

WHAT'S IN A NAME? THE PLACE OF LANGUAGE IN THE NAMING OF PROGRAMMES IN THE ZAMBIAN RADIO AND TELEVISION INDUSTRY

Cheela Chilala

Email: c.chilala@unza.zm; Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0807-1458>

Chileshe Musonda

Email: chileshemusonda26@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The old Shakespearian rhetorical question, ‘What’s in a name?’ comes to the fore when we examine the names given to programmes by Zambian radio and television stations. While most people are not bothered by such names and would argue that it is the content of the programmes that is paramount, not the names thereof, it may be argued that the names are worth analysing from the perspective of onomastics, which is the scientific study of names and naming systems. No study has been conducted on the names of radio and television programmes in Zambia, and this is the lacuna that this study is concerned with. The study is qualitative in nature and analyses names of programmes in both public and private media houses. More specifically, the study concerns itself with the language used in the naming – that is, whether local names are used apart from English names and if so, which Zambian languages are the local names associated with. The findings reveal that none of the media houses selected for the study has a formal or written policy on language use. The naming of programmes tends to follow a linguistic pattern similar to what obtains with regard to the use of language: the public media has more programmes with names in local languages than the private media. Ultimately, however, the findings of this study underline the fact that there is no formal language policy guiding the affairs of the nation. It may be concluded, therefore, that the situation cannot be corrected or ameliorated without a clear language policy at national level.

Keywords: Shakespearian question, programme content, onomastics, radio and television programmes, language policy, media houses

INTRODUCTION

In Shakespeare’s famous eponymously named play *Romeo and Juliet*, the central conflict is largely anchored on the relationship between two young lovers, Romeo and Juliet, who fall in love only to discover later – and rather too late – that they belong to feuding families. The former is a Montague while the latter is a Capulet. Their ill-fated relationship leads to tragic consequences as the couple try to force their relationship to work.

Upon discovering that they are from ‘enemy’ families and that the surnames they bear will always be a sword of Damocles over their relationship, the two young lovers are overwhelmed with despair and desperation. The famous dialogue scene,

in Act Two and Scene Two of the play, underlines the inner conflict that characterises the behaviour of the two young lovers. Juliet argues that they could simply reject their surnames and parentage and pursue their relationship.

The scene gives rise to one of the most famous Shakespearian quotes. Juliet says, 'What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet' (Alexander, 1965, p. 912). In essence, she was arguing – and hoping to convince her beloved Romeo – that the names we bear do not matter; what matters is our character. Further, that the person is not the same as the name they bear.

On the other hand, some individuals or institutions have changed names, or attempted to change names, based on the understanding – or assumption – that a name has bearing on the direction of the life of an individual, family or institution. In the Bible, for example, God decides to change the names of some individuals. In the book of Genesis, God changes the name of Abram to Abraham after entering into a covenant with him. In Chapter 17, we are told that when Abram was 99 years of age, the Lord appeared to him and said:

I am God almighty; walk before me and be blameless, that I may make my covenant between me and you, and may multiply you greatly....Behold, my covenant is with you, and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations. I will make you exceedingly fruitful and I will make you into nations, and kings shall come from you (verses 1-6).

Worth noting is the fact that the name Abram means 'The Father (or God) is exalted' while the new name, Abraham, means 'Father of many nations'. The new name, in a way, forecasts what will happen in the life of Abraham – that is, his transformation from a simple father to Isaac and Ismael, to the father of many nations: '...you shall be the father of a multitude of nations'. The new name marked the new calling and position in his relationship with God.

Similarly, the spiritual change in the life of Jacob in the book of Genesis is marked by a name-change. Born a twin to Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob lived as if to fulfil the meaning of his name, 'supplanter,' 'deceiver' or 'usurper'. Deceitfulness characterised his life – that is, up until his encounter with God in Genesis 32. God changes his name from Jacob to Israel, meaning, 'one who struggles with God'. The name suggests a person chosen by God.

Therefore, while some people may argue that a name means nothing, others may also argue that every name bears significance and that the meaning of a name is important. Thus, while the Shakespearian question occurs in the context of anthroponyms or names of people, its implications are applicable even to other onomastic contexts such as, for example, toponyms, hydronyms, or the names of buildings, institutions of learning. In this chapter, the question of the significance of names is brought to bear on the names given by selected Zambian media institutions to programmes they air for their audiences. This applies to both radio and television stations. Do the names matter?

Names are a part of ordinary human speech. However, despite being lexical items, names are more than lexical items because they acquire non-linguistic

associations and connotations once they are availed to the public domain. As Pfkwa and Mamvura (2016, p. 259) postulate, 'when a word becomes a name, it picks up other properties that take it beyond linguistics'. A name may carry historical and cultural connotations, which might be intended or unintended. This, in part, is because once a name is in the public domain, there is no guarantee that the public will understand the name, or the purpose of the name, the same way as the namer. Thus, 'the resulting or interpreted meaning might be far removed from the original intended meaning' (Pfkwa & Mamvura, 2016. p 262). This observation is critical in the context of this study because it means or implies that the public might not interpret the names given to programmes the same way as the namers intended.

