A TOPONYMIC PERSPECTIVE ON ZIMBABWE'S POST-2000 LAND REFORM PROGRAMME (THIRD *CHIMURENGA*)

by

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I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study presents an onomastic perspective on the changing linguistic landscape of Zimbabwe which resulted from the post-2000 land reforms (also known as the Third *Chimurenga*). When veterans of Zimbabwe's War of Liberation assumed occupancy of former white-owned farms, they immediately pronounced their take-over of the land through changes in place names. The resultant toponymic landscape is anchored in the discourses of the First and Second *Chimurenga*. Through recasting the *Chimurenga* (war of liberation) narrative, the proponents of the post-2000 land reforms endeavoured to create a historical continuum from the colonisation of Zimbabwe in 1890 to the post-2000 reforms, which were perceived as an attempt to redress the historical anomaly of land inequality. The aim of this study is to examine toponymic changes on the geo-linguistic landscape, and establish the extent of the changes and the post-colonial identity portrayed by these place names. Within the case study design, research methods included in-depth interviews, document study and observations as means of data generation. Through the application of critical and sociolinguistic theories in the form of post-colonial theory, complemented by geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology, this study uncovers the richness of toponymy in exposing a cryptic social narrative reflective of, among others, contestations of power. The findings indicate that post-2000 toponymy is a complex mixture of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial place names. These names recast the various narratives in respect of the history of Zimbabwe through the erasure of colonial toponyms and resuscitation older *Chimurenga* names. The resultant picture portrayed by post-2000 toponymy communicates a complex message of contested land ownership in Zimbabwe. There is a pronounced legacy of colonial toponymy that testifies to the British Imperial occupation of the land and the ideologies behind colonisation. This presence of colonial toponymy many years after independence is an ironic confirmation of the indelible legacy of British colonialism in Zimbabwe. The findings show a clear recasting of the discourses of violence and racial hostility, but also reveal an interesting trend of toponymic syncretism where colonial names are retained and used together with new names.

Key words: Onomastics, toponymy, toponymic landscape, ethnic slurs, geo-linguistic landscape, erasure, resuscitation, geo-semiotics, political semiotics, post-colonial theory, colonisation, post-coloniality, land reform.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC: African National Congress

ANPS: Australian National Placenames Survey

ATR: African Traditional Religion

BSAP: British South Africa Company

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CIO: Central Intelligence Organisation

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

EFF: Economic Freedom Fighters

ESAP: Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

IMF: International Monetary Fund

MDC: Movement for Democratic Change

MDCA: Movement for Democratic Change Alliance

OAU: Organisation of African Unity

SANS: South Africa Names Society

SRANC: Southern Rhodesia African National Congress

UDI: Unilateral Declaration of Independence

UN: United Nations

UNISA: University of South Africa

USA: United States of America

ZANU PF: Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front

ZANU: Zimbabwe African National Union

ZAPU: Zimbabwe African People's Union

ZCTU: Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of names, known as onomastics, provides critical insights into the cultural life of the namers, their descendants or their neighbours. From time immemorial, mankind hasdefinedhis physical environment through the use of names. Naming the geo-linguistic landscape is part of human beings' cultural efforts to expose their perception of themselves and their environment.Traditional studies of names have tended to focus on etymology and categorisation of place names without being critical of, among others, the contestations of power, culture, history, identity and politics reflected in names and the giving of names. Through the traditional study of names: their origins, etymology, relevance and categorisation, knowledge about human existence has been constructed.Nicolaisen (in Raper, 2007:112) aptly argues that unlike ordinary words of a language, names are intriguing because they have "the power of survival" that ordinary words do not have.The study of names has been subdivided into two categories of toponymy and anthroponymy.While anthroponymy studies names of people, toponymy focuses on the study of geographical names (toponyms).

Within the traditional study of names some studies went further in their analysis to offer descriptive backing (Meiring, 2009). According to Meiring (2009), descriptive backing involves the collection and description of connotations carried by a name. Descriptive backing canonised place name studies in a way that,however, fell short of exposing the intricate socio-political realities exposed by the names.With the end of colonial rule onomastics has, however, witnessed a gradual shift in terms of its theoretical basis. Toponymy, in particular, has come to be critical in exposing complex issues about human existence in social situations. Toponyms have interestingly attracted attention in both post-colonial and post-revolution scenarios as ideological tools to effect or engrave socio-political change on the landscape (Azaryahu, 1996; Kadmon, 2004).Studies of post-colonial and post-revolution scenarios became critical within social theories (Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009; Bigon, 2016; Azaryahu, 1997; Faraco & Murphy, 1997; Rose-Redwood, 2006; 2011; 2018; Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011; Rose-Redwood, et al., 2010; 2018a; 2018b; Scott & Clark, 2017). This shift is termed the 'critical turn' in toponymic studies because it postulates that "assigning a name to a given location does more than merely denote an already-existing 'place'" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010:454) but is an act

of "creating" that place.By their very nature, toponyms are inextricably connected to socio-political factors that define a community at any given time. They are a critical part of what Haugen (1972) calls language ecology. Haugen in Barnes (2017) defines language ecology as the study of language and its social context (the environment). Because communities name these places, toponyms countenance a people's perception about themselves and their surroundings including their neighbours. Place names inevitably, apart from enabling society to identify and differentiate places, carry the historical, social, economic, political and religious values of a people. A systematic study of names is therefore an avenue to an in-depth understanding of a place or people's past, present and future. By housing critical socio-political information, names have come to be taken as an intangible but invaluable heritage of a person or community.

In Africa, asin other post-colonial contexts, toponyms are symbolic signposts of power because they communicate messages of the power dynamics operating on the land (see also Sections 2.3 & 2.4). This explains why in South Africa, for instance, inscription of the landscape through names and statues is still topical since the end of apartheid in 1994. In 2015, demonstrations erupted at Cape Town University over a statue of Rhodes. The clarion call was "'Rhodes must fall'" which made it appear as if Rhodes was literally alive and controlling the affairs of the colonies of Britain. Far from it, what it simply meant was that his legacy was given permanence by the presence of his statue on the landscape. A statue, just like an anthroponymic toponym symbolises a person. Most interestingly to some but bizarre to others, there was also a fairly recent call to rename the country, South Africa, by the Minister of Arts and Culture, Nathi Mthethwa (Claymore, 2017). The argument was that the name South Africa is a misnomer that should be corrected to reflect the original indigenous ethnic history.

Within the critical approach, this research has a particular interest in Zimbabwe's post-2000 land reform programme (Third *Chimurenga*) toponymic landscape. In Zimbabwe, the debate over its post-colonial toponymic situation has been intermittent, opportunistic and sporadic, with vociferous calls for name changing around election time and around events of major political significance to the government and to political parties. In 2013 there was a government decision to rename Victoria Falls to Mosi-oa-Tunya, but it was not implemented (Nyashanu and Mpofu, 2013). In another fairly recent development in Zimbabwe, *Mugabe's Rhodes surprise* (2017) reported that at the birthday celebrations for the then President Robert Gabriel

Mugabe at Matopo (Matopos), the name of a nearby primary school was instantly changed. Matopos Hills where the celebrations were held is the place Cecil John Rhodes' grave was hewn in a granite rock. Next to the hills is Cecil John Rhodes Preparatory School and this is the school whose name was changed to Matopos Primary School on the eve of the celebrations for the reason that the politicians found it unacceptable to havebirthday celebrations for an anti-colonial hero, Robert Mugabe,at a school that depictedthe colonial legacy. Ironically, the legacy of Rhodes in Zimbabwe is not only seen in vestiges of his name but in the whole social, economic, political, religious and ideological dispensation.

Recently, towards the end of the year 2017 in Zimbabwe there was a heated debate over the renaming of Harare International Airport after Robert Mugabe, the now deposed long time rulerof Zimbabwe (Munayiti, 2017). Even though there are a number of streets and roads bearing the name of the former president, the ruling party resolvedthen to engrave the name of their leader on yet another strategic infrastructure of both local and international significance. It was announced that the airport would immediately be refurbished to ensure that its appearance matches the stature of President Mugabe as a global political icon. However, as reported by Munayiti (2017), there was and still is opposition to the renaming from the opposition parties which feel that the memory of the former president has been overcompensated in toponymic terms.

Upon the removal of president Mugabe from office on 19 November 2017 through the involvement of the military in what others have termed "a soft coup" (Pilling, 2017; Moretti, 2017; Chikowore & Davies, 2017; Thornycroft, 2017), the new leaders immediately renamed all army barracks after heroes of the War of Liberation, perhaps, as a strategy to communicate the message that the removal of Robert Mugabe was in furtherance of the ideals of the 1970s anti-colonial bush war which he had deviated from.

The importance of toponymy in politics also came to the fore just before the 31 July 2018 harmonised elections in Zimbabwe. As reported by the press, before the dust had settled around the debate on the suitability of renaming the airport after Robert Mugabe, the relationship between the former president and his party became acrimonious just a few days before the elections. The former president, in a press conference, announced his support for the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDCA), much to the chagrin

of the ruling party whose vocal affiliate, the veterans of the liberation war, announced that the name Robert Mugabe was supposed to be immediately removed from the airport. As reported by *The Zimbabwe Mail*, 21 August 2018, the former president's name was no longer revolutionary because he had sold out the post-colonial struggle against the erstwhile colonial powers by supporting the opposition which they viewed as a proxy of the former colonial power, Britain.This further demonstrates the power of toponyms to communicate messages and the critical role they play in the socio-political life of a community or country. Such incidences of toponymic significance, among many others, which are reflective of the centrality of toponymy to the post-colonial dispensation in Zimbabwe, have inspired this study.

This research is triggered by the centrality of toponymy in Zimbabwe's post-2000 land reform programme. It seeks to systematically and critically examine the role of these toponyms in defining the post-2000 period in Zimbabwe. The Third *Chimurenga*, in its radical form, made some significant changes on the landscape both in terms of land tenure, use and consequently in terms of toponymy. The linguistic landscape that emerged after the land reforms is a socio-political narrative that speaks of stories of displacement of the local people, consolidation of settler rule, the displaced people's struggle against settler rule and independence through to the political mayhem of compulsory acquisition of land from the descendants of white settlers in the name of restoration and reparation for colonial injustices. Exposing the toponymic patterns as well as the social, political, economic, historical and religious aspects conveyed by post-2000 toponymy is a central concern of this research. The research draws its theoretical underpinnings from post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology (see Section 2.2).

This introductory chapter sets the contextual background for the study of post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe. Itprovides a general historical background on the land question in Zimbabwe. The chapter also provides the statement of the problem, the aims of the study, objectives and research questions. The motivation of the study is also outlined as well as the limitations, delimitations and ethical considerations. The introduction, among other things, exposes the genesis of the land question in Zimbabwe from the colonial period to the post-2000 land reforms. It discusses the genesis of the land question in Zimbabwe from the period of colonial occupation through to the post-2000 land reforms.

1.2 THE LAND QUESTION IN ZIMBABWE: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The colonisation of Zimbabwe towards the end of the 19th Century bears the antecedents of post-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe.In spite of Zimbabwe's attainment of independence in 1980, land redistribution between indigenous people and white settlers continued to be a thorn in the flesh in Zimbabwe's body politic. The land question in Zimbabwe, the bone of contention between descendants of settler whites (also referred to as "settlers" in this thesis) and indigenous African people, has its complex roots in both Europe and Africa but prominent amongst these roots were the mid 19th Century socio-economic developments also known asthe Industrial Revolution in Europe (see Section 1.2.1.1).

The Third *Chimurenga* was a culmination of more than a century of land ownership drama in Zimbabwe. By the 1970s, settler legislation had allocated 51% of the land, most of it in the ecologically productive regions of Zimbabwe with good soils and climate to support farming and approximately one million indigenes shared the remaining 40% of the remaining unproductive land mostly in semi-arid ecological regions; the remaining land was reserved for national parks or game reserves (Alexander, 2006; Chung, 2006; Ranger, 1985; Beach, 1994; Karanda, 2016; Nyandoro, 2012; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008; Mlambo, 2014). For a clear appreciation of post-Third *Chimurenga* toponymy, there is need to briefly outline the history of Zimbabwe from the colonial period until the year 2000 when the Third *Chimurenga*began.

1.2.1 The colonisation of Zimbabwe

The colonisation of Africa, Zimbabwe included, was driven by a number of reasons. Historians have produced voluminous literature on why Europeans came to Africa. The major reasons for them coming to Africa could be extracted from the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. According to Zvobgo (2009), by the early 1880s, as a result of industrial expansion in Europe, Africa, with its abundant natural resources, became a target. Europe was undergoing industrial transformation which inevitably created a need for an alternative source of raw materials and markets for the finished products (Rodney, 1972; MacKenzie, 1983; Koponen, 1993; Wawro, 2003). Africa, from reports of missionaries and explorers like David Livingstone, provided untapped potential in terms of mining, farming, cheap labour and in terms of being a market. At the same time, the relatively long tradition of taking slaves from Africa by Europeans had portrayed Africa as a weak target whose human and material resources could be exploited without resistance (Rodney, 1972; MacKenzie, 1983; Koponen, 1993). This was given

academic and moral backing by renowned Anglophone scholars and theorists of the time. John Ruskin, who was described by Black et al. (2010: 77) as "highly influential" during his time, is quoted in 1888 as having urged England to

> found colonies as fast and as far as she is able, ...seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists, that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea.

Alfred Russell Wallace and Charles Darwin propounded the theory of evolution during that time. The theory of evolution stated that lower species should serve higher species. This was also supported by publications such as *The Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad (1899) which also portrays Africans as subhuman beings needing to urgently acquire civilisation from Europeans. This prejudicial depiction of Africa later contributed to the conceptualisation of post-colonial theory by African scholars (see Section 2.2.1). The emergent Afrocentric scholars such as Chinua Achebe and Ngugi waThiong'o, endeavoured to project a different image of Africa from the one depicted by the Eurocentric scholars (see Section 2.2.1).

According to Wawro (2003), there was looming conflict among European countries over African resources in the later part of the 19th century. For example, the Portuguese and the French were already in conflict over the Congo Basin. To avert further deadly conflict over Africa which was imminently becoming the new point of focus for European powers, these European countries settled for an orderly partitioning of Africa. There was need for an orderly approach hence the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 held at the instigation of then Germany Chancellor, Otto Van Bismarck; and Belgium's King Leopold II. The Berlin Conference was organised to decide on an orderly partitioning of Africa. The conference, on paper, resolved, among other issues, that slavery in all European controlled areas was to stop; no European power was supposed to support an African state in fighting a fellow European power; all European powers involved in Africa were supposed to ostensibly display effective occupation of an identified territory; disputes among European powers were supposed to be solved peacefully to avoid weakening each other in the face of looming threats from Africans and the Congo Basin was declared a free state under the sole and personal ownership and control of King Leopold II of Belgium in 1885 (Zvobgo, 2009). The Berlin Conference opened doors for a scramble for Africa marked by a flurry of European incursions into Africa to grab territory

and exercise effective occupation. The occupation of Zimbabwe was, in the initial stages, subtle and disguised as a quest for hunting and mining treaties but later it morphed into outright appropriation of land (territory) from the indigenous population (see Section 1.2.1.2).

Contrary to the stated mission of civilising Africa, European occupation of African territory generally degenerated into inhuman subjugation of Africans. An extreme case is the degeneration of the situation in the Congo Basin into systematic murder, mutilation and enslavement of the Africans as a result of Leopold's pursuit for profits to the extent that Stanley (2012: no pagination) called the Congo of the time Belgium's 'Heart of Darkness' in apparent reference to Joseph Conrad's novel, *The Heart of Darkness* set during the same period in the Congo. James (2011) and Ankomah (1999) characterise Leopold as the Butcher of Congo. So grisly were the atrocities in the Congo Basin that there was revulsion even in Europe. This led Belgium to take-over from Leopold as the colonising power in 1909 until it granted freedom to Congo in 1960 (Stanley, 2012). The same resolutions of the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 used by Leopold to takeover the Congo Basin also led the British to colonise Zimbabwe.

The colonisation of Zimbabwe was marked by cunning British imperialist strategies towards the end of the nineteenth century. It was a culmination of missionary forays and exploratory excursions into the land of the Shona and Ndebele people. The key players in the events that led to the eventual colonisation were, first, the Afrikaners and secondly, the British in the late 1880s. The dramatic events are briefly discussed in subsequent sub-sections below.

1.2.1.1   The coming of white settlers

Pre-colonial Zimbabwe was land under the control of tribal empires. According to Mudenge (2011), for the greater part of the recorded history from mid 1400AD, the Rozvi and Munhumutapa empires controlled the lands between Zambezi and Limpopo. These empires were made up of Bantu people; an ethnic group of Africans that is believed to have originated in central Africa until migrations north, east, west and south were occasioned by adverse climatic conditions and ethnic conflict (Beach, 1992). Linguistically, according to Mudenge (2011), the empire of Munhumutapa spoke a language called "Mocaranga" which was later known as *Chikaranga*which also refersto one of the dialects spoken in Zimbabwe. Chikaranga later split into at least five mutually intelligible dialects (Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika, Korekore

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and Ndau) of what is now known as Shona and these dialects are spoken in different regions of the country.

A major historical influence on the Munhumutapa Empire came in the 18th Century following the Mfecane uprisings in the then Nguniland when former generals of King Tshaka migrated to other areas (Asante, 2007). According to Asante (2007), the Ndebeles under the leadership of Mzilikazi, a former army general of Tshaka, split from Nguniland and took with him those of his tribe and others who dreaded the reign of Tshaka. They travelled in a north-western direction until they settled in the south-western part of Zimbabwe around 1827. Because of his experience in war, Mzilikazi declared himself king over Mashonaland. In a bid to enforce compliance with his reign and to extract tribute from the local chiefs, Mzilikazi often sent his warriors to raid chiefdoms as far as Save River in the east of Zimbabwe claiming that this was now his territory. In 1836 Mzilikazi signed the Moffat Treaty with Robert Moffat, a British missionary who was stationed in South Africa (Mlambo, 2014). In addition to granting hunting concessions to the British, the treaty enlisted commitment by Mzilikazi to be a friend and ally of the British and it resulted in the establishment of a mission station in Matabeleland. When Mzilikazi died in 1868 and Lobengula, his son, subsequently took over, contact had already been established with the Ndebele and this contact paved theway for eventual colonisation.

The first Europeans to make serious manoeuvres after the Berlin Conference were the Boers who signed the Grobler Treaty (an agreement that granted limited hunting and mining concessions to Boers) with Lobengula in 1887. In a bid to outmanoeuvre the Boers, Cecil John Rhodes, a colonial fortune hunter who had formed the British South Africa Company, a vehicle to promote British imperial interests in Southern Africa, sent emissaries to King Lobengula to negotiate for a definite treaty purportedly for hunting and mining rights. In 1888, Cecil John Rhodes, a Scot, (also referred to as Rhodes in this thesis) sent a team of three highly educated men led by Charles Rudd to Lobengula at his capital which was at a place now covered by the city of Bulawayo to negotiate a concession. The result was the signing of the Rudd Concession which then surreptitiously gave the fortune hunters access to eventually colonise Zimbabwe.

Armed with the Rudd Concession, Rhodes mobilised a team of whites dominated by the British but with other nationalities like the Boers and local South Africans like Hottentots (employed as aides to the whites) in its ranks to prepare for the journey north into Zimbabwe (Mazarire,

2006). Invitations were made publicly and promises of at least 1200 hectares of land and mining claims were made (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). Mlambo (2000) notes that preference was given to whites of British origin because other nationalities like the Afrikaners were considered inferior and a threat to British control if they were left unchecked. According to Mlambo (2000), in spite of Rhodes' ethnic pride and ethnic superiority complex, he had a soft spot for other European ethnic groups like the Afrikaners and the Germans and considered them if they applied for consideration. Rhodes mobilised a group of men who were later known as the Pioneer Column. This group comprising approximately six hundred men set off for Southern Rhodesia in June 1890 and arrived in what is now Harare in September 1890 (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008).

On its journey northwards to what is now Harare, the column left a name at every point they stopped at. When the column finally reached Harare or the then Fort Salisbury, a trail of forts had been left: Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria and Fort Charter, among others. The arrival of the Pioneer Column at Fort Salisbury marked a decisive step in the white settler occupation of Zimbabwe. The colonised land was named Rhodesia in honour of Cecil John Rhodes, the leader of the BSAC which had led in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. It is critical to note that the colonial occupiers are regarded as white settlers or simply as settlers in colonial and post-colonial discourse (Beach, 1970; Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2008; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). This thesis, as already mentioned, uses the terms interchangeably.

The early months of colonial settler presence in Rhodesia were a tricky affair to both the indigenous population and the occupiers. To avoid early confrontation, in a display of astute brinkmanship, Rhodes entered into concessions with individual local Shona chiefs and avoided direct confrontation with Lobengula who claimed authority over the whole of Mashonaland and whom Rhodesis said to have feared because of his temperament (Beach, 1970; Ranger, 1985; Alexander, 2006). When the envisaged gold rand was not discovered in Rhodesia; most settlers turned to farming in line with Rhodesia's status as a settler colony (Nyandoro, 2012; Ranger, 1985). This set the stage for confrontation with the indigenous population whose sustenance entirely depended on subsistence farming, gathering fruits and hunting. Beach (1970) notes that confrontation with the indigenous population, especially with Lobengula, could only be delayed but was imminent as the indigenes realised the true intentions of Cecil John Rhodes and his men.

Gradually and inevitably, the settler authority became excessively violent as it implemented a policy of indirect rule. Indirect rule, according to Alexander (2006), was a British system of administering indigenous people through the chief as a local proxy. The indigenous chiefs could no longer exercise their traditional authority, for example over the allocation of land to their subject since the land now 'belonged' to the British Empire. At the centre of raising awareness about the true intentions of the settlers to totally control the land were the spirit mediums. The Shona people were a very spiritual people and believed in the existence of an omnipotent God and the spiritual power of ancestors. The spirit mediums speaking on behalf of the spirits showed deep prophetic insight into the situation. The settlers were exposed for what they were and relations became strained. One such revelation of the mission of settlers is captured by Chenjerai Hove in his novel *Bones* where the settlers are metaphorically and cryptically referred to as a swarm of locusts that would nibble at everything until all pastures are bare or as vultures which were waiting for carcases which were not yet (Hove, 1988). True to the prophecies, the settlers started to demarcate land for their farms. The colonial government then enacted legislation which legalised appropriation of land from Africans (see Section 1.2.1.3). Racial tension gradually grew and covert expressions of resistance by the indigenous population became overt.

1.2.1.2 Early resistance to colonial rule

The first three years of settler activity convinced the indigenous people that the intention of the 'visitors' was never to return but to displace the indigenous population. Having set up factories and having pegged farms for themselves and with a pool of manipulated and forced cheap labour from Africans, the settlers increased their stranglehold on the land. Harsh treatment of African workers and citizens in general was worse amongst the Afrikaner settlers because Afrikaners had experience of hostile racial relations with Africans from their sojourn in the Transvaal before they were dislodged by the British in 1902 (Mlambo, 2000). The indigenous people in South Africa in the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War, had collaborated more with the British than the Afrikaners and even exposed Afrikaner commandos to British soldiers causing the Afrikaners to incur heavy losses that lead to their acceptance of negotiations on a weaker footing with the British (Pretorius, 2011). Resentment and sometimes ill-treatment of the indigenous population by settlers in general contributed towards engendering hostile racial relations.

The first signs of uprising came from Lobengula who had seen his power to raid the Karanga areas being checked by the settlers who did not tolerate the disruptive effect these raids had on their farms and factories when the *Karanga* ran away from the marauding *impis* of Lobengula. In terms of administrative authority, the settler authorities had introduced hut tax on the pretext of making all citizens to contribute towards the building of the state. Local spirit mediums,Sekuru Kaguvi and Mbuya Nehanda urged the Africans to fight for their land because the settlers were not going to leave on their own (*Sekuru* is a title for grandfather or male spirit medium while *Mbuya* is a title for grandmother and title for female spirit medium in Shona). Simmering discontent soon gave way to violent rebellion. The rebellion started as sporadic acts of banditry in Mashonaland but they were crushed in 1893. Massive uprisings erupted in 1896. Settlers were attacked in both Mashonaland and Matabeleland as spirit mediums, Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi coordinated the rebellion. This rebellion was also inspired and directed by Murenga Sororenzou, believed to be a medium of the Mwari cult just like Nehanda and Kaguvi (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Ranger, 1967). From the name Murenga the word *Chimurenga* was generated to refer to a war of liberation. As argued by Vambe (2004:167),

> [t]he term *chimurenga*comes from the name of a legendary *Shona* ancestor, *Murenga Sororenzou.* Believed to be a huge man with a head (*soro*) the size of an elephant' s (*renzou*), *Murenga* was well known for his fighting spirit and prowess, and legend has it that he composed war-songs to encourage his soldiers to continue the fight against their enemies in pre-colonial Zimbabwe.

Though the indigenous people initially inflicted casualties on the settlers, reinforcements from South Africa and the use of guns soon tilted the game in favour of the settlers. Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi and other chiefs like Makoni (Chingaira) that were strongly behind the rebellion were rounded up by the colonialists and summarily executed through decapitation. It is on record that before her execution, Mbuya Nehanda prophesied that even if the settlers killed her, her bones (descendants) would rise in the spirit of war to reclaim the stolen land (Hove, 1988). This struggle for land hinged on the African's relationship with the land. Zimbabweans like most Africans enjoyed a mystical relationship with the land as a priceless heritage. This relationship to the land was symbolically confirmed and celebrated in birth rites where the umbilical cord of a newly born child was buried in the soil as a ritual to dedicate the child to the ancestral spirits symbolised by the soil where the ancestors were buried. According to

Dzvairo, in his anti-settler revolutionary poem, "Birthright", the ritual of burying the umbilical cord gives the child a birthright to the land (Kadhani & Zimunya, 1981:13) (see section 2.4.4).

The indigenes were eventually defeated and the settlers tightened their grip on the land. What then followed after the crushing of the First *Chimurenga* was a period of total subjugation of the Africans under settler rule. There was no longer any pretence about settler intentions. Fertile land in regions of climatic conditions favourable to agriculture was further expropriated. As would be seen in the armed struggle(1966-1979) against colonial rule and the post-2000 land reforms, *Chimurenga* has become some form of ZANU PF ideology, and rallying point (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012).

1.2.1.3   Post First *Chimurenga* phase and the consolidation of settler rule

Events took a dramatic turn after the quelling of the First *Chimurenga* as the colonists consolidated their grip and worked towards making the land a settler colony. The British South Africa Company (BSAP) consolidated its takeover of the land by promulgating legislation that sealed the expropriation of land from the indigenous people. The land between Zambezi and Limpopo became Rhodesia (a name derived from the settler founder Rhodes). Alexander (2006:1) notes that

> the violence of military subjugation was followed by the displacements of territorial segregation. Africans faced eviction, sometimes several times over, from their homes and farms. Half of the country's agricultural land, and much of the most fertile, was designated for European occupation, while Africans were forced into reserves

Rhodes aimed to make Rhodesia a white country (Alexander, 2006; Chung, 2006; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2008). In this bid, the settler government invited white land seekers (preferably British nationals) to come andclaim land in Rhodesia (Mlambo, 2000). British nationals were given the highest preference to other ethnicities because of the settler authorities' fear of the unknown. Of those from other nationalities, the Afrikaners had a larger percentage after their ejection in large numbers following their defeat in Transvaal by the British in 1902. This humiliating Afrikaner defeat came with impoverishment because the British had destroyed Afrikaner farms and cattle to make them capitulate (Pretorius, 2011). Other nationalities like Germans were also accommodated in isolated cases. For instance, Felix Posselt who had visited Zimbabwe in 1888 on an exploration mission became part of the Pioneer Column and settled

in a place that was later to be known as Felixburg in Gutu district, a place that is within the case study of this thesis (see Section 4.2.2.1). The languages of these different nationalities, to different degrees, were mapped on the linguistic landscape in different proportions.

Successive repressive colonial legislation was promulgated, with the most draconian being the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which legislated the allocation of land on racial grounds (Beach, 1970; Ranger, 1985; Nyandoro, 2012). Following the uncertainties over land ownership, the British government mandated the Morris Carter Commission of 1925 to carry out assessment of the land situation and to propose possible solutions. The Land Apportionment Act, a result of the Morris Carter Commission, ushered in the principle of racial segregation in terms of land ownership into African and European land. According to Rutherford (2001), Europeans (the settlers) were allocated half the prime, arable land and Africans had the remainder. Of the European land, part of the land was clearly demarcated as British crown land or simply crown land(s) (Ranger, 1985; Nyandoro, 2012; Rutherford, 2001). This was a clear confirmation of British imperial interests. Successive legislation on land, mainly the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land tenure Act of 1959 entrenched racial segregation in land ownership in the then Rhodesia. Using the smokescreen of science, the colonial government forced indigenous people into new settlement patterns known as villages to create space for farms. It also became prudent for the settler authority to control the number of cattle that the indigenous people could rear. Destocking was introduced in line with the reduced land the the indigenous population now had. This had a devastating impact onthe African economic well being as their wealth was decimated in the name of destocking supposedly for sustainable environmental management (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). Excess cattle were bought at a song or simply taken by settler farmers (Ranger, 1985; Mlambo, 2014).

Through settler cartography emergent infrastructure such as farms, schools, hospitals, cities, towns, townships as well as natural features such as rivers and mountains were given foreign names and the toponymic landscape soon resembled, to a significant extent, a province of Britain. Maps that officialised the new namesdrawn from English, Afrikaans or any other European languagerepertoire of names were produced. For instance, Chivhu became Enkeldoorn and Masvingo became Fort Victoria.Where local language names were used, they were in the majority of cases, transphonologised as the settlers grappled with transcribing the

Bantu languages that had not had an alphabet or writing system before. For example, Mutare became Umtali and Gweru became Gwelo.It is therefore reasonable to say that settlers mapped their identities on the land in Zimbabwe through systematic naming. The introduction of the concept of a farm was a new transformative development to African territory where land was previously communally owned. The legacy of this transformation of land use and land rights, in its negative and positive senses, is still being grappled with in Zimbabwe today and is evident in toponymy.

1.2.1.4 The rise of nationalism and the1966 – 1979War of Liberation (Second *Chimurenga*)

The war that finally brought freedom from colonial rule was long in coming. It took a period of five decades after the quelling of the First *Chimurenga* for the second wave of resistance to be manifest. For the efficient functioning of the colonial state, formal education was introduced to the indigenous population. Ironically this same education was to serve as the bedrock of future anti-colonial struggles because it raised the level of socio-political awareness among the indigenes and created a class of pioneer nationalist leaders. Unlike the informal pre-colonial African education, settlers and missionaries built formal schools to equip the indigenous population with literacy skills necessary for the new socio-economic order. As a result, a few educated Zimbabweans became the bedrock of the struggle to regain the land in the 1950s. The struggle was given ideological and financial backing by communist and Marxist regimes in Eastern Europe and Asia. Nationalists from Matabeleland and Mashonaland (Mashonaland is a name used in the colonial period to refer to what is now Mashonaland, Masvingo and Manicaland where Shona was spoken) identified the white settlers as intruders who had to be driven off the land by force.

Winds of change after the Second World War saw the British Empire gradually disbanding. With the attainment of independence by Ghana in 1959, there was a rise in anti colonial sentiments in Zimbabwe resulting in the formation of the first nationalist party the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress (SRANC) in 1957. This was banned by colonial authorities but the nationalists formed a new one known as Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in 1961. Due to power struggles and tribalism, ZAPU which was led by the late Joshua Nkomo, a Ndebele, split and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed in 1963 under the leadership of Herbert Chitepo, a British trained barrister. The same year, African countries formed the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) with the purpose of championing

continental integration and supporting the struggles of those peoples under colonial rule. This gave impetus to the nationalist cause in Zimbabwe and the nationalists mobilised people to rise against the colonial government. The major bone of contention was the issue of land. Herbert Chitepo clearly articulated this issue of land locally and internationally and declared that if it was not addressed, there would be no racial harmony in Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008).

A turning point for the worse in Zimbabwe came when the settler government then led by Ian Douglas Smith chose to go against Britain's attempts to cede more political power to blacksby declaring independence from Britain in the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of 11 November 1965 (Alexander, 2006; Beach, 1994; Chung, 2006). The chances of peaceful resolution to the conflict were reduced to nil because the settler authorities had declared their intention to hold on to the land at whatever cost. Racially driven anti-nationalist legislation was strengthened by the settler regime. Meanwhile, the nationalist tide of largely passive resistance got coalesced into armed resistance. Peasants, workers and students left the country *en masse* to neighbouring countries for military training in order to come back and fight to dislodge the colonial government. Even though there were other grievances, for example the lack of political space in the governance of the country and the limited access to education, the major grievance was the land issue. The first shots by the nationalist guerrilla combatants were fired at Chinhoyi, a small town in north western Zimbabwe, in 1966 and the Rhodesian War started. The period between 1966 and 1979 saw the country being embroiled in a brutal guerrilla war. Major targets of the nationalist combatants were settlers, settler infrastructure and farms. For its part, the settler government systematically engaged in what it termed counter insurgency operations which allegedly ended up in the commission of heinous atrocities sometimes against refugees in and outside Zimbabwe (Alexander, 2006; Chung, 2006; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2008; Ranger, 1985).

In 1975, Hebert Chitepo was assassinated in Zambia allegedly by the colonial regime. The same year saw Robert Gabriel Mugabe who had languished in detention alongside other nationalist leaders like Joshua Nkomo and Simon Muzenda for at least ten years, being released to facilitate dialogue withthe Rhodesiansettler government. Instead of engaging in talks with the colonial government, Robert Mugabe skipped the border and went to Mozambique which had become the major rear base for ZANU's military operations to lead the bush war. Upon

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arrival in Mozambique, Robert Mugabe came face to face with a highly politicised military that had rejected its inaugural leader, Ndabaningi Sithole, for betrayal and ineptness (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). The combatants through their leaders chose him to be the ZANU leader at Mgagao in Tanzania in the famous Mgagao Declaration (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). Such involvement of the military in Zimbabwe's politics did not end with the war; it has been an enduring feature of Zimbabwe's history, the Third *Chimurenga* included.

With the Rhodesian War claiming casualties on both sides, the international community led by the United Nations (UN), America and Britain successfully managed to bring the opposing groups to the negotiating table at Lancaster House for the Lancaster House Conference in Britain in September 1979. The then prime minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher, and her government wereparticularly instrumental in ensuring that the Rhodesian government and the liberation fighters came to the negotiating table.The conference grappled with the Rhodesian problem for at least three months before an agreement was reached. The import of the conference and its resolutions are briefly discussed below.

1.2.1.5 The Lancaster House Conference and independence

From September to December 1979, a conference organised by the UN, America and Britain was held at Lancaster to grapple with the Southern Rhodesian issue. The nationalists were a very big contingent as all nationalist organisations, churches and non-governmental organisations were invited to the conference. Prominent among the nationalists were battle-hardened Robert Gabriel Mugabe and his delegation that were buoyed by successes on the battle front. The conference in the end resolved that there should be free elections in Rhodesia supervised by the United Nations. The conference came up with the Lancaster House Constitution which had to be used by the independent Zimbabwe without changes for ten years. On the land issue, it was agreed that the new government should proceed on a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis and that for the following ten years, the status quo of farm ownership would retained (Palmer, 1990; Alexander, 2006; Mlambo, 2014; Nyandoro, 2012; Zvobgo, 2009). On 18 April 1980, the Union Jack came down in Zimbabwe to signal the birth of a new Zimbabwe under the leadership of Robert Gabriel Mugabe of ZANU PF as executive prime minister.

1.2.2 Post-independence land reform initiatives

Land remained a topical issue in the post-independence period. Reforms in the agrarian sector were rather lethargic until 1998 when the tempo for land reform was upped by the government. These post-independence land reforms are examined in two categories: reforms of the first decade and those of the second decade which then culminated in the Fast-track Land Reform Programme also known as the Third *Chimurenga* or simply post-2000 land reforms.

1.2.2.1 The first decade of independence (1980-1990)

Though independence was granted to Zimbabwe, the changes which happened on the land were largely nominal – symbolic name changes of public places like towns, roads and streets. Wholesome erasure of settler toponymy was not possible because the new government had adopted a policy of reconciliation and because of practical reasons of cartography where such changes would cause nightmares in navigation (Mlambo, 2014; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008; Chung, 2006). In terms of real ownership of the land, the colonial status quo persisted. At independence Prime Minister Robert Mugabe had announced a policy of reconciliation to heal the wounds of the past decades of war. There was a semblance of racial harmony as the Africans and liberal whites who supported the war basked in the euphoria of independence. The Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, gradually consolidated his power by crushing any dissent especially from Matabeleland where Joshua Nkomo, a long standing nationalist rivalcame from. A handful of former ZAPU combatants who could not come to terms with the victory of ZANU PF engaged in acts of banditry against the general citizenry in Midlands and MatabelelandProvinces (see Appendix 4.1). This dissident activity was ruthlessly quelled by the government; in the process leaving scores of innocent women, men and children either dead, maimed or traumatised in an operation named *Gukurahundi* (Shona word for rain that washes chaff away after harvesting) (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). The manner in which the threat of dissidents was crushed indicated that ZANU PF was prepared not to stop at anything to attain its objectives.

True to its war time promise, the government embarked on land reforms to resettle landless peasants through the Lancaster House Conference's agreed willing-buyer, willing-seller basis. The government of Zimbabwe enacted changes to the constitution within the limits of what the Lancaster House Constitution stipulated and came up with Communal Land Act, Number 21 of 1985 and the Land Acquisition Act, Number 21 of 1985 both aimed at making the

implementation of land reforms legal and peaceful. Only 70 000, families according to Raftopoulos & Mlambo (2008), were resettled. Frustratingly, to the government and its people, most of the land released was in ecologically dry areas with poor soils for agriculture (Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010). The government grudgingly waited for the lapsing of the Lancaster House Constitution agreement to institute constitutional changes.

1.2.2.2 The second decade of independence (1991-2000)

Following the lapsing of the restrictive provisions of the Lancaster House Constitution in 1990, the Zimbabwean government had an opportunity to address the land question in a more comprehensive manner than before. However, unlike in 1980, the situation after 1990 in Zimbabwe had changed significantly and the political terrain was getting increasingly complicated with the economy apparently sliding into recession and the government havingto dealwith a number of other challenges. Already in 1990 the government had agreed to implement a raft of International Monetary Fund (IMF) recommendations for economic reform. These reforms had seen the government abandoning some of its populist policies, for example the provision of subsidies in the market. There were widespread retrenchments as the austeritymeasures took a toll on the country's employment sector. The will to address the land issue had subsided considerably even though on public platforms the government declared that land reform was its priority.

A critical step towards reforms was the enactment of The Land Acquisition Act, Number 3 of 1992. This Act gave the government powers to compulsorily acquire land for resettlement and, where necessary, the act made it possible for the government to downsize settler farm sizes where itwas deemed necessary. This Act set the government on a collision course with traditional donor countries like the former colonial master, Britain. Financial support was withdrawn and the situation on the ground remained uncertain. In 1998 the government hosted an international donor conference to raise money for accelerated land reform but the level of financial support was not encouraging. The failure of the donor conference to garner enough resources for land reform and the indifference of Britain towards the funding of land reform in Zimbabwe coupled with political developments on the ground culminated in the fast-track land reform programme.

1.2.2.3 Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* (Fast-track Land Reform Programme)

This thesis is centred on Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymy, a result of the internationally vilified radical land reform programme. So complex are the historical forces that led to the full-blown crisis after April 2000. Mlambo & Raftopoulos (2010:1) characterise the complex nature of the political developments and the resultant mayhem as a "multi-layered crisis".

The Third *Chimurenga* was a precipitation of numerous challenges whose solutions the post-independence government seemed overwhelmed to effectively meet. As mentioned in Section 1.2.2.2, Zimbabwe' socio-political challenges took a sharp turn in the early 1990s when the government adopted market reforms recommended by the international financier International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Alden and Anseeuw, 2006; Chung, 2006; Mlambo, 2014). As a result of these reforms which came as a package later known as ESAP for Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, the economy contracted by about 8% and unemployment shot to a staggering 50% in 1993 (Alden and Anseeuw, 2006). By 1996 there was widespread discontent among the general populace over the harsh economic environment which was exacerbatedby corruption and ineptness in economic and political governance. In particular, veterans of the Second *Chimurenga* started to agitate for gratuities after revelations that the War Victims Compensation Fund (a fund which government had set up to support war veterans) had been looted by some people who had not even participated in the war through fraudulent claims (Chung, 2006; Mlambo; 2014; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2008). The government finally gave in and offered gratuities to each of the living veterans of the war an amount of Z$50 000, reported by *Business Weekly* (2017) to be equivalent to US$ 3 570. The result of the gratuities was a catastrophic effect on the Zimbabwe dollar which plummeted against all the major international and regional currencies to unprecedented levels. Faced with a restive population, historians such as Duval (2000) and Alexander (2006) allege that the ZANU PF government turned in desperation to the otherwise 'parked' but perennially sensitive issue of the land. Most settler farmers had exhibited no appetite for the agreed Lancaster House willing-buyer, willing-seller approach (Chung, 2006; Mlambo & Raftopoulos, 2010). In the case where there was a willing-seller, the land was poor or the government did not have the money and resultantly the programme stalled.

The communal peasants of Svosve communal lands in 1998 illegally occupied tracts of land in farms which they believed were pegged on their ancestral lands (Alexander, 2006; Raftopoulos

& Mlambo, 2008; Nyandoro, 2012; Chung 2006) as a demonstration of their impatience over the pace of land reforms. Indeed the Svosve occupations became the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. At around the same time when the Svosve people were demonstrating their frustration with the slow pace of land reforms, civil war broke out in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Zimbabwe ill-advisedly went in to support the government of Laurent Kabila most probably hoping to realise some financial spin offs to stabilise the situation at home. This entry in the war aggravated the already dire economic stress the country was in and in 1998 there were violent mass stay-aways as the largest labour movement, the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) mobilised people against the government. These protests, an indicator of widespread discontent and frustration of the citizenry against the government, culminated in the formation of a labour backed political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) under the leadership of the late Morgan Tsvangirai in September 1999. Faced with a realistic threat to its hold on power, the ZANU PF government revived the rhetoric of war and re-opened the issue of land, advocating forced take-over from whites apparently in retaliation for the support which the white farmers and their workers were giving to the opposition (Zvobgo, 2009; Chung, 2006). A government sponsored draft constitution was rejected by the majority in a referendum in February 2000 and the ruling party was jolted out of its slumber.

Thereafter, events unfolded in a dramatic fashion and what started as demonstrations for land degenerated into outright mayhem on the farms as local people took issues into their own hands. There was chaos and violence on the farms and in the words of Raftopoulos & Mlambo (2008:xxx), Zimbabwe's "political convulsions" intensified. There was full scale violence allegedly perpetrated bythe government against its perceived opponents as the country hurtled towards the June 2000 parliamentary plebiscite. In April 2000, an amendment to the 1992 Land Acquisition Act was passed apparently to speed up the compulsory acquisition of white owned farms. This was also an act of retribution against white farmers who were accused of supporting a 'no' vote in the referendum by financially bankrolling the opposition (in an act of political immaturity, Morgan Tsvangirai, the MDC leader had appeared in the media receiving cash donations from white farmers). The Land Acquisition Act Amendment, Number 16 of 2000 now included Section 16B (Government of Zimbabwe, 2000) which read:

Agricultural land acquired for resettlement in regard to the compulsory acquisition of agricultural land for resettlement of people in accordance with a programme of land reform; the following factors shall be regarded as of ultimate and overriding importance –

> A - Under colonial domination the people of Zimbabwe were unjustifiably dispossessed of their land and other resources without compensation:
>
> B – the people consequently took up arms in order to regain their land and political sovereignty, and this ultimately resulted in theindependence of Zimbabwe in 1980:
>
> C – the people of Zimbabwe must be enabled to reassert their rightsand regain ownership of their land and accordingly –

The former colonial power has an obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement, through an adequate fund established for the purpose; and

If the former colonial power fails to pay compensation through such a fund, the Government of Zimbabwe has no obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement.

Armed with the amended act, the government then put in place structures for implementation of the programme. Violence, however, continued to rear its ugly head. A new version of history which was ostensibly pro-government emerged. This narrative, according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013:184), reduced Zimbabwe's history to "nothing other than a catalogue of *Chimurenga*s spearheaded by patriotic forces in search of independence and in defence of national sovereignty." This brand of history is what Ranger (2004) sees as falling within nationalist historiography which is propagandist. The reference to *Chimurenga* meant war and some of the violent tactics and propaganda reminiscent of Zimbabwe's liberation bush war were made use of. By referring to *Chimurenga*, the past and present were conflated to create justification for whatever actionwas adopted to recover the land believed to have been stolen by settlers. Many opposition supporters and white farmers were attacked, with some allegedly killed in cold blood and others disappearing never to be found, and the alleged perpetrator was the state. Zimbabwe was reduced to a theatre of fear, chaos and blood reminiscent of the Second *Chimurenga*. Hove (2002), for instance, observed that "[o]ur country is going through a phase of unsurpassed barbarism in the form of violence experienced on our doorstep every day." In September 2005, the government of Zimbabwe made further amendments to the Land Acquisition Act by passing Constitution Amendment Number 17 of 2005. This amendment declared that all farmlands in Zimbabwe were state land and there was no provision for legal

recourse to contest the compulsory acquisition or to claim compensation. Once an acquisition notice was gazetted, it implied that the ownership of that land had been transferred to the state. Those who resisted were immediately served with eviction notices and others were arrested.

Scholarly opinions on the Third *Chimurenga*'s justifiability or lack of it have been quite complex and diverse. Duval (2000) contends that the Third *Chimurenga* was Mugabe's "desperate throw" in the face of numerous threats to his rule while Mlambo (2014) argues that the inequalities in land distribution were too glaring to be ignored. In spite of these divergences, there, however, seems to be convergence on the view that colonial land inequities in Zimbabwe needed to be addressed but not in the chaotic and violent manner witnessed after the year 2000; the programme caused unintended damage by creating numerous other problems around key issues of democracy, human rights, economics and justice in today's globalised world. If the land was indeed stolen, then the government could have given an ear to the old adage that an eye for an eye makes the world blind or two wrongs do not make a right. Equally disturbing are fairly recent utterances attributed to former President Mugabe when he was addressing a political gathering that commemorated Zimbabwe's liberation war heroes in August 2017; he declared that no one will be prosecuted for killing white settlers during the land reform (Muzulu, 2017).

The contestations over land left inscriptions on the geographical landscape in the form ofchanged place names. Inevitably, the Third *Chimurenga* reignited the almost dormant discourse on renaming. This is because once the whites were served with verbal or written eviction notices, the farms were subdivided into plots for the indigenous people or in some few cases, one politically powerful black owner took over the whole farm. On one hand there was erasure or suppression of colonial toponymy and on the other, there was emergence of new toponymy and resuscitation of pre-colonial and liberation war-based toponymy as meeting places, bus and train stations, clinics, schools, villages and farming plots emerged. These post-2000 toponyms reflect, in one way or the other, the contestations over land ownership in Zimbabwe since the coming of white settlers towards the end of the 20th century.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Toponymic landscape which emerged out of the post-2000 land reforms has not been critically accounted for in a systematic and in-depth manner. The exact value of toponyms in history and

vice versa has not attracted many scholars in Zimbabwe. Perhaps this is why name changing from English to local language names after attaining independence has been a contentious and inconclusive issue in Zimbabwe. Most interestingly, even though the post-independence government, buoyed by populist policies of the liberation struggle and the euphoria of independence, embarked on name changing from colonial to African names, the toponymic landscape still faced fresh changes in the post-2000 land reform exercise. The Third *Chimurenga* unleashed a new wave of toponymic changes and the nature and impact on of these on the geographical terrain is yet to get adequate and critical scholarly attention. This research seeks to make a step towards critically accounting for the post-Third *Chimurenga* toponymic landscape within the critical turn, a relatively recent shift from the traditional approach to the study of toponymy to a critical approach based on critical social theory. In this regard, this research opens a new knowledge frontier in terms of understanding Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* and the historical forces around it through toponymy.

The study does not pretend to reinvent the wheel but usesdifferent lenses in the form of post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics; political semiotics and language ecology to understand the Third *Chimurenga*, a unique historical attempt to address the land question in post-colonial Zimbabwe. This study of Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponyms is characterised by theoretical eclecticism, methodological triangulation and analytical rigour.

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

An overwhelming majority of white owned farms targeted by the ZANU PF government for resettling landless peasants had been parcelled out by successive colonial regimes from 1890 up to 1980 to settler farmers. For a long time these places had a toponymic identity which reflected colonial ownership. The research seeks to investigate how toponyms reflect Zimbabwe's post-2000 Land Reform Programme also known as the Third *Chimurenga*. The resultant toponymic landscape is a script where social and political values are embedded. Both the process of naming and the names themselves play a role in determining the toponymic landscape; the cultural and political mirror of the Shona people.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The research seeks to:

i. Establish trends and patterns in the post-2000 toponymic landscape;

ii.   Determine the impact of the post-2000 land reforms on the toponymic landscape;

iii.   Analyse the social and political significance of the post-2000 toponymic landscape;

iv.   Assess the contribution ofthe post-2000 toponymic landscape in shaping Zimbabwe's post-colonial identity.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions are as follows:

i.   What are the emerging trends in the post-2000 (Third *Chimurenga*) toponymic landscape?

ii.   What is the extent of post-2000 toponymic changes on the landscape?

iii.   What are the social and political messages of the post-2000 toponymic landscape?

iv.   What does the post-2000 toponymic landscape indicate about Zimbabwe's post-colonial identity?

1.7 MOTIVATION BEHIND THE STUDY

Onomastics research has not attracted much attention in Zimbabwe. Consequently, as argued by Pfukwa (2007a), there is a dearth in terms of onomastics literature in Zimbabwe There has beensignificant onomastic work (skewed in favour of anthroponymy) inZimbabwe in the form of research articles and theses: Pongweni (1983; 2017), Pfukwa (2007a/b), Makondo (2009), Mamvura (2014) and Mamvura et al. (2017), among others. Yet, in terms of toponymy there is very little. This research has a particular interest in toponyms. Toponyms are names of the natural physical features and those of man-made features. The study of toponyms is quite critical because they are a unique type of word which has, ironically, been perceived by some scholars as meaningless in total disregard of the fact that "[m]eaningless words are alien to language" (Raper, 2004:xxi). And yet the meaning differs from that of ordinary words. Hence, Meiring (2010a:97) contends that place names are better understood not for their meaning etymologically but "anything that is associated with the particular name is also part of its meaning". As signs, toponyms communicate meaning more on the connotative than the denotative level.

This research considers both a diachronic and synchronic approach to toponyms in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Historical information is indispensable to a proper study of toponymy because context plays a critical role in name

choices. Even though it is generally accepted by scholars that toponyms are cultural windows into the past, present and future of a people, the evidence is not always easy to decipher, which, according to Algeo & Algeo (2000:271), is because of "[m]angled diction, translation, misspelling, and replacement or addition of generics", as toponyms are modified to fit communicative needs of the speech community. The critical study of toponyms is a vital approach to establishing the complexities of meaning.

Through the application of post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology within the critical framework, this thesis contributes new and comprehensive knowledge on toponymy in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The theoretical framework discussed in detail in Section 2.2has enabled the study to trace, where possible, how the toponymic landscape has responded to the often chaotic, seriously contested and sometimes confrontational execution of the post-2000 land reform programme. While toponymic changes inspired by independence from colonialism involved changing names from colonial ones to indigenous names,a critical, systematic study of post-2000 toponymic landscape has not been done. This study fills a void in the sociolinguistic studies of post- colonial Zimbabwe especially around a highly contested fast-track land redistribution programme.

This study also provides a fresh lens to look into the colonial and post-colonial history of Zimbabwe, particularly the history of the post-2000 land reforms (Third *Chimurenga*). This is also against the background that available toponymic research has been recorded largely by scholars whose interest and background was not necessarily sociolinguistic. Colonial toponymic studies were carried out with people whose interest was not in language but in anthropology, history or geography leading to production of toponymic guides which did not go beyond etymology and classification (see Section 2.1). Because Africa was previously uncharted territory, the role of such toponymic guides was more cartographic than anything else.For instance, Kendall (2005; 2006) examined names of roads, streets and residential suburbs in Bulawayo and Harare and produced lists of names of Scottish origin.

