing themselves in the southern regions of Africa ahead of possible Islamic expansion in order to gain control of the sources of mineral wealth which was transported across the Sahara. They also looked forward to establishing links to Prester John, a legendary Christian king in the interior of Africa – the region around Ethiopia.[2]

The earliest recorded Europeans to establish contact with Zambian peoples were the Portuguese in the late eighteenth century. Most notable of these was Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida who arrived in Kazembe's country in the Luapula Valley in 1798. Two years earlier, a merchant Manuel Caetano Pereira had visited the same kingdom. Several other Portuguese traders, missionaries and explorers visited the area.[3]

Following the prevailing missionary works of early Victorian times, British missionaries began establishing contact with Zambia, entering the continent through South Africa, in the mid nineteenth century. Scottish missionary, David Livingstone, being the most notable of these is considered a pioneer. He first visited the Lozi kingdom of Western Zambia under the rule of Sebitwane[4] in 1851. He later made three journeys, from 1852 to 1856, 1858 to 1864, the third and final journey from 1866 to 1873. In these journeys, Livingstone had different aims including establishing contacts with African chiefs in the interior, establishing a mission station in Bulozi (Loziland), ending slave trade,

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[1] Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450 - 1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 72.
[2] Hastings, 71.
[3] The Portuguese ambition was to colonise the entire Central African region from the East coast to the West coast. Due to interest in the same region by other European powers including, Belgium, Britain and Germany, Portugal only ended up laying claim on Angola and Mozambique – regions geographically separated by Zambia. The Kingdom of Kazembe was among the largest and most significant kingdoms at the time in Central Africa north of the Zambezi River.
[4] Sebitwane was a Kololo (Sotho invaders) who fled the Mfecane, conquered and ruled the Luyi or Luyana (and renamed them as Rotse or Lozi). The Kololo ruled Bulozi (Loziland or Barotseland) from 1838 to1863.

determining the navigability of the Zambezi River and finding the source of the Nile River, and so on. In all these expeditions, Livingstone explored present day Zambia, and other Central African regions. During the intervals when he was back in Britain, Livingstone published journals of his experiences in the previously unknown Central Africa. Some historians attribute increased British interest, and subsequent colonisation, in Central Africa to Livingstone.

Moreover, the revival of the Catholic mission in the 1840s also brought about significant change. The earlier movement which saw Jesuit missionaries, especially Portuguese, in African kingdoms from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century was extinguished by the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars as many seminaries were closed in Europe. It was only after Waterloo that recovery began.[5] Subsequently, "… it was only in the 1840s in the pontificate of Gregory XIV that a real impetus was once again given to the African mission."[6] The Catholic missions to Africa were also partly revived due to the rapid surge of Protestant missions all around the continent, in some way, responding to Protestant competition.[7]

Furthermore, after the First Vatican Council of 1870, missionary activity was strengthened through many different orders, including the White Fathers, the Society of Jesus and Verona Fathers, among others. Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers and founder of the White Fathers congregation in 1868, was greatly inspired by Livingstone. The Catholics were more united in their mission work than Protestants.[8] As a result, their work was more successful, at least in Northern Rhodesia – making the Roman Catholic Church more influential than other Christian organisations. Father Joseph-Marie-Stanislas Dupont of the White Fathers, Bishop of Nyasa, opened up Bembaland to colonial rule through the British South Africa (BSA) company.[9] This completed the process of bringing the Eastern region of Zambia, otherwise known as North-eastern Rhodesia,

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5 Hastings, The Church in Africa 1450 - 1950.
6 Hastings, 248.
7 Hastings, The Church in Africa 1450 - 1950.
8 Hastings.
9 Brendan Carmody, "The Politics of Catholic Education in Zambia: 1891–1964," *Journal of Church and State* 44, no. 4 (2002): 775–804.

under colonial rule.

2.1 British Colonial Rule

Though missionaries in the early phases of the movement did not consciously set out to propagate British colonial expansion, British governors of both Sierra Leone and the Cape Colony expected to use missionaries as their agents. Missionaries performed these responsibilities both inside and outside the colonial borders, often accepting agency for the process of colonisation.[10] When the regions that would be called Northern-western Rhodesia and North-eastern Rhodesia protectorates were established, their administrators reported to the governor of the Cape Colony.

Following the signing of the Lochner Concession[11] in 1890 between Frank Lochner representing the BSA Company on one hand, and King Lewanika representing the Lozi people on the other, the Western region of Zambia came under BSA company rule. The Eastern Zambian region was added to the company's colonial rule in 1893. The two Zambian regions, in addition to Matabeleland and Mashonaland (regions which made up present day Zimbabwe) were initially referred to collectively as Zambesia (modern Zambia and Zimbabwe). In 1895, the regions were renamed as North-western Rhodesia, North-eastern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), respectively. The name Rhodesia was in honour of Cecil John Rhodes, then British governor of the Cape Province and proprietor of the BSA Company.

In 1911, the North-eastern and North-western Rhodesias were amalgamated to form Northern Rhodesia, still under Company rule. In 1924, the British Colonial Office took over the running of the territory. In other words, Northern Rhodesia was now ruled by the British government. The three territories – Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Malawi) – were run as

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[10] Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450 - 1950*, 245.
[11] The Lochner Concession of June 1890 gave mining to the BSA Company in Barotseland (Western Zambia) in return for British protection over the Lozi against invasion from other African tribes. Without full understanding of the treaty, Lewanika was led to believe that he entered into the agreement with the British government, instead of the BSA. The Company took over many administrative functions for the region, resulting in Lewanika's loss of popularity among his people. This marked the beginning of colonial rule in the territory.

one – the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or the Central African Federation – between 1953 and 1963.[12] Northern Rhodesia gained independence on 24 October 1964 under Kenneth Kaunda and was renamed as Zambia. The new nation was made up of 73 ethnic languages and dialects which were distributed as shown in Figure 1 in the introduction section.

2.2 European Impact on Naming

On the first day of school my teacher, Miss Mdingane, gave each of us an English name . . . Miss Mdingane told me that my new name was Nelson. Why she bestowed this particular name on me I have no idea.[13]

Rolihlahla Mandela, the future President of the Republic of South Africa, thus became known as Nelson Mandela.

This subchapter explores the European cultural and political influence on naming during the phase of Christian missionary activities and colonial rule. It first explores the missionary (Protestant and Catholic) impact, then the British colonial influence. In this period, of the clash of cultures, many African ancestral practices began to die out, including those which were linked to naming, and the names themselves.

As the traditional societies in colonial Africa came under the influence of European powers, European culture and Christian religion, naming practices started to change in a fundamental and often dramatic way. Earlier in 1491 after baptising a prince of Kongo, *Mvemba Nzinga*, the Portuguese changed his name to *Afonso*. Another Edo Christian from Benin was renamed to *Gregorio Lourenço* in Sâo Tomé after conversion. On his way to Mwenemutapa's empire in present day Zimbabwe, a Jesuit missionary Father Gonçalo da Silveira re-maned a Tonga chief as *Constantino* upon baptism. He further baptised the chief's family and 400 other followers of his. Then, in 1560 Silvera baptised King Mwenemutapa and his mother, re-naming the king as *Dom*

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[12] Bizeck Jube Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia: From Colonial Rule to the Third Republic, 1890-2001* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006).

13 N.R. Mandela, A Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography (Randburg: Macdonald Purnell Press, 1994), 13.

Sebastiano, in honour of Portugal's reigning king.[14]

The cultural impact of these historical Christian conversions was strong. It made some rulers choose European titles/names at the expense of losing their traditionally inherited titular (kingly/chiefly) names. Moreover, the process of Christianisation further challenged many traditional religious beliefs and cultural aspects. More is discussed on this in subchapter 2.2.1 below.

Furthermore, as highlighted earlier in the introductory chapter, at home in Britain, following his explorations between 1851 and 1873, the missionary and explorer David Livingstone is considered to have inspired increased British interest in Central Africa with his publications and lectures. As a result, the territory experienced an influx of missionary groups from different European nations, especially Britain, which established mission stations in the different regions of Central Africa. These included the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland (FCS), Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML), the London Missionary Society (LMS), the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS), and the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA). Others are the Universities Mission in Central Africa (UMCA), the Brethren in Christ and the Salvation Army, among others. Besides, as mentioned above, the Roman Catholic Church established its foothold in Northern Rhodesia through Cardinal Lavigerie's congregation of White Fathers, in conjunction with other Catholic missions. In addition to an increase in the number of Christian missionaries in the region, there was increased British political/colonial interest.

In this epoch, there were both significant changes effected the in usage of first names as well as the introduction of modern surnames, as elsewhere around the world, to facilitate effective administration. The main avenues for name change were conversion to Christianity, school enrolment and job recruitments. The cultural impact of European contact was holistic, condemning traditional – including names and naming practices, while promoting Christian/European – ways of life. The next three sections (2.2.1-2.2.3) give more details on the name changes due to missionary

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14 Hastings, The Church in Africa 1450 - 1950.

and colonial influence.

2.2.1 Christian Missionary Influence on Naming

Jean-Baptiste Sambateshi Mangara Camwaka, probably born Mwajuma Mangara (1878/9-1972), was one of the most iconic African lay ministers of the Roman Catholic Church to have propagated the faith in North-eastern Rhodesia.[15] He was captured as a young boy, alongside several other boys by supposed White Fathers (or their agents), in 1884 from Saadani, a small coastal town near Bagamoyo in Tanzania and taken to Zanzibar. The White Fathers then took him for training at the Apostolic School in Malta in 1890, a school set up by Cardinal Lavigerie. In 1896 he was deployed to the Kayambi Mission in North-eastern Rhodesia as the mission's first African lay minister in 1896 and is considered one of Lavigerie's spiritual sons. Sambateshi came to the area where Father Dupont, who oversaw parts of Nyasaland and North-eastern Rhodesia, served as bishop. Trusted by many local Africans as one of their own, perhaps because of his appearance/race, the doctor-catechumen played an instrumental role in the Catholicisation of the northern region.[16]

Whether through Catholic agency or through Protestant organisations, a wave of change had come through Christian missionary work which was enhanced by British indirect rule. Apart from European missionaries, many Africans like Jean-Baptiste were recruited as lay ministers in Central Africa.

Nkomazana points out that following the arrival of the LMS in the early 1800s, their work was among the most notable in Southern Africa, especially in Botswana. In the nineteenth century, they pioneered missionary outreach in the region beyond the Cape Colony.[17] However, LMS missionaries had a disposition that Africans had to completely do away with their cultural beliefs in order to embrace Christianity.

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[15] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia," Dictionary of African Christian Biography, 2015, https://dacb.org/stories/zambia/camwaka-sambateshi/.
[16] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[17] Fidelis Nkomazana, "Missionary Colonial Mentality and the Expansion of Christianity in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1800 to 1900," *Journal for the Study of Religion* 29, no. 2 (2016): 30.

> [I]n introducing Christianity, the LMS missionaries made the mistake of believing that to become a Christian, Batswana had to completely abandon their indigenous cultures. They treated African religions as evil and did everything possible to ensure that it was ousted. The western missionaries believed that traditional religious beliefs and practices were inferior, and together with the traditional customs, had to be done away with before the acceptance of Christianity.[18]

The Catholics, too, went to great lengths in condemning African cultural beliefs in their endeavour to evangelise. Furthermore, in line with Lavigerie's ideas, they formed Christian villages around mission stations. In Ilondola Village (mission village of Kayambi), "When families and individuals came to settle in the village … they had to accept the conditions: order and discipline, monogamy and respect of others' property, no witchcraft."[19]

> Jean-Baptiste, the catechist, could teach with authority: "The first commandment of God forbids us to worship the dead, to divine, to make and to wear talismans, to have medicine horns and charms and to place them in houses and in water to wash oneself with." In the mission village, at Kayambi his listeners and pupils had no choice but to accept, because they belonged to the missionaries. They had to learn by rote a doctrine and a new code of behaviour. This was seen as a stepping stone to conversion…. Then they committed themselves to the Catholic system of rights and obligations, and of worship. Ilondola village had to be the model village of a Catholic village.[20]

Among other significant affiliations, mission stations were home to two important institutions, churches and schools, which would permanently reshape the culture of the region – including naming practices. Mission stations were centres of knowledge and learning, places for acquiring both the new religious and secular knowledge. We can imagine that in these centres, young central Africans discarded or remoulded their original beliefs owing to the new experience and knowledge they gained.

In addition, Sambateshi detested Christian songs which were locally composed by Africans, dismissing them as unfit for worship, in preference for songs from European hymn books.[21]

> Jean-Baptiste was also a catechist. He was trained to instruct "the infidels of Africa" [sic] as was the expression at the time, and to teach catechism. Two of his former pupils, in 1953-1958, said that besides reading, writing and counting they had long sessions of catechism and hymn singing, first in Swahili then soon in Bemba.[22]

The medium of instruction was initially Swahili; English was used some years later. "Already in April 1898 the institution went through a crisis. "From 200 pupils we are down to 70 or 80," and in

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[18] Nkomazana, 30.
[19] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[20] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[21] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[22] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."

July of the same year: "50 are left, of whom more than half are former slaves."[23] The Christian villages around mission stations had communities of freed African slaves. However, some Arabs viewed this as just another form of slavery as the Africans could not leave the mission station. These so called former slaves, individuals or families, were transferred from one mission station to another as labourers.[24]

Neethling argues that the introduction of Christianity and education by mission schools in South Africa in the early nineteenth century also came with the bestowal of English names on Xhosa children by missionaries at baptism, and by teachers at school. These were usually referred to as either "church names" or "school names".[25] On the other hand, indigenous African names were disqualified as they were said to be linked with sins, backwardness and darkness.[26] Related to this, Machaba questions why there was discontinued use of such names with clear meaning as *Nkosinathi* "God is with us" (in Zulu language).[27]

Traditionally, the lives of Zambians were governed by religious beliefs. These beliefs influenced their entire existence, including the specifics of food to be eaten, expectations of certain age groups and marriages.[28] It was this lifestyle of religious practice which made it easy for European missionaries to spread Christianity among Zambians.