This study situates the names of programmes in the context of the linguistic landscape of Zambia. The linguistic landscape, as originally defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 25), is: 'The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, shop names, commercial signs, and public signs on government buildings...' The linguistic landscape gives an idea of the dominant language or languages, cultures, and sometimes, even political ideology. Additionally, the linguistic landscape may give observers an idea of the language policy inclinations.

In part, therefore, this chapter is concerned with the question of whether the names have any implications on, or can be deemed as indicators about the nature of, language policy in the nation in general and the concerned institutions, in particular. This chapter does not argue that there is a language policy in Zambia. On the contrary, it is wary of the fact that there is no single nationally agreed language policy and that whatever 'policies' are being pursued are arbitrary. This chapter proceeds from the understanding that the lack of a clear language national language policy has, by default, left it to each media house to decide how to deal with the language issue.

In pursuing the question of how names and naming of programmes could be related to language policy, or the lack of it, the researchers collected data from nine media houses based in Lusaka, namely: Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (radio and television), Radio Christian Voice, Prime TV, Diamond TV, Radio Phoenix, ZANIS TV (Zambia National Information Service), Kwithu Radio, MUVI TV, and Hot FM. More media houses were targeted but some of them did not respond or cooperate.

The available data may be broken down as follows:

- (i) Of the nine, only two (ZNBC and ZANIS) are government institutions, the rest being privately owned;
- (ii) Only ZNBC and ZANIS deal with both radio and television;
- (iii) Of the nine, four only deal with radio: that is, Radio Christian Voice, Radio Phoenix, Kwithu Radio and Hot FM;
- (iv) Three only deal with television transmission: Prime TV, Diamond TV, and MUVI Television;
- (v) Only one of the media houses bears a name specifically using a Zambian language (Kwithu, which means, 'our home').

Representatives of the management of the media houses were interviewed about whether their institution had a guiding policy on, first, how programmes produced by the institution are named and, second, if their institution had a policy or some form of guidelines on how programmes are to be named. Should the names be in English or local languages, for example, or a mixture of both?

The data collected from the interviews was analysed to identify emerging themes and patterns. Onomastic theory was applied, where applicable, to analyse some data and arrive at some conclusions. Ultimately, the research and analysis were conducted based on the assumption that names are significant and that, in response to the Shakespearian question, we would say, 'A name means a lot.'

BACKGROUND

Names and naming have been part of human existence from the very beginning. Life would have been impossible to live, and communication would have been impossible, had there been no names attributed to people and things. Every society has its own names and naming systems although, to be sure, some names are of a cross-cultural nature; yet others are borrowed from one culture or society into another for a wide variety of reasons.

The field of onomastics concerns itself with the study of names and naming systems etymologically connected to the Greek word for name, 'onoma' (Nyambi *et al.* 2016). Onomastics is a cross-cutting multidisciplinary field of study, which concerns itself with anything to do with names and naming systems. Hence, onomastics is concerned with names of both living and non-living things; with names of flora and fauna; names of human beings and animals; names of water bodies such as streams, rivers, lakes and oceans; names of stars and other elements of the universe; names of buildings and streets; brand names, names of automobiles and mobile phones, among others. In short, anything concerned with names is of interest to onomastics and onomasticians. Since this study is concerned with names of radio and television programmes, it is of onomastic significance.

Names are important not only in real life but also in fiction and storytelling in general. Characters in fiction and film have names and generally, the names bear significance. Indeed, the names of characters in a work of fiction, or charactonyms, 'help us get a better understanding of the text: its setting, narrative, characters and themes' (Chilala, 2016, p. 155). Lodge (1992, p. 37) opines:

Our first names are usually given to us with semantic intent, having for our parents some pleasant or hopeful association, which we may not live up to. Surnames, however, are generally perceived as arbitrary; whatever descriptive force they may once have had. We don't expect our neighbour Mr Shepherd to look after sheep, or mentally associate him with that occupation. If he is a character in a novel, however, pastoral and perhaps biblical associations will inevitably come into play....In a novel, names are never neutral. They always signify, if it is only ordinariness.

In exercising the power to give names to characters and places in a work of fiction the writer exercises what Chilala refers to as Adamic Licence in the article 'The Adamic Licence in Ellen Banda-Aaku's Patchwork' (Chilala, 2016, p. 155). The article concerns itself with the onomastic analysis of the charactonyms and toponyms of Banda-Aaku's highly acclaimed award-winning novel. The concept of Adamic Licence is based on the authority granted to Adam by God in Genesis 2: 19, namely, that whatever name he gave to a living creature, that became its name. The Adamic Licence, as a concept, refers to the power to name both living and non-living things.

In this regard, therefore, it may be argued that the media houses exercise the Adamic Licence in naming the programmes they produce. As to who exactly wields that power in each institution, is a matter of speculation and beyond the scope of this study. It is not possible to tell, for example, whether the producer comes up with a name for a proposed programme or the naming part is left to the individuals higher up in the management hierarchy.

Naming of people or things can be a space for contestation. This is what Chilala and Hang'ombe deal with in an article entitled 'Eponymic Place Names in Zambia: A Critical Toponymies Perspective' (2020). The article focuses on an onomastic analysis of the names of important structures in Zambia, namely stadia and airports. The former category includes the National Heroes Stadium and the Levy Mwanawasa Stadium. The article notes that both stadia underwent name changes.