Even though the attainment of independence from Britain in 1980 gave a new impetus to the study of toponyms, there is a glaring paucity of such studies. The post-1990 generation of toponymic studies in Zimbabwe attempted the study of place names from a critical perspective but these studies were largely small-scale focusing on limited data (see Section 2.4.4).

Significant toponymic work was done by Mamvura (2014) in a doctoral study on colonial school names in Zimbabwe. While Mamvura (2014) focused on the man-made toponymic features (the schools), this study is pioneering in studying both natural and man-made toponymy from a non-traditional perspective. This research is, therefore, significant because of the theoretical lenses used in this study which would inevitably give new impetus to place name studies in Zimbabwe.

In addition, the research is of significance in its contribution to knowledge on the relationship between language and culture. There is a symbiotic relationship between names and culture (Ngugi waThiong'o, 1981). "Culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group of people from another" (Hofstede, 1994). It pertains to a people's way of life as determined by several factors including their environment, language and history. It might be valid to say culture influences a community's toponyms and toponyms in turn have an impact on a people's culture. The influence of language on the culture and vice versa is an area that has been dealt with under the theory of language ecology proposed by Haugen (1972). This study is invaluable in its attempt to critically establish the ecological relationships at play as reflected by post-2000 toponymy. A study of place names from a critical, sociolinguistic perspective inspired by critical theories in the form of post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology yields important insights.

In spite of the subdued scholarly interest in toponymy in Zimbabwe, naming of the geographical landscape continues to occupy a critical role in post-colonial discourse. The study is in part motivated by the never ending quest for identity in post-colonial Africa. In the eyes of the generality of Africans, colonialism was and is largely perceived as a cultural assault on African communities by colonists who allegedly sought to denigrate African civilisation for selfish reasons (Fanon, 1965; Ngugi waThiong'o, 1981; 1993; Mudenge, 2011; Chung, 2006). Strong declarations have been made about the destructive role of colonial toponymy in the cultures of colonised communities elsewhere (Azaryahu, 1996; 1997; Berg and Vuolteenaho, 2009; Helleland, 2012). In Zimbabwe, observations about the role of colonial toponymy were made by Fisher (2010) who maintains that Rhodesian settler place names effaced pre-existing African cultural formations, displayed and justified the imperialist expansionist aims against indigenous people who were at harmony with their natural resources, including land, before

the advent of settlers. The complexities of post-colonial identities in Zimbabwe are exposed in this study.

This study is also driven by the realisation that sustained but contentious discourses over naming of the geographical landscape has not been evident in Zimbabwe only but the world over. In South Africa, for instance, the issue of renaming places and the presence of colonial and apartheid symbols have often resulted in emotive debate and violent expression of positions in a manner that seems absurd at times. A case in point is the suggestion by Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) Provincial Secretary in 2015 that they would destroy every statue including the smallest statue of Queen Victoria because these statues, just like toponyms, remind South Africans of the oppression they suffered under apartheid (O'Connor, 2015). This was said within the context of the Rhodes Must Fall campaign which sought to have colonial and apartheid symbols like that of Cecil John Rhodes removed from public space. Quite intriguing is the recent suggestion by a leading politician, the Arts and Culture Minister in South Africa, to have the name South Africa changed to something else because South Africa is not a name but an expression of geographical location (Claymore, 2017).

Zimbabwe is in a similar predicament with regards to its toponymic landscape. According to Nyashanu & Mpofu (2013), in 2013, the government took a decision to rename Victoria Falls to its pre-colonial name Mosi-oa-Tunya, but the zeal to do so seems to have naturally dissipated. Re-inscribing the landscape has been on the government of independent Zimbabwe's agenda intermittently. The post-2000 land reform, a culmination of post-independence efforts to address the land question in Zimbabwe had its own impact on toponymy. Of equal interest to this study is to expose how the toponymic landscape has responded to the often chaotic, seriously contested and sometimes confrontational execution of the post-2000 land reform programme. While toponymic changes inspired by independence from colonialism in Zimbabwe, in overwhelming cases, involved symbolic and sometimes sporadic changes of names from colonial to indigenous ones, it is interesting to note how an exercise which came twenty years after independence affected the toponymic landscape.

The research, therefore, contributes to the debate on how the history of colonialism should be accommodated in the post-independence period in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. It is noted that in most African countries, toponyms deemed out of tune with the anti-colonial ideology were

quickly changed to reflect the new political order and yet other cultural items like dressing, the education system, religious practices, economic principles and language remained. A study of the post-2000 toponymic landscape is a landmark activity in the quest to understand Zimbabwe's post independence land reforms and other related issues from an onomastic perspective. Even though there has been sporadic research on street names and feature names in Zimbabwe, a sustained and systematic study of the post-2000 toponymic landscape had not been undertaken.

1.8   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The research takes cognisance of the fact that after the displacement of the settler farmers, most of them chose to leave Zimbabwe completely and could not be located. If they had been available their side of the story would have illuminated certain aspects of this study, for instance, in terms of why their predecessors gave certain names to the colonised landscape. While their side of the story could have been useful, the study does not focus on their views but on the post-2000 toponymic landscape in Zimbabwe. Where it was critical to expose information about the settlers, the researcher relied on documentary sources in the form of official records and any other relevant literature. However, the methods used in this study have the capacity to make the findings trustworthy.

The other limitations emanates from the fact that critical analysis of place names requires adequate historical detail on the place names. However, most toponyms do not have that detail in written or oral forms, leaving interpretation of the name(s) open to conjecture with a possibility of leading to inaccurate conclusions.

The study covers a relatively wide geographical space which is not well connected with navigable roads. Travelling was always a challenge with some stretches of distance done on foot. The financial cost to traverse the whole breadth and length of the area of study was always a challenge even though UNISA's Department of Student Funding (DSF) assisted me with bursary funds to help in that regard.

1.9   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical issues in this research were given dueconsideration. The key issue of informed consent which pertains to procedures, risks and benefits of the study (Escobedo et al., 2007) was

respected. Privacy and confidentiality issues were given prominence. Every care was taken to ensure protection of privacy and safety of participants. The research made use of participants who were above the legal age of majority and were therefore legally entitled to taking decisions about participating or not (Cohen et al, 2000). Where information was housed in official government departments or private repositories, written permission was sought (see Section 3.6& Appendices 5 & 6).

1.10 PREVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The next chapter, Chapter 2, establishes the theoretical framework of the studyand reviews related literature. Chapter 3 setsout the methodology for the thesis and presents the sampling and data collection procedures used in the research.InChapter 4 the findings are presented and analysed.Chapter 5 engages in a rigorous discussion of the findings and ends with recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This study, as already discussed in Section 1.1, falls within the 'critical turn', a phase that saw a shift from the traditional place name studies to a critical approach anchored on critical social theory. According toRose-Redwood et al. (2010:454), the critical turn"acknowledges that names cannot be uninvolved with political processes of naming and that naming is intricately bound to the political economy of place making and its symbolism…" While traditional toponymic studies focused on etymology and classification of place names, from the 1990s onomastics research (particularly toponymy) started to exhibit a shift towards the study of names within the social, historical and political context (Azaryahu, 2011; Rose-Redwood, 2011; 2018; Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010; 2018a/b). Rose-Redwood et al. (2010:455) assert that the post-1990s period is characterised as a critical turn in place-name scholarship, because of the exciting developments in "explicit and self-reflexive engagement with critical theories of space and place" to produce a distinct body of onomastic research, which deals with the study of toponymy through the application of critical social theory. Azaryahu (2011:28) also asserts that the critical turn is about "how power relations shape commemorative priorities and produce certain geographies of public memory." Previously, the study of names was indifferent to the politics behind the naming and renaming. Hence, Johnson and Ballentine (1994:27) argue that toponymy before the 1990s critical turn was a "rather moribund realm of taxonomies", which was enlivened by the critical turn. The critical turn, as perceived by Sheridan (2010), is some form of toponymic literary criticism where the toponyms and the naming process are exposed to rigorous analysis to unpack meaning. Such a critical approach goes beyond descriptive backing (Meiring, 2009). Whilst descriptive backing, according to Meiring (2009), describes all the available facts and connotations relating to a name, the critical approach adopted in this study provides a critique of the name and the motivation behind it, based on critical social theory.

This chapter starts by presenting the theoretical framework of the study and then proceeds with a review of related literature on various studies in toponymy.Post-colonial theory has been selected as the overarching theory in this study, but it is complemented with insights from geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology. While post-colonial theory offers effective

lens to gain insights into post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology offer a critical sociolinguisticdimension in a study of this nature. After the discussion of the theoretical framework, the relationship between toponymy and topical issues within post-colonial discourse, such as culture, history, power, ideology and politics, among others, from the available literature, is explored.Subsequently, the review examines specific critical toponymicresearchmainly within African settings. A critical review of Zimbabwe's toponymic trends as presented by various researchers from the pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence periods until the year 2000, when the Third *Chimurenga* was launched, then follows.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is anchored primarily in post-colonial theory.The broad nature of post-colonial theory as a critical social theory qualified it as the most suitable theoretical framework for this study. It was, however, augmented and complemented by other sociolinguistic theories: geo-semiotics, political semioticsand language ecology,which render a cutting edge to this study.

2.2.1 Post-colonial theory

Post-colonial theory is the overarching social theory informing this study. According to Hamadi (2014:40), the father of post-colonial theory is Edward Said, a Palestinian twentieth century scholar. He is credited with the emergence post-colonial theory through ideas he put forward in his 1978 publication titled *Orientalism*. Edward Said's (1978) insightful analysis of how Western Europe, through its explorers, novelists, poets and playwrights systematically projected a negative image of the Orient as uncivilised, in contrast to the positive projection of the westerners, provided the foundation of post-colonial theory. Other scholars, such as Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, both Indian nationals, developed theories based on ideas of Said (1978). According to Bhabha (in Childs and Williams, 1997:3), the term post-colonial refers to "the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day". Post-colonial theory argues that the displacement and mixture caused by colonialism gave rise to the emergence of a "Third Space" which repudiates colonialism's attempt to sideline the colonised as the insignificant other.

Homi Bhabha (1994) propounds that post-colonial theory is preoccupied with the in-depth understanding of cultures affected by imperial process from the moment of colonisation to

present day. As argued by Rukundwa & Aarde (2007:1171), post colonial theory "is a means of defiance by which any exploitative and discriminative practices, regardless of time and space, can be challenged". It is a continuing human struggle against socio-historical circumstances to reclaim lost identity and to find solutions to challenges posed by colonialism. Ramrao (2012:135) declares that post colonial theory is

> a discussion of migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, place and responses to the influential master discourses of imperial....Europe and the fundamental experiences of speaking and writing by which all these come into being.

In Africa, the ideas of Said (1978) and Bhabha (1994) found wide resonance because of the history of colonisation, the struggle for independence, independence and the post-independence phases in the former colonised countries.Whilst post-colonial theory is a universal theory that applies to all post-colonial situations across the continents, in Africa post-colonial it is imbued with the Afrocentric world view and its application is mainly focused on literary analysis. There is mutual reinforcement of post-colonial theory and the Afrocentric perspective amongst African post-colonial theorists because post-colonial theory bears witness to the unequal and universal forces manifesting in cultural representation and one of its core objectives, according to Childs & Williams (1997:1), is

> [t]he dismantling of structures of colonial control, beginning in earnest in the late 1950s and reaching its high point in the 1960s... as country after country gained independence from the colonising powers.

As a result, the post-colonial theorist in Africa is also invariably an Afrocentrist. Prominent post-colonial and Afrocentric scholars in Africa are Frantz Fanon (1965; 1967), Walter Rodney (1972), Chinua Achebe (1975; 2006), Ngugi waThiong'o (1981; 1986; 1993), Molefe Kete Asante (1991; 1999; 2007), among others. An ardent anti-colonial critic, Frantz Fanon (1965; 1967) is a prominent Algerian scholar whose ideas on effects of colonisation on the colonised sense of identity are critical to post-colonial theory. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1967) tackles the identity crisis of the colonial bourgeoisie class which approximates (mimics) the coloniser. In a similar manner to Spivak's conceptualisation of the subaltern (see Section 2.2.1.1), Fanon (1965:33) examines the predicament of the colonised in his other book, *The Wretched of the Earth* and unequivocally advocates the use of violence to attain decolonisation:

[n]ational liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people, commonwealth: whatever may be the headings used or the new formulas introduced, decolonization is always a violent phenomenon. At whatever level we study it - relationships between individuals, new names for sports clubs, the human admixture at cocktail parties, in the police, on the directing boards of national or private banks - decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain "species" of men by another "species" of men.

To confirm his ardent belief in the use of violence for decolonisation, Fanon participated in the liberation war of Algeria against the French because he had adopted Algeria as his home though he was born in the Caribbean French colony of Martinez. Just like Fanon, Walter Rodney (1972) adopted a radically anti-colonial stance by portraying colonisation as overwhelmingly exploitative. Rodney, a Guyanese born African-American academic, defined himself as an African (owing to his working in Tanzania) and viewed Africa as his real home. Consistent with his anti-colonial stance, Rodney (1972) views the positive contributions of colonialism in the form of formal education and other cultural practices as by-products of colonialism.

The same radicalism of Fanon and Rodney is shared by Ngugi waThiong'o and Molefe Kete Asante. Both Asante and Ngugi waThiong'o advocate for a re-ordering of the status quo in Africa in order to thrust the African back into the position of agency. Asante (1991; 1999; 2007), an African-American born in Georgia, in USA has projected himself as an African through his worldview and through his adoption of the names Molefe Kete Asante even though he was born Arthur Lee Smith. The name change gave effect to Asante's desire to shake off the slave identity of his grandparents. He put forward his theory of Afrocentricity where he argues that both slavery and colonisation took away the centre from Africa to Europe. Ngugi wa Thiong'o in M'Baye (2013:15) refers to the agenda for decolonisation in terms of the need for a total reordering of the world. In his own terminology, Ngugi wa Thiong'o in M'Baye (2013:15) refers to this shift as "moving the center" or what Asante (1999:ix) calls "the relocation, the repositioning of the African in a place of agency where instead of being spectator to others, African voices are heard in the full meaning of history". Moving the centre, according to the above post-colonial theorists in Africa, is because pre-colonial and colonial narratives about Africa are prejudicial narratives, most of which were written to justify the colonisation of Africa. The colonial proponents portray the writings of authors such as Joseph Conrad and

Rudyard Kipling as exposing some of the extreme perceptions about Africa. In their view, Africa was perceived as a jungle where darkness lurked, hence the white man had a burden to civilise the African described derogatorily by Kipling as "half devil and half child" (Kipling in *The Literature Network*, 2018) while Conrad (1899) describes Africa as "the heart of darkness" and the Africans as primordial primates with no language and who would communicate or try to communicate through "a violent bubble of uncouth sounds" (Conrad in Achebe, 2006:341). Kipling's poem "The white man's burden", according to the same Afrocentric proponents, captures the imperial perceptions after America's victory in Manilla, Philippines. To justify this violent colonial escapade, Kipling reminds white men of their burden to civilise other races. The poem captures the driving philosophy behind all European colonialism. Such prejudicial perceptions about Africa, though extreme, it is argued by scholars such as Achebe (1975; 2006) and Ngugi waThiong'o (1981; 1986; 1993), influenced the attitude of the colonists in Africa (see Section 1.2.1).

Post-colonial theory views language as a critical element of culture (see section 2.3.2). According to Ngugi waThiong'o (1986), colonialism imposed languages on the colonised people and in the process it destroyed their cultural legacy. Ngugi waThiong'o (1986) advocated for a rejection of colonial languages because they stifle creative independent thought of the colonised. The same radical stance of rejecting English as a symbol of imperial power is shared by Frantz Fanon (1965; 1967) and Walter Rodney (1972), among others. As a result, in East and Central Africa, Swahili was adopted an official language of regional communication (Bamgbose, 1991). The results of the policy have shown contradictions. While Swahili gained prominence as a regional language, it led to the isolation of the region from the global village.

A balanced perspective on the role of colonial languages particularly English is given by Chinua Achebe. Achebe (1959; 1975) adopted a moderate perspective on the role of colonisation in transforming the socio-cultural terrain of the African continent. In his popular publication, *Things Fall Apart* (Achebe, 1959), while he laments the destructive role of colonisation to pre-colonial African culture, he does not idealise the same past. Instead, he demonstrates that there were certain practices which were retrogressive, for example the killing of twins and the use of human beings to settle debts or to appease spirits of the dead which came to an end as a result of colonisation. In the same manner, Achebe (1959; 1975) argues that post-colonial Africa should accept the reality of colonialism and take advantage of some

of its cultural elements such as language. Achebe (1975) noted that even though English came with the colonialists, its position in uniting Africans who were divided along ethnic and linguistic lines in the pre-colonial period could not be ignored.

The ideas of the above prominent post-colonial scholars are echoed and synthesised in the conceptualisation of post-colonial theory by Homi Bhabha (1994). In his dissection of the colonial and post-colonial cultures within the post-colonial theory, Bhabha (1994) introduces a number of concepts. These key concepts are alterity (the other), mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity. These concepts, including the concept of onomastic erasure, are briefly discussed below. Post-colonial theory also devotes time to defining issues of power, ideology, identity and history. These issuesare defined below and discussed in detail in Section 2.3 in line with their specific relationship to toponymy.

2.2.1.1 Alterity

Alterity refers to the condition of being the 'other'. It is the same as being the 'other'. The 'other' is a creation of the coloniser where a picture of the colonised poses as one of a lesser being who benefits from the benevolence of the coloniser. The philosophical basis of slavery and colonisation lies in the presentation of the enslaved and colonised as the 'other'(Said, 1978). Post-colonial theory, according to Ashcroft et al (2007:9), postulates that alterity is the diversity (in terms of culture and identity) or "an apartness that stands as a precondition of dialogue, where dialogue implies a transference across and between differences of culture, gender, class and other social categories". Ashcroft et al (2007:9) further contends that the identity of the imperial culture is "inextricable from the alterity of colonized others, an alterity determined...by a process of othering". The concept of alterity or the other is similar to what Gayatri Spivak calls the "subaltern". The subaltern refers to the marginalised people in society who have no voice to assert their rights (Spivak, 1988). The Aborigines in Australia, New Zealand and Canada constitute the subaltern in the same manner as the colonised indigenous people in Africa did.

2.2.1.2 Ambivalence

Ambivalence is aptly defined by Ashcroft et al (2007:10) as "a continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and wanting its opposite". The colonial and post-colonial situations are complex scenarios where the coloniser is not always opposed to the coloniser. The love-hate

relationship between the coloniser and colonised is understood better through the term ambivalence. The coloniser and the colonised are ambivalent figures that grope for an elusive fixed identity. Ambivalence is therefore quite critical to the understanding of toponymy of Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga*.

2.2.1.3 Hybridity

Ashcroft et al (2007:108) says hybridity pertains to "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization". Hybridity implies a mutual effect between the coloniser and colonised in the creation of a new cultural identity. According to Bhabha (in Raj, 2014), it is the third space produced by the contradictions that emerge out of the colonial experience. As a result, cultural purity is a myth. Through hybridity, Raj (2014:126) argues that

> the politics of binarial conflict are thwarted unbolting innumerable possibilities for the other to evince their importance of being themselves and the unsubstantiated space they negotiate along the borderlines.

Hybridity accounts for the fact that post-colonial culture is not a completely new culture found on the pre-colonial system, neither does it bring a totally new culture, but simply produces a mixture of two cultures from two different worlds – the world of the coloniser and colonised. According to Stewart (1999), hybridity carries both negative and positive connotation. As a term borrowed from biology, hybridity in the 19th Century was perceived as weak and lacking in virility and yet in the 20th Century post-colonial discourses it is perceived as a positive trait. Hybridity, unlike syncretism does not deride mixture or presuppose superiority of one culture over the other but looks at a combination of two cultures on equal basis. In terms of language, hybridity has been witnessed in pidginisation and creolisation of languages (Prabhu, 2007). Pidginisation is the production of a heavily mixed language variety as a result of contact between two different languages and creolisation is the adoption of the pidgin as a language that can be passed from generation to generation by the speakers (Prabhu, 2007). The toponymic landscape provides an avenue to examine the influence of the cultures of coloniser and the colonised.

2.2.1.4   Mimicry

The love and hate relationship between the coloniser and colonised results in the colonised aping (mimicking) the coloniser in terms of cultural habits. Mimicry has been conceived to be an adoption of the coloniser's cultural habits. Even though colonisation endeavoured to create an inferior copy of the coloniser in the colonised, mimicry in post colonial theory ironically rises above mere imitation of the master to be a parody of the same master. This parody, according to Ashcroft et al (2007:125), is "a crack in the certainty of colonial dominance, an uncertainty in its control of the behaviour of the colonized". It is made up of mockery (through satire) of excesses of the coloniser by the colonised.

Post-colonial theory is, therefore, most relevant in illuminating the toponymic study of Zimbabwe's so called Third *Chimurenga* within the critical framework. Onomastics in general and toponymy in particular are at the centre of individual and societal attempts at cultural restoration in Africa and elsewhere. Most place name changes were occasioned by major historical events such as slavery, colonisation, the struggle for independence, attainment of independence and other important post-independence developments; hence, post-colonial theory is quite critical in the understanding of post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe. Like all theories, post-colonial theory has its shortcomings. The major challenges emanate from the fact that the theory has brought together proponents from a variegated background, from the First and Third World, across different races; at times bringing contentious questions of the theory's essence. In spite of these challenges, post-colonial theory is disposed at a vantage position to illuminate Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* toponymic study. It has contributed significantly to the shaping of the post-1990s critical turn in toponymic studies on African settings.

2.2.1.5   The concept of onomastic erasure

A useful concept which comes out of post-colonial theory is the concept of onomastic erasure. The concept of erasure is a concept identified by Derrida from Heidegger and subsequently applied by Carter (1987) in his analysis of toponyms in post-colonial New Zealand. Deridda, in his deconstructionist theory, propounded that language (words) do not mean what they say (Chin-Yi, 2010; Guillemette & Cossette, 2006). According to Gnanasekaran (2015), deconstruction as a theory entails undoing of a text and then radically reconstructing it. Derrida introduced the concept of writing under erasure, an approach where words would be analysed only after a line has crossed them out in a manner that makes the words remain visible as an

affirmation of the argument that words are important but inadequate. In deconstruction, the meaning of words is established through establishing contradictions or opposites. Derrida argued that words communicate through what they are not. For instance, the word 'white' only makes sense if one imagines something black. The meaning of words is therefore constantly deferred hence Deridda's concept of deference. Deconstruction contradicted Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic concept of signifier-signified (Bradley, 2016; Lanir, 2012) where the relationship between words and what they meant was construed as being static. Carter (1987) applied the concept of erasure in his description of how indigenous identities carried by toponyms were erased and replaced by colonial toponymy, driven by the fallacy of *terra nullius*, in New Zealand. The fallacy of *terra nullius*, according to Furphy (2002), was a delusional of administrative and cultural vacancy in pre-colonial Aboriginal lands. Hence, Carter (1987) through the application of critical approach to toponymy identified how the Aborigines were displaced from Australia by the Anglophone people. The removal from the land reflected the Aboriginal loss of power to influence the course of history; a removal of agency from the Aborigines. Erasure explains how the Aboriginal landscape got transformed by colonial place names. The colonial toponyms reflected a vacillation between idealisation and demonisation of the Aboriginal landscape as a result of long standing prejudices and a general fear of the unknown. The concept of erasure was also applied by Pfukwa and Barnes (2010a) in their study of guerrilla names in Zimbabwe's liberation war. According to Pfukwa and Barnes (2010a:212), erasure pertains to the act of deleting a whole or chunk of history of a place or people through effecting name changes on geographical entities.

Through the concept of erasure, the geographical landscape is construed a script where inscriptions in the form of names are created, erased and sometimes resuscitated. Resuscitation of local names after independence from colonial rule has been adopted by a number of countries. However, the resuscitation has had limited successes in that the changes are symbolic and not whole-hearted in their erasure of the colonial legacy (Magudu et al. 2010; 2014; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010; Swart, 2008). The concept of erasure is critical to this study as it offers critical insights on the post-colonial toponymic changes in Zimbabwe.

2.2.2 Geo-semiotics

Scollon and Scollon (2003:2) define geo-semiotics as "the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world". Scollon

and Scollon (2003) and Reh (2004) maintain that the signs and symbols derive their meaning from how and where they are located physically and in terms of historical time. Toponymy cannot be understood unless there is a closer look at the world outside including where the speaker is situated both physically and ideologically. This is what Scollon and Scollon (2003) refers to as indexicality or the dependency of signs on the context.

Semiotics is defined by Saussure (in Chandler, 2014:27) as "a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life". Scollon and Scollon (2003:3) define a sign as "any material object that indicates or refers to something other than itself". Backhaus (2007) says language is a sign system where conventional speech signs convey meaning. According to Sebeok (2001:3), semiotics is about "how messages are, successively, generated, encoded, transmitted, decoded, and interpreted, and how this entire transaction (semiosis) is worked upon the context". From the definitions, geo-semiotics therefore pertains to the study of signs and symbols that index the geo-space or the geographical landscape. Geo-political semiotics is the examination of how geo-semiotics and political semiotics influence the place names in a certain geographical location.

The underlying thrust of geo-semiotics comes from Scollon and Scollon's (2003:2) argument that "there is a social world presented in the material world through its discourses – signs, structures, other people - and our actions produce meanings in the light of those discourses". Geo-semiotics is about discourses which depict social order. Toponyms are part of the discourse which depicts social order hence the suitability of geo-semiotics to the study of Zimbabwe's post 2000 land reform related toponymic changes. Geo-semiotics is, therefore, a spatial theory which complements post-colonial theory in this study. It offers a narrower and much more objective perspective on spatial dynamics within a particular place because it is free from the discourse of polarity between the coloniser and colonised which is at the centre of post-colonial theory (see Section 2.2.1). Its adoption in this study enriches the understanding of the post-2000 toponymic landscape in Zimbabwe.

In order to understand humanity through toponymy, geo-semiotics proposes four critical elements namely: social order, interaction order, visual semiotics and place semiotics. These four elements are given attention below.

2.2.2.1   Social actor

The social actor, the social being, according to Backhaus (2007:15), "brings into any moment of action all of his or her history of experience, knowledge (whether conscious or unconscious), and interests, motivations and dispositions". A study of the background of the people involved in day to day intercourse with the environment is a critical consideration for geo-semiotics. Without a clear understanding of the people, the geo-linguistic inscriptions will not yield much meaning.

2.2.2.2   Interaction order

Scollon and Scollon (2003:16) say that interaction order refers to "the current, ongoing, ratified (but also contested and denied) set of social relationships we take up and try to maintain with the other people who are in our presence". Interaction order is concerned with the socio-political relations that obtain in a particular setting. It deals with the distribution of power and authority within a particular community.

2.2.2.3   Visual semiotics

Scollon and Scollon (2003) define visual semiotics as pertaining to how entities are constituted as visual elements in the geographical landscape. By focusing on the 'how', that is, on the process which gives birth to toponymy, visual semiotics is quite relevant to the study of toponyms.

2.2.2.4   Place semiotics

According to Scollon and Scollon (2003) place semiotics concerns itself with where exactly an action takes place because this location is an important part of its meaning. Raper (2004) says toponyms are meaning packed words which derive this meaning from their context. Name changes are better understood in relation to their physical locations.

2.2.3   Political semiotics

If semiotics is the study of signs, political semiotics is about the political influence on place names which is impacted on the landscape and how the landscape in turn communicates a political message. Political semiotics as a theoretical strand views the political dynamics of a place as playing a critical role in the production of that space. Backhaus (2007:7) posits that

signs (including toponyms) "are among the most powerful tools for the production of social power relations". Backhaus (2007:7) maintains that political semiotics contends that

> all semiotic systems operate as systems of social positioning and power relationship both at the level of interpersonal relationships and at the level of struggles for hegemony among social groups in any society precisely because they are systems of choices and no choices are neutral in the social world.

According to Rose-Redwood et al. (2010:454), in order to understand the dynamics of place name changes, there is need for a critical examination of the social and political struggles over geo-linguistic inscriptions. Unlike the study of geography which is about identification and memorisation of place names, political semiotics goes beyond the signs to establish complexities, conflicts and motivations, among others, behind the toponyms.

2.2.3.1 Tenets of political semiotics

Political semiotics derives from the argument that language is political (Ngugi waThiong'o, 1986; Jansen, 2015). The choice of one toponym over another, according to Jansen (2015), is a political statement and the study of toponymy should, among others, involve a study of the political power dynamics in a place. This is so because it has been observed by Kadmon (2004) that when regimes change, toponyms, just like the political leaders dramatically get toppled because of their symbolic political value. Political semiotics is firmly rooted in a number of positions. Some of the central tenets of political semiotics as presented by Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009), Rose-Redwood (2006; 2011; 2018), Rose-Redwood et al. (2010; 2011; 2018) & Azaryahu (1986; 1996; 1997; 2011) are given below:

i)   place naming represents discourses of power of the past, present and future therefore toponymic landscape is a contested cultural practice and the same geo-linguistic space is made up of erasures and inscriptions

ii)   in the world of the politicians, name familiarity fosters security by rendering the unfamiliar more manageable

iii)   renaming of places plays a critical role in the social production of place

iv)   commemorative place names conform to the ideology of those wielding political power

v)   in pursuit of political expediency, commemorative names can interfere with the utilitarian role of the name

vi)   commemorative names have the power to transform an official discourse of history into a shared cultural experience that is embedded into every day practices of everyday life.

Therefore, political semiotics as a theory strategically complements post-colonial theory in illuminating this critical study of toponymic changes inspired by the post-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe.

The adoption of geo-semiotics and political semiotics as complementary theories to post-colonial theory is aptly captured by Mick (1986:198) who contends that when De Saussure, a semiotician argues that signs are arbitrary and conventional, the adoption of these signs is an adoption of a whole new culture and worldview. Another significant semiotic voice is that of Sapir and Whorf (in Mick, 1986:198) in their theory of linguistic relativity who argue that

> [h]uman beings do not live in the objective world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society....The fact of the matter is that 'real world' is to a large extent built upon the language habits of the group....We see and hear and experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation.

Ultimately, there is a mutually enriching relationship between geo-semiotics and political semiotics on one hand and post-colonial theory on the other.This eclectic theoretical approach is invaluable tocritical toponymy as an approach to the study of place names.

2.2.4   Language ecology

Language ecology is another theory that complements post-colonial theory, the pricipal theory underpinning this thesis, in illuminating this study of post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe. Language ecology is essentially a sociolinguistic theory that was proposed by Haugen (1972). According to Haugen (1972), language ecology is the study of language and its environment. Haugen (1972:325) believed that the true environment is society. The notion of community as environment is one of the central preoccupations of sociolinguistics, according to Garner (2005). Grenoble (in Barnes, 2017) maintains that language ecology studies languages in their full contexts.

Language ecology is preoccupied with the study of cultural dynamics which affect language use in a speech community. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2008) all landscapes are cultural landscapes including those where untrained observers might not notice

the cultural impact. Using the environmental analogy of an ecosystem, they echo the post-colonial argument which repudiates the colonial concept of terra nullius which was put forward by the colonisers to justify colonisation (see Sections 1.2.1 & 2.2.1). Language ecology, therefore, is important in understanding those factors behind certain linguistic practices.

A characteristic feature of linguistic ecologies, according to Mora (2013), is the dominance of certain languages over others. As a result, Mora (2013) argues that language ecology inevitably studies the dynamics in the use of languages in a particular situation. Haugen (1972:325) identifies two dimensions of language ecology: the psychological and the sociological. The psychological refers to the perceptions of speakers of different languages pertaining to their language(s) while the sociological focuses on the uses and functions of a language within a particular social situation. Both the psychological and sociological dimensions of language ecology are quite relevant to this study. From a psychological viewpoint, language ecology assists in exposing the linguistic attitudes of speakers towards different languages, especially between the colonial language and local languages. The sociological dimension, on the other hand, helps to account for the functions of both the colonial and indigenous languages within speech communities.

Language ecology encompasses critical sociolinguistic concepts like language contact and language shift. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:1) define language contact as "the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time".Understanding language contact is critical for this study because it was seen in other studies that where there is no balance of power between two languages, language shift occurs as speakers of the less powerful language abandon it in favour of the stronger one (Barnes, 2017). Barnes (2017) identifies a characteristic feature of language contact as the existence of code-switching in the interaction of speakers affected by the contact situation. Language shift, according to Ostler (2017), is a process whereby a speech community adopts a different language from the language the community previously used. Language shift is a manifestation of displacement of one language by another within the linguistic ecology of a community. Historically in Africa, language shift resulted from inter-ethnic wars and more recently, from slavery, colonisation and globalisation. These historical developments have affected the language ecology of post-colonial communities in different ways.

De Kuthy (2008) contends that phenomena such as language contact and language shift are a result of contact among the speakers of different languages.The relationship between the languages, just like that of the speakers, is seldomly one of equality. More often than not, a more dominant language (superstratum) emerges as superior to the substratum (inferior language). As a result of the contact between the languages borrowing might happen. This relationship is similar to mimicry and hybridity in post-colonial discourse (see section 2.2.1). Where there is language contact the powerful language rules the roost, by being a 'donor' and the less powerful languages are recipients. Historically in Africa, colonisation brought about language contact. Colonial languages like English and French were linked to political power and became donor languages to local languages because of the prestige associated with their power and status (Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, 1986; Bambgose, 1991). As a result, local languages borrowed extensively both lexically and structurally to fulfil communication needs. This borrowing happened as the local population tried to communicate in the official language; the language of the colonial authority. In most cases Africans approximated the official and superior language with varying degrees of success. To a limited extent, the colonisers also adopted linguistic elements from the language(s) of the colonised.

Language ecology is, therefore, an effective complementary lens through which to view post-2000 toponymic issues in Zimbabwe.Unlike post-colonial theory which is sometimes susceptible to racial prejudice and emotional arguments, language ecology provides a balanced perspective of language issues in Zimbabwe's post-2000 situation. Insights from language ecology are quite helpful in achieving a broader perspective inthis critical study of post-2000 toponyms in Zimbabwe.

2.3 TOPONYMY AND POST-COLONIAL THEORY

2.3.1 Introduction

This section reviews literature on the relationship between toponymy and post-colonial theory. Most critical toponymic research from the post-1990s is invariably informed by post-colonial theory because it has largely inspired the critical turn in the study of toponymy (Azaryahu, 1986; 1996; 1997; 2011; Rose-Redwood, 2006; 2011; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010; 2011; 2018a/b).The aftermath of colonial rule attracted overwhelming scholarly attention as the world sought to understand deeper the colonial experience and, where possible, suggest a way forward which would heal the wounds of colonisation. As already discussed in Section 2.2.1,

post-colonial theoryseeks to explain post-coloniality in all countries which were under colonial rule(Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1994; Ngugi waThiong'o, 1981; 1986; 1993; Mangena et al. 2016).Post-colonial theory also recognises the undying legacy of colonisation which has led to the creation of new identities. Post-colonial theorists such as Ngugi waThiong'o (1981; 1986; 1993) argue that the post independence decolonisation process should be a determined effort to move the centre to a new African centred position. This implies the adoption of strategies to thrust the once colonised people into a position of power. This repositioning of the centre is, however, better said than done because the colonial experience permeated every facet of life, in most of the cases, beyond reversal. For instance, Ngugi waThiong'o (1981) once advocated for a rejection of colonial languages and the elevation of local languages for use as national and official languages buthe soon realised that the local languages did not match the status of colonial languages such as English and French, hence he embarked on translation of his literary works originally written in his local Kikuyu language into the former colonial languages.

The same academician's rejection of former colonial languages extended to colonial toponyms where attempts were made after independence to erase them in favour of local names. After the attainment of independence in African countries and the dawn of democracy in post-colonial spots such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand, there were attempts to reconfigure the toponymic landscape.Whilst names of countries were relatively easy to change during the euphoria of independence, for instance in the case of Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia, available studies, however, indicate that wholescale changes of toponyms were impossible; the colonial place names could not be erased entirely but symbolically (Guyot and Seethal, 2007; Swart, 2008; Meiring, 2008; 2010; Magudu, et al., 2010; 2014). This is why scholars such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) and Slemon (1995), among others, argue that the coming of independence to former colonies in Africa, Latin America and Asia did not rid the countries of the vestiges of colonialism.

The application of post-colonial theoryin the analysis of toponyms,as already highlighted in Sections 1.7 & 2.2.1, is a paradigm shift from the traditional analysis and discussion of place names which focused on etymology, structure and categorisation without an in-depth critique of the transactions of power in given settings. The sections below discuss the relationship between toponymy and other key concepts in post-colonial discourse such as culture, identity,

history, ideology, politics and power. Specific critical toponymic studies from Europe, Africa and Zimbabwe are subsequently reviewed.

2.3.2   Toponymy and culture

As already alluded to in Section 2.2.1, one of the concepts interrogated by post-colonial theory is culture. In this section, culture will be defined and its manifestations in post-revolution and post-colonial toponymy will be exposed.Hofstede (1994:5) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" while Spencer-Oatey (2012a/b:3) views culture as

> a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people and that influence (but do not determine each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour).

Ngugi waThiong'o (1993) views culture as a repository of societal values evolved over time. Culture therefore pertains to a people's way of life as determined by several factors including their environment, language and history. Tyler (in Spencer-Oatey, 2012a/b) proffered the most comprehensive definition that views culture as the totality of a people's knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and any other skills and habits acquired by members of a particular society. Culture is therefore a ubiquitous product of the interaction between and amongst a people's social, historical, political, religious and economic values to produce a certain distinct way of life.

In post-colonial theory, culture is a key concept that is understood through concepts such as hybridity, ambivalence and mimicry (see Section 2.2.1). Ashcroft et al (2007:108) define hybridity as "the creation of new trans-cultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonisation". Through the concept of hybridity culture is viewed as something which is not homogeneous because through the contact of the coloniser and the colonised a new form of culture emerges. Bhabha (1994) contends that colonisers and the colonised mutually engage in constructing a shared culture. Ultimately, as argued by Yazdiha (2010:31), "the contemporary cultural landscape is an amalgam of cross cultural influences, blended, patch-worked, and layered upon one another". Colonisation is also viewed as a manifestation of cultural imperialism. Culltural imperialism, according to Sarmela (1977:1), is

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the economic, technological and cultural hegemony of the industrialized nations, which determines the direction of both economic and social progress, defines cultural values, and standardizes the civilization and cultural environment throughout the world.

Cultural imperialism is an ethnocentric and chauvinistic superimposition of a superior culture on the one perceived to be inferior. Cultural imperialism translocated the centre from Africa to Europe. This is why Ngugi waThiong'o (1993) proposes "moving the centre" from Europe to Africa because if the centre [the Eurocentric perspective] remains domiciled in the west, the self confidence of the former colonies is undermined (see Section 2.2.1). According to Ngugi waThiong'o (1981, 1986; 1993), the continued use of colonial languagesin Africa is a confirmation of persistent cultural colonisation in spite of the political independence. Fanon (1965:17-18) avers that to speak the language of the coloniser is to "assume a culture, to support the weight of civilization". This means that by speaking the language of the coloniser, the colonised reluctantly plays an important role in promoting the so-called civilising mission. It is ironic that the civilisation comes at a heavy cost: the suppression of the colonised's culture. Because language is a critical cultural element, it follows that toponymy is equally central to a people's culture. Toponyms are a product of a certain language even though they rarely carry semantic meaning. This makes the geo-linguistic landscape an arena where cultural contestations are evident.

Culture manifests itself at family, community and at national level. A national culture, there is no doubt, is a product of micro-cultures of different communities. Toponyms are very much part of the micro cultures whose totality builds a national culture. Place names are very much a part of the social life of a people. As aptly argued by Raper (1988: 24), they help us to "orientate ourselves in the world in which we live". In support this view, Azaryahu (1997:482), argues that toponyms have the power to dissolve into the mundane day to day social activities of a people because they "force a change in human habits and practices". Therefore the toponymic landscape has power to influence day to day human interaction and to contribute to the creation of a particular sense of identity. A change of toponyms or the emergence of new toponymy invariably communicates a new social order with changed cultural values.

Toponymy has had an important stake in culture as shown by research around the world. In Spain a study was carried out by Cranford (2012) on the impact of Roman nomenclature on the indigenous population to determine the evolution of naming practices in Roman Spain as a way to measure the impact of Romanisation on indigenous culture. The research established that the indigenous culture integrated itself into the Roman cultural way of life by selectively using Roman nomenclature at will in order to display the level of cultural assimilation. Cranford (2012) further observes that this toponymic practice resulted in some form of provincial culture which is balanced between Roman and indigenous culture.

Cranford (2012) also identifies hybridity in the naming trends. The postcolonial geo-linguistic terrain of Spain bears evidence of the coming together of the culture of the coloniser and the colonised to build a new culture. As a result of this hybridity, some Spanish native cultural elements were retained, while others were cast aside, with the same happening with regards to the Roman culture. Woolf in Cranford (2012) asserts that because of the harmonious cultural relations elements of Roman culture were not violently forced on the indigenous population. As a result, local indigenous societies were able to change, adopt and adapt toponymic practices. This is unlike the colonial system of the nineteenth century which was characterised by both physical and cultural subjugation of the indigenous people.

Ghani & Husin (2013) show the social role of place names by exposing how some place names derive their origin from local legends and folklores in Malaysia whilst others derive their names from historical events, local heroes, community luminaries and celebrities. A significant chunk also owes their names to the natural environment such as trees and animals. Ghani & Husin (2013) believe that maintaining original place names protects, reflects and preserves the cultural heritage of a place.

According to Mudenge (2011), the Shona people, the focus of this research, as a cultural entity are far from being homogeneous; colonialism added an exotic dimension to an already heterogeneous ethnic group which comprised people from north, south, east and west of the then *Munhumutapa* Empire of the thirteenth century. In one way or another, the cultural dynamics mentioned above determine the general way of life of a people. Toponymy deals with the mapping of cultural beliefs and practices on the landscape. The unravelling of how the

cultures are inscribed on the landscape calls for a critical approach such as the one adopted in this study.

2.3.3   Toponymy and identity

One of the most interrogated issues in post-colonial theory is the concept of identity. Karkaba (2009) contends that identity presupposes the need to differentiate one person or group of people from another while Jacobson-Widding (in Helleland, 2012:106) defines identity as "sameness/continuity and distinctiveness/uniqueness". This implies that identity is derived from certain distinctive features which define a person or a community over a period of time. Interestingly, as noted by Hall (1996), identity is not static but is constantly changing in response to social circumstances. Human beings command a distinct identity which starts at the micro level – the family and extends to the community and finally to national level. Identities are not easy to delimit and this is why in post-colonial discourse Van Dijk (2006:729) proposes a "rejection of a single identity". Toponyms in the Shona traditions and culture play a key role as identity markers. For instance, the use of possessive prefixes in possessive nouns such as *Nerutanga* [*rutanga*'s place]*, KwaHonde* [*Honde*'s place]and *KwaGutu* [*Gutu*'s place]*, people are known by their associations with locations and these locations inevitably give them identity. Post-colonial theory argues that identity is in a constant state of flux because of the constant engagement of people with their environment. Ashcroft et al. (2007) argue that the identity of the former colonised in post-colonial discourse moves from mimicking the coloniser to a hybrid situation where there is coexistence of the binary identity. As discussed in Section 2.2.1.3, hybridity is a critical term in post-colonial discourse that conceptualises the cultural contact between the coloniser and the colonised as non antagonistic but mutually enriching elements in the construction of new identities. The toponymic landscape globally has been seen to portray a certain identity, a product of various historical circumstances.

Helleland (2012) contends that place names portray the identity of the name givers because they transform undefined space into particular places in line with the socio-cultural identity of the namers. Since the shift from the traditional toponymic approach to the contemporary critical approach, toponymy has been perceived as a complex arena of identities. For instance, Helleland (2012) argues that toponyms have the potential of satisfying nostalgia and creating a feeling of belonging to a certain community with the potential to evoke different feelings and emotions in the name givers depending on the relationship of the name users to the names.

Toponyms, according to Helleland (2012), create place attachment, an affective link that people experience in relation to a particular place. In South Africa, for instance, Meiring (2008) avers that the geo-linguistic landscape is indicative of diverse identities. Meiring (2012:28) maintains that the place names in their diversity "reflect some kind of tapestry of many colours, hues and patterns" because they reflect what it means to be a South African in the light of shared history. Meiring (2012:24) further argues that these names "reflect the hearts and minds of those who gave the names, ultimately expressing what it means to be a South African in light of shared historical and cultural experiences that motivated the bestowal of the name". While Meiring (2008; 2012) perceives the diversity as a positive feature of the rich historical legacy of South Africa, certain groups always wish to identify with certain toponyms and if possible to have those they do not identify with removed in an attempt to shake off certain features of identity which do not suit their ideological view.

Sepota and Madadzhe (2007) are of the opinion that that there is need to carefully examine why there should be name changes in order to avoid emotional decisions which could cause more harm than good. This shows that the issue of identity is not a simple question of identifying what a certain group of people treasures but an objective attempt to come up with a realistic picture based on the achievements, drawbacks, victories and defeats of that particular group; hence the need to exercise due diligence in determining what the toponymy of a place should look like.

2.3.4   Toponymy and history

Toponymy, in general has had a close association with history. According to Tichelaar (2002; 2)

> historians may use toponym research to reveal ancient movements of peoples, or get a hint of cultural exchange patterns in forgotten ages. Moreover, recurrent name elements are known to store information on the history of settlement and land reclamation, the economic activities of the original settlers, and political developments.

There is a general trend globally on a cultural level, where communities tend to engrave memory on the geo-linguistic landscape. History as a term has not, however been easy to define.Musvoto (2010:8) argues that history "refers both to what actually happened in the past and the representations of that past in the works of historians." This implies that history is a

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result of narratives of the past and is therefore an object of power and control. Interestingly, it is critical to note that the past is not universally perceived in the same way because of various reasons. Prominent twentieth century novelist, George Orwell (in *Edge of the world*, 2017: no pagination) argues that, one "[w]ho controls the past controls the future. [w]ho controls the present controls the past". This is indicative of the fact that history is often seen as memory of a society as determined by those wielding power in the present. Azaryahu (1997) weighs in by arguing that that history is a version of the past as conceptualised by those in power. It is therefore an authorised or official account of the past. This definition is quite informative in that it lays bare that the perception that history is far from being an objective account but a subjective recreation of the past present and future.

History is therefore 'malleable'. The 'malleability' of history emanates from the fact that historical events and episodes are almost always coloured by the perceptions of those who recite them. Ideological positions and personal preferences inevitably season the way an event happened and, by so doing, affects one's historical perspective. Colonial history for example, has been contaminated by racial prejudices to an extent that some scholars, particularly Walter Rodney see colonialism as the displacement of the African and his removal from history (Rodney, 1972) even though a significant section of the former colonists believe that colonisation was a civilising mission. Because of such prejudices, African writers often see their history as largely falsified to justify colonialism. In Ngugi wa Thiong'o's view (1986:2) real history becomes a process of "rejecting the images of its [Africa] past as drawn by the artists of imperialism". This simply shows that history, in practical terms can be far from the unchanging past but an interpretation of that past by those in positions of power.

Toponymy is a product of a people's history. Carter (1987) argues that critical toponymy is a whole new way of looking at history from place names. Berg and Vuolteenaho (in Scott and Clark, 2017:30) aver that the traditional, canonised study of toponyms failed to take cognisance of conflicting historical narratives including historical injustices regarding dialects and minority languages. While on the one hand toponyms are historical scripts written for posterity, on the other hand, they can be a pervasive tool which silences and even obliterates diversity hence the need to adopt a critical approach to toponyms. Azaryahu (1997:479) in his findings on post reunification of East and West Germany contends that "spatially configured and historically constructed, commemorative street names produce an authorized rendition of the

past". The name changes unleashed by the reunification of the two Germany states, according to Azaryahu (1997), canonise and evince a version of the national past. There was an attempt to find common ground between East and West Germany by removing potentially divisive toponyms. All this concern over toponyms in Germany was a result of the fact that toponyms are not mere tags but tags with a serious mission. Consequently, the geo-linguistic landscape is a historical repository that conveys a certain strand of history. This, in a way, contradicts the argument put forward by Meiring (2010a:95) that "history cannot be changed by the mere changing of a place name to another name which is more acceptable to a certain community". Indeed history can be "changed" by, for example, using toponymy for propaganda. Propaganda toponymy, like any propaganda, is misleading because if a mountain is named after a certain person by those who wield power, the general impression is that that person alone is worth mentioning in history. Toponyms can be 'abused' to carry a certain narrative of what transpired. Azaryahu (1997:479) further avers that toponymic re-inscription is a "ritual of revolution" which drives the ideology of the revolution into the mundane elements of a people's life. This is because the names become irresistibly part of the day-to-day interaction.

In spite of the above contradictions and trappings of toponymy, renaming is an approach to historical legacy. People generally take pride in their toponyms. This, according to Raper (1993:22), is because these "these names reflect their history and their national culture and image". The views discussed above indicate the fluid nature of onomastics practice which in Salway's (1994:22) view "reflects its susceptibility not only to linguistic factors but also political and social developments". Toponyms, according to Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009: 10), are thus a "unique conjunction of social relations". In the history of mankind, Salway (1994:22) avers that "the most dramatic transformations [of a toponymic nature] coincide with those periods of greatest political and social upheaval". And yet, as argued by Mushati (2013), the colonial and post-colonial situations, toponyms communicate authorised historical narratives.This makes toponyms important in the understanding of transitional cultures and history. The turbulent historical developments since the colonial period qualify Zimbabwe as a state in a transitional culture. The relationship between Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* toponyms and history has not been critically accounted for and this research ventures into uncharted territory. History is subjective and so is toponymy. The reliability of toponyms of Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* as a historical account or a version of history is one of the central preoccupations of this research.

2.3.5   Toponymy and memorialisation

History, in a way, is about the memory of a people about their past. There is a general concurrence among scholars that communities engrave memory on toponyms. Chabata (2012) avers that in traditional African society, toponymic inscription was a process to preserve memory by allocating place names that reflected important historical events. It was a natural collective social exercise which was not driven by narrow political interests of self preservation; hence in Zimbabwe, Shona toponyms like *Mukuvisi* and *Dzivarasekwa,* capture social memory. According to Chabata (2012), *Mukuvisi* (that which brings something to an end) is a river which eventually became a mutually recognised boundary between ChiefSeke's and Chief Harava'sterritory ending bitter boundary wrangling, while *Dzivarasekwa* (Sekwa's pool), a high density residential area in Harare, according to oral accounts, is named after a pool where a beautiful African damsel would take a bath in pre-colonial times.

Roden (1974) highlights the critical role of toponymy in the cultural life of Ugandans before the coming of settlers. Ugandan toponyms, according to Roden (1974:83), are a historical narrative because

> inter-tribal conflict, inter-clan feuds and religious wars which may have caused local depopulation, triggered off migration and brought about changes in settlement patterns are likewise testified to in place-names describing bone-strewn battlefields, raided lands, rivers where fleeing combatants have been drowned, and strictly demarcated territorial boundaries.

In a similar manner, after the settlers came in, toponymy changed to reflect the new socio-political order. The colonial powers brought in naming culture of memorialisation skewed in favour of asserting their political dominance over the local people. For example, a place that was known as *Dzimbahwe* [house of stone] which is now a place occupied by the town of Masvingo in Zimbabwe, was given the name Fort Victoria in honour of the reigning British queen, Queen Victoria III. Gradually the whole toponymic terrain occupied by the Shona got inscribed in Anglophone toponyms. The Anglophone, as noted by Denis (2015:7), toponymy was commemorative in nature and commemoration is

a ritual or a display destined to celebrate the memory of a person, a group or an event .... By referring to the past, it speaks to the present. Like individual memory, commemorations select, shape and orient past experiences for a purpose.

After gaining independence, most African countries embarked on a programme to rename important places. Post-independence toponymic changes in Zimbabwe sought to convey a nationalist historical narrative. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) argues that post independence historiography involved the creation of a historical narrative that countered colonial history. In toponymy such a history is reflected in the commemoration of prominent dead or living nationalist figures that are perceived as heroes. For instance, Robert Mugabe and Samora Machel the first post independence leaders of Zimbabwe and Mozambique respectively had two major roads named after them in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. Robert Mugabe Road replaced Umtali Road which was also known as Manica Road in colonial times. Samora Machel became a name for an avenue originally commemorating Cecil John Rhodes' right hand man, Jameson. This puts forward the view that toponymy can act as a cryptic historical diary because "memory can be blocked, manipulated or absolutely controlled" (Denis, 2015:8).