> It is this belief [in an overall supernatural authority] which made it easy for Western missionaries. There was an easy transfer of allegiance from the traditional supernatural giver of life, provider of all needs and determiner of all fate and fortune to a Christian God who occupied a similar place as the supernatural being in both the patrilineal and matrilineal societies.[29]

However, this European-African encounter, as experienced elsewhere, was not without clashes. During baptism, Christian missionaries condemned traditional Zambian names and began assigning

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[23] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[24] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[25] Bertie Neethling, "Perceptions around the English Name of Xhosa Speakers," *Nomina Africana* 17, no. 2 (2003): 47.
[26] Themba Moyo, "Personal Names and Naming Practices in Northern Malawi," *Nomina Africana* 10, no. 1 (1996): 10–19; Mbali Machaba, "Naming, Heritage and Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Nomina Africana* 17, no. 1 (2003): 55–77.
[27] Machaba, "Naming, Heritage and Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa."
[28] Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings*; Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*; Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*.
[29] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 78.

new names – European names – to their African converts. This was because the missionaries regarded local names as pagan.[30]

In my interview with Lungu of Chongwe, aged 66, he confirmed the role churches played in colonial times in linking local Zambian names with a "demonic influence" [sic]. Thus, whenever they had converts, they changed their names and gave them biblical names.

> They [colonists] always despised African names, and they linked them with demonic influence … Hence, whenever they had converts they used to change those names – give them biblical names.
>
> So, they simply disdained those names because they thought they were influenced by demonic perceptions.[31]

Saarelma-Maunumaa reports that, among the Ambo people of Namibia, some initially resisted the compulsory name change. However, they later started taking on European names willingly.[32] Mzyece-Sililo, aged 67 at the time of my interview with her on 12 July 2019, from the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia, confirms that Africans eventually became willing to adopt Christian/European names.

> The other [indigenous African] names were deemed demonic, and you were not allowed to go to church with those names. So, almost everybody who became a Christian and who was supposed to be baptised, had to change a name to a Biblical name, or an English name, or a Jewish name.
>
> Unfortunately, most schools at that time were mission schools. So, you couldn't go to school with an indigenous name. You had to change to a Christian name.
>
> So, most of our names were killed and died a natural death, or they were used in secret – only at home. And then at school you had another name which was on your academic papers.
>
> Which meant that once you come into urban areas and you are at work, they'll use the name on your certificate, killing your indigenous name. Eventually, Zambians started being embarrassed to use their indigenous names. They were now more comfortable using these Christian names.[33]

Mzyece-Sililo also points out the requirement to have a Christian/European name when being recruited for employment. This practice has been noted elsewhere in Southern Africa.[34] According to Saarelma-Maunumaa, those who escaped name change because they did not become Christian converts and did not attend school in Namibia still had to acquire a European name at

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[30] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links," 68.
[31] Naonga Lungu, Interview by Osward Chanda, Chongwe District, 17 July 2019.
[32] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."
[33] Maliya Mzyece-Sililo, Interview by Osward Chanda, 12 July 2019
[34] Bangeni and Coetser, "Xhosa First Names, Societal Values and Power Relations"; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links"; Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe."

employment.[35]

Xavier Mulenga, aged 73, who grew up in Abercorn (now Mbala), in the northern region of Northern Rhodesia also confirms the willingness of some Africans to acquire European names in this period.

> Before independence, towns were built. People began moving from villages to live in towns. They started adopting white people's names and naming themselves – on their own. There was no forcing at all. One would say "I am George", another, "I am Peter" and another that "I am McKenyon". White people's names.
>
> When they came into villages, they were appearing more civilised than the villagers ... Even when speaking our [local] languages, they would mix with some English terms, showing that they are more civilised because they are from towns, places where white people are.
>
> Even the villagers believed that these people from towns are enlightened, they are more civilised than we villagers. So, they [villagers] also started admiring white people's names.[36]

However, other people were reluctant to adopt biblical names even at this late stage of the colonial period. For instance, former finance minister in the government of Zambia, Ng'andu Magande, born in 1947, recounts in his autobiography the experience of being renamed on his first day at the Salvation Army's Chikankata Mission School in the southern region of Northern Rhodesia. He points out his unwillingness to adopt a biblical name at the age of 11. Regardless of his initial resistance, the school authorities maintained the name, but it is now used only as a middle name.

> We got to the school on the morning of 18 August 1958. Teacher Kazwida was invited into the office of the school principal, Major Leonard Kirby at 10.00 hours, while I waited on a bench on the veranda of the office. After a long period of waiting, the teacher came out and informed me that the principal was insisting that I should assume a Christian name before I could be enrolled. I informed him that I'd rather go back home than give myself a Christian name for the sake of enrolment….
>
> Teacher Kazwida went back into the principal's office to report my reaction and again stayed for quite some time. When he finally came out, he looked excited and very happy. He informed me that I had been enrolled as the two of them came up with a befitting Christian name. He stated that henceforth I would be known as Peter Magande.
>
> I was angry and burst out into crying and told my teacher that I was not interested in the new name.[37]

As Mzyece-Sililo observed, since the missionaries also controlled education, they made it a requirement for students to discard their African personal name and replace it with a Christian name as a precondition for school enrolment. Typically, school authorities such as teachers in charge of

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[35] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."
[36] Xaviour Mulenga, Interview by Osward Chanda, Lusaka,10 July 2019. Xavier grew up in Mbala District, a politically (colonial) and culturally rich historical rural district located in the northern part of Northern Province.
[37] Ng'andu Peter Magande, *The Depth of My Footprints* (Atlanta: Maleendo & Company, 2018), 42.

registering new students changed the prospective students' names in an instant. The new name became the name bearer's new identity for the rest of her/his life.

Related to this, the late national hero/freedom fighter and former Vice President of the Republic of Zambia under First President Kenneth Kaunda, *Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe*, born in 1922, during school enrolment had his name changed as young boy without his consent. He schooled at Lubwa Mission of the Presbyterian Livingstonia Mission of the FCS in Chinsali District of Northern Rhodesia. His original name was *Mwansa* "a kind of small whitish mushroom" (Bemba). Having come from the maternal clan of *Mbao* "otter" (Bemba), he would have naturally been identified as *Mwansa Mbao*. However, he was renamed as Simon and ordered to take his father's nickname *Kapwepwe* "a kind of bird" (Bemba), giving birth to a new surname.[38]

Xavier Mulenga stated that the Catholic Church was more influential with regard to changing their converts' names. They had lists of names of Christian saints which they gave to their converts as a requirement for baptism.

> The Catholics [Roman Catholic Church] were the ones who came with a lot of force. Because when they were teaching people … when it comes to baptism, they were drawing out a list of names of European saints. They [names] are the ones they brought here.
>
> For them to baptise you, you had first to choose a name of a saint who was in Europe – [for example] Anna, George, Phillip, those names. You choose and name yourself, that's when they would baptise you.
>
> The Catholic Church was so widespread in so many places. So, if you go, even today, if you go in the villages you will find almost every individual has a Catholic name. Where the Catholics are, every family has people who have Catholic names. The ones [names] they received upon baptism.
>
> Thus, the Catholic Church did a lot of work in changing the names of Africans.[39]

Mulenga asserted that in all villages/communities there are families with names of Catholic saints. With more adherents/members than any other Christian organisation, the Catholic Church had, and still has, branches in many Zambian communities and, thus, contributed significantly to the replacement of local names with European names.

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[38] Personal conversation with Ms. Mulenga Mpundu Kapwepwe, former Chairperson, National Arts Council of Zambia (NACZ), Lusaka, May 2011. During his tenure as Vice President of Zambia, her father Simon Kapwepwe pioneered government support for cultural programs and the building of national cultural identity.
[39] Xaviour Mulenga, Interview by Osward Chanda, Lusaka,10 July 2019.

Lungu also recalls his experience of name change.

> I for one, you know, I adopted the name Dickson. But later on [After independence], I changed. I resorted to adopting a name from my tribe. Naonga means "thanks" (Tumbuka). So, the attitude, generally goes to an individual taste.[40]

My grandfather, Zachariah Penda, was a lay Catholic minister in Chilubi/Luwingu district of Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. He gave Christian/European names to all his children, born between 1946 and 1973. Their names are/were *Sylvester, Peter* (my late father), *Theresa* (deceased)*, Leontine, Isaac, Ann, Vincent* and *Albert*, in their order of birth. They also have/had traditional Bemba middle names. My mother is *Theresa Mulenga*, and her elder brother is *Cleophers* (Cleopas). Her young brothers bear/bore traditional Bemba names*, Kasongo* (deceased) and *Kushupa*.

In retrospect, the Catholic lay minister at Kayambi Mission, Mangara, was perhaps made to adopt the name *Jean-Baptiste* by the White Fathers. My assumption is partly due to the fact that his father, *Mututa Mangara*, had no European name, and partly due to reference to him as *Mwajuma* in an article in the online Dictionary of African Christian Biography.[41] Then the name *Sambateshi* came later as a Swahili translation of the name *Jean-Baptiste*. Since he was very young when he was captured from his homeland, all he knew about his original home was that it was probably a coastal town as it was not far from Zanzibar. As for the name of the place, he called it Dabani – when it was in fact Saadani. On his visit, he went to the sultan who then gathered the old village headmen. "They came, a dozen of them, and heard my story again. After a moment of discussion, one of them told me to stand up and walk away, then called me back. He said: "Yes, your story is true. Your father is *Mututa Mangara*, you walk like him."[42]

Sambateshi's wife, *Kanyapa* (or *Kanyampa* according to other registers), a Bemba or Mambwe woman, successfully completed the catechumenate and was baptized in 1901 by Fr. Moneraye – her

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[40] Naonga Lungu, Interview by Osward Chanda, Chongwe District, 17 July 2019.
[41] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[42] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."

name was changed to Angela. Their three children had English/Biblical names: *John Msidjuma*, born on May 31, 1901; *William*, May 6, 1906; and *Maria*, April 1910.[43]

It was also in 1910 that Sambateshi left the Kayambi Mission and took up a job in Kasama as a language interpreter for the BSA Company.[44] He was fluent in Swahili, French, English and Bemba. Jean-Baptiste, himself, took a second wife in Kasama.

When Sambateshi went to visit his family after leaving mission work, and tried evangelise to his cousins, they instead wanted to convert him to Islam. However, he returned to Northern Rhodesia because he had established his family there.[45]

Eventually, European Christian missionaries had partly achieved what they set out to do early in the fifteenth century – occupy southern Africa ahead of the possible Islamic invasion. In doing so, they had engraved an indelible cultural footprint which holistically changed African life and impacted naming. Even with the advent of traditional African baptismal names in the mid twentieth century, the European impact is still visible in the choice of names. "Since the 1950s, African baptismal names have become popular, and they have often been given according to principles that are similar to those traditionally observed."[46] As elsewhere in colonial Africa, the British colonial government in Zambia further built on the missionaries' foundation from 1890 until the rise of the new independent state in 1964. Having seen Northern Rhodesia (colonial rule in Zambia) from its formative years to its end, Sambateshi died in independent Zambia in 1972.

2.2.2 Colonial Influence on Names

Colonial administrators sought to understand the cultural practices of the colonised in order for them to govern effectively. They thus collected large quantities of data on the local populations assigned to them; they were also informed by the experiences of missionaries in the field.

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[43] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[44] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[45] "Camwaka, Sambateshi Jean-Baptiste Mangara: 1896-1910, Catholic Church in Zambia."
[46] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links," 5.

"Regardless of the claims that the missionaries considered themselves anti-colonial, and made sacrifices to fight it, it is evident that they were part of the colonial structure."[47] They did not distinguish between Christianity and their own culture. Though mission work in Southern Africa began at the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was only toward the end of the same century that it grew rapidly, thanks to colonisation. Thus Christian missionary work and colonial rule depended on each other to succeed.

Relying on local cultural data collected in his office, Melland, a former British colonial officer and district commissioner for Kasempa in Western Province (now Zambia's North-western Province) of Northern Rhodesia in the early 1920s made the following conclusion:

> African natives skipped a stage in their evolution bypassing direct from the Stone to the Iron Age. We are at present helping them (wisely or not) to skip a good many ages: socially, ethically and economically. We are also, by introducing Christianity in its twentieth-century shape, attempting the same thing in religion. …. I believe that this may account in part for our rather unequal progress in civilising, elevating or converting the natives; and the following features appear to be worthy of notice as an introduction to the study of local witchcraft beliefs which must be understood if they are to be eradicated.[48]

On the other hand, Ndulo questions the legality of British colonisation of Zambia. This is partly because of evidence that colonial officials presented names of chiefs who did not exist anywhere in Zambian communities as having signed consent allowing them to colonise the land and acquire mining rights.[49] Thus, colonisation of Zambia was, to a great extent, done in a quest to advance British economic, political and cultural interests, rather than to "civilise" the colonised.

Similar to missionaries, teachers and school authorities took it upon themselves to fight against witchcraft which was believed to be widespread in Africa. Thus, the 1914 Witchcraft Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia, similar to laws drafted in many other colonies, was meant to deal with witchcraft as a "potent source of crime" [sic], in accordance with European standards.[50]

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[47] Nkomazana, "Missionary Colonial Mentality and the Expansion of Christianity in Bechuanaland Protectorate, 1800 to 1900," 30.

[48] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, 184.

[49] Muna Ndulo, "Mining Rights in Zambia" (PhD Thesis, Oxford, University of Oxford, 1976), 64–68.

[50] J. Orde Browne, "Witchcraft and British Colonial Law," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 8, no. 4 (1935): 485, https://doi.org/10.2307/3180595; J. T. Munday, "The Witchcraft Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia,"

In addition to the connection of African names with religious ritual being the basis for compulsory replacement of the names with Christian or European names, some scholars attribute this practice to failure by the British to pronounce some local names.[51] Therefore, the personal names of Africans were changed for the convenience of the colonisers.

> Whilst Neethling (2003) identifies teachers and missionaries as name-givers, there are indications that community members act as name-givers as well. Suzman (1994) suggests that the identity of name-givers is 'varied and extensive'. In Zimbabwe white native affairs administrators and employers also re-named black Africans indiscriminately with certain English names. These names 'served to tag black people as an imposition' (Bangeni & Coetser, 2000: 61). Because whites found African names difficult to pronounce, these tags facilitated communication between whites and blacks.[52]

The changing of employees' names because of an employer's purported failure to pronounce them was a common practice in southern Africa.[53]

Since many schools were run by missionaries, as the colonial government did little in terms of directly establishing schools in Northern Rhodesia[54], missionary influence on naming continued throughout the colonial period. In the cases of school graduates seeking employment, recruitments naturally followed the names on the school certificates and not the indigenous names of the recruits.[55]

Moreover, the colonial state induced major changes in economic activities, giving way for a cash economy, because of the state's requirement for all adult male Africans in Northern Rhodesia to pay taxes. A colonial official, John Edward "Chiripula" Stephenson was renowned for using crude means to force people to pay taxes in the early twentieth century. These methods included burning down people's huts (houses).[56] In fact, Stephenson was so called "Chiripula" by locals, meaning

International Review of Mission 37, no. 2 (1948): 181–87, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1758-6631.1948.tb03622.x.