The National Heroes Stadium was initially named Gabon Disaster National Heroes Stadium by then Minister of Sports under the Patriotic Front (PF) Government Chishimba Kambwili. The citizens, however, generally rejected the name, with most wondering why the name should have the words 'disaster' and 'Gabon'. The government was forced to change the name to National Heroes Stadium; only then did the people calm down. Levy Mwanawasa Stadium, on the other hand, was initially named Ndola Stadium during the reign of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). However, when the PF came into power, President Michael Sata eponymously renamed the stadium Levy Mwanawasa in honour of the late President Mwanawasa who, as Sata argued, was the one who lobbied for funds for the construction of the stadium by the Chinese.

Similarly, President Sata took it upon himself to rename the major international airports. The Lusaka International Airport became Kenneth Kaunda International Airport in honour of Zambia's first president while the Livingstone International Airport was renamed Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula International Airport in memory of one of Zambia's freedom fighters who hailed from Southern Province where the airport is located. Additionally, Sata changed the name of Ndola International Airport to Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe International Airport in honour of another famous Zambian freedom fighter.

In invoking the Critical Toponymies Theory (CTT), however, the article by Chilala and Hang'ombe (2020) problematises the basis of the naming since the theory is concerned with the political aspect of naming. The theory argues, in the main, that place names or toponyms are not neutral social artefacts but that they may be used to enhance the aspirations of the namers in the toponymic landscape.

There is no society where people possess the same degree of authority to name places, especially places of national significance. It is, however, those with power, in particular, those possessing political or economic power, who usually determine names (Myers, 2009; Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011; Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu, 2010; Perko, Jordan & Komac, 2017; Light, 2014).

At the centre of the process or act of naming important spaces, therefore, is the issue of who has the right and or authority to name and for whose benefit. There is also the element that the namer, in the public space, is usually one with authority; political, economic or even spiritual. Additionally, political and economic considerations are usually a factor in the naming of public spaces or items of public significance. In the case of the naming of radio and television programmes, therefore, the issue of who gives the names and for what purpose is significant. Equally, significant is the question of whether the name is in English or a local language. Just as Chishimba Kambwili as minister was forced to change the name because it did not receive acceptability among Zambian citizens, media houses may not avoid taking into account public interest when giving names to programmes, let alone, when giving names to their media houses.

While naming is a universal cultural practice and an unavoidable necessity of life, as A-Zumor (2002) posits, it is equally true that ‘naming patterns in different communities take different shapes and traditions’ (Landa, 2016, p. 22). This is also true of naming of programmes and the languages used in the process. This chapter is therefore, concerned with determining, to the extent possible, the emerging patterns in the naming of programmes in Zambia vis-a-vis language choice.

FINDINGS

The data was collected in early 2022 by way of interviewing representatives of the media houses included in the study, among them television and radio stations. The media institutions include: Radio Christian Voice, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation, Prime TV, Diamond TV, Radio Phoenix, ZANIS TV, Kwithu Radio, MUVI TV, and Hot FM. The data collected from each interview was analysed.

Private Media

Radio Christian Voice

An interview was conducted with the radio stations programmes content manager. The radio station was established in 1994 with the aim and mandate of assisting people to come to Jesus Christ. It initially broadcast on short wave before switching to FM and its audience has grown over the years to close to 200, 000. The audience has grown partly because the media house also uses Facebook and WhatsApp.

At the time of the interview, the station had 20 weekly programmes, among them: Chat Back, New Generation Reloaded, Nightlight, Drive Time, My Health, Community Forum, Backpage, Yes He Is, Loving Life, Lumbanya, Scripture in Song, Sounds of Worship, Weekend Break, Island Praise, and Solid Rock. The programmes are produced with the realisation of the need to meet people’s changing

demands, especially that most people think Christianity is boring. A gap is identified and ways of bridging the gap are found. For example, the New Generation Reloaded is a programme produced to make young people know that it is exciting to be in the Lord as gospel hip pop music is played. Drive Time (also called the Zambian Beat or Zambeats) is a programme purely dedicated to playing Zambian music and is from 17:00 to 20:00 hours.

From the inception of the station, more foreign music was played than local music, hence the introduction of Drive Time to change the narrative. Night Light is a night time programme that focuses on helping people find the light regardless of the challenges faced during the day. It airs at 21:00 hours. Lifestyle focuses on various relationship issues and counsellors are brought on the programme to address issues which are sometimes presented by the audience. Chat Back is a programme that provides a platform for the discussion of current affairs; it also informs the community of current affairs.

There is a programme called Yes He Is which talks about God being God. Simple Truth is a programme of apologetics that focuses on bringing about clarity on questions about Christianity like 'Why does God allow evil and not prevent it before it happens despite Him being All-Knowing?' Theologians are engaged on the programme to address such questions.

There has been evolution of programmes and their naming. For example, New Generation Reloaded has evolved from the New Generation programme which used to be presented by the older persons but meant for young audiences. The Reloaded version has changed this scenario because both the presenters of the programme and the audience are youths and therefore understand each other. Evolution in terms of airing time of the programmes has also taken place, which also is a determinant for programme naming like in the case of Drive Time, which initially used to air at 14:00 hours but now airs at 17.00 to 20:00 hours every evening when most people knock off from work and are driving home.