After carefully studying place names of South Africa starting from the Khoisan, the earliest inhabitants of South Africa, through the various phases of history including the coming of the Dutch and the British, Raper (2004:xiii) established that "African place names are valuable linguistic indicators to cultural history". Among the African people the value of names in general is immense. In support of this, Ntwana (in Neethling, 2004:6) maintains that Xhosa names are "little volumes of social history in themselves as well as evocations of friends and loved ones". Neethling (2004) further notes that the Boer name *Bloedrivier*, which means 'Blood River' refers to the battle between the Zulu and the Dutch in 1838 AD where many Zulus were killed and literally coloured the waters of the river red by their blood. There is a high incidence of toponymy which is derived from violent scenes and war to reflect South Africa's violent past (Raper, 2004; Meiring, 2010a). Meiring (2010a:95) weighs in by saying that the violent toponyms "reflect the ordeals and suffering of people who were exposed to wars and other forms of violence like natural disasters and environmental dangers". Thus toponymy is a critical memory bank of the historical, economic, religious and socio-political developments within a community.

Memorialisation is, therefore, an exercise largely free of narrow personal or organisational interests. According to Hamilton (in Denis, 2015:7), "[w]hen we remember, we select, organise, omit and sometimes invent aspects of our past experiences according to what we need, feel and believe in the present moment. The memories of the past are fluid."

2.3.6 Toponymy and ideology

The way a people's history is perceived depends on the ideology which holds sway. Erikson and Tedin (2003:64) say that ideology is "a set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved". The word ideology has, however, amassed a lot of negative connotations over the years owing to the way it has been exploited by politicians. One can only agree with Van Dijk (2006) who argues that ideology is a rigid and partisan collection of ideas used to legitimise power by a dominant group. Toponymy in colonial and post colonial scenarios betrays certain ideological positions. In South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, among others, the geo-linguistic landscape has experienced repeated changes in line with political changes. As a result, in South Africa, for example the current government, guided by principles of democracy, has managed to put in place mechanisms to ensure that all officially recognized languages are visible in the public sphere (Du Plessis, 2011a; 2011b; Meiring, 2008). Ideological positions have led to what are perceived as symbols of colonialism and apartheid (toponyms being in the overwhelming majority) being taken down to give way to symbols which preach equality. This debate became emotive and violent in 2015 with university students in some South African universities, particularly at University of Cape Town protesting violently advocating the removal of a statue of Cecil John Rhodes who is believed to be the architect of colonisation in southern Africa, from the campus. This call culminated spontaneously in the formation of a global anti-colonial rhetoric with some students at Oxford University following suit (Herman, 2015).

At independence Zimbabwe's political leaders claimed to have adopted socialist ideological principles and therefore removed what they perceived to be symbols of colonialism in the form of names of European and anglicised local names of towns and cities (Fisher, 2010). Interestingly, most farms in Zimbabwe being like enclaves, maintained European names because the government focused more on the urban situation. It would be interesting to note how such toponymy changed in response to Zimbabwe's post-2000 fast-track land reform programme.

2.3.7   Toponymy and politics

Easton (1981: no pagination) defines politics as the authoritative allocation of cultural values and "the various processes through which government responds to pressures from the larger society, in particular by allocating benefits, rewards or penalties". Politics has relied substantially on toponyms to achieve its goals. This is in line with Raper's (1992:22) view that names are "sensitive elements" and are one of the easiest targets of political change. Researches from around the world confirm that major political changes in a country or state (especially revolutions) have the power to change the toponymic landscape. New toponymy, on a relatively large scale is powered into existence by major political decisions.

In some cases where there is politics of inclusivity some signs of accommodating the formerly disadvantaged people are seen. Pacey (2014) paints a positive picture of post-colonial cultural reconstruction in New Zealand. Through a study of official records and through observation and interviews the findings confirm that there is revitalisation of the previously marginalised Maori nomenclature which has resulted in some discarded indigenous names being retrieved from oblivion to become second names. As a result, Pacey (2014:359) asserts that "[d]ual names are slowly re-embedding traditional placenames on to the landscape". This cultural restoration, according to Pacey (2014:352), is critical because in Maori "transmission of spatial elements occurs during the oral transmission of stories and history, dance and other elements that inform and reinforce cultural heritage". Sadly post colonial re-inscription of the Maori landscape has brought in cultural disorientation because the once vital stories found in toponymy became irrelevant in transmitting contemporary knowledge.

South Africa is another case of interesting political power dynamics reflected in toponymy. The politics of polarisation at one moment degenerated into hate speech over the renaming of places such as Durban. Koopman (2012:141) observes that former South African president Thabo Mbeki is quoted at one time as saying, Durban as a name should go because it is named after a "land-grabbing murderer" and in retaliation white protesters splashed graffiti against the local name, Tswane. Ndletyana (2012:94) identifies one such case where one placard read:

    T aking
    S tealing

H ijacking

W hite's

A ssets

N ames

E quities.

In fact, cities with relatively neutral names can survive the 'purge' on the basis that it is difficult to politically discredit them or that it is unnecessarily expensive to change the names if there are no clear political benefits. Politics is therefore a major variable in determining toponymic choices of places.

Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* is one such political revolution which ushered in toponymic changes. The extent and impact of these changes would be accounted for in this study.

2.3.8   Toponymy and power

According to Dahl in Easton (1981), power is the exercise of influence over a person or people to act in line with the influence exerted. Machiavelli (in Easton, 1981) declares that power fuels politics. In former colonies, the colonised lost power and this loss inevitably reflects on the toponymic trends. This loss of naming power is also noted by Raper (2009a) in a study on the original inhabitants of South Africa, the Khoisan that got displaced and in the process, lost naming power. Kostanski (2014) avers that in Australia, the Aborigines lost power and in the process lost most of their toponyms. This, according to Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009:3), is because toponyms are "ubiquitous power–charged semiotic dynamos for making meaning about places".   The significance of toponyms in the power games is also highlighted by Horsman (in Radding and Western, 2010:403) who states that "bestowing a name on a physical entity is an act of appropriation".   One can only agree with De Klerk and Bosch in Bagwasi (2012:122) who posit that "when a word is selected as a name it assumes a symbolic power".

Another interesting case of toponymy and power is found in post-colonial Norway. Helander (2014) discusses the Norwegian toponymic landscape from an ostensibly post colonial perspective. Helander (2014) argues that place names make part of a deliberate strategy by those in power to influence certain forms of representation in a bid to maintain political power. According Cloke et al. (2005:12), representation is a product of "cultural practices and forms by which human societies interpret and portray the world around them and present themselves

to others". Helander's (2014) study exposes how the colonial system attempted to project a subjugated image of the colonised communities. Helander (2014) further avers that colonial naming practices amount to toponymic colonisation where new place names from a colonial power are systematically given to areas which already had indigenous names. Not only is renaming a symbolic action, it is tantamount to taking possession; some form of a performative speech act (Oishi& Filosofici, 2006). So strong is the power of the place name that Battiste and Henderson (in Helander, 2014: 325) believe that "the people who have the power to decide what a thing will be called have the power to decide reality."

According to Helander (2014), the colonial establishment gave names to important places for commemorative reasons. Commemorative naming is a cultural practice of most cultures globally. For instance, the Spanish gave the name Columbia to the South American country after Christopher Columbus the discoverer of the Americas. Helander (2014) further says that in the Anglo-Saxon world the name of America, the continent is a commemorative misnomer for Florentine explorer Amerigo Vespucci. This is supported by Cohen (1988) who observes that the name America is a feminine Italian version of Amerigo and it was given in honour of Amerigo. In commemorative naming, according to Helander (2014:330), "European naming tradition was transferred to a new context in such a way as to maintain, at one and the same time, a connection to both the existing locations in the regions of origin as well as to the naming models". Indeed such naming, Helander (2014) maintains, is an expression of nostalgia for the native land of the coloniser and on another level it is a symbolic gesture of appropriation or the intention to do so. Renaming is a seal of possession like an animal marking its territory. This change of ownership reflected by toponymy is evident in cities like New York that started as New Amsterdam when the Dutch colonised the area around Manhattan Island in 1664 (Cohen, 1988). Cohen (1988) further avers that when the English displaced the Dutch after war, they changed the name to New York in honour of the Duke of York in England. As will be seen later in this study, Africa seems to bear the worst sort of toponymic scars from colonisation.

Helander (2014:330) further contends that, colonial toponymy is nothing other than a cultural weapon

> to serve as sort of a linguistic stamp and symbol, something with which Europeans could mark places
> and regions and demonstrate ownership of the colonial regions. When, however, indigenous

placenames were silenced as a result of toponymic colonialism, it reinforced the perception of a terra nullius – as if the regions were not inhabited before the arrival of the Europeans. Thus, taking possession of regions was legitimised through placenames.

Ultimately, as observed by Jacob (in Helander, 2014), a toponym in the colonial situation is an assertion of a claim of precedence and of ownership and should therefore reflect the new power configurations; taking away the toponym or simply bringing in another one where an indigenous one exists is a clear act of dispossession through erasing certain people out of history (see Section 2.2.1.5). Toponymy is thus not a useless activity but a critical component in the creation of a certain representation in the eyes of both the coloniser and the colonised. In the colonial adventure, Helander (2014) rightly says the colonisers consolidated the new dispensation through the writing of different signage and through cartography.

The colonial exercise was an exercise of power. This power came in different intensities in different places. It is generally observed by scholars that colonies in Africa were identified for settler purposes or mere economic purposes. Colonies identified for settlement purposes experienced harsh if not brutal colonial rule. Botswana, for example, was identified for economic purposes and as a result did not experience harsh politics from the colonists. This is why Manatsha (2014) believes that debate on renaming in Botswana is rather subdued. Zimbabwe and South Africa which were earmarked to be settler colonies were exposed to harsh colonial politics characterised by institutionalised extensive land-grabbing, systematic segregation and racial discrimination which resulted in unprecedented dispossession and displacement that amounted to erasure (see section 2.2.1.5) of the black population (Pfukwa and Barnes, 2010a). In response, indigenous Africans fought protracted and tumultuous wars of liberation to reclaim the physical landscape and the right to name it. Toponymic landscape is inevitably a contested terrain which reflects the power dynamics at play.

2.3.9   Toponymy and Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous knowledge according to Mapara (2009:140) is "a body of knowledge, or bodies of knowledge of the indigenous people of particular geographical areas that they have survived on for a very long time". Toponyms are a critical storehouse of indigenous knowledge. Uluocha (2015) argues that toponyms are part of the oral cartography of a place. According to Uluocha (2015), the absence of a writing culture in most of pre-colonial Africa does not presuppose that

Africans did not have a mental capacity to conceptualise their geographical environment through some form of oral cartography. The coming of settlers and the subsequent changes to the toponymic landscape resulted in territorial dislocation and alienation of the African and hence the need for restoration in the form of renaming of the geo-linguistic landscape (Uluocha, 2015).

After studying naming practices among graduate initiates among Xhosa people Neethling (2004) concluded that naming is a process of commissioning the initiates to be what society expects of them in future. Neethling (2004) avers that among the Xhosa of South Africa, as among the majority of African people, there is a belief that names have an impact on the current and future life of an individual and his/her family. Unique messages about some Xhosa cultural values are communicated through the names. Similarly, the Sotho also communicate important indigenous knowledge through their place-names. The Southern Sotho name for Bloemfontein is *Mangaung* which means place of cheetahs because the place used to have a lot of cheetahs (Neethling, 2004). This practice of naming places after flora and fauna is not coincidental but a systematic cultural practice that underscores the critical value Africans (the Sotho in particular) put on their natural heritage. In this regard, toponymy is seen to be important as a form of indigenous knowledge which preserves history, culture and family heritage.

In Nigeria among the Yoruba, indigenous knowledge about settlement and climate is stored in place names. Aleru and Alabi (2010) observe that Yoruba names provide valuable historical information about settlement and climate. For example the name *Oke Onigbin,* 'Hill of snails' suggests that the place used to be wetter even though it might not be the case today. Awolalu (in Aleru and Alabi, 2010:151) concludes that toponyms have great potential to assist in the reconstruction of the history of a particular culture because "to the West Africans nothing is said to exist until that thing is named". Similarly, in Zimbabwe, among the Shona, names of natural features often communicate important information directly or implicitly. Chabata (2007; 2012) gives an example of Rusape River that is believed to have been derived from *Rusingapwi* a Shona nominal construction which means a river which does not dry up throughout the year. Shona pre-colonial toponymy was part of the whole system of Shona oral cartography that allowed the the indigenous population to conveniently navigate through their land. Even though the Shona pre-colonial society was illiterate in terms of a modern writing and reading culture, they recorded important information on place names which, in turn, were

captured in cultural practices such as Shona clan praise poetry. The praise poetry, according to Hodza & Fortune (1979), made multiple references to the natural geographic environment through the place names. It, for instance traced the transition of the nomadic pre-colonial communities from one place to another, places of burial for the ancestors, major sites of battles, among other important anecdotal information (see Section 4.2.8). Boundaries were demarcated through toponymy and this made toponymy an important feature of Shona indigenous knowledge. The poetry became a historical account of the migration patterns of the family and would be guarded jealously like any family treasure. For the chiefs and important people, the burial sites would be mountains for example *Svikire,* according to Hodza & Fortune (1979), where the Gumbo clan which happens to be the family of the Gutu chieftaincy once resided and where some of the ancestors are buried.

Toponyms also reflect the indigenous linguistic aesthetics of a particular people. Indigenous aesthetics belong to a community's culture. Smith (2006) contends that linguistic aesthetics "is a term which refers to the "fickle relationship among the sounds of words, their meaning, and our emotional responses to them". Aesthetics deals with the pleasantness or euphony of words. Inevitably, aesthetic value in language is highly subjective but first language speakers are likely to pick pleasantness or lack of it in a word. Raper (1988:28) observes that Portuguese names in South Africa today have contributed to aesthetically enrich the local inventory of toponyms because these names are "aesthetically pleasing, being euphonious and accurately descriptive". Naming among the Shona people is also aesthetically motivated. Chabata (2012:49) observes this aesthetic quality in Shona toponyms by stating that most of them are "picturesque" in that they describe the photographic appearance of the feature, for example *Mushonganeburi* [one who is decorated with a hole] which is a name of a mountain which has serrated fingure-like features with gaps in between.

Place names, therefore, belong to the African body of indigenous knowledge. It is the focus of this research, as outlined in the first chapter of this thesis, to establish any trends in the post-2000 toponymic landscape.

2.3.10   Toponymy and religion

Most global cultures reflect their spirituality and religion on the toponymic landscape. Religion as a cultural practice is critical to post-coloniality. To the Shona people, the natural landscape

is believed to be ubiquitously active in the life of the living. Selected places are revered for what the Shona consider to be sacredness. Musoni (2016:1) argues that sacred toponymy denotes "converging points of human beings and the divine". As a result, there is a significant incidence of toponymy where the natural landscape is personified. Musoni (2016) identifies *Gonawapotera* (seek refuge somewhere), the name of a pool on Zimbabwe's Shashe River, as a pool which would 'swallow' those offenders convicted by the local chief in the pre-colonial period if they did not seek refuge elsewhere. A dome shaped mountain like the one in Zimbabwe's Mwenezi district is named *Shayamavhudzi* (without hair), another mountain is known as *Mudzimundiringe* (ancestral spirits look after me) and *Chirorodziva* (pool of the fallen heroes) alsoknown as Chinhoyi Caves, depict the Shona people's belief that ancestral spirits reside in high mountains and deep pools and such places are, therefore, sacred.

The coming of Christianity significantly impacted on the toponymic practices in Zimbabwe. Ashcroft et al. (2007) contends that Christianity was at the centre of discrediting African traditional ways of worship by labelling them as pagan and heathen. Mamvura (2014:204) concurs with Ashcroft et al. (2007) by declaring that Christianity was the "vanguard of British imperialism" which prepared the way for British power to be engraved on the African landscape, among others, through Christian names of people and places. Christianity in Africa is often viewed as having played a complicit role to colonisation because missionaries in some instances paved the way for colonisers by opening avenues of communication with local leaders, for example Moffat's role in the signing of the Rudd Concession that eventually led to colonisation of Zimbabwe (Beach, 1992). After the colonisation of African territory, missionaries apparently benefitted from the patronage of the colonial authorities to further their evangelisation mission (Chitando, 2001). Missionaries were quite influential in the affairs of local communities through their philanthropic work and through provision of formal education (Zvobgo, 1996; Gatawa, 1998). The construction of missionary stations and the conversion of Africans to Christianity resulted in the emergence of toponymy that reflected the Christian faith because converts were required to drop their traditional names and adopt Christian ones. Similarly, names of most mission stations were biblical in their origin. Missionary stations such as Morgenster in Masvingo Province and Driefontein in Midlands Province are examples of mission stations established in the early years of colonisation in Zimbabwe.This impact of Christianity is most pronounced in the first fifty years of colonisation as reflected by what

Chitando (2001) calls theophoric naming practices. Such naming practices portray the dominance of Christian faith over traditional ancestral worship.

The rise of nationalism saw a partial rejection of Christianity and revival of African traditional ancestral worship. Chung (2006) maintains that a significant number of nationalist freedom fighters and activists claimed that the war was being led on the spiritual front by the spirits of First *Chimurenga*mediums, Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi (see Sections 4.2.3.2 & 5.3.2). On the other hand, Chitando (2002) maintains that leading nationalists were Christian converts educated by missionaries. In addition to nurturing nationalists, the Christian religion,through churches sympathetic to the colonised population,also played an important role in indirectly supporting the war through providing logistics like food and clothes (Shoko, 2006). Zimbabwe trudged towards independence against this background of religious syncretism. In the post 2000 land reforms Shoko (2006) notes that the ZANU PF government regarded land acquisition as a restorative gesture that would appease the restless spirits of fallen heroes. As a result, the post 2000 land reform ran parallel to a nationwide programme to decently rebury fighters killed in the war of liberation (Shoko, 2006). One can only agree with the observation made by Chitando (2005:220) on how religious themes were appropriated in the land reform:

> propagandists sought to portray the ruling party (ZANU-PF) as a sacred movement fulfilling prophetic oracles that the black majority would reclaim the lost land. State functionaries systematically appropriated religious ideas, with concepts from Christianity and African traditional religions being used to buttress political statements. The controversial land reform programme was couched in religious terms and notions like sovereignty attained [in] mythical proportions.

This confirms that Zimbabwe is a country entangled between traditional African religion, on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. This syncretism inevitably impacted on toponymic practices.

2.3.11   Toponymy and language visibility

Du Plessis in Meiring (2011:264) defines language visibility as "the public display of geographical names on road traffic signs, buildings and maps, and via other means..." Du Plessis (2011a:264) states that effective language visibility is a public display of all languages spoken in a speech community as stipulated by available guidelines for effective communication and peaceful co-existence amongst the speakers of the different languages.

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Making toponyms visible linguistically through signage is an important aspect of geo-linguistic mapping in literate communities. Azaryahu (1997) argues that if a language is not represented in toponymy there is a high likelihood that such a language will die. Because language conveys culture (Ngugi waThiong'o, 1981), the death of a language means the death of a culture. Making toponyms invisible by absence of suitable signage might be some kind of *de facto* onomastic erasure. In South Africa the constitution stipulates that all languages which are recognised officially should be visible. According to Meiring (2011:265), the power of language visibility lies in that "an apparently mundane object like a road traffic sign can actually 'speak' volumes about the value a country attaches to designated languages". Ensuring language visibility is an obligation of government. Toponymic signage is therefore more than just an indicator of directions or names but a statement on a country or community's ideological position on language(s) and the speakers of those languages. Erasing old toponyms can be done symbolically through pulling down old signage and erecting new ones. This study hopes to draw insights from any language visibility practices to better understand the post-2000 toponyms.

2.4 TOPONYMIC RESEARCH IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

2.4.1 Introduction

A survey of toponymic researchin Africa South of the Sahara reveals a nexus between geographical and linguistic landscape. This section briefly examines toponymic studies from Africa. In the continentof Africa, the majority of countries owe their names to colonisation and the advent of non indigenous people. These name changes at macro level were replicated at micro level resulting in name changes of mountains, rivers and villages, among others. The colonial period can be seen as a period of toponymic 'havoc' or a period of enrichment, depending on one's view point.

African toponymy betrays a certain mystical relationship between the African and her/his geographical space. The concept of place is closely attached to space. Carter (1987) maintains that toponymy transforms uncharted space into place. An unnamed space can only become a place through human activity. This makes a place a package of experiences whose character is in perpetual mutation as it "picks up new meanings based on the ever-changing community the name comes to represent" (Radding and Western, 2010: 401). Ashcroft et al (2007:161) note that African pre-colonial toponymy is a result of "history, legend and language before

colonisation". There is a clear symbiosis between the name and the toponymic entity. This relationship is not a mere technical case of signifier and signified because the physical landscape comes alive through the way people name it. The signified is more than a physical entity but explains and expresses the way the people interpret themselves in the physical and spiritual world. This physical landscape comes alive through the way people name it. A careful study of toponyms yields valuable information on the link between the people and their history, values and customs.

A number of notable scholars have devoted time to studying the toponymic trends in Africa South of the Sahara. Whilst the sources cited in this section are from different parts of Africa there is a particular focus on South Africa for a number of reasons. Apart from being Zimbabwe's neighbour, South Africa shares the same history of colonisation and armed resistance to gain independence; more importantly, unlike all the other African countries, it experienced the pain of going through apartheid. Before reflecting on theSouth African scenario, this research makes a journey across Africa by looking at research from Africa South of the Sahara, specifically Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Namibia and Botswana.

Indeed a look at the name of the continent Africa and a cursory look at the individual countries points to a situation where the current names of the African countries used were not originally there, interestingly because the majority of current political boundaries of countries are a creation of colonialism. Prior to colonisation Africa was largely demarcated as empires and chiefdoms known by indigenous names. Influence from outside Africa through slavery and colonisation had a tremendous effect on the toponymic landscape. An analysis of toponyms from different parts of Africa inevitably builds knowledge about these often overlooked civilisations because toponyms, according to Kaups (in Algeo & Algeo, 2000:270), "are linguistic spoor that may be read for evidence of an ethnic group's presence and for details of the settlement process, such as enclave formation, assimilation, or prior occupance by other cultural groups".

2.4.2 The nexus between geographical and linguistic landscape

Among the earliest toponymic work in Africa is the work of Roden (1974) who carried out work in the 1970s in Uganda. Roden (1974) observes that within the pre-colonial Ugandan toponymic systems names were given for commemorative reasons as well as being used as

records of calamities like drought and floods. Roden (1974) argues that the absence of a writing culture in the majority of pre-colonial African communities has posed challenges in tracing the changes which affect toponyms over long periods of time. Another significant observation made by Roden (1974) is on the critical role of toponymy in the cultural life of Ugandans before the coming of settlers. Roden (1974:83) asserts that Ugandan toponyms are a historical narrative of clan and tribal wars which in their own right triggered off changes in the settlement patterns.

Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of Roden (1974) to toponymic study is his conclusion that any meaningful toponymic study should start by recording the names, followed by a basic study of the linguistic pattern and then end by a reconstruction of history to echo the view that onomastics is a multidisciplinary study. Without a written record, toponyms are relatively evanescent concepts which disappear gradually with time.

While Roden (1974) focused on reconstruction of pre-colonial Ugandan history through toponyms, Mbenzi (2009) examines toponyms in Namibia from a post-colonial perspective. Namibia's case is one of being trapped by historical forces which make it difficult to correct the past anomalies in the toponymic sphere. These challenges range from the use of exoglossic former colonial languages, namely German, Afrikaans and English to providing toponyms in a country which is not short of local language names. Whilst some post-colonial theorists argue that colonial redress does not lie in going back to cultural standards of the pre-colonial past, Mbenzi (2009) sets out a valid argument that there is every need in Namibia to correct the situation even at a symbolic level. Interestingly, renaming has been stalled by bickering and disagreement among various ethnic groups on the choices of names which should replace the former colonial names. Because Namibia boasts of a number of local languages, choices of place names acceptable to all ethnic groups has proved a mission impossible. As a result of the intricacies of place naming in Namibia, foreign names have maintained their presence in the same manner that the former colonial languages maintain their hegemony owing to ethnic conflicts over local language choices. Sentiments about the cost of the exercise have led some politicians to weigh their priorities. The major beneficiaries of the potential ethnic squabbling over toponymic names are English inspired place names because English has become an official language of Namibia after independence in 1989. Part of the toponymic culture in Namibia is to rename places after national and even international leaders but sadly there seems

to be no zeal to correct place names which are spelt wrongly because it is regarded as a costly procedure (Mbenzi, 2009). This generally subdued appetite to address toponymic challenges and ultimately changing names in Namibia confirms that toponymic re-inscription is an emotive exercise in places where there are multiple local and foreign languages which all clamour for recognition.

Bigon and Njoh (2015) in a study of post-colonial toponymic patterns in Africa south of the Sahara contend that the legacy of colonialism is quite evident. According to Bigon and Njoh (2015), debate over the removal of colonial names is intermittent and falls short of achieving finality to the renaming of places in post-colonial Africa.

The toponymic challenges in other post-colonial African countries are similar in many ways to Zimbabwe's experiences. The only point of divergence is, perhaps, the presence of radical political discourse in Zimbabwe.

2.4.3   The case of South Africa

Considerable work on toponymy has been done in South Africa. When South Africa was loosed from the scourge of apartheid, the spirit of reparation and reconciliation and the rainbow nature of the new nation released an avalanche of toponymic changes and, up to today, the changes seem continual as political and social perceptions evolve. As a result, the most significant onomastic output from Africa arguably comes from South Africa, where there is overwhelming evidence of toponymy as a critical domain of post-colonial discourse. South Africa's history is chequered with contestations of land ownership and changes in balance of power. This is perhaps because of the diverse racial and ethnic groups which all have long history of residence in the country. The collapse of the apartheid government in 1994 also added impetus to the process of toponymic re-inscription in line with principles of reconciliation and restorative justice. There are numerous scholars who have devoted time to South African toponymy. This thesis takes particular note of the work of Koopman, Guyot and Seethal and Swanepoel, among others.

It also notes the work of Peter Raper, an onomastician of note, who deserves the title "Father of Toponymy" in South Africa because of the extensive foundations he laid for toponymic research in southern Africa in his numerous studies in the field. Although he has not entered

directly into the ciritcal debate, the findings of his research have considerable implications for critical research.

According to Raper (2007; 2008; 2009b; 2014), the Khoisan, who are believed to be the earliest inhabitants of South Africa, have left their linguistic footprints in present day South African languages and landscape. Raper (1988;1992; 1993; 2014; amongst others),also examines European influence on the landscape of South Africa and Namibia.In one of his studies, Raper (1988) traces the origins of Cape Infanta to a captain of Bartholomeo Dias's navigation team to South Africa in the 16th century.He also uncovers evidence of other place names which were first given by Portuguese sailors, such as*Golfo da Baleia* (Bay of Whales) was renamed *Waalvishbaai* (and other variants) by Dutch navigators and colonists, before it became the present day Walvis Bay in Namibia. The presence of these Khoisan, Portuguese and other colonial place names on the South African landscape not only serves to confirm that toponymy is a window into the past, but also reveals a fruitful research field for toponymists working in a post-colonial framework.

There has been lively critical debate on South Africa's post apartheid toponymy. One significant scholar is Adrian Koopman who, apart from his studies, has been a significant editor of *Nomina Africana*, a journal of names.Koopman (2012) argues that the coming of African National Congress (ANC) to power in 1994 after many years of dominance by colonial races was a turning point in many respects. Koopman (2012) analyses the renaming which has taken place in Durban against global trends in renaming, making use of documentary sources and observation for data collection The findings confirm what Azaryahu (1997:481) observes: "[r]enaming streets has become a conventional 'ritual of revolution'" to depict a common trend of post revolution toponymic re-inscriptions. Predictably, the first toponym to be removed after the end of apartheid was Hendrik Verwoerd the allegedly infamous "Boer" prime minister of South Africa who was known as the Architect of Apartheid. Politicians latched on to the tide of post-apartheid toponymic changes. Koopman (2012) says former South African President Thabo Mbeki is quoted at one time as saying, Durban as a name should go because it is named after a land grabber and murderer and in retaliation the whites splashed graffiti over the name, Tshwane, and wrote retaliatory slogans on placards (see Section 2.3.7).

In fact, it is observable that cities with relatively neutral names can survive the 'purge' on the basis that it is difficult to politically discredit them or that it is unnecessarily financially expensive to change the name, worse still, if there are no clear political benefits. For a city such as Durban, the name has assumed global stature and the renaming spills over the boarders of South Africa in terms of attracting interest hence the lack of will to change it. This might explain Koopman's (2012) view that renaming has been loud in public fora, and yet the actual renaming of cities has not been that radical. The international community might not share in the experiences and emotions evoked by such a name which causes name changing to be viewed indifferently as an act of politicking. The continued use of Durban is similar to what has happened to Zimbabwe' Victoria Falls which continues to be known by its colonial name in spite of the vicious anti-colonial rhetoric which is sometimes generated in Zimbabwe (see Section 1.1).

The inconclusive nature of post-revolution renaming, according to Swart (2008), can be understood through the characterisation of post-war renaming as a symbolic gesture. This is because the "the landscape is a symbolic field of memory and belonging" (Fisher, 2010:77). Symbolically, through renaming, Azaryahu in Koopman (2012:156) posits that "the new regime proclaims the beginning of a new era while demonstrating both its resoluteness and its self-confidence". Machaba (2003:186) avers that in South Africa, renaming places is a clear "message to the former government and people who supported it that South Africa is now [the] ANC's territory and it does not want whatever identity that was created by the former government when naming places". Though most post-colonial governments had desired to have all vestiges of colonialism eradicated, the wishes ended up as mere political grandstanding which did not change the status quo because political independence did not translate to economic independence.

Guyot and Seethal (2007) are also a significant voice on South Africa's post apartheid discourse. They observed that name changing in post apartheid South Africa was and continues to be important as part of territorial reorganisation. Indeed place name changing in South Africa was and is done in the spirit of restorative justice and reconciliation. There is a general consensus among those who have studied the South African scenario that changing street names is a pragmatic step towards addressing challenges of the past. Guyot and Seethal (2007:61) however critique the implementation modalities especially in a country where the

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whites will also feel the urge to "defend a place to preserve [their] identity and roots and symbols". Guyot and Seethal's (2007:62) note the trend towards "homogenisation of placenames that seeks increasingly to legitimise the political regime by honouring contemporary and recently deceased heroes". This same observation is shared by Swanepoel (2009:100) who observes that whites have been averse to the changes because they see the changes as "indicative of a wider process by which their heritage and identity are being attacked". One can only agree with Guyot and Seethal (2007) who observe that there is a need in South Africa today to recognise the role of different identities as well as establishing the moral significance of the claims by different groups.

The contestations which have characterised renaming in South Africa, especially around the renaming of Pretoria and Durban have been viewed by Swanepoel (2009: 95) as "emblematic of the extent to which place names are vested with historical, political, economic and symbolic value". Her findings echo what Koopman (2012) established on the renaming of Durban in which robust counter measures were taken by those opposed to it to prevent the use of the new names, confirming that place names are critical socio-historical repositories.

Swanepoel (2009:100) also draws another interesting conclusion that the toponymic changes might fail to be transformative because "[o]n the ground, the economic, political and social consequences of South Africa's history of colonialism and apartheid, once physically delineated by the maps, will persist". This argument is also maintained in Swanepoel (2012:87) where she argues that place names are "scars of history" and as such "the practice of changing such names does not, in the end, erase that history". This argument seems to overlook the fact that history can be manipulated and these names as forms of representation have an impact on the residents through influencing representation (Guyot & Seethal, 2007; Helander, 2014; Koopman, 2012; Swart, 2008). In fact, name changes on the toponymic landscape are critical because they constitute a form of collective memory, a historical narrative which defines the now through the past. Toponymic changes, as Chauke (2015:285) rightly observes, are an effective strategy in post colonial communities to "reclaim lost identity and also to restore historical records" because the colonial venture was executed through a charade of lies and deception. In any case, Chauke (2015) argues that most indigenous South Africans have psychological scars from the colonial and apartheid systems which need healing.

Swart (2008:106) in an interesting comparative analysis of post war Germany and post-apartheid South Africa argues that

> [t]he seemingly administrative procedure of awarding a street name can be a powerful expression of political change. The changing of street names has at least three functions: that of 'vehicle for commemoration', that of constituting a form of symbolic reparation for human rights abuse and the function of constructing a politicised version of history.

In line with the above argument, Swart (2008) contends that post apartheid South Africa's constitutional court made a ruling in favour of reparations for previous rights abuses even in the form of memorials like toponyms. Toponymic changes are thus an important post revolution strategy to heal the wounds of injustice.

Meiring (2008; 2010a; 2010b; 2012) has also done some significant work on onomastics in South Africa. The research make use of documentary data of names available as well as names discourse from the media and public platforms such as political rallies. There is also significant input from observation of the toponymic trends and patterns. Whilst the overwhelming majority of her research output looks at the diverse identities in South Africa as a challenge, especially with regard to the issue of place names, Meiring (2008:297) sees the diversity positively as all toponyms serve as "windows to the past, stimulating the imagination and inspiring writers, poets, artists and text designers". Thus, instead of toponyms being seen as a sad reminder of the past, they should be viewed as a positive indication of the rich variety of South African place names. In Meiring's (2012:24) view, the names in their diversity reflect the rainbow nation as some kind of

> tapestry of many colours, hues and patterns....they reflect the hearts and minds of those who gave the names, ultimately expressing what it means to be a South African in the face of shared historical and cultural experiences that motivated the bestowal of the name.

What might still pose challenges is the fact that this tapestry of names represents a phase of violent dispossession to the indigenes even though to the former colonisers it might represent a period of what they perceive to be great responsibility over the continent of Africa. This responsibility was portrayed in European writings as the 'the white man's burden' (Kipling in Foster and McChesney, 2005) while African writings such as Chinua Achebe's (1959)*Things

Fall Apart, attempt to expose the cultural havoc brought by colonisation on African communities. These views are always at war and might, in the foreseeable future remain like that unless compromises are made by both sides.

The debate on name changing in South Africa is likely to persist and perhaps there is need to take a cue from Sepota and Madadzhe (2007:143) who propose the need to carefully examine "why things should be changed" to avoid emotional decisions which cause more harm than good. Name changing should be built along a consensus on the nature of history which should be carried forward for posterity. While certain historical events can be regarded as indelible, it is also a fact that through toponymy the historical narrative can be rewritten in a spirit of tolerance. The preoccupation with name changes is far from being coincidental in South Africa. This is because of the turbulent historical pathway the country has travelled over the centuries. All the major historical catastrophes of slavery, colonisation and apartheid madea considerable impact in shaping the history and, subsequently, the toponymy of South Africa. Koopman (2012) refers to the discourse on place names in South Africa as toponymic war, as a way of expressing the emotive nature of toponymy in post-revolution scenarios. This is also indicative of how toponymy has become part of the spatial politics particularly in post-colonial Africa, hence the need to adopt critical analytic social theories to understand it.

The African scenario bears testimony to the significance of critical toponymic studies. Whilst there has been rigorous engagement on the issue of toponymy in Africa especially in South Africa, in Zimbabwe there has been sporadic and subdued interest even though the country experienced significant toponymic re-inscription as a result of colonisation and independence.

2.4.4   Zimbabwe's toponymic trends (Pre-colonial period to 1999).

As outlined in the introductory chapter, toponymy in Zimbabwe has gone through major historical periods, namely pre-colonial, colonial and post independence. Pre-colonially, the Shona people inscribed their world view on the landscape through toponymy. This was interrupted by colonisation when settlers used their own nomenclature to map the contested territory. At independence, riding on the wave of independence euphoria, the new government embarked on toponymic re-inscription for a number of reasons. There was a need to decolonise, to dismantle colonialism, practically through taking down all symbols and vestiges. Ashcroft (2007:56) defines decolonisation as "the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power

in all its forms". It, however, appears that most of the decolonisation effort was focused on public and national places, especially on toponymy, which would score propagandist points for the new government. This has been observed elsewhere, for example, in a research on post-Tsar toponymic developments in Russia which led Horsman (in Radding and Western, 2010:403) to conclude that "the more urban a place is, or the closer it is geographically to political power, the more likely it is to have been renamed". At independence place naming took a different direction. To the politicians, the link with the soil that had been severed by the colonists had to be repaired. To the Shona in general, the link with the soil is sacred as captured by Godfrey Dzvairo (in Kadhani and Zimunya, 1981:13) in his poem "Birthright":

They took my umbilical cord
And buried it
In the fertile soil of the field nearby
Mingling me with the soil
On which blood was to fall
Giving me birthright
To guard dutifully and jealously
With pride and reverence

This is a poet's confirmation that the relationship between the African and land is a spiritual one. As a result, one can only agree with Fisher (2010:76) who maintains that the toponymic landscape in post-colonial Africa and even in Europe is "a significant decolonising site". Politically, the new government wanted to symbolically demonstrate the new power configuration matrix. Culturally, years of colonial government had led to a situation where the indigenous people occupied the periphery in all spheres of life, be it politically, economically or socially.

The toponymic landscape became a site for commemoration of African heroes as colonial icons like Cecil John Rhodes were de-commemorated. Chabata (2007) avers that the practice of assigning anthroponomical toponyms to a place was rare among the Zimbabweans before colonialism but was popularised by settlers when they named local places after various personalities in Britain (for example Victoria) or any other European country (see Section 4.2.2). This was meant to create a sense of belonging in the newly expropriated territory. It should, however, be noted that because of the intricate nature of language contact (see Section

2.2.4), re-inscribing the landscape could only be symbolic. Third *Chimurenga* toponymy is an opportunity to revisit the discourse of place name changes in Zimbabwe.

In terms of toponymic research, there is evidence that indicates that onomastic work dates back to the colonial period. Available evidence suggests that early onomastic work was done by government consultants and missionaries in the colonial period. The focus was more on anthroponymy as the white settlers sought to know more about their colonial subjects. Wieschhoff (1937) examined names and naming customs among the Shona people with aparticular focus on the naming of children. *Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board* (1960) captured an inventory of Rhodesian place names on a cartographical, anthropological and historical basis. Morris (1938) studied names of chiefs and chiefdoms. Morris (1938) did not venture into critical analysis of the toponyms from a socio-political order, perhaps,for fear of crossing the path of the colonial government or in adherence to the canon of place name studies at that time. There are also unexplained details in the names, perhaps, as a result of the researcher's limited proficiency in the local languages. The name Gutu, for instance, is regarded as opaque and yet oral sources from the Gutu lineage trace the name's origin to the word Chinomukutu (a man with a quiver of arrows) (Jenjekwa & Barnes, 2017). Kendall (2005; 2006), simply gives an inventory of Scottish place names in Bulawayo. The result of such an approach was similar to a mini place name dictionary. The etymology of both local and Anglophonic names was given to acquaint the readers with information about the places of the colony.

Historians such as Beach (1970) analysed the local place names like Gutu within the framework of history. For example in the late 1920s, the colonial government hired Professor Doke to harmonise the local languages orthographies which were in use. These orthographies were the initiatives of missionaries for example the Dutch Reformed Church and the Anglican Church. Later, others like George Fortune wrote grammars on Shona and inevitably analysed names as nominals/nouns. Post-independence studies of names shifted from being etymologically and classification oriented to be critical. Pongweni (1983) also contributed immensely by analysing the role of names in the struggle for independence. This section reviews published onomastics work from significant voices like Mungwini (2011), Magudu (2010; 2014), Fisher (2010), Pfukwa (2007b), Makondo (2009) and Chabata (2007; 2012) among others. Most toponymic

research is inspired by a historical and political perspective with limited work on purely cultural analysis.

Jenjekwa and Barnes (2017) trace the historical significance of toponyms in transmitting the history of the town of Mupandawana in Zimbabwe. Place names such as KwaMudzviti reflect a complex historical interface amongst the Shona, the Ndebele and the colonial settlers. KwaMudzviti is a derogatory name given to the Ndebeles by the Shona and when the settlers came, the appellation was transferred to them: they were described as Madzviti (violent plunderers) to reflect their use of violence and their foreign language.

In his study of feature names of the Shona people through document study, interview and observation Chabata (2012) goes beyond the traditional toponymic approach by exposing "the role played by place names in defining Zimbabwe, both as a physical entity and as a community of speakers with a remarkable history and a sense of nationhood". Chabata (2012:45) noted that Zimbabwean place names describe striking features of the natural environment and in some cases try to define the people "through naming some of their popular places after names of their popular heroes and heroines, both living and dead". Chabata (2012:47) observes that "most names of geographic features are often localised for they come from the local people and through them, the people express their emotional attachment to their surroundings as experienced in their daily life". His findings revealed that most names of geographic features are often localised for they come from the local people as an expression of their emotional attachment to their physical surroundings in their day-to-day interaction with it. Chabata (2012) further notes that most of the names are compound nouns which have two roots and connecting vowels, for example, *Mabweadziva* where *mabwe* (stones) *a* is a possessive affix and a stem *dziva* (pool of water). It is evident that the feature names tell stories about experiences of the bestower of the name.

Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) also contributed to toponymic research in Zimbabwe when they examined selected Zimbabwean transphonologised toponyms. They trace the morpho-phonological processes of a name like *Topora* which is traced to the English phrase 'Top area' (top area>toparea> topola> to *topora*). While Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) view the changes as honest efforts at adaptations, these changes could also be viewed as acts of subtle resistance against theofficial impositions of names.

Magudu et al (2010) conclude that colonial settlers used Anglophonic nomenclature to assert their power and authority over the acquired space, while the indigenous people, where possible, used their nomenclature to express their resistance and grievances. Through looking at colonial names of towns, schools and other important places, Magudu et al. (2010), show the systematic use of toponymy by settlers to confirm ownership and control of the land. The indigenous people, in rare cases, resisted and continued to use local names especially for places like Njelele (Matopos) which they considered as sacred places of their worship.

Mungwini (2011) analyses through application of post-colonial theory the denigration of African systems of knowledge like toponyms through systematic use ofexoglossic nomenclature. He carries out an analysis of the current toponymic ramifications just like Magudu et al. (2014:71) who also carry out an analysis of secondary data available to examine how post-colonial place name changes have deconstructed the colonial legacy and reconstructed what he perceives to be a truly Zimbabwean identity.Mungwini (2011:5) aptly observes that

> [b]ecause names confer immortality to thought, the continued use of names coined by the coloniser despite the changes in history, only helps to perpetuate the very objective for which they were initiated. To erase a memory, one has to do away with the name that immortalises it.

This is echoed by Magudu et al. (2014) who observe that colonial toponymy in Zimbabwe had created in blacks a sense of inferiority and alienation. The inferiority arises from the colonial era exclusion of local names from important places like streets and roads in towns. Magudu et al. (2014) further observe that most streets in low density residential areas in Zimbabwe still carry colonial names and even emerging new residential areas like Mount Pleasant Heights and Westlea perpetuate colonial naming suggesting that the indigenous people feel that their local names are inferior. This is supported by findings by Kendall (2005) who identifies 40% of street, road and residential suburbs' names in the capital city, Harare, being of Scottish origin. In Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city, Scottish names are at 24.4% (Kendall, 2006). Alienation, according to Magudu et al. (2014), is a consequence of the failure by the indigenous people to identity with infrastructure and places that carry colonial names. Against such a background there was need to dismantle the Rhodesian identity so that "the landscape could be reclaimed and re-made to reflect the majority" (Fisher, 2010:55). This does not in any way

imply a total obliteration of all white names, but some form of a balancing act to achieve an acceptable tapestry. Mungwini (2011) advocates constant vigilance in order to protect the independence of Africa through protecting symbols which define it, like toponyms. This is why perhaps in South Africa, names which reflect the indigenous history of the country have been resurrected from oblivion into public space, for example King Shaka International Airport is now part of the current South African toponymy after replacing Louis Botha, who became the firstprime ministerof South Africa in 1910, at the inception of the Union of South Africa. There should be through toponymy some restoration if the narrative of the formerly colonised people is to be a balanced one. This, according to Mungwini (2011:1), is important because in the rest of Africa, "[t]he colonial narrative in Africa is replete with instances and processes of naming that were used not only to (re)construct social realities and (re)produce power and privilege, but also to inscribe, reify or denigrate African cultures".

Perhaps one can argue that former colonisers should concede, as an act of magnanimity, to accept the name changes because these constitute an insignificant percentage of the total impact of colonial rule. There are irreversible colonial impacts and indelible spoors in language, culture and even in the economic sphere. This is why Swart (2008) says name changes are only a symbolic act of reparation that seals the victory political against colonialism.

A significant voice in the discourse of naming in Zimbabwe is Fisher (2010).Fisher (2010) examines the Zimbabwean historical toponymic changes from a historical point of view. Fisher (2010) sees toponymic changes as key to dismantling Rhodesian national identity. Mazarire (1999) avers that in Zimbabwe, after independence, because of the urgency of the matter, a place names commission was set up to advise government on issues of renaming the landscape. Fisher (2010:63) notes that the energy and ideology behind the renaming was carried in the words of President Mugabe during an address to Senate on 22 February 1984 when he said, "every colonialist and settlerist name.... We want to wipe the slate clean and present our image of independent Zimbabwe without these vestiges of colonialism". Hence,in Fisher's (2010:55) view toponymy was at the forefront of "the disassembling of Rhodesian icons, monuments and cartography in order that the landscape could be reclaimed and remade to reflect the majority". Fisher (2010) observes that after a decade of work, the pace of name changing slowed down and as of today it has degenerated to a sporadic exercise which is carried out on those places of political importance, especially during electioneering time.

As argued by Magudu et al. (2014), there are glaring oversights made during the early years of independence and debate should only be reopened to consider names in Harare like Kopje (a small but strategic hill in Harare) and schools and suburbs which remain overwhelmingly untouched by the changes. The observation by Magudu et al. (2014) is quite valid if one considers the post-independence initiatives towards renaming in Zimbabwe. After the euphoric and impulsive name changes after independence, the government of Zimbabwe, as noted by Fisher (2010), formed the Place Names Committee to lead in the renaming of post-colonial Zimbabwe. This gave a sense of order to the renaming exercise because it relied on consultation of stakeholders to build consensus.Perhaps a major oversight of the government was when in 1993 the Place Names Committee transferred the responsibility to the indigenous people through a directive that residents who found local names offensive should inform the ministry responsible for local government. Ironically, this arrogated the decolonisation project to the very people who faced the brunt of colonisation but, perhaps, with a weak sense of self identity because of the many years of colonial denigration. What ensued and what exists now is an incomplete project perhaps which was partially revived during the Third *Chimurenga*. A colonised mentality has to be shepherded to reach a certain level of consciousness before freedom from the shackles of colonialism can be claimed (Fanon, 1965). This is so because Zimbabweans have tended to look down upon local names which in itself is a sad vestige of colonisation. Post-colonial theory, which anchors this study, argues that a former colonised person who does not value his/her heritage no matter how educated he/she may appear, needs decolonising of the mind (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). What is evident in Zimbabwe now could be a trend of bourgeoisie neo-colonial nomenclature which approximates the culture of the former colonial master consciously or unconsciously (see Sections 4.2.3.5 & 5.4).

It is also observable that the commission responsible for renaming soon after independence concentrated on names of major towns, cities, streets, buildings, dams, rivers and roads. Most of these places which had names changed seemed to have had their new names decided during the arduous years of struggle for independence. Masvingo, a town which has in its proximity, the ruins of the ancient Great Zimbabwe Empire was at independence briefly called Nyanda after a nearby mountain before a decision was made by government to rename it after monuments (Masvingo) meaning enclosures. What is intriguing is why a place such as Victoria Falls, a place of historical importance to Zimbabwe, maintained its colonial name. The local

people knew it as *Mosiatunya* for 'Smoke that Thunders' but to date nothing has been done to reflect its real history. If Salisbury, the capital was changed to Harare, why would a place like Victoria Falls fail to have its name changed? Undoubtedly, the new government looked at the tourist potential in the name but this could also be a grave miscalculation because Victoria Falls is a place which is on African soil. Either way, the name Victoria Falls is a declaration of the undying and stubborn legacy of colonialism that sometimes makes some people burn with revulsion and others implore their consciences to accept the reality of the colonial period and forge ahead.

In addition to oversights in the post-independence renaming, Magudu et al. (2014) also recognise its inconclusive nature. Through an analysis of available documentary literature on post-independence renaming in Zimbabwe and through observations of the toponymic changes, they conclude that the process of deconstructing the colonial legacy through names still has a long way to go. There is an overwhelming incidence of colonial toponymy yet, surprisingly, there was furore around the proposal to replace colonial names with local names in schools around 2000 at the instigation of former Education Minister, Aeneas Chigwedere. Magudu et al. (2014) observe that when the changes were proposed, there was serious resistance by some sections of both black and white communities because they felt that it was political posturing by ZANU PF whose political fortunes were waning. When the changes were proposed, ZANU PF was facing intense pressure from the newly formed MDC that anything it (ZANU PF) proposed no matter how constructive, was going to be rejected like the 2000 government led constitutional changes. This was a plausible proposal which was simply ill-timed (Magudu et al., 2014). The general populace viewed these proposed changes cynically, especially looking at the time it had taken to change. Any change now could be viewed as political gimmicking.

The above review of Zimbabwean toponymic research points to the challenges and opportunities of renaming the toponymic landscape. The Third *Chimurenga* is a phase of Zimbabwe's history which can be understood better through a toponymic perspective. Research from elsewhere established that toponyms are a cultural window into the history of a people. This research, by engaging in a critical analysis of Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymy, hopes to generate new insights on Zimbabwe's culture and history by focusing on the contested phase of Zimbabwe's post 2000 agrarian reforms also known as Third *Chimurenga*. The

Zimbabwean situation, the Third *Chimurenga* in particular, has not been thoroughly examined in toponymy. Research on Third *Chimurenga* toponymy is likely to yield new insights about Zimbabwe's post-colonial identity, spatial politics and the role of toponymy in the post-colonial situation.

It is critical to note that the literature examined so far was generated through the qualitative research paradigm and the analysis, in the majority of cases, follows a multidisciplinary critical approach in line with the critical turn. The overwhelming majority of research on African toponymy is influenced by post-colonial theory in its quest to understand the cultures of the former colonised people. Without doubt, toponymic studies in post-revolution scenarios like Africa are giving a fresh perspective to the study of the African experience.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The tenents of post-colonial theory, the main component of the theoretical framework of this thesis,were set out in some details at the beginning ofthis chapter. This was followed by an appraisal of the other complementary theories (geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology) which assisted in illuminating this study.The literature review then explored the relevance of toponymy to key social issues such as culture, power, ideology, politics, history and indigenous knowledge, among others, before embarking on areview of critical toponymic studies from Europe, Africa and Zimbabwe.

The toponymic landscape, in the light of the reviewed literature, can be seen as a contested socio-political arena, particularly in post-colonial and post-revolution contexts. Contestations of power, displacement and attempts at restoration of socio-political agency are all inscribed intricately on the toponymic landscape. The susceptibility of toponymy to propagandist manipulation through systematic erasure of toponyms deemed out of tune with the ideologies of those in power or the inscription of names which peddle a particular sectorial narrative is consistently evident, particularly in Africa. The literature also confirms that toponymy, in different proportions, is a reservoir of a people's intangible cultural heritage.The research on toponymy reviewed in this chapter is largely driven by the need to understand toponyms not only from their linguistic structure, but from the social, political, historical and economic circumstances of a particular speech community.