[51] Sinfree B. Makoni, Busi Dube, and Pedzisai Mashiri, "Zimbabwe Colonial and Post-Colonial Language Policy and Planning Practices," *Current Issues in Language Planning* 7, no. 4 (2006): 377–414; Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe"; Themba Moyo, "Naming Practices in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malawi," *Inkanyiso: The Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2012): 10–16.

[52] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe," 447; Bangeni and Coetser, "Xhosa First Names, Societal Values and Power Relations," 61.

[53] Moyo, "Naming Practices in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malawi."

[54] Michael J. Kelly, *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia* (Lusaka: Image Publications, 1999).

[55] Maliya Mzyece-Sililo, Interview by Osward Chanda, 12 July 2019

[56] Alfred Tembo, "The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964" (MA Thesis, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2010).

"one who smites" because of this behaviour. As a result, the Africans in Northern Rhodesia began to seek employment in order to earn wages which, in turn, enabled them to pay the taxes. Thus, those who resisted conversion to Christianity and did not attend school, thereby avoiding name change, were left with no choice but to change their names upon their job recruitment.[57]

Several scholars in Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe, among others, have attributed the adoption of English names by Africans to coercion brought by Christianity and colonialism.[58] Despite Namibia having been earlier under German colonisation prior to World War I, all these countries, including Namibia, have experienced British colonial rule and have related historical experiences. Therefore, this provides reasonable ground to conclude that the Zambian experience was not so different.

However, it should also be noted that there were also other people who willingly took on European names without agency of school or church authorities. Some of the reasons for this included some form of prestige which they attached to a European identity.[59] When these individuals, Zambians with European names, visited villages they were greatly admired by the villagers as they appeared more civilised and their names sounded like those of Europeans. Thus, many villagers were inspired to also "Europeanise" their names.[60] Kasanda confirmed that some Zambians took on European names willingly.[61]

> [I]ndividuals formerly received one dominant name at birth whereas two names – one African and one European – became the norm shortly after the establishment of colonial power…. It seems that the prominence of European names quickly established itself throughout colonial Africa, and it is not

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[57] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."

[58] M. M. Saarelma-Maunumaa, "The Influence of Westernization on Ovambo Personal Names in Namibia," *Nomina Africana* 10, no. 1 (1996): 20–29; Joyce T. Mathangwane and Sheena F. Gardner, "Language Attitudes as Portrayed by the Use of English and African Names in Botswana," *Nomina Africana* 12, no. 2 (1998): 74–87; Mthobeli Guma, "The Cultural Meaning of Names among Basotho of Southern Africa: A Historical and Linguistic Analysis," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10, no. 3 (2001): 265–279; Neethling, "Perceptions around the English Name of Xhosa Speakers"; Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe"; Moyo, "Naming Practices in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malawi."

[59] Kashoki, *The Factor of Language in Zambia*.

[60] Xaviour Mulenga, Interview by Osward Chanda, Lusaka,10 July 2019.

[61] Sichalwe Kasanda (Prof.), Interview by Osward Chanda, 11 July 2019.

unusual to find adults who bear two given names, both of them European. These individuals have no African name, reflecting their parents' acceptance of colonial hegemony.[62]

The introduction of Christian/European names ushered in one of the most significant changes in Zambian naming practices.[63] The fusion of European and African cultures resulted in distinct naming practices which were previously non-existent.[64] More will be discussed on contemporary naming trends in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 Introduction of Modern Surnames

Before contact with Europe, Africans already had secondary forms of reference when addressing each other in addition to a primary name – as outlined in Chapter 1. These included clan or totem names, patronyms, toponymical reference, teknonyms, eponyms and descriptions of personal qualities, among others. During the colonial period, inheritance of surnames was introduced.

The system of using permanent/modern surnames started in Medieval Europe.[65] The reasons for development of such a system included securing inheritance of political and juridical rights, public administration requiring identification in tax lists and other written documents. It spread slowly from Italy in the south in the ninth century to France and other regions in Western Europe, then to the north.[66] "Geographically, this innovation [of surnames] was spread from the south and west to the north and east; from big cities to smaller towns and eventually to the countryside as well."[67] Socially, surnames began among the nobility and moved to the upper classes of the cities and, finally, to lower classes. By as late as the nineteenth century, some Europeans did not have

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[62] Robert K. Herbert, "The Politics of Personal Naming in South Africa," *Names* 45, no. 1 (1997): 5.

[63] Herbert, "The Politics of Personal Naming in South Africa"; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."

[64] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."

[65] Stephen Wilson, *The Means of Naming: A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe* (London: UCL Press Limited, 1998); Guy Brunet and Alain Bideau, "Surnames: History of the Family and History of Populations," *The History of the Family* 5, no. 2 (2000): 153–160; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links"; Rosario Calderón et al., "Surnames and Y-Chromosomal Markers Reveal Low Relationships in Southern Spain," *PloS One* 10, no. 4 (2015).

[66] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."

[67] Saarelma-Maunumaa, 50.

surnames. The process took several centuries to complete.[68] European colonial powers then began to spread the system of surnames in their colonial empires.[69]

> [C]ulture contact and the demands of colonial bureaucracy resulted in the introduction of European-type surnames within African populations. One should carefully distinguish between cases in which the system of surnames was grafted onto an indigenous system of second names and those in which it was created ex nihilo. The introduction of surnames within a population is certainly not unique to Africa.[70]

In Africa, like in Medieval Europe, permanent or hereditary surnames were introduced for administrative purposes during the colonial period. Unlike in the European experience where it took several centuries to become rooted, the surname innovation spread much faster in colonial Africa. Some of the bases for surname formation included patronyms (in some cases nickname of a male ancestor), toponyms and clan/totem names, and so on.[71]

> In the African context, one notes how clan names, praise names, patronyms, eponyms, place names, and even colonial surnames have jointly supplied the needs of a bureaucracy that demands at least two names for classification, the last of which is expected to indicate descent. There are exceptions to the last generalization, e.g., groups in which the first name is the European name and the "last name" is actually the African given name, or-particularly among groups who have been in contact with Islamic tradition-the father's given name.[72]

In general, surnames in Zambia are typically drawn from indigenous ethnic languages. As an exception, there are Zambians with surnames from foreign languages. For some ethnic groups, nearly all surnames are exclusively used for that purpose; some use certain names as surnames, while also having stocks of flexible names which work as both personal names and surnames. The third category is for those who use nearly all their names for both purposes – as personal names and as surnames.

For instance, in Bemba tradition and other related groups, nearly all surnames can also be used as personal names. Thus, someone can be named *Kangwa Chileshe*, and another *Chileshe Kangwa*; or one as *Mwape Musonda* and another *Musonda Mwape* – and nearly all of the names are unisex.

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[68] Wilson, *The Means of Naming*; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."
[69] Calderón et al., "Surnames and Y-Chromosomal Markers Reveal Low Relationships in Southern Spain."
[70] Herbert, "The Politics of Personal Naming in South Africa," 4–5.
[71] Herbert, "The Politics of Personal Naming in South Africa"; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."
[72] Herbert, "The Politics of Personal Naming in South Africa," 5.

Similarly, the following Tonga names: *Cheela Chilala*, *Mooya Lwiindi* can also be used as *Chilala Cheela*, *Lwiindi Mooya*, the last one in each pair representing a surname. However, *Munkombwe*, *Shamatanga*, and *Simuyuni*, are examples of many other names which usually work as Tonga surnames, with some exceptions.

On the other hand, among the ethnolinguistic groups from eastern Zambia such as the Chewa, Ngoni, Nsenga and Tumbuka, surnames are usually used for that specific purpose. For instance, *Banda, Chirwa*, *Soko*, *Phiri*, and so on, are typically used only as surnames. They, however, also have some names which can work both as personal name and surname.

Then, there is a special feature of the prefix *Mwana-* "son/daughter of" in some surnames across several ethnic groups. Examples include: *Mwanamwambwa* "son/daughter of Mwambwa" (Lozi language), *Mwanang'uku* (Lozi), *Mwanawasa* (Lenje), *Mwanachingwala* (Tonga), *Mwanambale* (Bemba), *Mwanakatwe* (Bemba), and so on. The foregoing examples are typically surnames.

Importantly, the Mambwe and the Namwanga of northern Zambia, southern Tanzania and northern Malawi have one of the most unique surname systems in the region. Members of a family usually have different surnames based on their gender. These names are traditionally derived from the paternal surname and are usually prefixed with the letter "Na-" for females. For instance, if a father's surname is *Sinyangwe* "small whitish mushroom" (Mambwe), the sons maintain *Sinyangwe* while daughters replace "Si-" with "Na-" and use the name *Nanyangwe* as surname. Similarly, *Sikazwe* "of the elephant clan" (Mambwe/Namwanga) transforms to *Nakazwe*.

However, there are special groups of surnames which are paired with totally different surnames for daughters. For instance, if a man's surname is *Sichone*, his daughters use *Namonje* as surname.

As an exception, Mambwe/Namwanga surnames usually retain the "Si-" prefix if they are obtained through marriage. For instance, a woman married to a *Mr. Sikazwe* is addressed as *Mrs. Sikazwe*, while her daughters may use the transformed version *Nakazwe*.

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Additionally, many Zambian surnames were also created from terminologies and experiences relating to the colonial period or afterwards. In this category, surnames indicate profession, personal qualities, objects, mining activities and others.

Bulaya "Europe" (Bemba), *Chilupula* "one who smites/whips" (Bemba), *Musonko* "tax" (Bemba, Kaonde), and *Muzungu* "white person" (Kaonde), are among miscellaneous examples of surnames drawn from the colonial experience. The name *Chilupula* was adopted from *Chiripula*[73], the nickname which locals gave to John Edward Stephenson, the British colonial officer referred to in subsection 2.2.2 above.

Examples of surnames related to occupation/profession include *Chitabanta* "one who gallivants" i.e. mail runner[74] (Bemba), *Hamanjanji* "one who works for a railway company, or one born near the railway line" (Tonga), *Masuwa* "a train" (Chokwe, Lunda), and *Ngusulu* "a train" (Chokwe). Others are *Kafunga* "shepherd/pastor" (Kaonde), and *Shabyambo* "journalist" (Kaonde).

Then, surnames relating to localised forms of terms or names from European languages are *Munkini* (or the plural form: *Minkini*) "machine(s)" (Kaonde), *Kapitolo* "capital" (Bemba), *Meleki* "milk" (Lamba), *Ngalasa* "Graça" from Portuguese[75] (Lunda), *Nsapato* "shoes" from Portuguese *sapatos* (Bemba) *Safeli* "Xavier" (Bemba), *Saikolo* "cycle"[76] (Bemba), *Koloko/Nkoloko* "a watch", derived from "O'clock" (Kaonde), and *Ntaimo* "time" (Kaonde).

Surnames drawn from local names of objects include *Hakasenke* "one who owns a small roofing sheet" (Tonga), *Masenke* "roofing sheets" i.e. a blacksmith (Soli), *Masenge* "zinc or iron sheets (roofing sheets)" (Lozi), *Malata* "roofing sheets" (Bemba), *Ngolofwana* "wheelbarrow" (Lamba),

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[73] Subila Chilupula. Personal communication, 2 February 2020. Her great grandfather was the first one to use Chilupula as surname. The narration was from Subila's father.

[74] The first Chitabanta was so named because he was a mail runner, moving from one village to another, delivering mails. He sometimes spent days or weeks away from his home village. Story narrated by one of his grandsons. Personal communication, 2013.

[75] Ungina Ndoma, "Kongo Personal Names Today: A Sketch," *Names* 25, no. 2 (1977): 88–98.

[76] Kapwepwe, *Some Bemba Names and Their Meanings*.

Malisawa "ball bearings" (Bemba) and *Sisala* "scissors" (Bemba, Kaonde, Lamba). *Chibiliti* "matches (i.e. match stick or match box)" (Bemba) and *Malisawa* are loan words from Swahili.[77]

Surnames related to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar or to Christian worship are *Chibelushi* "Saturday" (Bemba), *Pelekelo* "Saturday" (Lozi), and *Sabata/Nsabata* "Sabbath" (Tonga). Others are *Nsondo/Sondo* "Sunday"; born on Sunday (Lenje, Tonga), *Pumulo* "Sunday" (Lozi), *Sande* "Sunday" (Lamba) and *Katolika* "the Roman Catholic Church" (Kaonde).

Surnames relating to mining are *Mingochi (*or singular form: *Mungochi)* "mine(s)" (Chokwe), *Mukuba* "copper" (Bemba), and *Palata* "silver"[78], among others. Though archaeological evidence confirms that mining existed in prehistoric Zambia, the activity became significant from the 1920s and 1930s onward.[79]

Other surnames are *Pondala* "boundary (national boundary)" (Lunda), *Kaombe* "small fence, marking a boundary between countries"[80] (Ushi, Bemba, Mambwe) and *Bantungwa* "free/independent people" (Bemba). These names relate to the partition of the African continent into nations, which ensued from the 1884/85 Berlin Conference, and to the attainment of independence.

Modern surnames have helped preserve clan/totem – and other categories of traditional – names by ensuring their permanence or continued use among Africans.[81] In Zambia, as in many other formerly colonised African nations, many modern surnames have been inherited for only a few times – probably between three and five generations. The colonial period also birthed surnames indicating localised forms of English terms or creation of new names from local terms referring to colonial experience and the subsequent achievement of independence.

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[77] Kapwepwe; Kashoki, *Keeping in Step with Modern Times*.
[78] Felix Divuilu, ed., *English-Lingala, Lingala-English Dictionary*, Revised (Croydon: CVO-Books, 2005).
[79] Brian M. Fagan, *A Short History of Zambia: From the Earliest Times Until AD 1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967); Brian M. Fagan, David Walter Phillipson, and S. G. H. Daniels, *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia: Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede, and the Tonga*, vol. 2 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1967); Ndulo, "Mining Rights in Zambia."
[80] Halemba, *Mambwe-English Dictionary*.
[81] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."