With regard to the process of allotting names to programmes it is the programme presenter who initially develops the programme concept and then proposes an appropriate name. The name's attractiveness to the audience is considered, then a collective decision is made during production meetings where programme concepts and names are discussed. Timing and understanding of the audience is an important consideration.

In developing and naming programmes the station is wary of the fact that many people perceive Christianity as boring. Additionally, the station is also aware that some sections of society are opposed to the predominant use of English in the programmes offered by Radio Christian Voice. Consequently, the station endeavours to incorporate 'street language' or slang used by young people and generally, language used by ordinary members of the community so as to stay relevant.

The station has an undocumented policy on language and programme naming and titling, and this takes into consideration the audience as well as the correct use of language. In view of the significance of the audience, the station, according to the programmes content manager, conducts surveys especially via social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and WhatsApp to determine what the audience likes or prefers. From the comments made by the audience, through such platforms, the station is able to gauge which names are likeable to the listeners.

On the question of why the station only has one programme ‘Lumbanya’ (translated as ‘Praise’) with a local name while the rest are in English the programmes content manager explained that this was due to historical factors. Specifically, the fact that upon inception, the station initially broadcast on short wave, meaning it was targeting a global audience. While acknowledging that the station had not done enough to promote more programmes with English content but bearing a name in a local language, the Manager stated that the main challenge was the audience. Hence, according to her, even the music played on the station was initially mostly foreign than local. Over time, however, the station has made efforts to promote more music in Zambian languages. She did acknowledge, however, that since language influences the media and what is produced, there was need for clear guidelines from government on language in the media.

Prime Television

The programmes manager was interviewed and indicated that the station was established in 2013 and initially broadcast only for the Lusaka audience. Having started off with terrestrial technology, the media house migrated to digital transmission and also has online presence. At the time of the interview, the station boasted of being the third most followed television station in the country with 17 programmes running every week, among them: news (in both English and local languages), Oxygen of Democracy, Agribusiness, Kwacha Making, Hot Issues and Next Generation.

Kwacha Making is concerned with helping people to develop and eventually grow their businesses. Hot Issues focuses on issues affecting society including marriage and traditional issues as dictated by need. Oxygen of Democracy targets issues making headlines and discusses them. Next Generation, on the other hand, targets children, though presenters include older persons. The station also airs programmes bearing local names but transmitted in English: Mokwana, an entertainment programme that involves talking to artists. Another is Yatu Vibes (translated as ‘Our Vibes’) which is also an entertainment musical programme. Bola Chats is a sports show.

What informs or motivates programme naming is the objective of the programme and the need to provide a platform for the growth of ideas. The target group and audiences also influence programme naming due to demand and issues happening at a particular time. Presenters also undertake research. Presenters and producers are involved in the process of programme naming and titling by coming up with an idea,

doing a programme synopsis, which also shows the outline and objectives of the programme. The title of the programme should reflect the issues in the programme and its objectives. The station also engages the viewers, especially through social media so that there is greater involvement from them.

There has not been much change in terms of the evolution of programme naming or titling since the inception of the station. There is an undocumented language policy that exists in that there is insistence on use of media friendly language, which should also be acceptable in Zambia as a Christian nation. With regard to naming programmes in local languages, the station has no deliberate policy.

Diamond TV

According to the station's research manager, Diamond TV was born in March 2017 and derives its name from the inspiration to represent a new breed of journalists who shine with a new culture of TV, hence, the slogan 'Diamond – Reinventing TV.' The station runs a number of programmes including: Diamond Breakfast Show, The Diamond Connection, Diamond News, Diamond Live, Diamond Sports, Diamond Top 10, Diamond Weekend Marathon, Diamond Morning Bliss and Diamond News on the Go.

Diamond Connection is a programme focusing on social issues affecting people. It is in two versions. First, 'Diamond Connection for Ma Diva bo Kwana' in which grown women discuss social issues such as mental health problems. Second, 'Diamond Connection for Teenagers' which focuses on social issues affecting young people. Diamond Top 10 is a music programme while Diamond Morning Bliss airs on Sunday and discusses biblical issues.

Programme names are informed by planning, and the station invites people to sell their ideas on trending matters and many other issues. Production also helps in generating ideas and concepts for naming programmes. In the process of planning, ideas are brought or agreed or disagreed upon in meetings. The names of programmes on Diamond TV generally start with the word 'Diamond' followed by the name of the programme, which is quite different from all other stations, which are named without bearing the name of the TV or radio station.

The station has an undocumented policy on language, which ensures that legal technicalities are met and that overall Zambian rules, regulations and expectations are respected. Thus, for example, the station does caption those languages that are difficult for many people to understand, as it has correspondents in every provincial capital of the country. However, it does not usually do captioning for Nyanja as it assumes that many people in the country understand the language or at least, have an idea of how it functions. The other reason for not always captioning or doing voice-overs is the fear of distorting facts.