This review, therefore, provides a solid foundation on which to base this study on toponyms resulting from Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga*, which is groundbreaking research in terms of the systematic analysisof the Third *Chimurenga* from a critical toponymic perspective. The adoption of a wholly qualitative paradigm guided by post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology is consistent with the critical approach to toponymy seen in other studies where diverse perspectives illuminate the study of place names.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methodology of the research which includes the research design.Research methodology, as argued by Creswell (2014), pertains to the forms of data generation, analysis and interpretation that researchers adopt for their studies. Cohen et al. (2000) concur with Creswell (2007; 2014) by saying methods are procedures used in the process of data gathering. In line with the qualitative nature of the study, the thesis adopted methodology whichacknowledges the existence of multiple realities, as perceived by different participants. The salient features of qualitative research are highlighted in this chapter. Thereafter, a methodological review of similar studies from the international and local settings is also done before the presentation of the data generation strategies inclusive of sampling.The research is in the form of a case study (see Section 3.3.1) and made use of in-depth interviews, document study, observation (photography and field notes) to generate data. Ethical issues and delimitations pertaining to this study are also discussed in the last part of the chapter.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS IN ONOMASTICS

3.2.1 Introduction

Traditional research in Onomastics tended to focus on the linguistic aspects of names without any focus on the social, historical and political context (Stewart, 1954; 1975; Azaryahu, 1996; 1997; 2011; Kadmon, 2004; Redwood, 2006; 2011). Some of the studies adopted quantitative methodology and mixed methods, while others studied the names qualitatively. While traditional toponymic studies focused on etymology and classification of place names, from the 1990s, onomastics research (particularly toponymy) started to exhibit a shift towards the study of names within their social, historical and political context (Azaryahu, 2011; Rose-Redwood, 2011; 2018; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010; 2011; 2018). Rose-Redwood et al. (2010:455) assert that the post-1990 period is characterised as a "critical turn" in place-name scholarship, because of the exciting developments in "explicit and self-reflexive engagement with critical theories of space and place" to produce a "new body of research, which situates the study of toponymy within the context of broader debates in critical human geography." Azaryahu (2011:28) also asserts that the critical turn is about "how power relations shape commemorative priorities and produce certain geographies of public memory." Previously the

study of names was indifferent to the politics behind the naming and renaming. Johnson and Balentine (1994:27) argue that toponymy before the critical turn of the 1990s was a "rather moribund realm of taxonomies" which was enlivened by the critical turn. The critical turn, as perceived by Sheridan (2010), is some form of toponymic literary criticism where the toponyms and the naming process are exposed to rigorous analysis to unpack meaning.

In Africa South of the Sahara, prior to the critical turn, Afrocentric scholars have argued that name studies had been largely Eurocentric, promoting socio-historical narratives from the colonisers at the expense of the indigenous people (Bigon, 2016). The gaining of independence in African countries and the attendant discourse of decoloniality gave the study of toponymy a new impetus to enable it to reflect critically on the colonial experience and to explore potential gains and challenges in the future. Before the presentation of the specific approach to this thesis, a brief discussion of the qualitative research paradigm is done.

3.2.2   Qualitative Research

There are three main paradigms of research, namely, qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (Creswell, 2014; Yin, 2014; Patton, 2002; Flick, 2009). The quantitative paradigm is largely considered as positivist due to its experimental nature, its inclination to natural sciences and the use of numerical statistical values that are used for measurement purposes. In contrast, the qualitative paradigm is anti-positivist and is driven by the belief that not all phenomena in the world can be subjected to experimental verification.

The qualitative paradigm, according to Hays & Singh (2012), seeks to study a phenomenon in naturalistic contexts through the use of thick description to provide a comprehensive account of human behaviour, for example, beliefs, values and customs within a certain social set up. Starman (2013) puts forwardthe view that qualitative research is characterised by an interpretative paradigm, which emphasises subjective experiences and the meanings they have for an individual. In order to gain access to deeper levels of information, the qualitative researcher should immerse himself/herself in the field of study to establish rapport with the participants.

3.2.2.1 Approaches to qualitative research

Qualitative research is carried out within specific approaches. According to Patton (2002), there are at least five approaches to qualitative research, namely, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, historical and case study. Phenomenological research focuses on the study of an individual or a group of people's lived experiences (Yin, 2014; Patton, 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Phenomenological studies are anchored on the premise that reality is subjective. This subjective reality confirms the existence of the multiple realities. Grounded theory is an approach whose focus is the development of a theory. According to Creswell (2014), grounded theory might also test propositions to confirm or dispel them. Ethnographic research studies the characteristics of a certain culture. The outcomes of ethnographic studies are an in-depth description of a particular culture (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2007 and Yin, 2014). Historical studies investigate historical developments with the objective of understanding the past, present and future. Historical studies examine critically certain aspects of history guided by specific research questions or objectives (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The case study is an in-depth exploration of a phenomenon in its real life situation (Creswell, 2007; Starman, 2013; Yin, 2014).Since the ushering in of the "critical turn" (see Section 3.2.1), most toponymic studies locally and globally have adopted the case study to study toponymy. This thesis adopts this approach. It is a case study which examines the post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe.

3.2.2.2 Intensive toponymy

The approach to place name studies has been in constant evolution. The Australian National Placenames Survey (ANPS) proposes a paradigm shift from the traditional terminology of *qualitative* and *quantitative* to the use of *intensive* and *extensive* respectively (Tent, 2015). This is because of what the ANPS regards as vagueness in the terms quantitative and qualitative because of their focus on "the type of data gathered and analysed, not on the actual process and practice of the kind of research conducted" (Tent, 2015:66). Tent (2015) argues that intensive toponymy can be classified in three domains namely, a toponym's identification, its documentation and its interpretation. These three domains are important to the construction of an informative place name account according to Tent (2015). Key questions asked in intensive toponymy according to Tent & Blair (2011:68) are:"What is it? Where is it? Who named it? When was it named? And whywas it given that name?".Intensive toponymy is closely similar to descriptive backing (see Section 2.1). The questions asked in intensive toponymy are critical

to the understanding of Zimbabwe's post-Third *Chimurenga* place names. The toponyms are then analysed through Tent and Blair's (2011) Whole Toponymy Approach (see Section 3.4.2), using evidence collected through in-depth interviews, observation and document study. In this study, intensive toponymy was a critical first step in the critical analysis of toponymy in terms of identifying trends and patterns. While intensive toponymy seems atheoretical, post-1990s critical analysis of toponyms, where this study is situated, has been driven by social theory (Azaryahu, 1996; Faraco & Murphy, 1997; Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010; 2011; 2018).

3.2.3   Research methods in previous toponymic studies

In order to contextualise this study within the existing toponymic studies in terms of methodology, this section gives an overview of trends in methodologies adopted in previous studies globally, regionally and locally. The global review, in a "funnel" format, starts outside the continent of Africa and ends with a focus on Africa. There is, after the review of international studies, a sub-section devoted to Zimbabwean toponymic research to narrowly locate the methodology of the study within the available literature in Zimbabwe. Journal articles, masters' dissertations and doctoral theses are amongst the literature reviewed in this section. The selected works reviewed are overwhelmingly within the critical domain in line with the thrust of this study of Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymy. The methodologies from selected studies reviewed here fall into various categories: archival and ethnographicstudies (where documents and interviews are used), case studies, historical and phenomenological studies. Studies which adopt archival methodology are discussed first.

In his doctoral thesis exploring the history and dynamics of street naming and house numbering in United States of America (USA) cities, Rose-Redwood (2006) critically unravels spatial politics behind the geo-spatial mapping through archival research. The study focused more on New York than any other place because the phenomena under examination were typified in New York. The method of data collection is extensive archival research that sleuthed through directories of cities, newspapers and historical maps. Directories of cities, according to Rose-Redwood (2006), are documents that were introduced in USA in the 18th Century and they captured the name, address, occupation of head of household as well as the aggregate population census data. The directories made it incumbent upon urban authorities to number houses and to name streets and locations. These directories also contained a brief preface on

the history of the city and this made them (directories) invaluable to the study by Rose-Redwood (2006). In the study, photographs of features considered important were collected as part of thick data. Rose-Redwood (2006) also acknowledges the critical nature of in-depth interviews in qualitative studies such as his toponymic study but laments the shortage of time to engage in in-depth interviews to triangulate findings from documentary sources. The findings indicate that place naming amounts to "spatializing collective memory" (Rose-Redwood, 2006: 235) through the adoption of names like Africa and Martin Luther King.

In another archival study from the USA, Tucker (2011) in his doctoral thesis corrected the one sided historiography pertaining to place names in contemporary USA by studying Spanish toponymic relics. The study is historical in its approach but has pronounced features of an ethnographic and phenomenological study. Just like Rose-Redwood (2006), the study made extensive use of documentary sources in the form of Spanish chronicles, maps, biographies and other published records and these were critically analysed. The corpus of names studied is slightly above two hundred. Tucker (2011) contends that place naming in colonial America was not exclusively a Spanish affair but was both an American and Spanish affair on an almost equal basis.

Machaba (2003) in a historical study, used print and electronic media stories as an archival source of information to analyse the impact, in toponymic terms, of white settlers in South Africa and the views of the indigenous citizenry about naming practices in South Africa.

In the ethnographic category which made use of documents and interviews four4 studies are reviewed. Alderman & Inwood (2013), in a historical and ethnographic study, endeavoured to establish issues of social justice, citizenship, identity and belonging in relationship to the commemorative use of the name of Martin Luther King Jr. in a qualitative study that used document study, observation of street naming patterns and in-depth interview of information-rich participants. The analysis of findings was critically done in line with the "critical turn" (see Section 3.2). The study noted that the name has been used to confirm the black Americans' quest for social justice and equity. The geo-linguistic landscape is seen as important in promoting or undermining social justice. Using the name Martin Luther King is an assertion of a quest for equality and recognition because the name is associated with civil rights struggles in USA.

In an ethnographic study which used documents and interviews, Smith (2014) analysed oral stories and mythological data in Australia to establish the etymology and etiology of the names of popular caves. The findings revealed a long history of the spiritual attachment of indigenous people to caves. This attachment was interrupted by the coming of colonialists who displaced the aboriginals. The study made use of observation of the appearance of the popular caves, interviews of a few but informative participants and document study of folk narratives.

Valdez (2015) carried out an ethnographic study of naming patterns in Mexico. He compiled lists of names from maps, archival records, literary works and also interviewed an unspecified number of information rich participants in a study to classify and to compare the naming practices of three cultural groups in Mexico, namely Tewa, Hispano and American. Valdez (2015) found that place names are linguistic artifacts that contain socio-historical information.

An ethnographic study of toponymic practices of post-apartheid South Africa by Ormeling (1997) tackles challenges of multilingualism visa-viz the need for specificity and accuracy in navigation and administration of place related matters. The research was carried out through critical observation of the geo-linguistic landscape, careful analysis of archival records and through in-depth interviews of selected few informed participants. Critical observation involved reading into the toponymic terrain and noting any interesting trends and patterns. The findings were then exposed to critical analysis. One observation from the research is that multilingualism makes implementation of the expectations of United Nations (UN) on standardisation of place difficult and in some cases impossible.

In another study, Pfukwa and Barnes (2010b) examined the historical naming practices in colonial Rhodesia with particular focus on names which commemorated colonialist white protagonists like Cecil John Rhodes. Data was collected from documentary sources and in-depth interviews as well as from observations of the toponymic landscape.

Chabata (2012) carried out an ethnographic study of selected Shona feature names. He used in-depth interview, document study and observation to study the toponymic practices of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. According to Chabata (2012), the place names are descriptive and can be sentential in structure for example *Mudzimundiringe* which is broken down as *Mudzimu*

[ancestral spirit]+*ndiringe* [look after me]. The name explains the likelihood that when one goes into the mountain he/she is likely not to come back after being attacked by wild animals hence the need for ancestors to protect him/her.

The case study is the most evident approach adopted in the studies reviewed in this section. Madden (2017), in a study in USA, adopted the case study approach. He selected the case on the basis of its revelatory nature (see Section 3.3.1) and this implies careful selection. The data generation methods used in the study are in-depth interviews of information rich participants (those with long active history in local housing), observation of toponymic practices and archival data on naming and renaming from New York's Brooklyn area.He exposed the spatial politics behind place naming. Madden (2017) contends that contemporary place name changes in Brooklyn influence local development because place naming is evidently used to legitimise certain narratives about history, race and power. Disparaging names and names full of negative connotations are found in Harlem, for example Hell's Kitchen and The Dead End while the affluent neighbourhoods of Harlem boast of names like Sugar Hill and Millionaire's Row and these names engender attitudes in a way that affects how service providers attend to them. Other places in Brooklyn linked to immigrants and minorities have names such as Chinatown, Little Russia and Little Africa which are names that speak about the racial background of the inhabitants. The above names confirm the revelatory nature of the case study.

Lehr & McGregor (2016) discussed the toponymic practices in Canada's Prairie Provinces. This is a case study which has ostensible historical and ethnographic elements. Through the use of evidence from documentary sources on place naming spanning from the period before the coming of Europeans until now, as well as data from observation of toponymic patterns and in-depth interviews with knowledgeable participants, Lehr & McGregor (2016:82) argue that,

> [t]he founders of new communities have long transferred the place names of their former regions to the areas they were pioneering. When selecting names for their prairie school districts, thoughts clearly turned to hometowns and homelands, and a score of newly minted school districts were assigned names that recalled the place of origin of the most influential among them.

As a result names such as Marlborough and Bristol emerged. The current efforts to decolonise the Canadian Prairie Provinces has resulted in renaming of certain places as a symbolic gesture of cultural restoration and *Frobisher Bay* became *Iqaluit* and *Eskimo Bay* was changed to *Arviat*.

Wideman (2015) employs the case study approach and the use of archival, newspaper and in-depth interview data to study a phenomenon of toponymic assemblages where place names are built in a manner that reflects on history, for example Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

Kadmon (2004) in yet another a case study, collected data through document study of archival records of the toponymy of Eastern Mediterranean in the Middle East and concluded that the way old names get erased, as new ones takeover, amounts to toponymic warfare. This phenomenon of conflicting toponymic preferences is common in places that are administratively unstable (Kadmon, 2004).

Coetser (2006) used the case study design and generated data through document study and observation to find out the onomastic reaction in South Africa after the fall of apartheid in 1994. Another important study is by Guyot & Seethal (2007). They analysed the role of toponymy in reconfiguring the new South Africa after the end of apartheid. The research is a case study that focused on places in Eastern Cape and Gauteng and generated data through observation of toponymic practices, document study and in-depth interview. In the in-depth interviews the study focused on a sample of 30 purposively sampled participants who came from different sections of the society "to maximize polyvocality" (Guyot & Seethal, 2007:2).

In a toponymic case study, Pfukwa (2012) analysed names of suburbs in Harare through observation, documentary evidence and in-depth interviews and exposed the neo-colonial spatial naming where the majority of affluent suburbs carry English names and indigenous names were given to residential areas for indigenous people.

Steenkamp (2015) used the case study to examine the presence of homogeneity in the toponymic corpus of Mossel Bay in Western Cape South Africa and established the richness of the names in terms of their historical motivation. Data was generated through observation of the toponymic landscape, in-depth interview of a few well-informed participants and through

document study of historical texts and records as data collection methods. In terms of analysis, the toponym is the unit of analysis. This is in line with qualitative paradigm which, unlike quantitative researchers, states that if a concept manifests at least once, it deserves to be analysed (see Section 3.4).

Pfukwa et al. (2012) carried out a case study of informal place names in Zimbabwe's urban centres of Harare and Masvingo. These were purposively selected because of the diverse linguistic backgrounds of residents found in these places. Data collection involved interviews and observations of the residential places as well as documentary sources, for example maps. It was discovered that there is an adoption of informal names descriptive of the places for example *Pama*stones [at stones], *KuMbudzi* [a place where goats are found] and *Baghdad* [Iraq capital]. Baghdad, according to Pfukwa et al. (2012), was adopted because of the stubborn behaviour of students in the hostel, the violence and the hectic activity at the hostel in organising demonstrations against government equated to Iraq of the 1990s when it was eventually bombed by allied forces.

In his doctoral thesis, Mamvura (2014) studied colonial school names in Zimbabwe. The research is a case study of school naming practices in the colonial period. It is a study that was inspired by the need for depth and not breadth of the study. As a result, there are no statistical considerations in the study. Data was generated through in-depth interviews of purposively sampled participants and from relevant documentary archival sources as well as from observation (through photographs of relevant features such as school signage). The number of participants is not specified. The research ascertained that school names were a tool to further the racially segregatory policies and to promote certain ideologies, among other objectives.

Bigon & Njoh (2015) using a historical approach, examine challenges in naming the geo-linguistic landscape in Africa South of the Sahara (Sub-Saharan Africa) because of the legacy of colonisation. The study makes a cursory study of toponymic developments across Africa from the colonial times until the year 2015 through the analysis of data based on participant and non-participant observation as well as documentary data from published and unpublished works. It is further argued that there is still a pronounced presence of colonial toponymy in spite of efforts to decolonise the post-colonial African landscape. The research established that

colonial toponymic practices were racially driven hence the debate over maintaining or erasing them.

Using a historical approach, Magudu et al. (2010) analysed white settler toponymic practices in colonial Zimbabwe through documentary sources on names of provinces, towns and municipalities and concluded that the settlers used names systematically to show that the land now belonged to them. In another research, Magudu et al. (2014) reflect on the toponymic transformation that occurred in Zimbabwe after independence through observation of post colonial geo-linguistic landscape, in-depth interviews of knowledgeable participants and document study. The findings indicate that the decolonisation of the toponymic landscape was partially done because numerous toponymic vestiges like Cecil John Rhodes remain.

Ndlovu (2013) in a phenomenological study of selected Ndebele toponyms established through an analysis of documentary sources that Ndebele toponyms in and around the city of Bulawayo are anecdotal records of Ndebele history. The study also has elements of ethnography and historical approaches. The suburbs of Mzilikazi and Magwegwe are named after the founding Chief of the Ndebele tribe and one of his sub-chiefs respectively. This practice of commemorating important people in Ndebele history through toponymy is a common feature of Shona toponymy (Chabata, 2012; Mushati, 2013). Mushati (2013) uses observation and critical text analysis of street and road signage and came to the conclusion that street names in Masvingo town in Zimbabwe promote the propagation of a nationalist narrative of history.

The reviewed studies in this section belong to the qualitative paradigm where the case study features prominently. This thesis views the case study as an approach which methodologically employs semi-structured in-depth interview; document analysis and observation for data generation (see Section 3.3.1). The case study is therefore most suitable for this particular study of Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymy.

The sampling for participants adopted in the reviewed studies is purposive in line with the qualitative paradigm. To show the extent to which qualitative researchers do not value statistics, most toponymic studies reviewed do not specify the number of participants interviewed save to state that information rich participants were interviewed. This is in line with established trends in qualitative research (Patton, 2002; Yin, 2014; Flick, 2009). In terms

of observation, it is interesting to note that in addition to traditional approaches of using notebooks for field notes, advances in technology have resulted in the use of photography to complement hand written field notes and the tape recorder. Rose-Redwood (2006), Wideman (2015), Alderman (2011) and Mamvura (2014) are among the scholars who used photographs effectively to create vivid pictures of the context of research and to give credibility to certain arguments.

The most common and invaluable source of toponymic data are records, hence, the use of documentary sources for data generation in the toponymic studies reviewed is overwhelmingly prevalent. Archival documents and administrative records for different institutions as well as literary works serve as sources of data.

In terms of data analysis, the studies expose data to rigorous qualitative analysis guided by different theories. Because of the qualitative nature of the studies, the focus is on the place name as a unit of analysis. The statistical frequency or prevalence of a particular name is not a concern of most toponymic studies. Instead, the socio-political value of the name is the focus of contemporary toponymic studies. This is typical of data analysis in qualitative studies where a phenomenon is analysed, not because of its statistical frequency but on its mere presence (Yin, 2014; Patton, 2002; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The studies also invariably use triangulation in terms of data collection for purposes of building trustworthy findings. This is because qualitative studies have been accused by positivists for being weak in terms of scientific accuracy (Creswell, 2014; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 2002). Where interviews were not used, it is most likely that the information rich sources were not available or it could be as a result of the challenge of time. Without doubt, everything else being equal, the more the number of data generation methods, the more credible the findings are likely to be, hence this study uses in-depth interviews, observation of the geo-linguistic landscape and document study as data generation methods (see Section 3.3).

This study falls within the framework of methodologies adopted in the previous studies cited in this section and in the main literature review (Chapter 2). The methodology of this thesis is, therefore, dependable because it is widely used in similar research across diverse cultures of the world. The adoption of qualitative methodologies is consistent with what major writers and

theoreticians in onomastics such as Azaryahu (1996; 1997; 2011); Rose-Redwood (2006; 2011; 2018), Rose-Redwood et al. (2010; 2011; 2018), Tent (2015), Tent & Blair (2011), Raper (2004, 2007, 2014) and Kadmon (2004), among others, advocated and adopted.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

The data that is collected in quantitative and qualitative studies differ. While quantitative methodology uses data collection methods such as questionnaires and structured interviews, qualitative methodology mainly uses semi-structured in-depth interviews, observation and document study. The methods of qualitative data generation adopted in this thesis, are discussed below before a detailed outline of the data collection for this study is given.

3.3.1 Case Study

This study adopts the case study approach in studying Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponyms. Anderson and Arsenault (2005) define a case study as a holistic research method that makes use of multiple sources of data to examine a specific phenomenon. The case study, according to Creswell (2014), has grown to become almost synonym with qualitative inquiry because of its ability to interrogate deeply to get an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon studied. Starman (2013:32) citing Simons, defines case study as "an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a 'real life'". In the generation of data, there is use of in-depth interviews, documentary analysis and observation.

The case study has been perceived by scholars in diverse ways. On one hand it is viewed as an approach and on the other hand as a method. This study, while acknowledging the methodological dimension of the case study, perceives the case study as a research approach. This is the stance adopted by qualitative scholars such as Patton (2002), Yin (2014), Creswell (2014) and Starman (2013). Stake (in Starman, 2013:32) contends that "a case study is not a methodological choice, but rather a choice of what is to be studied – by whatever methods we choose to study the case. In so doing, we can study it analytically, holistically, hermeneutically, culturally, and by mixed methods...".Yin (2004) argues that the case study is effective because it responds in an objective manner by focusing on real life situations in their naturalistic setting.

Cases studies can be classified into three categories, according to Yin (2004): a case can be extreme, unique or revelatory. Extreme and unique cases are peculiar cases while revelatory cases are chosen on the basis of the researcher's special considerations such as access to the case to enable an in depth study. A revelatory case typifies a circumstance that is salient to the subject of under the study (Ritchie et al. 2003). The case study is flexible for the study of any issues that might be of concern to the researcher. For this study, the case study design was deemed suitable because it falls within the purview of research that answers the what, how and why questions about a phenomenon (Yin, 2004; Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ritchie et al. (2003:76) assert that the case study approach is "rooted in a specific context which is seen as critical to understanding the research phenomena." The case study approach has, however, had its critics who argue that the findings are limited to the case studied in terms of implications for change and potential for transformation. In defence, qualitative researchers, contend that such thinking is misguided because transferability of findings is possible on the strength of thorough description of the research context (the social, historical and political background of the case), sampling procedures and rigour in the research processes (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2014, Mason, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Sturman (in Starman, 2013:39) in defence of the case study argues that "[c]ase studies include both the particular and the universal without being mutually exclusive and move between the particular and universal in graded steps." Stake (in Starman, 2013:39) further avers that there is inevitable naturalistic generalisation which arises from the "tacit knowledge of how things are, why they are, how people feel about them, and how these things are likely to be later on or in other places." Sturman (in Starman, 2013:39) further asserts that for the generalisation to be possible, "salient features of the case are documented so that new situations can be illuminated by a very thorough understanding of a known case." In defence of the case study approach Blaike (2010) argues that the generalisations of qualitative research findings are similar to how quantitative findings from a small population are generalised. The discussion of the social, historical and political situation in Zimbabwe and the detailed trail of research procedures enable the generalisation of findings where there is need to do so. The case study approach is, therefore, most suitable for this study of Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymy.

The setting for this case study is an area in Gutu District which lies in the north eastern corner of Zimbabwe's southern province of Masvingo (Formerly Fort Victoria). The district has a number of settler farms which were expropriated for resettlement by the government during

and after the year 2000. Of interest is the history of colonial occupation in Gutu. Settler farmers who came to settle in Gutu, according to Beach (1970), came as part of the pioneer column, some of them immediately after and others gradually arrived over the years. The Rhodesian population of whites was made up of different races with the British being in charge, as discussed in Section 1.2.1.1. There were a significant number of Afrikaners and some Germans after they left South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War (Mlambo, 2000). According to Beach (1970), the Afrikaners came as a relatively large contingent and settled at a place they later called Enkeldoorn (now Chivhu) which borders Gutu to the north. This resulted in the Afrikaners getting farms in Gutu alongside the British and the Germans. The areas which were pegged into farms by settlers were lands under the traditional leadership of local chiefs, for instance Chief Gutu. For close to a century, it is evident from historical sources that settlers mapped their identities on the land. The tables, however, turned in a dramatic and unorthodox fashion when Zimbabwe enacted legislation for compulsory acquisition of white-owned farms in the year 2000. As the indigenous people moved into the farms they also mapped their identitieson the landscape in an effort to erase settler footprints and to resuscitate their connection with their land as a God-given heritage. This case a study could therefore be classified as a revelatory case study.

According to Mujere (2010), the land reform in Gutu affected three wards (1, 7 and 32). This research focuses on Ward 1 and 7 for practical reasons. Inclusion of Ward 32 would have made the area to be covered rather too extensive and it could have inevitably compromised the depth of the study. This researcher's rural home is in Ward 7 which borders Ward 1 to the north and it made itconvenient for the researcher to make observations as he travelled around the wards. A ward is an administrative level three division after the province and district demarcations in Zimbabwe (see Appendix 4) as illustrated diagrammatically below:

ZIMBABWE (THE COUNTRY)

⇩

Province (Regional divisions)

⇩

District (subdivisions of the province)

⇩

95
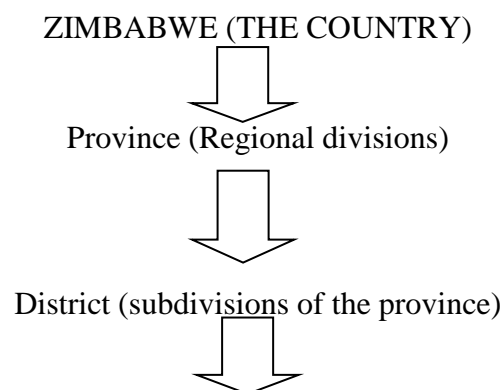
Ward (Subdivisions of districts)

⇩
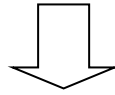
Village/Farm

In a rural context a ward can have up to a thousand households under a chief or headman. On average, four wards make up one political constituency of about 20 000 households under a member of parliament. Wards cumulatively constitute an administrative district and Gutu District is made up of 32 wards. The administrative centre for Gutu District is the place now known as the town of Mupandawana (granted town status in 2014). Most of the district lies in Ecological Region 3, though some areas overlap with Regions 2 and 3. The majority of the white farmers whose farms were forcibly taken were into cattle farming with a small minority in crop farming.

3.3.2   Sampling

The concept of a *sample* arises from the inability of the *researcher* to engage all the individuals in a given *population.* A population, according to Yin (2014), is any target group of individuals that has common characteristics that are of interest to the researcher. A *sample* is simply a subset of the *population* and, by definition; sampling is the selection of a subset of a population. Sampling is dependent on the methodology of research adopted. Quantitative research methodology uses probability techniques where participants are chosen randomly with each subject standing a chance to be selected. Qualitative research is associated with purposive sampling. Purposive sampling identifies participants on the basis of some defining characteristic that makes the researcher convinced that they hold important data for the study (Brikci & Green, 2007; Creswell, 2014; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006; Patton, 2002; Ritchie et al., 2003). Yin (1984:88) avers that purposive sampling should target participants with "most relevant and plentiful data". Within purposive sampling scholars further identify sub-categories, namely, snowball sampling, homogeneous sampling, and quota sampling (Mack et al. 2005; Yin, 2014; Flick, 2009). While homogeneous sampling identifies participants with uniform characteristics, quota sampling identifies participants with diverse characteristics. Snowball sampling, according to Mack et al. (2005:5-6), is whereby "participants or informants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially participate in or contribute to the study." Purposive

sampling, however, has its own challenges. The main challenge emanates from the fact that the so called representative sample may not be representative after all, leading to potentially misleading findings (Flick, 2009; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2004).

This study adopted Snowball sampling and quota sampling. Information rich participants of different social standing were selected. I also used my prior knowledge of the case to select the participants. This approach is supported by Yin (2009:48) who argues that "the selection of a case based on prior knowledge leads to a better research plan" which should not be construed as bias. Saville-Troike in Mamvura (2014) defines the use of prior knowledge as introspection: an effective strategy where a researcher applies his prior knowledge about a case to select participants(see Section 3.3.3).

3.3.3   In-depth interviews

According to Flick (2009) an interview is a method of collecting verbal data. The interview can be in the form of formal structured interviews, semi-structured interviews or unstructured interviews. Qualitative research data is best collected using the semi-structured interview where the researcher uses a flexible research protocol (Mack et al. 2005; Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2014). Tshuma and Mafa (2013:127) argue that semi-structured interviews are "flexible, adaptable and provide direct human interaction that enables the researcher to probe and clarify answers with the respondents, follow-up leads, elaborate on the original response and obtain more data with greater detail and clarity". In addition, Kraus (2005:764) maintains that "face-to-face interaction is the fullest condition of participating in the mind of another human being, understanding not only their words but meanings of those words as understood and used by the individual". Interviews are invaluable to qualitative research because they give a voice to previously disempowered, marginalised, and silenced groups. This is done through approaches that make them share their worldview and lived experiences in their own words under conditions set forth through co-membership in the research endeavour (Ponterotto, 2005).

An important consideration for interviewing is the sampling procedure to select the interviewees(see Section 3.3.3). According to Brikci & Green (2007), sampling for interviews in qualitative research should target information rich sources selected through variation strategies to ensure diversity for purposes of trustworthiness of the findings (see Section 3.3.2).

Such an approach also makes the sample reasonably representative (Ritchie et al. 2003; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). In terms of the number of participants, qualitative studies focus on a relatively small sample. Gonzalez (2009) proposes less than twenty interviewees in a study, Guest et al. (2006) suggests a minimum of twelve until saturation is reached while Yin (2009) simply suggests thata few participants should be selected. As shown in Section 3.2.2, few participants were selected for different studies. Wideman (2015) interviewed fourteen participants in a study to examine toponymic assemblages in Vancouver Downtown Eastside in Canada. Steenkamp (2015:35) in a study of the toponymic corpus of Mossel Bay in Western Cape in South Africa simply indicates that only "knowledgeable people" were selected for interviewing. Mamvura (2014) in his doctoral study does not specify the number but selected the participants from school Heads, history teachers, academics in the faculties of Arts, Education and Rural and Urban Planning at the University of Zimbabwe as well as officials from the Surveyor General's Office in Zimbabwe to gain insights into the various variables behind school naming in the colonial period in Zimbabwe. It is observable that qualitative studies are not concerned about statistical quantities of participants but the depth of information generated until saturation level. Few participants are also justifiable on the basis that in qualitative research there is focus on in-depth study through probing and on the grounds that a phenomenon only needs to manifest itself once for it to be analysed (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Guest et al. 2006; Ritchie et al. 2003; Yin, 2004).

After being granted written permission to carry out the research, the researcher went to the Gutu District Administrator to seek for further permission to go into the selected wards and to interview him. Following the information from the district office, the researcher went into the wards through the local leadership of the ward councillors who then helped the researcher to identify other participants. From the selected wards, the interviewer interviewed three (3) participants from each category of identified participants on separate days and locations. The interviews targeted local government grassroots structures of Wards 1 and 7, namely the councillor and village chairpersons. The traditional leadership (the chief and sub-chiefs for the area) were also interviewed as well as war veterans (the leaders in the Third *Chimurenga*), former farm workers, resettled farmers, lands officers and the district administrators (two previous and one current). Ultimately, scheduled interviews were held with 21 people who were deemed to be information rich by the researcher. Carrying out the interviews was a considerable challenge because only one interviewee could be interviewed per visit owing to

challenges of poor road conditions that impeded swift travel. On a particular visit, the researcher made observations, wrote field notes and took photographs. Many other impromptu interviews were held in the process of compiling field notes and all ethical issues were given due consideration. The selection of participants followed a similar process to those of other onomasticians.In this study, the following categories of participants were identified and sampled:

i)   Councillors
ii)   War veterans
iii)   District Administrators (one serving and two retired)
iv)   Lands officers
v)   Former farm workers
vi)   Peasants
vii) Traditional leaders

The selection of participants was done in line with purposive sampling (see Section 3.3.2). Such an approach to sampling for interviews was adopted by scholars like Wideman (2015), Steenkamp (2015) and Mamvura (2014) to ensure that diverse variables are exposed from the relatively wide spectrum of participants.

Before the start of the interviews, the researcher identified himself and presented the necessary documentationobtained from the government of Zimbabwe and UNISA(see Section 3.6 and Appendices5 & 6). Ethical issues were then explained to the prospective interviewees. They were informed of the voluntary nature of their participation and the observation of confidentiality as outlined in Section 3.6. On each encounter, the researcher also told the prospective participant that the interview would be recorded for transcription afterwards and that all participants had a right to see the transcript if they wished. The researcher informed the participants that they could withdraw from the interview at any moment if they wished. The participants, if they chose to would be interviewed in the presence of their friends or family members who also had the liberty to chip in where the participants' memory failed them. After signing the interview consent form (see Appendix 1.2), the interview then started. Each interview lasted an average of 45 minutes. The participants were visited once with the exception of the councillors who were visited twice, at the beginning and at the end of the interview schedule to confirm certain issues raised in the two wards. The actual questions asked

were sensitive to various considerations like level of education, political affiliation and gender, among others. General questions which made up the interview protocol are given below:

i)   Who gave new names in this village, farm or ward?

ii)   What is the source of the names?

iii)   What is the official status of the names?

iv)   Why do you think new names had to be used?

v)   Why are some names unchanged since the colonial days

vi)   What do you think you might lose if the names being used now on the farms are changed?

vii)   Why do some places carry dual names?

viii) What is your attitude towards English names?

ix)   What do the new names (given during and after 2000) mean?

x)   What are the similarities and differences of Third *Chimurenga* toponymic naming practices from the naming practices of the past?

However, in-depth interview as a data generation method has inherent shortcomings which emanate from lack of trust between the researcher and the participant, and the inevitable failure by the researcher to ask consistently relevant questions (Yin, 2004; Guest et al. 2006). This is why this study adopted other methods such as observation and the study of documentary sources for triangulation purposes.

3.3.4   Document study

Maree (in Tshuma and Mafa, 2013) defines document study as the examination of all written communication that may illuminate the phenomenon that one is investigating. Bowen (2009:28) notes that documents used in combination with other methods of data generation provide a "confluence of evidence" that enhances the trustworthiness of research. Mason (2002) makes a distinction between primary and secondary documentary sources. Primary sources are documents collected for the specific research whereas secondary sources are previous research findings by other scholars. Documents have an advantage of being stable over lengthy periods of time if they are kept secure. Of importance to note is also that documents do not get influenced or changed by researchers in the process of interaction with them. Equally important is the observation by Bowen (2009) that the selection of documents should, however, be done in a justifiable manner to obtain the most suitable documents for the research. The documents used in onomastic research are those that serve as the source of the

names or those that give the background to the names (Tent and Blair, 2011). Documents are, therefore, almost indispensable as sources of toponymic data. As shown in previous studies, the study of the documents is done through critical analysis of the names to establish the motivation behind the names and to unravel any other relevant details of toponymic nature.The overwhelming majority of previous toponymic research used documentary sources of data (see Section 3.2.2). The documentary data, according to Tent (2015), helps in the construction of a motivation 'biography' of a particular name, a critical first step in critical toponymy.

In order to fully understand the dynamics and trends of the Third *Chimurenga* toponymy, a number of documents were accessed for this study as listed below:

i)   Local maps and national maps of the farming area before and after the Third *Chimurenga*
ii) Composite list of farm names
iii) Minutes of meetings pertaining to issues of naming and related aspects.
iv) National communiqués published in the print media
v)   Newspaper reports/stories
vi) Telephone directories from relevant time periods
vii) Lists of school, clinic, recreation, business centres and train and bus station names from district administration offices.
viii) Published books of Zimbabwean poetry and prose
ix) Online memoirs, biographies and obituaries of former settlers.

Most of the documents were accessed for the names of the farms. However, others, for instance, print and electronic media documents such as memoirs, biographies, obituaries and newspaper reports provided information about ownership of the farms over the years, the activities on the farms and on events leading to the eventual displacement of the settler farmers.

3.3.5   Observation

Observation is regarded as a systematic way of watching, listening and documenting a phenomenon (or phenomena) as it takes place (Creswell, 2007). Patton (2002) goes further in his definition by outlining that observation includes field work descriptions of activities, behaviours, actions, conversations, interpersonal interactions, organisational or community processes, or any other aspect of observable human experience. Effective observations are, however, not easy to make. Creswell (2014) explains that when conducting qualitative

observations, the researcher takes field notes on the behaviour and activities of participants at the research site. Hays & Singh (2012) concur with Creswell (2014) when they emphasise that the researcher has to train him or herself to focus on relevant participants and setting as well as scrutinising these aspects vigorously in order to get a deeper meaning of the phenomena under study. The researcher might be part of the events as a participant or as a non-participant observer. Adler and Adler (1998:81) contend that in both participant and non-participant observation, the researcher should ensure that "[b]ehavior and interaction continue as they would without the presence of a researcher, uninterrupted by intrusion." The role which the researcher decides to take is dependent upon the nature of the participants to be observed. The researcher should exercise intelligent discretion on whether to be a participant or non-participant observer. Bogdan & Biklen (in Creswell, 2014) propose the use of an observational protocol which would include the aspects to be observed and other important details such as time, place, and date when the observation took place. Data generated from observation consists of field notes: rich detailed descriptions, including the context within which the observations were made. Photographs, video and audio recordings as well as field notes capture important data generated by the researcher.

In this study, the researcher observed the following features and scenarios in relation to the focus of the study(see Appendix 2):

i) Road signs
ii) Settlement patterns and toponymic features viz-a-viz the names
iii) School names
iv) Names of shops, grinding mills and related infrastructure
v) Toponymic preferences in day to day communication by different people in the areas concerned.

The observation of the natural and man-made features was done after observing the relevance of the feature to the focus of this study and in some cases, as a way of corroborating oral information from interviews. This approach is consistent with qualitative approach where the analysis of data often proceeds concurrently with data generation (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2009, Flick, 2009). During interviews, the researcher shifted from participant observer to non-participant observer depending on the situation and the topic under discussion.

3.3.5.1 Photographs

Use of technology in the form of photographs and videos is invaluable to qualitative research because it freezes time and allows the researcher to repeatedly use the photographs, videos and audios whenever necessary. Flick (2009) asserts that photographs are important for qualitative studies because they allow detailed recordings of facts as well as providing a more comprehensive and holistic presentation of lifestyles and conditions. Flick (2009:240) further avers that photographs are invaluable to qualitative research because they serve "not as mere reproductions of reality but as presentations of reality..." Photographs in qualitative research allow the transportation of situations and artifacts beyond the borders of time and space. Rose-Redwood (2006) in his doctoral thesis on street numbering in USA used photographs to reinforce certain conclusions about naming in New York and other places in USA. Mamvura (2014), in a doctoral study of colonial school names in Zimbabwe, used photographs to create a sense of reality and to enhance trustworthiness of his study.

The process of observation for this research involved using a camera to photograph phenomena considered important for the study. This included natural features, road and building signage in the area under study. The researcher took photographs as he went to fulfil interview appointments with the participants and upon scheduled tours of the area under the study. Photographs were taken even on trips which the researcher embarked on to confirm certain issues with the interviewees after the initial interviews. There are also two photographs adapted from memoirs of one colonial settler farmer's child (see Figures 4.1 & 4.2).

3.3.5.2 Field notes

Field notes, according to Wolfinger (2002), are brief reconstructions of situations, observations and interactions that took place in the field of research. Field notes are an indispensable source of data for the qualitative researcher. The notes provide important contextual information critical for analysis. The qualitative researcher should, as a rule, carry a note pad to record any information he deems important to the study. The notes provide important contextual information critical for the study. In the process of gathering data for this thesis, the researcher jotted down brief notes important to the study and upon getting home; he immediately expanded the notes to make them comprehensive. These notes complemented data generated from other tools.

3.3.5.3 Tape (audio) recordings

Tape recordings are an invaluable resource in qualitative research. The audio or audio-visual record plays a critical role in freezing time for the researcher to be able to analyse them later on. The researcher can record scheduled interviews and other spontaneous incidence of value to the study provided there is adherence to ethical standards (see Section 3.6). These tape recordings can be replayed over and over again if there is need. Repeated access to the data brings out critical insights which might be missed if the audio record was not made (Markle et al., 2011). One critical step in audio recording is transcription. Though transcription is time consuming, it is critical because the audio record is transformed to visual text which gives an opportunity for further engagement or immersion in the text. According to Patton (2002), it is important to validate the transcriptions by carrying out member checking where the researcher goes back to the participants for them to check on omissions or inaccuracies in the transcriptions.

The researcher, in this particular study, tape recorded conversations and interviews on toponymic issues in the area under investigation. The use of a Panasonic MP3 Stereo digital recorder made sure that the participants would not be distracted with the presence of a conspicuous gadget like a radio cassette recorder. In line with ethical requirements, the participants were however alerted that the interview would be recorded (see Section 3.3.3). All interviews were immediately transcribed once the researcher got home. Apart from recording scheduled interviews, impromptu conversations were also tape recorded in a way that did not violate issues of voluntary participation, informed consent and confidentiality. The tape recordings for this study complemented visual observation data.

3.4 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS PLAN

This study being qualitative in nature collected a thick description of data that had to be synthesised to make meaning out of it. Data was collected through in-depth interviews, observation and through document analysis. Identification of themes called for a rigorous and consistent strategy. Data collection and analysis in qualitative research are intricately connected (Creswell, 2014). The first step in the research was collection of the names. Names of the places before the land reform and after the land reform were collected and collated. Official names were collected through official government department of the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage and through any

other platforms such as official newspaper communiqués and telephone directories. Local names that were not captured officially were collected from the councillors (grass roots government official responsible for administration of local areas), village chairpersons and any other people deemed by the researcher to be knowledgeable (see Section 3.3.2). As the names were collected, observations were concurrently made, photographs taken and field notes written. The process of data collection went on for a period in excess of ten calendar months.

3.4.1   Classification and analysis of the toponyms

This research does not intent to build any typology in line with Bright (2003) who argues that typologies are rather rigid, some kind of straight jacket which might not account for toponymic idiosyncrasies of different places. The Third *Chimurenga* is a unique post-colonial revolution which has encouraged the adoption of a novel classification strategy for a clear illumination of the toponymy. Toponyms are thus classified following a unique classification matrix which, in the researcher's view, best addresses the scenario under this study. The classification is not an end in itself but paves way for critical analysis of the toponyms through the application of post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology.

The qualitative dimension of the toponyms is better exposed through a critical analysis of toponyms within identified categories. In each category of names the motivations will be accounted for by adopting what Tent (2015) calls the whole toponymy approach (see Section 3.4). To establish the trends, the names are classified according to generic categories which entail analysis of the structure, the literal meaning and the motivation (the connotative meaning) behind the name (see Section 3.4.2). A classification which is not based on motivation but on feature type is suitable in this study as a starting point. Classification on the basis of motivation will bring in many overlaps between and amongst different features which would muddle the analysis. Subsequent to classification according to feature type, motivation for the name was then identified. The closest typology to the approach assumed in this study is that of Ageo in Tent & Blair (2011) which classifies the names by their etymological classes like Aboriginal, British, and Australian, among others. Though Algeo's typology is not perfect, it exposes the historical and racial dimensions of the toponyms which help in the understanding of Zimbabwe's post- colonial situation. The generic feature (place) categories identified and used in this thesis are as follows:

i)   names of farms/villages

ii)   names of schools

iii)   names of business centres

iv)   names of bus and train stations

v)   names of political administrative divisions

vi)   names of roads

vii)   names of natural features (mountains, rivers and forests).

3.5   TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE RESEARCH

Qualitative research paradigm has often been attacked by empiricists as lacking in scientific rigour. However, qualitative research, according to Lincoln & Guba (1989), adheres to certain set standards to ensure trustworthiness of the findings. These standards are meant to satisfy credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the study. These four constructs are discussed below both in terms of what they are and in terms of how this study satisfies them.

3.5.1   Credibility

Credibility of a study is dependent on the transparency and the extent to which the research inspires confidence in those who access it. There are five strategies to establish credibility proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1989): Engaging in prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation; peer debriefing – exposing the final research report to an analytical but disinterested peer in order to expose any gaps in the study; negative case analysis – a revision of hypothesis with hindsight (some knowledge of the participants/or the phenomena); referential adequacy – the provision of recorded repositories of data for example video and audio-tapes and member checks – a process of going back to the stakeholders, for example, the interviewees for them to confirm the findings.

To ensure credibility this research made use of prolonged engagement, persistent observation and triangulation, referential adequacy, peer debriefing and ended with member checking. In terms of engagement, the researcher was in the field for at least ten (10) months and also used his knowledge about the area under the study as a member of the speech community. Observation was done concurrently with interviews and photographs of important features to the study were taken. Triangulation, the use of more than one data generation methodology for

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corroboration purposes (Gunawan, 2015), was achieved through observation, document study and in-depth interview for data generation.

3.5.2 Transferability

Transferability pertains to the possibility of findings being applicable in similar situations. According to Morrow (2005), this is achieved through the provision of sufficient information about the researcher, the context of research and sampling procedures (see Section 3.3.2). To satisfy transferability, this research was carried on a relatively large but manageable scale and provided adequate data to rely on for transferability purposes. The procedures adopted in this research are in line with what contemporary onomastics scholarship proposes. The study's approach is influenced by Azaryahu (1986; 1996; 1997; 2011); Tent (2015); Rose-Redwood (2006; 2011; 2018); Rose-Redwood et al. (2010; 2011; 2018); Raper (2004; 2007; 2008; 2014a/b), Pfukwa (2007a); Mamvura et al. (2017) and Mamvura (2014), among others.

3.5.3 Dependability

Dependability is the quality of being consistent and systematic in a way that makes similar findings emerge when another researcher carries out the research. Dependability is achieved mainly through purposeful sampling, audit trail (a road map of the research) and through triangulation. The adoption of purposive sampling and the presence of an audit trail (a road map of the research) and the triangulation of data collection methods enhances the dependability of this study. The researcher is convinced that this research is dependable. Sampling was done in line with the expectations of qualitative research as outlined in Section 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

3.5.4 Confirmability

The last aspect of trustworthiness to be discussed here is confirmability. Confirmability is the extent to which the findings are a result of the data gathered. It derives from the absence of bias in the way the researcher has handled the data. With regards to confirmability, this research endeavoured to confine itself to the evidence gathered in drawing any conclusions. There is a clear progression from data presentation, interpretation and analysis which culminated in the critical discussion of the findings. The researcher endeavoured to be rigorous in every part of the study.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical issues in this research were given prominence. Qualitative researchers, according to Yin (2014), have a task to carry out their research in line with ethical conventions. Where human participants are involved, their informed consent should be sought as well as guaranteeing anonymity of the same participants and ensuring the treatment of interview proceedings confidentially. Escobedo et al. (2007) define informed consent as a situation where a participant consents to participate after being told of procedures, risks and benefits, if any. While on one hand there is need to ensure voluntary participation, observation of confidentiality and the protection of human participants' identities, on the other hand, there is a compelling need to be truthful and scientific throughout the research (Patton, 2002, Flick, 2009; Yin, 2014). Of equal importance is the need to seek for permission from responsible government authorities to carry out research in a specific area.

After getting ethical clearance from UNISA in March 2016, the researcher then sought written permission from the government of Zimbabwe to carry out the study in Gutu's Wards 1 and 7. The Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage granted permission in August 2016 (see Appendix 6). This written permission enabled me to visit the local government officials such as the District Administrator to be given permission to then access certain archival records and to visit the particular wards to observe and to carry out interviews. Once on the ground, the researcher had an obligation to observe research ethics. For this study, consent was sought and participants signed interview consent forms before the interviews (see Section 3.3.3 and Appendix 1.2). With the knowledge that information rich participants might not freely respond to questions if they are not assured about confidentiality (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2014), every care was taken to ensure protection of privacy and safety of participants. The participants were interviewed in places of their choice. Whilst others chose to have the interviews at their homes, some opted to have them at their work places. The participants were fully assured by the researcher that their identities would not be divulged. Equally important was the researcher's assurance to the participants that they could, if they decided to, withdraw from participation at any stage without giving reasons and with no consequences incurred. The research made use of participants who are above the legal age of majority and are therefore legally entitled to take decisions about participating or not.

3.7 DELIMITATIONS

This research was carried out in Gutu District of Masvingo Province (formerly Fort Victoria) in Wards 1 and 7. In Zimbabwe, wards are in the administrative divisions of the country (see Section 3.3.1). The focus was on the post-2000 toponymic landscape. The research examined the social, historical, economic, religious and political issues behind the toponyms.

3.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an outline of the research paradigm and the methodology. An overview of research methodologies from studies of similar nature, both locally and internationally,was given before the presentation of the sampling procedures and the data generation instruments and strategies. The data analysis plan is also presented as well as the discussion of issues of trustworthiness of the study and ethical issues relating to the thesis.

CHAPTER 4
RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This research which is in the form of a case study aimed at examining how Zimbabwe's post-Third *Chimurenga* toponymic landscape reflects the land reform in terms of its historical, social, political, religious and ideological values. It also sought to account for toponymic trends (patterns) that emerged after the land reforms. Data presented in this chapter was generated through in-depth interviews, document study and observation. Within observation, field notes were collected as written notes and in the form of photographs and audio recordings. Thick data that is able to account for what Tent (2015:68) refers to as "[t]he whole toponym" was collected (see Section 3.4). This data includes the toponyms themselves and information on the toponym's structure, meaning and motivation. In this chapter, toponymic data is presented following a novel structure which is not drawn from any known typology even though selected insights from a select few typologies influenced the presentation here. The presentation and categorisation of data was determined by the unique contextual setting of this study. Analysis of the toponyms was done through the lens of post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology. The analysis of the toponyms was done through the application of the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. Toponyms were taken as text and analysed as such. The detailed data analysis plan for this thesis is presented in Section 3.4.

4.2 CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF TOPONYMS

4.2.1 Introduction

The presentation of names follows a classification of the toponyms into identified categories based either on feature type, etymology or semantic meaning. Within the specific categories, sub-categories are identified where necessary as the names are further analysed in line with Tent (2015) whole toponym approach. The names are presented under the mentioned generic categories (see Appendix 3). The generic categories identified in this thesis are as follows:

a) names of farms/villages
b) names of schools
c) names of business/shopping centres
d) names of bus and train stations

e)   names of political administrative divisions

f)   names of roads

g)   names of natural geographical features (mountains, rivers and forests).

All toponyms are presented in bold on their first mention. After the classification of the toponyms, critical analysis illuminated by the theoretical framework outlined in Section 2.2 is done.

4.2.2   Farm/village names

Farm names refer to names of pieces of land demarcated and offered to colonial settlers after the colonisation of Zimbabwe. These pieces of land (farms) were pegged in areas previously inhabited by the indigenous African population under the authority of local indigenous traditional leadership (see Section 1.2.1.1). Pre-2000 toponymic landscape in this study was overwhelmingly made up of settler toponymy in its different forms. The initial categorisation separates pre-2000 toponyms from those which emerged after the year 2000 (see Appendix 3.1.1). In the post-2000 situation most farms were subdivided into smaller farms or villages. In the overwhelming majority of cases, these villages still carried the original name of the farm with the addition of the village number. Only in a small minority of cases, new names for the villages emerged. The land reforms of post-2000 almost doubled the number of toponyms for pieces of land. The original number of farms within the area sampled for study was 44 farms but the land reforms almost doubled the number to 85 farms and villages because of subsequent subdivisions. This explains why the second column in Appendix 3.1.1 has more names than the first column. Some farms that were not divided into villages were subdivided into small farms with an average of 40 hectares and these were termed plots and were numbered numerically. In very rare scenarios, a whole farm was taken over by an individual (if the individual was politically and socially influential).

What then followed after the categorisation of farm and village names is the categorisation of other feature names in distinct categories (see Appendix 3). Within the feature categories, further categorisation was identified etymologically and thematically. This is in line with the adopted data presentation matrix for this study where names are categorised not according to some long established typology but according to a situationally suitable matrix that emerges out of the uniqueness of Zimbabwe's Third *Chimurenga* land reforms.