CHAPTER 3: Zambian Names and Cultural Heritage

This chapter presents examples of names and their specific connections to Zambian cultural heritage. There are three main categories in which traditional Zambian names can be arranged. These are: circumstances of birth, natural phenomena and the social environment. These can be further divided into various sub-categories. Though there are several dozen groups under which Zambian names may be classified[1], for purposes of time and space limitation, I will focus only on three sub-categories, namely: religion, initiation and clan, from the social category. The following excerpt from the study of the Iatmul society of Papua New Guinea by Bates nearly summarises the relation between the aspects of Zambian names discussed in this chapter and ritual:

> The naming system is indeed a theoretical image of the whole culture and in it every formulated aspect of the culture is reflected. Conversely, we may say that the system has its branches in every aspect of the culture and gives support to every cultural activity. Every spell, every song … contain lists of names. The utterances of the shamans are couched in terms of names. The shamanic spirits which possess the shamans are themselves important nodal points in the naming system. Marriages are often arranged in order to gain names. Reincarnation and succession are based upon the naming system. Land tenure is based on clan membership and clan membership is vouched for by names.[2]

The major difference lies in the fights over ownership of totem names in Iatmul society[3], which are non-existent in Zambian traditional societies. According to Mphande, names are "… statements about religion and the beliefs of the speakers and their relationship with the supernatural."[4] Traditional Zambian names are rooted in various indigenous religious practices.

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[1] Lisimba, *Lozi Names in Language and Culture*; Penda, *Encyclopedia of Zambian Names*; Khama Hang'ombe, "Morphology and Semantics of Tonga Anthroponyms: A Case of Tonga Given Names and Nicknames" (Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2015).

[2] Gregory Bateson, *Naven: A Survey of the Problems Suggested by a Composite Picture of the Culture of a New Guinea Tribe Drawn from Three Points of View* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 228.

[3] Simon J. Harrison, *Stealing People's Names: History and Politics in a Sepik River Cosmology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Eric Kline Silverman, "The Gender of the Cosmos: Totemism, Society and Embodiment in the Sepik River," *Oceania* 67, no. 1 (1996): 30–49, https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1834-4461.1996.tb02570.x; Eric Kline Silverman, "Politics, Gender, and Time in Melanesia and Aboriginal Australia," *Ethnology* 36, no. 2 (1997): 101–121.

[4] Lupenga Mphande, "Naming and Linguistic Africanisms in African American Culture," in *Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (Citeseer, 2006), 108–9.

3.1 Exploring Essence: Names seen through Indigenous Religion

Before introduction of the idea of Satan and demons by Christianity in Tongaland, evil was perceived as a human attribute which worked through perversion of the forces of nature, control of ghosts and other creatures using magic or medicine.[5] Human agency in evil work was thus more pronounced. Evans-Pritchard subdivides this theme among the Zande people of Sudan, Congo DR and Central African Republic into sorcery and witchcraft. The primary difference he draws between the two is the usage of charms by the sorcerer and the lack of charm by the witch, who operates chiefly by will power like a psychic.[6] Related to this, Kindness suggests that the one which uses objects, sorcery, is the type present in Zambian societies.[7]

In addition, Ngulube claims that witchcraft in Zambia is a timeless phenomenon – past, present and future – which is as alive today as before Christian missionaries came; it remains unaffected by modernisation.[8] However, this overarching statement may not be proven with certainty.

There are three kinds of participants when it comes to witchcraft: the witch, the victim and the healer. The Witchcraft Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia punished all three.[9]

Colonial authorities, as missionaries, initially – at least in the perception of the African – failed to distinguish witchcraft from indigenous religion.[10] Though, Melland, the colonial administrator of Kasempa District referred to in the previous chapter, had some degree of open-mindedness about this subject. "These Bantu religions of to-day have in them some demonology since they recognise not only good spirits but bad (or, more correctly, adverse) spirits. In this way they border on witchcraft; and it is at times hard to sift the one from the other; but they are, nevertheless, entirely

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[5] Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*, 203.
[6] Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*.
[7] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."
[8] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[9] Browne, "Witchcraft and British Colonial Law"; Munday, "The Witchcraft Ordinance of Northern Rhodesia."
[10] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*; Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."

distinct from it."[11] He observed a difference between indigenous religions and witchcraft. Let us briefly explore the subject of witchcraft in relation to some selected aspects of indigenous religion.

3.1.1 The Venom of the Witch

As is the common reaction among Zambians to kill any snake when in sight, a witch[12] is deserving of death.[13] The witch is believed to have purposed to not tame her/his magical powers, but rather turned them into venom in order to use them for egotistically wielding excessive power and personal gain while inflicting great suffering on others. "In other words, for excess production to occur, the witches must tamper with the processes of reproduction. Thus much witchcraft for wealth involves stealing foetuses, making women barren and other similar attacks on fertility."[14] Thus, some believe that powerful witches are among the wealthiest people in a contemporary community, capable of living as comfortably as Europeans even when in a small Zambian town – while the less privileged witches have failed to harness their power. Ngulube suggests that the belief in witchcraft cuts across Zambian society, regardless of whether a community is patrilineal or matrilineal.[15]

> A person can lose their life to the witch, and be made to work as a ghost, or they can lose part of their life, such as their fertility, their unborn child, or their intelligence. Various types of sexual activity, including incest and masturbation can also create wealth. Killing people is a central aspect of the production of wealth, and a person can lose all or part of themselves.[16]

To achieve their desired results, witches use various charms and tools. Though the use of charms and tools is common in witchcraft around the world, there are some tools which are region specific. This is believed to be true in Zambia. Some tools used include guns, snakes, and lions; if the targeted victim is usually around water bodies, crocodiles and hippos can be used. Other tools used include rats, reptiles, birds, fairies and lightings, among others.[17]

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[11] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, 185.
[12] Throughout this work, I use the word witch to refer to both witch and wizard.
[13] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."
[14] Kindness, 1.
[15] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[16] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia," 10.
[17] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.

Examples of names relating to witchcraft include *Bwanga* "a witchcraft charm, or spell" (in Ambo, Bemba, Kaonde, Lala, Lamba, Lima, Swaka and Ushi languages/dialects); *Cheelo* "ghost" (Tonga), *Kalumba* "lightning" (Bemba), some witches use lighting as a tool for killing victims; and *Siloiso* "object for bewitching" (Lozi). Such names are usually given in a subtle way to cause sorcerers to lose interest in the child, thereby protecting the name bearer from harm.[18]

Name as Extension of Person

The name is another important tool used for causing harm to a victim. The ancestral name is the core of a person's identity – it is like a tangible aspect of the person.[19] "[F]or Africans, your name is your soul – it has celestial powers and embodies spirit. It is known from the ancient times that names carry some magical power and can influence character and model the fortune of a person."[20] Without access to it, a witch cannot control a person.[21] "The issue of naming is extremely complex. Within the name is contained a major part of the identity of the person. Traditionally the name was so personal that asking a person's name would never be undertaken lightly. It is a key to a person's identity …"[22]

The ancestral name is like a lid that, when used, is believed to open up and make one fluid spiritually. At this point, witches can use their magical powers to transfer the fluid spirit into another person or animal. They may even steal part of this fluid being and place it into a despicable animal such as a snake. If people see the snake and kill it, so would the victim die shortly after. In addition,

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[18] Chuks-Orji, *Names from Africa: Their Origin, Meaning, and Pronunciation, Edited by Keith Baird*; Musonda, Ngalande, and Simwinga, "Daring Death among the Tumbuka: A SocioSemantic Analysis of Death-Related Personal Names."
[19] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia"; Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."
[20] Musonda, Ngalande, and Simwinga, "Daring Death among the Tumbuka: A SocioSemantic Analysis of Death-Related Personal Names," 110.
[21] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."
[22] Kindness, 82.

witches might manipulate their own fluid spirit and enter animals to cause harm to unsuspecting victims.[23]

3.1.2 The Helpless Victim

Throughout natural life, activities centre on the supernatural. Therefore, a non-spiritually alert individual is helpless as spirits, which drive all activities, can neither be touched nor seen. Survival in a world of constant militancy against confrontational spirits is then assured only by perpetual propitiation of good spirits.[24] As the spirits are constantly in tune with all activities around the world, and have power to hinder ones foes, they must be consulted before making any important undertaking. "Nothing but spirits (and in some cases, prescribed payments) can counteract spirits: none but the witch-doctor[25] can show how this is to be effected. Man himself is impotent."[26]

The following are some examples of names which showcase the victim's vulnerability to witchcraft attacks: *Balaudye* "bear children and you eat them" (in Chewa and Ngoni languages); *Katapa* "cassava leaves", parents suspect that the child would be a victim/relish of sorcerers (Ambo, Lala, Lamba, Lima, and Swaka). Others are *Silowa/Mulowa* "victim of witchcraft" (Lozi); and *Nyamayao/Nyamazao* "this meat (human meat) belongs to them (witches)" (Tumbuka). The names *Balaudye, Katapa, Maliwa, Nyamayao,* and *Nyamazao* depict the victim as one who is helplessly bearing children for the witch to devour, or the one who her-/himself is a target of being devoured. Among many ethnic groups in Zambia, this is a common interpretation for recurring miscarriages in a family – that there is a witch somewhere who should be held responsible. Paradoxically, through

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[23] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."

[24] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*; Turner, *The Drums of Affliction: A Study of Religious Process among the Ndembu of Zambia*; Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."

[25] The term refers to a traditional healer. It may be considered derogatory in some circles.

[26] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, 129.

such names, parents dare and taunt witches, sending a message to them that they are aware of their schemes.[27]

Other names like *Nkhwendabaka* "I am walking, unaware of what they have done to me" (Tumbuka) and *Alibandila* "they are on their way" (Lozi), may signify conspiracy against the victim. To survive in such an environment, therefore, people are vigilant is finding ways to protect themselves.

Self-Protection

Protection against the wiles of witchcraft comes in many forms. Broadly, this calls for either seeking the help of sacred experts or using personal methods, or both. I shall discuss the role of experts in the next sub-chapter. At personal level, protection against witchcraft includes the clever use, or hiding, of names or immense knowledge and use of protective charms.

As is the case among other Bantu communities, the use of secret names or name avoidance exist in some Zambian communities.[28] Secret names are usually regular names which many others use publicly. Their secret-ness is case-specific and lies in the fact that the public does not know that it is also one of the bearer's names. Names acquired during boys' initiation among the Lunda-Ndembu, for example, are typically used exclusively within the inner circle of the cohort that one went into camp with.[29] However, some initiation names among the Luvale are used in the same way as the name bearer's other names, but only the family or close associates may know that the name originated from the initiation camp.[30]

Another form of protection is name avoidance, which mainly involves the use of one's titles such as teknonyms (such as "father/mother of so and so") or other indirect references. Apart from the

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[27] Tembo, *Zambian Traditional Names*; Musonda, Ngalande, and Simwinga, "Daring Death among the Tumbuka: A SocioSemantic Analysis of Death-Related Personal Names."
[28] Adrian Koopman, *Zulu Names* (Pietermaritsburg: University of Natal Press, 2002); Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links."
[29] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*.
[30] Anonymus (name withheld on request). Personal communication. 17 May 2020.

practice just being for the purposes of respect, name avoidance, like secret names may prevent witches from accessing a would-be victim, because of lack of access to the real name. Related to name avoidance, *Mwitwa* "one who is called" in Bemba tradition, though used as a regular name, is used to hide the name of the one's spirit, thereby protect her/him from harm.[31]

Ironically, assigning negative names to offspring is considered another form of protection against jealous ancestors as well as witches. Therefore, names such as *Ndiri* "the grave" (Nsenga language), *Chakumanda* "belongs to the grave" (Chewa, Ngoni), *Cheelo* "nothing, meaningless; ghost" (Lenje, Tonga), and *Mambepa* "deceitful, unreal; temporary" (Bemba, Mambwe); *Kalaluka* "one who cannot last (live) long" (Lozi), and *Kibepesho* "something unreal" (Kaonde) may be assigned to a child to make witches and evil spirits lose interest in claiming the life of the infant. As a result the child might end up surviving in the face of danger, thanks to the subtly assigned name with a negative connotation.[32]

In addition, the use of protective charms insulates one against witchcraft attacks. Some people may just be knowledgeable of the charms or be assisted by a family member or close ally. At times, such knowledge might have been brought by returnees to the village who lived in other communities for some time.[33] As a result, the gain more knowledge of what works elsewhere. "[T]he clever would-be victims have charms which cause anyone who administers witchcraft magic on them to die within few hours of such an attempt. Such clever people are not witch-finders, neither are they diviners nor witch doctors. They are ordinary people living their ordinary lives among the ordinary and innocent members of the group and among the witches themselves."[34] Witches may even die in

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[31] Richard Mukuka. Personal communication. 19 May 2020.

[32] Chuks-Orji, *Names from Africa: Their Origin, Meaning, and Pronunciation, Edited by Keith Baird*; Ndoma, "Kongo Personal Names 1hday"; Atoma Batoma, "Onomastics and Indirect Communication among the Kabre of Northern Togo," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 18, no. 3 (2009): 215–34; Musonda, Ngalande, and Simwinga, "Daring Death among the Tumbuka: A SocioSemantic Analysis of Death-Related Personal Names."

[33] Felix U Kaputu, "'Chilima' and the Remaking of Chokwe Identity: An Exploratory Interdisciplinary Study on Globalization, Material Traditions and Gendered Cosmo-Polity" (Ph.D Dissertation, Brussels & Ghent, Vrije Universiteit Brussel & Universiteit Gent, 2017).

[34] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*, 42.

an attempt to attack such well-protected individuals. [35] As a result, they are usually careful in determining if their magic would succeed on a target before launching their attacks.

3.1.3 Rescue from Witchcraft Attack

With neither a heritage of buildings nor sacred texts to boast of, indigenous religion was embodied in priests. Priests were, and still are, among the central figures in traditional society. In colonial times, they were labelled as "the curse of Africa". "Understanding, education, and the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, are probably the first steps in removing the curse of Africa—the witch-doctor; remembering that we will never remove (or render harmless) the witchdoctor until we remove the need for him."[36]There are different kinds of priests who play specific functions, depending on the needs of their particular tribal community. These include, but not limited to earth priests, rain priests, healers, mediums, and so on. Inheriting a healing profession usually comes with rainmaking capabilities in undeveloped form, and vice versa. Some practitioners develop both skills, while many specialise in either healing or rainmaking.