On the question of language policy in the media, the research manager stated that there are no guidelines on the matter and the best way forward would be to

submit proposals to the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) on how best to handle the matter. Guidance from IBA would help media houses to avoid offending or infringing upon the rights of members of their audience.

Radio Phoenix

According to the information provided by the Radio Phoenix Programmes Manager during an interview, the station runs ten programmes every week, among them Full Time, a sports programme, and Let the People Talk, which focuses on governance and social issues. Other programmes include Celebrate Life and Traffic Watch, which are concerned with health matters and movement of traffic, respectively. All the programmes are in English as the targeted audience is deemed to understand English.

With regard to the naming of programmes, the station prefers catchy names which, additionally, have a connection to the objectives of the programmes. Ideas for programme names are discussed before the names are used. According to the Programmes Manager, content is more important than the name. The station has no written policy or guidelines for naming of programmes.

Kwithu Radio

According to the programmes manager, Kwithu started operations in 2018 under the name Ama Radio. Eventually, it changed the name to Kwithu ('our place' or 'our home'). The change of name was necessitated by the fact that the station aims at being as local as possible and be able to relate to the listeners. It is now a sister station of Hot FM Radio.

Apart from having a name in a local language, in this case Tumbuka, the station also features programmes whose names are all in local languages. Additionally, all its programming is conducted in the local languages and has a policy that requires 80 per cent of the programming to be transmitted in Chinyanja or Chibemba (with the inclusion of other local languages such as Tonga, Luvale, Lunda, Lozi or any other as long as the presenter on air can speak or understand the language). English is accorded 20 per cent usage.

A number of programmes are news-based. However, there are other programmes such as Nkhani Yathu which discusses different issues such as governance and community issues. Yathu, show is a build-up to Nkhani Yathu. Zed Top 20 comes in two versions: first, Dyonko, which – perhaps ironically since this is a local name – focuses exclusively on local music; second, and Countdown 20, which exclusively plays local music.

The naming or titling of programmes is motivated by the happenings in communities. Further, the name should be able to relate to the community or target audience. The naming is the responsibility of the content development team especially because content is important to the station and the programme content depends on what is happening in society.

However, as with the other stations, Kwithu does not have any written guidelines or policy on the naming of programmes vis-a-vis language. In the opinion of

the programmes manager, it is up to each station to determine names or titles of programmes based on their brand as well as understanding of the audience.

Muvi TV

According to information garnered from an interview with the Muvi TV Head of Production, the private television station has a number of programmes running, which include *The Assignment*, a one-on-one interview programme with a focus on contentious issues or topics. *Blunt Talk* is a debate programme where people with contrasting views are brought on board to debate topics. Another programme, *Unscripted*, brings to the fore public officials to explain the functions of their offices so as to help the public get a better understanding. The programme *People's Choice* showcases music videos of different artists and music producers. *Spit It Out* (rated 18) is a discussion programme of matters affecting couples in homes. There are also children's programmes such as *Nthano*, which involves sharing traditional stories easily understood by children. The station also has drama series productions such as *Banja* - focusing of family issues - and *Pano Chalo*, which looks at life in the community, especially in the 'low life' catchment areas.

The target audience partially determines the name of the programme and the language in which it is given, hence, a name like *Pano Chalo*. In this regard, the name has to be saleable to the audience and the potential sponsor or the existing sponsor. In essence, the name does not have to be complicated but should simply be catchy and attractive though, by design, it may also attract controversy and curiosity. Also, what is trending in terms of what the audience craves at a particular time informs programme naming. The station has a marketing and creative team that helps to guide programme naming and its content.

The station has no policy document on programme naming but has a document for the bouquet that segments what the station runs, and also has a productions document. The station has eight channels for local programmes. It is noteworthy that in the early phases of the station, most programme titles were in English but in the course of time, local names also came to the fore, especially in response to the insistence that names of programmes should have a meaning.

In the opinion of the head of production, some names given to programmes in the industry are merely used to mask the fact that some programme ideas are 'stolen' from other stations. According to him, the concept behind one of the programmes started by the station, *Lunchtime Show* – produced to highlight stories about what would happen between morning and the early afternoon – was copied by some other media outlets but merely given a different name.

Hot FM

According to the production manager, the station, at the time of the interview, had been in existence for over a decade and airs more than ten programmes every week. The *Red Hot Breakfast Show* (RHB) discusses current affairs. It gets stories from the newsroom and discusses them with experts who respond to them. The *Mid-*

Morning Show is a music programme. The Countdown Chatshow plays the top 10 trending or current songs where people vote on which songs should stay or be out. The Lunchtime show is a lifestyle magazine show with entertainment, and newbits, among others. The Drivetime show is also a mixture of entertainment, lifestyle, current affairs, and call-in. The Hot Seat brings interviewees from among the authorities and decision-makers. They are subjected to tough questions. Beyond the Headlines is a programme where stakeholders discuss various matters of interest. Radio After 6 is a mirror programme to the breakfast show that tackles some stories during the day and engages the listener. A programme named Talk is concerned with issues affecting the community such as mental health.