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4.2.2.1 Anthropоnymic farm names

Anthroponymic toponyms (also known as astionyms) are derived from the first name or surname of a person. Anthroponymic toponyms can exist as names of people or as names of people which have a toponymic marker (suffix) added on to them. In this study, anthroponymic toponyms are names of farms which are derived from known European and African names of people. According to interviewees, change of farm nameswas rather seldom because of administrative and legal reasons. A change of a farm name implied a change on the official cartography which made it costly and inconvenient. As a result, most if not all of the farm names in this study have been like that for more than a century. If there were changes, this study could not ascertain them. The following names fall under the anthroponymic category: **Appin, Allanberry, Markdale, Noeldale, Maxwell, Maggies Rus, Appin, Argyle, Blythe, Craig, Edgar Ridge, Edinar, Haig, Nelville, Merlin, Vitcom,Ripley, Simon Muzenda and Shuvai Mahofa.**Most of the names are of foreign origin indicating the history of colonial displacement of Africans from the land. Further classification of these anthroponymic toponyms is given below.

(i) Anthroponyms without any suffixal additions

The first category of anthroponymic toponyms are the toponyms that appear in their anthroponymic form without any addition of affixes. Blythe, Craig, Edinar, Haig, Nelville, Merlin, Vitcom and Ripley fall into this sub-category. These toponyms also appear as toponyms in most, if not all, Anglophone countries. Interestingly, these anthroponyms, except Appin, Argyle, Nelville, Merlin and Vitcom have known denotative meanings that might assist in the unravelling of the connotation or meaning of a toponym (Raper, 2004; Tichelaar, 2002). Edinar, according to *Think Baby Names* (2017), is a name used to refer to the Scottish capital; it is also a lady's name of Celtic origin which means 'a wealthy friend, pleasure or delight'. Blythe means 'joyful' whilst Craig is a Scottish masculine name meaning 'a rock'. Ripley is a common baby name in Scotland meaning that which comes from 'the shouter's meadow'. Haig is an old English word that means something enclosed by hedges and it was also popular because it was the name for a First World War British field marshal (*Think Baby Names*, 2017).

(ii) Anthroponyms with a suffix

Five of the farm names, namely Alanberry, Markdale, Noeldale and Maxwell are made toponyms by adding suffixes in line with Anglophonic nomenclature: Alan + berry; Mark + dale; Noel + dale and Max + well. Alanberry was, according to Beach (1970), a farm owned by rich Afrikaner pioneer settlers by the surname Bezuidenhout who one of the Administrators Lord Milner of Rhodesia characterised as "a very fine-looking Dutchman, who spoke English so well that [he] at first mistook his nationality" (Beach, 1970:29). Against a background of British settler chauvinism the farm name did not readily show that the owner was anAfrikaner. The racial segregation against Afrikaners by the British is discussed by Mlambo (2000) (see Section 1.2.1.1). Alanberry Farm is a transformation of Alan into a toponym through adding the suffix -berry which is anOld English name for a forest. This is an appropriate name for the farm because the farm houses part of the forest named *Chipesa* by indigenous people and which the same indigenes considered sacred (See Section 4.2.8.3). According to SayWhyDoI.com (2010), the suffix -berry has Germanic roots. It is the evolved -burg or -borg and means a fortified settlement. If the name Alanberry is considered from a Germanic point of view, it carries connotations of a fortified settlement or the intention of the settler owner to make it a fortified one (see the analysis of the German toponym Felixburgin Section 4.2.2.4).

Markdale and Noeldalebecame toponyms by the addition of the suffix -dale which is an Old English word for valley. Markdale is a common Scottish place name (Ancestry, 2017). The farm covers the source of Shashe River and has valley-like gentle undulations which make the addition of -dale meaningful. In a similar manner, Noeldale Farm covers part of the source of *Dewure* River (see Section 4.2.8.4) which is also in the form of a valley. Like Markdale, Noeldale is a common place name in Scotland. Oral and written records show that the farming area covered by the farms sampled for this study was occupied mostly by the British settlers of Scottish origin even though other European nationalities were there. This is explained by the fact that Zimbabwe was a British colony at that stage. In addition, most pre-colonisation surveillance and exploratory work in Southern Africa was done by a Scottish explorer, David Livingstone. Equally important is the fact that Cecil John Rhodes' right hand man, Leander Starr Jameson, was also of Scottish origin. Interestingly, the last Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Douglas Smith, was also Scot. The presence of Scots in positions of influence most likely served as a pull factor to Scots to come and settle in the then Southern Rhodesia. Conditions for migration to Rhodesia were skewed in favour of the British.

Just like Markdale and Noeldale, Maxwell is an Anglophone toponym which means Mac's well. Maxwell Farm is a sub division of Felixburg farm that was sold to Scottish settlers by Felix Posselt of Felixburg Farm. The last owner of Maxwell Farm was Mr Mackintosh, a Scot.

(iii) Anthroponyms from nouns in apposition

The last sub-category is that of toponyms formed through using nouns in apposition. In this category there is only one name, Edgar Ridge. Edgar Ridge simply describes a ridge known by the name of someone who lived by that ridge. The addition of ridge to make a place name is quite evident in Anglophonic countries.

(iv) Anthroponyms from indigenous African people

The two post-2000 anthroponymic farm names are names of important figures of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle: Simon Muzenda (one farm) and Shuvai Mahofa (two farms). These names are used as *Kwa*Muzenda and *Kwa*Mahofa. *Kwa-* is a locative prefix in Shona (Jenjekwa & Barnes, 2017). *Kwa*Muzenda is a name of farm originally named Chindito. Chindito, according to the interviewees, was one of the many sons of Chief Gutu who controlled the area within and around Chindito Farm. The name is opaque. During the land reforms, Simon Muzenda who was also vice-president of Zimbabwe from 1987 until his death in 2003 possessed the farm through the compulsory take over enshrined in the Compulsory Land Acquisition Act of the year 2000 (Government of Zimbabwe, 2000). The adoption of the name Chindito by settlers might serve to confirm the cordial relationship which existed between Chief Gutu and the settlers (Jenjekwa & Barnes, 2017). The replacement of Chindito with *Kwa*Muzenda is symbolically commemorative of the late vice- president of Zimbabwe for his role in the fight for liberation and in the years subsequent to independence.

The use of the name serves a dual role of indicating who the owner was and symbolically commemorating the late vice-president for his role in the fight for liberation and in the years subsequent to independence.Simon Muzenda is one of the leading nationalist leaders of the Second *Chimurenga*. Born in 1922 in Gutu District, Simon Muzenda joined nationalist politics in the 1940s leading to his arrest and escape into exile in South Africa (Gono, 2015). He became ZANU vice-president in 1977 and was appointed by Robert Mugabe to be Deputy Prime-Minister at independence in 1980. When the constitution was changed to create the executive

presidency in Zimbabwe in 1987, he was appointed vice-president a post he held until his death in the year 2003. According to Todd (2007), Muzenda was loved by white liberals and was generally regarded as a moderate nationalist. His unassuming character earned him affectionate titles from the media and fellow politicians. He was regarded as the "Gentle Giant" (Gono, 2015:n.p.) whilst ZANU PF politicians called him "Soul of the Nation" (*The Chronicle, 15 August 2017*) in posthumous reflections on his life and character. Simon Muzenda is known in Zimbabwean history as humble leader of basic education who was declared a national hero and buried at the national shrine (a place where people considered as heroes in Zimbabwe are buried) in Harare. He did not lose contact with his rural home province and district. This made his commemoration through the change of Chindito to Simon Muzenda acceptable to the community.

His humility is most likely one of the reasons why he is commemorated through a relatively less modest infrastructure, a farm. A farm name for Simon Muzenda is a fitting commemoration given his background as a carpenter and a rural dweller. The name therefore reflects on the stature and personality of Simon Muzenda, a veteran nationalist anti-colonial fighter who, however, lived under the shadow of Robert Mugabe (the former long time ruler of Zimbabwe) since their days in colonial detentions right through the decisive phase of *Chimurenga* and independence until his death in 2003. Currently, the farm is associated with philanthropic programmes to assist fellow local farmers with skills and resources under the guidance of Simon Muzenda's son who has followed his father's footsteps into politics. When indigenous people use the name *Kwa*Muzenda, there is a genuine sense of comradeship with the man from the indigenous population particularly those from Gutu District which happened to be his home area.

Whilst *Kwa*Muzenda has become a replacement for Chindito Farm, *Kwa*Mahofa is failing to replace Lauder and Wragley Farms which Shuvai Mahofa jointly took over in the post-2000 land reforms. Shuvai Mahofa was a war collaborator (an auxiliary role) during the liberation struggle and got promoted into the post-independence government in 1980. She held a number of influential positions in the government. She was generally accused by her political opponents as a person who practised violent politics. According to Munayiti and Ndlovu (2017), she was an instigator of political violence because she did not tolerate divergence of political opinion. The *Zimbabwe Peace Project* (2017) reported that in the run up to the by-

election in Bikita, a rural constituency in Masvingo Province in 2017, she issued a chilling warning of reprisals to the residents if they voted for any other party besides ZANU PF. To underscore the negative light Shuvai Mahofa was perceived in by her opponents; it was reported that soon after her death her own workersand other people who had pending issues against her looted her property as some kind of implicit revenge (Mawawa, 2017). There is a high likelihood, according to local informants, that the name Mahofa, for Lauder Farm and Wragley Farm, will fade away because most indigenes do not consider her a role model in spite of her being granted the highest honour of national hero after her death. Unfortunately for her, she is no longer alive to instil allegiance towards her in the indigenous people. Her auxiliary role during the struggle might be the reason behind her violent politics perhaps as a compensatory strategy to curry favour with the leadership of ZANU PF. Though her name eclipsed Lauder Farm and Wragley Farms in the year 2000, the name has faded tremendously thereafter because of the allegations of her use of violence to give way to Uhurua name of a store at the farm and Tariro, the name of a primary school on the farm (see Section 4.2.4 and 4.2.3.4). Lauder is also still in use and it is used to include Wragley Farm because the two farms are neighbouring.

4.2.2.2   Farm names adopted from European and American place names
There is a high incidence of farm names taken from names in Europe and America. These are predominantly English common nouns and names of places in Europe and America. The names in this class are: **Appin, Argyll, Fairlie, Eastdale, Widgeon, Grasslands, Smilingvale, Dalcross, Crownlands, Norwood, Culloden, Daviot, Lauder/Shuvai Mahofa, Goodluck, Willand, Lorn, Strathearn, Strathspey, Fortress, Wheatlands, Silverdale, Chilly, Landsdown, Eyrie, Afton Water, Bell Spring, Condor, Wragley/ Shuvai Mahofa**and **Leyburn**.

The names can be subdivided into those of opaque andthose of transparent semantic origin. Those with transparent semantic origin are: Eastdale, Widgeon, Grasslands, Smilingvale, Crownlands, Goodluck, Lorn, Strathearn, Strathspey, Fortress, Silverdale, Chilly, Landsdown, Eyrie, Condor and Leyburn and Wheatlands. Some of the names are clearly descriptive of the terrain or the natural features of the farm (including birds and animals) and vegetation. Eastdale literally refers to an eastern valley. The farm stretches to the east of Gutu-Chatsworth and covers a massive area of approximately ninety thousand hectares of land. Silverdale, according

to interviewees, earned the name because the valley appears silver most of the times after summer from the swathe of dried silver grass. As explained earlier above, -dale is an old English suffix for valley. Widgeon Ranch, an adjacent ranch to the west of Eastdale Ranch, apart from being a place name in the Anglophone world, is the name of wild ducks. It is one of the names whose origin has been given in written records about the farm. The farm was owned by a Mr Barnett, a Scottish settler. According to Barnett (2017), Widgeon Ranch was named after the numerous Widgeon wild ducks that used to visit natural water pans together with teal, knob-billed duck, Egyptian geese, and crowned and wattled cranes. Widgeon Ranch covers part of the open grasslands in the source of Shashe River and the pools of water which used to bea common habitat for the wild ducks. Indigenous people were employed to work on the farms as general hands and herd boys. Figure 4.1 shows indigenous people working at Widgeon Farm during the colonial period. The picture is adapted from Quinton Barnett's childhood memoirs at Widgeon Ranch. The figure presents a typical sight on the colonial farm where indigenous cattle expropriated from indigenous people were driven by the same indigenes, including their children, to farm. This is a repudiation of the philanthropic version of colonisation as a civilising mission.Post-colonial theorists argue that European civilisation was laced with extremities of racism and exploitation. The colonial toponymy confirms this subjugation of the indigenous population through toponymic erasure (see Section 2.2.1.5).

To date the wetlands in and around Widgeon Ranch are a common habitat for many bird species and this has earned the place World Heritage status in the preservation of wildlife (Mabhachi, 2015). The adoption of the name shows British sensibilities of appreciating nature. The perception of the natural beauty of Widgeon Ranch supported by reflections of Quinton Barnett, a former settler's child who grew up at neighbouring Widgeon Farm. In his childhood memoirs, Barnett observed quite often the collection of and fascination with wild flowers by his mother. Figure 4.2 shows a picture adapted from Barnett (2017) that shows a part of the rolling grasslands and the wild flowers around Widgeon Ranch.

An ox drawn hay cutter at work

Figure 4.1: Indigenes working on the land at Widgeon Ranch.

My Mum, Olive Barnett, collecting wild flowers on Widgeon Ranch

Figure 4.2: The rolling grasslands and the wild flowers of Widgeon Ranch.

Widgeon Ranch was known in pre-colonial days by the indigenous population for the sacred forests, *Chipesa* and *Chamandere* (see Section 4.2.8.3), which covered part of the farmland.

Wheatlands is yet another Anglophonic farm name. It is a name for a farm owned by Mr Jackson who enjoyed a cordial relationship with the indigenous people. The farm used to exclusively produce wheat. The name is still very much in use and has been extended to the name of a shopping centre built after the year 2000 as well as for the main bus station near the farm on the Gutu-Chatsworth Road. There is very limited, sporadic and uncoordinated wheat farming at the moment and the name exists more as a historical narrative than a name which describes what is happening now. The farmer had long left and the farm was under caretaker management when the government acquired it after the year 2000. From the interviews, it is evident that the indigenous people who worked and others who just happened to know Wheatlands Farm in its heyday have a sense of nostalgia and the use of Wheatlands upholds that history of optimal wheat farming which is now absent in most parts of the country. Oral accounts from participants showed that Wheatlands is a name that originated from the activity of wheat farming on the farm and the continued use of the name preserves the historical heritage of the place. The name is a strategy to 'market' a place and its products. Judging by how the interviewed participants reflected on the production of wheat at Wheatlands Farm and its neighbourhood, it can be argued that Wheatlands became a prescriptive model for the crop to be produced in that area during that time. Settler agriculture was riding on scientific research and this naming was a way to engrave that scientific knowledge on the farm. Soils were tested and suitable crops for various climatic conditions and soil types were established. Wheatlands is one such place and even though the new farmers no longer plant wheat on a commercial basis, they utilise the wetlands by farming early in the farming season to avoid water logging should they plant when the rainy season sets in. While on one hand Wheatlands defines the activities of the farm, on the other hand, it is a name which echoes an ancestry name in Britain (Mills, 2011). According to Mills (2011), Wheatlands has a history as a British family name derived from extensive fields of wheat. This places the name within the category of names imported from Europe to Africa by the settler farmers (see Section 5.2).

Condor Farm is the name of a farm owned by an Afrikaner farmer. Condor is an English word for a vulture which was, according to informants, a common sight on the farm during the

colonial period. Informants said that some of the herd of cattle on Condor Farm at some point in the early history of the farm died of various diseases on the pastures and vultures fed on the meat. The sight of vultures might have influenced the farmer to give it the name Condor. Interviewees, however, insisted the name is a corruption of the Shona word *Kondo* (hamerkop) which was present in the area during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Oral records indicate that the name came from the indigenous people's observation of an image of a hammerkop in a cluster of balancing rocks on the farm as outlined in Section 4.2.2.5 which analyses Shona farm names. The settler fascination with wildlife is further identifiable in names such as Eyrie for Eyrie Farm. Eyrie is an English word of Irish origin word that means a nest of a bird of prey (Mills, 2011). The name might have emerged out of observation of the birds around the farm.

Some names in this category personify the land. Smilingvale is a combination of *smiling* and -*vale* which means a smiling valley. From observation, Smilingvale Farm covers a wide depression that appears like a valley. It is perhaps the width of the valley that prompted the giving of the name Smilingvale because it looks like a smiling mouth. The optimism in Smilingvale is also evident in the name Goodluck Farm. Goodluck might be an indication of the perception of the settler farmer as being a lucky person to get the farm. Another positive name is Blythe on Blythe Farm. Blythe Farm has its parallel in a city in Riverside County, California, United States and is Middle English for 'joyful'. While Smilingvale, Blythe and Goodluck are names that depict positive emotion, Lorn Farm is the antithesis of both. The name personifies land as lonely and abandoned which might be an attempt to confirm the colonial myth that African land was colonised because it was vacant (*terra nullis*). The loneliness might also reflect on the inner loneliness of the farm owners after their migration to Zimbabwe. Describing a farm as 'lorn' or 'lonely' is a form of personification that portrays the land as a living organism to underscore the settler's sense of land as a living thing. Generally, in the Anglophonic tradition, land is considered as a source of sustenance, some kind of mother, hence, the metaphorical use of the pronoun 'her' to refer to a country. The depiction of the land as lonely could also be indicative of the absence of devastating industrial expansion that led to deforestation and other activities that disturbed the serenity of the environment in industrialised countries such as Britain. The loneliness might also reflect the settler's homesickness and feeling of isolation. Through Anglophonic toponymy, settlers endeavoured to create a home thousands of kilometres away from their original home. The name is ironic in

that renaming it by an English name is an act of alienating the land from the original inhabitants who happened to be the Shona people.

Another important name in this category is Crownland.Crownland is a common name used in the colonial days to refer to the land of the British Empire personified by the monarch, the British crown (see Section 1.2.1.3). The name Crownlands reflected the involvement of the British government in the colonial adventure. Colonies were regarded as an extension of the British Empire under the leadership of Queen Victoria III who was on the throne. The colonists always believed that they were engaged in a noble venture to expand the frontiers of the empire and bring civilisation to uncivilised humanity (see Section 1.2.1.1). Crownlands could also be construed as a name used to ward off any threat from any would be attacker because the land belonged to the royal crown. Either way, the name Crownlands does create a strong link with British imperialism. When Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) declared independence from Britain through the UDI (see Section 1.2.1.4) in 1965, the crown land became state land and could be sold to willing buyers as farms (Ranger, 1985; Nyandoro, 2012), hence the presence of the name Crownlands Farm.

Grasslands Farm is descriptive of the rolling grasslands evident even today. The name, just like Crownlands, is formed by the addition of the suffix *-lands* to a stem. The suffix, according to Simpson (2009), is a common derivational morpheme in English used to refer to counties and is evident in British place names like Rutland, Sunderland, Bowland, Cleveland, Midlands, Northumberland, Wetlands, Badlands, Lowlands and Highlands. Grasslands Farm is endowed with rolling grasslands and wetlands and is part of what is now known as Driefontein Wetlands, a World Heritage site for birdlife (Mabhachi, 2015).

The name Landsdown is a place name found in Britain and then duplicated in colonial Zimbabwe. Landsdown, semantically, carries the perception of the downward gradient of the terrain of the farm. The terrain is described as down as or lower than other places. Landsdown Farm could be named after Lansdown, a site of a major battle in the 17th Century British Civil War (Mills, 2011). The name might be a hint of the confrontation that was imminent with the local population in colonial Rhodesia. There colonised land is mapped through Anglophonic spectacles and in the process a sense of belonging amongst the settlers is created.

Berry Spring Farm like other English farm names is an importation from Anglophone place names. For instance, there is a nature park with the same name in Australia's Cox Peninsula. The name might indicate that the natural environment resembled that of Berry Spring. Berry Spring could also be descriptive of the presence of wild berries in the farm. Of interest are the connotations attached to the presence of plenty of berries. According to Mills (2011), there is an English idiomatic saying 'a good crop of berries foretells a hard winter'. This could be indicative of the imminent struggles over the land between the settlers and the indigenous people

Leyburn Farm is another place name taken from Europe. Leyburn is a place name in England, specifically a name of a market town in Richmondshire in North Yorkshire in England. The name, according to Mills (2011), is believed to have originated from the words 'ley' for clearing and 'burn' which means river. Similarly, it is observable that there are three streams in Leyburn Farm which could have inspired this parallel naming. Norwood Farm is named after a common place name in England. A number of compound place names carry the name, for example, Norwood Ridge, West Norwood, Upper Norwood, among others. Willand is a village name in England. *University of Portsmouth* (2017) reveals that in the 18th Century, Willand was a Parish in Devon. Wragley is a place in Derby in Britain. This confirms the transposition of names by the settlers onto the Zimbabwean landscape.

The toponyms Chilly Farm and Ripley Farm are formed by the addition of *-ly*. The suffix *-ly* denotes a 'wood'. From historical records and from observation, these farms had and still have dense acacia woodlandsconfirming how apposite the names are. Chilly, according to interviewees, used to produce chillies for export to European markets and the name, apart from identifying the woodlands in and around the farm, captures the history of land use at the farm. To confirm the presence of woodlands in this area, the neighbouring farm south of Chilly is called Woodlands Farm.

Other Anglophonic names of farms are Strathearn and Strathspey. Strathearn and Strathspey are common surnames and place names of Scottish origin where 'strath' denotes a wide valley especially between mountains. Strathspey is an area around the strath of the Scottish river Spey and Strathearn is the strath of the River Earn also in Scotland. Strathearn is a name associated with Scottish nobility. These names reflect the ethnic origin of the farmers. Strathspey has been

renamed *Jambanja* and the motivation and etymology of *Jambanja* is dealt with under Shona/Zulu names in Section 4.2.2.5 of this thesis.

The Scottish connection in the colonial place names is further testified to by toponyms such as Fortress, Appin, Argyll, Culloden, Fairlie, Dalcross, Daviot, Lauder and Afton Water. This is because of the leading role played by the Scots in the colonisation of Zimbabwe (see Section1.2.1.1). Fortress Farm is a farm that boarders *Serima* Communal Area under Chief *Serima* (see Section 4.2.2.2). Historical records indicate that settlers lived in constant fear of an attack from indigenous people including the Ndebeles. This called for the creation of fortified or protected residences. The name Fortress also indicates that the farm provided the settler community with a buffer against potential aggression from any quarter because it was fortified like a fortress. It marked a transition to a new culture, the European way of life. The name is a generic Scottish place name associated with secured royal residence (Koranki, 2017). Once Fortress Farm was established in 1946, trespassers were no longer welcome. If livestock belonging to indigenous people strayed into the farms, the owners were forbidden access to the farms and would forfeit the livestock to the settler farmer without any further recourse.

Fairlie is the name of a 16th Century Scottish castle, an indication of the settler's pride in the technological and architectural prowess of Scotland. In addition to the mapping of castles as architectural symbols of Scotland, Appin, Argyll, Culloden, Afton Water, Daviot and Dalcross map the Scottish historical narrative. Appin is the name of a place in Argyll known for the 18thCentury murder of a government agent. Culloden is recorded by Scots Clans (2013) as a site of a major 18th Century Scottish interclan battle. In post-colonial theory, this kind of place naming can be viewed as an attempt to universalise the Scottish history ahead of local narratives. According to Mills (2011), Daviot and Dalcross are Scottish villages in the Scottish highlands while Lauder is a town 27 miles south east of Edinburgh. Lauder Farm has been eclipsed by Shuvai Mahofa and *Uhuru* (see Sections 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.4 respectively).

Afton Water, according to *Scottish Poetry Library* (2018), is named after a Scottish river that flows north from Alwhat Hill. The river is considered to be one of the few beautiful paces in Britain which inspired the writing of popular poetry. Robert Burns (1759-1796) composed a romantic poem with the river name as its title in praise and adoration of the beauty of the river.

By naming the farm Afton Water, the farmer evoked memories of the original Afton Water in Britain. It could also be an appreciation of Zimbabwe's natural beauty.

The above place names indicate that place names for the farms were carefully chosen. They portray a cartographic picture of the mother country in Europe. The names were, most probably, prompted by parallel features between the European place and the new farm in the then Rhodesia. 'Appropriate' names were chosen and, as a result, an Anglophonic name would tie-up with the natural toponymy of Zimbabwe, for example Woodlands, Grasslands, Widgeon, among others. Some of these names betray a certain fear of the African landscape, a confirmation of the deep seated myths and fallacies about Africa as a dark continent and in urgent need of salvation (see Section 2.3), for example, Lorn Farm, Fortress Farm, Haig Farm and Eyrie Farm. These names might be taken as a pre-emptive shield against lurking threats in the jungles and plains of Africa. The names also indicate a desire to settle permanently in Zimbabwe and not to simply do business and leave. These toponyms were used to erase any alternative identities that existed on the land, inadvertently setting the stage for conflict with the indigenous people that considered the land as their God-given heritage.

4.2.2.3 Afrikaans farm names

Afrikaner toponymy is still quite evident on the post-2000 toponymic landscape. Afrikaner names (names of Dutch or Afrikaans origin) which still make part of the post-2000 toponymic landscape are: **Beeskraal**, **Osemrowend, Goeie Hoop, Geluk, Maggies Rus** and **Voorspoed.**

The presence of the Afrikaners in what was then Southern Rhodesia is a result of developments in South Africa. The Boers, who had enjoyed dominance in Transvaal were defeated by the British in the Anglo-Boer War of 1902 (Beach, 1970). The defeat and subsequent displacement of Boers from Transvaal by the British in 1902, caused some Boers to migrate north and east in search of better opportunities (Beach, 1970; Mlambo, 1998). The Boers had already had a fair share of problems with the indigenous tribes such as the Zulu, having fought many battles and having experienced hostile relations for many decades. The Boers, therefore, came to Southern Rhodesia in desperation after losing political dominance to the British who happened again to be the colonisers of Southern Rhodesia.

Even though the Afrikaners were generally regarded as inferior by the British, Cecil John Rhodes, desperate to raise the necessary number of settlers in Southern Rhodesia, considered Afrikaners (Mlambo, 1998; 2000). What also attracted the Afrikaners were the promises of at least 1200 hectares of land and mining rights (Beach, 1970; Mlambo, 1998; Uusihakala, 2008). They settled around Fort Charter and named the place Enkeldoorn which is now Chivhu and the farming area straddled northern Gutu and southern Chivhu and this is the area studied in this thesis. These names do not represent the actual presence of the Afrikaner settlers because some of the Afrikaner farmers adopted English names or bought farms with English names, for example in the case of Alanberry Farm which is analysed in Section 4.2.2.1. Unfortunately most, if not all, Afrikaans names remain in use more on official maps and records than in mundane discourses because of two reasons exposed through in-depth interviews and through documentary evidence. Firstly, Afrikaans in Rhodesia had an inferior position in the ecology of languages and played second fiddle to English. Political apartheid associations pushed Afrikaans to the periphery and the indigenous population did not find proficiency in Afrikaans beneficial. Secondly, the indigenous population tended to shun Afrikaan names because of the generally held notion that the Afrikaners were unapologetic racists. This hostile relationship between the indigenes and the Afrikaners earned the Afrikaners the nickname of *Mabhunu*, a corruption and adaptation of the noun Boers in Shona (Pfukwa, 2007a) which had pejorative connotations. The name *Mabhunu* was, however, extended in terms of its sphere of reference to all settlers during the liberation struggle (Pfukwa, 2007a).

Unlike the English language which became the language of choice for the indigenous people, Afrikaans remained a foreign language overshadowed by English in Zimbabwe. As already hinted, most indigenous people felt that Afrikaners were more hostile to the indigenes than the British and this was also noted by Beach (1970) who traced this hostility to the hostility that characterised the Afrikaner and Zulu relations in the Transvaal and Natal. The low status of Afrikaans in Southern Rhodesia meant that there was no appetite among cartographers at national or local level to get Afrikaans names correctly spelt. Being a minority, the Afrikaners had no political leverage to influence corrections on maps and road signs. This is why Goeie Hoop and Asemrowend were wrongly spelt (see Figure 4.3), seemingly, with no one caring to have it corrected.

The name Beeskraal if translated into English means cattle pen which suggests that the Afrikaner farmers were most probably into cattle rearing. The ecological area where these farms are situated is suitable for cattle rearing and early settlers became established cattle farmers (Mujere, 2010). Beef and milk production were the core areas of production for farmers within the case studied in this research. A railway line was constructed as early as 1914 to facilitate transportation of cattle, milk and other agricultural commodities to urban areas. Beeskraal can also be understood as part of the settler 'marketing' cartography. The adoption of place names that marketed activities or products from the farms has also been identified in the discussion of Wheatlands Farm (see Section 4.2.2.2).

Maggies Rus is a name which interestingly seems to combine Scottish girl's name Maggie with *rus* which is Afrikaans for a rest. The namers were most likely Afrikaans speakers. The word *rus* in Afrikaans means 'rest' and is found as part of *pilgrimrus*, which means pilgrim's rest. *Pelgrimsrus* and *Volkrus* are alternative versions of the same word which means 'pilgrim's rest' in English (Mills, 2011). The name might be taken to imply the pastoral beauty and serenity of the place.

Osemrowend in Osemrowend Estate is a corruption of the Afrikaans word, *asemrowend* means awesome or breathtaking which might indicate how awed the Afrikaners were with the new land they had acquired. Goeie Hoop means 'good hope' and carries connotations of Cape of Good Hope, the original name of Cape Town. The name captures the optimism of the Afrikaners against the background of frustration with British imperialism in South Africa. The hope might also derive from the peace loving nature of the Shona as compared to what the Afrikaners had been used to in South Africa. The name has been spelt wrongly on the road sign on the Mupandawana-Harare highway where it reads Goile Hoop.Figure 4.3 below shows a lone Afrikaans toponymic vestige on the Mupandawana-Harare highway. The sign marks the turn-off to Goeie Hoop Farm which is now exclusively known in Shona as *Tariro* (Hope) Farm among indigenous people.

Figure 4.3: A sign on the turn-off to Goeie Hoop (Good Hope) Farm (now exclusively known as *Tariro*).

Geluk in Afrikaans means 'joyful' and Voorspoed means 'prosperity'. These names portray the optimism with which the Afrikaners viewed settling in Rhodesia. Rhodesia to them presented plenty of room for economic breakthrough. The Afrikaners, according to Beach (1970), were generally regarded as conservative and from their hostile experiences with Zulus in Transvaal, it came be inferred from such hostility that they would naturally not endeavour to name their farms in local natives' language.

Afrikaans was looked down upon by the British because the Afrikaners were considered backward. In the ecology of language, Afrikaans did not enjoy any status as a language. With the well documented ethnic prejudice of the British against Afrikaners, adopting Afrikaner names was a statement of pride in one's language. However, some Afrikaners opted for Anglophonic names, for example Alanberry Farm, possibly as a strategy to gain acceptance or to conceal their true identity because of the fear of inviting ethnic side-lining.

4.2.2.4   German Names
There is a limited presence of German nomenclature in the pre- and post-2000 toponymy. **Felixburg** and **Welwart** are the farm names from the German language. Most significant of

the German place names is Felixburg. Felixburg is a name derived from the pioneer German settler, Felix Posselt. He fell in love with the place when he visited the area first in 1888 as an explorer. Posselt then came back with the Pioneer Column and got massive concessions of land in and around Felixburg. Felixburg is a toponym made by adding -burg, a german suffix, to Felix. In German, -burg means a fortress or castle. Another German name of the same structure is Ladenburg. The name might also indicate Posselt's dream to make the farm his bastion or fortress. The preoccupation with security possibly indicates a lurking sense of insecurity. The same toponymic approach is evident in English toponyms such as Fortress. The colonial adventure was always precarious and security of the colonisers was an overriding concern of that time. Records indicate that a gold mine was established on the farm in the early years of colonisation, the first in colonial Zimbabwe. Felixburg was important to the pioneers especially to Felix Posselt who is said to have had a dream to transform Felixburg into a world class mining and agricultural hub. Even though Felixburg was originally the farm name and was extended to a mine which was established there in the early colonial years. Felixburg Estate was later to be subdivided into farms like Indama and Maxwell and these were sold to subsequent land seekers. For Instance, Maxwell was later owned by Mr Mackintosh and Indama by Mr Smit, an Afrikaner.

Welwart is another German name found on the post-2000 toponymic landscape. Its meaning is, however, opaque but it appears in German sources as a surname for a number of Germanic families. This might mean that the name is anthroponymic and therefore commemorative. There are also places in Germany known by the same name, perhaps an indication that the name was given as a result of the perception that the farm, that is, the natural features replicated the original Welwart in Germany. These two names found within the sample of this study does not necessarily indicate the extent of German presence on the landscape but are another case of transposing names from the home country to the colony.

German place names in this case study reinforce the enduring desire of the colonialists to map their identities on their newly acquired land. The toponymic landscape is an effective platform to display one's identity. Apart from carrying the identity of the settler owners, the land also reflected economic vision and the hope to transform the colonised land. For instance, Felix Posselt wanted to transform the farm into a hub of mining and agriculture, hence the use of the suffix -burg in Felixburg.

4.2.2.5 Shona/Zulu names

Settler farmers seldom adopted local names to name their properties. These are, however, some of names that were adapted from local names: **Amalinda, Mazongororo, Nyororo** and **Nyumbi,** whilst **Kondo** and **Tariro** are names given by local people to Condor and Goeie Hoop Farms respectively. In addition, **Jambanja** is a post-2000 name given to replace Strathspey Farm**.** There is also **Serima**, a village name that was reduced in terms of its size after the coming of settlers. Farms in both Wards 1 and Ward 7 took land from **Serima** and the name has been resuscitated for use in areas that used to be under farms.

Mazongororo Farm is the name of one of the earliest farms in the area. Mazongororo is a Shona word for millipedes. These are found during the rainy season in places where there is a lot of humus. The place which became Mazongororo Farm is believed to have been infested with these creatures pre-colonially. It was a place occupied by indigenous people under the chieftaincy of Gutu and these were displaced when settlers earmarked the place for a farm. The settler farmer probably adopted the name as a gesture of goodwill and a quest for belonging, as informants interviewed said that the first white settler owner came around 1920; he could speak Shona fluently like any first language speaker of Shona and found the indigenous name quite acceptable to him. It is interesting to note that the name Mazongororowas acceptable to the settler farmer because thirty years of colonial occupation had already lapsed in Rhodesia. It could indicate a change of perception towards the indigenous people, a shift from the prejudicial perceptions the settlers held about Africa before exploring it.It has been observed that the second and third generation settlers often identify with the land and become integrated in the indigenous communities. Some settlers have nostalgia towards local names and adopt them when returning to home country or going elsewhere for example, *Kwa*Heri in Durban.

Next to Mazongororo Farm is a farm known by the indigenous people as known as Kondoor *Kwa*Dhereki. Kondo is a Shona word for a hamerkop (scopus umbretta). This name, according to interviewees, is taken from balancing rocks on the farm with a shape that resembles a hamerkop.

Figure 4.4: The balancing rocks in Condor (Kondo) Farm

Interviewees believe that Condor (The English and official name of the farm) is a anglicisation of the Shona word Kondo. It is derived from the indigenous people's observation of a cluster of balancing rocks on the farm. The balancing rocks resemble a hamerkop. Coincidentally, it was reported that the hamerkops which are almost extinct now would occasionally perch on the hills. The white owner, according to the indigenous people interviewed, adopted the name but because of difficulties in pronunciation he spelt it Condor. To show his love for the name and the place he even called his dog by the name Kondo, according to informants interviewed. However, the word Condor in English also denotes a vulture. While the vulture is generally detested in Africa because of it feeds on carcasses and is perceived as a symbol of death, in the English Romantic tradition, the quest to redefine and repair the estranged relationship between man and nature is emphasised (Costa, 2014). The Romantic poets (cf. D. H. Lawrence's "Snake") wrote poetry which underscores the need for harmony between man and nature (Spacey, 2017). If Condor is taken to be a vulture, it is logical to say the name-giver espoused the same Romantic sensibility towards nature. The name Kondo was given prominence by the indigenous people during farm occupations because the farm occupiers met on a rendezvous on the farm. The farm also got to be addressed as *Kwa*Tomy and the bus station is *Pa*Tomy (Tomy's place). Mr Thomas was forced out and the farm was allocated to a local indigenous

politician who is now a deputy minister in the government. The name Tomy is still widely in use for the bus stop.

Nyororo Farm is a name that was given by Mr Keith Harvey who bought the farm in 1954. The name Nyororo (wetland) is a Shona name derived from the fact that the farm covers the wetland at the source of Shashe River, a relatively big river in Zimbabwe. The name is a common Shona name given to wetlands associated with river sources and valleys. Mr Harvey was involved in conservation farming and spent most of his career breeding local/indigenous breeds of cattle to underscore his passion to develop the country and to identify with the land including the indigenous people. After independence he worked in the government in a department responsible for conservation of natural resources. Those who interacted with him said he was fluent in Shona and felt very much at home with the indigenous population. Written records show that he passed on in 2007 and was buried on the farm in spite of the hostile post-2000 mood on farms. His farm was not compulsorily acquired during the post-2000 takeovers because of the cordial relationship he enjoyed with the indigenous people and the government.

Another Shona farm name is *Tariro* (hope). Tariro Farm is a translation of Afrikaan Goeie Hoop Farm which means 'good hope'. Like the other Afrikaans names, the name is full of optimism. This might reflect on the need to forget turbulence and frustrations of years gone by in South Africa. Accepting indigenous names was also perhaps a way of building bridges with the indigenes to avoid hostility like what had characterised Afrikaner and Zulu relations in South Africa.

There is also Zulu presence in settler toponymy in the form of Nyumbi and Amalinda. Amalinda in Zulu means those who guard something from the root *linda* – which means to guard and *ama* is a plural prefix. Amalinda falls in the category of names which show the preoccupation of settlers with security issues because of the suspicion that existed between settlers and the local people. Nyumbi has become very opaque so that none of the informants could figure out its original meaning.

Another case of a local name which emerged after the year 2000 land reforms is Jambanja Farm. Jambanja is a city lingo which denotes violence, chaos and confusion. The origin of the word is in a popular 1999 song, *Jambanja pahotera* (chaos at a hotel), by a late Zimbabwean

comic musician, Marko Sibanda with his group Insiza Brothers (Zindi, 2015). The song was a hit because of its comic and dramatic portrayal of a debacle of four people who unwittingly exchanged spouses only for the infidelity to be exposed at a hotel one day when the two cheating couples were having a good time. The ensuing fracas, which drew the attention of other hotel occupants and passersby, is what Marko Sibanda comically termed *jambanja*. *Jambanja* in this sense meant violent chaotic scenes of a nature never seen before. The term immediately got into the public domain to mean violence, disorder and unruly behaviour especially in settling scores. When the land reform started, it was immediately termedjambanja by both friends and foes. By naming the Third *Chimurenga*, Jambanja, reference was being made to the modus operandi of violence and disorderly settlement patterns. The name Jambanja given to Strathspey Farm reflected the chaos and violence which happened on Strathspey Farm and other farms occupied by the indigenous people in the same manner during the post-2000 land reforms. The situation upon occupation of the land was largely lawless with cases of violence, fraud and outright theft because the occupied farms were just beyond police jurisdiction. There were numerous allegations of corruption against those who were tasked to allocate pieces of land. Cases of arson and malicious injury to property were quite common as disorder reigned supreme before the government intervened and tasked district land committees to superintend over issues of land allocation.

4.2.2.6 Adapted farm names

These are farm names that came as a result of contact between English, Zulu and Shona as languages. Efforts by settlers to use local names resulted in the transphonologised names. In this category there are two names and these are **Inyatsitzi** and **Indama.** Inyatsitzi, for example, isderived fromShona name Nyazvidzi (*nya-* is a possessive pronoun and *-zvidzi* means 'mighty pools') which could not be pronounced by the settlers leading to a change in the phonological structure to the extent of making the word lose any similarity to the original one.

The name Indama is linked to the pioneer owner of Felixburg, Felix Posselt. Posselt is believed to have been fluent in Zulu and he named the farm Indama. The word Indama is not found in Zulu or Ndebele even though its phonology sounds so. Knowledgeable informants suggested that Indama is likely to be a short form of *indalama* which means 'gold'. These names show an appreciation of local culture and an attempt to fit in by the settlers.

4.2.2.7　Settler names combined with numeric/alphabetic village names

These names are a result of land reforms of the year 2000 and beyond. These are a result of subdivisions of the farms that were expropriated from settlers. The names are formed by adding either a letter of the alphabet or a number or a combination of both to the existing pre-2000 farm name. In the post-2000 land reforms no expropriated farm remained the same in terms of settlement structure; it was subdivided into villages or smaller farms known as A2 farms. These new village names are a direct creation of the farm takeovers. The names identified under this case study are given below:

Alanberry Farm Villages 1, 2 and 3

Amalinda Farm Villages 1 and 2

Chilly Farm Villages A, B, C and D

Chipisa Farm Villages 1, 2 and 3

Dalcross Farm Villages 1, 2 and 3

Grasslands Farm A and B

Markdale Farm North Village 1 and 2

Markdale South Villages 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

Nyombi Farm Villages 1 and 2

Vitcom Farm Villages 1 and 2

Widgeon Farm Villages 1, 2, 3, 4A, 4B, 5A and 5B.

Berry Spring Villages A, B and C

Chibakwe Farm Villages 1, 2, 3 and 4

Condor Farm Villages 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

Lorn Farm Villages 1, 2, 3 and 4

Nelville Farm Villages A, B and C

Wheatlands Farm Villages A, B and C

Willand Farm Villages 1, 2 and 3

In order to understand the motivations behind the alpha-numerical naming in the post-2000 period, there is need to briefly reflect on the settlement patterns ushered in by the colonialists. There is documentary and oral evidence that orderly villages in Zimbabwe are a concept which came with the settlers. Informants believed that orderly villages were used as a pretext to dispossess Africans of their land by settlers. Prior to coming of settlers Africans stayed in haphazard settlements without any particular emphasis on linear or cyclical pattern. Certain patterns were, however, observed at homestead level. Intervieweesconcurred that once the

Africans were put in villages, unoccupied land was taken by settlers for farms. Villagisation, according to the interviewees, is good for planning and land use purposes. The word 'village', in spite of it being English, is a loan word used in general conversation discourse by all the indigenous population regardless of their level of education. The residents feel that the use of the word village gives their places of residence a touch of modernity. The concept of village came from the government's post-independence agrarian reforms where re-organisation of communal areas into well planned villages was a priority. Use of village names emphasised villagisation as a policy of government. The villages were semi-commercial entities run not by traditional chiefs but by new locally elected administrative structures. Villagisation was a popular post-independence social reorganisation programme in African countries. Tanzania had taken the lead in this regard and other countries like Kenya and Rwanda followed it. The villages give a new identity to Africans.

Villages in Zimbabwe's resettlement areas are run differently from other areas. Traditional local administrative authority is replaced by a committee of seven elected people. There is evidence of ownership in the form of an offer letter from the ministry of local government unlike the old rural areas where occupants had no documentary evidence to prove their ownership of the land. The administrative governance hierarchy in Zimbabwe starts at village level and then moves to ward, constituency, district, province and finally the national level.Interviewees felt that this is more democratic than traditional chieftaincy where a chief assumes a throne on the basis of lineage. The new villages have, however, created problems of social cohesion as cultural backgrounds of the people who are settled in them come from different parts of the country. Sources said that while vast tracts of land were owned by one person before post 2000 land reforms, villages accommodate many people and in the process empowering them economically. From observation it appears that villagisation is used to destroy the farm model with its single owner; the colonialist economic model is erased and replaced by a supposeddemocratic model of villages in the eyes of government.

Alpha-numerical names are also indicative of syncretism (hybridity) in the post-2000 toponymy. Hybridity is a key concept in post-colonial theory discussed in Section 2.2.1. The names are a testimony of the indelible cultural influence English has had on the Zimbabwean languagecontext in general and on local toponymic practices in particular. To reinforce the hybridity, school mottos of most schools are formulated in English, the only Shona part of the

signage is the proper noun, and everything else including the generic part of the school signpost is in English (see Figures 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8 & 4.13).

4.2.3   Names of schools
4.2.3.1 Introduction

The schools that were opened in the post-2000 resettlement areas had significant names that reflect the country's socio-political developments. The schools in the wards studied in this study were set up on farm houses and disused tobacco barns and any other infrastructure that could be converted to serve as a classroom at short notice, except for the recently built Sandon Academy. The farmhouses which used to be secluded private properties suddenly became open to the public to give a sense of victory and hope. According to interviewees, farm houses were ransacked first and some farm houses lost their furniture, doors and windows to vandalism and theft as indigenous people sought to erase any trace of the settler. In the sample for this study, there are twenty schools. One War Veteran said, *"We did not want them [the displaced farmers] to take anything because it's ours. This country was born out of the blood of our forefathers".* After analysis, these school names are divided into those that commemorate the land takeovers, those that celebrate *Chimurenga* icons and resuscitated pre-colonial toponyms.

4.2.3.2 School names that celebrate the land takeovers

There are six school names that celebrate the land reform exercise namely, **Taigara, Hweshero, Tashinga, Tatoraivhu, Rusununguko, Mbamba** and **Makomborero.** These names celebrate the take-over of the land through glorifying and praising the programme both explicitly and implicitly.

Taigara (we have settled on the land/soil), Tashinga (we have gathered courage) and Tatoraivhu (we have taken the land/soil) celebrate and commemorate the radical land reforms by glorifying them and implicitly slurring the former white owners of the land. The names celebrate the bravery and fortitude exhibited by the indigenous population in the First, Second and Third *Chimurenga*. Violence is implicitly celebrated in the three names. These names fall in a sub-class of their own in that they describe the resolve and actions of the post-2000 land occupiers. Taigara (we have settled on the land) (see Figure 4.5) is a name that expresses the perception of the new occupants of the land. They have settled not because of the benevolence of the former owner, but out of their own will-power. There is also a subtle banter. The informants

indicated that the name is saying "we have now settled on the land which you thought we would never settle on". The emphasis is on -*gara* a verbroot that means settle permanently. On another level, the name Taigara is an ethnic slur against the displaced settler farmer. Taigara is derived from the Shona verb -*gara* [sit down] which implies the act of putting one's buttocks down to sit, an act that is meant to humiliate, tease, poke fun and diminish the dignity of the target. Such a name is similar to the marshal names or the *nom de guere* adopted by freedom fighters which, according to Pongweni (1983:62), seemed to engage in some kind of "argument by proxy" against the settlers. The implied target of the banter is the settler farmer who might have left the farm already.

Figure 4.5: Taigara Primary School in Eastdale Ranch.

The name Tashinga (we have gathered courage) (see Figure 4.6) reflects the resolve of the land occupiers against a background of internal and external censure. In spite of the opposition to the programme, the government did not relent. The programme, in the eyes of the land invaders, needed courage hence Tashinga. The invasions meant that land occupiers had to sleep in the open or in makeshift pole and mortar huts to drive home that they wanted the land hence the name Tashinga. Tashinga also comes from the hard-line position adopted by the political leadership that "even if you put us under sanctions, we will not stop the farm invasions".

Figure 4.6: Sign pointing to Tashinga Primary School

Tatoraivhu (we have taken the land/soil) is a declaration of recovery of the land through force or violence. The verbal root-*tora* in Shona is translated to 'take' implicitly by force or violence. It is a bold statement meant for both fellow indigenes and the displaced farmer that 'we have taken the soil' confirming that the programme is real and irreversible.It shows how authorities resorted to unorthodox means to get the land. Sources interviewed said the full import of the name is to tell the former settlers and their local sympathisers that "the land is ours and we have taken it by force". Figure 4.7 below shows a sign post which points to what used to be Bell Spring Farm now known as Tatoraivhu. The sign to Chibakwe, a colonial name, is literally and symbolically down with no one eager to repair it. This shows the displacement of toponymy that is linked to settler farmers.

Figure 4.7: A sign post to what used to Bell Spring Farm (now known as Tatoraivhu**).**

The names communicate a message of forced displacement by the indigenes. The emphasis is on the role of the majority is meant to make the post-2000 land reforms appear to be a majority driven exercise even though direction was given by war veterans of Zimbabwe's Second Liberation War with covert use of coercion and force to make people move on to the farms. This emphasis on the role of the majority is also portrayed by Pfukwa (2007 a) in a thesis on names of Zimbabwe's liberation fighters.

Rusununguko (independence/freedom) is a name which denotes independence from colonial rule. Taking possession of land is a result of independence and is a true sign of independence. The toponym implies that without land there is no independence. In their own words, the informants concurred that the land taken from former settlers "shows true independence, we cannot say we are free when we live like rats and grow crops on rocky or sandy soils". Rusununguko (independence from colonial rule) is an expression of the indigenes that they now have real independence.

Mbamba (to grab something tightly), according to the interviewees, is an expression of a tenacious hold on to the land. *Mba* is a Shona ideophone from where Mbamba is derived through the duplication of *Mba.Mbamba* implies a sudden action of grabbing something firmly

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in order not to lose it. The war veterans who gave the name were encouraging other land occupiers not retreat or loosen their grip on the land taken from the settlers. The name means that"We black people have grabbed the land and no matter what, we will not let go. We are prepared to shed blood again for this land".The name has connotations of use of the use of force or violence.

Makomborero (blessings)(see Figure 4.8) is a statement of gratitude to the ancestors and to God for the land and for removing the settlers from the land. The rich savannahsoils and favourable climate forfarming make up the blessings.

Figure 4.8: Sign to Makomborero Schools

Makomborero to the indigenes aligns with the spirit of land reform because "blessings are free, you do not pay any cent. We did not buy this land; we were given by President Mugabe. It is our heritage from Nehanda and Kaguvi!". The signpost to Makomborero is placed adjacent to the sign to Lancashire Road. Lancashire is the name of a colonial farm but is slowly being overshadowed by Murezi, the name of a tributary of Inyatsitzi [Nyazvidzi] River (see Section 4.2.8.4).

The school names analysed above perform the instrumental function of celebrating the land reform by commemorating how it was done or what its objectives were. From a post-colonial

perspective, these names which carry implicit banter or ethnic slurs against the settlers are an act of symbolic retribution for colonial injustices; an attempt to demolish the myth of settler invincibility and superiority which post-colonial theorists believe was behind the colonial exercise (see Section 2.2.1).

4.2.3.3   Names that commemorate *Chimurenga* icons

In the case under investigation, it was established that only two schools bear names of outstanding national liberation fighters: **Sekuru Kaguvi** and **Josiah Tungamirai**. Sources interviewed said more names of national heroes could have been given but according to informants, the names of nationalist icons have presented challenges because of the multiple uses of the names in different parts of the country. In this study, Kaguvi denotesa makeshift school that was started on Indama Farm using old farm structures as classrooms in 2001. Kaguvi Primary School is named after the first generation spirit medium and hero of Shona people who rose against settler occupation in 1896-7. Kaguvi was central together with Mbuya Nehanda in coordinating insurrection against settlers between 1886 and 1897. According to Chung (2006:82), the name Kaguvi was inspirational in the struggle for independence when "[t]he freedom fighters also claimed to have the support of ancestral spirits, in particular the powerful spirits of Nehanda and Kaguvi in a just war". The name has now replaced Indama in everyday communication among the indigenes. The name Kaguvi has been commemorated in multiple other sites in Zimbabwe through the naming of important buildings and streets. The list below shows some of the important places named after Kaguvi:

    Kaguvi Building (formerly Earl Grey 11 Building in Harare)
    Kaguvi Barracks (formerly Cranborne Barracks in Harare)
    Kaguvi Primary School (formerly Mkoba 4 Primary School in Midlands Province)
    Kaguvi Youth Training Centre (new building in Midlands Province)
    Kaguvi Street (formerly Pioneer Street in the CBD of Harare)
    Kaguvi Street (formerly King Street in the CBD of Gweru)

Interviewees felt Kaguvi was more important because he was a "real" man (see also Section 1.2.1.2). A post-2000 sign post to Kaguvi School on Indama Farm now stands in the place that used to have a signpost written Indama Farm (see Figure 4.9) below.

Figure 4.9: A sign post to a school on Indama Farm

Tungamirai Secondary School is named after the late former independent Zimbabwe Air Chief Marshal, Josiah Tungamirai born Thomas Mberikwazvo.He was a revered liberation war commander who happened to come from a rural area in Gutu District about 30 kilometres east of the school.He had retired from military service and was now a minister responsible for indigenisation and empowerment of local people during the first years of the land reform. He passed on in 2005 and was accorded national hero status; the highest honour accorded to ZANU PF icons and was buried at the National Heroes' Acre in Harare (a place created for that purpose by the ZANU PF government). The local war veterans who were leading farm invasions in Gutu saw it fit to honour one of their own by naming a place after him. The school is housed in the former farmhouse of Mr Courie Odendaal and the farm is now generally referred to as Tungamirai in everyday discourses. One leading figure in the land reforms said, "it is fitting to honour Samaita (his clan title) for leading in the war of liberation and the war for land". The Samaita title is for those who belong to the Zebra totem. Totems occupy an important cultural position in the Shona clan identification system (see Section 2.3.9 & 4.2.8). Samaita is a Shona word that means one who is generous where *sa-* is a possessive prefix and *-maita,* the root means "thank you". Taken literally, Samaita is the 'owner' of thank you. The name Tungamirai reminds the community of the extreme sacrifices made by Tungamirai to liberate his countrymen from the yoke of colonialism.