Healers and rainmakers usually inherit their calling from ancestor spirits by which they are possessed.

> Certain types of ancestor spirit seem to have been professionals in former lives, and return to assist the living with the practice of their vocation. Thus healers, rain-makers, and possibly soldiers, return to possess members of the living and bestow on them the knowledge, gifts and the skills of their profession. Mediums usually specialise in healing or rain-making, though they can be possessed by both rain-making and healing spirits, and can practise in both areas. In other cases one spirit may be dominant, and the bearer of the spirit will practise one profession only.[37]

Through such possession by the spirit of a deceased former healer or rainmaker, they inherit the aptitudes and skills.[38] The powers/talents of a deceased former healer/rainmaker rubs off on the living host. One usually experiences the call through a vision or sickness and might need to undergo apprenticeship from a practicing priest.

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[35] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*.
[36] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, 130.
[37] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia," 98.
[38] Kindness, 98–99.

Rainmaker

Rain spirits are among the most revered spirits in many Central African traditional societies. One reason for this reverence is the central importance of rain to food security through agricultural production, flouring rivers for fishing, and forests teeming with abundant fruits. Some traditional societies still lay claim on ability to produce rain at any time of the year – despite the season. "Rain-making is common in Africa, and Mbiti suggests: "rain-makers are some of the most important individuals in almost all African societies"."[39] Because of their significance, rain makers are highly esteemed among their tribe mates and have political influence. In southern Zambia where Tonga societies historically had no rulers, the colonial administration leveraged this influence and turned some rain makers into chiefs in order to implement their indirect rule.

"Possession by rain-making spirits involves a similar process of becoming ill and then having the spirit recognised."[40]

Both Kindness and Colson established a link between rainmaking spirits and snakes. "There is some association of rain-making spirits and possession by snakes."[41] Snakes, green mambas, usually showed up during the main part of rainmaking rituals and wrapped themselves around the rainmaker. As soon as the snake disappeared, rainfall started.[42]

Examples of names relating to rainmaking include: *Lwiindi* "rain shrine" (Tonga), *Moonze* "rainmaker" (Tonga), *Mukulwambula* "renowned rainmaker" (Lozi), *Ngoshe* "green mamba" Rainmaking is still practiced in modern Zambia. Tamara Guhrs and Mulenga Kapwepwe refer to a

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[39] Kindness, 98; Eileen Jensen Krige and Jacob D. Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen: A Study of the Pattern of Lovedu Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943); Mbiti, *African Religions & Philosophy*; Wim MJ Van Binsbergen, *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies* (London: Routledge, 1981).
[40] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia," 103.
[41] Kindness, 103.
[42] Elizabeth Colson, "A Continuing Dialogue: Prophets and Local Shrines among the Tonga of Zambia," *Regional Cults*, 1977, 119–139; Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia."

shrine in Senior Chief Mukuni's area in the Southern Province, near the Victoria Falls, where rainmaking is still practised.[43]

Healer

Healers, as agents of the spirit world, play an important role in the lives of the people in a traditional society – whether past or present. They are at the centre of major stages of transition, and are consulted in such activities and challenges. According to Melland, the traditional healer not only has power to divine, prophesy and interpret the complex challenges of the people, but she/he is also instrumental in propitiating, counteracting and circumventing the forces of life. It is only the healer who can avert or avenge death by identifying the person or spirit responsible for the calamities.[44] Traditional doctors/healers are officially recognised by the government through the Traditional Health Practitioners Association of Zambia (THPAZ). THPAZ regulates its members and also assesses and accredits foreign healers who wish to do their practice in Zambia. In addition, it is common for healers to advertise their services in newspapers and other media. However, as in any other society, there are mixed views from the general public – some appreciate and make use of these services while others are not in support.

> Healing spirits seem to fall into two groups. The first group are foreign spirits, which are named by tribe, such as Bemba or Swahili. These apparently bear no kinship relation to the diviner, and when possessed the diviner may speak or understand the language of the spirit which would normally be unfamiliar. The second type of healing spirit may be understood as ancestor spirits.[45]

Ancestral spirits are the main drivers of the healing activities of most traditional doctors. "These spirits bestow the hosts with the gift of experiencing the bodily sensations not only of their own bodies, but of other people as well."[46] During divination sessions, some healers usually feel in their bodies the actual feelings of their clients. They also rely on these spirits, or on the knowledge they have inherited or acquired, in making appropriate diagnoses and prescriptions.

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[43] Guhrs and Kapwepwe, *Ceremony!*
[44] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*, 130.
[45] Kindness, "Witchcraft and the Reproduction Of Wealth In Southern Zambia," 99.
[46] Kindness, 84–85.

Names such as *Chipalo* "child born through traditional medicine" (Bemba), *Chipango* "a child born after prayers to ancestral spirits" (Luvale), *Kamayoyo* "traditional doctor/medicine man" (Lozi), *Magodi* "herbs and medicines" (Ngoni, Tumbuka) and *Michelo* "roots or herbs" (Tonga) are examples in this category. These names suggest that the parents of those named as such experience persistent fertility challenges before they finally had their babies through the help of a traditional healer or herbalist. When a couple had such challenges, they suspected witchcraft as the cause.[47] Thus, they went to seek help from the healer. However, having such a name does not always indicate that a family had such challenges – sometimes they give the in remembrance of a relative or for other reasons.

3.2 *Names, Secret Societies and Initiation*

Some initiation rituals necessitate bestowing of new names to initiates during initiation, while for others the names are optional. These names may be guarded as secrets afterwards or become part of a graduate's identity to be freely used by the public like any other name.[48]

Judith Brown refers to a female initiation rite as prescribed ceremonial events which are mandatory for all girls in a society and celebrated between the ages of eight and twenty. In her definition, Brown excludes betrothal or marriage customs.[49] However, Zambian female initiation involves both the puberty rites, conducted when a girl experiences her first menstruation, and marriage rites.[50]

> Initiation rituals are defined as events that are performed in a community in order to mark the passage into a new stage in the life of an individual … [T]he process of initiation ritual accompanies the movement of people from one social status to another. Such a movement could involve a change from being a boy to a man or from being a married woman to a mother…. rites of passage are done to mark

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[47] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Tembo, *Zambian Traditional Names*; Penda, *Encyclopedia of Zambian Names*.
[48] Itani Peter Mandende, "A Study of Tshivenḓa Personal Names" (PhD Dissertation, Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2009).
[49] Judith K. Brown, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Female Initiation Rites," *American Anthropologist* 65, no. 4 (1963): 838.
[50] Sinvula Mundumuko, "Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi: 1886-1975" (MA Thesis, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 1990); Thera Rasing, *The Bush Burnt, the Stones Remain: Female Initiation Rites in Urban Zambia* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2002); Yvonne Mulako Mundia, "Exploration of Sikenge Initiation Rite in the Promotion of Lozi Cultural Heritage: A Case of Mongu District" (MA Thesis, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2015); Peggy Mutale, "The Significance and Resilience of the Chinamwali Initiation Ceremony of the Chewa People of Katete District of Zambia in the Face of Social Change" (MA Thesis, Lusaka, University of Zambia, 2017).

the transition from one stage of life to another and such rights signify changes in individuals' lives, while confirming their identity and status in the community.[51]

Initiation programmes exist for both boys and girls. However, boys' initiation does not exist in all ethnic groups. They are more common in North-Western, parts of Western and Eastern provinces. Girls' initiation, however, cuts across nearly all ethnic groups in Zambia. Whereas boys' initiation usually takes place in groups, girls' initiation is typically organised individually – one student at a time.[52]

Initiates are given new names as they attend initiation schools. In some cases, these names are not to be disclosed to outsiders, but can be used outside the camp among members of the same cohort. [53] On the other hand, some initiation names are used in the same way as the name bearer's other regular names, but only the family or close associates may know that a particular name originated from the initiation camp.[54] There is also flexibility among Chokwe girls as they can be called by these names with the prefix "Mwa-" (mother of), which gets replaced later on when they have children of their own.[55]

In as much as differences may occur among different ethnic groups, they can also exist within one ethnic group – as is with different groups of Kaondes on *cisungu*.[56] Further, while *cisungu* and other ceremonies typically focuses on one initiand/initiate at a time, it is common for the Luvale to initiate several *mwali* (girl initiate) together in a camp during *litungu* ceremony.[57]

Broadly, Rasing suggests existence of a dichotomy between girls' initiation and boys' initiation – that the former is oriented toward public life while the latter private life, or social versus domestic. This is because, female initiation is said to be tailored toward instruction on domestic, private and

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[51] Cekiso and Meyiwa, "Gendered Naming and Values Inherent in the Xhosa Amakrwala (Graduate-Initiates)," 1.
[52] Audrey I. Richards, "Pottery Images or Mbusa Used at the Chisungu Ceremony of the Bemba People of North Eastern Rhodesia," *South African Journal of Science* 41, no. 07 (1944): 444–458; Audrey I. Richards, *Chisungu: A Girl's Initiation Ceremony in Northern Rhodesia* (London: Tavistock, 1956).
[53] Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*.
[54] Anonymus (name withheld on request). Personal communication. 17 May 2020.
[55] Kaputu, "'Chilima' and the Remaking of Chokwe Identity: An Exploratory Interdisciplinary Study on Globalization, Material Traditions and Gendered Cosmo-Polity."
[56] Melland, *In Witch-Bound Africa: An Account of the Primitive Kaonde Tribe and Their Beliefs*.
[57] Anonymus, (name withheld on request). Personal communication. 17 May 2020.

biological functions while male initiation focuses on goals to be attained in public life.[58] Notwithstanding the foregoing, *cinamwali* for girls also has elements of instruction in correct social behaviour.[59]

In general, initiation rituals usually have a three, or four part, diachronic structure. The first separates the initiate from the sinful world; the second partly withdraws him/her from the worldly life; the third is the inward transformation and return of the candidate to normal life.[60] Each of the phases is distinct.[61]

Examples of names relating to female intiation are *Mpande* "necklace (made of cowrie shell)", treasure; implying that the husband has to be careful and look after his wife (Bemba, Mambwe, and Namwanga); and *Ndola* "girl initiation ceremony; also generic term for girl initiate" (Nsenga). Others are *Nyoni* "black whydah bird", a feather of this bird is used in cinamwali ritual (Chewa); *Nkolola* "female initiation ceremony" (Tonga) and *Muluba* "stranger", connoting that a girl needs to be initiated into the world of women (Bemba, Mambwe). While *Nyoni* is among many objects used in the initiation process, *Mpande* and *Muluba* are among the songs sang in the same process.

Names such as *Chipungu* "a circumcision specialist" (Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale, and Mbunda), and *Kalulu* "hare; hare-like Nyau figure" (Chewa), aid our understanding of male initiation rites. More example include *Mukanda* "book", referring to the initiation school, or enlightenment (Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale, and Mbunda); *Mvweng'i* "a type of masked figure" (Lunda) and *Njovu* "elephant; an elephant-like Nyau figure" (Chewa) and *Sachihongo* "a hunter spirit" (Luchazi, Luvale, and Mbunda).

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[58] Rasing, *The Bush Burnt, the Stones Remain*, 127.

[59] Hendrina Kachapila, "'Remarkable Adaptability': Gender, Identity and Social Change among the Chewa of Central Malawi, 1870-1945" (PhD Thesis, Halifax, Dalhousie University, 2001), 84.

[60] Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*; Andile P. Mhlahlo, "What Is Manhood?: The Significance of Traditional Circumcision in the Xhosa Initiation Ritual" (PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch, University of Stellenbosch, 2009).

[61] Cekiso and Meyiwa, "Gendered Naming and Values Inherent in the Xhosa Amakrwala (Graduate-Initiates)."

Therefore, there are many names used to represent various aspects of initiation. Understanding the contextual use of the names helps us appreciate their full meaning and their link to heritage.

The Makishi and Nyau dances, associated with boys' initiation and other ceremonies were listed on the UNESCO ICH Representative List in 2008.[62] Unlike girls' initiation which is practised in nearly all ethnic groups, boys' initiation is only found in few traditional societies.

Mundumuko points out that during the colonial period, the Lozi boys' initiation Milaka died out, while Sikenge, the initiation for girls experienced significant changes. He cites introduction of Christianity, western education and wage labour as responsible factors for the dying out of the boys' initiation institution.[63] Similarly, Mundia identifies Christianity, western education and other social changes among the factors affecting Sikenge. She further encourages deliberate adaptation of Sikenge to societal changes.[64] The girls initiation has transformed into village, Christian and urban versions.[65]

3.3 Names and Clan Classification

One of the oldest and most important identifiers in majority of indigenous societies around the world is classification of people by clan, represented by a totem.[66] In Central African thought, such categorisation is believed to predate ethnic classification. As a result, clan classification cuts across ethnic boundaries.[67]

> Many have argued that when we talk about totemism, we are actually talking about different things in different cultures. However, nineteenth century writers generally perceived totemism as a worldwide phenomenon, found in Native North and South America, Australia, Asia, Africa and the Pacific. Arguably, elements of 'totemism' – the symbolic representation of the social by the natural – are found in European thought too, but not to the same degree, and certainly not with the same coherence …[68]

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[62] "Incorporation of Items Proclaimed Masterpieces in the Representative List - UNESCO Digital Library," UNESDOC Digital Library, 2008, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000234698_eng.

[63] Mundumuko, "Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi."

[64] Mundia, "Exploration of Sikenge Initiation Rite in the Promotion of Lozi Cultural Heritage: A Case of Mongu District."

[65] Mundumuko, "Decline and Change in the Milaka and Sikenge Institutions of the Lozi."

[66] Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[67] Siegel, "Chipimpi, Vulgar Clans, and Lala-Lamba Ethnohistory."

[68] Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology*, 33.