What informs programme naming in the institution is that the programme title needs to be catchy enough for the listener to tune in. Over time, some names have remained unchanged while others have changed. The radio station has no shows or programmes called by a local name but it uses some local languages in the programming together with English in order to be relatable. The station has a clear editorial that helps to broadcast in English and also incorporate the use of local languages. However, it does not have a clear editorial policy on naming and titling.

Public Media

Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC), which was established by an Act of Parliament in CAP 154, has four television stations and three radio stations which all have different objectives and are isolated based on research for more visibility. TV1 largely runs with mandate and has almost everything like Radio 2. TV2 has an isolated objective which focuses on entertainment. TV3 does lifestyle broadcasting and religion and TV4 is run together with the Ministry of Education.

Several issues guide programme classification. Programmes are defined by ensuring that they are produced in relation with the mandate. Elements are borrowed from the mandate coupled with audience research. Issues of balancing are drawn from the Act and there is dialogue at every stage. Programme synopsis guides programme naming. Constant evaluation of what the programme is intended to achieve is standard practice. Over time, nothing much has changed when it comes to programme naming.

The institution works according to policy direction of the Act of Parliament and is compliant to it although there is no document providing policy guidelines on programme naming. However, there are some guidelines on language apportionment. In order to remain relevant and viable, the institution conducts research and obtains feedback from the audience and other sources.

Some programmes bear a local language like the Tenga Money Game Show on ZNBC TV1, which brings on board the use of mixed language. The channel also runs the Butuku (Problem) drama series acted in English with dramatic elements of commitment in original context using the day-to-day language mix. Another drama series, Fate, is also an in-house production in English but actors use other

commonly spoken languages such as Chinyanja. The station prides itself in its ability to broadcast in English, sign language and the seven official local languages.

On the accuracy of captions and voice overs, the institution tries as much as possible to be accurate. It has competent personnel some of whom belong to the Translators Association, are certified and have participated in translating a number of government documents. Translation for captioning and voice-overs is guided by genres and time durations. When it comes to news, because of limited time, what is really important is translated.

Of the three radio stations, Radio 1 is the one most concerned with the use of local languages – the others being Radio 2 and 4, transmitting in English. Radio 1 broadcasts exclusively in local languages and has the longest history of the three stations. It broadcasts in all the seven official local languages: Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Luvale and Lunda. The station reaches about three million listeners.

Programme naming is dependent on a number of factors, which include the format, theme and approach of the programme. The names are intended to depict the content of the programmes. For example, the Tonga drama series is referred to as 'Cisobano' while the one in Chinyanja is called 'Sewero'. Similarly, news in Bemba is 'Ilyashi mu Icibemba' depicting that it is news in Bemba.

Research also helps in the naming of programmes. The station has a research team in charge of researching and consulting with people on what programmes they think can be run. The feedback from such efforts stimulates ideas. Producers and presenters also participate in this when they come up with ideas and develop the programme synopsis. Age groups also influence programme naming/titling aside from the time of airing. Generally, the audience (which is diverse) through participatory broadcasting and live shows or phone-in programmes is very helpful. Feedback from such programmes helps to shape the programmes and also give them their names or titles.

The evolution of the times has also contributed to the change of programmes and names. For example, in the past, members of the audience would write letters in order to participate in programmes. However, today, they use WhatsApp and other forms of communication technology to participate in programmes. While some programmes have survived for decades, others are no longer airing while new ones have also been introduced. These changes have an impact on names and naming. New programmes entail new names, as do major adjustments to programmes.

ZNBC Radio 1 has a number of programmes run by each of the seven language sections. Some of the programmes, though, run across all the languages. For example, the 'Police and the Community' is run in all the languages. It is known as 'Ba Kapokola ne Cintubwingi' in Bemba. Other programmes run at the Bemba section and run by equivalent names in other language sections include 'Ubulimi Nokubakilila kwa Ncende' and 'Imisepele'. The station also runs children's and women's programmes.

The station has an in-house Producer's Guide that guides policy, documentation and programme production to ensure that programmes are balanced and produced in a professional manner. For programme naming or titling, names should not clash with other programmes produced or featured by other media outlets despite having the same concept.

Zambia National Information Service (ZANIS)

The Zambia National Information Service (ZANIS) bears the mandate of explaining government policy to the public. It is involved in news production of various issues. There is no guiding policy in terms of language but the institution follows journalistic standards in the use of language.

With regard to the use of captioning and voice-overs in news, and generally, news production, the institution has strict evaluation standards or benchmarks, which ensure almost zero error margin and misrepresentation. Curtailing of local language is not allowed and proper representation is ensured through proper gate-keeping. Thus, according to a producer from ZANIS, the institution is aware of audience segmentation due to language differences and the multilingual nature of Zambia. Language use and preference, therefore, varies according to regions and individuals.

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

As earlier indicated, a total of nine media houses responded to questions regarding the research topic, these being: Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (radio and television), Radio Christian Voice, Prime TV, Diamond TV, Radio Phoenix, ZANIS TV (Zambia National Information Service), Kwithu Radio, MUVI TV, and Hot FM. Most of the data was collected from private media houses. However, there are some themes that emerged in the process of analysing the data. Some of them underline commonalities among the media houses while some are unique to particular media houses.