The names which celebrate *Chimurenga* icons are, from a post-colonial perspective, an attempt to destroy the colonial narrative which has protagonists like Cecil John Rhodes and Leandar Starr Jameson.

4.2.3.4 School names derived from resuscitated local names

Some school names in the area under this study derived their name from feature or ancestry names which were in use before the coming of settlers.In this category are **Zvivingwi, Tariro, Guzuve, Chipesa, Chikwiza** and **Zoma.**

Zvivingwi (den of leopards), is the name of a mountain in Ward 7 and is in Blythe Farm, a farm last owned by Mr Dirk Odendaal. Mr Odendaal had his house at the southern foot of the mountain. Oral records indicate that the pre-colonial area around Zvivingwi was occupied by people of Gutu or the Madyirapazhe chieftaincy. The mountain is regarded as sacred and was home to many leopards. It is believed by the indigenous population associated with the mountain that some ancestors of the Gutu clan are buried there with their traditional artifacts including royal guns. It was reported that Mr Odendaal did not respect the mountain as a sacred site and did not even allow the local people to access the place for their rituals. When the farm was taken over, war veterans and peasants immediately set up a school at the farm house and they named it Zvivingwi. Eventhough the name was not written down, it existed in the memories of the indigenous people and through artistic forms such as Shona clan praise poetry (see Section 2.3.9). The name is now used to refer to Blythe Farm and surrounding areas within a radius of about three kilometres.An imposing signpost has been erected at a strategic point on the Mupandawana-Chatsworth Road to promote the name (see Figure 4.7overleaf). Leopards are still occasionally sighted in the mountain and some farmers have lost livestock to them. This confirms that the name was chosen to capture the presence of leopards to forewarn those who did not know they were there.

Figure 4.10: A signpost to Tariro and Zvivingwi Primary Schools.

The name Chivake (that which makes people build homes) is the name of a river that flows through Widgeon Ranch and Eastdale Ranch. It is reported that local people used the water for construction *(kuvaka)* purposes because it flows perennially.The name is derived from *ku-* (prefix) and *-vaka-* (the root) which means to build. The name reconnects the people with their past. The name Zoma is taken from the name of a mountain in Felixburg Farm. The name is rather opaque. A possible origin of the name, according to informants, is the nounTsoma, a water buck.The mountain is believed to have been teeming with water bucks pre-colonially.The name also denotes a pre-colonial cultural dance by young women to celebrate motherhood (Kahari, 2017). Zoma was overshadowed by Felixburg and came into prominence after the year-2000 when a primary and secondary school with the same name were opened. At the moment the name Felixburg is seldom used except in official cartography and in the discourse of the elderly people who have a sentimental attachment to Felixburg.

Chipesa Primary School is a name that was derived from what the indigenous population consider to be a sacred forest located in Widgeon Ranch. The school is within the compound of what used to be Felixburg Estate. Informants said, the forest is the sanctuary of traditional

spirits and it took its name from its history of causing those who strayed into it to get lost. In Shona *-pesa* means to 'get lost' and chi- is the commentary prefix which indicates that it is a relatively small forest but worth bragging about. The prefix *chi-*or its variants *cha-*, *che-* and *cho-* carry connotations of self- praise in Shona and personify the forest (see Section 4.2.8). The name personifies the forest to confirm the belief that ancestral spirits reside there. The dependence of the Shona people on the forest for fruits, game meat, edible insects and even traditional medicines (herbs) created a picture of the forest as a living entity in the lives of the indigenes (see Section 4.2.8.2). The forest became out of bounds for the indigenous population when it became part of Widgeon Ranch and the traditional rituals which were performed in the forest could no longer be performed. After the land reforms of post-2000, a primary school close to the border of Widgeon Ranch and Felixburg Farm was given the name Chipesa.

Tariro (hope, a translation of Goeie Hoop) (see Figure 4.11) is a colonial name for a farm known as Goeie Hoop. A colonial African school at the farm was known by the same name.

Figure 4.11: A sign post for Tariro School on what used to be Lauder Farm.

The school was closed during the years of the rise of nationalism. By renaming the new post-2000 school Tariro, the indigenous population were expressing nostalgia for the days when the school was operational and when employment was guaranteed on the farm even though the settlers often treated them harshly. The new school could not open on the original Tariro Farm

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because there were no suitable structures to enable commencement of classes. It was agreed by the indigenes to temporarily use structures at neighbouring Lauder Farm owned by another displaced settler. When the school opened, it made use of the farm house on Lauder Farm but as it stands now, the school has already constructed some permanent structures and the likelihood of moving to the original Tariro Farm is nil.

It also appears that the name Tariro is already overshadowing the name Lauder. Informants noted that the name Tariro resonated with the thrust of the Third *Chimurenga* to empower the indigenous population. There was the optimism that the blacks would take full charge of the economy of the country. The name could be taken to mean that "land reform is the only hope for Zimbabwe".

Chikwiza and Guzuve (Figure 4.12) are schools in Eastdale Ranch. These are resuscitatednames of ancestors of the Gutu Chieftaincy who used to occupy these places before thecoming of settlers.

Figure 4.12: Guzuve Primary School named after a forest

The resuscitation of the nameGuzuve is reinforced by the display of the sign in Figure 4.12, 24 kilometres away on the main road which links the towns of Mupandawana and Harare. Chikwiza is accommodated at one of the farm houses of Eastdale Ranch whilst Guzuvewas

opened on make-shift structures, to underscore the urgency to chart a new direction for the land.

The analysis of names above indicates that place names among the Shona are cartographic directories between the indigenes and the land with its resources. In the absence of a writing tradition, these names played a very important role in identifying geographicalfeatures and the potential utility value of the feature.

4.2.3.5 Anglicised school names

Sandon (see Figure 4.13) is a school that belongs to one of the political figures (currently he is a deputy government minister) in the district and the name shows a quest for a new post-colonial identity. There is both mimicry and ambivalence in the name (see Section 2.2.1). It represents the name Sando (a hammer) anglicised by the suffix -n. By adopting the naming patterns of the coloniser, the owner of the school is communicating that he is the new boss 'Murungu' confirmed by the name which sounds more like Sundown than any Shona word.

Figure 4.13: Sandon Academy, a new elite school.

Inthisregard, theschool owner is confirming what post-colonial theorists like Frantz Fanon, Ngugi waThiong'o regard as the petty bourgeoisie class, a class which approximates the cultural tastes of the former coloniser to achieve a distinct status of power (Ngugi waThiong'o,

1986, 1993; Fanon, 1965; 1967). The appending of the adjective 'Academy' to Sandon is an attempt toclassify the school in the same category with elite urban schools in Zimbabwe to attract rich parents who afford the relatively high school fees.

On the sign post, there is also information about internationally reputable examination boards like Cambridge to demonstrate the school's mission towards high standards in education. It signals closure or change of ideological direction to land reform. The political ideology of hard line anti-western rhetoric has dissipated and the need to look at economic transformation of the former farms seems to have taken centre stage. Ironically, while the land reform was meant to reclaim the land, it also confirmed its indelible legacy in terms of the projection of colonial cultural symbols as symbols of power and superior status. Figure 4.9 bears testimony to the school's attempt to project itself as a reputable international school.

4.2.4   Names of business centres

Business centres are quite important in the post-2000 geo-linguistic landscape because they serve as meeting places for political parties. In the resettlement areas, the names of stores and the townships have to conform to the political ideology. Most business centres derive their names from the village, farm or from the proprietor's displayed name. This is the case with **Chivake, Hweshero, Chibakwe, Taigara, Tatoraivhu, Uhuru** and **Zoma,** which have been analysed under school names in Section 4.2.3 while **Wheatlands** has been analysed under settler farm names in Section 4.2.2.2.

The name Chibakwe comes from the transphonologised local word chibage (maize) and it was transformed by settlers to Chibakwi and the indigenous population now call it Chibakwe. The original word, Chibage is segmented as *chi- + -bage* [maize]. The Shona prefix *chi-* denotes an object which is small in size and also acts as a possessive prefix. The reason why the name *-bage* carried the prefix *chi-* is to show that the area produced maize. The settlers had difficulties pronouncing *-bage* and replaced it with *-bakwi* which the indigenous population again adapted to *-bakwe* to give the name Chibakwe. The business centre was established before the land reforms of post-2000.

The name Hweshero is a Shona locative for a 'recreational' rock habitat for baboons where they spent time basking in the sun and rubbing their buttocks against the rocks. Rubbing against

the rock is known in Shona as *kugwesha* [*ku+gwesha*]. Hweshero is derived from *Kugwesha* through morpho-phonemic transformation. The shopping centre was built by the indigenous people after the invasions that started after the year 2000 at a place where the farm occupiers converged to inform each other about the situation on the farm. When a store was built at the same site, the name continued to be used and it became a name for the shopping centre. The patrons (the new land owners) would converge on the shopping centre for recreation and they would sit on the rocks metaphorically like baboons.This name falls in the category of political banter. It intends to show that the land that was formerly in the hands of the settler farmer is now a place for the indigenous people to rub their buttocks against in relaxation. This can be seen as an implicit argument or a slur against the former owner that says 'the land you previously owned is now our place to rub our buttocks against'. It is a name that carries the same connotations of ethnic banter as the name Taigara analysed in Section 4.2.3.2.

Uhuru (see Figure 4.14) is the name of a business centre developed on Lauder Farm that has been subdivided among the indigenous population.The larger part was given to a prominent ruling party politician, Shuvai Mahofa (see Section 4.2.2.1). Uhuru means independence and the construction of that store on land which previously belonged to a settler is tangible confirmation of the independence (uhuru). The farm is a highly politicised place and the proprietor of the shop, in an effort to be in sync with the political mood, chose the name Uhuru. According to an informant, "[t]here is always need to appear politically correct in case one loses their piece of land". Uhuru is a name which identifies the proprietor as part of the war of liberation struggle where the KiSwahili word Uhuru was popularised by liberation fighters who had received military training in Tanzania. The word Uhuru has become a universal Pan-Africanist term for independence.

Another name for Uhuru Township is Chitakada. Chitakada has its root in the English word tuckshop. The root, tuck, is adapted to Shona and it becomes *tak-*, a commentary class 6 prefix *chi-* which carries connotations of praise while at the same time depicting something small in size is added. The terminal suffix *da-* is a borrowing of the Portuguese derivational morpheme *da-* evident in words such as*camarada,* a variant of the communist word comrade. The name comrade or camarada are part of the liberation fighter discourse in Zimbabwe's 1966-1979 liberation war. The names Uhuru and Chitakada make the land reform to resonate with the second *Chimurenga* discourse. Zimbabwe's independence war was facilitated most by

neighbouring countries especially the former Portuguese colony of Mozambique where Zimbabwean liberation fighters had rear bases and refugee camps. In Zimbabwe, during the liberation war, names such as Uhuru and Chitakadaemerged informally as the indigenous population interacted with the liberation fighters.The creative formulation of the new names was also meant to exclude would be enemies from the discussions.

Figure 4.14: A store at Lauder Farm.

Movass, is yet another name of a post 2000 business centre. It is an opaque name coined by a politician for a store he built in 2002 on the Mupandawana-Harare highway on a farm taken from a settler. The name is opaque but identifiable as English. The late former minister who gave the name wanted to market his business and he therefore chose a politically neutral name to appeal to both friends and foes. Because the former minister has since passed on, the place is now deserted with no one keen to revive it. This could be because the name is not politically appealing, hence the community does not identify with it.

Zororo is the name of a restaurant and hotel business opened in 2001 along the Harare-Mupandawana highway. The name Zororo (rest) encourages travellers and the indigenous population to come and have a rest. This could have been an indirect repudiation of the chaos that was in the country in the name of the Third *Chimurenga*. The name implies that after all the chaos on the farms; there is a serene place where patrons could be refreshed. It could also be construed to be an offer to get away from the difficulties of life in general.

*Pa*Rudhanda is the name of a proprietorof the farm who developed a shopping centre on what used to be Osemrowend Farm. Records indicate that theoriginal farm owner was not pushed out because of the post-2000 land reforms but was forced to leave following hostile relations with the community after he killed a local boy for failing to quickly open the gate for his car in the 1960s. The farm was leased intermittently over the years to different absentee white farmers but did not attract much attention from politicians during the land reform because in their eyes it was already "liberated territory"even though officially it remained under the ownership of the original farmer, Mr. Kriek. The place has gradually earned the name *Pa*Rudhanda with some of the elderly still identifying it by the last owner Mr Kriek and pronounced as *Pa*Kiriki.

The name Zoma is analysed in section 4.2.3.4.

4.2.5 Names of bus stations

Another significant set of toponyms are names of bus stations. In Zimbabwe's rural and resettlement areas public transport dominates the ferrying of people from one place to another. This has given rise to bus stations or pick-up points. These became important places because they have to be known by the community and are involved in day to day discourse. Bus stations mostly derive their names from the name of a nearby important place. The wards (places) which were under investigation in this study are between the Gutu-Chatsworth Road and the Gutu-Chivhu road. The bus stations which are in the wards are as follows: **Wheatlands, Tatoraivhu, Mazongororo, *Pa*Tomy, Mbamba, Tungamirai, Soti Source, Movass, Zororo, Garasadza/*Pa*Dhibha/*Pa*Mandebvu, *Pa*Rutamba, Taigara, Chivake, Tashinga Makomborero, Dingane** and ***Pa*Welcome.**

Mbamba and Tungamirai were dealt with in Sections 4.2.3.2 and 4.2.3.3 respectively while Movass and Zororo were analysed in Section 4.2.4. The name Mazongororowas analysed under Shona farm names in Section 4.2.2.5.Taigara, Chivake, Makomborero and Tashingawere analysed in section 4.2.3. These bus station names derive their names from schools and business centres.

Soti source is the name of a bus station which is derived from a sign post where the road to Harare branches to the east some 15 kilometres from Gutu towards the source of a river known as Sote (soak) in Shona. The name was changed to Soti by the settlers and so the sign post gave directions on how someone could get to the source of Sote River. The bus station at the intersection of Harare Road and Soti Source Road derived its name from that turn-off and until now the name is in use.

*Pa*Dhibha, Garasadza and *Pa*Mandebvu are three names which are in useinterchangeably for a bus station at a place where a road branches from Harare Road to Felixburg Farm. It is a place where a dip tank was constructed by settler authorities for use by the indigenous population in the days of early colonisation. Dhibha is a corruption of the English word 'dip' in dip-tank. The name is widely in use today alongside *Pa*Mandebv*u*. Mandebvu is the name of a local politician who was once a member of parliament for the place after the year 2000. He was the first to construct a store at the place and the place adopted his name as one of the names for the area. The name *garasadza* (*gara* means sit and *sadza* mean mealie meal porridge/pap) means 'sit on mealie meal porridge/pap'. Sources said the name came from an incident when an African policeman working for the colonial authorities was sent from Mvuma (a colonial sub administration centre) to arrest a suspect. The suspect was found at a collective farming gathering known in Shona as *humwe* (together). The community members pleaded with the police officer to wait until the suspect had had his lunch (*sadza*) but he could have none of it. Fellow members of the community were infuriated by the policeman's conduct and they assaulted him and he fell down and sat on a plate of *sadza*, hence the place earned the name Garasadza.

Another toponym with a fascinating history is the name Dhingani. Dhingani is a name of a place in Eastdale Ranch on a point on the border of Gutu District (in Masvingo Province) and Mashonaland East Province. It is believed that the place was a recreational and worship place

for settler farmers in the early days of colonisation. It happened during those days that an African man lost his way and wandered into the gathering and the settlers are said to have asked the man in Zulu what he was looking for by saying, '*Uyadhingani*?' (what are you looking for?). Being Shona speaking, the man did not understand but he only picked up Dhinganinot knowing what it meant and he went home and told others.So the place became Dhingani up to today and it has no other meaning except that it is a shortened form of '*Uyadhingani*?'.

*Pa*Welcome is a name taken from a signpost which indicates the transition from Masvingo Province to Mashonaland East Province and vice versa. After the year 2000, newly resettled people started referring to the place as *Pa*Welcome and the place became *Pa*Welcome. Figure 4.15 shows the signposts which mark the boundary between Mashonaland East Province and Masvingo Province. The area delimited for this study stretches to the boundary of the two provinces.

Figure 4.15: Signposts at the boundary of Masvingo and Mashonaland East Provinces

4.2.6   Names of roads

One feature of Anglophone toponymy is road names. The following roads are in the wards studied in this thesis: **Goeie Hoop, Lauder, Felixburg, Driefontein, Moffat, Lancashire, Soti Source, Chatsworth** and **Harare Road.** These names, according to interviewees, are derived from the farms or important places the roads pass through, save for Moffat Road.

Chatsworth is a common place name in England duplicated in an area immediately outside the boundaries for this thesis. In colonial days it was a service centre for settler farmers and also had a railway station as far back as 1914 when the railway line from Masvingo to Gweru was

constructed (Jenjekwa and Barnes, 2017). At Chatsworth there were cattle pens and other facilities for the transportation of cattle and crops to towns. It is a name taken from the English place name for an agricultural town in England. This might mean that the colonial authorities wanted to duplicate Chatsworth or the new Chatsworth reminded them of Chatsworth in England. Chatsworth has not been affected by changes; even the first wave of post-colonial name changes skipped it. Perhaps because it was rather sparsely populated with only white farmers who did not see the need to have name changes. Authorities might also have seen no political mileage in changing the name. Interestingly, Chatsworth is a name of an Indian Suburb in South Africa. This confirms how Anglophonic names overshadow the place names of the colonised people.

Another relic of colonial toponymy is Moffat Road (see Figure 4.16). Moffat is a commemorative namefor one of the first European pioneers, Robert Moffat and his son John Smith Moffat. Both Robert Moffat (a father-in-law to David Livingstone, a famous 19th Century Scottish explorer in Southern Africa) and his son John Smith Moffat played pivotal roles in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Robert Moffat who was affiliated to the London Missionary Society based at Kuruman befriended Mzilikazi, the then Ndebele king in the 1830s culminating in an 1836 treaty. The 1836 treaty, apart from paving way for the establishment of a mission station of the London Missionary Society, caused Mzilikazi to promise that he would not sign a treaty with any other rival power without obtaining permission of the British High Commissioner in South Africa (Zvobgo, 2009; Chikuhwa, 2004). John Smith Moffat who was an assistant to the British administrator for Bechuanaland, Sir Sydney Shippard, was enlisted by Cecil John Rhodes to negotiate a counter treaty to the Grobler Treaty that had been signed between Lobengula andthe Boers in 1887.As a result on 11 February 1888, the second Moffat Treaty was signed to pave the way for the Rudd Concession that was used to colonise Zimbabwe (see Section 1.2.1.1).

The involvement of Robert Moffat has resulted in scholars blaming the Christian religion for complicity in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. In blaming Christianity for not siding with the poor, post-colonial theory has support from liberation theology, a pro-poor ideology that emerged in Latin America amongst the clergy who worked in poor communities (Muskus, 2002). Hillar (1993) observes that liberation theology inteprets biblical teachings from the eyes of the poor. Its critique of exploitative social structures resonates well with the post-colonial

concept of alterity and the subaltern (see Section 2.2.1).According to Mamvura (2014), Christianity was an accomplice in the colonisation of Africa. Hence Moffat is a symbol of the hypocritical Christian religious dimension in the colonial venture.

Figure 4.16: Moffat Road leading to Mvuma

Lancashire Road (see Figure 4.17 overleaf) is a road that branches from the Harare-Gutu Road to what used to be Lancashire Farm. Lancashire Farm is seldom used in spoken communication today in favour of Murezi, the name of a tributary of Inyatsitzi [Nyazvidzi] River (see Section 4.2.8.4). Lancashire Farm is next to Eastdale Ranch which is within the area of study for this thesis.Lancashireis a county in England. The suffix –*shire* denotes a county and is of Germanic origin (*English Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018). The name comes from Latin and means a Roman fort or camp. Castra in Latin means "camp". Lancashire is associated with the Victorian era industrial boom. It is a name which originally referred farm cheese, according to Mills (2011). The adoption of the name reflects settler preoccupation with the homeland, Englandand with dairy farming. Its use might suggest the desire to create another Lancashire in Rhodesia in

terms of industrial development. The signpost stands approximately five metres from the signpost to Makomborero Schools.

Figure 4.17: Lancashire Road

Driefontein Road is the name of a Catholic mission station just across the Shashe River, a few kilometres from Felixburg Farm. Driefontein is an Afrikaans name and its presence might suggest that the pioneer missionary was Afrikaans.The name literally means three fountains or springs. This is consistent with the wetlands in and around Driefontein as seen today. It could also be seen as confirming the link between colonisation and Christianity (see Section 2.3.10).

Lauder is the name of a farm road that branches out to what used to be exclusively known as *Tariro*. The meaning of the name could not be established by this research save to show that it is of Anglophonic origin even though the Swart family, the owners of the farm, were Afrikaans.

Harare Road is the name of the main road that connects Mupandawana Town in Gutu District to Harare. This is a critical link between Gutu and Harare. It is a road which is used by all sorts of road traffic and it has witnessed the erection of most school names in an attempt to show the change in the ownership of the land. The following names are displayed on the road: *Pa*Welcome; Makomborero, Lancashire, Moffat, Tashinga, Taigara, Guzuve, Rutamba, Chivake, Zororo, Soti Source, Mbamba, Chikwiza and Goile (Goeie) Hoop. Harare Road is,

therefore, a marketing platform which gives visibility (see Section 2.3.11) to the toponymic changes.

Goeie Hoop is a road which leads to what used to be Goeie Hoop Farm that has been replaced by the name Tariro Farm. Interestingly, Goeie Hoop Road and Moffat Road are the only road names that still have visible signage on the road albeit Goeie Hoop is wrongly spelt (see Section 4.2.2.3).

4.2.7   Names of political administrative divisions

Apart from government administrative divisions, the ruling party, ZANU PF has given names to its local/grassroots administrative divisions. According to informants, these names are derived from the party's political ideology which, in their own words, focuses on political mobilisation. These names are: **Nyamaungwe, Takavakunda, Makomborero, Zoma** and **Chikwiza.**

Nyamaungwe is an opaque, resuscitated name of a small river which starts in Felixburg and it flows into the Shashe River. Takavakunda (we defeated them) is a complex nominal construction which captures the notion that the settlers were defeated. It is a name which reminds the new landowners that the land they now own is a result of war. In their words they said, "we are here because of our victory in the war of independence". Zoma and Chikwiza are both resuscitated names associated with pre-colonial settlements (see Section 4.2.3.4). Makomborero is the name of a school established in the post-2000 period on what was formerly Eastdale Ranch and the name is also used to refer to a bus station on the Mupandawana-Harare highway (see Section 4.2.3.2). The resuscitation of pre-colonial names like Chikwiza, Nyamaungwe and Zoma is in sync with the land restoration agenda of the land reforms.

4.2.8   Names of natural features
4.2.8.1   Introduction

These are local pre-colonial names which were displaced upon the colonisation and the subsequent demarcation of the land into settler farms. The notion of 'Settler' is discussed in Section 1.2.1.1. Most of these names are names of natural features like mountains, rivers and forests. The features denoted by the names became part of settler farms after the colonisation of the land. While the toponyms remained in the discourse of the indigenous people, they were

not officially recognised as existent. These names also carry socio-historical information about the communities that named them. The findings indicate that the toponymy of pre-colonial Zimbabwe was promoted through cultural practices such as the recitation of Shona praise poetry (see Sections 2.3.9 & 4.2.8). This clan poetry was passed from generation to generation orally and it became an identification manual of the important toponymic features associated with the clan, hence the continued existence of place names such as Zvivingwi, Svikire and Zoma, among others. The poetry became a historical account of the migration patterns of the family and would be guarded jealously like any family treasure. For the chiefs and important people, the burial sites could be mountains or forests. For the Gumbo clan who are the chiefs in Gutu (see Section 2.3.9), the praise poetry, according to one interviewee, was as follows:

> Mazviita Gumbo [Thank you Gumbo]
> Vari Svikire [You who are buried in Svikire Mountain]
> Vari Zvivingwi [You who are in Zvivingwi Mountain]
> Zvaitwa Madyirapanze [Thank you, one who eats outside].

The place names occupy an important position in the geo-linguistic mapping of the physical space. The poem makes reference to some areas in the area delimited for this thesis. Zvivingwi and Svikire, both mountains, are resilient relics of pre-colonial toponymy which resisted colonial overwriting of place names. Through the poetry, a geo-historical transition of the clan is constantly recited to ensure that successive generations appreciate their history identity.

4.2.8.2 Mountains

Four mountains, namely, **Rwamavara**, **Rwamatendera**, **Svikire, Zvivingwi** and **Zoma** were identified in this case study.Zvivingwiis a name of a mountain considered sacred in Blythe Farm and is analysed in Section 4.2.3.4. Rwamavara (spotted rock) is the name of a small mountain on Fortress Farm. *Mavara* in Shona means spots and *rwa-* is a possessive prefix. The name is descriptive of the appearance of the rock as a conspicuously spotted rock. Svikire is a mountain in Fortress Farm which was originally used for traditional rituals. Svikire is derived from *svikiro* (spirit medium) and *svikire* means the residence of a spirit medium or the arrival shrine of an ancestral spirit.

Rwamatendera is a flat rock where Southern Ground Hornbill (Bucorvus Leadbeateri) known as Matendera in Shona were a common feature around the mountain. Even today the birds are

a common sight around the mountain. *Rwa-* is a possessive prefix that shows that the place has a lot of birds. It is similar to the use of *Kwa-* in Zulu, for example in KwaZuluNaming the natural landscape on the basis of features, animals or any other attribute found in the feature is a common feature of Shona toponymy (see Section 4.2.3.4).The name Zoma is analysed in Section 4.2.3.4.

4.2.8.3 Forests

Only four forests were identified in the area of study. These are: **Chipesa**, **Chamandere, Guzuve and Rutamba.** Chipesa is a name of a forest that is believed to be sacred by the indigenous population. The large part of the forest is on Widgeon Ranch. The analysis of the name is done in Section 4.2.3.4. Chamandere is the name for a forest on Felixburg Farm. The farm had a lot of coleoptera Eulepida (Mandere in Shona), a species of locally edible insects used traditionally and even today as relish. Traditional communities relied more on natural resources for survival and they named forests and mountains according to the natural flora and fauna found there. Guzuve is a name of a forest in Widgeon Ranch. The name is opaque and is believed to be the name of one of the ancestors of the Gutu chieftaincy.

Rutamba is a generic name given to a place populated with African pomegranate trees.Pre-colonially the place was known as Rutamba. The post-2000 name of the place is Widgeon Ranch Village 1 but the indigenes prefer Rutamba to Village 1. This is a form of resuscitation of a previously suppressed name.Figure 4.18 overleaf captures the post-2000 restorative inscription of a name that was dormant when the land was under the settler farmer.

Figure 4.18: Rutamba Bus Station

4.2.8.4 Rivers

River names, interestingly, resisted the tide of settler overwriting. The rivers in this study are*:* **Chivake, Dewure, Nyazvidzi, Murezi, Mutirikwi, Pokoteke, Shuchire, Nyamaungwe** and **Shashe**.

Dewure is a relatively big river whose source is in the northern part of Gutu District. Oral accounts say the river's name is derived from its violent floods which would upturn and wash down the river (*kuteura*) anything big or small. The noun became Dewure. The river flows down into Save (Sabi) River, one of the massive rivers of Southern Africa. Dewure was transphonologised to Devuli and its name became the name of half of Gutu's farms area for both the indigenous people and the settlers. Nyazvidzi River which starts in the eastern half of Eastdale Ranchis also a tributary of the massive Save River which flows to the Indian Ocean. The river could not be pronounced by the settlers and a new transphonologised version emerged Inyatsitzi. The addition of the I- apart from adapting the word to English phonology also resembled Ndebele nouns which start with an *i*. A farm where the river starts got to be named

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Inyatsitzi. This farm name is still used for official records even though in spoken communication, among the indigenous population Inyatsitzi is almost non-existent. the indigenous population use the original name, Nyazvidzi to refer to the river. Another significant toponym which got resuscitated after the displacement of the white farmers is Murezi River. Murezi River is in what used to be Lancashire Farm and it is gradually overtaking Lancashire Farm which is still present in the spoken discourses and is aided by the display of the name on a signpost on the main road to Harare (see Figure 4.17). Murezi means a fisherman and the river has a pre-colonial history of being patronised by fishermen to earn the name Murezi.

Another significant river is Mutirikwi River. The same transphonologisation which affected Dewure and Nyazvidzi also affected Mutirikwi because it became Mtilikwe. Kahari (2017) gives the meaning of Mutirikwi as that which has waterfalls which might indicate that the river used to be heavily flooded. Another river in this group is Pokoteke (that which looses a person from others and washes them away). Pokoteke is known for its steep gradient and in 1991 a bus full of people was washed away, confirming its name reflects the fact that that it violently washes away people and things. Shuchire (that which washes down sand) is a tributary of Pokoteke River which starts in the sand soils of Edinar Farm. The name means that the river washes away *musheche* (sand) and indeed there is evidence of siltation in the Pokoteke Riverinto which the Shuchire River flows.

The name *Nyamaungwe* (that which washes away litter) River is derived from the Shona *Maungwe* (litter- rotten grass, leaves and logs) and *Nya-* which is a possessive prefix. The river flows down to Shashe River from its source in the rich plains of Felixburg Farm. Shashe seems to be an erroneous variation of Shashawhich means a 'champion' in Shona implying that the river washes away even those who consider themselves champions at crossing flooded rivers.

4.3 CONCLUSION
This chapter presented place names for Ward 1 and Ward 7 of Gutu District in Zimbabwe following a unique classification. The analysis of the names is similar to what Tent and Blair (2011) called the whole toponym approach (see Section 3.4.2) where each toponym is a unit of analysis.It is also similar to Meiring's (2009) descriptive backing even though it goes further to analyse the toponyms within the context of post-coloniality (see Section 2.1). Through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis, which takes the toponyms as a form of discourse,

the possibilities of meaning are multiple. From an eclectic theoretical position which is anchored on post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology, the toponymy of Zimbabwe's post-2000 period is an invaluable intangible heritage which unfortunately has not been adequately accounted for. The analysis of the toponyms exposes that the landscape carries a variegated legacy of toponyms which is carving out a new post-colonial identity for the land. In line with what would be discussed in the next chapter, there are clear trends in the post-2000 toponymic landscape. These trends reflect the significance of toponymy to the understanding of human experience.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically analyses the post-2000 toponymic trends identified in this thesis. In the discussion of the findings the discourses of displacement, restoration and the quest for identity are examined. The first part of the discussion critiques the colonial toponyms as an extension of the frontiers of marginalisation or othering of the colonised. It is argued that settler toponymy is a manifestation of political control, racial and ethnic jingoism and a celebration of Anglophonic sensibilities. The second part unravels how and why the post-2000 toponymic changes recast the First and Second *Chimurenga* narratives. There is also an interrogation of some of the emergent alpha-numeric village names as an indication of the post-colonial cultural ambivalence and hybridity, before drawing final conclusions. Finally, the chapter outlines the contribution of the study, sets out suggestions for further research and makes recommendations.

The findings of this study confirm that Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymic landscape is a complex narrative of displacement, restoration and an intricate quest for identity for Zimbabweans. While the post-2000 reforms display an attempt by the post-colonial government to reconfigure the landscape toponymically, there is a pronounced presence of settler toponymy which still testifies to the colonial occupation of the land from 1890 to 1980 when Zimbabwe gained independence from the British. Among other strategies, toponymy was used by the white settlers to map their identities on the land. Such colonial names, varied in their denotation and connotation, also portrayed a deep sense of displacement and alienation of some settlers from their homeland, Britain. Interestingly and ironically, settler toponymy still present on the landscape today confirms the pervading sense of alienation of the settlers and the nostalgic home sickness associated with being located thousands and thousands of miles from the imperial motherland in a jungle long touted as the 'heart of darkness'. From a post-colonial perspective, the settler toponyms also speak a narrative of displacement, erasure and removal of agency of the indigenous people. Through place naming, the settlers effectively 'othered' the indigenous Africans, in this case the Shona people.

The post-2000 political drama in Zimbabwe led to significant toponymic changes in areas which were formerly settler farms. The adoption of unorthodox strategies to address the inconclusive land question in Zimbabwe, the major cause of the post-2000 land reforms, gave new impetus to the discourses of post-colonial re-inscription of the land. As settler farmers were forcibly displaced from the farms and indigenous people moved in to subdivide the land amongst themselves, new toponyms that portrayed the nationalist version of history replaced some settler names in acts of symbolic restoration of power to the indigenes. There is, from this study, evidence of the recasting of the history of the First and Second *Chimurenga* to create a historical continuum to justify the internationally vilified land reforms. Discourses of the First and Second *Chimurenga* were replayed on the toponymic landscape on a symbolic level. These restorative toponyms are taken from pre-colonial local place names and from the First and Second *Chimurenga*. Where these local toponyms were ushered in, there was inevitable overwriting of colonial names with implications on historical memory. While the removal of these settler names from the toponymic landscape can be celebrated as a victory against colonial domination, it raises pertinent questions about historical objectivity.

This discussion also notes that settler and African history, from the colonial period until now, are inextricably connected with little possibility of total disengagement from each other. The findings of this study confirm that the post-2000 toponymic landscape, in spite of the post-2000 vitriolic anti-settler rhetoric spewed from the ZANU PF government in Zimbabwe, is still littered with significant vestiges of settler toponymy. There is an ambivalent post-colonial identity displayed through the maintenance of a significant number of settler names to confirm the status of the English language, the language from where most settler toponyms were taken, as a global tool of communication that is facilitating communication across nations and continents, regardless of its tainted history as an imperial language.

The discussion in the following section is informed by the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. The findings are discussed critically through the lens of post-colonial theory, geo-political semiotics and political semiotics as well as through the application of insights from Haugen's propositions on language ecology (see Section 2.2.1). This eclectic application of theory is consistent with the contemporary approach to toponymy which is known as the critical turn (Azaryahu, 1996; 1997; 2011; Berg and Vuolteenaho, 2009; Rose-Redwood, 2006; 2011; 2018; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010; 2011; 2018).

5.2 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.2.1 Settler toponymy in Zimbabwe

5.2.1.1 Extending the frontiers of "othering"

This study established that there is (even after independence) a pronounced presence of colonial settler toponymy on the Zimbabwean landscape. From a post-colonial theory perspective, the settler toponymic antecedents are found in the projection of Africa by theorists, novelists and poets as an antithesis of Western Europe. Africa was portrayed and understood through the evolutionist theories propounded by Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace alongside Anglophonic writers like Joseph Conrad and Rudyard Kipling, among others (see Section 12.1.1).

The colonisation of Africa followed the negative projection of Africa as barbaric and in urgent need of civilisation (see Section 1.2.1.1). Expectedly, when the British came to Zimbabwe in 1890 they heralded their political dominance by inscribing the landscape with their own toponymy. There is evidence from the findings that settler toponymy changed the language ecology and extended the frontiers of 'othering' by performing the hatchet job of subjugating the Africans politically, linguistically and even economically. Othering is a concept identified by leading post-colonial theorists such as Edward Said as a negative mythical creation of the orient (the colonised) to justify colonisation (see Section 2.2.1.1). The total of Anglophonic farm names identified in this study made a tremendous impact on a space of approximately 1200 square kilometres. There is evidence of commemoration of Anglophone personalities, living or dead, for their perceived high achievements as leaders in the civilising mission. In addition to anthroponymic toponyms, there are adopted duplicated names of places in Europe, for example, Afton Water, transphonologised (adapted) local names such as Inyatsitzi and an insignificant percentage of purely local (Shona) names, for example, Mazongororo. These names were used by settlers on infrastructures and physical landscape under their control. The findings reveal that settler toponyms, as elements of culture, function variously as weapons of political expression of power, repositories of Victorian sensibilities (cultural tastes), tools for the reproduction of British homeland in Africa and commemorations of heroic narratives of the settler heroes and kinsmen (see Section 2.3.2). Evidently, settler toponymy reflectedthe settler world view and communicated messages about the social, economic, cultural, religious, political and historical identities of the settlers. This study also avers that by imposing Anglophonic place names on the Zimbabwean landscape, the British stifled an emerging

civilisation evident in the relics of Shona toponymy. The rich Shona cultural heritage is confirmed by the toponymic remnants which resisted total erasure from settler toponymy (see Section 5.3.3.4).

The overwriting of local names might also be seen differently from a language ecology point of view as a result of cultural contact. This is buttressed by the observation that toponymic erasure did not come to Africa through colonisation alone. It is observable that among pre-colonial African communities, there are cases of overwriting of names of displaced people, for instance Ndebele names in Matabeleland in western Zimbabwe which was occupied by Mzilikazi in the first half of the 19th Century (see Section 1.2.1.1). Overwriting of names seems to be an ordinary feature of displacement in speech communities.

5.2.1.2   Settler Toponymy as an exercise of political power

From a post-colonial perspective, the act of imposing settler toponyms on the land was an act of political conquest because to name is to claim, to control and to govern (Azaryahu, 1997; Horsman, 2006; Rose-Redwood, 2006; 2018; Kadmon, 2004; Madden, 2017; Tucker, 2011). Political power is power to control perceptions and to carry out decisions (see Section 2.3.8). Between 1890 and 1979 British settlers (andan insignificant number of different European ethnic groups) confirmed their political power over Zimbabwean territory through their toponymy. In this study, the farm names given by the settlers reflected, among other things, the political authority behind them. The names project British imperial power and are mainly anthroponymic and duplicated European place names in their origin, for example, **Alanberry, Markdale, Noeldale, Maxwell** and **Haig**. As noted in Section 4.2.2.2, in addition to anthroponymic toponyms, the British named the colonised territory by creating parallel names with those in Western Europe. The place names were adopted from place and feature names in Britain and Europe, for example, **Fairlie, Dalcrosss, Norwood, Culloden, Daviot, Lauder, Willand** and **Afton Water.**

From the perspective of post-colonial theory, the names confirm the imperialist agenda of the British. Within the above names, there are names that implicitly glorify the political mighty of Britain along with others that celebrate the virtues of bravery and service to the British Empire and these two subcategories reinforce the image of Britain of the 19th Century as an invincible political power (see Section 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2). For instance, Haig is the name of the British

Field Marshal during the First World War who commanded an expeditionary force to the west whose strategies were however questionable; Craig is a boy's name which has the connotation of a rock and Fortress evinces a place that is impenetrable (which can be interpreted to be a symbol of the British Empire) and Crownlands is a name that glorifies the Royal leadership in Britain and indicates that this territory is under the sovereignty of the British Crown. These names, from post-colonial and political semiotics perspective could be interpreted as showing that Victorian Englandpursued a policy ofexpansionism and dominanceand the renaming of places in colonial Zimbabwe served that purpose. According to Wills in Uusihakala (2008), when the settler incursion north into Rhodesia was carried out, the BSAP was riding on the Royal Charter granted by Queen Victoria which was couched as concession seeking, but was outright political annexation to make treaties, promulgate laws, maintain a police force, and acquire new agreements (see Section 1.2.1.1). To confirm the outright colonial mission to conquer the indigenous people, the British flag, the Union Jack, was hoisted on 13September 1890 at a place that became known as Salisbury. Apart from the Royal Charter, the pioneers were operating within the resolutions of the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 which mandated European states to take possession of African territories as colonial powers (see Section 1.2.1.1). The Berlin Conference took away political sovereignty from the indigenous people and transferred it to the European powers. The effects of this are summarised by de Blij and Muller (2003:1):

> The African politico-geographical map is thus a permanent liability that resulted from the three months of ignorant, greedy acquisitiveness during a period when Europe's search for minerals and markets had become insatiable. The French dominated most of West Africa, and the British East and Southern Africa. The Belgians acquired the vast territory that became The Congo. The Germans held four colonies, one in each of the realm's regions. The Portuguese held a small colony in West Africa and two large ones in Southern Africa.

In addition to names that seek to reflect the strength of Britain as a colonial power, there is a high incidence of toponymy that reflects the security concerns of the settlers, Fortress, Eyrie and Edinar. Naming a farm as Edinar, the traditional informal name given to the Scottish capital (see Section 4.2.2.2), would give the settler farmer some assurance of safety just like the safety enjoyed, presumably, by the Scottish capital. The looming military threat from the Ndebeles who claimed authority over Mashonaland caused the settlers sleepless nights. Raftopoulos and

Mlambo (2008) indicated that the pioneers developed paranoia over a potential attack from Lobengula, the then King of the Ndebele.

The settlers in Rhodesia worked on the conviction that they were expanding the British Empire hence the British had no qualms about their mission and the power they would exercise (see Section 5.2.3). Place naming, seen through the post-colonial lens, was part of the strategy to show that the land was now under the control of the British in line with the resolutions of the Berlin Conference (Fisher, 2010). The naming of the landscape in settler nomenclature is not surprising if one looks at Victorian attitudes on nomenclature expressed by Grant in McQuat (2016: 59): "An object may not be the value of a farthing until it is identified and properly named. Its value may be raised to 30, 40 or 50 guineas once it is named, even though it has not gained an ounce." By leaving a name at every fort the Pioneer Column transformed the land into British territory overnight.

It is evident from the findings that place naming confirmed the new political authority on the land. The crown colony of Rhodesia was now part of the British Empire. Once the territory was named, it confirmed that it was imperial land under the jurisdiction of the Queen. The general perception of the British during that time is poignantly captured by Wallace (2010:398) in his analogy of the uncivilised as children and the civilised as parents where he asserts that

> [c]hildren must be subjected to some degree of authority, and guidance; and if properly managed they will cheerfully submit to it, because they know their own inferiority, and believe their elders are acting solely for their good.

Areas like Zvivingwi and Svikire, believed to be ancestral shrines of the local people in pre-colonial times, became Blythe Farm and Fortress Farms respectively and the issue of carrying out rituals was precluded. Indigenous people could not also enjoy access to forests such as Chamandere which had edible insects and Chipesa which had mushroom because they were now out of bounds. This confirms the exercise of political power by the settler authorities. From a post-colonial theory perspective, such dislocation is construed as displacement of the colonised by the colonised for economic expediency. This displacement is seen as an act of pushing the colonised to the periphery and it is an act of othering (see Section 2.2.1.1).

In fact the coming of the settlers to Zimbabwe was a political act of conquestin itself. It is therefore not surprising that this case study is located between the then Fort Victoria and Fort Charter both historically relevant names. Victoria was the reigning British queen who was very highly venerated and revered during that time while Charter is a commemoration of the written permission given to Cecil John Rhodes to use his BSAP to further British interests in Zimbabwe. The names confirm that the political authority had shifted hands from traditional local chiefs to British colonial authorities. Commemoration of British heroes and places demonstrated the unstoppable extension of the British Empire. Adopting these names was a tactical move to maintain a link with the homeland, the imperial powerhouse. Because of the symbolic value of names, any attack on such land meant an attack on the mother country. Once a land acquired an English name it suddenly commanded the same rights as the British mother country. Attacking Crownlands would be like touching the apple of the eye of a king or queen. These names also raised a sense of ethnic pride which placed an obligation upon British nationals to defend the homeland and its interests if need be.

The overwriting of local names where traditional boundaries were ignored and traditional systems of life shattered signalled the power behind the namers. The settlers arrogantly went about their business as if the land had no inhabitants before their arrival. This type of political domination was justified by Wallace (2010:398) who averred that "[t]he relation of a civilized to an uncivilized race, over which it rules, is exactly that of a parent to child, or generally adults to infants." Such prejudicial thinking simply meant that the land had to change identity by being given new names. This confirms the long held post-colonial view that the settler toponyms ironically helped to subjugate Africans under the guise of taking them out of barbarism into civilisation. Within the context of conquest, especially after the quelling of the First *Chimurenga*, names were selected to perform a number of functions, namely to celebrate the dominance of the British race and ethnicity, to glorify British personalities and history and to convey British sensibilities.

From another angle, othering targeted institutions of African traditional authority. To reinforce the British policy of both direct and indirect rule African chiefs were made surrogaterulers who reinforced settler power (see Section 1.2.1.1 & Section 1.2.1.2). These African chiefs were immediately rendered powerless as the settler authorities strove to make them invisible in a land they had stayed for centuries. According to Jenjekwa & Barnes (2017), while the chiefs

maintained a semblance of power the real power was invested in the settler authority represented in local communities by the Native Commissioner. To show their resolve and power, the settlers were not afraid to name places because they were prepared for any eventuality militarily (Uusihakala, 2008). These settler toponyms were engraved on the landscape through colonial cartography. Fisher (2010) argues that settler cartography was responsible for creating a picture of a completely annexed territory. For administrative reasons these names have remained in official records and it is likely that they will remain in official records for a very long time to come unless there is a serious paradigm shift administratively. Unlike in South Africa where local names have found their way into official records, in Zimbabwe it is not the case. This patronising view of overwriting African toponymy with British toponymy is an act of erasure (see Section 2.2.1.5) that sought to entrench imperial dominance where the land of local tribes was expropriated similar to what happened in Canada and Australia regarding the land ofindigenous Aboriginal tribes (Carter, 1987).

The findings of this study confirm that contrary to the myth of Africa as *terra nullius*, the indigenous population were displaced and driven into tribal trust lands (clusters of homes) under the pretext that the colonial government was reorganising chaotic settlements into orderly scientific settlements. However, in support of the presence of indigenous people on the land before colonisation, there are toponymic vestiges of pre-colonial Shona settlementsthroughout the breadth and width of the area studied in this thesis. Names such asZvivingwi, Svikire, Chamandere, Chipesa, Rwamatendera, Rwamavara and Shuchire were silenced as the colonisers exercised what they regarded as "paternal despotism" over Africans (Wallace, 2010:397). The new names meant that access to natural resources in those areas bearing settler names was out of the question. Africans were now metaphorically marooned and were at the mercy of colonial farmers who exploited them.This is testimony to how colonisation transformed owners of the land into subjects through the use of coercive political power.

The picture portrayed prior to the year 2000 is one of conquered territory, annexed for the expansion of the empire. The inscription of the land in settler toponymy has been viewed from two perspectives in post-colonial discourse. On the one hand there is a perspective which regards colonisation as intrinsically bad, while on the other hand there is a more neutral perspective which is rather more balanced. From the former perspective, the name changes

reflects what Azaryahu (1997:479) perceives to be "a demonstration of political power structures". The place names reflect the settlers' gratitude and loyalty to the British Empire and in the process, erased local names. This indicates the settlers' failure to acknowledge the presence of the indigenous people who, from a post-colonial perspective, were rendered invisible. Vanishing local toponymy meant vanishing political self determination as place names from Britain were overwhelmingly used. The smokescreen created through the depiction of colonisation as civilising mission in Africa is further exposed in the way the settlers treated most of the local names which they adopted for use. Even though the differences in phonological systems exist between local languages and English, the degree of transphonologisation and adaptation of local names to make them appear Anglicised is viewed as another strategy to diminish the value of local languages. Nyazvidzi became Inyatsitzi and Mutirikwi became Mtilikwe, Devure became Devuli, Chibage became Chibakwe. Interestingly, whilst on one hand these adaptations alienated the names from the framework of oral local cartography (oral maps) by making the names ridiculous and almost impossible to pronounce by the indigenous population, on the other hand, these adapted names became the custodians of local heritage and lent credence to the indigenous people's claims to the land. For instance, names such as Nyazvidzi, Mutirikwi and Devure have been used to reconstruct local cartography and history through their analysis.

From the latter perspective, there is an alternative argument that the settlers did not have any other language or culture to choose from. In addition, the orthographies of local languages were not yet developed. This sounds somehow valid if the level of transphonologisation of local names such as Nyazvidzi which became Inyatsitzi is examined. Further to this, the transphonologisation of names was mutual as confirmed by Ndlovu &Mangena (2013) in a research that traces the transphonologisation of selected English names to Shona.The original English words became hardly discernible, for instance, 'Top area' which became Topora and 'Make a hole'became Makoholi. This linguistic fact of mutual transphonologisation does not, however, overturn the overwhelming prejudice displayed by the whole scale erasure (see Section 2.2.1.5) of local histories of settlement witnessed in the overwhelming overwriting of local names through the use of Anglophonic names. The naming and superimposition of settler names on the African landscape gives credence to the argument by ardent post-colonial scholars such as Chinua Achebe that Europe portrayed Africa as the epicentre of darkness to justify manoeuvres to colonise it for its abundant raw materials and to make it a market for

finished products which were failing to get a market in Europe (Achebe, 1975; Fanon, 1965; Rodney, 1972).

The findings also confirm what critical toponymists such as Alderman, (2003), Azaryahu (1996; 1997; 2011) Rose-Redwood (2006, 2011) view as the critical symbolic role of toponyms within the socio-political sphere. From a political semiotics point of view, they argue that toponymic changes are a ritual of revolution and an expression and exercise of political power (see Section 2.2.3). The colonial toponymic practices are an arena where, according to Stella (2007), the unequal relations of power operating in the colonial occupation leads to the erasure of any pre-existing culturally constructed space and place (see Section 2.2.1.5). In this regard, settler toponymy aided the subjugation of the indigenous population, by projecting British and Western power in Zimbabwe. Consequently, it removed Zimbabweans from their land and their claim to it was just deleted. Colonisation and colonial toponymy took away the Shona people's prerogative to map their identities on their land. The toponymic changes, from a geo-semiotics perspective, countenance a changed interaction order.Colonisation ushered in new social actors who, inevitably, had their own nomenclature to confirm that place names indicate the socio-political dynamics of a community (see Section 2.2.2 & 2.2.3). This change of social actors is reinforced through the use of visual semiotics in the form of the display of public signage (see Section 2.2.2.3).

5.2.1.3   Settler toponymy as a reflection of racial and ethnic chauvinism (jingoism)

Colonial mission was driven by excessive sense of self worthy that regarded all the other races except white as highly underprivileged. *Oxford Living Dictionaries* (2017) defines chauvinism as "[e]xaggerated or aggressive patriotism." The countries that participated in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885which decided on the partition of Africa generally shared a sense of superiority over people of different skin colour and ethnicity. The degree of British racialchauvinism or ethno-centrism became ridiculous and sometimes absurd. According to *South Africa history online* (2017: no pagination), Cecil John Rhodes was an arch imperialist who in a speech he delivered in Oxford in 1877 exposed his racial chauvinism:

> I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimen of human being, what an alteration there would be in them if they were brought under

Anglo-Saxon influence...if there be a God, I think that what he would like me to do is paint as much of the map of Africa British red as possible...

Against such a statement it is very difficult to see Cecil John Rhodes otherwise other than an extreme British Imperial chauvinist.

From a post-colonial stand point, it can be argued that the toponymy of the colonial period in Zimbabwe speaks a language of ethnic chauvinism and racial superiority. This toponymy betrays a belief that true civilisation involved recasting the African landscapes in Anglophonic nomenclature. Post-colonial theorists such as Bhabha (1994) assert that the cultures of the colonised were denigrated as barbaric and reflective of savagery. Accordingly, the local names were perceived as inferior and unsuitable, lacking beauty and apt perception (Chitando, 2001).

The feeling of self importance by the British and other European colonisers got endorsementfrom the declarations from the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 (see Section 1.2.1.1). Through the use of names imported from Europe, the settlers wanted to create Europe outside Europe. Within the inventory of names, European heroes and places are celebrated. Names such as Berry Spring, Woodlands, Chilly, Grasslandsshow a romantic and idyllic appreciation of nature, whereas Edgar Ridge, Haig and Noeldale, among others, celebrate the owners of the names. Settler duplication of place names suggests the desire of the colonisers to cover the world with British nomenclature. The toponyms ride on the then popular belief that Britain was the icon of civilisation (*South Africa history online*, 2017). British cultural chauvinism a driving force behind the projection of the colonised as the insignificant 'other', prevented the settlers from having an objective cultural assessment to appreciate the richness of other people's cultures. The findings of this study confirm that this chauvinism caused a tremendous loss of Shona toponymy which unfortunately carried valuable cultural information generated by the Shona people throughout the history of their existence.