Originating from the Ojibwa of North America, the word totem was introduced into the English language by a British merchant in 1791. However, it was only in 1856 that Peter Jones, who was both a Methodist missionary and an Ojibwa chief, appropriately described the Ojibwa ideas about totems.[69]

As elsewhere, clans in Zambian tribes are social groups represented by totems, a variety of articles from the natural environment. These may include animals, body parts, plants or other inanimate objects. Examples include: lion, elephant, baboon, frog, grass, wild-loquat tree, pot, iron, millet, pubic hair, penis, and so on. "Some [clan] names signify popular occupations in the clan, such as healers, rainmakers, carpenters, and so on."[70] As referred to in Chapter 1 of this work, a clan name was used together with an individual's actual name in order to distinguish her/him from others who bore the same name.

However, it should be noted that clan names, and other secondary forms of address, were not used in the same sense as modern surnames are used today. In matrilineal societies, a tradition followed by majority of Zambian ethnic groups, an individual was typically identified with the mother's clan name as s/he was considered as the mother's property. Below are some examples of names from the matrilineal clans:

Examples of names from matrilineal clans include: *Kaposhi* "tower" (Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale); *Lombwe, Kankomba, Kapasa,* or *Membe* "penis" (Bemba); *Mudenda* "elephant" (Tonga); *Nyangu* "beans" (Soli). Others are *Nyendwa* "vulva, vagina" (Ambo, Bemba, Lala, Lamba, Lima, Luano, Nsenga, Swaka, Ushi), and *Walemba* "bees" (Kaonde).

On the contrary, patrilineal societies considered children as their fathers' property. As a result, they were identified with their fathers' clan names. Below are example of clan names from patrilineal societies:

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[69] Barnard, 34.

[70] Nora Mumba, retired language lecturer, University of Zambia. Personal communication, 17 January 2020

Examples of names from patrilineal clans are: *Dokowe* "Grey Heron bird clan" (Tumbuka); *Imbwae* "a member of the Mbwae (dog) clan" (Lozi); *Mukwanamungu* "member of the pumpkin clan" (Lozi). Others are *Ndhlovu* "elephant" (Ngoni) and *Nyendwa* "vulva, vagina" (Ila, Ngoni, Tumbuka).

From the foregoing, if a girl was named *Misozi* "tears", for example, she would be distinguished as "*Misozi of the Ndhlovu* (elephant) clan".

Importantly, clan names and other secondary referents became the basis of surnames during colonial times. In this case, she is simply *Misozi Ndhlovu*. Clan/totem names are still used as surnames at present and clan association is still important among Zambians. However, in addition to their use as modern surnames, some clan names are also used as first names. Examples include *Nyangu*, *Kapasa*, and *Membe*.

Similar clan names, even if found among different ethnic groups may suggest common heritage or ancestry. As it has been established that clan groupings predate tribal categorisation, various families broke up and settled in different places during Bantu migrations. In the case of Zambia, the Luba-Lunda migrations from the Congo was another phase when groups which were originally together ended up settling in different regions, thereby developing tribal identity. Nora Mumba suggests that one may, to some extent, be able to trace the history of her/his family through generations by following the usage a clan name.[71]

On the other hand, a distinction must be drawn to avoid ambiguity in associating similar characteristics to clans among different tribal communities. One of the primary identifiers of common clans across different ethnic groups is the totem/symbol used by the clans. A common totem is an indication that the clans in question are the same, despite having differing names. In

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[71] Nora Mumba. Personal communication, 17 January 2020

contrast, if two clans have the same name but different totems/symbols, they are identified as different clans.[72]

> It should be noted when studying clan relationships that two clans with different clan objects may have the same name in two languages in which case members will not regard themselves as fellow clansmen; The Mumba clan is the Wild-loquat clan of the Bemba, but the Pot clan of the Lala. The Luo clan is the Frog clan of the Bemba, but the Wind clan of the Lala. Members of these pairs do not regard themselves as fellow clansmen. However if in the two languages the word differs but the object is the same the members regard themselves as belonging to the same clan.[73]

For example, *Njamba* (in Chokwe, Luchazi, Luvale and Mbunda languages), *Mudenda* (Tonga), *Ndopu* (Lozi), *Nsofu* (Bemba), *Njovu/Njobvu* (Chewa, Kunda, Nsenga, Tumbuka), *Nzovu* (Kaonde), and *Ndhlovu* (Ngoni) are all different names representing the elephant clan. Other examples are *Nyendwa* (as seen above), *Ng'andu* "crocodile" clan (Bemba, Lozi, Luvale and Tonga), the bird clan known as *Ng'onyi* "honey guide" (in Kaonde) and *Nguni* "honey guide" (Bemba, Tumbuka), and probably *Simuyuni/Muyuni* "of the bird clan" (Tonga). On the other hand, *Luo*, connoting "frog" clan (Bemba), "monkey" clan (Kaonde), and "pot" clan (Lala) implies that the three clans are different in spite of bearing a common name. *Chungu* "snake" clan (in Luchazi) and "gourd" (Bemba) are other examples of distinctions in clans bearing the same names. Let us turn to naming trends in independent Zambia.

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[72] Munday, "Some Traditions of the Endwa Clan of Northern Rhodesia."
[73] Munday, 454.

CHAPTER 4: Naming Trends in Independent Zambia

4.1 Independent Zambia, Beyond 1964

The First President of the new democratic and multiparty Republic of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda promoted national cohesion through the "One Zambia, One Nation" campaign which was initiated by his government. However, deep ethnic divisions began to manifest within the newly founded nation.[1] This state of division along tribal lines discouraged Kaunda. In 1968, he resigned as President, claiming he could not lead a divided nation. However, he rescinded his decision after forty-eight hours due to public protests.[2] The President set precedence in making efforts toward national unity.

One of the means to this end was a concept called "tribal balancing".[3] It deliberately promoted the welfare of Zambians from all ethnic groups, offering opportunities for all – not necessarily on the basis of merit – but based of equitable representation of all ethnicities.[4] The government hoped to create a more peaceful nation by recognising the importance of all ethnic groups. Resulting in intermarriages among people from different ethnic groups, a practice which was traditionally discouraged in some tribes, tribal balancing was one of the factors which led to parents assigning to a child names sourced from a mixture of local languages.

4.2 Naming Trends

Across the African continent, several eminent people changed their names after their countries attained independence. Some examples are Kenya's founding President Johnstone Kamau, who changed his name to *Jomo Kenyatta*, Malawian first President Hastings Kamuzu Banda to *H. Kamuzu Banda*; world renowned Nigerian novelist Albert Chinualumoga Achebe changed to

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[1] Phiri, *A Political History of Zambia*.
[2] Mwanakatwe, *The Growth of Education in Zambia Since Independence*.
[3] E.S. Kapotwe, *The African Clerk* (Lusaka: NECZAM, 1980).
[4] Kapotwe.

Chinua Achebe, and Kenyan novelist James Ngũgĩ took on the name *Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o*. Others are Malawian political activist John Lupenga Mpande, who changed to *Lupenga Mphande*, and South African political activist Bennett Alexander renamed himself as *Khoisan X*.[5]

In addition to changing his name from Joseph Mobutu to *Mobutu Sese Seko* and that of his country from Congo to *Zaire*, the Zairean (now Congo DR) president led his government in 1972 to decide that their citizens would no longer use foreign names. Moreover, colonial place names were changed to local toponyms.[6] This was an outrageous step for the Zairean government to take because, just like colonial governments, they did not respect the wishes of the governed.

Zambia was not spared by this wave of Pan-Africanism in naming practices. President Kaunda assigned indigenous Zambia names to all his children. Many of his colleagues did the same, some even changing their own names after independence.

> Post-independence era saw a gradual move towards legitimising indigenous Zambian names. It was not a rapid process, considering that there were generations who had accepted that names needed to be 'Christian/ Western' in order to be legitimate. Official documents bore these Christian names, but people started to identify with their "mukombo" names more and more. This is the "free" generation that then started to name their children indigenous names, unapologetically not appending any European name. This was made possible by the national effort to encourage Zambians to take pride in their own identity, which of course included names. National debates were encouraged to promote this process of being proud of who we are, accepting that there was nothing embarrassing about identifying as indigenous in many ways.[7]

Some Zambians also changed their names. For example, Professor Tembo, one of the graduates who was on the first graduation list examined for this study (1976) as *Jacob Sani Tembo* now uses a new Tumbuka name which he gave himself in the 1980s – *Mwizenge Tembo*. A former politician in the Zambian government, *Derrick Chitala*, renamed himself with a Mambwe name as *Mbita Chitala*. Then, Peter Magande, referred to in Chapter 2, now uses his original Tonga name *Ng'andu Magande* or, at times including the Biblical name as, *Ng'andu Peter Magande*.

This chapter outlines the changes in name usage in independent Zambia in relation to contemporary societal changes. A total of 2504 names were studied from the publicly available comprehensive

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[5] Mphande, "Naming and Linguistic Africanisms in African American Culture."
[6] Ndoma, "Kongo Personal Names 1hday."
[7] Nora Mumba. Personal communication, 17 January 2020

UNZA graduate directory which lists names of all graduates for a fifty-year-period from inception in 1966 to 2016. The samples were taken in ten-year intervals as follows: 1976, 1986, 1996, 2006 and 2016. The wider societal changes which have taken place between the latter years of the colonial period and the 1990s, when the graduates were born, were reflected in personal names.

4.2.1 Presentation of Naming Trends

In Table 2 below, the letters A and E refer to African and European/Biblical first names, respectively – where a candidate only has one first name and a surname; AA and EE represent African and European first and middle names, respectively. On the other hand, AE represents an African first name and a European/Biblical middle name, and EA is the reverse. AI and EI stand for African and European/Biblical first names, respectively, followed by an initial. Then, N-SE represents non-standard European/Biblical names due to local distortions/adaptations. The letters MLL stand for names from a mixture of local languages. Further, MTON refers to candidates bearing more than one name before a surname; the row OFFN represents other foreign first names. These include names from other African languages, Islamic/Arabic names and other names of Asian origin. Lastly, FSN refers to foreign surnames.

Table 2: UNZA Graduate Name Trends in Percentages, c.1976-2016

	1976	1986	1996	2006	2016
A	2.8	6.9	12.6	28.3	24.7
AA	1.4	3.1	0.7	2.5	0.9
AE	3.7	6.3	0.7	3.1	4
AI	0	0	1.1	5.1	2
EI	0.5	0	3.8	10	2.2
EA	42.2	31.7	22.7	5.9	10.9
EE	26.9	13.8	5.3	1.8	2.4

E	18.8	32.3	49.2	45	50.5
N-SE	19.6	19.7	16.6	15.7	17
MLL	1.4	1.9	3.3	6.6	7.3
MTON	67.3	54.9	34.2	28.4	22.5
OFFN	4.2	0.6	0.7	0.9	1.5
FSN	15.4	3.1	1.1	2.3	0.8

Table 2 shows continuous decrease in the use of middle names from 67.3% in 1976, to 54.9% in 1986, and 34.2% in 1996. Further, this figure drops to 28.4% in 2006 and 22.5% in 2016. The percentages for middle names also include initials, which have been used more by candidates in the last three decades of the study. The study thus shows increase in the use of one first name – whether African or European. The use of indigenous Zambian first names increased from 7.9% in 1976 to 39% in 2006, and dropped to 31.6% among the graduates of 2016. Then, the use of non-standard Enlgish/Biblical names slightly decreased. Moreover, there was also constant rise in the presence of names indicating a misture of local languages; in some cases, this mixture was indicated by first, middle and/or last names coming from different languages. In the category of other foreign first names (OFFN), there was a genertic shift from names from Zulu (South Africa), Sotho (Lesotho) and Shona (Zimbabwe) names in the 1970s to include some Islamic/Arabic names in the last two decades. However, traces of Kikuyu (Kenya), Kinyarwanda (Rwanda), Igbo (Nigeria), Ghanaian and Hindi/Gujarati (India) names were also found in the lists. There was also decrease in foreign surnames from 15.4% in 1976 to 0.8% in 2016.

Names from all local Zambian ethnicities were represented in the lists considered for this study as was expected. There were different naming practices from one group to another. However, the underlying commonality for all groups was the increased use of local names over the given period.

In Figure 2 and Figure 3 below, the letters LOZ represent the Lozi of Western Province; BEM rerpesents not only the Bemba but also many other related ethnic groups, including as Ambo, Lala, Lamba, Ng'umbo, and Swaka, which share numerous common names. Further, NYA stands for Nyanja, representing ethnic groups from eastern Zambia such as the Chewa, Kunda, Ngoni, Nsenga, Senga and Tumbuka. TOI refers to the Tonga of southern Zambia; however, I considered related Lenje names in the same group. While the letters N/W refer to North-western Province, they represent the Chokwe, Kaonde, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale and Mbunda languages, some of which are also found in the Western, and parts of Central, provinces. Then, the category OL refers to other local languages. It is important to note that these are not rigid tribal divisions, but moderately wider categorisations of names to gain insight into the general ethnic differences in name usage.
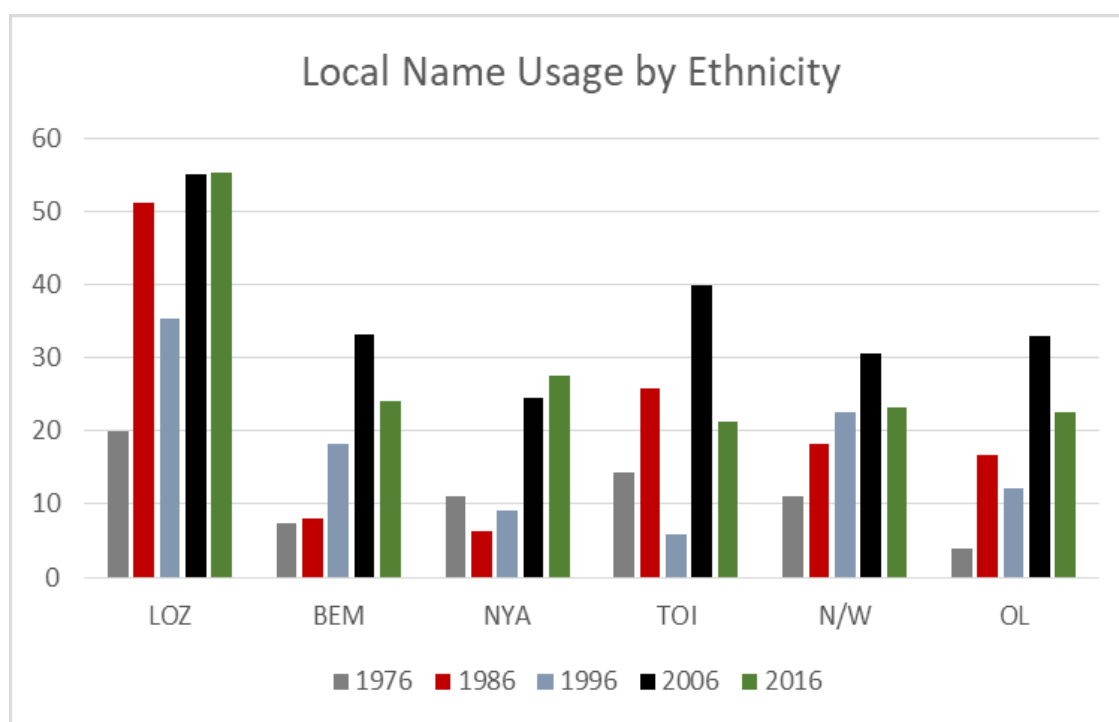
Figure 2: Percentage of UNZA Graduate Local Name Usage by Ethnicity

Figure 2 shows general increase in usage of indigenous first names among all ethnic groups. However, Lozi names not only maintained visibility as the most frequently used in terms of

percentage, but their usage also leaped from 20% in 1976 to 55.3% in 2016. Usage of Tonga names experienced an all time high of 39.8% in 2006 before dropping to 21.3% in 2016. Additionally, use of Bemba names rose from 7.3% in 1976 to 33.1% in 2006 and fell to 24.1% in 2016. Names from other local languages, notably Mambwe/Namwanga names, increased in usage from 3.8% in 1976 to 32.9% in 2006 and decreased to 22.5% in 2016. The Frequency of North-western (N/W) names ascended from 11.1% in 1976 to 30.6% in 2006 and descended to 23.1% in 2016. Lastly, usage of names from languages from the Eastern Province improved from 11.1% in 1976 to 27.6% in 2016.