Regarding the key question of formal or written policy on language use, it was evident that none of the media houses has a clear laid-down policy. However, the public media outlets, that is ZNBC and ZANIS, seem to generally, do more in terms of promoting all the seven national languages than the private media houses. Additionally, the programme content of the public media largely follows the same path of deliberately trying to promote the seven nationally recognised languages apart from the English language. This is to a large extent due to the consciousness of carrying the tag 'national broadcaster'.

The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) has a radio station dedicated solely to the use and promotion of local languages, particularly, the seven official languages: Nyanja, Bemba, Tonga, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde. Each of these languages is accorded time for broadcasting a variety of programmes meant to reach targeted linguistic audiences. These programmes range from entertainment to news and discussions. Generally, however, the news shared on these programmes tends to be the same only that it is translated into the seven languages.

It might be argued, in light of the above, that ZNBC and ZANIS are largely guided by the current national position on language: that English is the official language while the seven are national languages which are assumed to reach the most people in Zambia. The assumption is based, in part, on the argument that certain languages are but 'dialects' of the seven. Thus, for example, apart from talking of Bemba as a language in and of itself, it is argued that there are some Bemba-aligned languages, which may be classified as the 'Bemba group of languages'. This category includes languages such as Lala, Ushi, Mambwe, Namwanga, among others.

Similarly, the Tonga group includes not only the Tonga-speaking people of the Zambezi Valley and the Plateau, but also allied languages such as Ila, Lenje, Sala, Soli, among others. This association is to some extent reflected in the concept of the Bantu Botatwe - a reference to the Tonga, Ila and Lenje as one people. In the same vein, Chinyanja is seen as the dominant language in Eastern Province with allied languages being Tumbuka, Nsenga, Chikunda, among others.

It would appear, therefore, that the communication strategy of the public broadcasters is based on the understanding or assumption that using one of the seven national languages, makes it possible to reach greater numbers of Zambians. This is reflected, for example, in the structuring of some of the programmes in local languages such as the radio dramas. In the Tonga drama, 'Cisobano', the characters may include speakers of Ila, Lenje, among others; the assumption being that the programme reaches Tongas, Ilas, Lenjes and speakers of other allied languages. Similarly, the Nyanja drama 'Sewero', features characters who speak Nyanja and allied languages such as Nsenga, Tumbuka and Chewa, among others. Again the assumption is that the drama programme draws its audience not just from speakers of Nyanja but also speakers of Nyanja-aligned languages.

It could be argued, therefore, that the public media houses are to a great extent guided by government position on the question of language: that English is the official language but the seven national languages are also important and need to be given space on the national airwaves. Even on television, the seven national languages are given equal space. However, the lack of clear policy on the language issue comes to the fore when one notes that on national television, Bemba and Nyanja tend to be used more than any of the other national languages.

This, in part, is reflected in the fact that quite often, during the news, the production team does not bother to use English captions when a news source speaks in Nyanja or Bemba. However, they generally use the captions if the source is a speaker of the other five national languages. Similarly, voice-overs might not be applied when either of the two languages is used by a news source but might be used for the other five. This is based on the assumption that 'most Zambians' understand either Bemba or Nyanja, so, there is no need to show the English translations. Be that as it may, there is no policy that states that Bemba and Nyanja should receive more air time or be promoted more than the other five national languages. However, the fact is that this bias towards the two languages reflects the lack of a proper or formal language policy guiding even the national media houses.

Private media houses, on the other hand, are not bound by the agenda of nation-building through the use of local languages. Most of them use English but do occasionally use local languages in specific instances such as during phone-in programmes when a caller might use a local language. That said, however, they are not under any obligation or pressure to meet the language needs of citizens who are unable to understand English.

Private media houses, however, do not have a uniform approach to the use of language vis a vis English and the seven national languages. They range from those which have a deliberate policy or strategy of mostly using local languages, to those which use English almost exclusively. Thus, for example, Kwithu FM largely utilises local language – just like Komboni Radio, which was not included in this survey – while Radio Christian Voice mostly uses English. The choice of language is largely determined by the targeted audience: while the former is an FM station targeting people in a particular part of Zambia, the latter targets an international audience of Christians.

In between the two extremes, however, there are stations which predominantly use English but occasionally resort to the use of local language either through translanguaging techniques or as a means of explaining some issues more clearly. For instance, Prime Television offers news in both English and selected local languages. Muvi TV offers programmes mostly in English but also offers a few in selected local languages.

To a large extent, the pattern that emerges when we analyse the use of language is reflected in the pattern associated with the naming or titling of programmes by the media houses. The national character of ZNBC and ZANIS is reflected in the names borne by the programmes they offer. Thus, for example, all the programmes on Radio 1 bear local names reflecting the linguistic inclination of the content. However, the ZNBC television stations mostly broadcast in English although there are days when each of the seven national languages are allotted time to broadcast to their target audiences. Thus, audience segmentation based on language is an evident feature of the public media.

Generally, the names of programmes broadcast by private media houses are in English – a reflection of the predominance of the use of the English language due to its privileged position in Zambian society. Of the media houses contacted for data collection, Radio Christian Voice and Radio Phoenix exhibit a higher number of programmes bearing English names. This is, it might be justifiably argued, due to the fact that the station broadcasts to an international audience. Hence, only one programme bears a name in a local language, ‘Lumbanya,’ which means ‘praise’ (the verbal form) in English. Worth noting is the fact that the programme features Zambian music – almost as if to ‘alert’ the non-Zambian and indeed the Zambian audiences that the content of the programme is in a local Zambian language.