From a post-colonial theory view point, pre-colonial names such as Zvivingwi, Svikire, Rwamavara, Rwamatendera were suppressed. Svikire and Rwamatendera were swallowed by Fortress farm, Zvivingwi by Blythe Farm, Chipesa and Chamandere by Widgeon Ranch. Chikwiza, Chivake and the source of Dewure River, Nyazvidzi River and other undocumented place names lost through absence of a writing culture among the pre-colonial Shona were all

swallowed by Eastdale Ranch as the settlers sought to obliterate what they considered unsuitable toponymy. The overwhelming majority of settlers never cared to ask if there was an indigenous name, they simply gave a new name to a place. The restored names such as Zvivingwi and Chikwizaare only a small portion given the fact that African communities were preliterate in the sense of the alphabet (see Section 4.2.3.4 & 4.2.8). As a result of the toponymic overwriting by the settlers, the landscape lost its original identity.

By imposing British nomenclature on the landscape, the settlers consciously engaged in xenophobic erasure of indigenous traditions and history. This was a chauvinistic elevation of settler experiences above that of the indigenous people. Settler toponymy did considerable harm by supplanting indigenousnarratives carried by indigenousoral toponymic cartography, most of it, beyond restoration and yet such indigenous knowledge lay at the centre of the harmonious relationship between the indigenes and their environment. No one knows what Chilly Farm was and what Woodlands before the coming of settlers was because of the absence of a pre-colonial writing culture amongst the Shona people. Surely, the Shona people, like other African ethnic groups, had a well defined cartography that enabled them to navigate their way through their natural landscape because they depended on it for their day to day sustenance (Uluocha, 2015).

To a small degree, this study also shows the settler toponymic practices that showed accommodation of the indigenous place names. A few certain settlers deviated from the practice of imposing Anglophonic toponyms on the Zimbabwean landscape by adopting indigenous names. The indigenous names were perhaps adopted as an act of solidarity. Nyororo and Mazongororo Farms occupy this category. With the rise in nationalism some settlers became disillusioned with the excesses of colonialism and started to identify with the struggles of the indigenous population. As confirmed by the findings, some of the farmers spoke indigenous languages with first language proficiency and had no problems of attitude towards local languages (see section 4.2.2.5). Zulu names like Amalinda, Nyombi and Indama are also indicative of the appreciation of the role of Zulus in the pioneering work. Historians argue that the Zulu were in the pioneer column as wagon drivers and helpers to the settlers. From their relatively long stay in South Africa some whites had mastered Zulu and it seems appropriate to use it to name their land. These names, it could be said, portray the gradual appreciation of Africans, not as barbaric savages but as people worth respecting.

In addition to place names taken from Shona and Zulu languages, some local names were adopted in a transphonologised form. Inyatsitzi, Chibakwe, Devuli, Mtilikwe and Shashe are transphonologised names (see Section 4.2.8.4). As already discussed in this section, the transphonologisation could be an honest failure to transcribe the vernacular languages which did not have a writing tradition before, a confirmation of the language contact of two independent phonological systems. These names reflect accommodation within the new language ecology. This argument shows the transphonologised names as indicators of cultural exchange. However, ardent post-colonial theorists such as Ngugi waThiong'o (1981; 1986; 1993) view names transphonologisation, not as a result of physiological articulatory challenges but a deliberate ploy to bastardise and corrupt local languages and cultures. Whichever argument one might want to adopt transphonologised names are indicative of local cultural history unlike the total erasure of toponyms.

From a post-colonial theory standpoint, settler toponyms confirm the racial and ethnic chauvinism which drove the colonial mission in Zimbabwe. The names superimpose the identity of the occupiers by celebrating Anglophonic history and culture at the expense of local culture. This is viewed by post-colonial writers such as Fanon (1965; 1967) who argues that the colonial mission was driven by an underlying belief that the white race is more superior than other races as supported by the theory of evolution (see Section 1.2.1) to confirm the racial and ethnic chauvinism portrayed on the landscape.

5.2.1.4 Settler toponymy and Anglophonic cultural sensibilities

The British mapped their cultural sensibilities (tastes) based on Victorian ethos and values and this amounted to cultural imperialism (Bhabha, 1994; Said, 1994; Ashcroft et al., 2007). According to Tomlinson (2012), cultural imperialism is the imposition of cultural values, symbols and customs of a powerful country upon native cultures. Because of the global position of Britain as a super power, the Victorian Age had a pervasive effect across Europe and subsequently across the world (New World Encyclopaedia, 2015). The toponyms show British culture – place nomenclature, for instance, the changing of place names through the addition of the suffix *-dale*, the personification of land evident in toponyms such asSmilingvale and Lorn Farm all confirm British tastes in relationship to the geographical landscape. The fascination with nature, a relic of the Romantic tradition, is evident in toponyms which describe

the landscape or features found on the landscape hence toponyms like Widgeon, Condor, Edgar Ridge, Grasslands, Woodlands and Berry Spring.

The suffix -*berry* (a variant of the German suffix -*burg*) in the toponym Alanberry appears as-*bury* in the Rhodesian capital name Salisbury. The suffix denotes a fortified place which underscores the settler preoccupation with security. There is an underlying fear of being engulfed (Stella, 2007) by the allegedly primordial jungle of Africa. The use of the suffix -*berry* might also indicate a deep seated fear of the jungle – hence an attempt to tame it by names. Such toponyms also show the alienation from home. There is some sense of homesickness and nostalgia for the homeland.

Another cultural feature of settler toponymy is the use of anthroponymic toponyms. Naming farms after their owners is in line with English culture of celebrating individual effort. The land is privatised in contrast to traditional African culture where land remained communal, for example in the case of Chamandere[a forest which has edible insects - coleoptera Eulepida], Svikire[place of the ancestral spirits] or Zvivingwi [den of leopards](see Section 4.2.3.4). The British toponymy, analysed through the lens of post-colonial theory, reflects the pursuit of capitalism where the pursuit of capital overrode everything else. The land was engraved with names such as Maxwell Farm, Edgar Ridge Farm. In the British culture names largely reflect ownership, while in Shona nomenclature, if a place is named after a person it is usually an anecdotal record of an important incident that happened at that place involving the person with the name for example Dzivarasekwa [Sekwa's pool] which is a record of what happened in sometime in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Sekwa used to take a bath at a pool [dziva]. British names confirm cultural imperialism. Once the land was given an English name, it ceased to be African land and any attempt by Africans to treat it otherwise was met with resistance and, sometimes, with violence. The research established that many Africans who tried to access their ancestral burial sites for religious purposes were arrested or assaulted in some extreme cases killed as the settlers exposed their hostility towards indigenous people.

Personification of the landscape is another characteristic feature of British nomenclature. This personification exposes the attitude of the name giver towards the piece of land. Johnson (2004) asserts that British Victorian Era nomenclature personified the landscape by giving it names such as The Devil's Cataract or Devil's Eye for unproductive areas whereas productive areas

would be termed Botany Bay, for example. This study established that Lorn Farm, Blythe and Smilingvale are personified names. Personification of the land is not unique to the Anglophonic tradition. In this study, toponyms such as Dewure [a river that washes away any object], Mutirikwi [a river with many waterfalls], Nyamaungwe [a river that washes down litter], Chivake [a river whose water is used for building], Chipesa [that which makes people get lost] and Chamandere [a forest which has edible insects - coleoptera Eulepida] (see Section 4.2.8.3) personify the landscape. A notable difference in the Anglophonic naming culture is found in the deep perceptions about the land. Whilst Anglophonic nomenclature appears to focus mainly on the beauty of the natural features to warrant names such as Blythe or the serenity of the land to warrant the name Lorn Farm, pre-colonial African names were largely descriptive of the geographical qualities. This could be because the names were navigation manuals for the pre-writing indigenous communities which survived on subsistence farming, hunting and gathering. If a river is Dewure (see Section 4.2.8.4), it implies that it should not be crossed when in flood. Similarly, Chamandere (see Section 4.2.8.3) indicates that edible insects are found there and Chipesa (see Section 4.2.8.3) warns those who might want to explore it that they will get lost.

Names were also obtained from nature. The Victorian Era coming after the Romanticism of the 18th Century maintained the adoration/fascination with nature in a way that rebelled against the British society's long standing convictions. Lorn Farm is a name that reflects on the Romantic Age sensibilities which focused on individual solitude. The solitude is also reinforced by the names that denote self contained enclosures, for example Haig, Eyrie, and Fortress. These toponyms also indicate a displaced people in search of a home in an alien land that has been described as the epicentre of darkness. Some animals considered repulsive in Africa, for example the vulture find their names of the landscape.

Grasslands, Woodlands, Wheatlands are names which describe the natural features. These names confirmed to the fellow whites in the homeland that Africa was not a monster infested jungle but a place endowed with natural features like the homeland. A similar observation was made in Stella's (2007:102) study of the naming trends in Papua New Guinea, where he observed that "[l]andscape and place were immediately represented in ambivalent terms by colonialist discourse: Mysterious, exotic, romantic, and idyllic on the one hand, and harsh, inhospitable, untamed, corrupted, and fatal on the other." The same ambivalent attitude seems

to be held by the settlers who colonised Zimbabwe. On one hand, there is idealisation of the African physical landscape and its features through naming it in idyllic namesimported from Europe while, on the other hand, there is implied demonisation of the same land through wholescale erasure of indigenous toponyms, a possible reflection of the contradictions that pervaded the psyche of the coloniser.

From an ecological perspective, after years of stay in Zimbabwe, the colonial sensibilities began to expose local influence. This is shown by the settler adoption of completely Shona names such as Mazongoro, Chibakwe and Nyororo (see Section 4.2.2.5). This also shows how the colonial stay in Africa had an impact on the settlers' sensibilities. It created, in a selected number of settlers, a cultural syncretism that recognised the Shona people's identity.

To tie up the discussion in this sub-section, it is evident that the geo-linguistic landscape was used as an arena to project cultural, political and social values of settlers. One can only agree with Bulhan's (2015:n.p.) argument about the modus operandi of colonialists: "[o]nce they conquered the people and occupied the land, they assaulted the world of meaning because no system of oppression lasts without occupation of the mind and ontology of the oppressed." Indeed, toponymy constitutes a critical domain of meaning. Interestingly settler toponymy has become an intractable part of the post-colonial identity of Zimbabwe. Efforts to erase it can only be symbolic because total erasure is impracticable and might be an affront to historical objectivity.

The discussion also confirms post-colonial theoretical views that settler toponymy was a tool to entrench and confirm British imperial authority over the colonised land. The toponyms were a tool of imperial power, they exposed British ethnic and racial chauvinism by mapping Anglophonic cultural sensibilities on the colonised land. By pushing the indigenous population off the map through settler toponymy, Anglophonic toponymy testifies to its net effect of removing agency from them and, as Shahadah (2012) argues, transformed them to hapless objects of colonial subjugation. The settler toponymy also points to a changed interaction order on the land owing to the coming in of new social actors (see Section 2.2.2.2). Using the post-colonial lens, the coloniser came with power and inscribing the land in the way he liked was an exercise of power. From a political semiotics point of view, the settler names are, therefore, construed as political statements of the imperial conquest of African land.

5.2.2 Third *Chimurenga* toponymic changes

5.2.2.1 Recasting the First and Second *Chimurenga* Narratives

Section 5.2.1 has shown, from a post-colonial, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology standpoint, how the colonialists displaced local toponymy through appropriation of land originally inhabited by blacks, setting the stage for conflict over the same land. The post-2000 land reforms were carried out in an attempt to address the land question: a historical injustice that could not even be definitively addressed by the granting of independence in 1980 (see Section 1.2). High on the agenda of the indigenous people in the post-2000 reforms was the recovery of the land they believed was unjustly stolen from their forefathers. As the landless indigenous people moved onto the settler farms, new names powered by the politics of restoration of their stolen heritage emerged. These place names sought to reconfigure historical memory by assuming an Afrocentric perspective to history, as a way, according to Childs and Williams (1997), of dismantling the structures of colonial control. The protagonists in the land reforms, namely the veterans of Zimbabwe's liberation war and peasants, and, to a limited extent, government technical officers on land took charge of the re-inscription of the geo-linguistic landscape and the result was an alternative narrative to the colonial one. This alternative narrative has tended to be revisionistic and patriotic to the extent that it has been accused in some quarters as nationalist propaganda. For instance, Ranger (2004) argues that patriotic history is not worthwhile history but partisan propaganda. In that regard, to deliberately erase settler toponymy is to chop off a certain chunk of a generation's identity and amounts to 'partisan historical grafting'. The post-2000 toponyms are as complex as the circumstances that created them. The new names ushered in are a complex package of First and Second *Chimurenga* names as well as resuscitated names from the pre-colonial period. These trends of names would be analysed and discussed in the sub-sections that follow below.

5.2.2.2 The revival of First *Chimurenga* names

The land reforms are anchored on the land question in Zimbabwe. The First *Chimurenga* phase is symbolically represented in toponymy by the name *Kaguvi* and his antithesis Robert Moffat, among others. As discussed in Section 1.2.1, land was at the core of the first uprising and the following two other uprisings, namely the Second and Third *Chimurenga*. These three *Chimurengas* belong to the same historical continuum of the Zimbabweans' struggle for land. The First *Chimurenga* is critical to the Third *Chimurenga* because it is 'where it started'. By

bringing in the discourse of the First *Chimurenga*, the proponents of the Third *Chimurenga* sought to compress time and make whoever had interest in the issue see the alleged colonial injusticeparticularly in terms of land ownership.In this sense, the revival of the name *Kaguvi* confirms why Mushati (2013:74) argues that

> [c]onstruction of national memories involves the weaving of national narratives that strike a continuum between the past, the present and the future through appeals to and the creation of national legends and common ancestry.

The First *Chimurenga* is a narrative which has come to be synonymous with Nehanda and Kaguvi (see Section 1.2.1). Kaguvi or Sekuru Kaguvi, a spirit medium, was together with Mbuya Nehanda sentenced to death by the colonial authorities when they were captured in 1897 (Beach 1970; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008). It is believed that Kaguvi was part and parcel of the prophetic pronouncement made by Mbuya Nehanda that even if the colonial authorities killed her, her bones would one day rise in the spirit of war to reclaim the land. The name Kaguvi played an inspirational role in the second *Chimurenga*. In line with Shona spiritual beliefs, the dead play a fundamental role in the lives of the living because once someone dies, the Shona believe that the person becomes a spirit which can then guide and inspire the family in different positive ways. The Third *Chimurenga* is a story whose origins the proponents wanted to link to the late 19th Century uprisings against settler rule. Kaguvi symbolises the generation that was dispossessed of the land but rose against the settlers to reclaim the land. On another level, Kaguvi is a symbol of the spirit of war and rebellion to restore the land to its rightful owners. The name is symbolically displayed on a signpost where the name Indama Farm once stood (see Figure 4.7). The display of the name is an act of taking possession of the land, restoring it to Sekuru Kaguvi, a symbol of the Shona forefathers.

By using the name Kaguvi, the namers want to portray a dominance of Shona men in the struggle. As already alludedto, the story of Sekuru Kaguvi is inseparable from the story of a woman spirit medium, Mbuya Nehanda (Mbuya is a title of a grandmother). Kaguvi's commemoration ahead of Mbuya Nehanda exposes the male chauvinism in the Shona cultural organisation. This prejudice against women in spite of their crucial roles in history is evident even if one observes the larger national commemorative approach in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The struggle is seen as a struggle carried by men, hence the colonial mobilisation epithet, Zimbabwe *ndeye ropa ramadzibaba* [Zimbabwe is the land of forefathers which they bought

with their blood]. In the capital city, Harare, for instance, one of the most important buildings for the government is *Kaguvi* Building followed by Munhumutapa Building which commemorates, the founder of Mutapa Empire that reigned in the land which is now Zimbabwe from around 1200AD until the mid 18th Century when internal political squabbles led to its dissolution (Mudenge, 2011). Mbuya Nehanda is relegated to denoting remote rural schools, unimportant streets and roads, and less glamorous community halls. This is not surprising because, according to Mazarire (2003:35), in the Shona culture "female status was only hailed where it served to buttress male hegemony..."

Apart from Shona male chauvinism shown in the commemoration evident in the commemoration of Kaguvi ahead of Mbuya Nehanda, there is tribal chauvinism against the Ndebele, an ethnic group that equally participated in the First *Chimurenga*. King Lobengula, for instance, also fought gallantly against the settlers and is believed to have died in exile in Zambia. This failure to appreciate the role of the Ndebele led Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) to contend that the First *Chimurenga* has been packaged in history as an uprising led by the Shona, ignoring the role of the Ndebeles. This is why Ndhlovu (2007) argues that there is some internal colonisation of other ethnicities in Zimbabwe shown by the dominance of the Shona language in national discourses. Ndhlovu (2007) cites the issue of land reform jingles on Zimbabwean electronic national media which were predominantly in Shona and very few in Ndebele. It is interesting to note that the nameKaguvi Primary School, which in turn replaced Indama Farm, is superimposed on Indama Farm, a name phonologically linked to Zulu, a parent language of Ndebele. The erasure is, by implication, targeted at both the settler ownership of the farm and as well as the Ndebele connotations to underscore the prevalence of tribal politics and the marginalisation of the Ndebele in Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, the land reform has been packaged as *hondo yeminda* [war for land], initiated in Shona-speaking areas and then spread to Matabeleland. Even the word Jambanja (a violent and chaotic situation)*,* a synonym of the Third *Chimurenga* is a Shona innovation. Evidently, the toponymic landscape responds to the power dynamics of the day. The tribal chauvinism is part of the historical discourses of Zimbabwe and the landscape reflects this. These dynamics influence the balance of languages in the language ecology. In the language ecology of post-colonial Zimbabwe where there is a clear diglossic relationship between Shona and Ndebele with Ndebele treated as a low variety especially in Shona-speaking areas (Ndhlovu, 2007).

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From a political semiotics perspective, those with power determine the place names (see Section 2.2.3). These complexities and contradictions playing out on the post-2000 toponymic landscape are part of Zimbabwe's historical terrain.

The invocation of the name Kaguvi's on the landscape is also an affirmation of African Traditional Religion (ATR). The land is a birthright, a blessing from the ancestors who the Shona believe intercede on behalf of the living to God (see also Section 2.4.4). This blessing is echoed in the school name Makomborero in the area under study in this thesis. Makomborero reflects the conviction of the protagonists of the land reforms that land is a God-given blessing. Makomborero, just like Kaguvi, is an indirect subtle attack on Christian teachings about heavenly blessings which will be realised after death. The name Makomborero seems to be saying, "land is the real blessing and we have just been blessed with it". Makomborero becomes a sarcastic reminder to the settlers that the land which was once under the settler farmers constitutes the blessings of the indigenous population. The settlers had stolen the blessings of the indigenous people, making the settlers selfish, unchristian dispossessors and land grabbers. Kaguvi and Makomborero are names which offer an alternative narrative to the widely circulated stories of mayhem, rape and death during the land reforms.

The new names such as Kaguvi and Makomborero are also meant to overshadow names such as Moffat which are still there and evidently reinforced by road signage. As noted in Section 1.2.1.1, Robert Moffat, a missionary of the London Missionary Society and later his son, John Smith Moffat played a critical role in the colonisation of Zimbabwe and were commemorated by settlers through a road found within the area studied for this thesis (see Figure 4.16). The presence of the name Moffat, reinforced by visible signage, shows the nature of history: not all vestiges can be uprooted. The continued presence of Moffat could be because of its location in a relatively remote part of rural Zimbabwe. As argued by Horsman (2006), commemorative toponymy is restricted to areas of ostensible symbolic significance. An analysis of Tsarist, Soviet and Post-Soviet toponymic patterns in Pamir indicate that the urban centre has more symbolic value in terms of commemorative toponymy than some remote mountain (Horsman, 2006). The same phenomenon might be at play regarding the continued existence of the name Moffat and other colonial toponymic relics. In general, rural roads in Zimbabwe are not critical political symbols compared with roads in towns. This might also be because of the utility value of the roads to communities. Few indigenous people drive their own cars or travel on remote

roads and this could explain the name Moffat Road remaining unchanged. Whatever the reasons, the presence of Moffat Road also confirms the resilience of toponyms. Such toponymy may appear ordinary and yet it speaks a long history of how Zimbabwe was colonised. Though Moffat contradicts the nationalist narrative, the name is symbolic of how Zimbabwe's post-colonial identity has been constructed through contradictions.

The existence of certain 'ignored' colonial toponyms such as Moffat Road has bolstered the argument that resuscitation of local names and erasure of colonial names has been manipulated by politicians to score political gains. In Zimbabwe, an interesting case in point is the recently changed Cecil John Rhodes Preparatory School in the Matopos (see Section 1.1). This change was meant to avoid the embarrassment of having Rhodes' school close by, many years after independence. Ironically, at the shrine at Matobo Hill is where Cecil John Rhodes' remains are interred. Calls for the exhumation of Rhodes' remains have been made by political extremists in Zimbabwe in the past but they have not been exhumed because of the economic potential which the grave provides. Most fascinating would be a question which asks if Rhodes' legacy in Zimbabwe is only in his name or it pervades other socio-economic spheres such as dressing and government structures, among others. Many other places and schools still carry names of colonial leaders and these will only be highlighted for possible change when there is some immediate political spin-off from the change. The name of Queen Victoria is very much present in Zimbabwe, for instance, it is the name of an elite government primary and high school in the town of Masvingo. Further to this, a residential suburb for low income earners has in recent years been established on a farm known as Victoria Ranch and the residential area is now Victoria Ranch. The presence of the settler names even today confirms the transition of the culture of the colonised from mimicry to hybridity (see section 2.2.1). It could also be seen as a clear statement of the asymmetrical ecological relationship between English and indigenous languages (see section 2.2.5). One cannot choose one's history; one can only falsify it for selfish ends. Thus renaming has largely been approached in post independent Zimbabwe in a haphazard and impromptu way at the instigation of politicians without consensus or wide consultation.

The Third *Chimurenga* did significant reworking of the toponymic landscape, unleashing fewer but symbolically powerful toponyms on the landscape. The presence of the names Kaguvi, Makomborero and Moffat which are associated with the 1890 colonisation of Zimbabwe and

the First *Chimurenga* uprisings connects the Third *Chimurenga* with the first struggle against colonial rule. The degree to which the Third *Chimurenga* has been reflective of the First *Chimurenga* has prompted debates in different platforms. Ranger (2004) believes that the name Third *Chimurenga* is a propaganda tool to market a partisan ZANU PF programme as a national programme. Toponymy has, however, contributed to the legitimisation of the post-2000 land reforms as a continuation of the unfinished business of the First *Chimurenga*.

5.2.2.3 The revival of Second *Chimurenga* war discourses

The Third *Chimurenga* was made to appear, by those who executed it, as a legitimate completion of the unfinished job of the independence liberation war. The discourses of the Second *Chimurenga* were anchored on land as a heritage allegedly stolen by colonialists through violence and chicanery; hence the need for use of any means necessary (including violence) by the indigenous people to take back the land. These names, to a larger extent, are a celebration and extension of the Second *Chimurenga* in terms of its objectives, *modus operandi* of violence, racial banter, and theologisation of the land issue within a patriarchal Shona cultural system. The Second *Chimurenga* names manifest as names that celebrate the independence, names that commemorate the freedom fighters and resuscitated place names from the pre-colonial Shona oral cartography. These three categories of names are discussed below.

(i)   Immortalising the freedom fighter through toponymy

The post-2000 toponymic landscape is punctuated with commemorative names of liberation figures considered iconic in the Second *Chimurenga*. Simon Muzenda, Josiah Tungamirai and Shuvai Mahofa make the new crop of names that now symbolically grace geographic terrain that used to exclusively commemorate Anglophonic personalities and sensibilities in the colonial period. Through the names, an attempt to permanently engrave the contribution of the protagonists of the 1966-1979 liberation war on the landscape for the benefit of posterity is made.

Simon Muzenda, as outlined in Section 4.2.2.1, is the name of one of the Second *Chimurenga* nationalist leaders who championed the liberation struggle from the 1960s until independence. Being a nationalist leader meant that Simon Muzenda was one of the architects of the violent anti-colonial struggle that led to Zimbabwe's independence. The presence of his name on the

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landscape connects the Third *Chimurenga* with the Second *Chimurenga*. In the process, the Third *Chimurenga* is projected as a planned programme led by the same nationalist architects who fought and brought independence. On another level, the name Simon Muzenda serves the propagandist role of portraying the post-2000 land reforms as the completion of the 1966-1979 bush war. By so doing, the name projects ZANU PF, Simon Muzenda's political party, as a pro-people party unlike the opposition Movement for Democratic Change which was consistently berated by ZANU PF as a stooge of the former colonial power, Britain.

Tungamirai, a name of a secondary school, is commemorative of the late Chief Air Marshal of independent Zimbabwe who was born Josiah Mberikwazvo. Tungamirai is, therefore, a *nom de guere* which, however, became his official name at independence until his death in 2003 (see Section 4.2.3.3). Pfukwa (2007a) defines Tungamirai simply as an instruction to someone to lead. The name Tungamirai could be taken to mean 'lead the way to the war'. In the case of the Second *Chimurenga*, it referred to the war but in the Third *Chimurenga*, it could be construed to be 'lead in the invasions' either way it is a statement of restoration of agency or leadership of the Africans because Africans were led by settlers during the colonial period. Tungamirai is also an appeal from the peasants, workers and students who felt the brunt of colonisation to the political leadership to have someone appointed to lead them. By giving the name to the school, the authorities wished to make the learners who would pass through the school heirs of the revolution.

Apart from being a name of a combatant, the name is an instruction to the people to move ahead, implying that others would then follow. The name Tungamirai is a mobilisation call for the generality of the people. The terminal vowel *i-* is a honorific suffix which might also suggest that the one who is being sent to fight is being honoured as a brother to go and join the war against the colonial government. The selection of the name is an expression of the peasantry's desire to have veterans of the independence war lead them in the Third *Chimurenga*. Interviews confirmed this discourse of second *Chimurenga* because "the land was acquired through war". Those who led in the process of evicting the settler farmers were veterans of the Second *Chimurenga* who had the full government backing and were, in most cases, seen armed with AK47 Assault Rifles to strengthen the feeling that it was war, the final phase of what the freedom fighters started. In fact, the Third *Chimurenga* was packaged as a continuation of the war of liberation but with a focus on land.

Shuvai Mahofa is the name of another prominent liberation war collaborator who distinguished herself in the field during and after the war of liberation (see Section 4.2.3.3). Even though she did not participate in the war as a guerrilla, she helped in supplying food, clothes and other requisite provisions to the liberation fighters to deserve commemoration. Comparatively, juxtaposed to Simon Muzenda and Josiah Tungamirai, there is evidence of the indigenous people's indifference towards the name Shuvai Mahofa partially because she did not participate as a freedom fighter but a collaborator in the 1966-1979 liberation war. In addition, in the post-2000 period she adopted violent politics which resulted in some local indigenous people who differed in opinion with her falling victim to intra-party beatings (Munayiti and Ndlovu, 2017). This could be the reason why her name has failed to eclipse Lauder Farm the colonial farm name. Her name has however eclipsed Wragley Farm which she jointly held with Lauder Farm perhaps because Wragley is much more difficult to pronounce to Shona first language speakers than Lauder. The rather subdued commemoration of Mahofa could simply be because she was a woman. Shona traditional culture is patriarchal and does not openly acknowledge achievements of women and, going forward, this might lead to the gradual erasure of the name Shuvai Mahofa from the toponymic landscape.

It is evident that the symbolic naming of the landscape in names of icons of the liberation struggle is meant to convince the indigenous population that the land is now truly in the hands of indigenesand a reminder of the use of violence as a tool to gain freedom. Not all names were and could be changed because of lack of appetite from the general populace and because of practical communication demands. Changing most names or all of them makes navigation a nightmare (Uluocha, 2015). Revolutionary toponyms of the Second *Chimurenga* are there to serve an ideological propagandist role. According to Lasswell (in Dovring (1988), toponyms are symbols which portray the ideology of the elite. The selection of the names is what Halliday (1975) terms the functional purpose of language. Those with power always name the immediate environment. A shift in the power dynamics on the farms (from settlers to indigenes) resulted in places receiving new names in line with the ideology of ZANU PF government. The post-2000 land reforms approximated Zimbabwe's Second *Chimurenga* in terms of its execution. The use of Simon Muzenda, Josiah Tungamirai and Shuvai Mahofa is commemorative of the role they played in the liberation of Zimbabwe as well as an attempt to immortalise him and give a sense of continuity to the struggle for land in Zimbabwe.

From the evidence of the relatively few name changes quantitatively, witnessed in this case study, the Third *Chimurenga* appears to have been rather loud in terms of the rhetoric which drove it, butperhaps with little resolve and capacity to completely erase settler toponymy (see Section 5.4). This is why Azaryahu (1997) asserts that post revolution re-inscription is not meant to be sweeping but only symbolic to show the changed power configuration.   This also shows the stubbornness of history. It might also be indicative of the cynicism with which the indigenous population see the politically driven renaming exercises. To some indigenous people, relics of settler toponymy serve as souvenirs of victory whose total erasure might take away the sense of victory amongst the indigenes and to others, place names are just place names and not worth bothering much about.

    (ii)   Celebrating the freedom and slurring the settler through toponymy

In this case study, there is evidence of Second *Chimurenga* toponyms which seek to replay the euphoria of independence. The recovery of the land is celebrated through names whose semantic meaning makes them appear to be engaging in some form of argument by proxy against the settlers (Pongweni, 1983). The new identity of the land is portrayed through toponyms. In the forced eviction of settler farmers, the farm house, a symbol of the presence of the settler, was the first to be taken over, in some cases looted and vandalised in scenes reminiscent of pre-independence war scenes. These farm houses were converted to schools, clinics or were used as accommodation for the new farmers (see Section 4.2.3). The newly opened schools had local names which reflected the ideology and the political mood of the time. Transformation of the farm house into a school was the most significant act of erasure of the legacy of the settler owner because a school easily dissolves into the mundane environment of the community and has a strong implication on identity of the learners. Taigara, Tatoraivhu, Tashinga, Mbamba and Rusununguko are school names while Takavakunda is a name of a name of ZANU PF local administrative area and Hweshero and Uhuru are names of townships (shopping centres) in the resettlement areas. There is evidence of political banter, celebration of violence and the restatement of the ideology of socialism in the names as will be seen in the discussion below.

There is political banter in some of the new toponyms. As outlined in Section 4.2.3.2, the name Taigara confirms the violent takeover of the land.Taigara is pregnant with innuendo. It is

political banter, an ethnic slur that taunts the settlers and those indigenous people who did not believe in the post-2000 land reform programme by saying that "you thought we would not settle on the land but now we have settled on it". *Kugara* (sitting down) where Taigara is taken from implies permanent settlement. The word Taigara implies an assured, safe and permanent occupancy. According to interviewees, some settler farmers had sworn that they would not leave their farms. The name implies the existence of some dialoguing which was happening between the settlers and the indigenous population. Taigara, is packed with innuendo; implicitly it means that 'the land which you had taken from us is now in our hands'.

Similarly, in Hweshero (see Section 4.2.3.2) the settlers are teased indirectly. The land which they had taken from the indigenous population is now fully in the hands of the indigenous population for them to do whatever they want with it, in this case, they have sat on it, as in Taigara, and have turned it into a place to rub their buttocks against (Hweshero) like baboons rubbing their buttocksagainst rocks to confirm territorial control. Hweshero seems to throw back the evolutionist justifications of Africans being lower species in the evolution process by suggesting that the "baboons have taken over and are rubbing their buttocks on it" to scorn the settlers wherever they could be. The name Hweshero becomes an ethnic slur meant to tease the settlers by saying the savages have now taken back their land. Taigara and Hweshero are imperative illocutionary acts (Austin in Oishi and Filosofici, 2006) meant to confirm the compulsory takeovers of the land. The racial banter is, however, oblivious of the challenges of effective utilisation of the land. Taigara and Hweshero also expose the ideology of the new owners of the land with regards to the utilisation of the land. The land is taken for settlement ahead of agricultural production and yet in a modern economy, the land is supposed to be commercially productive and not to be taken back to the pre-colonial speculative ownership. The land is supposed to be worked and not to be taken as some leisure resort.

Tatoraivhu (we have taken the land/soil) and Tashinga (we have gathered courage) further reinforce the celebratory thrust of the toponymy. The same applies for Tatoraivhu. Of interest to note is the use of the plural prefix *ta-* which means *'we'*. There is an emphasis on the collective, part of the driving ideology of the 1966-1979 liberation struggle. The 'we' is also inspired by the traditional African philosophy of *unhu/ubuntu* which says 'I am because we are' (Asante, 2007). The use of the plural inflection t- which captures the plural emphasises the involvement of the masses. The reference to the majority in the struggle for independence was

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not coincidental. The late Zimbabwe nationalist leader, Eddison Zvobgo, said "[w]e worship the majority as much as Christians worship God" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009:109). In this manner, such toponymy is meant to portray the second *Chimurenga* ideology of socialism where the alliance of the peasants, workers and the students would topple the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1989). Again, just like in the names Taigara and Hweshero, there is implicit racial banter in Tatoraivhu where the indigenous people could be saying we have taken the land even though you thought we would not. This banter or ethnic slurs are also identified by Barnes & Pfukwa (2003:434) as "powerful statements which filled the discursive spaces once held by western names and they became aggressive acts that sought to erase the entire ideology and culture of Rhodesia." The slurs testify to the changed language ecological relations. The local language, Shona, which used to be viewed with scorn by the colonial authorities, now exercises its new found political muscle aggressively. The land reforms are celebrated as an act of extreme courage hence the name Tashinga (we have gathered courage). In fact, there were jingles repeatedly played on Zimbabwean local radio and television encouraging the generality of the people to remain courageous (*Rambai, makashinga*) hence the name seems to be a response to that call by the leaders to remain resolutely courageous.

Takavakunda [we defeated them] is a name that seeks to convey the perception that the Third *Chimurenga* was a war and the settlers were defeated. The Third *Chimurenga* was packaged in propaganda to counter what the government considered hostile international and opposition media. Lasswell (in Dovring, 1988:4) contends that "propaganda is mass communication intended to create attitudes on controversial public issues and to control public opinion by manipulation." Toponyms such as Takavakunda, Tashinga, Tatoraivhu and Taigara create a picture of victory after a war and yet the settlers were not armed and most of them complied to immediately leave their farms when the government issued them with eviction notices.

Mbamba as analysed in Section 4.2.3.2 describes the way the reforms were implemented. Mbamba which means to grab by force implies what the political leaders see as the irreversibility of land reform programme because the land is firmly under their grip. Mbamba belongs to the discourses of mass mobilisation evident in the Second *Chimurenga* period. The indigenous land occupiers were told to be resolute and not to retreat.

Taigara, Hweshero, Tatoraivhu, Tashinga and Mbamba have underlying overtones of violence. The Third Chimurenga land reforms were largely characterised by aggression and violence in the majority of cases. The settlers who did not cooperate were violently ejected by the land occupiers or the police in line with the law (see Section 1.2.2.3). The names belong to the same discourse which punctuated the marshal name in the second *Chimurenga*. Pfukwa (2007b:245) aptly observes that such names exhibit "powerful undercurrents of force and aggression" because the war name is embedded in the history of violent resistance.

Taigara, Tatoraivhu, Tashinga and Mbamba are reinforced by visible road signage, to displace old toponymy and force the new names into the day to day life of the people. They stand like toponymic flags in the land that used to be known by settler names for over a century.Through the visual strategies to promote the new names the name givers want to present a new narrative that eclipses the previous settler narrative because "language visibility has a powerful (re) legitimisation effect, which in turn, impacts on people's attitudes" (Grin and Vaillancourt in Du Plessis, 2011a/b). Language visibility has the effect of shifting the balance of forces in the language ecology. Shona names supported by language visibility gain a measure of acceptability amongst users. Such toponymic practice "demonstrates the connections between cultural and political processes" (Azaryahu, 2011: 28).

The names are a mark of restoration of land originally grabbed by settlers; they are some kind of a linguistic flag. This is so because in Zimbabwe, once a school is named, the surrounding locality starts to be identified by the school name (see Section 4.2.3). These schools, apart from imparting an academic curriculum, they also serve as ideological schools for the ruling ZANU PF party just by their mere presence.

Celebratory names that are not part of the ethnic slurs are Rusununguko, a name of a school and Uhuru, a name of a township. Rusununguko is a Shona noun for independence while Uhuru is a Swahili name for the same independence. Rusununguko shows the post-colonial perception that real independence is when the colonised gain control of their resources. While the two names are generally taken to mean the same, the name Uhuru is packed with connotations of the struggle, underscoring the contribution of fellow Frontline States such as Tanzania in the struggle. The post-2000 take-over of land authenticates Zimbabwe's independence as real independence (Uhuru). Uhuru is full of nostalgia for 1980 independence. It is a name that has

assumed a universal appeal across Sub-Saharan Africa as a name that denotes the ideal freedom from all shackles of colonial domination.

The names discussed above are apparently in retaliation to the hostility the settlers displayed towards Africans prior to their compulsory displacement. Political banter implicit in the names is consistent with the discourse of racial hostility which punctuated the Second *Chimurenga* naming patterns (Pfukwa, 2007a; Pongweni, 1983). The re-inscription of the landscape was meant to confirm the new power dynamics on the land. This kind of naming which recasts historical events is consistent withthe African toponymic heritage where, the Shona people engraved memory on their geo-linguistic landscapebecause of the absence of a written culture. These names become a historical record of the historical turbulence surrounding land ownership in Zimbabwe.

It is also evident that the tone of celebration carried by the toponyms exposes some form of blind euphoria similar to what happened with the 1980 independence. Contrary to the expectations of bliss, the takeover of land from the settlers marked the start of new challenges of working the land to produce for the country. These celebratory toponyms do not in any way portray the need to work hard on the land or to be productive because most of the indigenous people were looking for homes and not productive pieces of land.

The toponyms discussed above confirm views of Scollon and Scollon (2003) that when the social actors change, the interaction order follows suit, giving rise to new toponymy. The names endeavour to recover some modicum of self worth for the indigenous population through slurring the coloniser and celebrating the return of the land to what they see as the rightful owners.

5.2.2.4 Turning back the hands of time: Resuscitated pre-colonial names

From a post-colonial standpoint, it can be said that colonial settlers in Zimbabwe attempted to erase local toponyms to confirm the settlers' occupation of the land. Toponyms, however, are relatively resilient and have longer staying power than anthroponyms which fade off with the death of the owner of the name. While on the surface the settlers portrayed an image of previously vacant and underutilised land transformed by the coming of whites, within the ranks of the indigenous resistance brewed. There was, from the findings, a cat and mouse relationship

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between the settlers and the indigenous population who wanted to access sites in areas already designated as farms. Sites regarded as sacred, for example mountains such as Zvivingwi, Svikire and Zoma believed to be burial sites for the Gutu lineage had to be accessed by the indigenous population at whatever cost. The indigenous people devised strategies to sneak in and carry out their rituals while in very rare cases, the settler farmer would consent to have them perform their rituals on 'his' land. This caused important local toponymic feature names to remain active within the oral cartography of the indigenous population until today.

Restored names in this study are names of outstanding geographical, religious, historical, economic, political or social significance. Zvivingwi (a den of leopards), Rwamatendera (where the Southern Ground Hornbills are found), Svikire (where ancestral spirits reside), Rwamavara (spotted granite rock) and Zoma (traditional dance and refers also to water buck) are names associated with the migration and settlement history of the people of Gutu chieftaincy. As outlined in Section 4.2.3.4, Zvivingwi served as a warning to would-be travellers or hunters about the dangers posed by leopards which had the mountain as their habitat. As of today, the name Zvivingwi is a historicalreminder of the time when there were leopards because very few, if any, leopards are still in the mountain. Zvivingwi became a symbol of the local leadership and the name resisted erasure. Rwamavara is descriptive of the assorted colours of the rocks, enough to make sure those who would navigate their way through it would not get lost if they know the name. The Shona traditional society existed in close proximity and harmony with both *flora* and *fauna*. The name Rwamatendera exposes the extent to which the indigenous population knew their natural environment. In the case of Rwamatendera, there was presence of Southern Ground Hornbill (Dendera) in and around the mountain while Svikire is the name of a shrine as explained in Section 4.2.8.2. Zoma is a mountain name defined by Kahari (2017) as a dance by young women. Zoma, like all the other names of the mountains, is a strong repudiation of the myth of terra nullius peddled by settlers as justification for the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The name was suppressed for years by the name Felixburg Farm until after the year 2000 when the name was revived.

Resuscitation of local toponymy also benefitted cultural practices such asancestral worship and recitation of clan praise poetry which occurred when something good was done by a clan member. Among the Shona, ancestral worship involvedthe invocation of dead ancestors and their burial places. If a person performed something good, the family or spouse had a duty to

thank the ancestral spirits through recitation of the praise poetry. This category of Shona poetry traces the lineage of the person who has done a good thing right up to the known but deceased great grandfather (Kahari, 2017) (see Section 4.2.8). There is creative anecdotal reference to burial places and valiant actions of the clan and its leaders. This clan poetry was passed from generation to generation through poetry and it became an identification manual of the important toponymic features associated with the clan hence the continued existence of place names like Zvivingwi, Svikire and Zoma, among others (see Section 4.2.8.2). The anecdotal reference to burial sites ensured toponymic resistance; it became a record of the sanctuaries of ancestral spirits (see Section 2.3.9). As long as the indigenous people partook in traditional ancestral worship, there would be reference to the land and its major features. This is because ancestors are regarded in Shona traditional customs as '*Vari Pasi*' (those who are in the soil). The ancestral burial sites became sacred shrines worth of protection. This role of ancestral burial sites is one of the major reasons why the post-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe were triggered by the *Svosve* people who wanted to occupy burial sites of their ancestors which were within a particular settler farm (Mlambo, 2000; Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2008).

Apart from the resilience engendered by cultural artistic practices such asreciting poetry, indigenous toponyms resisted on the basis of the practical realities of the day. For example, the settlers needed indigenous people's labour on farms and in mines and this inevitably made them hire the indigenes who continued to use the indigenous names. Figure 4.1 portrays how the indigenous population worked at Widgeon Ranch where important forests like Chamandere and Chipesa are found. These workers, in their own way, became a community of speakers that used local oral cartography because the Anglophonic toponymy was difficult to pronounce and it did not express a sense of belonging in them. Major toponymic features such asChipesa, Chamandere and Zoma resisted changes on such a basis. Even though the indigenous people lost political power to settlers, demographically they outnumbered the settlers. Inevitably, the settlers ended up, in some cases, adopting indigenous names in an Anglicised form for example Mtilikwe, Devuli, Inyatsitzi and Chibakwe as an acknowledgement of the indigenous cartographic input.

Names such as Chipesa and Chamandere Forests indicate that the indigenous had a well detailed oral pre-colonial map about where they would get natural provisions for food. These forests provided mushroom and edible insects as analysed in Section 4.2.8.3. Upon colonisation

and demarcation of farms, the forests were immediately alienated from the people. Widgeon Ranch was superimposed on the names setting the stage for intermittent conflict as the indigenous people sought to continue exploiting their natural resources. It should be noted that the alienation of indigenous land was the main reason for the three *Chimurenga*s (Mlambo 2000, Beach, 1970; Mazarire, 2006; Raftopoulos& Mlambo; 2008; Chung, 2006; Alexander, 2006).

From a historical point of view, the settlers wanted the indigenous people to abandon their reliance on hunting, gathering and subsistence farming limiting farming to working on settler enterprises. As a result, the settlers introduced draconian legislation like the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which resulted in a sixth of the total Zimbabwean land being shared by only 48 000 whites with almost two million indigenes sharing the rest but most of it in areas not conducive to crop farming (Alexander, 2006; Chitando, 2005; Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2008; Sibanda and Maposa, 2014). In addition to skewed land allocation, the settler government introduced a raft of taxes under the guise of making the indigenous population contribute to the development of their country. This was meant to deny the indigenes viable sources of livelihood in order to compel them to work on farms and mines. Even though the settlers tried to introduce whole scale economic changes, indigenous people resisted. They continued to trespass on settler farms to hunt and to gather fruits, vegetables, edible insects and mushrooms causing the old pre-colonial toponyms to remain alive. Even today, new farmers occasionally visit Chamandere and Chipesa Forests for mushroom, edible insects and firewood.

The other category of resuscitated names is the class of river names. While most rivers maintained their names, some of them were transphonologised by the settlers to the extent that the original meaning got lost. One of the rivers which maintained its name is Shashe River.On the one hand, the name denotes the river's washing down of those who think they are experts at fording rivers on the other hand, the river is personalised to mean 'an expert'. Both meanings reflect on the indigenous experiences with the river. Pokoteke means 'to be washed down the river' (see Section 4.2.8.4). The river, owing to its steep gradient, has a history of washing down huge logs and even people while Nyamaungwe is a descriptive name of the humus and litter from the plains of Grasslands and Felixburg Farms that are washed down (see Section 4.2.8.4). Shuchire River which derives its name from heavy siltation is a tributary of Pokoteke River. Pokoteke River like all the rivers in this case study derives its name from its flood time

character. River names were critical sources of information to the Shona communities. These names were subdued until after the post-2000 reforms because the indigenous population had taken over the land.

Dewure, Mutirikwi and Nyazvidzi Rivers were transphonologised to English phonology. They became Devuli, Mtilikwe and Inyatsitzi Rivers. The adaptations resulted in the loss of original meaning. When independence was granted in 1980, the rivers had their names changed back to the old names but some official maps still carry the old colonial names. Devuli is a name which has been extended to refer to an expanse of small and large scale farms stretching from Gutu District to Devuli Ranch near Birchenough Bridge in Manicaland in Zimbabwe. The reason why the name has remained is an opportunity for further research.

Other resuscitated names are names of places which were overshadowed by settler farms and yet they communicated a rich history about the colonial and pre-colonial history of the Shona people. Dingane, Garasadza and PaDhibha are names of specific areas within the area of this study. As examined in Section 4.2.5, Dingane is a very rich toponymic history which exposes information about the earliest contact of the settlers and the indigenes.

Garasadza and PaDhibha are the other names that have shot to prominence after the Third *Chimurenga*. As per the analysis in Section 4.2.5, the names are colonial historical anecdotes about colonial events. While Garasadza chronicles insipient resistance against settler authority, PaDhibha is a record of the colonial construction of a dip-tank, an infamous development during the colonial period because dipping cattle enabled the colonial authorities to monitor stock and to implement the draconian destocking measures (Raftopoulos and Mlambo, 2008). Mention of Dhibha (cattle dip-tank) amongst the very old in the community studied in this thesis, kindled horrific memories of complete herd of cattle taken for a song by the settlers in the name of promoting conservation agriculture, effectively decimating a critical source of African traditional wealth. The name PaDhibha and others discussed in this section confirm that Shona names are communicative and descriptive (Mapara, et al. 2011). Toponymy is, therefore, a critical historical repository which exposes rich stories about the past, only if someone cares to listen to them.

The resuscitated names show intimate knowledge between the indigenous people and their natural landscape to confirm that the land was not underutilised but managed in line with the community's expectations and needs. This toponymy was largely ignored by colonisers for at least one or more of the three reasons given here: (i) they did not know the names; (ii) they encountered practical difficulties out of the absence of a well developed orthographic system for the local languages and (iii) they had a low opinion of local languages. Post-colonial theory argues that settlers questioned if at all the languages constituted genuine languages against a background of disparaging depiction of Africans and their languages by writers like Joseph Conrad in *The Heart of Darkness* (see Section 5.2). Through renaming, colonial myths of superiority had to be demythologised. This, in post-colonial terms, is "part of the wider process of dismantling an ideological fortress that protected colonial power" (Barnes & Pfukwa, 2003:434).

From the interviews and observations, most geographic features such as mountains, forests and relatively small rivers and vleis no longer have known names and yet they were part of a well annotated oral map pre-colonially. This erasure of most oral toponyms has led to the continued use of colonial toponyms for navigation purposes. Because of the erased local names, small rivers are now described as "a river in Denholm" (*rwizi rwemu* Denholm Farm), "a small mountain in Fortress Farm" (*chikomo Chemu* Fortress Farm) and "a vlei in Craig Farm" (*Bani reku*Craig Farm).This has caused the continued existence of colonial toponymy which now gives the appearance that it existed before the local toponymy. There seems to be no appetite to research on the losses through colonial erasure for possible restoration because already the local language from where the traditional names were taken from occupies a low status in the post-colonial ecology of languages where English which is enjoying unassailable status as global language.

Restoration and resuscitation of pre-colonial toponymy can only be symbolic; there are numerous other undocumented toponyms that have been erased in the more than 100 years of colonial domination. This confirms Rose-Redwood et al.'s (2010.457) observation that post-colonial toponymic changes are not a straightforward restoration of old names but a complex struggle for legitimacy, power, visibility and recognition. Carter (1987) also noted the same impossibility of restoring old toponymy in his study of the Aboriginal people's displacement in Canada and New Zealand. One can only agree with Madden's (2017) argument that once

people are pushed off their land, they are effectively pushed off the map. Toponymic resilience is only possible where (demographically) the people whose toponymy was subdued remain on the land. The near futility of resuscitation is worsened by the fact that colonisation affected not only toponyms, but other cultural practices like anthroponyms, economic areas like breeds of cattle and farming methods. To erase a toponym is to attempt to erase a generation's identity and amounts to "historical revision" (Azaryahu, 2011:29) and yet identity, according to Karkaba (2009), is the sum total of those aspects that differentiate one person or community from another. Coercive power can still impact significantly on cultural practices. Apparatus of coercion in the form of legislative enactments encourages the use of new names but cannot completely reconfigure the toponymic landscape.

Toponyms are, therefore, a custodian of the history of those pushed to the periphery by imperialism by resisting total toponymic erasure. This resistance of toponyms is also noted by Kadmon (2004), Raper (2004, 2007; 2009c; 2014a/b) and Smith (2014). Hence total erasure of a people's toponymy is not practical because, once a toponym is assigned to a feature, it carves a niche in the mundane and is used unconsciously by speakers (Azaryahu, 1996; Rose-Redwood, 2006; Kadmon, 2004; Raper, 2004).

The resistance of toponyms bears testimony to the stubbornness of history in spite of effort to rewrite or reconfigure memory. Post-revolution scenarios, according to Azaryahu (2011), are characterised by toponymic cleansing: large scale attempts at place name changes to erase the heritage of the previous regime but the successes are not are relatively limited. In Canada, New Zealand and Australia, there were similar efforts to obliterate any traces of the original indigenous inhabitants of the land.The pre-colonial Aboriginal toponymy has resisted total erasure and most of the names became dormant and are being resuscitated now as the discourse of decoloniality moves towards practical steps to restore the displaced cultural heritage. Ironically, if all toponyms have staying power, it is logical to say colonial toponymy will also resist efforts to erase it in a futile attempt turn back the hands of time to reconfigure historical memory.

The resuscitation of the pre-colonial names observed in this thesis and in the literature review, reminds us that history is a complex intertwine of past and present. The landscape, through repeated counter changes of names, becomes a malleable slate where those in power inscribe

their stories, but sadly when power changes hands, a different narrative comes in to erase the existing one. This might not be in the interest of historical objectivity. The dichotomy of erasure and resuscitation of toponymy has been part and parcel of post-colonial and post-revolution developments in Africa and beyond (Madden, 2017; Tucker, 2011; Koopman, 2012; Meiring, 2008; 2012; Swart, 2008). There is a general convergence among scholars that when regimes change, toponyms tumble (Rose-Redwood, 2006). This is because of the strategic role of toponyms to serve as tools to disseminate ideologies, at times, as propaganda tools.

5.2.2.5 The post-colonial search for identity: ambivalence, mimicry and hybridity

The post-2000 toponymic landscape, a product of colonial settler activity and the unorthodox post-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe, reflects a complex transitional identity for Zimbabwe. Identity, according to Kehily (2009), is about temporal relations, forged in the social sphere and brings together the sense of past, present and future. The identity of a community influences the identity of an individual and vice versa. Conversely, the identity of a community is the sum total of the identities of individuals. The post-2000 toponymic landscape countenances an identity shaped by mimicry, ambivalence and hybridity as post-colonial theoretical constructs (see section 2.2.1). These concepts can be demonstrated through an analysis of the data which comprises alpha-numeric names, names from popular culture, local names of settler farms and post-2000 anglicised names.