Mulenga stressed the importance of using or promoting local names as a way telling each other's ethnic origin. He also noted and commended the common practice among Lozis to give local names to their children.

> It is important for us to promote names. Despite the intermixing of tribes in provinces, we will be able to tell the ethnic origin of each other.
>
> It is important for us to keep our [traditional] names. They are pointers. Because if I just hear a person's name, her/his two names, especially here in Zambia, I can know that this person comes from such and such a town, or from such and such a province.
>
> If s/he says "[I am] Mulenga", "Chanda", I can know that s/he is from Northern Province, Luapula, that's where such names are found.
>
> Another reason is urbanisation. People are also found in other provinces [other than their traditional homes], but still maintain their traditional names. Thus, if we meet in Southern Province, I can meet a Musonda in Southern Province. Then I'll know that s/he is just an immigrant [it is not his/her traditional homeland] to this province. Her/his homeland is Northern or Luapula [province]. Even if we meet in the Copperbelt [province], I can know that s/he just went there. His/her origin is such and such a place – all through names.
>
> If I hear "Njovu", then I'll know that he/she is from Eastern Province; "Haantobolo", then I'll know that he/she is from Southern Province. So, it is important. It is like a number place, such that if they just hear your name, they even know where you're from.
>
> We can preserve our names through giving our children these same names. Many, especially from Western Province, they are fond of using their [traditional] names completely. White people's names are not common there. They just use their names. It is important for all of us, to just be using our names.[8]

Use of local names makes it possible to know an indivudual's ethnic origin despite her/him living in a different locality.

Further, the presence of non-standard English/Biblical, as presented in Figure 3, names was fluctuating in the different decades studied. It appeared to be stronger in names from the Nyanga

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[8] Xaviour Mulenga, Interview by Osward Chanda, Lusaka,10 July 2019.

group as well as among the Tonga, followed by the Bemba and the OL catgeories. The North-western and Lozi names were the least affected.
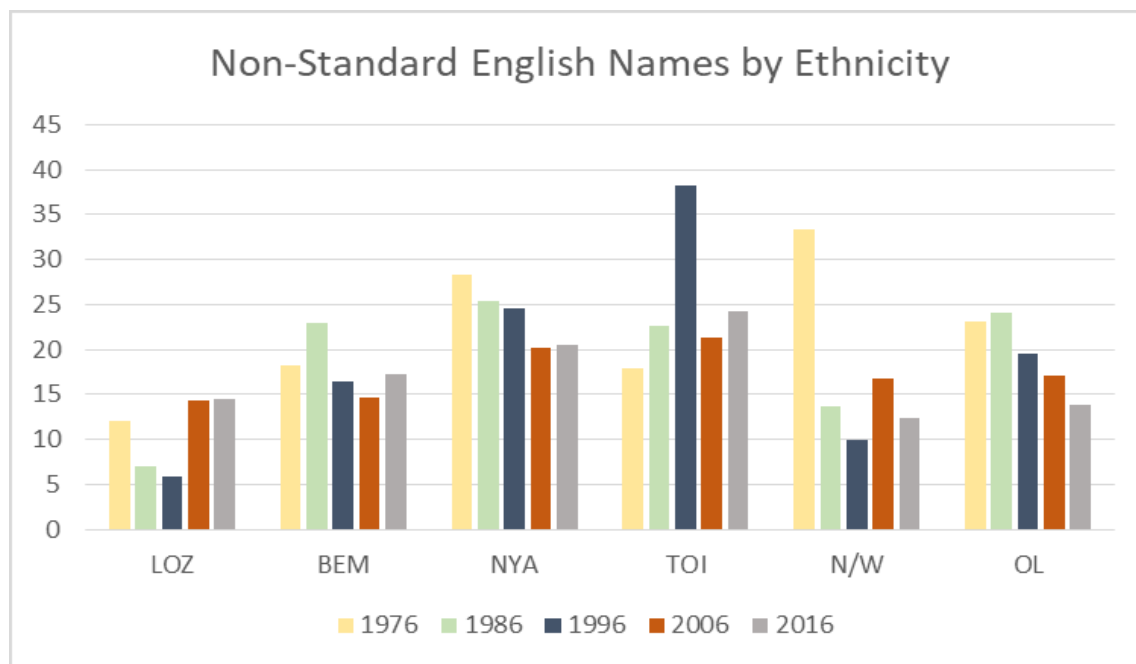

Figure 3: Percentage of UNZA Graduate Non-Standard English Names by Ethnicity

Examples of non-standard English names include: *Blessing*, *Brave*, *Charms*, *Fully Proud*, *Limited*, *Memory*, *Million*, *Pardon*, *Precious* and *Square*; and distorted names *Elijar* (*Elijah*), *Getrude* (*Gertrude*), *Jabesi* (*Jabez*) and *Osward* (*Oswald*). Concerning these kinds of names, Makoni et al opined that "[m]ost of these names appear dialectal and sound humorous, idiosyncratic and sometimes nonsensical and weird to non-Zimbabweans and English native speakers, but are consistent with the social and linguistic formations of New Englishes (Kachru, 1985)."[9]

In their study of similar dynamics in Zimbabwean names, Makoni et al suggest that distortion of, or creation of non-Standard, English names displays genuine effort by African populations to adapt the English language to the local context. They likened this to the distortions which Europeans made to African anthroponyms and toponyms during the colonial period. Zimbabwean examples included

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[9] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe," 440.

the place *Mutare* (which was renamed as *Umthali*), *Gweru* (*Gwelo*), and *Huange* (*Wankie*).[10] Similarly, in Zambia, the place *Inkelenge* (was renamed as *Nchelenge*), *Mufulila* (*Mufulira*), and *Mungu* (*Mongu*).[11] Concerning personal names during the colonial period, Moyo presents *Qabaniso*, *Gomezga* and *Hluphekile* as examples of the names which Europeans found difficult to pronounce in northern Malawi.[12] As explained in Chapter 2, they resorted to changing the names of Africans. Similarly, due to postcolonial language policies promoting the use of English in Anglophone African countries – including Zambia – citizens have made efforts to adapt the language into their languages/cultures; and this is evident in the non-standard English/Biblical names and in distortions.

Makoni et al also observed that despite realising that their names were distortions or non-standard, the name bearers continued to use these names regardless of their level of education.[13] However, my uncle changed his name from *Fulubeleto* to its proper English form *Albert* when he learnt that the former was Bemba distortion.

Distortions also extend to local names. From the lists under study, distortions are also found in the earlier, 1976 group – in addition to the lists from later decades. With this practice, the students/graduates try to "anglicise" the sound of their names by adding the letter "h" at the end. Examples of distorted local names include: *Kalimah* (original form: *Kalima*), *Tizah* (*Tiza*), *Nkhuwah* (*Nkhuwa*), and *Gumboh* (*Gumbo*). Kashoki attributed the spread of some distortions in pronunciation of local anthroponyms and toponyms to deliberate distortions by media personnel. "Media personnel (electronic media); radio and television broadcasters and announcers cause

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[10] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe."
[11] Nyambe Sumbwa, lecture notes, University of Zambia. 2010
[12] Moyo, "Naming Practices in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malawi," 12.
[13] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe."

indelible distortions of names and their sounds…. Broadcasters are pace setters and standard bearers."[14]

Furthermore, there was presence of politically inclined names, especially from the 1996 cohort. These graduates were mostly born in the early 1970s when Zambia was fresh from independence, and afterwards. Examples of these names include *Freeman, Leopold, Census, Jubilee* and *Gaddafi.*

Also, the lists display a general decrease in the use of middle names, at least in the official register. It was not clear whether the initials represented indigenous or foreign names. Even so, whether taking the initials or the middle names which were written in full, the use of middle names has significantly reduced in terms of percentage when compared to the older registers. The shift from writing middle names in full to use of initials was also noted in Malawi after independence.[15]

By this indication, it does seem that many Zambian parents have become less "generous" with assigning extra names to their children. It seems fashionable to give only one first name – whether foreign or indigenous – and a Zambian traditional surname. This may be because there are generally fewer people giving names to the same baby than before. "The child's emergence as an individual is a consequence of a new nuclear concept of family that replaces the clan unit."[16] In earlier registers, it was also common for graduates to bear two European personal names plus a surname.

4.2.2 Discussion of Naming Trends

African names provide information, albeit sometimes obtusely, about their bearers and sometimes their givers, or the socio-political circumstances at the time of naming. Meanings relate variously to linguistic, cultural, and religious conventions.[17]

In his social cultural history study of Western European names from classical antiquity to modern times, Wilson suggests that since names are connotative, an adequate explanation concerning them

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14 Mubanga E. Kashoki, "What Is My Name: Mastering the Art of Pronouncing Place Names and Names of Eminent Persons Correctly" (Lusaka, n.d.), Institute of Economic and Social Research.
15 Moyo, "Naming Practices in Colonial and Post-Colonial Malawi," 15.
16 Susan M. Suzman, "Names as Pointers: Zulu Personal Naming Practices," *Language in Society* 23, no. 2 (1994): 264.
17 Vivian de Klerk, "Changing Names in the 'New' South Africa: A Diachronic Survey," *Names* 50, no. 3 (2002): 202.

requires social and historical analysis. Additionally, there should be description and analysis of naming systems.[18] In our discussion of Zambian naming practices in the postcolonial period, let us examine the context of the wider cultural environment.

Studies done by Neethling, de Klerk and Bosch in South Africa revealed that the majority of people in rural areas tended to give English names to their children while those in urban areas preferred indigenous African names.[19]

Further, Suzman observed that family trends significantly affected name giving patterns. The rise of families with single parents caused mothers and other family members to replace fathers as name givers.[20] She further remarked that families with single parents – where mothers were name givers – tended to give English names to their children.

On a different note, ethnic integration (through marriage/parentage) at family level may account for the consistent rise in names indicating a mixture of local languages (in the MLL category in Table 2 above), in addition to other factors. Senior Chief Kanong'esha explains that "[b]efore tribes and countries unified to achieve independence, Lunda-Ndembu women could marry only Lunda-Ndembu men. This practice stemmed from the ethics of circumcision and demands of health."[21] Similarly, families in many matrilineal societies feared establishing links with bad [sic] families through marriage. Therefore, in the Eastern province, outsiders were not allowed to marry in some villages.[22] However, through the tribal balancing programme introduced by the Kaunda government after independence, many young graduates were sent to work away from their tribal homelands, resulting in intermarriages. Therefore, intermarriages were partly responsible for the rise in individuals bearing names from different local ethnic groups over the study period.

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[18] Wilson, *The Means of Naming*.
[19] S. J. Neethling, "Voorname in Xhosa," *Nomina Africana* 2, no. 2 (1988): 223–237; Vivian De Klerk and Barbara Bosch, "Naming in Two Cultures: English and Xhosa Practices," *Nomina Africana* 9, no. 1 (1995): 68–87.
[20] Suzman, "Names as Pointers."
[21] Mattews [Senior Chief Kanong'esha] Sweta, *Customs of the Lunda-Ndembu: The Kanong'esha Chieftainship Succession in Zambia*, vol. 1 (Mwinilunga: Lunda-Ndembu Publications, 2010), 25.
[22] Ngulube, *Some Aspects of Growing up in Zambia*; Penda, *Encyclopedia of Zambian Names*.

Referring to Table 2 above, it is worth noting that the graduates of 1976 were mostly born at least a decade before Zambia's independence. As a result, the patterns inherent in their names give us an idea of the state of personal names during the colonial period. This is evident also in the low percentage of usage of local first names, which stood at a meagre 7.9%.

The reforms in naming during the colonial period, referred to earlier, relegated the indigenous first name to be used as a middle name, as an initial or to simply disappear. A middle name is locally referred to as *ishina lya pa mutoto* (Bemba) or *zina lya pa mukombo* (Nyanja) – "navel name" – in many Zambian traditions up to date. Traditionally, it is considered to be the person's "real name". It is also the name which family members typically use when referring to an individual.

In my case, my family members have always used my traditional name when referring to me. However, other people prefer to use English/Christian names even when they are with their families. Makoni et al argue that using different names in school and home environments widens the gap between home and school. As a result, students assume different identities at school and at home. This makes it difficult for children to implement what they learn at home and in school, or what they learn in school at home.[23]

Then, the majority of those who graduated in 1986 are likely to have been born during independence struggles in the early 1960s. In Zambian history, this period is marked with strong nationalist movements in the build up to independence.[24] In general, the spirit of nationhood had been stirred not only among the elites, but also across the general citizenry.