Although Prime TV exhibits a mixture of names of programmes in both English and local languages, the former still dominate the onomastic landscape of the station. It is worth noting, however, that the use of names in local languages for some programmes does not necessarily mean the content is also in the same local

language. There are a number of programmes run by the media house, which bear local names but are presented largely in English. Examples include 'Mokwana' and 'Yatu Vibes'. Worth noting, however, is that the terms 'mokwana' and 'yatu' are not necessarily used accurately in the semantic sense; they are used more colloquially. The term 'mokwana' is slang suggesting 'in a satisfactory manner' while the term 'yatu' means 'ours'; meaning, in essence, 'our vibes' when rendered as 'Yatu Vibes'. The linguistic implication is that the programme is concerned with (the promotion of) Zambian music or culture.

It might be argued from an onomastic perspective, therefore, that the use of local names for some programmes is intended to signal the 'Zambianness' of the programme content to the (potential) audience. In this regard, therefore, the name is a signifier in the semiotic sense, carrying with it a tone of patriotism or cultural pride and belonging. This type of cultural signification by means of careful choice of name is similar to the signification associated with the name Kwithu Radio. The word 'kwithu' means 'our place' or 'our home' signifying the pivotal role of local culture in the content of the programmes. Any Zambian who knows the meaning of the word 'kwithu' will approach the broadcasts of the radio station with a sense of expectation: that is, the expectation that Zambian cultural norms and worldview will be reflected and promoted through the programme content. Kwithu Radio broadcasts a programme named Nkani Yathu, which translates to 'our story' or 'our issue'. The signification is similar to what has earlier been pointed out.

Apart from the urge to semiotically signify the content of the programmes through the choice of name, the media houses are also motivated by a number of other factors when choosing names or titles of programmes. The institutions interviewed consider target audience, catchiness of the name, programme objective, planning, ideas, changing times, trends and the use of research to be among the reasons for giving programmes their names.

Be that as it may, the media houses apply different approaches to the process of arriving at names of programmes. The process might be initiated by the producer or any other member of staff with a suggestion, or even a member of the audience. In some instances, the names are arrived at after conducting some market research. That media houses research on the names given to programmes by other media houses is partly evidenced by the fact that there are some programmes with similar names. This has led some media houses to accuse other media houses of 'stealing' the name of a programme they already run.

Thus, for example, names like Breakfast Show or Lunch Hour or Lunch Time Show are common. Also common are names like Next Generation aimed at reaching young people. The name Countdown is also used across the board. Notably, both Radio Christian Voice and Hot FM broadcasting programmes bearing the name Drive Time despite the fact that the former is a religious station while the latter is a secular one. Perhaps in an attempt to add a touch of uniqueness to the names of their programmes, Diamond TV prefix the names of their programmes with the word 'Diamond'. Thus, for example, they boast of programmes such as Diamond News, Diamond Sports, Diamond Connection, Diamond Morning Bliss, among others.

Since the liberalisation of the airwaves in Zambia the onomastic landscape of media programmes has not changed much. The factors affecting the evolution of names remain largely unchanged, these being, among others, changing trends, consumption patterns among audience members, trending fads, effects of the linguistic landscape, time-bound events such as elections, pandemics, social upheavals, changes in cultural orientation, national values, and a variety of socio-political or religious stimuli. Language policy, or the lack of it, is also a paramount factor in the process of onomastic evolution.

CONCLUSION

Acknowledging the significance of names, this study was aimed at conducting an onomastic and thematic analysis of the names given to radio and television programmes in Zambia. In so doing, the study concerned itself with the aspect of the language used in the naming as well as the factors involved in the process thereof. The analysis was conducted in the context of the question of whether or not the media houses follow any formal language policy or policies when making onomastic decisions regarding the names of programmes or when utilising the Adamic licence. The study focused on nine media houses from both the public and private sectors.

The findings reveal that none of the media houses selected for the study has a formal or written policy on language use. Neither does any of them have laid-down guidelines for giving names or titles to programmes. Generally, however, the public media tend to lean more towards the government or national position of recognising seven national languages apart from having English as the official language of communication. They would like to be seen as a national broadcaster that recognises and unites Zambians from across the country's linguistic landscape as well as culturescape.

The naming of programmes tends to follow a linguistic pattern similar to what obtains in the use of language: the public media have more programmes with names in local languages than the private media. As is the case with language use in the media, there is no single media house with formal guidelines on naming of programmes. Most private media houses use English names for their programmes in much the same way as they use English in most of the content.

Ultimately, however, the findings of this study underline the fact that there is no formal language policy guiding the affairs of the nation. Had there been, the findings would have been very different. There would have been a greater degree of uniformity, it might be argued, in the use of language and the naming of programmes. The predominant use of Kiswahili in Tanzania, for example, means that the programmes on television and radio are not only predominantly in Kiswahili, but the names and titles of programmes are also in Kiswahili.

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