(i)   Alpha-numeric village names

These names are a combination of the old name of the farm and a post-2000 numeric or alphabetic village number addition. The presence of alpha-numeric names and other post-colonial creative names is indicative of the attempts by the indigenes in Zimbabwe to wedge out a distinct post-colonial identity. Alpha-numeric names, for example Widgeon Ranch Village 2, portray the ambivalence of the post-colonial identity. These names, in this case study, claim a relatively larger chunk than the other categories of names. Adopting a stem from a colonial name can be seen as an acceptance of the past and an attempt to curve out a new identity acceptable to the new community. By appending 'village' to the settler name, there is an attempt to dismantle the farm as a symbol of the white man and replace it with a village. A village is a cluster of homes associated with the Shona pre-colonial settlement patterns. Through the appellation 'Village' there is a repudiation of the farm as a selfish capitalistic model which accommodates one family where many families could be settled. The commercial

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approach to land distribution is thus reversed in favour of a communal oriented structure of villages.

Villagisation is a concept which has been witnessed in other African countries, like Tanzania, after their independence. Villagisation is to some extent cultural restoration, a clear repudiation of the large scale commercial approach to agriculture. Creation of villages with numeric names destroys the farm, a symbol of the settler farmer. Similar to the traditional approach to land, land in the commercial-farms-cum-villages is now held for speculative purposes without a proper production plan. The village model sought to empower the previously disadvantaged by bringing them to stay in organised villages for potential provision of goods and services. In the aftermath of the chaos, organised villages emerged. The findings also indicate that the use of alpha-numeric names is convenient because over use of names of revolutionary figures leads to confusion in some cases when they are oversubscribed. There are, for instance, many places named after Kaguvi and Nehanda (see Section 5.3). These numeric names appended to the old settler names reflect that the more than 100 years presence of settlers on the land cannot be deleted from history no matter how spirited efforts of politicians and other interested powers are.

Ironically, such an approach to naming adopts the settler farm name as the core of the name because without the colonial stem, the alpha-numeric appellations of village and number will not make meaningful sense for navigation purposes. The maintenance of a conspicuous presence of settler names on the post-2000 landscape is for functional communicative purposes and for historical reasons. Throwing away these names could have created an administrative nightmare by having a chunk of land without a known recorded history. However, in spoken local discourses in the villages, reference is not made to the name of the farm but the village number only suggesting that, to an extent, by using alpha-numeric village names, the communities "eliminated a reference to a despised ideological enemy" (Faraco & Murphy, 1997:144). The old farm names remained some kind of anchor, a reference point in the spatial order of things on the land.

Even though Africans claimed ownership of the land prior to colonisation, the demarcation was not well executed with the help of cartographic expertise. Disputes of boundaries even today, are common among local chiefs hence settler farm names serve a navigation purpose. There is

convenience in communication where people identify new places through some reference to known places. Numeric and alphabetic naming are practical steps meant to map the geo-linguistic landscape in a manner which gives the exercise some modicum of order after incessant allegations of chaos on the land. By appending numeric and alphabetic letter names to old English names the government drove home a point that the vast tracts of land which were once in the hands of a few are now occupied by many people in villages hence correcting the historical imbalance of land ownership in Zimbabwe. Such names are also an ideological repudiation of commercial farming as an approach to land use. Unfortunately, from the observations on the land, there is not much in terms of productivity to match the settler farmers' levels of productivity. In the village model, settlement is carefully laid out and people do not settle in a haphazard fashion as used to happen in the pre-colonial period. This is done in anticipation of the rolling out of facilities like water and electricity connections. A village, in this sense becomes the model of what post-colonial Zimbabwe wants.

Numeric names also point to the absence of traditional leadership structures. In the Shona traditional set up, villages are under village heads and the village heads are in turn below chiefs. Villages, among the Shona, are named after the chief or village head, but the same could not happen in the resettlement areas because land seekers came from different areas to look for land. While some village households entirely depend on farming for their sustenance, others supplement their incomes from assistance from family members who might be formally employed elsewhere. Numeric names forestalled possible conflict to do with naming in areas which were not clearly under traditional jurisdiction. The new villages in the resettlement areas are under the leadership of a Village Chairperson who administers the affairs of the village through the assistance of six other members taken from the community. It is ironic to note that the villagisation and the subsequent toponymy resulted in the relegation of traditional administrative authority to pre-1980 levels instead of restoring it to the pre-colonial administrative systems. This is an indication of the post-colonial system's failure to make a break with the past and to engineer a new society based on current global realities.

Appending numeric or alphabetic village number made the naming easy and acceptable. Most importantly, it is an approach which had already been used in other post-independent resettlement farms acquired through the willing-buyer, willing-seller model. These names also reflect the government's dilemma in the management of the land. All post-2000 acquired land

is, in terms of the constitution, state land and the land cannot be sold or passedon as inheritance without the involvement of government. Ironically, numeric names gave the settler names a new lease of life, by resuscitating them in hybrid names. It is observable therefore, that generally in many situations there is critical socio-historical information which toponyms convey. The alpha-numeric names are an expression of how the indigenous people fit into the post-2000 socio-economic dispensation. Alpha-numeric village names give a semblance of urbanisation where naming of residential areas in places like Harare is alphabetic and numerical in some cases, for instance, Glen View 4, Warren Park D or Kuwadzana 5. Using alpha-numeric names, according to the government sources, would stamp out rural-to-urban migration because the villages are modelled on urban lines with the envisaged provision of basic sanitation facilities.

Further to the above, the current indigenous Zimbabwean population is a highly literate community which has come to appreciate the important role of education and of English as a global language. English is not treated with cynicism but is a language of choice, a tool for ideal communication among the indigenous population and beyond. The post-colonial identity as shown through toponyms is inextricably linked to the influence of colonialism. The findings of this study confirm that names of settler farmers are important in portraying *nhoroondo yakatsiga* (a balanced historical account). This role of alpha-numeric names refutes Mapara and Makaudze's (2016:249) argument that "English names have no cultural, linguistic or environmental significance to the Shona who consider the environment as part and parcel of everyday life." From a post-colonial perspective, the English names portray a hybrid culture where the Shona people are forced by historical circumstances to understand their historical realities through their local toponyms and through the numerous settler toponyms bequeathed to them by the colonial experience (see Section 2.2.1.3).

The new ambivalent identity is also observable on the school signage. As portrayed in Figures 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12, the other additional information apart from the name is inscribed not in local languages but exclusively in English for example *Welcome to Masvingo Province; Welcome to Taigara Primary School - See us grow*. In a country which has very negligible numbers of first language speakers of English, it only serves to show the diglossic relationship between English and Shona which has been at playever since colonial days. It is also an expression of the Shona people's post-colonial identity and their need to belong to the

global village. The post-2000 landscape confirms the hybridity, ambivalence and to some extent the mimicry as characteristic features of a post-colonial dispensation. The toponymic landscape communicates an ambivalent message: there is an expression of revulsion at the excesses of settler farmers and an acknowledgement of the indelible impact of colonial toponymy which is buoyed by the position of English as a global *lingua franca*.

(ii) Names from popular culture

Apart from alpha-numeric names, there are also names that are a result of the creative potential of the indigenes. The words Jambanja and Chitakada belong to this class of names (see Section 4.2.2.5 and 4.2.4 respectively). Such toponymy was occasioned by the new interaction order. In the post-2000 land reforms there was movement to the former settler farms by the indigenous population of all ages punctuated by violence, be it verbal or physical, against local and foreign elements that opposed the programme. Resultantly, the name Jambanja has found itself as a new Shona word with a clear connotation and the word has even found its way into the most recent Shona dictionary of 2017 (Kahari, 2017). The toponym Jambanja has a rich history which cuts across the socio political terrain and is now posted on the landscape as a record of history. The entrenched nature of violence is also confirmed by Zimbabwe's recently deposed president, Robert Mugabe at the occasion of the burial of the former Chief Justice Chidyausiku. Mukarati and Kaerasora (2017:1) reported thatthe former President, Robert Mugabe during his reign admitted to the existence of violence in the Third *Chimurenga* in his English and Chishona code-mixed graveside eulogy:

When we embarked on the Third *Chimurenga* programme, *kwakaitwa jambanja rakakomba, munozviziva* [there was serious violence and chaos]. The white farmers did everything possible to derail it and ended up enlisting the support of the white bench which was led by the likes of *ana* [Mr.] Justice [Anthony] Gubbay.

The Third *Chimurenga* is, therefore, a demonstration of what Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) identifies as the failure of the post-colonial state to make a break with nationalist authoritarianism, violence and the offensive legacy of repression.

The word Chitakada was also readily accepted in place of the word *Komboni*, a Shona adaptation of the English word 'compound'. The word 'compound' had a perjorative connotation as it came to represent squalid African workers' quarters on white farms, mines

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and factories. Compound is associated with moral decadence and hence a new name for the compound emerged in reference to the only one shop operating at the at Uhuru shops. Others closed shop until one operator remained to earn the name Chitakada. Chitakada is informal but is used widely ahead of Uhuru and other established names like lauder, Tariro and KwaMahofa. Jambanja and Chitakada are a manifestation of urban lingo and reflect the infectious nature of popular culture. The influence of popular culture on the toponymic landscape testifies to the fact that the farm communities are no longer closed communities. There is interaction and connectedness with the cultures of urban centres as a result of the use of digital technologies like radios and phones.

(iii) Local names of settler farms

There were few instances of settlers givingtheir farms Shona or Ndebele names though this was not a common practice. From an ecological point of view, this is a result of language contact. The names also confirm the mutual influence of cultures of the coloniser and the colonised to yield a new hybrid culture. This is the case for farms like Nyororo, Mazongororo, Chibakwe, Kondo. These names indicate a quest for belonging amongst the settler population. By showing an appreciation of local cultural symbols like language, these toponyms reflect a departure from the stereotypical model of the white settler who did not recognise local culture as a valid human culture. These names debunk the myth of Africans having nocivilised languages. They are an appreciation of Shona culture. The same names confirm the toponymic practice of adopting descriptive names of the environment to be universal. These names are similar to names like Woodlands, Wheatlands. Grasslands and Widgeon Farms.

(iv) Post-2000 anglicised name

The name Sandon Academy is the name of a modest school built on Mazongororo Farm (see Section 4.2.3.5). From a post-colonial perspective, the name captures the typical bourgeoisie reasoning. The location of the school would have attracted a local name but the anglicisation of the name of the owner to Sandon Academy, betrays a crisis of identity. It might reflect a certain degree of self hate which leads to mimicry of the white culture. There is no doubt, the name is also meant to be a marketing tool to attract those bourgeoisie parents looking for elite schools which emulate Anglophone culture. The name, just like alpha-numeric names, is an acceptance of the dominance of the settler culture. English dominance has resulted in negative attitudes towards local languages in Zimbabwe. In spite of the government's thrust towards

indigenisation, the contradictions brought by names such as Sandon Academy and Movass expose the hypocrisy of those who preach indigenisation but do not walk the talk. Such naming also exposes the reality that ideological pronouncements by politicians are sometimes meant to woodwink the poor who, sadly, have to send their children to schools such as Guzuve and Kaguvi where facilities are in a deplorable state. There is evidence that post-2000 toponymy exposes these class and ideological contradictions. One would have thought the politicians would lead the way by commemorating liberation heroes in their schools or farms but his study revealed otherwise. This creates a sense of disillusionment in the general populace and the result might be a loss of appetite to change names simply because they are English or were given by white settlers.

The same anglicisation is evident in the name Movass which is an acronym generated by the owner of the place in order to sound modern. The same influence of the settler culture and language is evident in the name Soti Source for a place where the river Sote starts. The name Soti Source has been accepted as it is without any known manoeuvres to change the name to a completely Shona name. This is indicative of boththe post-colonial hybridity and the impact of language contact on the geo-linguistic landscape.

The findings of this study confirm that the post-colonial situation poses some real identity challenges to the former colonised. One strategy is to adopt a stance advocated by Makarand Parajape in his address to academics in Sawant (2012:125):

> The best way to begin interrogating postcolonialism is not by pretending that we are the masters of our own academic destinies but by admitting, how colonized we still are. What is more, we cannot continue to blame only the West for our sorry state of subjection; we must blame ourselves. The dignity of the brown-skinned scholarship depends more than even before on how we view ourselves, rather than how others view us.

Against the irreversibility of the colonial history, there is urgent need to adopt measures to ensure that the post-2000 names are accepted as they are for the greater convenience of the community that uses the names.

The post-2000 toponymy countenances a complex post-colonial culture moulded by the contradictions of race and class. Resultantly, the post-2000 identity of Zimbabwe is an

irreversible conglomeration of colonial history, the struggle for independence and post-colonial land reform initiatives by the government of Zimbabwe. There is a general acceptance that a revisionistic stance against all settler names is impracticable and will not be acceptable to the majority of the indigenous population who perceive English as a language of opportunity.

5.2.3   Conclusions

This study on the post-2000 toponymic landscape has established the critical role of toponymy in Zimbabwe as a post-colonial setting. Various trends in the toponymy have been exposed. The toponymic landscape speaks a complex narrative of pre-colonial Shona history, colonisation, the struggle for independence and the post-independence socio-economic challenges which culminated in the Third *Chimurenga*. In this study, toponyms can clearly be seen as a cultural museum.

The findings confirm the centrality of toponymy to the understanding of socio-historical developments in Zimbabwe. The post-2000 toponymic landscape still boasts of colonial settler toponymy. Settler toponymy was used as an exercise of British imperial political power where local communities were subjugated as soon as the colonisers took over the land. Settler toponymy is a reflection of colonial dominance in Zimbabwe. There is strong evidence of racial and ethnic chauvinism in the toponymic patterns of the settlers. Settler toponymy also betrays Victorian Anglophonic sensibilities in terms of perception of nature. In spite of conscious efforts to erase the settler toponymic legacy, the legacy of colonisation appears indelible, as confirmed by formal cartography and the continued use of settler toponyms in different sections of post-colonial Zimbabwe.

The discourses of the First, Second and Third Chimurenga are recast on the post-2000 toponymic landscape. The First *Chimurenga*is commemorated through its protagonists such as Kaguvi. The name Kaguvi, which is inseparable from that of Mbuya Nehanda, provides a premise for the Third *Chimurenga*. There is also inscription of the Second *Chimurenga* discourses on the landscape. Violence is explicitly and implicitly celebrated as a tool to achieve political objectives. There is use of political banter and ethnic slurs to mock the settlers who are seen as representatives of imperialism. These discourses reflect directly and indirectly the protracted contestations over land that led to the First, Second and Third *Chimurenga*. It is also evident from the findings that efforts to reconfigure history by re-inscribing a nationalist

narrative of history on the landscape are contradicted by the pervasive nature of settler toponyms and their key role in mapping the land.

The Third *Chimurenga* also opened a door for symbolic restoration of pre-colonial toponyms even though many other pre-colonial names lost during the more than 100 years of colonial rule could not be recovered. A relatively new phenomenon where a single toponym, for instance, Zvivingwi, denotes a farm, a school, a mountain and a collection of villages is a phenomenon that has enabled indigenous names to come to life more than what they were previously. These revived names show that toponymy is a linguistic museum of the life of the Shona. If documented and preserved, the narrative 'spoken' by toponyms will uphold the Shona cultural heritage.

It was also argued that toponymic erasure through renaming of the landscape is an effort to effect selective historical amnesia by those in power. Despite efforts to erase certain toponyms by replacing them with those which promote the ideology of those who wield power, there is evidence that toponyms are a vanguard of history because they resist whole scale erasure. While there is every need in post-colonial Zimbabwe to reflect political independence on the landscape, there is a glaring risk of falsifying history through selective memorialisation.

The research confirms the presence of ambivalence in most toponyms ushered in after the year 2000. The ambivalence which emanates from the contact between the opposing cultures of the coloniser and colonised, has come to a stage where a new identity of hybridity has been ushered in. The effort to reverse the colonial settlement patterns by dividing farms into villages ironically ushered in alpha-numeric names. As confirmed by the geo-linguistic landscape, Zimbabwe's post-colonial identity is a mixture of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial cultures which produced a new hybrid culture anchored and driven by the global position of the English language.The discussion also established that post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe portrays a complex post-colonial social order where clear demarcation of identities is not always evident in spite of the anti-colonial rhetoric that drove the land reforms.

The findings reflect that geo-linguistic landscape of Zimbabwe is some form of spatial discourse which communicates history, politics, culture, religion and economics. The

contestations of power are evident on the toponymic landscape because of toponymy's link with the identity, power and heritage, among others.

5.3   CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

The limited research in onomastics in Zimbabwe is skewed against toponymy in favour of anthroponymy. Apart from lack of scholarly appetite to study toponymy in Zimbabwe, much of the available toponymic research from the colonial period falls within the traditional approach (see Section 2.4.4). This study, by focusing on Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymy, expands the horizons of the critical turn in toponymic studies (see Section 2.1) by critically focusing on Zimbabwe, a setting long overshadowed by toponymic 'hotspots' such as New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and the USA where there has been contested territorial ownership between different races and ethnicities. This thesis has brought to the fore Zimbabwe as an interesting site of toponymic study which might open doors for further toponymic research, particularly in the African context.

This study also established the complex dynamics at play in the post-2000 toponymy which vindicates the adoption of a critical approach to the study of toponymy in line with the critical turn. A mere typological approach to the toponyms without critical analysis would not have accounted for the role of toponymy in reflecting cultural displacement, among other roles. The post-2000 toponyms are more than spatial markers; they convey a message of colonial domination through, among other things, the use of names imported from Europe to erase local names. The toponymic landscape speaks a language of displacement, resistance, liberation struggle and the post-independence challenges of agrarian reforms through names such as Kaguvi, Tungamirai, Taigara and Hweshero (see Section 5.3). Rhodesian onomasticians who were more historians, anthropologists and cartographers than toponymists did not venture into the complexities of names in the politics of the colonial period perhaps for fear of being accused of dabbling in politics or simply because traditional name studies did not go beyond the etymological and taxonomic dimensions of the place names. Their studies of local names perceived the landscape in physical and historical terms with place names serving the purpose of showing the perceptions of the namers towards the particular feature without going into the power dynamics reflected by the toponyms (see Section 2.4.4).

There is, in this study, a confirmation of the efficacy of an ecclectical approach in a study of this nature which sought to understand post-2000 toponymy in Zimbabwe. The creative choice of a cluster of theories to dissect the toponymy enables the researcher to gain deeper insights. The study also confirms that onomastics in general and toponymy in particular, are multidisciplinary and stand to benefit from theoretical eclecticism. The adoption of post-colonial theory, geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology (see Section 2.2) is a departure from traditional approaches to toponymy. The study makes a critical contribution to the growing onomastics studies that ascribe to the 'critical turn' (see Section 1.7 & 2.1). Through critical analysis of Zimbabwe's place names post-2000, valuable social historical, religious, economic and political information is uncovered. According to Scott and Clark (2017:29), thetraditional approach to toponymy was canonised and tended to be empiricist; focused on extant historical records to account for origins of the name spellings and sometimes inferring origins of the names from disciplines such as archaeology and history. This study goes beyond thestudy of the *what* to critically consider the *why* and the *how* behind a place name and has enlivened the rather moribund study of place names in Zimbabwe. This is in line with scholars who ascribe to the critical turn and studies of similar theoretical orientation, for instance, Alderman & Inwood (2013), Algeo & Algeo (2000), Azaryahu (1996; 1997; 2011), Berg & Vuolteenaho (2009), Rose-Redwood (2006; 2011; 2018), Rose-Redwood et al. (2010; 2011; 2018), Mamvura (2014), Mamvura et al. (2017), among others.

This thesis examined, in detail, the historical narratives behind the toponyms and the inequalities, negotiations and conflicts behind the toponymy of the post-2000 period and established, as part of its findings, that toponymy has an important role in the understanding of the post-colonial situation in Zimbabwe. The particular contribution of each theoretical strand is outlined briefly in the sub-sections below.

5.3.1   Post-colonial theory

Post-colonial theory proposes an in-depth analysis of the colonial experience to establish how this colonial experience should be construed in the post-colonial period (Ramrao, 2012; Ashcroft et al. 2007, Childs and Williams, 1997; Digole, 2012; Ngugi waThiong'o, 1993, Raj, 2014; Stewart, 1999). The study has demonstrated that post-colonial theory is an effective theory to account, through critical toponymic analysis, for the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in the past, present and future. Post-colonial theory, despite diverse

conceptualisations by different scholars on how to accommodate the colonial legacy, converges on the need to understand Africa's colonial past with the intention of shaping an acceptable vision for present and the future (see Section 2.2.1). Although post-colonial theory has been applied extensively in other disciplines such as Literature, this thesis pioneers large scale application of the theory to toponymy.

In this thesis, the concept of onomastic erasure has been shown to be a very valuable and powerful tool in post-colonial theory. Its explanatory role in understanding toponymic change during the colonial and post-colonial periods was clearly demonstrated.

The post-colonial theory's constructs of alterity (othering/the other), ambivalence and hybridity, among others (see Section 2.2.1), are all confirmed in different proportions in this thesis. It is observed that the efforts to re-align the toponymic landscape are in line with the desire to disengage with the tag of coloniality. The opportunities and challenges found in the post-2000 toponymy bear evidence of the complexity of the post-colonial phase in Zimbabwe.

Through toponymy, post-colonial changes in Zimbabwe's toponymic landscape could be understood as a post-colonial attempt to dismantle structures of colonial control. The application of the post-colonial concepts of ambivalence and hybridity has been invaluable in accounting for the stubborn presence of colonial toponymic relics which have shaped the identity of the land (see Section 2.2.1). The finding that English place names are now part of the local toponymic terrain almost four decades after independence underscores the post-colonial acceptance of the history of colonisation and its irreversibility. This could be seen as a transition in terms of social relations from confrontation between the coloniser and colonised to peaceful co-existence. In this regard, post-colonial theory helps understand the complex social, political, cultural and religious and economic dimension to naming in post-colonial Zimbabwe. The application of post-colonial theory to toponymic studies that subscribe to the critical turn therefore yields deeper insights in the understanding of the post-colonial challenges of re-inscribing the geo-linguistic landscape. To a very significant extent, post colonial theory effectively illuminates Zimbabwe's post-2000 toponymic landscape and justifies its application in toponymic studies.

5.3.2   Geo-semiotics

In this study, geo-semiotics, a theory of space, complements post-colonial theory in the understanding of the post-colonial toponymy in Zimbabwe. From a geo-semiotics perspective, the study manages to confirm that toponyms as semiotic signs index the world in line with the existing interaction order and in line with the social actors (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) (see Section 2.2.2). The geographical landscape is a malleable slate which inevitably responds to changing socio-political relations. A change in the interaction order, in this case, the change from traditional system of governance to colonial authority imputed a change in the semiotics system. This confirms the assertion that place names are not simply signs, but signposts intricately involved in the cultural production of space and place (Helleland, 2012; Azaryahu, 2011; Rose-Redwood et al. 2010; 2011; 2018; Algeo and Algeo, 2000). The post-colonial situation in Africa is an arena of political contestations of power. The toponymic transcriptions, which are the signs (semiotics), indicate the shift in power from colonial to post-colonial dispensation. From a geo-semiotic perspective, place names are a means of humankind's mapping of identity on the land across cultures and races.

5.3.3   Political semiotics

Political semiotics also is also a valuable complement to post-colonial theory in this study. In the broader context of political semiotics, this thesis also revealed that toponyms are at the centre of a political system's efforts to assert power. Toponymy is a platform for symbolic displacement and restoration. There is displacement of selected settler toponymy and the ushering in of local toponyms. The study, while concurring with Algeo and Algeo (2000) that toponyms are power charged symbols, goes further to show that toponymy is a narrative of the history of both the powerful and the powerless. Through toponymy the colonial power dynamics are better understood. Politics being the exercise of power overpopulations is behind the colonial erasure of local names and their resuscitation in the post-colonial phase after the end of colonisation. The inscription of the landscape demonstrates the political power dynamics at play. The politics behind the names underlies colonial, independence and post-independence toponymy including the post-2000 toponyms as discussed in Section 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. The political role of toponyms is a confirmation of Algeo and Algeo's (2000) assertion that toponyms are power charged toponymic symbols. There is confirmation of the widely, and almost universally held view that toponyms are symbols of power (Alderman & Inwood, 2013;

Fisher, 2010; Azaryahu, 1986 1996; 1997; 2011; Rose-Redwood, 2006; 2011; Rose-Redwood et al., 2010; 2011; 2018; Madden, 2017, Mamvura et al., 2017; Faraco & Murphy, 1997).

5.3.4   Language ecology

As discussed in Section 2.2.5 language ecology is a theory of language which applies the environmental analogy of an ecosystem to language situations. The colonial experience pitted English as the imperial language against thelocal languages. From a language ecology point of view, the colonial venture was both enriching and disruptive. It was disruptive of the pre-colonial language ecology but enriching in ushering in an avalanche of new names which are still in use today. A host of European names such as Moffat, Widgeon, Eastdale, grasslands and Lauder are still on the land. Because of the power behind the English language, the linguistic ecology was tilted in favour of the stratum (superior language) and naturally it claimed larger territory than the local languages (see Section 2.2.5). Being the stratum, English commanded much more space than local languages. This explains the importation of Anglophonic names to the colonised landscape. All the languages of the colonisers for example, Afrikaans and German are also present within the linguistic ecosystem (see Sections 4.2.2.3 & 4.2.2.4 respectively). The limited presence of German and Afrikaner toponymy is indicative of the diminished presence of the speakers in the colonial language ecology. Language ecology offers a broader and more neutral perspective on the situation than the post-colonial theory which in its extreme form often shows strong political bias.

5.4   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

By examining the post-2000 toponymic landscape this study is the first of its kind in Zimbabwe (see Section 1.7 & 2.4.4). Out of this research, a number of other potential research areas emerged:

- An investigation into Zimbabwe's pre-colonial toponymy has never been done. A sustained study might expose important social, religious, economic and political information about pre-colonial Zimbabwe.
- A potential research area lies in the role of gender in the naming of the landscape.
- More research can be done on settler patterns of place naming in colonial Zimbabwe (see Section 5.2).
- Post-2000 toponymy could be investigated in non-Shona speaking areas and many other areas of the country.

- This study has only covered a small portion of the country; therefore, a large scale study should be done in order to ascertain whether the trends identified in this study are confirmed elsewhere.

5.5 FURTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

From the study, a number of implications are drawn:

- There is need to preserve the country's historical heritage, both pre-colonial and colonial through to the Third *Chimurenga*. Renaming should not focus on political correctness but should be used to achieve fair cultural and political representation, being cognisant of not deleting social and historical identities. Ordinarily, toponyms should be allowed to naturally glide and evolve without forcing them upon communities because politically driven toponyms are susceptible to change should the political balance of power shift. Where there is need for change, there is need for stakeholder involvement to ensure that identities are not imposed on communities and individuals through toponymic changes.

- There is need for consensus around place-name changes to ensure sustainable changes that are not susceptible to drastic changes should a certain regime tumble. Where there is need for compensatory changes, relevant steps should be taken to ensure that the objective history, no matter how reprehensible it is to certain sections of society, is kept alive. This is important in the interests of social harmony and in order to conform to the United Nations provisions on place naming where, according to Ormeling (1997:37), the "preferential official version will then be recommended by the United Nations to the international community, so that there be only one name version in every script for each geographical object for international use." Too many homonyms and changes which do not reflect on official maps is an unhealthy development.

- There is also need for compromise to accommodate both the old and the new place names to ensure that historical names are not lost and that historical changes are, accordingly, captured on the geo-linguistic landscape.

- Toponymy is a reservoir of history and culture; however, it is agreeable that the history can only be excavated through research. There is need to document toponymic data in

Zimbabwe to establish historical facts and to appreciate the role of place names in communities. Because toponyms are a natural heritage, documenting toponyms is a way of preserving them. Onomasticians should look deep and wide, back and forth in search of an effective lens to understand toponymy. This study has attempted to lead the way in this regard.

- The general paucity of research on toponymy in Zimbabwe places an urgent need upon the powers that be to convene a stakeholders' conference to map the way forward for place naming issues in Zimbabwe. Spontaneous and sporadic approaches to renaming of the landscape cause confusion and pose a real risk of serving parochial interests of politicians, more so, against the recent political developments associated with the end of the reign of long time ruler, Robert Mugabe.

- Toponymic studies still have a long way to go if what has been done in countries like South Africa is anything to go by. While the renaming of cities and streets has been left in the hands of city authorities in Zimbabwe, renaming of important places should be done around some national consensus which could only be achieved if there were a body such as the South Africa Names Society (SANS).

- No university in Zimbabwe has a fully-fledged onomastics course yet it is a discipline which deals with far more pragmatic issues than some of the traditional disciplines. From the different sources consulted, it is evident that the critical study of place names holds the key to a better understanding of human history.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This study adopted qualitative methodology where the sampling of information rich sources was purposively done. Despite the limitations outlined in Section 1.8, the researcher is convinced that through systematic analysis and rigorous discussion of data, the findings are credible. The findings indicate that socio-political factors are the greatest driver of toponymic change. Contact resulting from colonisation between two distinct cultures with different languages, inevitably leads to displacement of the weaker culture as the politically stronger culture maps its character on the land. The population that replaces the displaced one inevitably maps its character on the land. In post-colonial contexts this process is reversed.

This study examined the toponyms associated with post-2000 land reforms in Zimbabwe from a post-colonial perspective with added insights gleaned from geo-semiotics, political semiotics and language ecology perspective. The study confirmed the centrality of toponymy in the socio-political life of a community. The use of toponymy as a tool to symbolically displace weaker ethnic groups or races is also pronounced in this study. Similarly, the struggle for independence is also inscribed on the landscape. It is observed that toponymy reveals the colonial and post-colonial contestations over land between the coloniser and the colonised.

This thesis also argues that the contradictions between the toponymic culture of the coloniser and colonised lead to the emergence of a new form of toponymy: an ambivalent culture of naming that accommodates the coloniser and the colonised's culture but still exposing unique idiosyncrasies that differentiate it from other communities. For example, the emergent post-2000 alpha-numeric naming is no longer colonial naming. It is a form of post-colonial naming driven by the realisation that English, in spite of unfortunate circumstances behind its advent into Africa, it is now a global tool of communication that can now carry the experiences of both the coloniser and the colonised, as expressed by Achebe(1975:62):

> I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings.

The findings of this thesis afford an opportunity for introspection on how toponyms and toponymic changes have been handled in post-colonial scenarios including in Zimbabwe. Colonisation is a historical reality which cannot be up turned or wished away by toponymic changes only; there is need to guard against propagandist toponymic activism which advocates total erasure and total resuscitation thereby placing the whole toponymic landscape in a state of flux as the landscape falls victim to self-serving political machinations. The focus should now move away from changing old names, or replacing old names with new ones, to ensuring that new names are given in the spirit of consensus and inclusivity. It is worthwhile considering Meiring's (2012) argument that a mixture of colonial and post-colonial toponymy yields a rich tapestry of names from where we can draw many positive lessons if we change our attitudes towards history and towards each other as people. This does not in any way suggest that glaring toponymic injustices in post-colonial Zimbabwe should be left as they are; there is every need

to define a procedure and, perhaps, come up with an implementation vehicle to tackle toponymic challenges in post-colonial Zimbabwe to avoid spontaneous and sometimes propagandist renaming which might make the generality of the people get disillusioned with the whole discourse of naming and renaming of the toponymic landscape.

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APPENDIX 1

1.1 INTERVIEW GUIDE

   i.   Who gave new names in this village, farm or ward?

   ii.   What is the source of the names?

   iii.   Are the names recognised officially?

   iv.   Why do you think new names had to be used after the year 2000?

   v.   Why are some names unchanged since the colonial days?

   vi.   What do you think you will lose if these names change again?

   vii.   Why do some places carry dual names?

   viii.   What is your attitude towards English names?

   ix.   What do the new names (given during and after 2000) mean?

   x.   What are the similarities and differences of Third *Chimurenga* toponymic naming practices from the naming practices of the past?

1.2 OBSERVATION GUIDE

The observation focused on the features and behaviours listed below:

   i.   Road signs

   ii.   Settlement patterns and toponymic features viz-a-viz the names

   iii.   School names

   iv.   Names of shops, grinding mills and related infrastructure

   v.   Toponymic preferences in day to day communication by different people in the areas concerned.

1.3 DOCUMENT CHECKLIST

   i.   Local maps and national maps of the farming area before and after the Third *Chimurenga*

   ii.   Composite list of farm names

   iii.   Minutes of meetings pertaining to issues of naming and related aspects.

   iv.   National communiqués published in the print media

   v.   Newspaper reports/stories

   vi.   Telephone directories from relevant time periods

vii.   Lists of schools, clinics, recreation and business centres,train and bus station names from district administration offices.

viii.   Published books of Zimbabwean poetry and prose

ix.   Online memoirs, biographies and obituaries of former settlers.

1.4   INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH ON THIRD *CHIMURENGA* TOPONYMY
                    Informed voluntary consent and agreement
Participation in a face-to-face interview

My name is **Vincent Jenjekwa**. I am a Doctoral Degree student with University of South Africa (UNISA) in the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages specialising in the study of place names. My thesis is entitled, **"A toponymic perspective of Zimbabwe's post-2000 land reform programme (Third *Chimurenga*)".** My research supervisor is Professor Lawrie Barnes who is contactable on Email: barnela47@gmail.com or on Phone +27124293921.I kindly request you to participate in an interview for about 30 minutes for data generation. You are one of the sixteen (16) participants I have selected for this exercise.

The interview seeks to gather information on how place names in the Third *Chimurenga* came about. I will also ask questions about the meanings of the names and how these names came about. The research hopes to build useful knowledge on place naming and culture. I also wish to let you know that your participation is entirely voluntary. You will not suffer any harm if you decide not to participate or to withdraw midway the research. Your voluntary participation is however appreciated. The information will be treated with confidentiality and anonymity is guaranteed. The information collected will be used for this research only.

Once the research is complete, the thesis will be posted by UNISA on the Internet as a pdf document. Ethics clearance for this research is done by UNISA.

Name of Researcher: Vincent Jenjekwa
Signature...Date................................

CONSENT AND AGREEMENT
I do hereby consent to participate in the above mentioned study. I understand that my participation is strictly voluntary and if at any moment I wish to with draw; I am at liberty to do so without suffering any prejudice. I grant the researcher the permission to audio tape our interview. I also grant the researcher permission to use information from this interview for the purposes of this particular research study only.
Participant's Signature...Date...............................

Researcher's Signature...Date...............................

APPENDIX 2

2.1 PLACE NAMES: PRE AND POST-2000 FARM/VILLAGE

Pre-2000 name	**Post-2000 name**
1.Alanberry Farm	i. Alanberry Farm Village 1
	ii. Alanberry Farm Village 2
	iii. Alanberry Farm Village 3
2.Amalinda Farm	i. Amalinda Farm Village 1
	ii. Amalinda Farm Village 2
3.Appin Farm	i. Appin Farm
4.Argyle Farm	i. Argyle Farm
5.Beeskraal Farm	i Beeskraal Farm
6.Berry Spring Farm	i. Berry Spring Village A
	ii. Berry Spring Village B
	iii. Berry Spring Village C
7.Blythe Farm	i. Blythe Farm/*Zvivingwi*
8.Chibakwe Farm	i Chibakwe Farm Village 1
	ii. Chibakwe Farm Village 2
	iii. Chibakwe Farm Village 3
9.Chindito Farm/*Kwa*Muzenda	i. Chindito Farm/Simon Muzenda
10.Chilly Farm	i. Chilly Farm Village B
	ii. Chilly Farm Village A
	iii. Chilly Farm Village C
	iv. Chilly Farm Village D
11.Chipisa Farm	i. Chipisa Farm Village 1
	ii. Chipisa Farm Village 2
	iii. Chipisa Farm Village 3
12. Condor/*Kondo/Dhereki* Farm	i. Condor/*Kondo/Dhereki* Farm Village 1
	ii. Condor/*Kondo/Dhereki* Farm Village 2
	iii. Condor/*Kondo/Dhereki* Farm Village 3

Pre-2000 name	Post-2000 name	
13. Craig Farm	i.	Craig Farm
14. Dalcross Farm	i.	Dalcross Farm Village 1
	ii.	Dalcross Farm Village 2
	iii.	Dalcross Farm Village 3
15. Eastdale Ranch	i	Eastdale Ranch
16. Edgar Ridge farm	i	Edgar Ridge farm
17. Edinar Farm	i	Edinar Farm
18. Endama Farm	i	Endama Farm
19. Felixburg Farm	i	Felixburg Farm
	ii	Felixburg Farm A1
	iii	Felixburg Farm A2
20. Fortress Farm	i	Fortress Farm
21. Geluk Farm	i	Geluk Farm A1
22. Goele Hoop/*Tariro*	i	Goele Hoop/*Tariro*
23. Goodluck Farm	i	Goodluck Farm
24. Grasslands Farm	i.	Grasslands Farm A
	ii.	Grasslands Farm B
	iii.	Grasslands Farm Ext

Pre-2000 name	Post-2000 name
25. Haig Farm	i. Haig Farm
26. Inyatsitsi Farm	i. Inyatsitsi Farm
27. Landsdown Farm	i. Landsdown Farm
28. Lauder Farm	i Lauder farm/*Kwa*Mahofa
29. Lorn Farm	i. Lorn Farm Village 1
	ii. Lorn Farm Village 2
	iii. Lorn Farm Village 3
	iv. Lorn Farm Village 4
30. Maggies Bus	i. Maggies Bus
31. Markdale Farm	i. Markdale Farm South Village 2
	ii. Markdale Farm North Village 1
	iii. Markdale Farm North Village 2
	iv. Markdale Farm South Village 3
	v. Markdale Farm South Village 1
	vi. Markdale Farm South Village 4
32. Maxwell Farm	i Maxwell Farm
33. *Mazongororo* Farm	i *Mazongororo* Farm
34. Merlin Farm	i. Merlin Farm
35. Nelville Farm	i. Nelville Farm Village A
	ii. Nelville Farm Village B
	iii. Nelville Farm Village C
36. Noeldale Farm	i. Noeldale
37. *Nyombi* Farm	i. *Nyombi* Farm Village 1
	ii. *Nyombi* Farm Village 2

Pre-2000 name	Post-2000 name	
38.Ripley Farm	i.	Ripley Farm
39.*Serima* Village	i.	*Serima* Village
40.*Shasha* Fountain	i.	*Shasha* Fountain
41.Silverdale Farm	i.	Silverdale Farm
42.Strathern Farm	i.	Strathern Farm
43.Vitcom Farm	i.	Vitcom Farm Village 1
	ii.	Vitcom Farm Village 2
	iii.	Vitcom Farm Village 3
44.Welwart Farm	i	Welwart Farm
45.Wheatlands Farm	i.	Wheatlands Farm Village A
	ii.	Wheatlands Farm Village B
	iii.	Wheatlands Farm Village B
46.Widgeon Farm	i.	Widgeon Ranch Village 1
	ii.	Widgeon Ranch Village 2
	iii.	Widgeon Ranch Village 3
	iv.	Widgeon Ranch Village 4a
	v.	Widgeon Ranch Village 4b
	vi.	Widgeon Ranch Village 5a
	vii.	Widgeon Ranch Village 5b
47.Willand Farm	i.	Willand Farm Village 1
	ii.	Willand Farm Village2
	iii.	Willand Farm Village3
48.Woodlands Farm	i	Woodlands Farm
49. Wragley Farm	i.	Wragley Farm

2.2 SCHOOL NAMES

1. Chikwiza Primary School
2. Chipesa Primary School
3. Guzuve Primary School
4. Josiah Tungamirai Secondary School
5. Makomborero Primary and Secondary School
6. Mbamba Primary School
7. Rusununguko Primary School
8. Sandon Primary School
9. Sekuru Kaguvi Primary School
10. Taigara Primary and Secondary School
11. Tariro Primary School
12. Tashinga Primary School
13. Tatoraivhu Primary school
14. Zoma Primary School
15. Zvivingwi Primary and Secondary School

2.3 TOWNSHIP NAMES

1. Chivake
2. Hweshero
3. Chibakwe
4. Taigara
5. Tatoraivhu
6. Uhuru
7. Zoma
8. Padhibha/Mandebvu/Garasadza
9. PaRudhanda
10. Zororo
11. Movass

2.4 BUS STATION NAMES

1. Chivake
2. Dingane
3. Garasadza/PaDhibha/Pamandebvu
4. Makomborero
5. Mazongororo
6. Mbamba
7. Movass
8. Pa Welcome.
9. PaTomy
10. Soti Source
11. Taigara
12. Tashinga
13. Tatoraivhu
14. Tungamirai
15. Wheatlands
16. Zororo

2.5   NAMES OF MOUNTAINS

1. Rwamatendera
2. Rwamavara,
3. Svikire
4. Zoma
5. Zvivingwi

2.6   NAMES OF RIVERS

1. Chivake
2. Dewure
3. Mutirikwi
4. Murezi
5. Nyamaungwe
6. Nyazvidzi
7. Pokoteke
8. Shashe
9. Shuchire

2.7   NAMES OF FORESTS
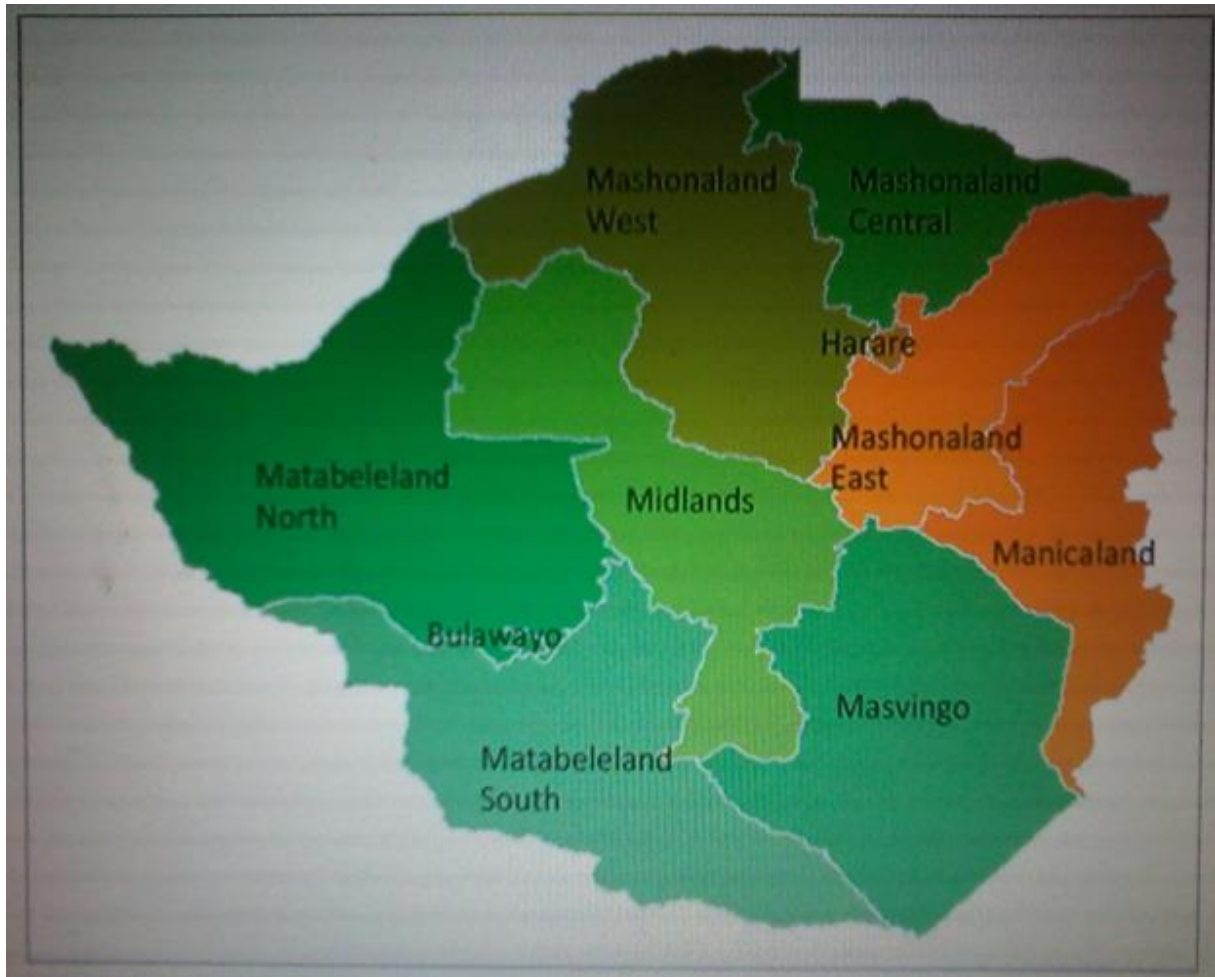
1. Chamandere
2. Chipesa
3. Guzuve

2.8   NAMES OF ROADS

1. Chatsworth Road
2. Driefontein Road
3. Felixburg Road
4. Goeie Hoop Road
5. Harare Road
6. Lancashire Road
7. Lauder Road
8. Moffat Road
9. *Soti* Source Road

2.9   NAMES OF POLITICAL administrative DISTRICTS

1. Chikwiza
2. Makomborero
3. Nyamaungwe
4. Nyamaungwe
5. Takavakunda
6. Zoma

APPENDIX 3
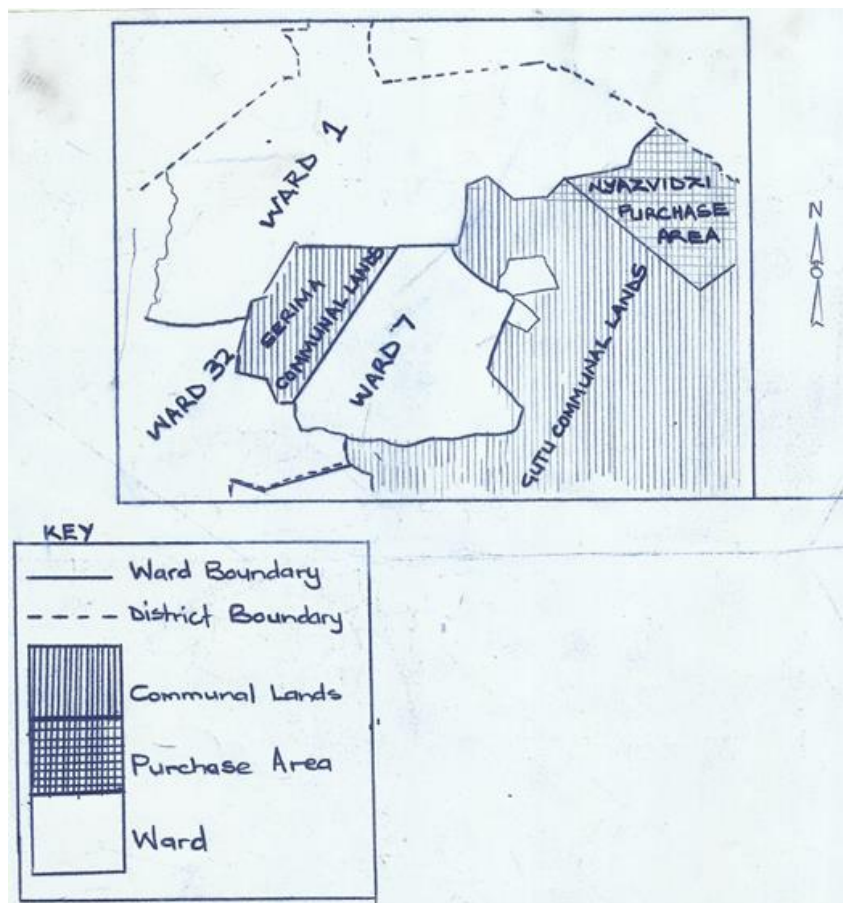
3.1 MAPS

3.1: A map of Zimbabwe's provinces
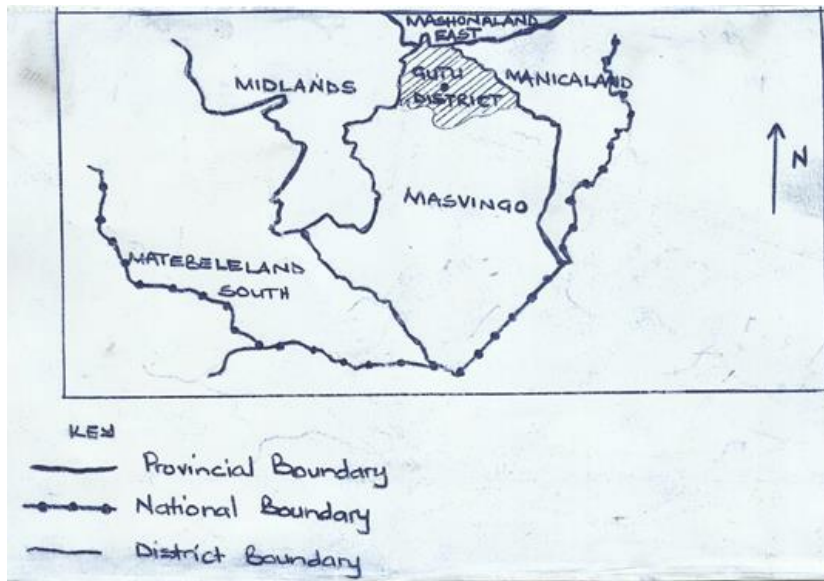
3.2: A map of Masvingo Province and Gutu District

3.3: Gutu District Wards 1 and 7

APPENDIX 4

4.1 ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTeR FROM UNISA

UNISA | university of south africa

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND MODERN LANGUAGES:
RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

16 March 2016

Ref #: SL_VJ016_2016
Mr V Jenjekwa
Student #: 57663556

Dear Mr Jenjekwa

Decision: Ethics Approval

Name: Mr V Jenkewa
Bondolfi Teachers' College
P.O.Bondolfi
Masvingo
Zimbabwe

+263775376045

Supervisor: Prof LA Barnes

Proposal: A toponymic perspective of Zimbabwe's post-2000 land reform programme (Third Chimurenga)

Qualification: PhD (Doctor of Philosophy in Languages, Linguistics and Literature)

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance received between *04 February – 14 March 2016* by the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee (RERC) for the above-mentioned research. Final approval is granted for the research undertaken for the duration of your doctoral studies.

For full approval: The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee on 15 March 2016.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1) The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone. +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
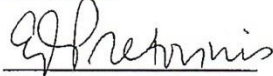www.unisa.ac.za

Open Rubric

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2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*

3) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Note:

The reference number (top right corner of this communiqué) should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication (e.g. Webmail, e-mail messages, letters) with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages RERC.

On behalf of the departmental RERC, we wish you everything of the best with your research study. May it be a stimulating journey!

Kind regards,

Prof EJ Pretorius

Chair: Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages RERC
Tel: (012) 429 6028
pretoej@unisa.ac.za

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4.2   LETTER OF AUTHORISATION

All communications should be addressed to
"The Secretary"
Telephone: 783484-7, 783508

MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT,
PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF
NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE
64 Kwame Nkrumah/1st street
2nd Floor, Unity Court
P. O. Box HR480
Harare

ZIMBABWE

MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT
PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION
OF NATIONAL CULTURE & HERITAGE

2016 -08- 1 7

HUMAN RESOURCES
MUKWATI BUILDING

Ref: P/RD 13/3

18 August 2016

Mr Vincent Jenjekwa
Bondolfi Teachers' College
Masvingo

**APPLICATION TO UNDERTAKE AN ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN THE MINISTRY
OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL
CULTURE AND HERITAGE: MR VINCENT JENJEKWA: PROJECT PRINCIPAL
RESEARCHER: GUTU DISTRICT WARD 1 AND 7**

Reference is made to your application letter dated 14 July 2016 with the above subject.

I am pleased to inform you that the Head of Ministry has granted your request to carry out a
research on the topic entitled: **"A Toponymic Perspective of Zimbabwe's Post -2000 Land
Reform Programme (Third Chimurenga)"**. The intended research is to be carried out in Gutu
District (Masvingo Province).

Please note that you are to sign an Official Secrecy Act before you commence your research.
Information gathered is confidential and should not be divulged to any un-authorised members of
the public.

The Ministry will be grateful to receive a copy of the end product.

V. R. Chiromo
Acting Director Human Resources
**FOR: SECRETARY   FOR   RURAL   DEVELOPMENT,   PROMOTION   AND
PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE**

cc: The Provincial Administrator – Masvingo
         The District Administrator – Gutu

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