Besides, the Second Vatican Council of 1963-1965 made it possible for colonised peoples to use their local names during baptism. Through the pontifical Vatican Council II and subsequent

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[23] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe," 450.
[24] Giacomo Macola, *Liberal Nationalism in Central Africa: A Biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Bishopric Synods, the Roman Catholic became more tolerant to indigenous traditions, including use of local languages, songs and musical instruments during Mass, and indigenous baptismal names.[25]

The more than 100% increase in the use of local personal names to 18.3% in this cohort, therefore, could not have occurred in isolation, but in relation to the overall national experiences.

Next, the 1996 cohort experienced a fall in the use of indigenous first names to 15.1%, while experiencing a further drop in the use of indigenous middle names. The majority of these were born in the early to 1970s. In this period, Zambia experienced rise in charismatic religious movements which continue to date.[26] Colson argues that this was because the movements were previously not favoured during the colonial period.[27] Further, both Cheyeka and Banja state that this was the strongest rising religious wave sweeping across Southern Africa.[28] The position of charismatic and Pentecostal movements, in some ways similar to the position of the Roman Catholic Church prior to the Second Vatican Council, tend to exhibit less tolerance for indigenous cultural values.[29]

> [T]here's been a movement lately going back to Biblical names … Especially the new born again churches. They've labelled our names as demonic. They say such statements like "you don't know who was named that name before you were born. So, you can't use that name. You have to use a Biblical name, where you know that Mary was the mother of Jesus. Whereas if you name your child [as] Mulenga, you don't know who Mulenga was.[30]

The next list, 2006 shows yet another remarkable surge in usage of indigenous Zambian names to 39%, in the usage of local first names and a significant decline in local middle names. The list also showed a significant leap in the presence of students bearing names from mixed local languages. Many on this list of graduates were born in the early 1980s. During this period, the tribal balancing programme, referred to earlier, was still in operation.

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[25] Saarelma-Maunumaa, "Edhina Ekogidho-Names as Links"; Jean-Baptiste Sourou, "African Traditional Religion and the Catholic Church in Light of the Synods for Africa: 1994 and 2009," *African Human Rights Law Journal* 14, no. 1 (2014): 142–149.

[26] Austin M. Cheyeka, "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post- Colonial Zambia," in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia*, ed. Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola, vol. 11, Afrika-Studiecentrum Series (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 144–63; Madalitso Khulupirika Banja, *Faith of Many Colours: Reflections on Pentecostal and Charismatic Challenges in Zambia* (Ndola: Mission Press, 2009).

[27] Colson, *Tonga Religious Life in the Twentieth Century*.

[28] Cheyeka, "Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post- Colonial Zambia"; Banja, *Faith of Many Colours*.

[29] Maliya Mzyece-Sililo, Presentation at Writers' Circle Monthly Gathering (PEN Zambia), Lusaka, 2011.

[30] Maliya Mzyece-Sililo, Interview by Osward Chanda, 12 July 2019

The last category, 2016, experienced a decrease in the use of local names to 31.6%. Most graduates on this list were born in the early 1990s. All the factors presented above, including indigenous culture, the colonial and missionary experience, the Catholic Church, charismatic movement and media influence seem to weigh in on the name choices of Zambian parents for their children.

Felix Phiri suggests that Islam has been on the rise in Zambia. Adherents of the faith have steadily gained influence by forming local associations which have proven relevant to solving community challenges. Though historical evidence shows the presence of Muslims in both precolonial and colonial times, the last four decades exhibit considerable growth. The growing numbers of Muslims are mainly drawn from former Christians.[31] In the foreign names categories of this research, Islamic/Arabic names became more visible than others in the last three decades. The presence of Islamic names among Zambians may be either a confirmation of the growing influence of the faith or simply indicative of the name choices/preferences of some Zambian parents.

The factors presented above, prevailing in each respective period, are not exhaustive and I do not claim that they are exclusively responsible for the variations in the naming patterns. However, they, are meant to orient the reader with the wider cultural environment in which the variations occurred.

The European (or other foreign) first name in this case is mostly used in official documents and at school, while some families and close friends address individuals by their navel name (or true identity). The navel name is usually listed as the traditional middle name – or not written at all – in official documents.

Even if there is a perceived increase in the use of traditional first names in the current research from 7.9% in 1976 to 31.6% in 2016, this has been followed by a significant reduction in the use of indigenous/traditional middle names from 42% to 10%. In this case, the sum of percentages of traditional Zambian names used as first and middle names in 1976 is 49.9%; while the 2016 sum is

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[31] Felix J. Phiri, "Islam in Post-Colonial Zambia," in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia*, ed. Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola, vol. 11, Afrika-Studiecentrum Series (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 164–84.

41.6%. Therefore, in as much as the use of traditional first names has been on the rise, their overall usage and the heritage value attached to navel names has substantially fallen.

During the periods from 1976 to 1986 and 1996 to 2006 there were sharp increases in the usage of local first names; 1986 to 1996 remained considerably stable, while 2006 to 2016 had a slight decrease. Above all, use of local first names increased from 7.9% to 31.6%. Over the same period, there was also significant decrease in the use of local middle names, continued presence of Biblical and European names, distortions of European/Biblical names, creation of non-standard English/Biblical names and some presence of Islamic names. As Kimenyi points out, names usually remain in a society as "frozen" aspects of that society's cultural experience.[32] In other words, as intangible museums, they are "tablets" on which culture is engraved. Moreover, I would add, that names are also as fluid as the cultural environment in which they exist.

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[32] Kimenyi, *Kinyarwanda and Kirundi Names*.

Conclusion

The study confirms that Zambian names are closely linked with cultural heritage. Both first names and surnames are connected to local traditions. Mphande asserts that family names are indicators of macro or longer term socio-cultural trends whereas personal names are indicative of micro or shorter term trends.[1] The wider political, social and cultural trends in Zambian society since independence have significantly influenced – and are reflected in – changes in naming practices.

Inheritance of permanent surnames, a practice introduced in colonial Zambia, has helped preserve clan names and other forms of traditional names. In addition, many new surnames were created from paternal nicknames, localised forms of European names/terminologies, and other colonial concepts. Surnames inspired by the colonial experience refer to profession, objects, religion, mining and other economic activities. The majority of surnames of Zambians are in local languages.

Like in many other countries, Zambian names, whether personal names or surnames, are drawn from various cultural elements including the natural environment, the social environment and circumstances of birth. In all, there are several dozen categories into which traditional Zambian names can be grouped. Names drawn from traditional religious practices, rites of passage and clan association – the aspects on which this thesis focused – are lexical tools in ritual vocabulary. They are like threads in the wider fabric of cultural heritage.

Since independence, there has been considerable increase in the use of indigenous Zambian first names, rise in the percentage of individuals bearing names drawn from a mixture of local languages and reduction in the use of middle names. When we consider only those who use one first name, without middle names or initials, the reduction in the use of middle names has resulted in increased use of both Zambian and European/Biblical names. However, the total percentage of European/Biblical first names used has relatively decreased.

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[1] Mphande, "Naming and Linguistic Africanisms in African American Culture."

Furthermore, the dividing line between standard and non-standard European/Biblical names seems blurred for many. Non-standard English or Biblical names indicate efforts by Zambians to locally adapt the English language in the same way indigenous names were distorted and adapted to English during the colonial period.[2] Besides, the practice of inventing people's names from regular English words indicates continuation of the long held indigenous tradition of assigning names based on circumstances surrounding the birth of a child.

Related to my personal experience, it is still common for people to use different names in formal and informal settings, for instance, an English name at school and a traditional name at home. Some names used in non-formal circumstances may, or may not, be recorded in official documents.

The naming patterns described above have been shaped by wider political, social and cultural changes in Zambian society. Some of the major changes include gaining political independence from British colonial government in 1964 and the Second Vatican Council of 1963/65. Independence allowed more freedom in choosing names and, concurrently, Vatican Council II made it possible use local baptismal names by adherents of the Roman Catholic Church.

Other factors included the rise of charismatic churches, the tribal balancing government programme and the unfolding of Islam. Tribal balancing promoted fairness in representation of all ethnic groups when implementing government programmes and indirectly promoted intermarriage among members of different tribal groupings. Intermarriage between members of different tribes, which was previously considered taboo by many, was enhanced by deploying of young graduates to work in regions other than their original homes.

Many local missionaries/clerics in charismatic churches, like the pre-Vatican Council II Roman Catholic Church attitude, discourage the use of indigenous names – discrediting them as pagan. Then, the presence of Arabic/Islamic names, though in smaller percentages, was notable in the last

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[2] Makoni, Makoni, and Mashiri, "Naming Practices and Language Planning in Zimbabwe."

three decades of the study. This may confirm the growth of the Muslim faith or indicate the changing preference in name choices.

In future, studies of name records in institutions (other than educational institutions) from other Zambian cities, coupled with interviews with wider samples of name givers and name bearers – may be important in understanding naming trends and family dynamics in greater detail. This may enhance understanding of many heritage aspects related to naming practices among diverse members of Zambian society.

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Glossary

Alangizi	Chewa instructor at a girl initiation ceremony
Anthroponyms	Names of human beings, including first and last names
Cisungu	Girl initiation ceremony among the Bemba, Ila, Kaonde, Lamba
Eponym	a name or noun of an invention, outstanding achievement, or a place formed (or thought to be formed) after a person
Makishi	Masks used among the Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale and Mbunda
Matrilineal	The tradition of tracing inheritance from the mother's side
Matronym/Metronym	A name derived from a person's mother or female ancestor; e.g. "Son/daughter of …"
Mbusa	pottery emblems and drawings which aid instruction during Bemba, Lungu and Mambwe girl initiation
Mukanda	"A book" i.e. the traditional initiation school among the Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, Luvale and Mbunda
Mwali	Girl initiation ceremony among the Luvale
Nacimbusa	Bemba instructor at a girl initiation ceremony
Namwali/Mwalanjo	Girl initiation ceremony among the Chewa, Kunda, Ngoni, Senga, Tumbuka
Ndola	Girl initiation ceremony among the Nsenga
Nganga	Traditional healer
Nkolola	Girl initiation ceremony among the Tonga
Nyau	Chewa secret institution for males constituting esoteric knowledge, rituals, masks and dances
Patrilineal	The tradition of tracing inheritance from the father's side
Personal name	A person's given/first name
Patronym	A name derived from a person's father or male ancestor; e.g. "Son/daughter of …"
Sikenge	Girl initiation ceremony among the Lozi
Teknonym	A form of reference to a parent using her/his child's name; e.g. "Mother/father of …"
Toponym	Place name
Totem	A natural feature such as an animal/object used to represent a clan

Traditional name	In this thesis, this term refers to any *anthroponym* drawn from an indigenous Zambian language, regardless of whether it functions as first or last name
Uxorilocal	The traditional practice of relocating to a woman's village after wedding
Vilengo	pottery emblems and drawings which aid instruction during Chewa, Kunda, Ngoni, Nsenga, Senga, and Tumbuka girl initiation
Virilocal	The traditional practice of relocating to a man's village after wedding

Appendix: List of Interview Participants

1. Mrs. Loveness Kambuza Chonya-Zyambo, aged 52, is an educated mother of four and head teacher, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

2. Mr. Banji Haamaluba, aged 36, a shopkeeper, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

3. Mrs. Memory Phiri, housewife in low income area, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

4. Mrs. Naomi Ntalasha, housewife in low income area, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

5. Mrs. Merina Chindala, housewife in low income area, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

6. Mrs. Natasha Chewe, housewife in low income area, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

7. Mrs. Chisala Ntalasha, housewife in low income area, interviewed on 16 July 2019, Chongwe

8. Ms. Susan Mary Chida, aged 21, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

9. Mr. Greaty Kasonde, aged 33, educated, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

10. Professor Sichalwe Kasanda, aged above 60, interviewed on 11 July 2019, Lusaka

11. Mrs. Maria Mzyece-Sililo, aged 67, college lecturer, interviewed on 12 July 2019, Lusaka

12. Mr. Xavier Mulenga, aged 73, former primary school teacher, interviewed on 10 July 2019, Lusaka

13. Mr. Naonga Lungu, aged 66, novelist, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

14. Mr. Sandstone Zaza, aged 30, shopkeeper, interviewed on16 July 2019, Chongwe

15. Mrs. Bernadette Zimba, aged 21, housewife in low cost neighbourhood, 16 July 2019, Chongwe

16. Mr. Ackim Silwamba, aged 25, fairly educated middle class teacher, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

17. Mrs. Namatama Mwikisa, aged 28, fairly educated middle class woman, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

18. Ms. Mwendalubi Hachilala, aged 20, interviewed on 16 July 2019, Chongwe

19. Mrs. Lweendo Gunduza-Mushambatwa, fairly educated, middle class, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

20. Mr. Kingstone Moonzwe, aged 39, low class area, interviewed on 16 July 2019, Chongwe

21. Mr. Remmy Mkandawire, aged 25, middle class, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

22. Mr. Caristo Mambo, aged 23, middle class, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

23. Mrs. Margaret Chabala, aged 29, fairly educated, interviewed on 18 July 2019, Kafue

B. **Below are names of those I communicated with through electronic means.** These mostly were non-structured qualitative conversations seeking clarity on specific aspects of culture in relation to naming by particular ethnic groups. Except for Mrs. Nora Mumba who contributed on colonial and postcolonial naming practices, the participants had either experienced certain naming trends in their families or were knowledgeable because of their membership of respective ethnic groups and their first-hand experience of living in these communities.

1. Mrs Nora Mumba, aged in her late 60s, retired former language lecturer, University of Zambia – contributed on colonial and postcolonial naming practices and attitudes toward local names.

2. Ms. Subila Chilupula – contributed on her family name "Chilupula", which was derived from "Chiripula", the nickname for John Edward Stephenson, a colonial officer in Northern Rhodesia. More on Stephenson is given in subsections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3 above, 2 February 2020.

3. Ms. Moosho Lubasi – on the initiation of Nkoya, Lozi and Luvale girls, 11 May 2020.

4. Anonymous (requested to be anonymous), in his mid-forties – on secret names related to the Mukanda boys' initiation and the Litungu girls' initiation among the Luvale, 17 May 2020.

5. Mr. Richard Mukuka, in his mid-forties – on the Bemba secret name "Mwitwa", 19 May 2020.

6. Ms. Marita Banda, on naming related to the initiation of girls from various Nyanja-related ethnic groups, 11 May 2020.